

PART I: THE TNI

**ORIGINS AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF
THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES**

THE FOUNDING OF THE ARMED FORCES

Indonesia came into being as the successor state to the Netherlands East Indies, a sprawling colonial empire of more than 14,000 islands between the Asian mainland and Australia. The Dutch had cobbled together this empire over a period of 300 years from an array of independent indigenous states and sultanates. From the beginning, the army held a unique position in the state because of its instrumental role in securing Indonesia's independence from the Dutch.

The Indonesian national military, TNI, was officially established on October 5, 1945, to defend the Republic's independence, which had been proclaimed on August 17, 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender to the Allies. The origin of the Indonesian army was in the pro-independence militia formations organized by Indonesian nationalists after the Japanese surrender in 1945. The core of the army was organized and directed by the charismatic and legendary General Sudirman, who became commander of the fledgling independence fighters while still in his 20s and who died of tuberculosis just one month after independence was achieved in December 1949. Sudirman, revered still to this day, provided the basic doctrine of the army—a guerrilla force that stung the Dutch colonial army but rarely engaged in set-piece battles.

Most of the officers, including Sudirman and a young lieutenant colonel (later president) Suharto, came from the PETA (Pasukan

Sukarela Tentara Pembela Tanah Air, or Defenders of the Fatherland) the territorial army organized by the Japanese during the occupation.¹ Some of those officers had received military training in the KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger), the Netherlands East Indies Army; others were members of politically oriented militia (*laskar*) formations. Most were Javanese and nonorthodox (or *aban-gan*) Muslims, but some *laskar* units were leftist or communist. These political divisions were to bring about a war within the war for independence.

On December 19, 1948, the Dutch attacked the Republican capital of Yogyakarta and captured Sukarno and the Republican civilian leadership. The army, under General Sudirman, refused to surrender and waged an ultimately successful guerrilla war against the Dutch. The army's perseverance in the armed struggle, contrasted with the perceived ineffectiveness of the civilians, gave rise to the perception of the army as the institution that preserved the Indonesian nation and provided the rationale for the military's special role in politics. While carrying on the war against the Dutch, the military was also instrumental in defeating internal threats to the Republic, notably the Madiun rebellion, launched by the Indonesian Communist Party on September 18, 1948.

The agreements accompanying the Dutch recognition of Indonesia's independence in December 1949 provided for a federal system (the "United States of Indonesia"). Indonesia's founding president Sukarno and other nationalists, however, worked to replace the federal system with a unitary system and to concentrate power in the central government in Jakarta. In 1950, the federal system was abol-

¹The Java PETA was organized with a strength of 70 battalions in Java, Madura, and Bali and 55 companies in Sumatra. The units in Java, Madura, and Bali were under the command of the 16th Japanese army, while the *Giyugun* in Sumatra was under the 25th army. These and all other pro-Japanese indigenous military units in Southeast Asia were designated by the Japanese as *Kyodo Bo-ei Giyugun*, or "voluntary army to protect the native land." Japanese strategists anticipated using indigenous forces to resist Allied landings. In the last year of occupation, the Japanese set up intensive guerrilla warfare courses for PETA officers, who in turn trained 900 troops in Java alone in guerrilla tactics, counterintelligence, and territorial control. After the Japanese surrender, the Japanese authorities, on instructions from the Allies, ordered the disbandment of PETA. These instructions were ignored by the Indonesian nationalists, who proclaimed the independence of the Republic on August 17, 1945 ("The Genesis of the Indonesian National Army ...," n.d.).

ished, after the central government's forces overcame local resistance in South Sulawesi and the Moluccas. Continued disaffection with Jakarta's centralism in some of the outlying provinces provoked the outbreak of regionalist rebellions in eastern Indonesia in 1957 and western Sumatra in 1958, in which locally based military units participated.

The role of Islam in the state was the other key issue confronting Indonesia's founders. After independence, disagreements between those who advocated an Islamic state and those who wanted to establish the new Republic on a secular basis² were resolved in favor of the latter. The 1945 constitution included Pancasila, which defined the national identity without reference to Islam, as the national ideology.³ Pancasila and the 1945 constitution were and remain the "sole basis" of the politics of the Indonesian armed forces (McFarling, 2001).⁴ In response, radical Muslims who refused to recognize the authority of the Indonesian state launched the Darul Islam rebellion on West Java in 1948. The rebellion spread to Aceh and South Sulawesi in the 1950s and continued until the 1960s.

MILITARY CULTURE AND DOCTRINE

The basic TNI doctrine places primary emphasis on the army, the dominant service in the Indonesian military. Both the air force and the navy are charged with providing direct support to the army, with their individual service missions secondary in importance. The army prides itself on its history as a revolutionary people's army and as the prime mover of Indonesia's independence. Consequently, the military came to view itself as the guardian of national unity and cohe-

²"Secular," in the Indonesian context, is defined as being based on Pancasila (see Footnote 3).

³The word Pancasila translates to "five principles." Those principles are (1) belief in "the One and Only God," (2) a just and civilized humanity, (3) the unity of Indonesia, (4) democracy, and (5) social justice (from the Preamble to the 1945 Indonesian Constitution [Undang-Undang Dasar 1945]).

⁴(Briefing by Group Captain Ian McFarling, Royal Australian Air Force, Arlington, Va. April 20, 2001.) The *Sapta Marga* (Seven Pledges), the code of conduct of the armed forces that was formulated in 1951, says that "the Army (armed forces) in no way discerns or adheres to any political creed (belief/system/doctrine)." However, *Sapta Marga* requires the military to defend Pancasila.

sion and as a co-equal to the civilian political leadership (some Indonesian military advocates note that the establishment of the army predated that of the Republic). In contrast to armies in other Southeast Asian states—such as the Thai and Philippine armies—the Indonesian army developed an ideological and legal framework to support a formal role in political affairs, originally called “middle road” and later renamed *dwifungsi*, or dual function. This concept held that the military had a “sociopolitical” as well as a defense function and gave the military an institutionalized role in politics.

The concept of the “middle road” was formally enunciated by the army chief of staff General Abdul Haris Nasution in a speech to the army’s Officers Training College in 1958 and developed in seminars at the Indonesian General Staff and Command College in the 1960s.⁵ Nasution argued that the armed forces were neither “a tool of civilian society” as in Western countries, nor a “military regime” that dominates the state, but a force of the people, working with other forces of the people. After Suharto and the military assumed power in 1966, *dwifungsi* became official policy. Beginning in 1966, the government enacted a series of laws to define the role of the military in governmental and national affairs (Sidwell, 1995). The military was given corporate representation in the parliament and active and retired military officers served in positions in the cabinet, the civil administration, and state corporations. The paradigm not only permitted, but also demanded, that officers take an active part in politics to ensure stability and central control.

The dual function dovetailed with the doctrine of “total people’s defense” (*Sishankamrata*), a Maoist-style concept of people’s war that contemplated mass mobilization to defend the country against external or internal threat. The doctrine assumes that a nation as diverse and as dependent on vulnerable air and sea lines of communication as Indonesia is could not be centrally defended. Total people’s defense was meant to ensure that even if the center were overrun (as in the case of the Dutch capture of the Republican leadership in 1948) resistance would continue. The doctrine calls on the army to fight an invading force as a guerrilla army, wearing the enemy down

⁵General Nasution later became disillusioned by the way in which Suharto changed and implemented *dwifungsi* and became an influential critic of the system in his later years.

through guerrilla tactics until stronger allies arrive to assist or the invader finds the effort too difficult to sustain.

The basic national defense strategy recognizes that there is very little threat of a conventional attack by outside forces. Indeed, no country besides the United States has the capability to mount a conventional amphibious invasion. For an outside power to prevail, it must have the support of a major part of the population. Even during the Indonesian Revolution, the KNIL was a predominantly indigenous soldiery with mainly Dutch and a few local officers. In the most serious challenges to national survival—the regionalist Permesta revolt in East Indonesia and the contemporaneous rebellion in Sumatra by the anti-Sukarnoist Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) from 1957 to 1959, and the abortive coup d'état of October 1965—the main danger was from disaffected army units supported by a significant segment of the population. From this history, the military leadership has drawn the conclusion that internal cohesion in the army and the support of the population are the main elements of national survival.

The operational concept for a successful conventional defense of the nation is for the outer islands to absorb the initial blow, and local resources to be mobilized and reinforced by the air and naval power available. The Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad) will reinforce the forward defense, mobilize and train additional forces, and prepare the heartland—Java—for the main battle.⁶

The emphasis on guerrilla tactics calls for the military to maintain intimately detailed knowledge of Indonesia's terrain, people, resources, and infrastructure. Given the diversity of these factors across Indonesia's great breadth, the TNI doctrine calls for an ubiquitous military presence everywhere to collect and store the necessary intelligence for guerrilla warfare and, most important, to establish the rapport with the local population that would enable the TNI to operate in accordance with classic Maoist and Yugoslav doc-

⁶The authors are grateful to Colonel Charles D. McFetridge (U.S. Army, retired) for his helpful assistance in outlining the TNI and army strategic and tactical doctrine. A graduate of the Indonesian Army Command and Staff School (Sesko AD), Colonel McFetridge served as U.S. Defense and Army Attaché to Indonesia from 1994 to 1998. His contributions are reflected throughout this chapter.

trine.⁷ The reality, of course, particularly in the restive provinces of Aceh and Irian Jaya, was different.

The TNI doctrine is supported by a territorial command structure of 12 military area commands (Komando Daerah Militer or Kodam), each theoretically responsible for the independent defense of a part of the archipelago (see Figure 2.1 for the locations of the Kodam).⁸ Like *dwifungsi*, the concepts behind the territorial system were developed in seminars in the 1950s and early 1960s. While at the General Staff and Command College in 1960, Suharto was one of the participants at a seminar in which the establishment of a parallel structure to the civil administration was first discussed.⁹ The structure was developed primarily to counter an internal threat from a communist insurgency. Under Suharto's "New Order" regime, the territorial command system was used to maintain Suharto in power and monitor the activities of religious organizations, student organizations, trade unions, and other nongovernmental organizations that could become sources of dissident activity.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND DEPLOYMENT

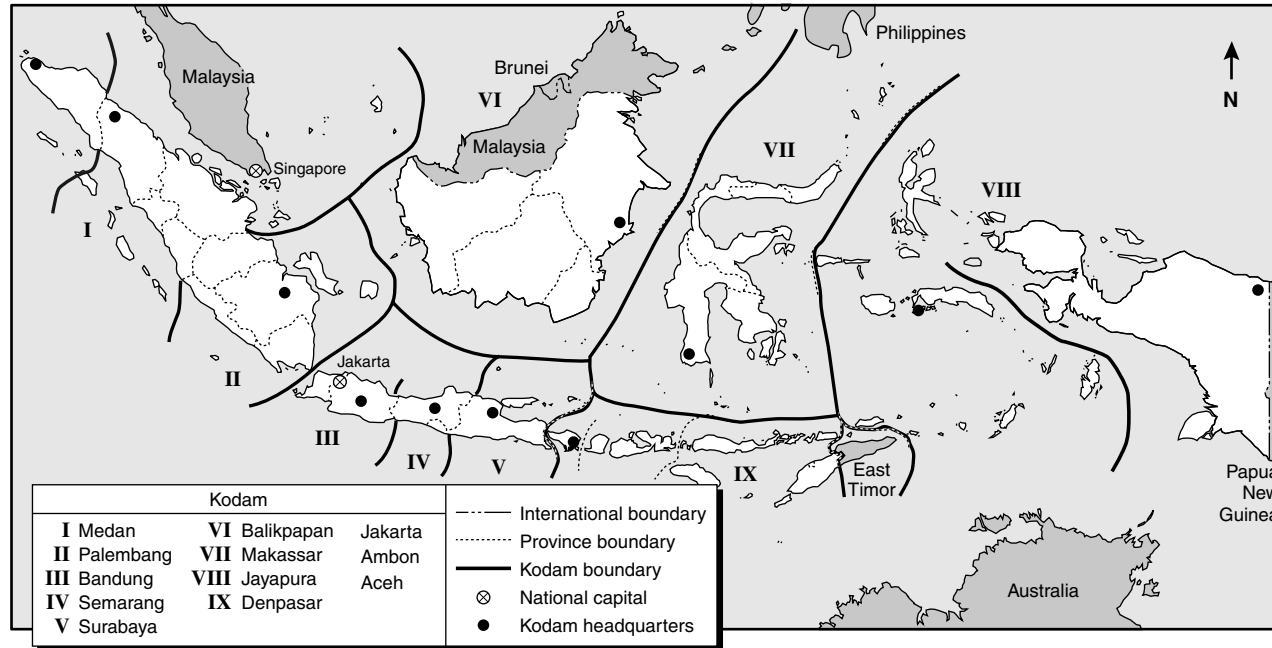
The army historically has been the dominant service in the Indonesian military.¹⁰ Former president Abdurrahman Wahid prioritized a major expansion of the navy and the marine corps to protect mari-

⁷In correspondence with Angel Rabasa, TNI historian Ken Conboy noted the important influence that the Yugoslav model exercised over the Indonesian concept of a "people's war." Conboy cited A. H. Nasution's comments about the Yugoslav resistance during the Second World War. Nasution mentioned that Tito was widely known in Indonesia since the time of the Indonesian revolution, spoke in positive terms about the Yugoslav system of self-reliance, and stated that the Indonesian concept of total people's defense mirrors the Yugoslav system. (See Nasution, 1985.) Conboy also notes that many Indonesian officers, including half a dozen who became prominent generals, attended war college and staff college in Yugoslavia prior to 1965.

⁸The territorial system includes the newly reestablished unnumbered Kodam in the Moluccas (2001) and Kodam Iskandar Muda in Aceh (2002). Both had been disestablished in a major consolidation and reorganization of the military command structure in 1986.

⁹These concepts became the Territorial Management and Civic Mission doctrines (McDonald, 1980, p. 34).

¹⁰This section of the chapter is partially based on the personal experiences of Colonel John Haseman (U.S. Army, retired) and Colonel Charles D. McPetridge in their tours as U.S. Defense Attachés in Indonesia and on other sources as cited.



SOURCE: Federation of American Scientists Intelligence Resource Program at www.fas.org.

NOTES: Jakarta has its own Kodam known as Jaya. There are also two unnumbered Kodam, the Iskandar Muda command at Aceh and the Security Restoration Operations Command at Ambon. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Figure 2.1—Military Command Areas (Kodam)

time resources and improve the military's strategic mobility capability. However, implementing these priorities has been impossible because of a lack of resources.

Apart from the important political issues involved, given the doctrinal background of the Indonesian army, its structure and deployment are based on sound considerations. The Indonesian army characterizes its forces as "tactical" and "territorial." Approximately one-quarter of the army's strength is assigned to its two major tactical commands, Kostrad (approximately 27,000 personnel) and the Special Forces Command (Kopassus) (about 5,000 personnel). About two-thirds of the army's strength is assigned to the territorial system; the remainder is in army headquarters' staff, schools, and technical units and centers.

Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad)

Kostrad's fighting strength lies in 33 combat battalions organized into two divisions with five infantry brigades and one separate airborne brigade which comes directly under Kostrad headquarters (see Figure 2.2). The two divisions are headquartered on Java, and the separate brigade is in South Sulawesi. Each division has both airborne and infantry brigades. Kostrad rotates alert status among its brigades and designates one battalion in rotating order for immediate deployment to meet security contingencies anywhere in the country. Kostrad battalions are available on a standard basis for service in troubled areas on longer deployments, usually 12 months or longer in duration.¹¹ All of Kostrad's battalions have been repetitively deployed in recent years to the primary security challenges in East Timor, Aceh, the Moluccas, and Papua.

TNI doctrine calls for Kostrad to be the nation's second line of defense and primary reinforcement against any outside threat. A similar approach is used to deal with internal instability. The local military command relies on available resources to contain and defuse the threat with territorial battalions used in civic action programs, while the Kodam ready-reaction battalion or battalions confront the

¹¹At present, deployments to Papua and Aceh are 12-month tours.

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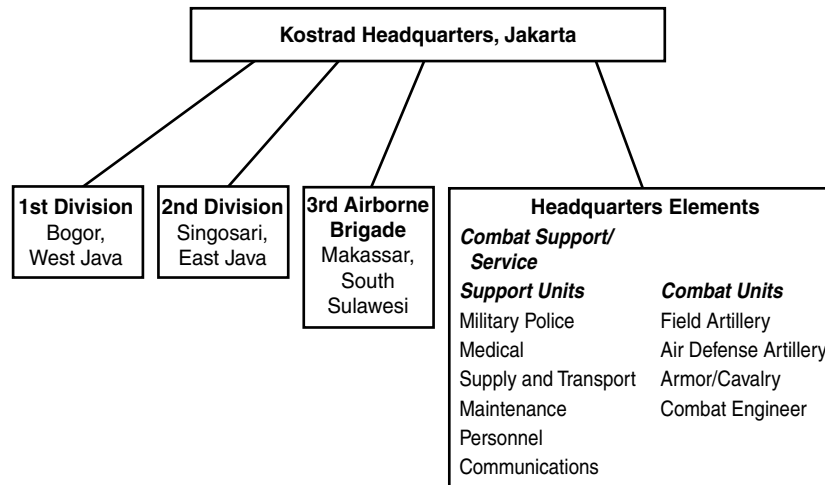


Figure 2.2—Kostrad Organization

armed enemy. If the Kodam cannot handle the problem with forces on hand, Kostrad units, assisted by air and naval elements as appropriate, reinforce the Kodam. Thus, Kostrad has been used almost exclusively as the national reaction force against guerrilla threats in East Timor and Aceh, to put down riots and other civil disturbances, and most recently to respond to sectarian and religious violence in such places as the Moluccas and Central Sulawesi. The key to success in either case, according to TNI doctrine, is support of the population, without which neither a prolonged conventional defense nor a successful counterinsurgency can be accomplished.

Consequently, improving discipline and understanding of the rules of engagement among troops deployed to conflict area has been a key priority of senior army officers. According to former army deputy chief of staff Lieutenant General Kiki Syahnakri, 60 percent of the training is focused on understanding the rules of engagement and avoiding civilian casualties. The TNI has also issued written guidelines for troops sent to the field. The guidelines provide basic instruction in combat situations, with emphasis on rules of engagement and respect for human rights (“Military Professionalism Pays Off ...,” 2002).

Since the early 1990s, the TNI has made ambitious plans to expand Kostrad to three full divisions, most likely building upon the separate brigade on Sulawesi (Lowry, 1996, p. 22). However, the government has never made funds available for such a major expansion and the plan remains unfulfilled. As is, Kostrad has priority for weapons and equipment over the territorial battalions and cultivates unit loyalty by allowing qualified personnel to remain in Kostrad assignments throughout most of their careers.

The army chief of staff is responsible for the recruitment, training, and equipping of Kostrad and its personnel. However, Kostrad is directly under the armed forces commander's operational control. Thus, it is the TNI, and not the army, that gives Kostrad its mission, deployment orders, and operational guidance. In this regard, operational control of Kostrad is very much like the chain of command over U.S. Army divisions, without the intervening level of the unified command.

Army Special Forces Command (Kopassus)

The Indonesian army's most elite unit is Kopassus. Its 5,000 personnel are very well trained, superbly conditioned, have strong esprit de corps, and are linked by personal ties to charismatic commanders. Kopassus personnel are trained and organized for both traditional special forces missions—infiltration, guerrilla and counter guerrilla warfare, training, and counterterrorism—and covert and intelligence operations throughout the country. Kopassus units are permanently garrisoned on Java, but operational teams are maintained continuously in the same troubled regions where Kostrad units are deployed.

Kopassus historically has been the most frequently deployed component of the force structure. Those deployments have generally involved small task force (seldom larger than two companies), team, and individual deployments on intelligence gathering; reinforcement to larger tactical units; and "black" (covert) operations. Kopassus deployments range in length from a few days to many months. Long-term missions, such as those in East Timor, were usually accomplished by rotating different units with short overlaps for operational familiarization and handoff to the replacement unit. Kopassus has never, to the knowledge of any observers, deployed its operational groups in toto.

Kopassus personnel are tough, ruthless soldiers who have been accused or suspected of numerous human rights violations over the past 15 years. In many cases, it is not known whether these abuses were perpetrated by rogue elements acting out of personal loyalty to officers involved in unauthorized activities or by personnel responding to orders given through the chain of command. In any case, up to the present time, Kopassus personnel have effectively been protected from investigation and prosecution for wrongdoing. A notable exception was the 1999 Honor Court and forced retirement of Lieutenant General Prabowo Subianto, a long-time special forces officer and later Kopassus and then Kostrad commander, and the subsequent courts-martial of several of his former subordinates for a series of political abductions in 1998. General Prabowo's estrangement from many senior TNI officers also contributed to his downfall.

Kopassus has undergone several reorganizations during the past 15 years. The most recent, in 2001, confirmed its current strength at approximately 5,000 soldiers in an organization including three operational groups (see Figure 2.3). Kopassus organization reflects traditional special operations structures seen elsewhere, with the key element being a small operational team. These teams usually consist of 10 to 15 personnel but are routinely formed into whatever size team is needed to accomplish the assigned mission. Command of Kopassus teams, companies, battalions, or groups is an avidly sought posting. Successful commanders are usually assured of rapid career advancement to the general officer rank.

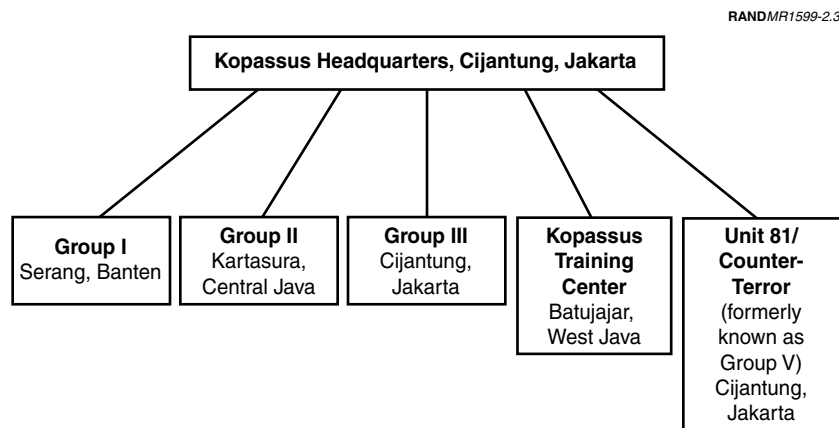


Figure 2.3—Kopassus Organization

Territorial Forces

The bulk of the army's personnel is assigned to the territorial forces. Personnel are assigned to either the territorial structure or the dozens of combat arms and combat support battalions assigned to the territorial organization. Around 150,000 troops are assigned to these forces (International Crisis Group [ICG], 2000b, p. 22).

By doctrine, each Kodam has at least one infantry battalion under direct Kodam control. At least one battalion per Kodam is assigned the Kodam quick-reaction mission, maintaining an alert readiness posture to respond to natural calamities or civil unrest in the Kodam area of responsibility. These units may be airborne infantry battalions, although in recent years the percentage of combat troops who are in fact airborne-qualified has declined.¹² In some cases, the best available security may be provided by cavalry, field artillery, or air defense artillery units.

The Kodam quick-reaction battalions are usually well trained because of the nature of their mission. The professional level of the other territorial battalions varies widely, and is dependent on the resources available to the applicable command, the amount of attention given to the units by the chain of command, and on other training, resource, and personnel constraints. Even these units, however, are called upon to deploy to troubled regions for operational commitments. For example, every territorial infantry battalion, except those from Papua, were eventually sent to East Timor for a yearlong deployment during the military campaign there.

The kodam are divided into Komando Resor Militer (Military Resor¹³ Commands or Korem), with at least one infantry battalion each. Korem, in turn, are divided into Komando Distrik Militer (Military District Commands or Kodim) headed by a lieutenant colonel, and districts are divided into Komando Rayon Militer (Military Subdistrict Commands or Koramil) with a junior officer or non-commissioned officer (NCO) in charge. In theory, every village has a noncommissioned officer (*Babinsa*) assigned. In practice, an NCO

¹²Since 1999, all but three Kodam battalions have lost their airborne designation and have reverted to infantry battalions.

¹³There is no satisfactory English translation of the Indonesian military term "Resor."

can be responsible for several villages. Large Korem and those in which important industrial centers are located have several assigned battalions. The air defense artillery battalions, for example, are assigned to defend such areas as the Lhokseumawe industrial zone in Aceh and the Bontang and Balikpapan industrial areas in East Kalimantan (see Table 2.1 for the numbers of various types of tactical units in the command structure).

The missions of the territorial battalions span a number of traditional and less conventional duties. They are assigned the static security mission for strategic centers. In the area around Lhokseumawe, Aceh, several battalions have reinforced organic units that are assigned to static defense of the huge ExxonMobil natural gas fields and the state oil company Pertamina refinery against the threat posed by the separatist Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), or Free Aceh Movement. ExxonMobil halted its operations and evacuated its staff for several months in 2001 because of the threat to its employees, costing Indonesia \$100 million per month in lost revenue.

Some territorial battalions maintain high standards of training and soldierly proficiency and are capable of meeting any tactical requirements that may be assigned to them. Many units, however, are not at a high level of readiness, and virtually all territorial units operate below their authorized strength. A primary reason for these shortcomings, of course, is that priority in meeting personnel requirements is given to Kostrad and Kopassus. In addition to the shortage of resources, the corruption, the diversion of assets, and other problems that plague the territorial forces, territorial units suffer from depleted personnel strength because of the large number of

Table 2.1
Tactical Units in the Territorial Structure

Kodam	Korem	Kodim	Infantry Battalions	Cavalry Battalions	Field Artillery Battalions	Air Defense Artillery Battalions
12	39	271	66	8	8	8

SOURCE: Lowry, 1996.

NOTE: Tactical deployment requirements frequently change the number of battalions available within any one particular Kodam area of responsibility.

soldiers who are assigned additional employment in the civilian sector in order to supplement their salaries (see Chapter Six for a further discussion).

The territorial battalions have borne the brunt of internal stability missions in the past and continue to play an important role in maintaining public order despite the transfer of that responsibility to the national police in 1999. The reaction capabilities of these units vary enormously depending on their quality of leadership, logistical support, equipment, and training. Few territorial battalions have crowd-control equipment and training. For a young commander with such constraints, the choices available in the event of major civil disturbances are bleak: Shoot rioters or allow the violence to run its course.

Naval and Air Forces

The army has always been the politically dominant service in Indonesia. Until the appointment of Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto as armed forces chief during the Wahid administration, all armed forces commanders in chief had been army officers and the army very much set military policy. Nevertheless, as an archipelagic country with more than 14,000 islands and a coastline of 55,000 kilometers, Indonesia is dependent on the navy and the air force to maintain inter-island communications and transport troops and military stores. The 1957 to 1959 rebellions in Sumatra and Sulawesi were put down with the help of air power, and today, air transport is a critical element in the central government's ability to respond quickly to outbreaks of communal conflict in the outer islands.¹⁴

There are two operational naval commands, the Eastern Fleet, based in Surabaya, and the Western Fleet, with headquarters in Jakarta. Indonesia's naval forces consist of 17 main frigate-size combatants, 36 patrol and coastal combatants, including 16 unseaworthy former East German corvettes, missile and torpedo craft, 26 landing craft, 12 mine countermeasures craft that are mainly used for coastal patrol,

¹⁴TNI historian Ken Conboy points out that while air power played a role in the suppression of the rebellions, ground forces were the decisive factor, and the vast majority of the troops were moved by sea (correspondence with Ken Conboy, June 2002).

and two German T-209/1300 submarines. Vessels in operational condition are deployed in what are considered to be key sea-lanes or sensitive areas, such as the Strait of Malacca, the waters around Aceh, and the Makassar Strait. The navy has also been tasked with sealing off violence-torn islands in the Moluccas. It also has some naval air capabilities, including antisubmarine warfare and search-and-rescue helicopters. There is a Military Sealift Command, with some amphibious and transport ships used for inter-island communication and logistical support of the army and navy, and a marine corps, about 12,000 strong, with two combat infantry regiments, one stationed with each of the fleets.

The air force has two operational commands or Ko-Ops. Ko-Op I, headquartered in Jakarta, is responsible for operations west of Jakarta; and Ko-Op II, at Makassar (formerly Ujung Pandang) in South Sulawesi, is responsible for operations east of Jakarta. The air force has a territorial defense mission, conducts strategic surveillance of the waters around Indonesia, transports ground forces and equipment, and carries out humanitarian relief missions. The air force's combat strength consists of one squadron of F-16A/Bs, based at Madiun-Iswahyudi air base, in Java, and two squadrons of BAe Hawk Mk 109/209 and one squadron of Hawk Mk 53 light attack aircraft based at Supadio air base, in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, and at Simpang Tiga, in Sumatra. There is also one squadron of refurbished A-4Es based at Hasanuddin, near Makassar, a squadron of aging Israeli-supplied A-4Es based in Pekanbaru, in central Sumatra, and Makassar, and one squadron of upgraded F-5E/Fs near the end of their useful life at Madiun-Iswahyudi. In addition, there is also one reconnaissance squadron of 12 OV-10F aircraft and one wing (three aircraft) of B-737s used for sea surveillance. The air force also operates two squadrons of C-130s and a number of smaller transport and rotary-wing aircraft.¹⁵

The 1997–1998 Asian economic crisis hit Indonesia particularly hard and devastated ambitious military modernization and readiness plans. The air force and the navy, which are more dependent on ac-

¹⁵Sources for the description of the Indonesian naval and air forces are “Cutting Closer to the Bone,” 2001; *Jane's World Air Forces*, 2001, pp. 182–183; and International Institute for Strategic Studies 2002, pp. 191–193. Data on Indonesia's navy and air force are from Periscope data service, www.periscope.ucg.com.

cess to technology and spare parts than is the army, were disproportionately affected. In June 1997, the Suharto government cancelled plans to purchase seven F-16As and two F-16Bs—originally built for Pakistan—because of U.S. congressional criticism of Indonesia’s record on human rights and East Timor. Subsequent plans to acquire 12 Russian SU-30MK and eight Mi-17 helicopters were suspended after the onset of the economic crisis. Budgetary constraints forced President Wahid’s defense minister Juwono Sudarsono to impose a moratorium on the purchase of major capital equipment. Whatever funding was available beyond personnel expenses was to go for maintenance of existing equipment.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the deterioration of air force and naval capabilities has deepened. According to Indonesian air force officials, the budget covers only 8 percent of maintenance requirements. As of April 2002, only 3 of the original 12 F-16 aircraft and 7 of 19 C-130 transport aircraft are operational and the air force has reduced flying hours to below minimum requirements.¹⁷

MILITARY OPERATIONS

According to Indonesian army doctrine, there are three kinds of operations: combat operations, intelligence operations, and territorial operations. To seize an area controlled by an enemy, the military conducts intelligence or combat operations. Intelligence operations are covert in nature and conducted by intelligence units. Territorial operations are carried out by combat or territorial units and have the purpose of restoring political, economic, or social order. The TNI doctrine differentiated between two kinds of territorial operations: “construction” operations and “opposition/resistance” operations. Construction operations involve civic action. They are designed to improve conditions in areas considered to be at risk of political and social instability. The military is employed in civic action projects such as construction of housing, schools, dams, irrigation systems, and in the introduction of modern farming systems. In some of the outer islands, these projects were implemented in connection with

¹⁶Interview with former Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono, Jakarta, February 8, 2002.

¹⁷Discussions with Indonesian military officers, Jakarta, February 2002.

the transmigration program, which involved the resettlement of people from heavily populated areas, generally in Java and Madura, to other parts of the archipelago. Construction operations were performed routinely by territorial units or sometimes as part of targeted efforts to reduce the appeal of insurgent groups.

If construction and intelligence operations fail to prevent the development of a threat such as an insurgency, the Indonesian military will conduct opposition/resistance operations. In the first phase, the military forces concentrate their combat power to eliminate the physical presence of the enemy in what is called the *annihilation zone*. As the military gains limited control of this area, it is designated as a *consolidation zone*. When opposition influence wanes, the area is redesignated as a *stabilization zone*. Here “construction” operations are undertaken to reconstruct damaged infrastructure and regain the confidence of the population. When the area is completely pacified, it is redesignated as a *rear area*. After government control is restored, there is a self-correction phase in which the conditions that led the people to revolt are identified and corrected (Sidwell, 1995).