

An Overview of the Indonesian Security Outlook

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Abstract

Security issue has always become a major problem for every sovereign state. Tremendous changes to the world society these days for example through advance technologies, extreme perception of the religious beliefs, people movement across the globe, and economic disparity, had oblige sovereign states to adjust significantly towards its security policy.

Indonesia, an archipelagic, with its strategic location and diverse community has always at the crossroad to overcome the security challenges that occurs since Independence Day in 1945 until recent days. This article will briefly define Indonesia's security policy, and discussing possible ways to deterrence conflicts through strengthening the main tools of internal defenses and beneficial international cooperation in security. Contemporary Second track Indonesia foreign policy stands on the basic of the international cooperations on security to protect the people and interests.

Keywords: *Security, Indonesia, Military and Defense*

Introduction

Since its independence, Indonesia has been preoccupied internally with the problems of culture conflicts, religious violence, ideological sparks, riots and political conflict that potentially can threaten the political stability and security. The challenges of Indonesia national security have increasingly become more complex as people and technology began to develop. While potential internal security challenges have always been a concern for Indonesia, there was also concern about external security problems within the region and its strategic geographical location. Indonesia as a part of Southeast Asia region is surrounded by threats, territorial disputes and fear of tension within its neighboring countries.

This article departs from the fundamental assumption in the thought of realism that international politics is a struggle of power¹. It described

¹ H.J Morgenthau, *Politic Among Nation : The struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th edition.

the military and economic security as the main issues including global political support for the defense budget. Realism is itself a classic sect that became part of international relations studies. In addition, the structure is in fact an anarchical international system where each country will attempt to achieve its national interests. In an anarchic conditions, natural behavior that will be concerned with the state itself is seen as an act that makes sense. Realists looked state as a single actor where the country is an actor important in global politics². Global political power struggle is a state of affair where leaders have to remain alert towards issue of other countries that obtain additional power that may endanger security and survival of their own countries. The issues are that, according to the realists, countries will try to equiponderate power each other, either by forming alliances or by increasing their weapon power. In other words, power produces countervailing power that creates balancing power³.

Indonesia as a part of the Southeast Asia region is having new challenges after the end of the cold war in the era of the 1990's. Following the end of the Cold War, the Asian countries were becoming more mature politically, and this political stability in turn has engendered an eye-opening economic growth. However, the end of the Cold War in and of itself, did not remove any of the various causes of tension and confrontation in Asia⁴. States of South East Asia Region, being joined in Association of Southeast Asia Nation (ASEAN)⁵, has been tried to the condition of mutual unsuspecting. It is observed by Alan Collins in his book entitled "The Security Dilemmas of Southeast Asia"⁶. The Southeast

Translate in Indonesia : *Politik Antar Bangsa* by S. Maimoen, A.M. Fatwa and Cecep Sudrajat,(Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2010) page 33.

² John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics : From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 47-52.

³ Richard W. Mansbach & Kristen L. Rafferty, *Introduction to Global Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). Translate to Indonesian ; *Pengantar Politik Global* by Amat Asnawi, publisher Nusa Media, Bandung, August 2012, p.25.

⁴ Kunihiro Saito, *The Security Situation in East Asia and the Pacific and Japan's Role & Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security*, Fordham International Law Journal, Volume 19, Issue 5 1995 Article 1, Berkeley Electronic Press, 1995. p. 3.

⁵ The Association of Southeast Asia Nations, or ASEAN, was established on August 8 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam then joined on January 7, 1984, Vietnam on July 28 1995, Lao PDR and Myanmar on July 23 1997, and Cambodia on April 30 1999, making up what is today the ten Member States of ASEAN. Over view ASEAN (online : <http://www.ASEAN.org/ASEAN/about-ASEAN/overview>) access on 26 March 2012.

⁶ Alan. Collins, *The Security Dilemmas of Southeast Asia*, Mac Milan Press, London, 2000, p.1

Asia region at the beginning of the era of the 1990 ' s has entered into a period of uncertainty at best and a rising tension at worst. ASEAN was seen as entering a period of uncertainty and would not be able to adjust it accordingly. At the same time, the membership had increased. It means the result of cooperation among ASEAN members, while some of them having internal and external conflicts, are unpredicted. China also will become a regional hegemony. China's emergence and military build-up in this period were considered as a potential great power for the 21st century. Coupled with its ability to influence the direction of security dialogue in the region, it raises the issue of hegemony⁷.

Arms race potential between countries and dilemma security in Southeast Asia made Indonesia must be ready in overcoming potential threat. According to Richard W. Mansbach & Kristen L Rafferty⁸, military force for defense, prevention and coercion are needed in managing conflict . Military as defense fend off attack, preventing other actors not to attack or taking an unacceptable step and coercing the actors where else would act differently or try to stop the action had been taken. A military force has aimed to retain sovereignty and endurance to the region from the interests of enemies. According to the political scientist Robert Art, defense means the ability to fend off an attack and minimize the damage themselves if attacked⁹.

Indonesia's previous foreign policy tagline is "a thousand friends, zero enemy" for the best of national interest, which was projected by the former Ministry for Foreign Affairs in a statement released in January 2010¹⁰. It clearly articulated that it would improve relations with every nation through bilateral ties and multilateral institutions. It also aspires to promote justice and order in the international arena, better investment policy for economic development, democracy and consolidation in regional integration, protecting Indonesian national's interest, maintaining national unity, and striving for a more effective foreign policy mechanism. The priorities to protecting Indonesian interests are following by Indonesia new government. the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo,

⁷ *ibid* p.1

⁸ Richard W. Mansbach & Kristen L. Rafferty, *Introduction to Global Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). Translate to Indonesian ; Pengantar Politik Global by Amat Ashawi, Publisher Nusa Media, Bandung, August 2012, p. 435.

⁹ Robert J. Art , "To What Ends Military Power", *International Security* 4:4 (Spring 1980), P. 5.

¹⁰ *The speech delivered by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa, at the Foreign Ministry's Annual Press Briefing in Jakarta, 8 January 2010.* http://us.en.news.viva.co.id/news/read/119737-Indonesia_and_the_world_in_2010.

underscored the realization of the Trisakti (the Three Power Principles) as new Indonesia lines for foreign policy, to make Indonesia sovereign in its politics, independent in its economy, and distinct in its cultural character.

Adhering to the independent and active foreign policy, Indonesia's diplomacy will be done to achieve those goals. Indonesia's diplomacy will serve the needs of the people. Indonesia's diplomacy will be down-to-earth. Indonesia's diplomacy will be conducted in a firm and dignified manner¹¹. Indonesia tries to minimize conflicts by preventive measures and soft diplomacy to maintain world peace and surrounding areas. Prevention according to Richard, an actor uses three C; communication, capability and credibility¹². Communication: an actor who performs prevention should communicate on a challenger and the act of the actor of what is not acceptable and punishment is inflicted if a challenger is aggressive. The capability of an actor who performs prevention should show that actor has capabilities to carry out the threats. If one actor is threatening to use weapons but is found making threat without owning the weapon, then the threat will become useless. Arm capability and armament should be improved in this section. Third, threats and commitment had to be credible, it will be trusted not only to raise a position of bargains. However, prevention by increasing weapons capability is much cheaper than the cost of aggression itself.

States adopt multiple strategies to strengthen their power in comparison to other potential competitive actors. In international relations, states cannot rely or depend permanently on others to secure their national interest. Most reliable strategy to balance against any threat is internal balancing and strengthening of the military and diplomacy capability. In an international environment which is created by the fear of anarchists among countries due to different interpretation, the dimension of security is a top priority. Each country will try to achieve as well as strengthen security by increasing military expenditure and improving the cooperation and development of the military and defense capabilities. Indonesia defense has main aim as a policy to achieve the national interest in order to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation-state. Defense of the country is one part of the national security and the national interest. Every strength means and effort will guard and preserve a secure peaceful situation and condition of the state from the threats and conflicts.

¹¹ Annual Press Statement Minister For Foreign Affairs Republic Of Indonesia 2015, Thursday, 8 January 2015, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/InformationSheet>.

¹² Richard W. Mansbach & Kristen L. Rafferty, *Introduction to Global Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). Translate to Indonesian ; *Pengantar Politik Global* by Amat Asnawi, Publisher Nusa Media, Bandung, August 2012, Page 437.

As stated in the preamble to the Indonesia Constitution of 1945, Indonesia's national interests is to maintain and protect the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia Unity State, safety and honor of the nation, as well as actively participating in the efforts of world peace. Departing from the Constitution mandate, the strategic interests of Indonesia defense must be able to guarantee the achievement of national interests. Departing from the essence, then the state defends strategic interests to the fore, including strategic interests that is fixed, that is of strategic importance, and urged international cooperation in the field of defense. The country's defense interests are still conducting the defense of the state attempts, which is to safeguard and protect the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia¹³.

Legal Regulation of Security Defense in Indonesia

Conceptual National Security Defense is a conception in national accomplishment of an essential objective to achieve security and prosperity for all citizen of Indonesia which will be the task and be ruled by government of Indonesia¹⁴. A basic national goals as mandated in the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is that the government of Indonesia shall protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, to improve public welfare, to educate the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order on the basis of freedom, perpetual peace and social justice.

As the largest country ¹⁵as well as the biggest population in the ASEAN¹⁶ region, which is shown in the following table, Indonesia has concerns in maintaining and strengthening overall defense posture in order to defend the sovereignty of its territory and to protect the safety of its population. Its large size of population, however, makes it a heavy burden for Indonesia in order to protect them.

National defense is a dynamic condition of a nation, contains tenacity and toughness that include the ability to develop a national

¹³ Executive Summary, White Book of Indonesia Defense, Indonesia Ministry of Defense, Jakarta 31 March 2003.

¹⁴ H. A. Gani Jusuf, S.IP Marsma TNI (Purn), Jakarta December 2011, <http://www.lemhannas.go.id/portal/in/daftar-artikel/1630-implementasi-konsepsi-ketahanan-nasional-dan-perkembangannya.html>.

¹⁵ see attachment 1.

¹⁶ see attachment 1.

power to overcome all threats, challenges, obstacles and distraction that come either from outside or from within, either directly or indirectly that endanger the integrity, identity of the survival of the nation and struggle for achieving national goals¹⁷. The responsibility of this task is in every citizen of Indonesia where Indonesian National Military (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) as the main force and the people as the supporting force¹⁸.

Currently Indonesia started the concept of Defense Security arranged by Indonesia act no 3/2000 about defense and security¹⁹ and act no 2/2000 about Indonesia Police force, which provide basic concept of political and defense of Indonesia's security. As mentioned in act no 3/ 2000, the country's defense is to serve, create, and preserve all the territory of the Republic of Indonesia as one entity defense, based on the principle of democracy, human rights, public welfare, environment, the legal national international law and habits international and principle coexist peacefully. As an archipelagic country, the geographic territory of Indonesia is a priority in which must be preserved.

The detail of conceptual bases of Indonesia security and defense since 2003 is explained in Indonesia's Defense White Paper released by The Ministry of Defense in Jakarta²⁰. The white book of defense contains a statement of defense policy in anticipating the duties of defense in the future amid the process of globalization and the development of strategic context of national struggle, in which Indonesia had faced several security issues that impacted its national life.

¹⁷ Indonesian Air force handbook, volume 1, strategic information and weapon system. International business publication USA, Washington DC, USA-Indonesia, p. 150.

¹⁸ Stated in the he 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia As amended by the First Amendment of 1999, the Second Amendment of 2000, the Third Amendment of 2001 and the Fourth Amendment of 2002, Chapter XII State Defense and Security, article 30. (1) Every citizen shall have the right and duty to participate in the defense and security of the state. (2) The defense and security of the state shall be conducted through the total people's defense and security system, with the Indonesian National Military (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) as the main force, and the people as the supporting force. (3) TNI, consisting of the Army, Navy and Air Force, as an instrument of the state has the duty to defend, protect, and maintain the integrity and sovereignty of the state. (4) POLRI, as an instrument of the state that maintains public order and security, has the duty to protect, guard, and serve the people, and to uphold the law.

¹⁹ Indonesia act no 3/2000 refined from act No 20/1982 about Indonesia core concept security and defense.

²⁰ Indonesia white paper defense, first release on Jakarta, 31 March 2003, signed by Defense minister, H. Matori Abdul DJALIL.

Indonesia's defense white paper with the title *Defending the Country: Entering the 21st Century* published in 2003 explained how Indonesia ready to enter globalization, future challenges and uneasy threats. Defense policy state was arranged based on purposes and its national interests to face the development context of strategic objective and new conditions of the nation, but remains on Pancasila²¹ ideology and Indonesia Constitution 1945. The White Paper is in line with national reform in which is a changing process to rearrange lives and better future through government democracy, clean and authoritative capable to enforce the supremacy of law. The commitments of the national reform brought restructuring in the defense, which includes the management of the organization of state defense, covering changes in organizational structure, the authority, functions and duties of the Defense Ministry and Indonesia National Military (TNI). The management of the organization is to create it to be more effective, in line with the context of strategic and whim democratic societies.

Indonesia's national interest attached with all forms of threats and disruption of national security and on a broad scale can disrupt the stability of the region. The strategy is to achieve nation protection and maintains its sovereignty. In this case the construction of Indonesia's National Military is a necessity that cannot be avoided. Security issues could be addressed if the capacity and capability of the Indonesia defense force is at adequate conditions. The necessity to build the strong National Military is expected, and more urgent when faced with the conditions of personnel and material that exist today.

The Indonesian Military Forces profile on 2003, pointed out that there were severe maintenance problems in many of its weaponry systems that are not actually operated due to a lack of spare parts, partly as a result of the US arms embargo on Indonesia²².

Compared for its size, Indonesia has appeared to loose in its defense build-up. Although it is clear that Indonesia would not want to lag behind Singapore's military capabilities, it has not felt sufficiently threatened by it to embark on a concerted program to redress a perceived

²¹ Pancasila, in English it means five principles, the Indonesian state philosophy, formulated by the Indonesian nationalist leader Sukarno, it was first articulated on June 1, 1945.

²² *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 3 September 2003, p.14, *Straits Times*, 5 December 2001, p.A8.

military imbalance²³. According to SIPRI²⁴, in 2013, Singapore's defense budget as translated to over USD 9 billion. In contrast, Singapore's immediate neighbors, Malaysia and Indonesia spent just under USD 5 billion and under USD 8 billion respectively. For such a small area and population, Singapore has allocated huge budget from its GDP to defense expenditures, which has enabled it to acquire, very capable, modern, and well-trained ground, air, and naval forces. Singapore has evidently had the political will and the funds to continue a steady military expansion program that has inexorably enabled Singapore to become the militarily most proficient, even powerful state, in Southeast Asia. In comparison with Singapore, Indonesia devotes the lowest percentage of its GDP, about 1.5% on average²⁵, on defense in the 1990s, which demonstrates its preoccupation with internal security and also its philosophy of security through economic development.

Determination of strength of defense development policy is carried out by taking into account the conditions of geography, demography, natural and artificial sources of wealth, and social conditions including financial capability of the country. Indonesia's territorial expanse covers 2,600 miles and includes more than 17,000 islands. As such, it has the one of the largest coastline in the world and is situated on number of key strategic maritime routes. In addition, other key considerations in the formulation of development policy defense force will also include the level of mastery of technology, especially in the field of major weapons system tools, increasing the capability and welfare of soldiers, and seize the real and potential threats faced by countries, as well as the development of the strategic context that includes aspects of ideological, political, economic and socio-cultural.

²³ Andrew Tan, Force modernization trends in southeast Asia, Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore, January 2004.p17.

²⁴ SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) is an independent international institute dedicated to research into conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament. Established in 1966, SIPRI provides data, analysis and recommendations, based on open sources, to policymakers, researchers, media and the interested public. Based in Stockholm, SIPRI also has presences in Beijing and Washington, DC. <http://www.sipri.org/about>.

²⁵ Indonesia's conventional defense capability remains modest. In the past 15 years, defense spending as a percentage of GDP has declined from 4.2 percent to 1.5 percent, notwithstanding an average annual GDP growth rate of 5.5 percent during the decade preceding the onset of the financial crisis in 1997 based on ASEAN Defense policies and expenditures. The Role of Southeast Asia in U.S. Strategy Toward China p.52.

In 2008, Indonesia Ministry Defense has launched new Indonesia's defense white paper²⁶. The substance in this book was updated defense policy in the context of changes that have implications for the conduct of the defense functions of the State. The dynamics of global and regional context has influenced the process changes that are impacting not only in the life of the community nationally, but also at the provincial and local level. The developments of security issues in some areas have to be realized in order to keep the world peace. As part of the international community, the people of Indonesia held a state defense in shades of as an embodiment of the principle of peaceful Indonesia that coexist harmoniously with the world peace.

The strategic security environment dynamics suggests the challenges are large and complex for the defense of the state in maintaining sovereignty and territorial integrity. The threats faced in maintaining state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and safety of the nations has been increasingly evolved into a multidimensional, physical and nonphysical, that has been coming from outside and within the country. Indonesia's major national interests are related to world peace and regional stability. Indonesia's strategic environment is adapted to the changing of regional and global situation. Indonesia is also inseparable from the overflow of a number of conflicts in the world. Therefore, Indonesia will continue to take an active part together with other nations through dignified efforts to establish world peace on the basis of independence, peace, and social justice.

Along with Indonesia current situation is the development of defense cooperation added in the field of tackling the impact of natural disasters and humanitarian assistance. Since the natural disasters of tsunami occurred in Aceh and Nias on December 26, 2004, it brought great changes in the design of cooperative defense of Indonesia, not only for military training and exercise. It also mentioned in both edition of Indonesia's defense white paper that it needs an important development in defense cooperation with some countries, both within and outside the regional area

Indonesia's Security Challenges

Indonesia security problems face complex phenomenon in the hemisphere of system, society and some influences from the abroad issues.

²⁶ Defense Ministry Degree , number: Per/03/M/II/2008, launch at Jakarta on 18 February 2008, signed by Juwono Sudarsono.

1. Indonesia National Military (TNI) reformation process.

The Indonesian military was originally created from peoples' armed forces. The first organization of armed forces was established on 22 August 1945 and called the *Badan Keamanan Rakyat* (BKR/People's Security Board) aimed at maintaining security together with the people and related state bodies²⁷. Then on October 5, 1945 became the People's Security Military (TKR). In further development the government improves into *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Military) and during new order the military was referred as *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* - Indonesian Armed Forces, (ABRI).

Indonesia's 2nd President, Suharto took power following the political violence of 1 October 1965 as the representative of the military. He used the military to build personal power and a dictatorship. During Suharto's reign, the dual function (*Dwifungsi*) of the military as both a defense forces and a participant in civilian politics and governance was legitimized by Law No. 20/1982 on State Defense Regulations²⁸. The implementation of this dual function of the armed forces has resulted in the involvement of armed forces in non-military fields. There were many members of the military high rank official's filled important and strategic posts as Ministers, Deputies Ministers, Governors, Regents, Mayors, Ambassadors and Consul General, members of House of Representatives and CEO's of State Owned and Regional Owned Companies.

During the Reform era, the political role of the Indonesian military has been significantly diminished through structural and legislative change, and to some extent public oversight. However, its role has been reduced since 1998 when the political and business roles of the military were publicly challenged and its need for reform highlighted. In the aftermath of the 1999 general election, the position of the TNI-Police faction in parliament through reserved seats in each layer of government was reduced and following the 2004 general elections was completely erased²⁹.

²⁷ History, from TNI website: <http://www.tniad.mil.id/index.php/profil/sejarah>.

²⁸ Article 26 and 28 of the law plainly regulated the National Armed Forces' non-military roles. Article 26 stated that the armed forces functioned as defense force and social force. Article 28 (1) stated that the armed forces acted as a social force by being a motor and 'stabilizer' that, with help from other social forces, held the responsibility to secure and strengthen the nation's struggle for independence and the prosperity of the people. Article 28 (2) stated that in order to execute the aforementioned actions, the armed forces were directed to participate actively in development and to strengthen national defense by participating in the decision-making process related to state and government affairs and to develop *Pancasila*.

²⁹ Military Politics, Ethnicity and Conflict in Indonesia, Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, Sri

Reformation of Indonesian National Military by Act no. 34/2004 on Indonesia's National Defense Force was forwarding step to better functions. The law demarcates the role and main duties of TNI as the core defense component to uphold state sovereignty, to maintain territorial integrity and to protect national entities against military threats both internal and external by carrying out conventional military operations of war and military operations other than war.

The reformation process itself makes concentration and application has to adjust in Indonesian system of security. The TNI needs times to adapt remarkably well to Indonesia's new political and social climate. There were so many cases related to the TNI's adjustment in the society. Some cases are clashes between the personnel of TNI and that of Indonesia Police³⁰ force³¹ and also between TNI personnel and civilians³². The clashes in the reform process of TNI bring more casualties and potential threats to internal stability.

The reality is that although military role have been reduced, it remain far from being marginalized. While they may have lost much of their direct influences in a number of socio-political affairs, the institutional changes have allowed the TNI to regain some of its standing in society and find a new role in defending Indonesia's sovereign interests and combating internal threats. The importance of TNI defense placed their reformation process as an important subject of development of defense sources in Indonesia. Indonesia is thus still a "transitional, hybrid regime of civil-military coexistence" in which the military may no longer dictate policy

Yanuarti and Mochamad Nurhasim, Crise working paper No. 62, January 2009.

³⁰ According to the commission to missing person and victims of violence (Kontras), since 2005 until 2012 has happened 26 times clash TNI-Polri that killed 11 people, seven of Polri and four of TNI. 47 persons of two institutions were also wounded. <http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/5-bentrok-dahsyat-tni-versus-polri.html>. the latest was the attack by a group of combat soldiers on the police office in Ogan Komering Ulu in South Sumatra 7 March 2013, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/03/09/tni-police-must-speed-reform.html>.

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³² *The Army has officially announced that 11 commandos from the Army's Special Forces (Kopassus) Group 2 based in Kartasura, Central Java, were the perpetrators behind the raid on Cebongan Penitentiary, Sleman, Yogyakarta, which left four detainees dead on March 2013.* <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/04/11/mystery-still-shrouds-cebongan-prison-attack.html>

to civilians but yet remains as an important political player³³ “behind the scenes.”

2. Radical Movement and Separatism

One form of threat arising in the country was the action carried out by separatist groups in some areas of Indonesia. Some separatist movement, especially the armed one or militia, attempts to secede from Indonesia have been threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Indonesia. They use issue of radicalism of primordial ethnic, race and religion and ideology of Pancasila³⁴ as reasons. In Indonesian history since its independence, it is shown that the issue of ideology is always arisen from time to time. Indonesia proclaimed its independence and applied Pancasila as the official state foundation or ideology. Nevertheless, there are groups that are against the stated official ideology and they try to replace Pancasila with another. Other problem such, as separatist group, has also attempted to secede from Indonesia, such as The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the free Papua Movement (OPM). They are the separatist groups in the form of acts of crime and violence that caused disruption in the community. Crime and violence conducted by the separatist groups, not only caused material casualties but also poses threat for Indonesia security, as well as disrupts the function of government. The settlement of the separatists issue is becoming increasingly complex due to separatist groups sheltering behind human rights issues and seeking support from abroad.

The atmosphere of freedom for democracy and reverence for human rights post the New Order era had provided opportunities for the radical movements to reemerge to the surface. By utilizing popular issues during reformation era, radical groups have been using new ways to infiltrate into specific groups that seeming it as if buttresses of reform movement.

³³ Taking Stock of Military Reform in Indonesia, Leonard C. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah, J. Ru'land et al. (eds.), *The Politics of Military Reform, Global Power Shift*, DOI Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2013 Chapter 2, P.26.

³⁴ Pancasila is the official philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state founded by Sukarno. It comprises five principles held to be inseparable and interrelated: 1. Belief in the one and only God, (in Indonesian, *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*); 2. Just and civilized humanity, (in Indonesian, *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab*); 3. The unity of Indonesia, (in Indonesian, *Persatuan Indonesia*); 4. Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives (in Indonesian, *Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan, Dalam Permusyawaratan dan Perwakilan*); 5. Social justice for all of the people of Indonesia (in Indonesian, *Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh Rakyat Indonesia*).

Radical movements that appear now adays were partially manifestation of inferior groups. They try to separate from Indonesia and made their independence. The aspiration for independence continues to pose a threat to Indonesia's territorial integrity.

3. Social and Ethnic Conflict

Social and ethnic violence are still considered as a security problem of Indonesia. The heterogeneous composition of Indonesia society and the geographical characteristics of the country particularly trigger the emergence of potential communal frictions. Communal conflicts can be triggered by the exclusiveness of tribe, religion, races and between group (SARA), as well as socio-economic disparities. Displacement of the population from one region to another, in addition to the effect on the local life and cultural friction, is as well a source of potential conflict. Like other developing countries, Indonesia is still characterized by internal structural weaknesses and domestic vulnerability that serve as the source of insecurity feeling, especially but not exclusively, among their leaders and security apparatus³⁵.

Series conflicts in Maluku, Central Sulawesi (Poso), Kalimantan (Sampit) were real examples of communal conflict. The losses caused by the onset of a wave of communal conflict, displacement and suffering were remarkable for the community, casualties and property losses. The biggest risk posed by communal conflict is the destruction of a nation or broken ties of solidarity unity and the unity of the nation. In addition, damage to various infrastructure, public facilities and social facilities on a large scale, causing disruption of the activities of Government, halting community service and education activities. The condition of the society of Indonesia are prone to acts of provocation, allowing communal conflicts and possible disruption of public order to grow quickly that could further disrupt the stability of national security.

Heterogeneous social structure, gap in the level of education, as well as the economic crisis that has not been recovered, are weaknesses that could be exploited by groups wanting to disturb national stability. The Indonesian economy is not fully recovered since the double-digit monetary and economic crisis of 1997, which has provoked a number of crucial problems. Shortage of job opportunities has created increasing number of

³⁵ Rizal SUKMA, Indonesia's Security Outlook, Defense Policy and Regional Cooperation, The National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) Journal, Chapter 1. P.4.

unemployment and labor issues. The fluctuation and diminishing value of Indonesia currency, which always prone to the issues of investment, free trade, and other issues, have caused the burden for government to grow heavily. An issue that is initially an issue of economy can develop into heated political issues. Political issues that raises freeze and distrust to the government can lead to riots that will further impair the national stability and threaten national security. Economic gap that has grown even wider can potentially cause social anxiety, especially when manipulated by certain groups that want to demolish Indonesia. Internal frictions and conflict between social, ethnic and religious groups would undermine nation-building process and threaten community. The Indonesian government continues to regard it as a formidable threat and interference to the national security and stability.

4. Terrorism

Terrorism has been a real threat to the safety of the nation and also becomes a threat to democracy and civil society. Since 1999³⁶ until the events of the bombing in Bali on October 12, 2002³⁷, terrorist activities in Indonesia has increased³⁸. Terrorism has occupied an important place in Indonesia's perceptions of national security threats and it poses serious threats to the national stability. Since the tragedy that hit the World Trade Center (WTC) on September 11, 2001, terrorism has become a real threat to the world including Indonesia. The war against terrorists is urgent in order to protect the sovereignty and the safety of citizens of Indonesia as well as citizens of other countries residing in Indonesia. Tackling terrorism, both international and local, needs integral collaboration and coordination in traffic and cross country among institutions to resolve it.

Numerous attempts have been made in the countries of the world to combat terrorism, but they apparently have not fully succeeded in negating the terrorism groups and stopping the action. Although the government of Indonesia's attempts to combat terrorism have resulted in significant successes, terrorism still continues to pose a formidable threat. Despite the success scored by Indonesia's security forces in rooting the terrorist networks, terrorism continues to pose serious security challenges

³⁶ First explosion at Toserba Ramayana Jakarta on 2 January 1999.

³⁷ Bali bombing I was first biggest explosion at Indonesia. the causalities were more than 200 people die and hundreds were injured.

³⁸ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008* [Indonesia's Defense White Paper 2008] (Jakarta: Indonesia's Ministry of Defense, 2008),p. 26.

to Indonesia. There will be new challenges facing Indonesia's counter-terrorism efforts in this regard. To counter the terrorist organization, Indonesia has established an institution, called interdepartmental National Antiterrorism Agency (BNPT), on September 2010³⁹. Even though BNPT would have a wide range of authorities in the prevention and eradication of terrorism, the responsibility for preventing terrorism is on all peoples' hand.

The threat of terrorism will continue to overshadow the world. Therefore, terrorism should be fought jointly by all countries in the world. Even though past five years there were only small cases of terrorism in Indonesia but it still regards terrorism as a formidable threat to national security and society.

5. Maritime Security

The sovereignty of Indonesia with more than 17,500 islands puts it as the world's largest archipelago country. Two-thirds of Indonesia is the sea area with more than 50,000 km of coastline⁴⁰. The activities of the international trade and transport in Indonesia's waters continue to rise. The rising waters activity places sea as a very important role for the life of the community and the nation of Indonesia as well as for the international community. The significance of the sea is not just limited to richness in natural resources, but also as conduit of islands scattered throughout the Archipelago. Therefore, the sea has vital role to the security of Indonesia. In managing maritime security, Indonesia continues to regard this issue as a major security problem for the country. Marine security including threat of violence (piracy, sabotage and terror of vital objects), threat of navigation (deficiency and theft of facilities for navigation), threat of resources (destruction and sea pollution of its ecosystem) and the threat of sovereignty and law (fishing illegally, illegal immigrants, exploitation of natural resources illegally).

The data shows that illegal fishing in Indonesia's water has continued to increase, with the total losses that plagued Indonesia around US \$ 2 billion, or about \$ 18 billion per year. Of the activities of smuggling, Indonesia suffered losses of about US \$ 1 billion per year, and exploitation illegally hurt Indonesia more than 2 Trillion Rupiah each year. While the

³⁹ The birth of the interdepartmental National Antiterrorism Agency (BNPT) by Presidential Degree No. 46/2010. <http://wapresri.go.id/index/preview/berita/2293>.

⁴⁰ Indonesia country profile issued by Asian Center for the Progress of Peoples, June 2007, p.1.

activities of illegal logging also detrimental to the State of around 30 trillion rupiah⁴¹. Keeping the treasures of Indonesia in its maritime territory has been a challenging national security issue, which needs crucial attention. Systematic efforts from the people and the Government are required in order to save the waters of Indonesia, as well as to improve the ability to utilize the resources of the sea.

Beside internal matters, Indonesia also facing external security problems that potentially threatening the stability of Indonesia's defense. The problems are as follows:

1. Border Disputes

The Republic of Indonesia borders with 10 neighboring countries. On land, Indonesia borders with Malaysia, Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Timor-Leste. While at sea, Indonesia borders with India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines, Palau Republic, Papua New Guinea, Australia and Timor-Leste. The border areas are widely spread with various typologies from the hinterland to the little most outside islands. This condition gives a great challenge that affects the lay out of control in securing border areas. Bordering areas of Indonesia until now still bear various problems. Unsolved agreement on marine line of Indonesia with its neighboring states raises the problem of mutual claims and area management, especially the management of fisheries' resources. Some existing cases between Indonesia and Malaysia are reflections of vulnerabilities at the border area of the waters. During 2010, Indonesian authorities recorded at least 37 cases of territorial and border violations, most of which were by foreign vessels engaged in illegal fishing activities⁴².

There are some potential problems in the Indonesia territorial disputes⁴³. The challenges faced by Indonesia in its border areas have distinctive conditions and characteristics compared with other regions. The problems occurred in border regions were affected by various factors such as geographic, the available of natural and human resources, socio-economics, politics and cultural conditions

⁴¹ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008* [Indonesia's Defense White Paper 2008] (Jakarta: Indonesia's Ministry of Defense, 2008), p. 29-30.

⁴² "TNI: Pelanggaran Wilayah Perbatasan Laut Masih Tinggi, [Indonesia's Defense Forces: Violation of Maritime Borders is Still Rampant], *Tempo Interaktif*, 31 December 2010, at <http://www.tempointeraktif.com>.

⁴³ see table 1.4 attachment 2.

and the prosperity level of neighbor states' people. One of the primary problems faced by all border regions in Indonesia is poverty and the lack of social basic structures and infra-structures. Development of the border region should have become priority so as to protect national stability.

There are still some major problems on the country border management that need to be quickly resolved. Among segments are the issue of land and sea borders that still have not completed yet fully within the regional border security. The maritime border is needed to obtain legal certainty that could support maritime activities as sovereignty and law enforcement in the sea, such as fishery tourism, exploration coast-off, off shore sea transportation and other. The extent of the problem is the fundamental objective that should be immediately to be concluded and approved by both countries. The management of state's border is strategic and urgent issue in which relates to the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. One of the things which contribute to the less optimum results in handling border issues is the absence of institutions that specifically manage all the aspects of border management, either at national or regional level. However, the management of the border is certainly not an easy matter, coupled with the existence of the 92 outermost small islands that some of which require special attention. Indonesia's coast-guard needs to be fully equipped with more sea military gear and it should be made as a priority for the national needs. As an archipelago, Indonesia should be more proactive in settling the borders with neighboring states so that the desire to make Indonesia as a strong maritime country can be realized.

2. Transnational Crimes

Transnational crime is not a new phenomenon, but its escalation increases from day to day and criminal activities are considered serious threats to the national security. Development of transnational crimes need special attention to halt, therefore the use of defense capabilities that are geared to combat crime cross country is a priority⁴⁴. Transnational crimes including transnational terrorism, armed robbery, piracy, smuggling of goods, arms, munitions and explosives, human smuggling, drugs,

⁴⁴ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008* [Indonesia's Defense White Paper 2008] (Jakarta: Indonesia's Ministry of Defense, 2008), p. 40.

money laundering and other forms of organized crime. Another activity is about illegal migrant which made immigration Indonesia as a destination as well as a stepping stone to other countries. The increasing number of transnational crime groups is affected by many factors. Regional security situations such as socio-economic conditions, high technology equipment, skilful human resources, weak control and insecurity are significant increasing transnational crime.

Transnational crimes in Southeast Asia are accelerating by the following reasons⁴⁵:

1. Many Southeast Asia countries have relaxed immigrations regulations to promote tourism. This increases the chance for TNC syndicates to enter countries, access prohibited goods and conduct illegal trade.
2. The goods that are commonly traded by TNC syndicates, such as drugs, women can be obtained at cheaper rates and can be accessed easier in Southeast Asia than in Western.
3. Most government in the region are saddled with structural and bureaucratic problems such as corruption, the lack of coordination among government agencies, the lack of coordination among countries, weak law enforcement capability against TNC, and the presence of other political problems that diverts government's attention from the problem of TNC. These problems hinder efforts to effectively combat TNC.

The challenges of today are not restricted to national crime on a small scale, but also include transnational crime on a large scale with the use of modern equipment and arms by non-state actors and terrorists groups. In the face of crime issues such as terrorism, cross-state piracy and piracy, it needs cooperation with other countries and armed security. Transnational crime is a global crime and therefore requires a comprehensive and synergistic approach to counter it both at the national and regional levels⁴⁶. Hence, bilateral and multilateral cooperation is very important to

⁴⁵ Challenges facing the ASEAN Peoples, Centre for strategic and international studies Jakarta, Indonesia, Jakarta, CSIS, 2003. p.285.

⁴⁶ Speech from Commissioner General Dr. Ito Sumardi, Head of Criminal Investigation Department of the Indonesian National Police, at a seminar introducing the UNODC project for building capacity within the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC). Jakarta (Indonesia), 13 January 2010, <http://www.unodc.org/Indonesia/2010/01/jclec/story.html>.

fight these crimes. Each country should cooperate more in patrolling borders area, exchanging transnational crimes expert, investigation and extradition of suspected criminals. Internally, There is a need for government agencies to coordinate with each other, defense equipped to control the area and cooperation with the private sector and civil society to effectively combat transnational crimes.

3. Potential Tension in Surrounding Area

The development of arms racing in Southeast Asia made a potential tension in surrounding areas. By studying the data from the military balance 1997/1998, Collins explained that when the cold war ended in the early 1990's and before the economic crisis of 1997, seen an increase in weapons in Southeast Asia⁴⁷. Countries that improve their armaments spending budget, as in the review by Collins, among others Indonesia (\$1,402 millions USD), Malaysia (\$1,133 millions USD), Philippines (\$810 millions USD), Singapore (\$1,402 millions USD) and Thailand (\$1,653 millions USD). Increase in budget spending for weaponry in southeast Asia after the end of the cold war can be understood where many countries in southeastern Asia still continues to strengthen its military strength and ability and facing threats and potential conflicts between countries are territorial dispute. This could trigger a greater escalation, such as war, that lead to use or the exertion of power military possessed by a carpel a carpel state that competes. Increasing ordnance and military budget around Southeast Asia make Indonesia must start vigilance and his ability in the field of security.

Indonesia history relationship between Malaysia in the initial independence 50 years ago, political relationship related to rivalry competition although initially base on a sense of brotherhood⁴⁸. Five Power Defense Agreement (FDPA) including Integrated Air Defense System (IADS) between Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore since 1971 have tight bound that can be potential threat in Southeast Asia region. The strengthening military profile in Singapore and Malaysia with the back up from common wealth countries must be accelerated with the development of Indonesia defense and security.

⁴⁷ A. Collins, *The Security Dilemmas of southeast Asia*, MacMillan Press, London, 2000. p.103.

⁴⁸ J.C. Liow, *the Politics of Indonesia-Malaysia relations : One Kin, Two Nations* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005) p.i.

Indonesia is also concerned with the implications of the changing regional power structures in East Asia for major power relations and stability in the region. In East Asia, the rise of China constitutes become more prominent aspects of such changes. Recently China has consistently showed its ability to sustain economic growth at an impressive rate. The progressive of its economic development related to improvement of China's military capability. It transforms the geo-political character of East Asia. The region is entering a critical point of a period where the emergence of China would redefine the relationship among major powers. The threat comes about the anxiety of how China uses its new posture and influence in achieving its national interests and objectives in the region. Arisen issue of South China Sea conflict is one example of a potential conflict in Asia. China's policy continues to call for increasingly active engagement in the South China Sea, both militarily and diplomatically. Indonesia is aware that arisen China impact the power shift related to the changing of future form relationship among the major powers would be triggering more by competition and rivalry than cooperation. Indonesia as part of Southeast Asia countries trying to grab the benefits of China's progressive economic progress but without any dictated and dominated by any major power, including China.

The regional stability in Southeast Asia should be kept harmonize while arisen of China must be followed by its commitment to a peaceful rise and played a positive role for the stability and security of the region. Even though this strategic uncertainty issues surrounding China's rise still remains a security challenge for regional states, including Indonesia.

Despite of ASEAN Countries, Indonesia has developed plenty of bilateral cooperation such as with United States (US), China, Australia, European countries and Russia. The US and Indonesia have generally maintained diplomatic relations and have engaged in a number of cooperative measures relating to the maintenance of peace and security in the region until the relationship has been challenged by differences of opinion on human rights and foreign policy. Bilateral cooperation with China also develop recently, China has been seeking to strengthen its ties with its Southeast Asia neighbors especially Indonesia. Indonesia and China initially signed an agreement that paved the way for China to provide unspecified assistance to Indonesia's defense industry in 2009. By this arrangement, in early 2011 China and Indonesia signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the Development and Production of a Chinese Designed Missile System. Other collaborative project thought to be under discussion includes the joint development of surface-to-air missiles, and

co-production of basic trainer and light attack aircraft, transport aircraft and helicopters⁴⁹. Indonesia enhances the cooperation on joint exercise with China as an effort to expand military and defense cooperation between both countries. The cooperation not only on officer exchange form but also on joint military exercise⁵⁰. Beyond industrial collaboration, Chinese and Indonesian Special Forces also conducted their first ever joint exercise in Bandung on May 2011⁵¹.

Indonesia has also signed a number of defense partnership agreements to increase the country's international standing and to consolidate its strategic partnerships. It creates the diversity of its military suppliers and supported its efforts to develop its indigenous defense manufacturing base. Australia as one of the neighbor country held a Co-operation on security matters by the Lombok Treaty 2006, which came into force in 2008. That treaty provides a framework for addressing both traditional and non-traditional threats including counter terrorism between Indonesia and Australia. As mentioned in Indonesia's white paper defense on 2003, Russia as a country in the projection of defense cooperation. Even though the relationship of Indonesia and Russia re-starting its new stage, it indicates the projected expectations for a very tight cooperation in the future. Both countries are committed to enhance cooperation on a more operational in time to come.

Concluding

Indonesia ties enormous cooperations in international relations. Based on Indonesia contemporary foreign policy, Indonesia stands on the basic of the international cooperations on security to protect the people and interests. "People diplomacy" as stated by Jokowi has main principle

⁴⁹ "Indonesia and China reach agreement on joint development of anti-ship cruise missile", *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 24 March 2011.

⁵⁰ Indonesia, China enhance joint military exercise, Sunday, 13 January 2013, 21:33 WIB, REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, SHANGHAI, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/13/01/13/mgkj3v> Indonesia-china-enhance-joint-military-exercise.

⁵¹ The first joint training exercise between Chinese and Indonesian special forces which had the code name "Sharp Knife 2011", began on May 4 and was conducted between special forces from China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Indonesia's National Armed Forces. China, Indonesia end first joint training By Cui Haipei (China Daily) Updated: 2011-06-18 07:34, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2011-06/18/content_12727535.htm.

to ensure the strengthening of our security eventhough there were distress in contrary for this policy⁵².

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