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SCHOOL OF
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STUDIES

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Ponder the Improbable



RSIS-LAB 45 Workshop on

“Indonesia Defence and Security Outlook 2023”

Friday, 20 January 2023 | 10.30 am - 4.00 pm (Singapore time, UTC+8)

ABSTRACT

Back in 2009, the Indonesian military (TNI) launched its modernisation programme under the so-called Minimum Essential Force (MEF) which is scheduled to be completed by 2024. Under the MEF programme, the TNI modernized its military platforms and reorganized its organizational structure. The formation of the Joint Regional Defence Command (Kogabwilhan) and some new military divisions, such as the third Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad) division, encapsulates this development. Moreover, geopolitical developments around the world, including the Russia-Ukraine War and growing tensions between US and China in key flashpoints in Asia, is of growing concern for Indonesia. As a result, the TNI needs to bolster its capabilities to face a wide range of defence and security challenges. Outside of the task of external defence, the TNI also has a significant military operation other than war (MOOTW) role. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the TNI played an important role in supporting COVID-19 management in the country. Indeed, the TNI's prominent non-security role remains a characteristic feature of the Indonesian state.

In this workshop, we will explore three main questions: How does contemporary global and local challenges shape TNI's military operations other than war (MOOTW)? What are the challenges faced by the country's defence industry in supporting the fulfilment of the MEF programme and to enhance Indonesia's defence modernisation? How can Indonesia chart its post-MEF defence development?

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PROGRAMME

20 January 2023, Friday (Singapore Time, / UTC+8)	
10.30 - 10.45 am	<p>WELCOME REMARKS</p> <p>Dr Leonard C. Sebastian <i>Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Indonesia Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p>
10.45 - 10.55 am	<p>OPENING REMARKS</p> <p>Professor Ang Cheng Guan <i>Associate Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p>
10.55 - 11.10 am	<p>KEYNOTE SPEECH: OVERVIEW ON INDONESIA'S DEFENCE AND MILITARY OUTLOOK</p> <p>Mr Andi Widjajanto <i>Governor, National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia (Lemhanas)</i></p>
11.10 - 11.30 am	<p>SESSION 1A: TNI AND MOOTW: FROM HOMELAND SECURITY TO DISASTER RELIEF</p> <p>Major General Jonni Mahroza, PhD <i>Vice Rector, Academic Affairs, Republic of Indonesia Defence University (UNHAN RI)</i></p>
11.30 - 11.50 am	<p>SESSION 1B: POST-COVID-19 TNI: IMPACTS AND FUTURE ROLE</p> <p>Dr Muhamad Haripin <i>Research Coordinator, Conflict, Security and Defence Studies, Research Center for Politics – National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)</i></p>
11.50 am - 12.20 pm	<p>QUESTION AND ANSWER</p> <p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>Ms Reine Prihandoko <i>Political-Security Analyst, Laboratorium Indonesia 2045</i></p>
12.20 - 2.30 pm	BREAK

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<p>2.30 - 2.40 pm</p>	<p>OPENING REMARKS</p> <p>Dr Leonard C. Sebastian <i>Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Indonesia Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p>
<p>2.40 - 3.00 pm</p>	<p>SESSION 2A: THE ROLE OF DEFENCE INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA'S MILITARY MODERNIZATION</p> <p>Dr Yono Reksoprodjo <i>Head, Transfer of Technology and Offsets, Defence Industry Policy Committee (KKIP) of the Republic of Indonesia</i></p>
<p>3.00 - 3.20 pm</p>	<p>SESSION 2B: CHANGING ARMS MARKET AND PROSPECT OF DEFENCE OFFSET</p> <p>Dr Curie Maharani <i>Lecturer, Bina Nusantara University</i></p>
<p>3.20 - 3.50 pm</p>	<p>QUESTION AND ANSWER</p> <p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>Dr Adhi Priamarizki <i>Research Fellow, Indonesia Programme, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p>
<p>3.50 - 4.00 pm</p>	<p>CLOSING REMARKS</p> <p>Mr Iis Gindarsah <i>Coordinator, Laboratorium Indonesia 2045</i></p>

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BIOGRAPHIES OF SPEAKERS

**in alphabetical sequence according to last/family names*

Ang Cheng Guan is presently Associate Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). His previous positions include Deputy Director of Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS); Head of Graduate Studies (RSIS); Head of Studies (IDSS) and Head (Humanities and Social Studies Education, National Institute of Education).

He specialises in the international history of contemporary Asia, with a focus on Southeast Asia. He is the author of *Vietnamese Communist Relations with China and the Second Indo-China Conflict, 1956-1962* (Jefferson: MacFarland, 1997, reprinted in paperback, 2012), *The Vietnam War from the Other Side: The Vietnamese Communists' Perspective* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002, paperback 2006), its sequel, *Ending the Vietnam War: The Vietnamese Communists' Perspective* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, paperback 2006); *Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War* (London: Routledge, 2010, hardback, paperback and e-book); *Lee Kuan Yew's Strategic Thought* (London: Routledge, 2013, hardback, softback and e-book) and *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodia Conflict, 1979-1991* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013). He also co-edited *Perspectives on the Security of Singapore* (Singapore: World Scientific and London: Imperial College Press, 2015), which includes a chapter on "Singapore's Conception of Security". He has published in edited volumes as well as in journals including *Asian Survey*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, *War and Society*, *War in History*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Security Dialogue*, *Southeast Asia Research*, *Cold War History*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Studies Review* and *the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*.

He was a Gerald R. Ford Foundation Research Grant Award recipient (Fall 2005), Fulbright Singapore Researcher award recipient (2006-2007) and a Woodrow Wilson Public Policy Scholar (2006-2007). He is also a recipient of the Public Administration Medal (Bronze) and the National Institute of Education (NIE) Excellence in Teaching Commendation (2013). He was a member of the Resource Panel, Government Parliamentary Committee for Defence & Foreign Affairs (2002-2006).

His most recent publications are *Southeast Asia's Cold War: An Interpretive History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018) and its sequel, *Southeast Asia after the Cold War: A Contemporary History* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2019) as well as *The Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation* (London: Routledge, 2022). He has two books forthcoming in 2023: *Reassessing Lee Kuan Yew's Strategic Thought* (London: Routledge 2023), and *The Evolution of Singapore's Grand Strategy* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2023). He is currently working on a book project: *An International History of the Third Indochina War*.

Iis Gindarsah is Coordinator of Laboratorium Indonesia 2045 (LAB 45). Mr. Gindarsah is also a lecturer at International Relations department of Parahyangan Catholic University (Unpar), Bandung. He received his Master of Science in Strategic Studies from RSIS in 2010. In addition, Mr. Gindarsah holds a master's degree in International Relations from University of Indonesia. His writings have appeared in various reputable international academic journals, such as *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Defence and Security Analysis*, and *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*. Gindarsah's expertise includes defense transformation, military technology innovation, civil-military relations, and defense diplomacy in East Asia.

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Muhamad Haripin is Research Coordinator of Conflict, Security, and Defence Studies at the Research Center for Politics - BRIN, Indonesia. He is the author of *Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia: The Politics of Military Operations Other Than War*, published by Routledge in 2020 and the editor of *Intelligence and National Security in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia and Establishing Professional Intelligence in Indonesia* (both published in Bahasa Indonesia, by Pustaka Obor, 2022). Haripin also co-authored *The Army and Ideology in Indonesia: From Dwifungsi to Bela Negara* (Routledge, 2021). Haripin was conferred a PhD degree from the Graduate School of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Japan. His research interests are civil military relations, military operations other than war, and intelligence oversight. Haripin's recent publications are "Quasi-Civilian Defence Minister and Civilian Authority: The Case Study of Indonesia's Ministry of Defence during Joko Widodo's Presidency" published at *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* and "Intelligence Apparatus after Suharto: A Troubled Reform" in *Indonesia at the Crossroads: Transformation and Challenges*, edited by Okamoto Masaaki and Jafar Suryomenggolo.

Curie Maharani is a lecturer of Security Studies at Bina Nusantara (Binus) University and a research fellow at the National Air and Space Power Center of Indonesia (NASPCI). She received her PhD in Defence Management and Leadership from Cranfield University in 2016. In 2017, she received cum laude in her master's study at Bandung Technology Institute, majoring in Defence Management. She obtained her bachelor's degree at the University of Indonesia, majoring in International Relations, in 2002. Prior to joining Binus, Curie had worked with the National Committee for Economy and Industry (KEIN), the Ministry of Defence, the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), as well as at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. She is an observer of defence procurement and industrial policy, offset, arms proliferation, and technology indigenization issues. She was part of the Southeast Asian Young Leaders' Program at the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2017 and 2018.

Jonni Mahroza is the Vice Rector for Academic and Student Affairs, Republic of Indonesia Defence University. He holds a bachelor's degree in Political Science from Indonesia's Universitas Terbuka and Master of Arts in International Relations from East Anglia University, Norwich, United Kingdom. He obtained his PhD in Defence Studies from Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia in 2006. MG Jonni previously served as Indonesia's Defence Attaché for the United Kingdom and concurrently non-resident Defense Attaché to the Kingdom of Sweden and the Kingdom of Denmark from 2012 to 2015. He gained his Master of Science in National Security Strategy from the National War College of National Defence university, Washington DC in 2017. MG Jonni received the prestigious Honorary Officer of British Empire (O.B.E) award from the late Queen Elisabeth II in 2012 for his role in strengthening defence cooperation between Indonesia and the United Kingdom.

Adhi Priamarizki is a Visiting Fellow at the Indonesia Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Ritsumeikan University, Japan and a MSc in Strategic Studies from RSIS. Adhi wrote a doctoral dissertation on civil-military relations in Indonesia, Myanmar, and Thailand. His research interests include Indonesia's military transformation, civil-military relations in Southeast Asia, and Indonesian politics. His publications have appeared in *East Asia Forum*, *The Jakarta Post*, *New Mandala*, *The Indonesian Quarterly*, *Defense & Security Analysis*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.

Reine T. Prihandoko is a political-security analyst at LAB 45. Ms. Reine received her bachelor's degree in International Relations from University of Indonesia. She is currently finishing her master's degree in Public Policy Analysis at University of Indonesia. During her time with LAB 45, Reine has been involved in various research related to defence and security. Reine has done research on cyber security, security sector reform, defense budget, law on terrorism, security and defense equipment and weapons, army welfare, National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure (BNPB), and Indonesia's foreign policy.

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Yono Reksoprodjo is the Head of Technology Transfers and Offsets at Indonesia's Defence Industry Policy Committee (KKIP). He is also the Vice President of Corporate Affairs of Sintesa Group, and the Director for Business Development of PT. TIRA Austenite, Tbk. He also holds an academic appointment as Assistant Professor on Asymmetric Studies at the Indonesian Defence University (UNHAN) and State Intelligence Academy (STIN). Yono graduated as a Naval Architect from Mechanical Engineering Department, University of Indonesia in 1987. He completed his PhD in Computer Aided System Engineering with an emphasis on Reserve Engineering Technology from Imperial College, University of London, United Kingdom in 1994. Yono's professional experiences are varied, including working at state-owned company Indonesian Aerospace (PTDI), Rolls Royce Aero Engine UK, Rover UK, Milliard Design Australia, Shinwa Engineering International and ARACO (a Toyota subsidiaries) Japan.

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Leonard C. Sebastian is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). He is author of *Realpolitik Ideology: Indonesia's Use of Military Force* (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Cambridge University Press, 2006 and 2015) and his refereed articles have been published in the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Asia Policy*, *Indonesia*, *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, *South East Asia Research*, *Defence & Security Analysis*, *Soccer & Society*, *Education About Asia*, *China International Strategy Review*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.

He is a contributor to *International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005). He is a co-author with Jonathan Chen and Adhi Priamarizki of *Indonesia Beyond Reformasi: Necessity and the 'De-Centering' of Democracy*, Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, no. 3 – 2014 (218), Carey School of Law, University of Maryland. With Jonathan Chen, and Emirza Adi Syailendra he authored an IDSS/RSIS Monograph titled *Pemuda Rising: Why Indonesia Should Pay Attention to its Youth*. Together with Finn Laursen and Imtiaz Hussain he is Editor of the *Global Political Transitions* – a book series of Palgrave Macmillan. With Dr Christopher Roberts and Dr Ahmad Habir, he co-edited *Indonesia's Ascent: Power, Leadership and the Regional Order* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). This book project and the accompanying policy report was funded by the National Security College, Crawford School of Public Policy, The Australian National University.

His latest books are two co-edited volumes *Rising Islamic Conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic Groups and Identity Politics* and *The 2018 and 2019 Indonesian Elections: Identity Politics and Regional Perspectives* published by Routledge on January 2021 respectively. He is currently co-editing a special issue of the peer-reviewed *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* on the theme "Indonesia's Foreign and Maritime Policies: Domestic and External Determinants" for publication in late 2021.

Having completed a 5-year scholarship bond at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) where he served as Fellow from February 1995 to September 2000, Assoc Prof Sebastian joined RSIS or as it was then called the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies as Senior Fellow in October 2000. He received his PhD from the Australian National University in 1997 where he was affiliated to the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre. Over the course of his RSIS career, he has received grants from the Nanyang Technological University/Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Home Affairs and Temasek Foundation for his research and networking initiatives. In October 2003, Dr Sebastian was awarded a research grant from the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) after an open international competition to study militant Islamic movements in Indonesia. Research undertaken resulted in a confidential report titled "Contesting Islam in Indonesia: A Contextual Study of Muslim Militancy". In April 2005 he was a Freeman Fellow with The Asia Foundation. He was awarded the Fulbright Research Award in 2005 and was a Visiting Fulbright Scholar at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University from September to December 2005.

In 2007, Dr Sebastian participated in the inaugural Program of the Presidential Friends of Indonesia hosted by Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. From 2008-2010 he served as consultant to Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia advising on the establishment of the Indonesian Defence University (UNHAN, Universitas Pertahanan). Assoc Prof Sebastian also serves as Member, Board of International Advisors, SBY Presidential Center, Honorary Advisor to the Board of the Ancora Foundation and the Bakrie Center Foundation. During his service for RSIS Senior Management (2006-2014) he raised over \$3.7 million worth of donations for RSIS. In January 2011, as consultant to The Asia Foundation, he served as International Policy Advisor to the Timor-Leste Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros-Timor-Leste) and assisted the Ministry in organizing its first ASEAN meeting. Between February 2015 and February 2016 he was Consultant to the ASEAN Secretariat undertaking a study assessing Timor-Leste's ASEAN membership application and its implications for the ASEAN Security and Political Community pillar.

He is concurrently Professor (Adjunct) at the Institute for Governance and Policy Analyses, University of Canberra having previously held an appointment as Adjunct Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales (UNSW Canberra at the Australian Defence Force Academy-July 2016 to July 2018). Since 2002, he has served as a member of the Advisory Panel to the Government Parliamentary Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs (GPC-DF). A regular visitor to Indonesia where he lectures at Universities, NGO organisations and Think-Tanks, his talks are aimed at bridging the gap between academic and policy relevant research. He lectures regularly at various government and security agencies, both in Singapore and abroad.

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Andi Widjajanto is the Governor of National Resilience Intitute (Lemhannas) in the Republic of Indonesia. He started his career as a lecturer at University of Indonesia. In 2014, Andi Widjajanto served as Cabinet Secretary in President Jokowi's cabinet until 2015. Subsequently, Andi was appointed as a Senior Advisor to the Presidential Staff Office until 2022 before being sworn in as Governor of Lemhannas RI. Andi graduated from the University of Indonesia with a Bachelor of Social Science majoring in International Relations. Later, he earned his Master of International Relations at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and Master of Defense Studies at the National Defense University in Washington D.C.

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