

*The utility of peacekeeping operations to the Tentara
Nasional Indonesia in responding to the regional security
environment*

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Contents

Abstract.....	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	5
Background	5
Objective of the research.....	8
Identification of the problem.....	8
Justification of the problem	8
Definition of key terms	9
Restriction of the problem.....	11
Timeframe.....	11
Actors	11
Content restriction.....	11
The formulation of the problem	12
The aim of the research	13
The use of the research	13
Methodology.....	14
Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework.....	15
Professionalism.....	15
Military modernisation	20
Peacekeeping	22
Chapter 3: Nature of the current security dynamic.....	26
Regional security issues which directly affect Indonesia	27
Intra-ASEAN issues.....	28
Extra-ASEAN issues	31
Chapter 4: How Indonesia is responding to these matters	35
TNI modernisation	36
Deterrence capability.....	37
TNI professionalism.....	42
Civilian control	42
Externally postured TNI	44
Conclusion.....	46
Bibliography	47

Abstract

The Indonesian military, Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI) has been an active participant in United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) since shortly after the formation of the Unitary State. Indonesian PKO, under the unique nomenclature “Garuda Contingents” has enjoyed something of a renaissance since Reformasi and the Asian Financial Crisis. This is seen in the successful deployment of a Battalion to Lebanon, the current operational command in Western Sahara and the recent establishment of the National Defence Forces Peacekeeping Centre in Sentul. This paper attempts to examine the place of PKO within the existing discussion surrounding military professionalism and modernisation. To this end it will provide an overview of the linkages between PKO and these two concepts in order to analyse the utility of this core competency for soldiers, with particular emphasis on procurement initiatives and capability acquisition; civilian control of the military and an outwardly postured TNI; to the way in which the TNI responds to the changing regional security dynamic. It will also highlight the outstanding issues of an unwillingness to expand PKO to more demanding Peace Enforcement Operations (PEO) and the risk of regressing back to an internal political role which risk conceding gains made in professionalising the TNI. Considering these issues, this paper concludes that transfer of security threats from internal to external in origin displaces the risk of the TNI gravitating back to internal matters and that PKO serves as a key vehicle in maintaining this outward disposition. Furthermore whilst the role PKO play in both modernisation and professionalism is by no means a primary consideration, its utility to the TNI has been understated.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Indonesia's security outlook has undergone significant transition in recent years, as has the military itself, along with the domestic political climate. Whilst the specific nature of the threats Indonesia faces today from the external domain are recurring, the internal security issues which had traditionally drawn TNI attention have been largely consolidated, providing the TNI the opportunity to focus exclusively on responding to these external challenges. This narrative is combined with the current President's emphasis of peacekeeping operations as a core capability of TNI personnel, where participation in UN missions is strongly encouraged through a range of policy initiatives. As such, this paper will explore the relevance of peacekeeping operations to the TNI response to external security threats with reference to the modernisation process currently underway and professionalism within the military. Analysis will begin with a brief background to the security dynamic and Indonesia's history as a contributor to UN peacekeeping operations and preliminary matters associated with this research. Chapter 2 provides a review of existing literature relevant to this field of study, categorised as military professionalism, TNI modernisation and peacekeeping operations. This is conducted with the view to establishing a foundation for the research and to construct a theoretical framework in order to analyse the matter more effectively. The third chapter provides an overview of three key external security threats Indonesia is currently facing, where chapter 4 tables the response of the TNI to these threats by considering the utility of PKO to modernisation and professionalism.

Background

Indonesia has made steady progress in transforming its military since the fall of Suharto created an environment conducive to reform across all aspects of the military. It is no longer

a tenable position to argue in favour of a political role for the TNI in Indonesian discourse.¹ The process of depoliticising the TNI is mostly complete and any outstanding issues such as the military businesses are in the process of being neutralised. This is due in no small part to the plethora of influential academic, NGO, government and military minds collectively focusing attention on political reform.²

A by-product of this emphasis has been a lack of interest in physically transforming the military beyond the political realm, into a force capable of acting as a functional instrument of Indonesian foreign policy and although this is now changing, it has been slow to come to prominence.³ Thus whilst the political insulation side of military professionalism has been achieved in Indonesia, the conversion from an inward to an exclusively outward looking TNI has not yet come to fruition.⁴ This is important as Indonesia's defence strategy has changed from one which emphasises enmeshment with the local Indonesian population as a foundation to drive back an invading force,⁵ to a modern deterrent doctrine based on a combination of high end defence platforms and the ability to project and sustain force overseas.⁶ However despite this strategic shift, Indonesia has not developed this capability and must rely heavily on diplomatic engagement in the region to provide a semblance of security.⁷ As Indonesia moves to achieve this, it inadvertently participates in the perceived regional arms race.⁸ It is in this context that Indonesia's emphasis on international peacekeeping operations will be discussed.

¹ A. Widjajanto, 'Transforming Indonesia's Armed Forces', *UNISCI Discussion Paper*, no. 15 (2007).

² Widjajanto, p. 20.

³ Widjajanto, p. 21.

⁴ Widjajanto, p. 27.

⁵ J. Honna, *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*, Routledge, London, 2005, p. 53.

⁶ L. Sebastian, *Realpolitik Ideology: Indonesia's use of military force*, Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore, 2006, p. 177.

⁷ Widjajanto, p. 27.

⁸ B. Schreer, 'Moving Beyond Ambitions?: Indonesia's military modernisation', Australian Strategic Policy Institute Working Paper, November 2013, p. 25.

Indonesia has a rich history of involvement in peacekeeping operations from independence, with only a brief intermission during the Asian Financial Crisis.⁹ From missions as varied as the Sinai Peninsular to Rwanda,¹⁰ the TNI has fielded 32 contingents in more than 20 countries,¹¹ operating as both a leader and joint participant.¹² These missions represent an important and tangible outcome of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy and its 1945 Constitutional obligations.¹³ Indonesia has earned over the years a reputation as both a reliable contributor and a force which naturally wins the hearts and minds of the local population.¹⁴ The most important recent deployment was Garuda XXII-A to Lebanon in 2006 as part of the UN International Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).¹⁵ The Lebanon deployment is of significance as it was the first time during the *Reformasi* period Indonesia was able to field and sustain a battalion sized contingent overseas.¹⁶ The Indonesian government has recognised the importance of peacekeeping as a core competency for TNI members and has created the Indonesian National Defence Forces Peacekeeping Centre in Sentul, Bogor,¹⁷ which is designed to train large contingents of soldiers, airmen and marines for deployment to prospective peacekeeping missions.¹⁸ This is part of a broader objective directed by the President to place Indonesia within the top ten troop contributing countries to PKO worldwide.

⁹ J. Haseman, 'Garuda XII: Indonesian peacekeeping in Cambodia', *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 12 (1996), p. 89.

¹⁰ Y. Mulyana, 'Peacekeeping operations and Indonesian foreign policy', *Jakarta Post*, 3 January 2012, consulted 10 April 2014, <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/01/03/peacekeeping-operations-and-indonesian-foreign-policy.html>>.

¹¹ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008*, p. 152.

¹² Editorial, 'Indonesian Major General appointed force commander of UN Western Sahara Mission', *UN News Centre*, 27 August 2013, consulted 25 February 2014, <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45716&Cr=western+sahara&Cr1#.UwxJrPmSxqU>>.

¹³ Mulyana, *The Jakarta Post*.

¹⁴ Haseman, p. 92.

¹⁵ E. Lachica, 'Jakarta's Foray into Armed Diplomacy', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 170, no. 5, 2007.

¹⁶ Lachica, p. 38.

¹⁷ Y. Perdani, 'SE Asia's biggest peacekeeping, anti-terror training camp opens', *The Jakarta Post*, 8 April 2014, consulted 25 February 2014, <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/04/08/se-asia-s-biggest-peacekeeping-antiterror-training-camp-opens.html>>.

¹⁸ J. B. Haseman and E. Lachica, *The U.S.-Indonesia Security Relationship: The next steps*, United States-Indonesia Society, Washington DC, 2009, p. 92.

Objective of the research

The objective of this research is to establish a tangible link between PKO and professionalism and military modernisation which can then be used as a lens through which to examine Indonesia's response to the dynamic regional security outlook in order to examine one section of this multifaceted response.

Identification of the problem

In light of this background and objective, this paper will attempt to examine the problem;

How is the TNI responding to the changing regional security dynamic?

This research problem is deliberately broad in order to provide scope to narrow the breadth of discussion to the issues outlined above, namely military professionalism and modernisation in the context of peacekeeping operations.

Justification of the problem

Indonesian PKO effectively connects the often separately discussed concepts of military modernisation and professionalism as it contributes to the development of both where Indonesia is concerned. It is fundamentally important to establish this link as it allows the discussion to progress from a justification of the importance of PKO to these two concepts, to the utility of PKO as a tool for Indonesia to employ to respond to the changing regional security dynamic. Although this paper is structured in a way which examines the security outlook first and the response second, it is important to convey initially that there has not been an in depth academic analysis of the utility of PKO to Indonesia in this particular context.

Definition of key terms

Acquisition and procurement are concepts which will be employed interchangeably to describe the ‘process by which equipment and services are sourced from external agencies are used in the building of an effective military capability,’¹⁹ based by the leading text by Anthony Lawrence on managing defence acquisitions.

Capability is a concept which is applied in its broadest definition throughout this paper and it is essentially an outcome or result which can be achieved in a military context through the use of certain military equipment.²⁰

Force Projection is the ability of a state to conduct expeditionary warfare and is a key part of a functional deterrence strategy.²¹ It is usually made up of the soldiers and weapons systems being deployed and the accompanying air and sea-lift platforms.

Deterrence is a strategic capability to conduct military operations against a neighbouring state if a situation demands it. It serves primarily as a latent capability which would deter another state from pursuing policy outcomes which would breach the sovereignty or national interest of the first country.²² Depending on the platforms which constitute the deterrence, it can have both a stabilising and destabilising effect on regional security.

The title *Peacekeeping Operations* (PKO) will be used frequently to describe missions undertaken by the TNI in support of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) mandate for the deployment of military and non-military personnel with the view to preserve peace once it

¹⁹ A. Lawrence, ‘Acquisition management’ in H. Bucur-Marcu, P. Fluri and T. Tagarev (eds), *Defence Management: An introduction*, Procon Ltd, Geneva, 2009, p. 155.

²⁰ Lawrence, p. 155.

²¹ Sebastian, *Realpolitik Ideology*, p. 61.

²² O. Tjin-Kai, ‘Interpreting recent military modernisations in Southeast Asia: Cause for alarm or business as usual?’, *Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2013, p. 13.

has been brokered and to ensure agreements are honoured by disputant parties.²³ Although PKO incorporate a broad spectrum of personnel, this paper will primarily focus on the military aspect of these contingents.

The term *Peace Enforcement Operations* (PEO) will be used a number of times during the course of this paper and is a term drawn from the Chapter VII powers conferred to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC),²⁴ which permit the implementation of a range of coercive measures in order to restore peace and security, including the use of force with more robust rules of engagement (ROE).²⁵ There is a growing trend of peacekeeping missions which require or are on the cusp of requiring peace enforcement, due to the growing severity of disputes internationally.²⁶ Inevitably a so called ‘grey area’ develops where peace keepers may occasionally be required to engage in limited peace enforcement and UNSC mandates often provide for a degree of flexibility in their application.²⁷

The *Region* is a geographical term which will be used to describe security issues which are taking place within Southeast Asia; it is not limited to states’ physical geography, rather the location where they may hold strategic interests which have an impact on the security of the region. China for example is not a Southeast Asian state; however it has an interest in and impacts upon the security of the region through the South China Sea dispute.

²³ Editorial, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and guidelines*, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, New York, 2008, p. 18

²⁴ *Charter of the United Nations*, art. 36.

²⁵ UNPKO, p. 18

²⁶ Haseman and Lachica, p. 92.

²⁷ UNPKO, p. 19.

Restriction of the problem

Timeframe

Due to the extended timeline of Indonesia's involvement in UN peacekeeping operations, the timeframe for this discussion must be limited. Although there are important case studies from 1957 to the present day, this analysis will be conducted specifically during the Reformasi era, as this provides a degree of continuity within the structure and organisation of the TNI, allowing for a slightly more controlled study.

Actors

Whilst the primary actors involved in PKO are drawn from elements of the TNI *Angkatan Darat* (TNI-AD), although a significant contribution emanates from the *Korps Marinir*, TNI-*Angkatan Laut* (TNI-AL), this paper is not concerned with an examination of a particular branch of the TNI; rather it is interested in the strategic policy side of the matter. Therefore, it is the TNI itself which will be the primary actor, not segments of it. Other actors involved in this problem are academics, policy think tanks and the government, as all work together to contribute to the formulation of Indonesia's defence strategy.²⁸

Content restriction

Much of the existing academic literature emanating from both Indonesian and international scholars has been focused on one or a combination of the following key aspects of TNI reform:

- a) Removal of the TNI political role;
- b) TNI accountability to civilian judiciary;

²⁸ Widjajanto, p. 21.

c) Removal of TNI business interests.²⁹

The field has been well and truly covered in these three elements, thus this skripsi will avoid lengthy discussion of these issues save for when necessary to provide context.

The formulation of the problem

I arrived at this problem after beginning with the broader problem of Indonesia's military modernisation, with a particular interest in procurement of new capabilities and expansion of indigenous construction for future defence platforms. However, significant research and publication had already been conducted in this area specifically, but also surrounding the modernisation of the TNI more generally. I was driven to explore Indonesia's role in peacekeeping operations, primarily because there is a gap in research in this particular subject area and it allows for the incorporation of my initial areas of interest to an extent. The initial route for this problem was a discussion on Indonesia's interest in establishing an ASEAN Peacekeeping Force as an indication of Jakarta's desire to play an expanded role on the international stage. However whilst limited research had been conducted on this problem, it was too far removed from internal Indonesian military matters and too many unknown factors to be the subject of a rigorous field study. Professionalism within the Indonesian military is another often discussed topic, but there had only been a tenuous connection made between it and PKO. By linking PKO with both professionalism and modernisation I am able to examine a new field of study and place this paper between literature devoted to modernisation and professionalism with a discussion of the current security outlook for Indonesia.

²⁹ E. Laksmana, 'Indonesia's Military Transformation: Beyond democratic reforms', *USINDO Brief*, 2012, p. 2.

The aim of the research

The aim of this research is to demonstrate that force modernisation involves more than just the procurement of hardware and changing military doctrine, that professionalism is more than adherence to human rights norms and political sterility and that the benefits of peacekeeping is more than just being a good global citizen and military modernisation can work productively with positive regional engagement. Peacekeeping operates in an area which straddles professionalism theory, capability development and foreign policy yet its link and application to these sectors is yet to be firmly established.

The use of the research

It is suggested that research into the role of peacekeeping in force modernisation in combination with professionalism is an area of peacekeeping literature which has not yet been researched, especially in the Indonesian context. In this light, this skripsi could be considered separate, but related to existing literature concerning military professionalism and force modernisation. This can be potentially useful in academic and policy circles because it adds a different perspective on both military modernisation in Indonesia and the utility of peacekeeping in foreign policy. Whilst a number of authors have briefly alluded to benefits of peacekeeping to Indonesia's strategic environment, there has not yet been a comprehensive study on this particular assertion and in some instances, the benefit has been dismissed entirely.³⁰ Regardless of the outcome it is useful to frame peacekeeping in this way to either find or rule out possible benefits to Indonesia and states in a comparable position.

³⁰ Schreer, p. 25.

Methodology

The primary methodology used to examine this problem is an analysis of relevant literature and its application to Indonesia's unique position. This is supported by a theoretical framework in order to provide an explanation for Indonesia's current and prospective initiatives, chiefly surrounding military professionalism and modernisation. Interviews are used to provide context to broader issues as well as current information on recent developments, primarily surrounding Indonesia's security outlook. However, despite the usefulness of the content from the interviews conducted, only several of them are able to be published in this paper due to sensitivities surrounding the subjects' workplaces.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter is an attempt to demonstrate an understanding of a cross section of important literature directly and indirectly relevant to subject of discussion. This review will be broken into three parts. First, a theoretical discussion of military professionalism will examine and contrast leading literature, funnelling it into an Indonesian context. The second part will deal with a selection of key work related to Indonesia's military modernisation. Finally the third section will examine literature which directly discusses Indonesia's peacekeeping initiatives. The analysis of professionalism, modernisation and peacekeeping literature will frame the discussion of this skripsi. Whilst this will not be an exhaustive list of relevant books and articles, it is suggested that these materials are amongst the most important in this field of study.

Professionalism

The primary text on professionalism in the military is Samuel Huntingtons's *The Soldier and the State*.³¹ His thesis argues that the key to successfully separating the soldier from politics is professionalism.³² This idea forms the foundation for this literature review and whilst this skripsi is not an analysis of the disposition of the TNI towards military intervention, Huntington and the work of other authors contribute to a better understanding of what professionalism means for a modern military and offers an explanation for the way in which the TNI has developed in a post-Suharto environment.

³¹ S. P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The theory and politics of civil-military relations*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1957.

³² Huntington, p. 36.

Huntington defines a professional as possessing three key qualities; expert ability, social responsibility, and corporate loyalty to fellow practitioners.³³ By expertise, Huntington means the extensive education and training required to become proficient in the ‘management of violence.’³⁴ The management of violence is an essential service contributing to the function of society. The significant social responsibility attached to the judicious application of the management of violence is the second part of his definition of professionalism.³⁵ The client of a military officer is the state and as a result, ‘the employment of his expertise promiscuously for his own advantage would wreck the fabric of society.’³⁶ This would be an abdication of the officer’s social responsibility and therefore could not be considered professional.³⁷ By satisfying to two previous requirements the officer creates a sense of solidarity amongst themselves separate from civilians.³⁸ The corporate structure of the officer corps crystallises other two requirements through the maintenance of high training standards and by placing service to society at the top of the hierarchy.³⁹

There are several issues with such an exclusive definition of professionalism which have been examined by Eric Nordlinger in his work on coups in postcolonial states, specifically the text *Soldiers in Politics: Military coups and governments*.⁴⁰ Nordlinger primarily takes issue with Huntington’s proposition that expertise is a vehicle to political sterility.⁴¹ He points to several examples in South America and Africa where graduates of top military academies and advanced training schools were overrepresented in military coups.⁴² One of the strongest examples was the 1966 Nigerian coup which was orchestrated by a large contingent of

³³ Huntington, p. 8.

³⁴ Huntington, p. 11.

³⁵ Huntington, p. 9.

³⁶ Huntington, p. 14.

³⁷ Huntington.

³⁸ Huntington, p. 10.

³⁹ Huntington, p. 10.

⁴⁰ E. A. Nordlinger, *Soldiers in Politics: Military coups and governments*, Prentice-Hall, London, 1977.

⁴¹ Nordlinger, p. 50.

⁴² Nordlinger, p. 50.

graduates from Sandhurst Military Academy in England,⁴³ one of the world's preeminent military institutions. Thus the key idea to extract from Nordlinger's text is the weakness of expert ability in preventing a politicised military.

A second important criticism is Samuel Finer's *The Man of Horseback: The role of the military in politics*.⁴⁴ The problem, according to Finer is that loyalty to the state is an insufficient bulwark to political interference.⁴⁵ Finer argues that 'the military's consciousness of themselves as a profession may lead them to see themselves as the servants of the state rather than of the government in power.'⁴⁶ The social responsibility pillar of the definition is being attacked in this instance; who the officer corps characterises as the client to whom the social responsibility is owed can be different from the officials running the state.⁴⁷ This is particularly possible in former colonial states that experienced a violent route to independence where the armed forces hold a particularly romanticised view of themselves as guardians of the nation.⁴⁸ This gives rise to a propensity to see their social responsibility to an abstract notion of the state, rather than the government apparatus representing it.⁴⁹ Therefore according to Finer, a fourth requirement is needed; the principle of civilian supremacy.

To counter the shortcomings of Huntington's professionalism Finer suggests a rigid acceptance of civilian supremacy is the key for an officer corps withdrawal from politics. The author picks up on this problem as symptomatic of a more professional military;

⁴³ R. Luckham, *The Nigerian Military: A sociological analysis of authority and revolt*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971, p. 61.

⁴⁴ S. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The role of the military in politics*, Transaction Publishers, London, 1962.

⁴⁵ Finer, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Finer, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Finer.

⁴⁸ Finer, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Finer, p. 28.

‘As specialists in their field, the military leaders may feel that they alone are competent to judge on such matters as size, organization, recruitment and equipment of the forces. Yet on every single one of these points they may find themselves in collision with the civilian government.’⁵⁰

Hence the necessity to incorporate an extra concept into Huntington’s professionalism thesis, a definition lifted from the theorist Burton M. Sapin that, ‘both formally and effectively, the major policies and programmes of government...should be decided by the nation’s politically responsible civilian leaders.’⁵¹ Without an acceptance of civilian supremacy, a theoretical impasse in civil-military relations could be created and thus demonstrates its necessity.

The final component to be incorporated into this analysis of this definition is the new and old military professionalism. This notion was first theorised by Alfred Stepan and applied in an Asian context by Muthiah Alagappa in his edited text, *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and empirical perspectives*.⁵² Stepan departs from Huntington’s three criteria of professionalism by expanding the officer’s singular expert ability in the management of violence in developing states to ‘highly interrelated political and military skills.’⁵³ This concept of new professionalism is a pragmatic departure from Huntington’s analysis of an idea civil-military dynamic which Stepan describes as old professionalism.⁵⁴ Many developing states across Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia fit this paradigm proposed by Stepan when this was first penned in 1973,⁵⁵ where the primary existential threat to the state came from within and the strength of the military often was the only institution maintaining a state’s territorial integrity.⁵⁶

⁵⁰Finer.

⁵¹ B. M. Sapin and R. C. Snyder, *The Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy*, Doubleday, Michigan, 1954, p. 52.

⁵² M. Alagappa ed., *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and empirical perspectives*, East-West Center, Honolulu, 2001.

⁵³ A. Stepan, ‘The New Professionalism of internal warfare and military role expansion’, in A. Stepan ed., *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Politics, and Future*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1973, p. 52.

⁵⁴ Stepan, p. 53.

⁵⁵ Alagappa, p. 183.

⁵⁶ Stepan, p. 52.

This characterisation was true of Indonesia up until partway through the Reformasi era where the state successfully consolidated serious internal security threats.⁵⁷ This notion is reinforced by J. Kristiadi, an Indonesian academic specialising in Indonesian civil-military relations in his chapter entitled ‘Indonesia; Redefining Military Professionalism’ within Alagappa text.⁵⁸ This chapter is useful as it was published in 2001, a time of profound turbulence for the role of the TNI in politics but also near total uncertainty as to the direction it would take.⁵⁹ Kristiadi characterises civil-military relations parallel to Stepan’s new professionalism framework from independence to the fall of Suharto evidenced by the *Dwi Fungsi* doctrine.⁶⁰ He concluded by highlighting the shift to a focus on external security threats juxtaposed with a lack of confidence in the resilience of civilian institutions to fill the vacuum.⁶¹ Alagappa contends that Asian states are to varying degrees consolidating internal security threats and beginning to look outward and structure the military accordingly to counter new and existing external threats, a move towards old military professionalism.⁶² Evidence of this progress within Indonesia can be seen in Alan Dupont’s influential article which ranks the four most likely and serious security threats to Indonesia, where all are either external or have external involvement in internal issues.⁶³

Thus this section of the literature has created the opportunity to break down the diverse ideas surrounding the requirements of a professional military into a framework for discussing TNI professionalism. From the foundation laid by Huntington and the layers added by subsequent authors, the core concepts of professionalism which will be applied to the TNI with respect to

⁵⁷ J. Kristiadi, ‘Indonesia: Redefining military professionalism’, in M. Alagappa ed., *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and empirical perspectives*, East-West Center, Honolulu, 2001, p. 93.

⁵⁸ Kristiadi.

⁵⁹ Kristiadi, p. 95.

⁶⁰ Kristiadi, p. 96.

⁶¹ Kristiadi, p. 109.

⁶² M. Alagappa, ‘Military Professionalism in Asia: Ascendance of the old professionalism’, *Military Professionalism in Asia*, p. 179.

⁶³ A. Dupont, ‘Indonesian Defence Strategy and Security: Time for a rethink?’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1996, p. 277.

PKO are civilian supremacy and an outwardly postured military. Discussion is limited to these two ideas because the TNI is in a very different position to what it was before it removed itself from politics. As previously stated, much of the literature is geared towards the establishment of a politically neutral military and now this has been achieved in Indonesia, it is time move beyond this outdated notion.

Military modernisation

A discussion of key materials which examine Indonesia's military modernisation is important to provide context to the theoretical framework and to justify the relevance of researching Indonesia's peacekeeping initiatives. It is submitted that Andi Widjajanto's discussion paper for the Research Unit for International Security and Cooperation (UNISCI) best encapsulates the challenges associated with military modernisation. Widjajanto describes the developments from 1998 through to 2006 as exclusively concerned with depoliticising the military.⁶⁴ This process had consumed the attention of government and the legislature as well as academia and the military; however, 'despite considerable efforts to maintain the path of military reform, Indonesia has made little progress in actually transforming our military.'⁶⁵

This is relevant as it provides context to the strategic environment peacekeeping training and operations take place in. Widjajanto flatly states Indonesia has not yet developed this deterrent capability and as a result must place a disproportionate emphasis on diplomatic security initiatives to secure Indonesia in the region.⁶⁶ Indonesia must, to borrow from President Roosevelt, speak softly, without the big stick. This contestation is supported by Evan Laksmana in his 2011 article which evaluates Indonesia's rising regional presence.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ A. Widjajanto, 'Transforming Indonesia's Armed Forces', *UNISCI Discussion Paper*, no. 15 (2007).

⁶⁵ Widjajanto, p. 20.

⁶⁶ Widjajanto, p. 27.

⁶⁷ E. Laksmana, 'Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does size really matter?', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2011.

The article criticises the popular notion that Indonesia's rising diplomatic presence in the region runs parallel to its strategic capability.⁶⁸ Rather, Indonesia's notable presence within ASEAN and the ARF is to compensate for its weakness in strategic capability.⁶⁹

It is suggested that the most comprehensive and up to date analysis of Indonesia's military capability is Benjamin Schreer's report to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) published in of 2013.⁷⁰ In order to operate a working deterrent capability, Indonesia must be able to project force within the region and maintain a level of preparedness to be in a position to deploy to maintain that deterrence.⁷¹ Schreer's assessment of the Angkatan Darat is that 'most of its units remain non-deployable because of ineffective training schemes, lack of financial resources and a territorial command structure more suited to provincial politics than operational effectiveness.'⁷² Despite these shortcomings, Indonesian military modernisation from a materiel point of view is steadily moving forward.

Another important text which deals with policy issues surrounding procurement of platforms is Anthony Lawrence's chapter on 'Acquisition management', in *Defence Management: An introduction*.⁷³ This chapter suggests that capability deficits arise from four key areas; policy change, where new tasks are added to the military; the threat outlook has changed to the point where new capabilities need to be introduced; technology has advanced to the point where military tasks can be carried out more effectively and; doctrine has changed, to the point where the organisation of the military to carry out its primary tasks has changed and new capabilities need to be developed.⁷⁴ In the case of Indonesia, the TNI is currently experiencing capability shortcomings from all of these areas to a greater or lesser degree and

⁶⁸ Laksmana, p. 177.

⁶⁹ Laksmana, p. 157.

⁷⁰ Schreer.

⁷¹ Schreer, p. 24.

⁷² Schreer, p. 26.

⁷³ Lawrence, p. 155.

⁷⁴ Lawrence, p. 160.

this is in turn informing decisions on capability procurement. This is evidenced by the addition of PKO as a major task of the TNI, which whilst it has always been a core function, it is being renewed under the current government. The threat outlook has traditionally informed procurement decisions, however this is not enough on and of itself, as it takes a great deal of time from the initial planning stages of a procurement to the final delivery of the capability and threats need to be responded to swiftly. Thus what Indonesia are doing is to develop a baseline capability in the form of a conventional deterrence which can be applied in a range of threat situations, as part of the doctrinal development of the TNI, which cannot be examined in detail in this paper for lack of space.

The key ideas that can be lifted from literature discussing Indonesia's military modernisation and concepts of capability management broadly are the importance of creating a functional conventional deterrence capability as a baseline response to the broad spectrum of external threats Indonesia faces and the importance of modernising Indonesia's military in line with burgeoning economic development and regional engagement. These conceptions will be considered alongside the regional implications of modernisation in greater detail in Chapter 3 below.

Peacekeeping

There is very limited literature which deals with Indonesia's international peacekeeping operations and only a fraction of this is relevant to the subject of this skripsi. One of the most relevant articles to this aspect of the skripsi is Katherine Worboy's important work, 'The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping operations and civil-military relations in Argentina, 1989-1999', published in 2007 in the journal *Armed Forces*

and Society.⁷⁵ Worboys's article separates existing literature relating to peacekeeping into three distinct bodies of research;⁷⁶ the role of peacekeeping operations in the state they are mandated to, the effects peacekeeping has on the participating soldiers and the doctrine and strategy involved in conducting operations and the theory informing this matter.⁷⁷ Worboys's article adds a fourth category to this; the 'role of peacekeeping operations in the soldiers' home country',⁷⁸ she argues that peacekeeping is key to civilian control over the armed forces.⁷⁹ As such, this article bridges the gap between theoretical civil-military relations and its application to modern armed forces. This skipsi will attempt to add a sub category Worboys's inclusion, the strategic utility of peacekeeping operations to force modernisation.

Academic literature discussing Indonesia's contribution to international peacekeeping operations is limited but still provides useful insight into the utility of the policy. Leonard Sebastian and Iisgindarsah produced a working paper for the Rajaratnam School of International Studies in 2011 which examined military reform in Indonesia over a 12 year period.⁸⁰ This paper confirms the utility of peacekeeping as an opportunity to enhance professionalism within the TNI.⁸¹ The authors suggest this participation provides three key benefits, 'military credentials for personnel's future promotion; extra financial subsidies; and justification for arms procurement to replace outdated military platforms.'⁸² This analysis is supported by a brief article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* by Eduardo Lachica, entitled, 'Jakarta's Foray into Armed Diplomacy.'⁸³ This article falls within the first category proffered by Worboys by looking at Indonesia's contribution to the United Nations Interim

⁷⁵ K. Worboys, 'The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping operations and civil-military relations in Argentina, 1989-1999', *Armed Forces and A Society*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2007.

⁷⁶ Worboys, p. 150.

⁷⁷ Worboys.

⁷⁸ Worboys.

⁷⁹ Worboys

⁸⁰ L. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah, 'Assessing 12-year Military Reform in Indonesia: Major strategic gaps for the next stage of reform', *RSIS Working Paper*, no. 227, 2011.

⁸¹ Sebastian and Iisgindarsah, p. 10.

⁸² Sebastian and Iisgindarsah, p. 11.

⁸³ E. Lachica, 'Jakarta's Foray into Armed Diplomacy', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 170, no. 5, 2007.

Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in 2006.⁸⁴ Garuda Contingent XXII-A consisted of an 853 man mechanised infantry battalion which was given new armoured personnel carriers (APC's) for the deployment.⁸⁵ This was a watershed moment for the TNI as it was the first time a battalion sized force was fielded and sustained since the inaugural Garuda Contingent was deployed to Sinai in 1947.⁸⁶ Lachica expands his work in partnership with John Haseman in their book discussing the future of the US-Indonesia relationship in a dedicated chapter to Indonesian peacekeeping initiatives.⁸⁷ This chapter takes a longer view of Indonesia's peacekeeping commitments beginning with the significant contribution to Cambodia in 1996 and ending with the post Lebanon situation. The text concludes with a discussion surrounding Indonesia's developing capability to undertake the 'more muscular'⁸⁸ Chapter VII peacekeeping missions which are fast becoming the norm as security situations deteriorate rapidly across the Middle East and Africa.⁸⁹ What is meant by the distinction between Ch. VI and Ch. VII is the former is characterised as the 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes',⁹⁰ which demands impartiality and is contingent upon the consent for UN presence by all parties.⁹¹ The latter deals with 'Actions with Respect to Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression',⁹² and can be described as peace enforcement upon parties whose consent to UN presence is ambiguous, which in-turn produces a higher risk environment.⁹³

The limitation of literature as it relates to Indonesia lies primarily with a lack of diversity in its sources. Only two authors write consistently on Indonesian PKO; Lachica and Haseman, whilst the better known academics such as Sukma and Sebastian only fleetingly mention the

⁸⁴ Lachica, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Lachica.

⁸⁶ Lachica, p. 39.

⁸⁷ Haseman and Lachica.

⁸⁸ Haseman and Lachica, p. 94.

⁸⁹ Haseman and Lachica.

⁹⁰ *Charter of the United Nations*, art. 36.

⁹¹ Haseman and Lachica, p. 92.

⁹² *UN Charter*, art. 42.

⁹³ Haseman and Lachica, p. 93.

subject whilst dealing with the broader aspects of their research. By branching out analysis to literature discussing countries in a comparable position to Indonesia, like Argentina, this limitation can be mitigated to some extent. It is the objective of this paper to lift some of the comments made by authors surrounding professionalism and procurement to help form a better analysis of PKO in Indonesia's strategic narrative.

Chapter 3: Nature of the current security dynamic

Concepts such as the balance of power, spheres of influence and buffer zones belong to the 19th century and the European model of great-power politics. Two world wars, the Cold War and the emergence of nuclear- weapons states are proof enough that those concepts contain the seeds of ruin⁹⁴

- Gen. Moeldoko

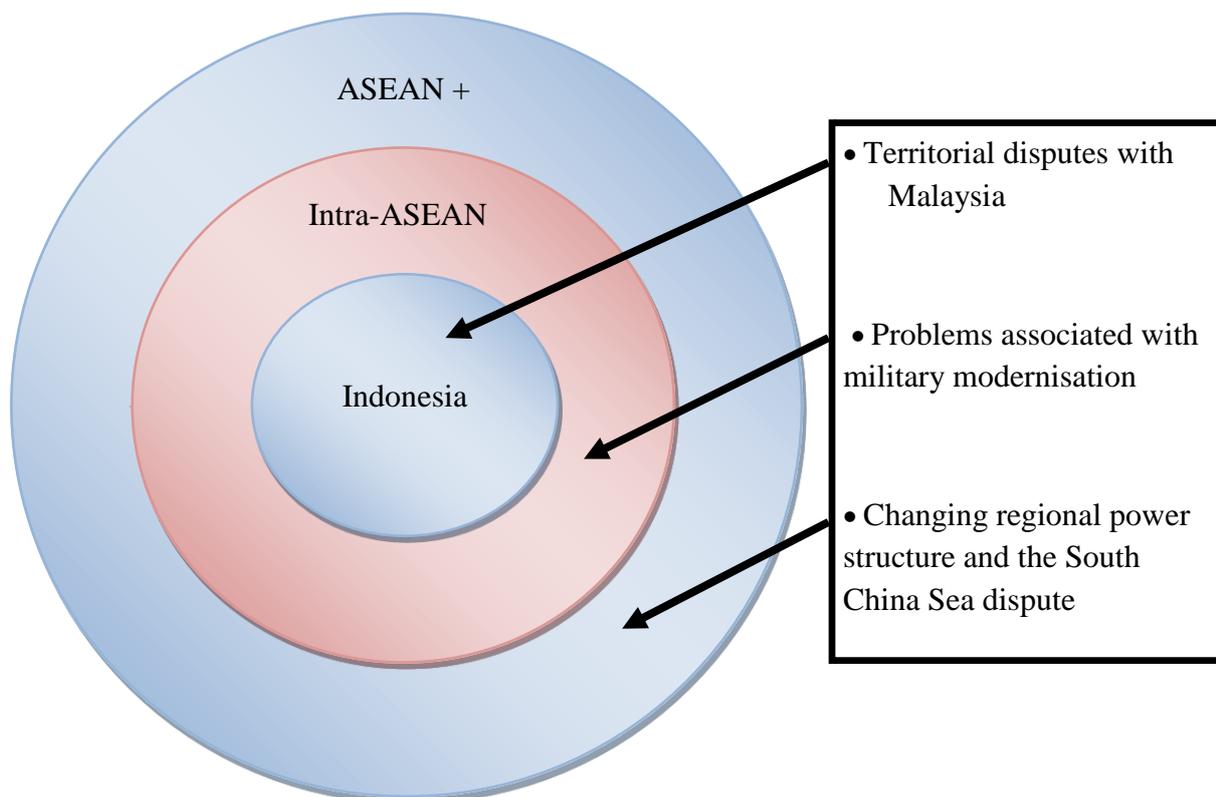
The current external security outlook for Indonesia is one which presents a range of threats emanating from a variety of sources. Broadly speaking, this environment can be described as constantly changing as the geographical centre of international politics moves east. In years past, the primary external security concern for the TNI and the government as a whole has been suspicion of major power engagement in the region and their intentions.⁹⁵ Today however, Indonesia is faced with a raft of new and resurgent security issues which have the propensity to develop into serious problems if they are not adequately responded to. It is helpful to separate them into three distinct categories; those which directly affect Indonesia; those which can be characterised as an internal ASEAN issue and those which ASEAN as a whole must respond but to which Indonesia's role in mitigating the risk is likely to be substantial. This framework for discussing the nature of these threats is unpacked in *figure 1* below and whilst this is not an exhaustive list, those discussed in this chapter are considered as the most important and relevant to this paper as a whole. Discussion of the intricate details surrounding these disputes and their extensive background will be omitted from this analysis as this has already been examined in literature devoted to each specific issue. It is conceded that there are serious and persistent security issues which exist within Indonesia's territory, particularly with regards to natural disaster management, however discussion is limited to

⁹⁴ Gen. Moeldoko, 'China's dismaying new claims in the South China Sea', *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 April 2014, consulted 5 May 2014, <<http://search.proquest.com/docview/1518737272?accountid=10910>>.

⁹⁵ R. Sukma, 'Indonesia's security outlook, defence policy and regional cooperation', in Editorial, *Asia Pacific Countries' Security Outlook and its Implications for the Defence Sector*, National Institute for Defence Studies, Tokyo, 2013, p. 7.

external matters as there is a perceived and actual deficit in attention being paid to these particular threats.⁹⁶

Figure 1: Concentric Circle of External Security



Regional security issues which directly affect Indonesia

Indonesia has an extensive history of territorial disputes with Malaysia. However as a direct consequence of consistent economic development particularly in Indonesia but also in Malaysia, these territorial disputes have graduated in importance from an issue of national pride and sovereignty to the extensive hydrocarbon and marine resources attached to the territorial waters, continental shelf and Exclusive Economic Zones linked to the disputed

⁹⁶ Sukma, 'Indonesia's security outlook', p. 7.

islands.⁹⁷ For example, whilst sovereignty over the Sipadan and Ligatan Islands fell to Malaysia in a 2002 International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling, the demarcation of the surrounding waters was not resolved leading to the current dispute over the Ambalat area of the Sulawesi Sea.⁹⁸ Evidence of this dispute's significance is seen in the willingness of both Malaysia and Indonesia to engage naval forces in the tense area, the result of which has been several incidents where territorial waters had been entered, often by the Malaysian Navy.⁹⁹ The seriousness with which the TNI take the presence of Malaysian forces and their supposed incursions is seen by the dispute's presence in the 2008 Defence White Paper, which states that 'securing the border areas and outermost islands constitutes a function of national defences aimed as upholding state sovereignty.'¹⁰⁰ Whilst this dispute and the posturing by the TNI began some time ago, the matter is being exacerbated by statements emanating from Indonesia of the area's strategic importance and the modernisation currently underway designed to directly respond to this kind of threat.¹⁰¹ The territorial dispute with Malaysia over the Ambalat waters is not a new threat that the TNI is facing but it is indicative of the nature of maritime and border disputes; that they are difficult to resolve and are easily escalated.

Intra-ASEAN issues

The most significant intra-ASEAN security issue which has been slowly gaining momentum particularly among Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia is the perception of an arms race which has the propensity to be a source of instability within the Association. Widespread and sustained economic growth among key ASEAN nations has created fertile ground for

⁹⁷ C. Schofield and I. Storey, 'Energy security and Southeast Asia: The impact of maritime boundary and territorial disputes', *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2005, p. 37.

⁹⁸ Schofield and Storey, p. 36.

⁹⁹ Editorial, 'TNI-AL Jadikan Wilayah Perbatasan Sebagai Prioritas', (Indonesia's Navy regards outermost islands as priority), *Antara News*, 29 December 2010, consulted 10 May 2014, <<http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/167531/tni-al-jadikan-wilayah-perbatasan-sebagai-prioritas>>.

¹⁰⁰ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008*, p. 55.

¹⁰¹ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

significant modernisation and reorganisation of these nations' respective militaries.¹⁰² Save for Singapore, whose capability easily surpasses its neighbours, this modernisation has come from a relatively modest base, which is especially true for Indonesia. The second major driver of modernisation amongst ASEAN states is a growing sense of uncertainty towards the strategic outlook, characterised by a perceived American decline and a Chinese rise, causing regional governments to feel the need to, 'develop new military capabilities as a hedge against an increasingly uncertain future.'¹⁰³ The upshot of this military modernisation is the perception of an arms race within ASEAN. This perception has been voiced by a number of important individuals, including General Moeldoko who in an interview with Reuters stated, 'we are definitely worried because there is a trend happening in the region right now and that is an arms race, between ASEAN countries themselves and between major powers.'¹⁰⁴ This position was echoed by Mira Permatasari, staff for the Office of the Secretary to the President and an adviser on defence and strategic issues,

'In ASEAN I think we have a pseudo-arms race. It's not a real arms race but it is there. And as an ASEAN member state, every country does not want to admit that they all share this feeling. But at least these countries are all within the same framework.'¹⁰⁵

There is evidence to support the notion of an arms race within the Association. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the leading research organisation for global military expenditure among other things published alarming data indicating that arms sales and transfers to Southeast Asia from the period of 2005-2009 doubled in relation

¹⁰² T. Huxley, 'Defence Procurement in Southeast Asia', paper presented to the 5th Workshop of the Inter-Parliamentary Forum on Security Sector Governance (IPF-SSG) in Southeast Asia, Singapore, 2008, p. 12.

¹⁰³ O. Tjin-Kai, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ K. Kapoor and J. Thatcher, 'Indonesia military worries over Asia arms race, territorial tensions', *Reuters*, 3 April 2014, consulted 16 May 2014, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/03/us-indonesia-military-idUSBREA320GD20140403>>.

¹⁰⁵ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

to 2000-2004.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, arms imports to Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore have risen by 772%, 84% and 146% respectively.¹⁰⁷ It has been speculated by the Institute that ‘the current wave of Southeast Asian acquisitions could destabilise the region, jeopardising decades of peace.’¹⁰⁸

It is important to first unpack these exorbitant figures where Indonesia is concerned and then expand analysis to encompass ASEAN more broadly. Whilst it is true Indonesia’s defence budget has nearly quadrupled from 2002 until 2013,¹⁰⁹ as a percentage of GDP over the same period it has hovered between 0.6% and 0.9%.¹¹⁰ Thus whilst the 73% increase from the 2000-2004 period is significant, rapid economic development which exponentially increased GDP is the cause of this increase, not massive and sustained military expenditure. This analysis is supported in an article published in the Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces which expands the narrative of expenditure’s correlation to economic growth across a number of ASEAN states.¹¹¹ Furthermore, the vast majority of actual and planned hardware procurements fall within the replacement of aging platforms category as, ‘it is a normal process for a country like Indonesia who has obsolete equipment [to modernise], because our last big procurement was in the cold war and you can see in the barracks right now that it is not safe for our soldiers, so it is necessary.’¹¹² This problem presents itself in its starkest form where soldiers have died as a direct result of poor equipment.¹¹³ This is not designed to present Indonesia’s military modernisation in any particular light, only to show that large numbers can often be misleading. It is the way in which Indonesia’s modernisation is

¹⁰⁶ Editorial, ‘New SIPRI data on international arms transfers reflect arms race concerns’, *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*, 15 march 2010, consulted 14 May 2014, <<http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/2010/100315armstransfers>>.

¹⁰⁷ ‘SIPRI data on international arms transfers’.

¹⁰⁸ ‘SIPRI data on international arms transfers’.

¹⁰⁹ Schreer, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Schreer, p. 17.

¹¹¹ Tjin-kai, p. 15.

¹¹² Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹¹³ Interview conducted 15 April 2014.

perceived by other ASEAN states and vice versa which represents the primary intra-ASEAN security risk. It is in this aspect where it can be argued there is a pseudo-arms race amongst ASEAN states, as whilst the military expenditure is relatively benign, perceptions can have a destabilising effect. The secondary risk is that military modernisation can exacerbate existing disputes when a key capability is developed to respond to a certain threat.¹¹⁴ To this end the salient feature is the manner in which Indonesia presents its modernisation process to the ASEAN community which can offset any risk of a perceived arms race.

Extra-ASEAN issues

The territorial disputes emanating from the South China Sea constitute one of the most significant security issues facing several ASEAN states including Indonesia, despite it not being a claimant to the dispute. This paper will not examine the origins and intricate machinations of the dispute; this has already been soundly researched in other academic publications.¹¹⁵ Instead emphasis will be placed on several recent developments specifically concerning China and Indonesia.

In March of 2014, Indonesia may have inadvertently been drawn into the dispute when it was learned that China's so-called nine-dash line had been extended to partially include the Natuna Island chain, part of the Riau Province off of Borneo's Northwest coast.¹¹⁶ Evidence of this new maritime delimitation can be seen as candidly as on newly printed Chinese passports.¹¹⁷ In response to this move, all three branches of the TNI have repositioned forces

¹¹⁴ T. Huxley, 'Defence Procurement in Southeast Asia', *International Institute for Strategic Studies*,

¹¹⁵ I consider Sam Bateman's work on the historical and legal aspects to be the authority for the dispute; these subsequent publications are also important works covering different issues within the dispute. S. Bateman, *Good Order at Sea in Southeast Asia*, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2009; M. J., Valencia, *China and the South China Sea Disputes: Conflicting claims and potential solutions in the South China Sea*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995; P. Dutton, 'Three Disputes and Three Objectives: China and the South China Sea' (2011) 64 *Naval War College Review* pp. 42-67.

¹¹⁶ A. M. Murphy, 'The end of Strategic Ambiguity: Indonesia formally announces its dispute with China in the South China Sea', *PacNet*, no. 26 April 2014, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Gen. Moeldoko.

to be based on Natuna.¹¹⁸ To add weight to the gravity of this escalation, the Commander of the TNI, Gen. Moeldoko authored an opinion piece in the Wall Street Journal on April 24 outlining Indonesia's response and expressing concern over China's most recent action.¹¹⁹ This article, in conjunction with the reported opinions of other senior TNI officials has been interpreted by some academics and pundits as a change in the status quo for the dispute.¹²⁰ The most significant of these articles was written by Ann Marie Murphy from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS Washington Office) who argued that by announcing the nine-dash line overlapped Indonesia's Riau Province, Indonesia had deliberately or inadvertently joined the dispute as a complainant and therefore abdicated its position as a prospective mediator between all parties.¹²¹ Thus on one interpretation of this course of events, a latent threat to the stability of the ASEAN region and Asia broadly has escalated, with the repositioning of TNI forces to Natuna as clear evidence of such an escalation.

An alternative view of this development was offered by fellow CSIS Jakarta academic Evan Laksmana. In his response it is learned that the origin of the claim proffered by Murphy was a TNI-AL Commodore Fahru Zaini, deputy to the coordinating minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (*Menkopolhukum*), who stated, 'China has claimed Natuna waters as their territorial waters. This dispute will have a large impact on the security of Natuna waters.'¹²² Like many bold statements made by TNI members, it was later corrected by the foreign ministry.¹²³ Furthermore, the Natuna Island chain holds substantial strategic value for Indonesia. Due to its geographic location as one of the northernmost outposts of Indonesian

¹¹⁸ Moeldoko.

¹¹⁹ Moeldoko.

¹²⁰ Editorial, 'China includes part of Natuna waters in its map', *Antara News*, 13 March 2014, consulted 15 May 2014, <<http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/93178/china-includes-part-of-natuna-waters-in-its-map>>.

¹²¹ Murphy, p. 1.

¹²² G. Nabbs-Keller, 'Is Indonesia shifting its South China Sea policy?', *The Lowy Interpreter*, 16 April 2014, consulted 15 May 2014, <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2014/04/16/Indonesia-Natuna-shift-south-china-sea-policy.aspx?COLLCC=988401383&COLLCC=1035466963&COLLCC=2158242282&>>.

¹²³ P. Prabowo, 'Indonesia pernah sampaikan keberatan atas peta Natuna' (Indonesia has conveyed objections to map of Natuna), *Antara News*, 19 March 2014, consulted 15 May 2014, <<http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/424961/indonesia-pernah-sampaikan-keberatan-atas-peta-natuna>>.

territory the chain serves as a critical early warning position for northern incursions and also for monitoring the adjacent shipping lanes, although Indonesia's C4ISR (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance) capabilities are in their infancy.¹²⁴ As such, the Natuna chain has often served as a host for military exercises designed to respond to a maritime intrusion.¹²⁵ In this instance, it was a case of perfect timing, where a pre-scheduled reposition of a contingent of TNI forces from all three services was moved to Natuna around the same time the comments of Commodore Zaini were picked up by the media.¹²⁶ Whilst Laksmana downplayed the development in his article published on April 2, the language used by Gen. Moeldoko on April 24 was more confrontational, where he wrote, 'Indonesia is dismayed, therefore, that China has included parts of the Natuna Islands within the nine-dash line.'¹²⁷ Thus whilst the developments surrounding this issue are not as extreme as initially thought, it has marked a rise in tensions in the area and is the flashpoint where a rising China will intersect with a gradually consolidated ASEAN and is therefore a major external security concern for the TNI.

It is a gross miscalculation to interpret from this analysis that a serious security threat to Indonesia is China through the South China Sea dispute. It is better to characterise this issue as uncertainty from the Indonesian point of view surrounding the role China will play within the region and what kind of impact it will have upon the regional security architecture specifically in dealing with ASEAN.¹²⁸ Whilst this specific security issue involving Indonesia does not provide a strong enough indication of China's prospective or preferred role, the

¹²⁴ Schreer, p. 26.

¹²⁵ Editorial, 'Indonesia to increase its forces around Natuna waters', *Antara News*, 27 February 2014, consulted 15 May 2014, <<http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/92881/tni-to-increase-its-forces-around-natuna-waters>>.

¹²⁶ Editorial, 'Indonesia to increase its forces around Natuna waters'.

¹²⁷ Moeldoko.

¹²⁸ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

increasingly formidable military capabilities,¹²⁹ its claim of sovereignty over the South China Sea and the familiarity the state has with using force in this territorial dispute is cause for concern and this combined with recent developments characterise the South China Sea issue as a primary security problem for Indonesia.¹³⁰

It is submitted that these three issues constitute the most significant external security threats to Indonesia because of their capacity to cause serious instability within ASEAN. Of particular importance is the perception of an arms race within ASEAN, as whilst it is in itself a security risk, its potential to exacerbate other issues, especially the territorial dispute with Malaysia is profound. This is ironic, as the more Indonesia modernises the TNI to respond to external threats, the greater the risk will be that the Unitary State will be seen as an active participant in any real or imagined race. The final chapter deals with the way in which Indonesia is responding to these issues within the context of PKO, professionalism and modernisation.

¹²⁹ K. Nathan, 'Globalisation's impact on threat perceptions and defence postures in Southeast Asia', in G. Till, E. Chew and J. Ho (eds), *Globalisation and Defence in the Asia-Pacific: Arms across Asia*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 112.

¹³⁰ C. Thayer, *Southeast Asia: Patterns of security cooperation*, Canberra, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2010, p. 2.

Chapter 4: How Indonesia is responding to these matters

Instead of belonging to a strategic camp, which might afford the country some security but at the cost of constraining its options, Indonesia wishes to preserve its strategic autonomy. Autonomy would enable us to lend our weight to international forces that enhance peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

– Gen. Moeldoko, CIC TNI¹³¹

This chapter explores how the emphasis on PKO participation can play a role in both responding to and alleviating the aforementioned external security threats. The 1945 Constitution codifies the role of the military stating that;

Art. 30 (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.¹³²

This objective is expanded in Act No. 3/2002 on State Defence to,

Art. 4: protect and uphold state sovereignty, maintain territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, and ensure the safety of Indonesian people from all forms of threats and disturbances.¹³³

The 2008 Defence White Paper distils this objective down into five strategic goals; to implement a deterrence capability; position the TNI to respond to military aggression from foreign states; enable the TNI to respond to military threats which challenge Indonesian interests; to meet non-military threats to Indonesian security and to aim to bring about world peace and regional stability.¹³⁴ These three instruments constitute the governing framework for the TNI in responding to external security threats and form the basis for discussion in this chapter. The preamble to the 1945 Constitution also provides the foundation for the importance of PKO to Indonesian national identity, stating that the government must;

¹³¹ Gen. Moeldoko.

¹³² *1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia*, art. 30 (3) (translation).

¹³³ *Act No. 3/2002 on State Defence*, art. 4.

¹³⁴ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008*, p. 60.

‘Participate towards the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice’¹³⁵

It is within this framework and from this foundation that this chapter will frame the role of PKO in the TNI response to Indonesia’s external security environment. This chapter specifically examines how the Indonesian military is responding to the security threats outlined in the previous chapter and therefore does not explore some of the political responses the Indonesian Government has made, except when they relate to the TNI. Nor does it examine every facet of the TNI response, rather only where it can be linked to Indonesia’s peacekeeping initiatives. This chapter will be divided into discussion surrounding the two primary areas of response; TNI modernisation and professionalism, within which a range of issues pertinent to these matters will be examined.

TNI Modernisation

Peacekeeping operations can play an important role in TNI modernisation in several key areas; it can alleviate the risk of other ASEAN states viewing Indonesia’s modernisation as threatening and contribute to the formation of a functional deterrence capability as a baseline response to the diverse and dynamic external security threats. The fundamental aim of Indonesia’s defence modernisation initiative is to achieve its core defence goals as outlined by the 2008 White Paper, namely to be in a position to defend its national interests and contribute to a more stable region.¹³⁶ It is not Indonesia’s aim to achieve strategic dominance of the ASEAN region; it seeks parity, not supremacy and its modernisation is geared towards this end. This is something ingrained in Indonesia’s psyche, according to Permatasari, ‘we believe that togetherness is better than superiority and dominance. One more thing is that we have had experience of being subjected to colonialism, I don’t think we want to become more

¹³⁵ *1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia*, preamble (translation).

¹³⁶ Sukma, ‘Indonesia’s security outlook’, p. 8.

dominant or aggressive in the region because of that history.¹³⁷ This is unlike Singapore and to an extent Australia, where the primary driving factor of its military spending and procurement is to maintain dominance in the region.¹³⁸ Despite this reality, Southeast Asian states, particularly Malaysia and Singapore view Indonesia and its intentions related to defence with a degree of suspicion,¹³⁹ which is fuelled in part by the ongoing territorial disputes with Malaysia and the occasional diplomatic spat with Singapore. By emphasising the centrality of peacekeeping operations, training and development, Indonesia is making a tangible demonstration of its peaceful intent. This was emphasised by Permatasari, where, ‘in order to ensure other countries are not threatened, Indonesia constantly contributes to peace and security issues all over the world.’¹⁴⁰ The practical application of this disposition is seen in the justification of procurements for peacekeeping which would otherwise have raised eyebrows regionally, which was seen in 2006 with the purchase of French made Armoured Vanguard Vehicles as part of the UNIFIL contingent.¹⁴¹ Whilst diplomacy inevitably will play the lead role in assuring Malaysia and Singapore of Indonesia’s benign ambition, the TNI needs to practically allay these concerns and the most effective way to do this is to emphasise PKO as a core role of the TNI.

Deterrence capability

A modern conventional deterrence strategy includes both high end stand-alone platforms designed to provide a clear capability in a range of or specific operational settings and a force projection capability which is achieved through rapid transportation and soldiers capable of being projected and sustained over a required distance in order to achieve the foreign policy goals for which they are deployed. Evidence of procurement initiatives taken to achieve this

¹³⁷ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹³⁸ Tjin-Kai, p. 24.

¹³⁹ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹⁴¹ L. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah, p. 11.

can be seen in plans for significant investment in high-end capabilities, including 12 Russian made Kilo class diesel electric submarines and 10 new fighter squadrons which look to be made up of F-16 and SU-30 variants from the US and Russia respectively.¹⁴² From the force projection aspect of the deterrence, the TNI is currently in the process of reorganising a segment of its forces into several joint defence groups or *Kogabwihan* which operate contingents from all three services with a specific emphasis on rapid deployment and are stationed in key littoral approaches and strategic flashpoints.¹⁴³ Defence minister Purmono Yusgiantoro offered the reasoning for this decision, saying that it will, ‘serve as deterrence to other countries as the command will have the flexibility needed and the resources for rapid deployment.’¹⁴⁴

PKO clearly has no role in the high-end capability side of deterrence; however it is exceedingly relevant to any force projection capability development. This is because unlike countries like Australia who have been continually involved in expeditionary combat operations for an extended period of time, the only international deployment experience members of the TNI have is PKO. The lessons learnt as part of the UNIFIL deployment to Lebanon from late 2006, specifically the first battalion, Garuda XXIII-A, a 853 man mechanised infantry contingent made up of infantry, airborne and marine units,¹⁴⁵ have been remitted back to the TNI to be incorporated into a combat capability.¹⁴⁶ These capabilities have been described as the logistical challenges of sustaining a force over such distance for an extended period of time, managing to maintain effectiveness in a foreign country and

¹⁴² Schreer, p. 22.

¹⁴³ R. Witular, ‘TNI gears up, sets sights on foreign threats’, *Jakarta Post*, 22 January 2014, consulted 25 May 2014, <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/01/22/tni-gears-sets-sights-foreign-threats.html>>.

¹⁴⁴ Witular.

¹⁴⁵ Lachica, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Sukma, ‘Indonesia’s security outlook, p. 23.

conducting operational duties, such as patrols and limited kinetic engagements with disputant parties.¹⁴⁷

There are however limitations to the overall utility of PKO to the development of force Indonesia's force projection capability, which stem from the unwillingness to expand Indonesia's contribution of blue helmets from peacekeeping to the more robust peace enforcement role demanded by chapter VII UNSC declarations. One source from the Indonesian Government explained that Indonesia takes a rigid interpretation of the 1945 Constitution preamble which underpins Indonesia's peacekeeping initiatives, meaning that working towards the establishment of perpetual peace, excludes enforcing peace through coercive measures as is often required in PEO.¹⁴⁸ Whilst the strength of Indonesia's Garuda Contingents lie with trust building initiatives and advanced intercultural interaction with local population, which is critical for conventional Chapter VI peacekeeping missions, when pressed to engage militarily, Indonesia has struggled.¹⁴⁹ This is important as Chapter VI operations often expand to the colloquially named 'Chapter VI-and-a-half' without warning as disputant parties struggle to honour peace agreements, as outlined in *figure 2*.¹⁵⁰

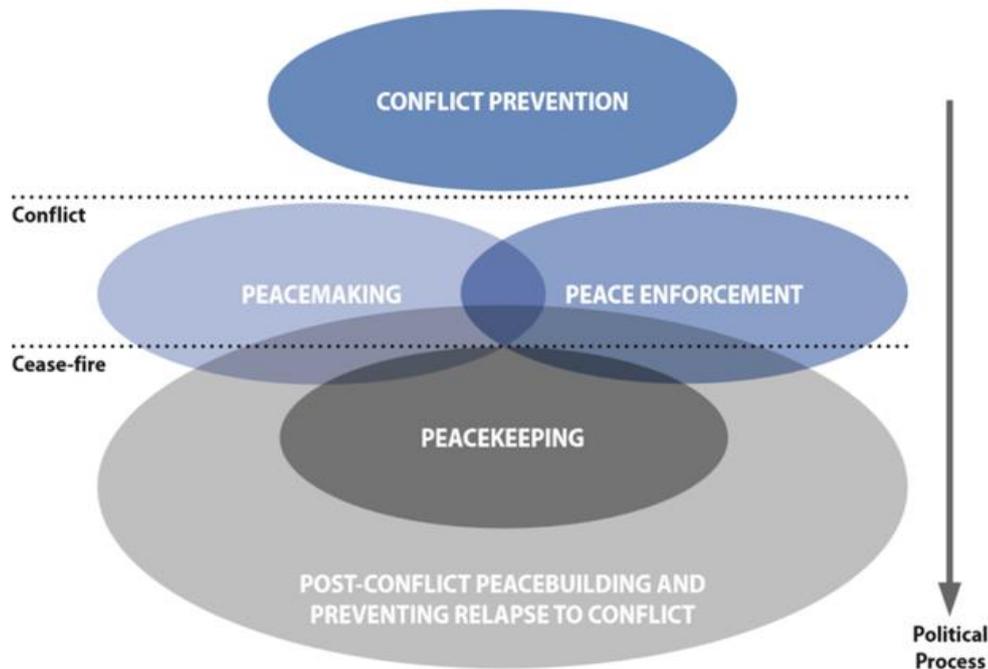
¹⁴⁷ Interview conducted 13 May 2014

¹⁴⁸ Interview conducted 23 May 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Haseman and Lachica, p. 93.

¹⁵⁰ Haseman and Lachica.

Figure 2: The overlapping nature of modern UN PKO



Source: UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and guidelines, p. 19

There are also two operational examples where when challenged by local opposition in kinetic engagement; Indonesian soldiers lacked the toughness to adequately respond.¹⁵¹ This occurred in Cambodia in 1996 and more recently in Lebanon. In Cambodia, elements of Garuda XII was actually disarmed and taken prisoner by Khmer Rouge combatants,¹⁵² whereas in Lebanon Indonesia deferred to the Malaysian contingent when the security situation deteriorated within its area of operations, although this is also likely linked to Indonesia's constitutional restrictions.¹⁵³ Whilst there is pressure from external elements to engage in more robust peace enforcement operations, particularly emanating from the US

¹⁵¹ Haseman and Lachica, p. 93.

¹⁵² Haseman, p. 94.

¹⁵³ Haseman and Lachica, p. 93.

through the Global Peace Operations Initiative,¹⁵⁴ Jakarta does not seem to want to entertain the notion at all.¹⁵⁵

Thus whilst the contribution of PKO to the formation of a functional deterrence strategy with regards to force projection is limited by an unwillingness to engage in peace enforcement operations through a rigid interpretation of the 1945 Constitution, by training and sending soldiers and marines on international deployment, Indonesia is able to provide invaluable operational experience, if not combat experience. This experience translates directly into the development of Indonesia's force projection and deterrence capability, which in turn gives Indonesia the ability to rapidly respond to a deteriorating external security issue, but also in natural disaster response both domestically and regionally. Any benefit will be expanded as the number of personnel trained and deployed increases, which is the President's intention.¹⁵⁶

There are many considerations when implementing a deterrence strategy; this paper considers what kind of message it is sending to the immediate region. It is no use acquiring a dozen submarines and the ability to project force into the region if it has a destabilising effect because its implementation was not done tactfully. Permatasari reasons, 'deterrence is how we can make other states do what we want, without direct contact militarily. Indonesia is not a country that likes to be perceived as a threat.'¹⁵⁷ This is a consideration employed by all regional militaries who possess a deterrence capability, the most relevant being Singapore, evidenced by the decision to purchase a 4.5th Generation fighter, the F-15SG over the more capable and less expensive 5th Generation Eurofighter because of concerns over how the procurement decision would be received within ASEAN.¹⁵⁸ This logic can be applied to the

¹⁵⁴ Haseman and Lachica.

¹⁵⁵ Interview conducted 23 May 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Interview conducted 15 May 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹⁵⁸ Tjin-Kai, p. 22.

Indonesian experience, where force projection capability is tied to PKO training and deployment.

TNI Professionalism

By maintaining a level of professionalism within the military and taking every opportunity to increase this quality Indonesia can more effectively respond to the external security challenges and PKO is an important vehicle in achieving these goals. As previously established in the literature review, the framework for discussing professionalism in the TNI is limited to ensuring civilian control and an outward posture.

Civilian control

Participation in peacekeeping operations represents an intersection in the interests of defence policy and foreign policy. It is an alignment of policy interests which creates an environment conducive to cooperation between the two often opposing institutions. To this end, a great deal of emphasis from academia and NGO's has been directed towards ensuring civilian control over the military in a domestic setting, not an external operational one. So in the event of a future deployment of TNI assets in an external combat operation, it is important to look to the cooperation and coordination taking place currently in the area of PKO. The decision making process, beginning with examining possible situations around the world which may deteriorate to the point where PKO is necessary and Indonesia assesses whether it will participate in any UN sanction operation, through to the preparation, training and deployment of a Garuda Contingent and its eventual withdrawal are all governed by a civilian body, the *Tim Koordinasi Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian* (TKMPP) or the coordinating team for peace maintenance missions.¹⁵⁹ This body is governed by Presidential Decree and subject to

¹⁵⁹ *Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 85 Tahun 2011 Tentang Tim Koordinasi Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian* (Coordinating Team for Peace Maintenance Missions), art. 3.

presidential oversight.¹⁶⁰ Whilst its decisions are informed by advice from senior TNI officers, the ultimate decision for authorising the deployment of a Garuda Contingent rests with this body and the President.¹⁶¹

The team is chaired by Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa and its members consist of ministers emanating from the Defence, Law and Human Rights and National Development portfolios, as well as the TNI chief and head of Indonesia's state intelligence agency (BIN).¹⁶² Whilst this is not a particularly novel idea, the existence of this framework for PKO ensures civilian control in operational matters outside Indonesia's sovereign territory. This framework has been established since 2011 and has been operating from some time and overseen several PKO deployments. As Indonesia is well practiced in civilian control over external TNI peacekeeping operations, should the situation demand it, the government would have a wealth of experience to bring to a possible combat operational deployment outside Indonesia.

The initiative for the formation of this body, as with the Sentul training centre and the policy of significantly increasing the number of TNI personnel who are proficient in PKO lies with the President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.¹⁶³ This interest in expanding the role of PKO within the TNI was likely fostered by the president's personal experience leading the Indonesian PKO in Bosnia.¹⁶⁴ Thus there is a significant degree of presidential influence in the current centrality of this issue, which the TNI are more than happy to participate in due to the wealth of experience its personnel can gain and the significant funding attached to PKO proficiency. However as the presidential election looms in July, there is a degree of

¹⁶⁰ TKMPP, art. 1.

¹⁶¹ Interview conducted 23 May 2014.

¹⁶² A. Heru, 'President forms peacekeeping coordinating team', *Antara News*, 15 December 2011, consulted 25 May 2014, <<http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/78457/president-forms-peacekeeping-coordinating-team>>.

¹⁶³ Interview conducted 22 May 2014.

¹⁶⁴ Editorial, 'Outgoing president: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono', *BBC News*, 8 April 2014, consulted 20 May 2014, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15105920>>.

uncertainty surrounding whether the next president will show a comparable level of interest in PKO which could in turn affect the existing framework for civilian control.

Externally postured TNI

The participation in peacekeeping operations represents the only international operational deployment opportunity for the TNI, save for limited naval expeditions. Whilst TNI officers and personnel regularly engage in joint training exercises and staff college exchanges, it is only through PKO where a contingent of soldiers are given the opportunity to develop limited combat capability.¹⁶⁵ This is certainly pivotal for the individual's professional development, but the broader value of focusing attention of the military to external matters contributes to the ability of the TNI to respond to regional security challenges.

Whilst the type of PKO Indonesia participates in is not comparable to a combat operation in a shooting war, the likelihood of this threat emerging within ASEAN is remote to say the least. This is evidenced in the 2008 Defence White Paper, where the idea is not even entertained for 10-15 years.¹⁶⁶ Instead this posture demonstrates to the region a level of professionalism which had not been present until as recent as 2004. This is influenced primarily by the consolidation of traditional sources of internal security problems; specifically separatism, which has been either nullified or reduced to a latent threat and terrorism which has been thoroughly routed by POLRI and BIN counterterrorism initiatives. Previously, as the TNI was occupied with managing internal threats, the majority of the heavy lifting externally had to be managed diplomatically, due in large part to the absence of defence capability directed at external matters.¹⁶⁷ Therefore consolidation of internal issues has pushed TNI focus to external issues, but it is in the achievement of a baseline level of professionalism which will maintain this focus and it is here where PKO proves useful.

¹⁶⁵ Interview conducted 15 May 2014.

¹⁶⁶ *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2008*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ Widjajanto, p. 27.

One challenge to the trend of the TNI shifting its focus to external security threats is the decision to revive the Soeharto era policy of ABRI Masuk Desa (AMD) a type of military community service programme, which was used as a political tool by the government and the military.¹⁶⁸ Under the revamped programme, entitled TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) or TNI building a unified village, personnel will be deployed to contribute to the development of regional infrastructure and educate the public on defence strategy.¹⁶⁹ Whilst Army Chief of Staff at the time General Budiman argued that ‘we have no intention to enter into the civilian arena...my goal is to improve the military’s professionalism by putting soldiers in the right places in this democratic state,’¹⁷⁰ Imparsial spokesman Al-Araf countered, stating that, ‘teaching state defence or civic education is the responsibility of local governments, not the military. TNI needs to focus on its readiness for preventing war or being involved in international peacekeeping operations.’¹⁷¹ He also suggested the timing of the programme, being immediately before the presidential election could be utilised by political parties to garner rural support.¹⁷² It is suggested that despite the similarities to the Soeharto era programme, both the TNI and the Unitary State is in a much different position to back then and Indonesia has a plethora of academics, activists and media ready to jump on any hint of a renewed political role for the TNI. It is submitted that this reality, in combination with the external security challenges, consolidated internal security environment and the utility of PKO will crystallise the external focus of the TNI and in turn contribute to a more professional military which is critical in responding to external matters going forward.

¹⁶⁸ Editorial, ‘TNI reboots Soeharto program’, *The Jakarta Post*, 19 September 2013, consulted 10 May 2014, <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/09/19/tni-reboots-soeharto-program.html>>.

¹⁶⁹ ‘TNI reboots Soeharto program’.

¹⁷⁰ ‘TNI reboots Soeharto program’.

¹⁷¹ ‘TNI reboots Soeharto program’.

¹⁷² ‘TNI reboots Soeharto program’.

Conclusion

Indonesia has been ill prepared to respond to the current and projected external security outlook. In response, the TNI is in the process of a massive capability reform which has been enabled by a changing security dynamic and rapid economic development. This paper has examined a number of aspects of the TNI response to the external security environment and highlighted areas where an emphasis on peacekeeping operations as a core competency of the TNI can guide modernisation on a vector which does not further undermine stability within ASEAN but can also consolidate the significant gains made in the area of military professionalism by ensuring civilian control of the TNI in external matters can be maintained and that an outwardly postured military is crystallised through the continual and growing importance of PKO and other measures. This paper has attempted to present the modernisation, professionalism and threat response initiatives in a different light so as to demonstrate the utility of maintaining the current trajectory of peacekeeping operations to an area outside its traditional home of human rights and foreign policy.

It is critical that ASEAN resolve its internal disputes in the lead up to what every indicator suggests will be increasing external pressure on the organisation emanating from great power manoeuvring between the US and China over a number of key areas, of which the South China Sea is one example. Indonesia is set to play a leadership role in these issues both within ASEAN and without, but it cannot do so if the Unitary State does not address ongoing disputes particularly with Malaysia and also questions surrounding the message the TNI modernisation is sending to the Association. It is in this matter where peacekeeping operations can play an important role.

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