

**Enhancing Indonesia-Thailand Maritime Security  
Cooperation to Response Security Challenges  
in Southeast Asia**

**By**

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## **Abstract**

**Title** : Enhancing Indonesia-Thailand Maritime Security Cooperation to Response Security Challenges in Southeast Asia.

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Indonesia and Thailand have developed naval cooperation since early 1970's and now both countries are facing complex threat and challenges in their region. Other than the traditional security threat, non-traditional security threat has been flourish in Southeast Asia since early 2000 with the rise of terrorism, the maritime security issue, drug trafficking, human smuggling etc. Such threat required the proper response from Indonesia and Thailand through enhancing and increasing their naval cooperation into maritime security cooperation, which has been demonstrated by the involvement of Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy on Malacca Strait Security Patrol (MSSP) and Eye in the Sky.

While current naval cooperation between two countries mostly limited to combined naval exercise, intelligence exchange, officer exchange and education, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has huge opportunity to increase their cooperation into wider and more complex cooperation. In terms of naval operation and training, both navies might have a coordinated patrol on the Gulf of Thailand once Indonesian and Thai governments have sealed agreement on maritime border delimitation on the Andaman Sea. Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy might also enhance and increase the frequency of their bilateral naval exercise, including their respective Marine Corps.

To cope with the non-traditional security threat, it's time for Indonesia and Thailand to enhance and increase their maritime security cooperation which also involving civilian maritime security agency from both countries. The ability of Indonesia and Thailand to increase their naval cooperation in particularly might contribute to the peace and security of Southeast Asia in the midst of big powers rivalry.

## **Preface**

This thesis is driven from my personal experience on defence cooperation between Indonesia and Thailand upon my previous assignment as Indonesian Defence and Naval Attaché to Thailand. I personally believe that there is still large space and opportunity for Indonesia and Thailand to explore, enhance and increase their defence cooperation, including maritime security cooperation in the future. Through this thesis, I'm trying to share my idea, opinion and view into how to enhance and increase Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security cooperation as a response to our common threats and challenges in Southeast Asia. As two of five founding nations of ASEAN, I truly believe that Indonesia and Thailand should have always to contribute to regional peace and security through cooperation on defence and security area.

In truth, I could not have achieved this thesis done without the assistance and support of people around myself. I would like to express my gratitude to all staff of NDC who have provided encouragement, guidance and assistance in the preparation of this Research Paper, also to The Chief of International Cooperation Center of Indonesian Armed Forces, First Admiral TNI Tatit Eko Witjaksono, S.E, M.Tr (Han). Last but not least, my love and gratitude from my wife and my children whom has relentless support and prayer for my success. Without my family, I could not done this thesis.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Background and Significance of Problem

The world security landscape has been changed since 9/11 with nature of the threat has shifted from traditional security issue into the non-traditional security issue. The latter defined as non-traditional security issues, e.g. human trafficking, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, irregular migration, terrorism, piracy, money laundering, disease, famine etc. These threats inflicted more human lives than inter-state conflict and are very different from traditional threats.

Non-traditional security issues emerge as many developing countries has no capacity to provide law and order. Paul Smith defines these challenges as non-military threats that across border and either threaten the political and social integrity of a nation or the health of that nation's inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> In many cases, non-states actors such as terrorist groups or criminal enterprises cause these threats, they find either sanctuary or support within weak states. These non-states actors have an inherent advantage over the government.

Indonesia and Thailand live in the same region and shared the common interest, one of them is regional stability. Since early 2000, both countries had to cope with maritime security issues in and around The Malacca Strait. Piracy and armed robbery, irregular migration, human trafficking, and drug trafficking were prevailed in and around that waters.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul J. Smith, "Transnational Security Threats and State Survival: A Role for the Military", *Parameters*, Autumn 2000, p.78

Thailand which located in the northern part of the Malacca Strait has joined with other Southeast Asia countries effort to battle the threats. On the other hand, Indonesia was affected by increasing maritime security threat in the Malacca Strait which drove other countries and organizations to designated that water as dangerous waters. This situation has prompted Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore to launched coordinated patrol on 20 July 2004, which Thailand joined later.

Even though there was the improvement on the Malacca Strait in term of maritime security after the patrol launched, it's doesn't mean the joint effort had to be concluded. Otherwise, countries in the region should enhance their cooperation on maritime security in order to cope with evolving threat, both bilaterally and multilaterally. On the bilateral basis, Indonesia and Thailand have to explore more opportunities ahead in order to contribute more on Asia Pacific security and stability. The reason behind this is security challenges in Southeast Asia, in particular on the Malacca Strait, Gulf of Thailand and eastern part of Indian Ocean is increasing in years to come.

Figure 1-1 Piracy cases in Asia 2008-2017



Source: ReCAAP



Security challenges in the Gulf of Thailand also affected by drug trafficking in the for wider Southeast Asia. According to *Jane's Intelligence Review*, which quoted a 2015 report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), noted that "East and South-East Asia and Oceania has the largest amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) market in the world".<sup>2</sup> The same report noted that "the synthetic drugs market in East and Southeast Asia and Oceania has become increasingly diversified with the rapid emergence of a growing number of novel psychoactive substances (NPS)", with the number of NPS recorded in the region increasing from 34 in 2009 to 137 in 2014.<sup>3</sup>

For decades, the Golden Triangle - the borderland covering parts of China, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand – was famous for opium and heroin trade traditional hub. But recently, according to *Jane's Intelligence Review*, production levels inferred from seizure rates suggest that the region has turned to the mass production of ATS.<sup>4</sup> This means the Golden Triangle has transformed into ATS production base for drug market in Southeast Asia, China, Australia and areas around the Indian Ocean.

Most of the drug trafficking from Golden Triangle to Southeast Asia archipelago by sea. Referred to *Jane's Intelligence Review* story, larger quantities of ATS may be diverted via Cambodia for transshipment to highly profitable overseas markets such as Australia.<sup>5</sup> Additionally,

Indonesia, the Philippines, and other states in Southeast Asia rely on imported sources of precursor chemicals to produce ATS for their

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<sup>2</sup>. Broadhurst, Roderic, (2017), "Asia's law enforcers face synthetic drug proliferation: Transcontinental express", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol.20 (Issue 8), August 2017, p.42

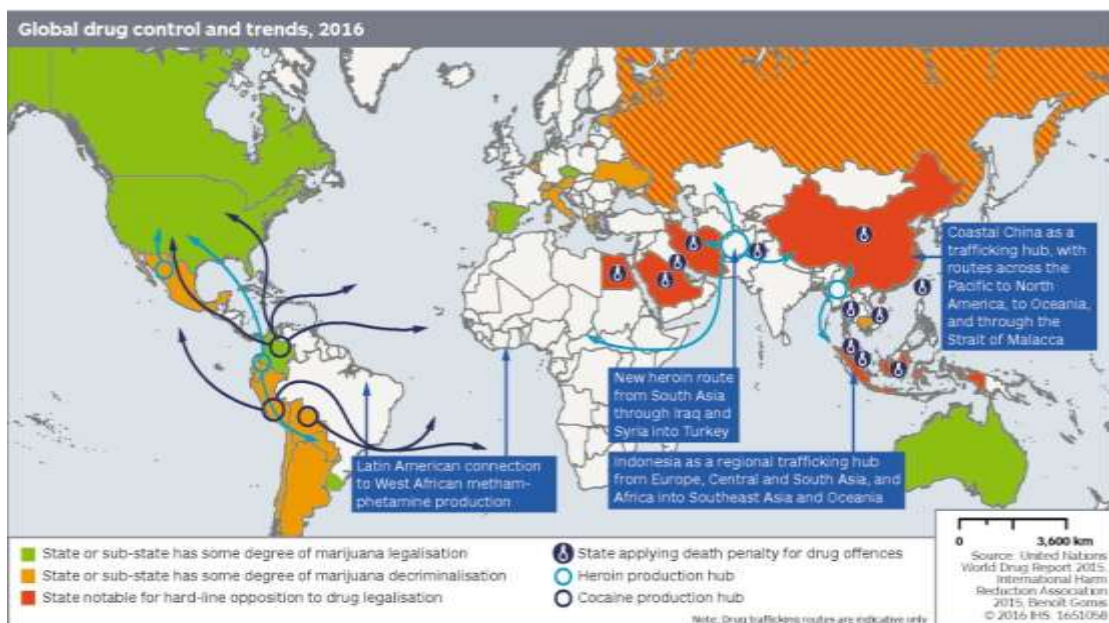
<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.42-43

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.43

<sup>5</sup>. Ibid, p.44

domestic illicit markets or alternatively acquire ATS pills and opiates from producers in Afghanistan, China, the Golden Triangle, and South Asia<sup>6</sup>

Figure 1-2 Global Drug Control and Trends, 2016



Source: Jane's

These developments show how drug trafficking has become the common threat in Southeast Asia and beyond. Taking into account that for years authorities in Southeast Asia has strengthened their airport's security against drug trafficking, it makes sense for the organized crime group to do drug trafficking by sea, which most of the Southeast Asian countries still has a porous border. This assumption has come true if we look at how many drug interception cases by sea done by authorities in this region, in particular in Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippine. Drug trafficking has no become a common threat for Southeast Asian countries now and in future.

<sup>6</sup>. Ibid, p.44

While in the Indian Ocean, countries in the region have seen China in recent years has expanded its maritime power, i.e. PLA Navy well beyond its territorial waters. PLAN regularly deployed task force in the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and European as well. China's presence in the Mediterranean came to particular prominence in the Libya crisis in 2011<sup>7</sup> In April 2013, a three-ship flotilla from China's People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) --- made up of the Type 054A Jiangkai II-class guided-missile frigates *Huangshan* dan *Hengyang* and the Nanyung-class replenishment ship *Qinghai Hu* – visited the Portuguese capital of Lisbon.<sup>8</sup> Previously, China has its deployment to the Indian Ocean in 2008 of a Chinese counter-piracy task group – referred to by the PLAN as a “naval escort fleet”.<sup>9</sup> The Indian Ocean deployment initially intended to showcase PLAN maritime capability in order to maintain maritime security around Somali waters against piracy, but later “the counter-piracy task force is only part of the story, however”.<sup>10</sup> According to Uday Bhaskar, the PLAN has also chosen to deploy submarines in the Indian Ocean region, as evidenced by port calls made by boats to Colombo in Srilanka.<sup>11</sup>

This development showcases how China maritime power has been evolved from brown water navy 30 years ago into near blue water navy currently and its capability to operate far away from home as well. On the other hand, China also expanded its maritime commercial interest aggressively around the world with its One Belt One Road (OBOR) program through investing in foreign ports in Asia, Africa, and Europe. For

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7. Willet, Lee, (2014), “From Piraeus to Portugal: China heads north through European waters?”, Jane's Navy International, Vol 119 (Issue 10), December 2014, p.20

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.20

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.20

<sup>10</sup>. Bhaskar, Uday, (2014), “Strategic sustainment? China's ships, silk roads, and Indian Ocean presence”, Jane's Navy International, Vol 119 (Issue 10), December 2014, p.16

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.16

example, in the latter part of 2010, the business and news sections of some major European broadsheet newspapers reported that China Ocean Shipping Company (COSCO) had purchased pier access at the major international shipping terminal in Piraeus, Greece.<sup>12</sup>

The United States as resident power has to cope with challenges to maintain its domination and leverage in the Asia Pacific region amid its military intervention in the Middle East and Afghanistan since 2001. The National Intelligence Council's *Global Trend 2030* report goes so far as to posit “US naval hegemony over the world’s key sea lanes, in (the Indo-Pacific), and other oceans, will fade as China’s Bluewater navy strengthens”.<sup>13</sup> To prevent China or any other potential challenger from forcibly altering the status quo in strategic regions, the US is developing the Air-Sea Battle concept<sup>14</sup> Operational details remain classified, but the *2012 Joint Operational Access Concept* captures US and allied goals: to use available forces effectively to preserve peace and freedom of operation.<sup>15</sup>

In order to response challenges against United States interest, the then President Barack Obama administration has launched Rebalancing or pivot strategy, which mentioned about more United States diplomacy, defence and economic engagement in the region. In term of defence, since its inception in 2012 Rebalancing has shifted more United States military assets into this region which by 2020 about 60% of US Navy vessels will be stationed here. China rising was the driven factor for Rebalancing,

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<sup>12</sup> Willet, Lee, (2014), Loc.cit. p.20

<sup>13</sup> Erickson, Andrew, (2014), “China’s naval capability: a view from the US?”, Jane’s Navy International, Vol 119 (Issue 10), December 2014, p.14

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.15

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.15

which such rising will affect United States influence and domination in the Asia Pacific region.

Anyone who discusses Indian Ocean maritime security should always be mentioned in India. It's been a consensus that India regards the Indian Ocean as its backyard and part of its national security. Any extra-regional presence in the Indian Ocean will concern India with the question whether such presence is against Indian national interest or not. India's two biggest strategic concerns are Pakistan and China, which the former is continuing to develop a relationship with China. China has been assisted Pakistan to develop Gwadar ports and now managed it's operational which cause much chagrin on India.

The Indian Navy's declared objective to "safeguard India's national interests and maritime security" is all-encompassing, and it is apparent that the main objectives are sea control and sea denial in India's extensive area of interest.<sup>16</sup> On 2 December 2016 the Chief of Naval Staff (CNS), Admiral Sunil Lanba, said that India's primary area of interest was the Indian Ocean region (IOR), followed by the Strait of Bab al-Mandeb and the Strait of Hormuz<sup>17</sup> According to *Jane's World Navies*, the Indian Navy is the seventh-largest navy in the world but suffers from low budget allocations, major delays in warship construction and refit, construction cost overruns, and an aging fleet resulting in increased maintenance and refit requirements<sup>18</sup>

The rivalry between the United States and China in wider Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean regions will guide regions into the path of collision in the future if there is no effort from any party to prevent such

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<sup>16</sup> Jane's World Navies, "Indian Navy", September 2017, p.4

<sup>17</sup>. Ibid, p.4

<sup>18</sup>. Ibid, p.4

happening. India in recent years has to incline itself with the United States against the China rise, with both countries political and defence cooperation has been increased in the faster mode. For example, India has procured some United States major equipment like strategic and tactical transport aircraft (C-17s and C-130Js), a major move from previously Russian made transport aircraft. United States has also provided its blessing for India to pursue and develop civilian nuclear technology regardless Indian rejection to sign nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Indonesia and Thailand have their respective bilateral cooperation on many fields with big and major power around the Indian Ocean, in particular, the United States and China. In term of economy, both countries are the important partner for China in Southeast Asia, in particular trade and investment. In recent years, both countries had also increased its defence cooperation with China, including defence trade which Indonesia and Thailand have imported some China made weapon systems for their particular armed forces.

On the other hand, Indonesia and Thailand have been traditional partners of United States on defence and security field. Beside importing weapon system, both countries have regular engagement with the United States through dialogue, joint exercises, information sharing etc. These engagements had contributed well to Southeast Asia stability for 50 years ago.

With such regional dynamic as background, Indonesia and Thailand have the opportunity to enhance their maritime security cooperation to cope with current and future threat challenges, both traditional and non-traditional threats. Both Jakarta and Bangkok should explore another opportunity arise from current geopolitical competition,

while at the same time also aware about the current situation in and around Gulf of Thailand and Malacca Strait, like developing a situation in Myanmar which will affect regional maritime security. Other than joint exercise, officer exchange, and bilateral dialogue, Indonesia and Thailand should enhance and enlarge its maritime security cooperation into new fields in order to cope with that threat and challenges in the region.

### **Objective of Research**

The research objective is about to identify and explore opportunities for Indonesia and Thailand in order to enhance their maritime security cooperation as a response to security challenges in the region. Both countries had common interest i.e. regional stability, therefore that should be common ground to explore and develop more on maritime security cooperation. Regional security challenges are complex with combined state and non-state actors.

The research questions are:

1. Why Indonesia and Thailand should explore a new form of maritime security cooperation in order to enhance their cooperation rather than current establishment?
2. What type of new form of maritime security cooperation that Indonesia and Thailand need to explore and develop?
3. Will such enhancement answers the security challenge this region copes with?

Indonesia and Thailand should develop a new type of maritime security cooperation beyond naval exercise and officer exchange. Such type of cooperation is old school and can't answer current geopolitical landscape. Otherwise, both countries would not be a responsive actor in their region. New challenges on maritime security should be a response to a new approach and can't always approach with old way approach.

### **Scope of Research**

The scope of this research is on Indonesia and Thailand maritime security in the last 10 years. The data need to be collected are those related to Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation, either from both governments or from the third party which is valid and accountable. Those will be classified into primary and secondary data and will be analyzed through a qualitative approach.

### **Methodology**

This study uses a qualitative research methodology. It looks at both the primary and secondary data which provided intellectual analysis on Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation. The data collection includes the setting of delimitation for the study, collecting through observations and interviews, documents and visual materials.

Primary data collected by conducting qualitative interviews with the prominent and related figures in both countries, the statement made by both governments, the academician and scholar which relevant to this thesis. The interviews used both the structured and unstructured format for open-ended questions with the aim to have a valuable first-hand opinion



and also would be able to confirm certain contradicting issues raised while conducting the study.

The interview subjects are Indonesian and Thailand senior officials whom in charge of maritime security and regional cooperation. This included but not limited to Indonesian Ministry of Defence, Indonesian Navy, Indonesian Armed Forces HQ, Royal Thai Ministry of Defence, Royal Thai Navy, Royal Thai Armed Forces HQ and other maritime security agencies in both countries. The author will also conduct an interview with Royal Thai Navy's Strategic Studies Center and Indonesian Navy's Maritime Strategic Studies Center (Pusjianmar).

Taking into account the topic is more related to qualitative research, therefore the main source of gathering information is by referring to the secondary data. Those are related materials such as books, journals, public documents, Indonesian Navy documents, Indonesian Ministry of Defence documents etc. Last but not least is the National Defence College of Thailand library.

The approach taken into consideration for the data analysis encompasses the controlled comparison and congruence method as to ensure the data and evidence obtained are as comprehensive and representative toward the research questions.

## **Delimitation**

The delimitations in this study are maritime security cooperation other than Indonesia-Thailand on a bilateral basis and the literature that has no direct relation with maritime security. Such limitation is emphasized in order to narrow the study and paying more attention to both countries cooperation.

## **Research Utilization**

Through this research, the author is expected to find new common ground for Indonesia and Thailand to enhance their maritime security cooperation. Such finding will be useful as a suggestion to both Indonesian and Thai authorities to explore a new form of cooperation in near future as to provide both countries commitment on the regional security.

The author will elaborate all available data as a basis to answer the research questions through thorough analysis and regular consultation with the thesis supervisor as well.

## **Definition**

Maritime security: There is no a single definition of maritime security among scholars and practitioners, but maritime security frequently does so by pointing to “threats” that prevail in the maritime domain. The threats are piracy, armed robbery, terrorism, illegal fishing, illegal movement of people, drug trafficking, arms proliferation, illicit goods etc.

Good order at sea: There is no single definition of good order at sea, but one can have referred to Council for Sea Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) that good order at sea ensure the safety and security of shipping and permits countries to pursue their maritime interest and develop their marine resources in an ecologically sustainable and peaceful manner in accordance with international law.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Related Concepts and Theories**

#### **Introduction**

Indonesia and Thailand live in the same region and shared the common interest, in particular on regional stability. For the sake of regional stability, Indonesia and Thailand with three other countries were the founding members of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on 6 August 1967. Throughout its existence, ASEAN has become a forum which Southeast Asian countries cooperate together on various fields in order to attain secure and prosper region. After the Cold War, ASEAN has enlarged its role into wider Asia Pacific region through many fora like ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN-China Summit, ASEAN-US Summit, ASEAN-European Union Summit, East Asia Forum etc.

The flourish of multilateral cooperation through ASEAN doesn't preclude bilateral cooperation between ASEAN member country. Until 2003 or right before the signing of Bali Concord II which celebrates the establishment of ASEAN Community, most of ASEAN cooperation focused on the economic and sociocultural field while security cooperation was deliberately didn't exist. The reason was ASEAN was formed not to become security or defence pact. Only after Bali Concord II adopted in September 2003 then ASEAN formally engaged itself on security cooperation.

Indonesia and Thailand have strengthened their wide bilateral cooperation since the formation of ASEAN. In term of defence, both countries have cooperated since 1970's through regular Army, Navy and

Air Force exercise, officer exchange, military professional education, intelligence exchange and coordinated patrol as well. As time goes by, changing strategic environment has implicated both countries defence and security priority. During 1970's through 1980's, their common threat and challenges were related to Cold War issues such as civil war in Cambodia, Vietnam aggression in Cambodia and the Soviet naval presence in Southeast Asia. In other words, all related to traditional security issue.

With the end of Cold War, peace prevailed in Southeast Asia and ASEAN membership has been enlarged from six countries into ten countries. All Indo-China countries have joined ASEAN before 2000. And threat and challenges changing as well, with non-traditional security issue became the common concern of nation in this region. So are Indonesia and Thailand, with the maritime security issue, people smuggling, drug smuggling etc. got the main concern for both nations.

As mentioned before, since 2004 Indonesia and Thailand have been increasing their intensity of cooperation in the field of maritime security. Along with current threats and challenges that beyond piracy and armed robbery, it's necessary for both countries to increase their cooperation into broadening area i.e. human trafficking, drug trafficking, illegal fishing, etc. In order to follow up such requirements, Indonesia and Thailand should create a concept for cooperation based on mutual interest.

## **Related Concepts, Theories, And Some Other Related Research**

Much has been written on the subject of the maritime security cooperation in the Asia Pacific region. The use of the sea as a conduit for

trade and interaction has had an enduring history. Fast-forward a few hundred years to now, and the forces of globalization have enabled a resurgence in maritime trade and energy flows<sup>19</sup> But on the other hand, one can't ignore that globalization also posed the potential threats to maritime security such as piracy, armed robbery, and terrorism. For Asia Pacific region, the menace of piracy and other threats to the security of merchant shipping caused Lloyd's Joint War Committee to add the Malacca Strait to its list of war risk areas in 2005<sup>20</sup> This was a clear example that maritime security threat can carry many consequences, either at strategic or economic level.

Figure 2-1 Ungoverned Maritime Space



Source: Jane's

<sup>19</sup>. Chew Men Long, "Operationalizing Cooperative Regional Maritime Security", in *Australia and Its Maritime Interests: At Home and Region*, ed. Andrew Forbes, Canberra: Sea Power Centre – Australia, 2008, p.157

<sup>20</sup>. Ibid

In order to cope with such threat, cooperation between countries in the region is a necessity. The cooperation can be classified into two categories, i.e. maritime cooperation and maritime security cooperation. The former is a broader maritime cooperation which involving broader stakeholders, including think tank. While the latter is more focus on maritime security issue which normally only involving those, who has authority on maritime security in the respective country.

Theoretically, effective maritime security cooperation among states need same strong common interests that feel or assumed threatened by other parties. Such situation will be a driven factor for states to cooperate because they think there is compelling belief to defend their common interest. So as the case on the maritime domain, which many countries are compelling to conduct maritime security cooperation since early of last decade.

According to Sam Bateman, “events of 11 September 2001 and subsequent perception of a terrorist threat to shipping and seaborne trade have forced a reappraisal of what we mean by maritime security”.<sup>21</sup> Maritime security concept has expanded into new understanding which not only about navy and defence forces, but also involving civilian agencies like Coast Guard. All these agencies have the role of "protecting the security and well-being of its citizens but instead of over threats from military forces, the threats of concern veiled and perhaps "unthinkable".<sup>22</sup> Maritime security also has international nature which required nations to cooperate in order to cope with the common threat.

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<sup>21</sup>. Sam Bateman, "Capacity Building for Maritime Security Cooperation: What Are We Talking About" by Andrew Forbes (et.all), *Maritime Capacity Building in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Papers in Australian Maritime Affairs No.30, Sea Power Centre – Australia, p.6

<sup>22</sup>. Ibid

Maritime security has the close relation with maintaining good order at sea. According to Geoffrey Till, "the maintenance of good order at sea requires an improved level of awareness, effective policy, and integrated governance. Only a "holistic" all-around maritime approach does justice to the complexity and importance of the linkages between the different values of the sea and its manifold connections with events ashore".<sup>23</sup> Regarding the role of navy and other agencies, "navies, coast guards, and other maritime agencies have an increasingly vital contribution to make in support of good order at sea".<sup>24</sup>

The Asia-Pacific region is not yet ready for a multilateral security arrangement due to differences in strategy, threat perception, fiscal constraints and territorial disputes – particularly regarding the Malacca Strait and the Spratly Islands<sup>25</sup> Most of maritime security cooperation arrangement is based on bilateral basis instead of multilateral one. The reason for this trend is less sensitive, easier to manage and less costly from the perspective of the financial aspect. Maintain sovereignty still main issue for most Asia Pacific countries, in particular, those in the Southeast Asia Region.

## **Conceptual Framework**

This paper is developed on the conceptual framework based on maritime security and maritime security cooperation. Maritime security has become the common interest of all nationalities in this globalized world. With more than 90% of the world, trade flows through the sea, every

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<sup>23</sup>. Geoffrey Till, *Sea Power: A Guide for Twenty-First Century*, second edition, New York: Routledge, 2009, p.306

<sup>24</sup>. Ibid, p.306

<sup>25</sup>. Sam Bateman, op.cit, p178

nation which has the border with sea should bear the responsibility to create a secure environment at sea. Any single incident at sea related to maritime security will affect global security and economy, in particular on choke points. Hence, Western countries always deployed their maritime security forces far beyond their own territory in order to secure choke points and other strategic waters to maintain freedom of navigation.

Sea also provided the human being with natural resources that support human life such as fish and oil and gas. Many countries had the dependency on the sea, both as the medium of transportation, medium of resources and medium of defence. It's nothing new to find any dispute at sea among nations driven by competition on natural resources. The South China Sea has been a vivid example of how nations guarded their interest, reputation, and pride on disputed waters. Even in Europe, the United Kingdom and Iceland were involved in Cold War in order to compete on the codfish fishing ground.

Maritime security has always consisted of security and prosperity aspects. On current circumstances, no country could create and maintain maritime security alone without cooperation with other nations. This notion has become the common conscience for most country, which drives them to set up maritime security cooperation on a bilateral basis and multilateral basis as well. Since early 21<sup>st</sup> century, nations had increased their participation on maritime security cooperation, both on the regional and global level. This move driven by common threat mounted like maritime terrorism, piracy, armed robbery, illegal fishing, human trafficking, drug trafficking etc.

This precedent also happened in Southeast Asia region which suffer from piracy and armed robbery in the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century. At



the peak of piracy and armed robbery in the Malacca Strait between 2000-2005 which drove the United States to threaten to deploy its maritime forces for patrolling around the strait, Malacca Strait's coastal countries hurried to set up the regional initiative in order to cope with the maritime security threat. That initiative called Malacca Strait Coordinated Patrol which has an element on air and sea patrols provided by Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. It's not exaggerated to say that at the time Malacca Strait's coastal countries initiative was driven by United States threat to get involved directly on patrol on these strategic waters.

Based on that precedent, maritime security and maritime security cooperation very viable concept for nations in Southeast Asia. Thanks to Malacca Strait initiative, a few after that ASEAN has created a new forum to discuss maritime cooperation among member states known as ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF). This means that maritime security cooperation in this region is able to institutionalized into the multilateral level and not only depend on bilateral level.

Although maritime security cooperation on the multilateral level has been flourish in this region, no country has abandon that kind of cooperation on the bilateral level. For example, Indonesia and Singapore have strong bilateral maritime security cooperation despite some differences on this issue. So as Indonesia-Malaysia maritime security cooperation which haunted by their overlapping maritime dispute on Sulawesi Sea. All above shown that country in Southeast Asia has the strong commitment to developing maritime security cooperation for the shake of common interest.

## **Conclusion**

Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security based on their shared common interest. As the normal practice, cooperation between nations mostly always based on pragmatism approach instead of theoretical approach. When nations perceived a common threat or find a common ground on any issue, normally that would drive them to engage through either bilateral or multilateral cooperation. Such notion is true for Indonesia and Thailand cooperation for years, including maritime security cooperation.

While the maritime security cooperation is based on pragmatic approach, unwittingly the cooperation also has been meeting theoretical requirement on maritime security. Both country cooperation on maritime security is meeting the theoretical requirement found by prominent current maritime security expert i.e. Geoffrey Till and Sam Bateman. As both experts laid out, nations facing more complex maritime security issue post 9/11, hence cooperation on maritime security is the necessity. They also reiterated that navies should be working together with coast guards and other maritime security agencies in order to provide the vital contribution to maintaining good order at sea.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Literature Review**

#### **Introduction**

For Indonesia, defence cooperation is part of defence diplomacy. Diplomacy itself is the indispensable part of state defence effort based on the reason that defence diplomacy is part of the national power. On Ministry of Defence's State Defence Strategy, it's stated that diplomacy is the first line of defence and conducting during both peace and war. The basic principle for defence diplomacy is mutual respect and benefit on an equal basis.

Defence diplomacy policy has single strategic objective i.e. to attain and secure national interests. Through defence diplomacy, it's expected to nurture confidence-building measures (CBM), to create regional peace and stability and enhancing TNI capability and capacity to defend Indonesia and its interests as well. Defence diplomacy also the main instrument on state defence policy.

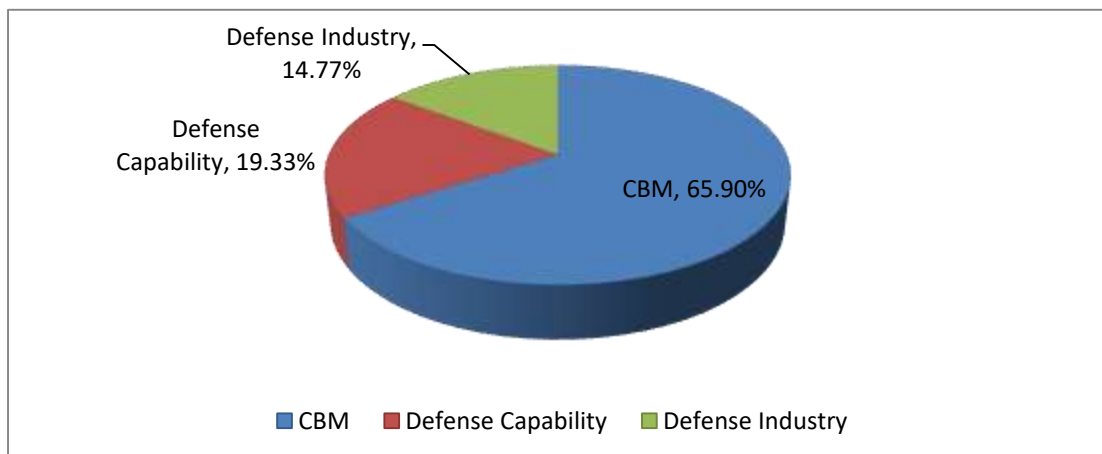
Today, Indonesian defence diplomacy is conducting based on three forms. First, defence diplomacy for nurturing confidence-building measure. Second, defence diplomacy in order to support the enhancement of defence capability. Third, defence diplomacy in order to support defence industry cooperation. The details are in below table:

Figure 3-1 Indonesian defence diplomacy activities



As for Indonesian defence diplomacy activities, look at below:

Figure 3-2 Indonesian defence diplomacy activities percentage



Indonesian defence diplomacy policy has always referred to and in line with foreign policy. As being known, Indonesian foreign policy is based on "free and active" principal which invited during the heyday of Cold War. Through such policy, Indonesia is open the opportunity to cooperate with any country regardless of their political inclination as long as it's meeting with Indonesian national interests. Today Indonesia has two frames of cooperation on defence diplomacy, i.e. bilateral cooperation and multilateral cooperation.

Indonesia and Thailand have initiated their defence cooperation since early 1970's right after the foundation of ASEAN. Both countries have developed a strong, mature and wide defence cooperation that covers Army, Navy and Air Force and intelligence cooperation. Senior defence officials of both nations have always met regularly every year to discuss the current and future cooperation either on Ministry of Defence level or Armed Forces level, including service level. While their middle-rank officers, Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO) and enlisted meet on the ground in the form of combined exercise, either Army, Navy or Air Force. These occasions show how strong Indonesia and Thailand bond on defence cooperation that has been nurtured more than 50 years ago.

In order to improve their defence cooperation, Indonesia Minister of Defence and Thailand Minister of Defence has been signed a Memorandum of Understand in Jakarta on 21 May 2015. Through that agreement, both countries have agreed to facilitate the collaborative effort in order to face the challenges of global security<sup>26</sup> Referred to current global and regional security challenges, Indonesia and Thailand faceless

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<sup>26</sup>. See, [www.republika.co.id/berita/en/jakarta-region-others/15/05/23/nosh4j-indonesia-and-thailand-sign-defence-cooperation-agreement](http://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/jakarta-region-others/15/05/23/nosh4j-indonesia-and-thailand-sign-defence-cooperation-agreement), access on 3 March 2018

traditional security issue than the non-traditional security issue. Terrorism, maritime security, drug trafficking, illegal fishing, human smuggling are current non-traditional security issues that facing both nations. Regional and bilateral cooperation is the cure to cope with these threats.

Figure 3-3 Islamic Extremism in Southeast Asia



Source: Jane's

At the highest level, Indonesia and Thailand have set up *Thailand-Indonesian High-Level Committee*. THAINESIA HLC is a bilateral committee in the framework of Indonesia-Thailand defence cooperation for *Military-to-Military Coordination*. HLC function is a forum for communication and advising on related military activities and issues between TNI and *Royal Thai Armed Forces (RTARF)*. This committee activity including intelligence, operation and training,

peacekeeping, education and other mutually agreed activities. THAINESIA HLC has three sub-committee i.e.:

- 1) *Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee (JISC)*, which assign on intelligence exchange on regional security affairs;
- 2) *Joint Coordinated Operation and Exercise Sub-Committee (JCOESC)*, which assign on to determine policy, path, monitoring and controlling coordinated patrol; and
- 3) *Joint Education and Training Sub-Committee (JETSC)*, which assign on to determine policy, path, monitoring and implementing training and education programs.

On 17 September 2015 TNI and RTARF has assembled 9th THAINESIA HLC meeting at *Shangri-La Hotel*, Bangkok, Thailand. TNI Commander Introduction TNI Gatot Nurmantyo leads Indonesian delegating, while *Chief of Defence Forces of The Royal Thai Armed Forces (CDF RTARF)* Introduction Worapong Sanganetra leads the Thailand delegation. At the end of the meeting, both delegations have agreed on:

- 1) JISC encourage to develop intelligence cooperation at the service level, i.e Army and Naval intelligence and develop intelligence cooperation through a regular meeting between TNI Intelligence Staff (Sintel TNI) dan J2 RTARF in the format of *Analyst-to-Analyst Intelligence Exchange (ATAX)*;

- 2) On peacekeeping operation, both parties have agreed on enhancing cooperation between two countries PKO Center in order to support the establishment of ASEAN PKO *Networks*;
- 3) On border security cooperation, Indonesia and Thailand cooperation still has hurdle for SOP formulation for INDOTHAI Corpat due to unsolved exclusive economic zone meeting between two countries, which the meeting is under the coordination of respective Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- 4) On operations cooperation, both parties have agreed to develop another productive activity in order to maintain security on their borders;
- 5) On military medicine cooperation, both parties have agreed that gradually the activity coordinated by JCOESC, starting from concrete activity in the field, including the formulation of combined medical team SOP for HADR operations;
- 6) On military public affairs and Counter-Terrorism cooperation, both parties have agreed to continue the cooperation, in particular on the plan to have Counter-Terrorism combined exercise in 2016 through the formulation of comprehensive activity planning and realistic training scenario;
- 7) On education cooperation, both parties have agreed to improve personnel capacity on all field, in particular on Thai



language and Indonesian language in order to support both countries cooperation;

8) Both parties have agreed to review the Terms of Reference (TOR) of THAINESIA HLC on JETSC which will be adjusted with terminology and activity of JETSC itself; and

9) Both parties have agreed that all sub-committee formulate a concrete roadmap or timeline for combined activities in order to achieve efficiency and yearly desired output and outcome.

Other than defence cooperation leads by Ministries of Defence of Indonesia and Thailand, both countries develop maritime cooperation as well. Maritime cooperation has always been involving many actors and not limited to defence one. While maritime cooperation between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has been running well, both government also enlarge their cooperation into civilian agencies such as Indonesian Maritime Security Agency (Badan Keamanan Laut/Bakamla) and Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordination Center (MECC).

Indonesian Ministry of Maritime and Fishery Affairs has also cooperation with its Thai partner i.e. Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives which in charge of fishery affairs in Thailand. Both ministries had set up a working group on fisheries as a forum to discuss issues on the fishery like Illegal, Unreported, Unregulated (IUU) Fishing, how to take care Thai fishermen detained by Indonesian maritime security authority for poaching in Indonesian EEZ and territorial waters etc.

Referred to the main topic of this thesis, this chapter will describe Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security which cover both defence and civilian sector. The reason is that with current global and regional challenges and threats, maritime security has not always the defence in nature anymore. The seamless effort is required to cope with maritime security challenges and threat, which defence and civilian cooperation is compulsory.

### **Maritime Security Cooperation on Defence Sector: Indonesian Perspective**

As mentioned before, Indonesia and Thailand have developed a strong, mature and wide defence cooperation since about 50 years ago. On defence sector, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy have a wide-ranging cooperation such as exercises, education, and training, intelligence etc. According to my interview with TNI senior official whom in charge of international cooperation, the current state of cooperation is good, warm and has no tremendous challenging issue. He said that relation between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy officers are good which directly or indirectly affected the overall cooperation.

Indonesia and Thailand have set up a High-Level Committee (HLC) meeting which involving senior officers from TNI and Royal Thai Armed Forces. Up until now, the HLC has succeeded to hold 10 meeting which discusses many issues, including logistic cooperation. During the last HLC meeting, the two delegations had agreed to set up a new sub-committee on logistic which will discuss logistic cooperation.

Based on his assessment, there is room for both Navies to enhance cooperation in term of frequency and quality of combined naval

exercise, to enhance naval coordinated patrol and to enhance intelligence sharing. As for combined naval exercise, both countries could consider increasing their exercise complexity with more sea maneuver on anti-submarine warfare, anti-surface warfare, anti-air warfare, electronic warfare, amphibious operations and maritime surveillance operations as well. In term of maritime security, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy could increase their proficiency on Visit, board, search, and seizure (VBSS), anti-piracy operations and hostage rescue operation.

Such enhancement is required in order to response the current security challenges on Malacca Strait and the Gulf of Thailand. The senior officer said that human trafficking, illegal fishing, and drug trafficking are Indonesian concern for the time being without neglected traditional maritime security issues like piracy and armed robbery. In early February 2018, operations conducted by Indonesian Navy seized one ton of amphetamine in Phillips Strait is warning call for all of us in the region that drug trafficking via sea is one of our current challenges. Drug trafficking has got new concern from Indonesian side.

The participation of Thailand on Malacca Strait Security Patrol (MSSP) and Eyes in the Sky have been praised by Indonesia. This collaboration could be role model for coping with the maritime security issue in the Malacca Strait and its approaching line. While current achieving is quite amazing, both country should keep their participation on MSSP and Eyes in the Sky for future years.

But Indonesia has a concern on enlarging maritime security issue with Thailand due to unsettling maritime border issue on the Andaman Sea, in particular, economic exclusive zone. From Indonesian perspective, both countries should find a solution to solve their dispute on that sector and

once an agreement has been reached, then Indonesia is ready to enlarge the bilateral cooperation. From Indonesian view, demarcation of the maritime border is central issue before it can have maritime security cooperation with Thailand.

Through cooperation, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy officers, in particular, those of young and mid-level officers have an opportunity to develop personal relationships which would be useful once they promoted to senior posts in years to come. Through a healthy personal relationship, those officers could help to maintain and enhance cooperation and also could avoid any possible misunderstanding on the operational level. As we understand, personal relationship between senior and mid-level officers in Southeast Asia region has helped to maintain cordial and warm defence cooperation for years.

With the current turmoil in Myanmar regarding the Rohingya issue, according to senior TNI officer, Indonesia and Thailand are facing the possibility of repeating human boat of Rohingya refugee from Rakhine State in Myanmar who find for safety by fleeing their homeland. In recent month, there is increasing Rohingya refugee flowing from Myanmar to Malaysia through the Andaman Sea and the Gulf of Thailand. In order to cope with this issue, the senior officer suggested that Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy increase their intelligence sharing regarding people movement at sea.

The senior officer also warned that with current complexity of maritime security challenges, Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security has to involved civilian maritime security agencies. Indonesia has its Maritime Security Agency (Badan Keamanan Laut/Bakamla), while Thailand has a similar agency called Thailand

Maritime Enforcement Coordinating Center (MECC). Indonesia's Bakamla and Thai's MECC has set up regular cooperation in the recent year and it's much better if Indonesia and Thailand could have some kind of meeting with involving all maritime security agency, both civilian and naval agencies. The senior officer said in order to enhance Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation, it's should engage civilian maritime agency in both countries.

Taking into account current rivalry between China and the United States which also involving their respective maritime power, according to TNI senior officer, Indonesia, and Thailand has to enhance their effort and cooperation in order to maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Such task is very important because Thailand is prominent power in Southeast Asia peninsula while Indonesia is prominent power in Southeast Asia archipelago. The waters stretch from Malacca Strait into the Gulf of Thailand is the area where Indonesia and Thailand could demonstrate their resolve and willing as responsible actors in this region.

West of Malacca Strait and Gulf Thailand lie the Indian Ocean which becoming the new field for the naval rivalry between India and China, which the former got support from the United States. With China's naval development in a recent decade, it's become common to see Chinese naval warships presence in the Indian Ocean in the disguise of anti-piracy operation. Such naval presence has irritated India which always has a strategic view that the Indian Ocean belongs to India. Increasing China presence along the Indian Ocean, like in Pakistani and Sri Lanka ports in the disguise of economic cooperation through One Belt One Road, also made India not secure.

According to TNI senior officer, the rivalry between China and India in the Indian Ocean could flow into Southeast Asian waters if not managed accordingly. Hence, navies in the region, in particular, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy, has to prepare in order to contain the effect of such rivalry. It's important to avoid Southeast Asian waters to be next field for the rivalry between regional powers i.e. China versus India and United States. It's expected that Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security can play that role.

### **Maritime Security Cooperation on Defence Sector: Thailand's Perspective**

From the Thailand side, according to my source, Thailand, and Indonesia enjoyed long-standing and the cordial relationship which had developed into a comprehensive partnership covering all areas of cooperation that includes a defence component in both bilateral and multilateral aspect. It includes the high-level exchange of visits, coordinated patrols and exercises are taking place at very satisfied level.

In terms of threat, from Thailand's perspective, while the traditional area of tension and concern still remain, non-traditional security issues have become more pronounced. Thailand's maritime security concerns include sea piracy and armed robbery against ship especially in the Strait of Malacca, illegal migration of labor at sea, smuggling of tariff-violated goods and oils at sea, illicit drug trafficking, natural disaster, marine environmental concern and conflicts over fishing rights.

Regarding the Malacca Strait Patrol initiative, given the nature of maritime threats, according to my source from Royal Thai National Security Council, some required more than a single or both countries to

confront those threats on that basis, it took a collaboration effort among littoral states. As mentioned before, Thailand has participated in both coordinated sea and joint air patrols in the Malacca Straits along Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.

In order to enhance naval cooperation, in particular, in face of increased trans-national challenges in the region such as maritime security and natural disaster, both countries and their militaries are now required to work even closer together. In this term, both The Royal Thai Navy and Indonesia naval forces could increase efficient interoperability.

Regarding future cooperation between both navies, according to my Thai source, the maritime security cooperation in the Malacca Strait heralds a new security mindset in defence strategic thinking. It has now seriously incorporated maritime transnational threats that go beyond piracy to include non-traditional security such as maritime terrorism, protecting energy routes and transnational trafficking operations as well as maritime conservation.

As for naval exercise, Thai and Indonesian navies are conducting a joint exercise called "Sea Garuda" to increase cooperation and improve their interoperability. However, as the present complexity characterizing maritime security environment, there has been an increasing demand for the joint effort of regional countries to maintain stability and security. So Thailand and Indonesia could gear up at the broader context of regional cooperation.

The involvement of civilian maritime security agencies from Thailand and Indonesia, Thailand has outlined the necessity of developing maritime law enforcement capabilities as well as promoting military support to civil authorities in dealing with maritime security and natural

disasters. Both countries can have out modalities for military-civilian cooperation to tackle non-traditional challenges.

As part of that, Thailand is unilaterally in the process of drafting the maritime bill in order to upgrade The Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordinating Center (Thai MECC) to be a coast guard type force similar to that of Indonesian Bakamla. In this connection, Thailand and Indonesia could exchange experience and expertise, capacity building and intensify cooperation effort in preventing and suppressing illegal activities at sea.

With current challenges in the Indian Ocean, according to Thai senior official, collective effort need to take place not only Thailand and Indonesia but also beyond, including among ASEAN and between ASEAN and its relevant dialogue partners such as the United States, China, and India at both top and operational level. Sufficient mutual trust among countries needs to be established and enhanced so that they are willing to share information, conduct exercises and establish hotlines to cooperate in preventing and suppressing the maritime threats so as to assure that sea line of communication would be safe and free.

## **Conclusion**

Indonesia and Thailand have enjoyed long-standing and cordial relation on defence sector, including maritime security. Based on their respective national interest, both countries shared common interests regarding maritime security issues, either traditional security issue or non-traditional security issue. Sea piracy, armed robbery, illegal drug trafficking, illegal migration, fisheries issue etc. could be a cornerstone for enhancing their cooperation. At the same time, Indonesia and Thailand



have also seen the necessity improving and enhancing the role of their respective civilian maritime security agencies in order to tackle with non-traditional security issues.

Both sides also see the need to increase their maritime security cooperation, in particular, naval cooperation, in all forms. Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy need to increase their engagement at sea in order to increase their interoperability. At the end of the day, while my Thai source didn't mention specifically on increasing the level of complexity on combined naval exercise, there is a need in the future for that as part of the effort to increase naval interoperability. Last but not least, both navies also require to increase their cooperation on multilateral mode with other navies, especially ASEAN navies.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Data Analysis**

#### **Introduction**

Indonesia and Thailand have developed strong, mature and wide defence cooperation on maritime security which mostly involving navies. The cooperation involving many fields such as intelligence, combined exercise and officer exchange. This cooperation has been getting full support and endorsement from most senior officials on defence affairs in two countries through Memorandum of Understand in Jakarta signed on 21 May 2015. Through that agreement both countries had agreed to facilitates the collaborative effort in order to face the challenges of global security.

Future threat and challenge on the maritime security issue in this region will require more cooperation between nations. Because no nation can cope with evolving and complex maritime security issue, enhancing cooperation is one key to cope with it. Through enhancing cooperation, the nation's capacity and capability will increase double or more thanks to assistance from other partners. In regard to Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation, before enhancing their cooperation there is a requirement to evaluate and analyze their current level of cooperation.

Referred to previous chapters, there are some important issues need to emphasize on the current level of maritime security cooperation between Indonesia and Thailand.

First, cooperation legal basis. The legal basis for maritime security cooperation so far only based on sectoral agreement instead of multi-sectoral agreement. The sectoral agreement is

an agreement between two partners on a sectoral basis, for example, the agreement or MoU between respective ministers on defence affairs. Or the agreement or MoU between respective ministers in charge fisheries affairs. There is no single and comprehensive agreement between Indonesia and Thailand which covers all kind of maritime security cooperation between different agencies in two countries. This sectoral legal basis could not answer with current challenges on maritime security. There is a requirement to enhance cooperation on the seamless basis, which means Indonesia and Thailand maritime security agencies, no matter military or civilian agency, should form a seamless cooperation. Seamless cooperation will help to cope with complex challenges which much of them are beyond military or naval reach.

Second, no regular joint senior officials meeting to discuss the cooperation. While there is a regular senior official meeting between Indonesia and Thailand to discuss maritime security cooperation on the sectoral level, there is not yet a joint senior official meeting which involving all maritime security officials across the board. For example, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy have regular forum known as Navy to Navy Talk as a venue to discuss and review their maritime security cooperation. Or the Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fishery has the similar venue with its Thai partner, so as Indonesian Bakamla and Thai MECC. Taking into consideration that maritime security challenges has been evolved and ramified, Indonesia

and Thailand should set up a venue for joint senior officials meeting. The meeting is a joint meeting between senior civilian and military senior officials whom in charge of maritime security issue from across the board. This effort would help two countries to curb with current and future security challenges in the Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait.

Third, cooperation still dominated by navies. Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security has been mostly dominated by naval cooperation. While historically that cooperation initiated by Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy since 1970, there is a need to widen the cooperation beyond navy. The main reason is current strategic environment has been a dramatic change compared to the era once maritime security cooperation initiated in 1970's. Cold War has been gone, the state has not dominated or driven the development of security issues, the non-state actor has played their own role on security issues, and last but not least non-traditional security issues have prevailed in Southeast Asia since 1990's. In order to cope with such change and challenges, Indonesia and Thailand have to widen its maritime security cooperation beyond naval actors. The role of civilian maritime security actor like Indonesian's Bakamla and Thai's MECC has to enlarge in years to come since with complex security challenges, the navies can't cope with it alone. With the involvement of civilian maritime security agencies, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy can share the

burden on maritime security issue with their respective civilian agencies.

Fourth, cooperation still limited on a traditional mode. The cooperation between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy so far mostly limited on traditional shape i.e. intelligence, officer exchange, and combined exercise. The two countries need to improve their naval cooperation into more advanced mode, like increasing the frequency of coordinated patrol, increasing the complexity of naval exercise and enhancing the intelligence exchange. As for the coordinated patrol, Patkor INDOTHAI still has to postponed due to unresolved maritime border issue between Indonesia and Thailand on the Andaman Sea. For regular naval exercise between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has to change as well with involving more complex exercise. For example, more exercise on anti-submarine warfare based on the consideration that Indonesia has operated submarines for over 60 years while Thailand is on the edge to be the next submarine operator in Southeast Asia. The naval exercise including anti-surface warfare, anti-air warfare, electronic warfare, amphibious operations and maritime surveillance operations as well in order to improve and enhance both navies proficiency on those type of naval warfare.

Fifth, cooperation still focused on the bilateral country issue. The engagement of Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy on maritime security cooperation still basically drive by both

countries bilateral issue instead of the regional issue. With the flourish of regional security issue like the rivalry between the United States and China at sea, Indonesia and Thailand should put it into their consideration on future naval cooperation. Both countries had unique relation with either United States and China, with each country become end-user of both United States and Chinese-made weapon system. Taking into account that the rivalry could change the regional balance of power, Indonesian and Thai maritime security cooperation, in particular, naval cooperation, should enhance into conflict prevention mode. The shape of conflict prevention mode can be in the form of intelligence exchange between two navies on warship movement around The Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait, in particular, the United States and Chinese warships movement. The idea is to prevent any "unfriendly behavior" during these warships encounter. Other than that, Indonesia and Thailand should prevent the sea line between The Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait as a new ground for the United States and China rivalry after the South China Sea.

Sixth, maritime border delimitation issue. The effort to enhance and increase Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation still has a hurdle with maritime border delimitation issue. Both countries had yet to reach agreement on the economic exclusive zone (EEZ) on the Andaman Sea north of Malacca Strait. Therefore, Indonesia is reluctant to conduct a coordinated patrol with Royal Thai Navy as long as that border limitation

issue does not resolve yet. In Introduction, Indonesia and Thailand have agreed on conducting Patkor INDOTHAI but postponed the implementation until the delimitation issue solved diplomatically. From Indonesian view, it's normal to paid concern on border issue with surrounding country since Indonesia is very sensitive on the sovereignty issue. The postponement of Patkor INDOTHAI driven by Indonesia's concern that without agreed delimitation, it's quite hard for Indonesian Navy to determine the border between two countries as part of formulation the Patkor INDOTHAI's standard operating procedure. Indonesia always wants to avoid "a fait accompli" by others on delimitation issue. While most of Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation based on a bilateral basis, both nations involved in multilateral cooperation as well. It's demonstrated on Malacca Strait Security Patrol (MSSP) and Eye in the Sky. So far this is the single platform for Indonesia and Thailand, due to Indonesian foreign policy stance mostly preferred on bilateral cooperation instead of multilateral cooperation.

## **Conclusion**

Referred to previous analysis, there is plenty of spaces for Indonesia and Thailand to enhance and improve their maritime security cooperation in the future as long as both countries economic exclusive zone border delimitation has been sealed. In practice, current unresolved maritime border delimitation has not affected most of the maritime security cooperation, except the coordinated patrol called Patkor INDOTHAI.

Indonesia has demonstrated that the unresolved maritime border issue has not hindered other maritime security and or naval cooperation with Thailand.

While the cooperation has been enlarged which beyond naval cooperation and also involving civilian maritime security agency, such cooperation has not put on the more aligned structure. Current cooperation mostly based on sectoral agency approach instead of multi-sectoral agency approach. With current and future maritime security challenge in Southeast Asia region, Indonesia and Thailand have to improve the cooperation into seamless one regardless of civilian or military agency.

In regard to naval cooperation, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy still have large opportunities to enhance and improve the cooperation. Current type of cooperation on intelligence sharing, combined exercise etc. could improve more into more complex one. Once they can improve it, it will provide benefit for Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy in term of capacity and capability. Other than that, both countries contribute more on regional peace and stability.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusions And Recommendations**

#### **Introduction**

Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation has been evolved as a response to strategic environment dynamic. The cooperation has been strong and mature and evolving as well with more involvement of civilian maritime security agencies from two countries. It's been demonstrated in recent years that civilian maritime security agencies had increased their interaction and scope of cooperation into a new field. But it's fair to say that maritime security cooperation has still dominated by defence actors, in particular navies.

The MoU on defence cooperation signed by Indonesian Defence Minister and Thai Defence Minister was a new cornerstone to proceed for next phase of cooperation. With current challenges on maritime security on the Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy have the opportunity to enhance and increase their level of cooperation.

On the other hand, Indonesia and Thailand also have challenges on their cooperation. One of them is the unsolved maritime border issue between two countries in the Andaman Sea. This issue should leave to senior government officials to solve and beyond the navy level. Once the issue been solved, Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy have the opportunity to enlarge their maritime security cooperation.

## **Conclusion**

Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy have become the mainstay of maritime security cooperation between two countries. The form of cooperation i.e. combined exercise, coordinated patrol both on the bilateral and multilateral level, intelligence cooperation, officer exchange and education. On the multilateral level, Indonesia and Thailand are part of Malacca Strait Security Patrol (MSSP) and Eye in the Sky together with Malaysia and Singapore. This kind of cooperation has been established almost 15 years ago with satisfied outcome i.e. the improvement of the maritime security situation on Malacca Strait.

In terms of bilateral cooperation, both navies had regular training and exercise, intelligence exchange, officer exchange etc. These engagements had help both parties to understand each other threat perception, the way to conduct naval cooperation and last but not will develop personal relationships between senior and middle-level officers that will help future cooperation. Both countries have the common threat at sea, i.e. piracy, and armed robbery, human smuggling, drug smuggling, illegal fishing etc. Such common threat made the cooperation easier because Indonesia and Thailand have common enemy need to cope with.

In order to discuss their regular cooperation, Indonesia and Thailand have a specific forum like HLC at the Armed Forces level and Navy to Navy Talk at navy level. Such forum has been effective, but also need to explore the new opportunity for future cooperation. Increasing naval training and exercise into more complex one, developing logistic are another area of cooperation that can be strengthening both navies cooperation while improving their professionalism in maritime warfare.

With current and future threat and challenge on maritime security, maritime security cooperation could not anymore only on Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy. That needs more involvement from civilian maritime security agencies from both countries, something needs to enhance and enlarge at the moment. Most of the current maritime security cooperation still dominated by navies, while the threat has become more complex which need the participation of civilian maritime security agency.

## **Recommendation**

Indonesia and Thailand should enhance and enlarge their bilateral maritime security cooperation with more involvement of their respective civilian maritime security agency. Other than HLC for senior military officials, both countries should set up a new forum which involving all military and civilian maritime security agencies. The new forum will focus on enhancing maritime security cooperation seamlessly between civilian agency and military agency. This forum could be the answer to evolving maritime security threat and challenge in Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, taking into account the unresolved on maritime border between Indonesia and Thailand in the Andaman Sea, both government should expedite the discussion on that issue. Once the maritime border issue is solved, Indonesia and Thailand have more opportunity to enlarge and enhance their level of cooperation on their border north of Malacca Strait.

Below are proposed future cooperation that might be exploited between two navies.

First, on policy cooperation. On policy cooperation, Indonesia and Thailand set up Indonesia-Thailand Maritime Security Forum which covers senior officials from ministry in charge of maritime security, navy, and civilian maritime security agency. The objective of the forum is to review the state of cooperation on regular basis and the set up the roadmap for future cooperation. The roadmap is based on five years plan ahead which demonstrated current and future concern on maritime security issue development. Other than that, Indonesia and Thailand could set up a regular joint maritime security seminar which held annual or every two years. Those who involved in the seminar are senior officials from ministry/cabinet officer in charge on the maritime security issue, navy and civilian maritime security agency officials and academician. The seminar is part of one and half-track diplomacy where the stakeholders might share their view, opinion, idea in order to cope with current and future threats and challenges and also to advance Indonesia-Thailand maritime security cooperation.

Second, on operational cooperation. As for operational level, there is much opportunity that might be explored and exploited for the sake of common interest of Indonesia and Thailand. The operational level cooperation consisted of combined patrol and combined naval air patrol. They are as follow:

1. **Combined Patrol.** Conducting coordinated Naval Patrol called Patkor INDOTHAI, which conducted a

few times a year (based on assumption that Indonesia and Thailand have sealed the agreement on their exclusive economic zone border delimitation on the Andaman Sea). The Patkor INDOTHAI concern not only on piracy and armed robbery at sea but also to deter and combat on drug trafficking and human smuggling activities around Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait.

2. **Combined Naval Air Patrol.** Combined naval air patrol is involving Indonesian Navy's Air Arm and Royal Thai Navy's Air Arm withheld at least biannual on the Gulf of Thailand and northern part of Malacca Strait. The air patrol objectives are to deter and combat all irregular activities on these waters and to increase interoperability between two navies Air Arm.

Third, on exercise and training cooperation. For exercise and training level, Indonesian and Thailand might have various activities in order to increase and honed their interoperability.

Those includes:

1. **Combined Naval Exercise.** Increasing the frequency of Exercise Sea Garuda from once every two years into annual exercise follow by increasing the complexity of exercise scenario such as anti-submarine warfare, anti-air warfare, electronic warfare etc. The objective of increasing the complexity of exercise scenario is to make the exercise is more realistic, hence might help

to increase the interoperability between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy. Last but not least, HADR scenario is also inserted on the combined exercise which might help future cooperation and interoperability on real HADR operations in the region and out of the region.

## **2. Combined Maritime Peacekeeping Exercise.**

Indonesia and Thailand set up new exercise on maritime peacekeeping operation which could hold once every two years. The exercise objective is to increase both navies professionalism and proficiency on the maritime peacekeeping operation. With both countries is seeking more role in international peacekeeping operations, maritime peacekeeping operations is a field that might be explored jointly. With almost 10 years engagement on maritime peacekeeping operations, Indonesia could share its experience on this matter with Thailand.

## **3. Combined Marine Corps Exercise.**

The combined exercise is involving Indonesian Marine Corps and Royal Thai Marine Corps. This exercise is held annually and separate from current Sea Garuda Exercise. Through the training, both Marine Corps might enhance their interoperability and professionalism and exchange their respective experience and knowledge on Marines operations.

4. **Combined Maritime Security Exercise.** The combined Maritime Security Exercise is involving all maritime security stakeholders from Indonesia and Thailand, such as Indonesian Navy and Bakamla from Indonesian side and Royal Thai Navy and Thai MECC from Thailand side. The exercise objective is to honed skill and professionalism on managing and handling maritime security issues across the board, also increasing seamless naval and civilian response to maritime security threat and challenges.

5. **Naval Training Exchange.** Increasing naval training exchange between two navies, which enlarging the cooperation into tactical courses for officers and NCO. The training could be on all aspect of maritime warfare (anti-surface warfare, anti-submarine warfare, anti-air warfare etc), naval medicine, logistic, hydrographic etc.

Fourth, on intelligence cooperation. For intelligence cooperation, Indonesian and Thailand could cooperate on following issues:

1. **Naval Intelligence Exchange.** Increasing maritime intelligence exchange cooperation through the establishment of a hotline between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy Intelligences offices.

**2. Maritime Security Intelligence Exchange.** All maritime security stakeholders from Indonesia and Thailand are involved in this cooperation, including Indonesia's Bakamla and Thai's MECC. Both countries set up a fusion center on each country as a vehicle for real-time intelligence exchange on the maritime security issue.



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## **Special Interview Queries in Enhancing Indonesia- Thailand Maritime Security Cooperation to Respond Security Challenges in the Southeast Asia**

Rank/Name : Mr. Danai Mosa  
Position : Deputy Secretary General of the National Security Council

1. *Indonesia and Thailand were two of five ASEAN founding countries. I would like to hear your opinion and assessment about both country relation, in particular on defense sector? Is there any challenge or hurdle for current cooperation on defense sector?*

**Answer.**

Thailand and Indonesia enjoyed long standing close and cordial relations, which have developed into a comprehensive partnership covering all areas of cooperation that includes a defence component in both bilateral and multi-lateral aspects. The on-going activities of high-level exchange of visits, coordinated patrols and exercises are taking place of very satisfied level.

2. *Is there any need to explore more opportunity for enhancing Indonesia Thailand in the future? If yes, what opportunity do you envision?*

**Answer.**

Regarding maritime aspect, Thailand is in the process of drafting the Maritime bill in order to upgrade the Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordinating Center (Thai-MECC) to be a Coastguard type force, similar to that of Indonesia BAKAMLA. In this connection, we could exchange experience and expertise, capacity building and intensity cooperative efforts in preventing and suppressing illegal activities at sea.

3. *Would like to share your threat perception that Indonesian or Thailand cope with in the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Thailand and Malacca Strait? Do you envision drug trafficking as threat for both country?*

**Answer.**

While traditional areas of tension and concern still remain, non-traditional security issues, have become more pronounced. Our maritime security concerns include sea piracy and armed robbery against ship especially in the strait of Malacca, illegal migrant of labor at sea, smuggling of tariff violated goods and oils at sea, illicit drug trafficking natural disaster, marine environmental concerns and conflicts over fishing right.

4. *One particular is of cooperation between Indonesia and Thailand is maritime security. In regard to such cooperation, what's is your opinion and assessment about Indonesia-Thailand current maritime security cooperation, in particular on Gulf of Thailand and Malacca Strait? Is there any challenge or hurdle for current cooperation on naval cooperation?*

**Answer.**

Thailand and Indonesia joined the Malacca strait patrols initiative along with Malaysia and Singapore to conduct coordinated sea and joint air patrols in the Malacca Strait, one of the most important strategic choke point. Given the nature of maritime threats, however, some required more than a single or both countries to confront these threats on that basis, it took a collaborative effort among littoral states.

5. *Still about naval cooperation, is there any opportunity to enhance cooperation on mentioned waters in the future? If yes, what opportunity do you envision?*

**Answer.**

In face of increase transnational challenges in the region such as in maritime security and natural disaster, both countries and their militaries are now required to work even closer together. The Royal Thai and Indonesian naval forces could increase efficient interoperability.

6. *Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has been engaged for decades for many form of cooperation, including naval exercise and coordinated patrol. From your point of view, what challenge or hurdle that affect current cooperation? Is there any form of cooperation that need to enhance in the future? Do we need a coordinated patrol and or information sharing for maritime security beyond of Malacca Strait, for example on the Gulf of Thailand? Do we need more joint naval exercise frequency that current level?*

**Answer.**

The Maritime security cooperation in the strait heralds a new security mindset in defence strategic thinking, it has now seriously incorporated maritime transnational threats that go beyond piracy to include non-traditional security such as maritime terrorism, protecting energy routes, transnational criminal trafficking operations as well as maritime conservation.

7. *In order to increase interoperability between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy, is that wise if both country conduct more naval exercise in the future? If yes, would you share your vision on this issue?*

**Answer.**

Indonesian and Thai navies are conducting a joint exercise “Sea Garuda” to increase cooperation and improve their interoperability through joint sea operations. However, as the present complexity characterizing maritime security environment there has been and increasing demand of joint efforts of regional countries to maintain stability and security. Thailand and Indonesia including ASEAN countries could gear up at boarder context of regional cooperation.

8. *Taking into account that maritime security is complex issue and involving so many actor, what is your opinion on the idea of involving civilian maritime security agency from Indonesia and Thailand? What form of cooperation need to develop between those agencies?*

**Answer.**

Thai has outlined the necessity of developing maritime law enforcement capabilities as well as promoting military support to civil authorities in dealing with maritime security and natural disasters. We can work out modalities for military-civilian cooperation to tackle non-traditional challenges.

9. *Would you share your opinion and assessment about US-China rivalry in the Indian Ocean? Also about India-China rivalry in that waters, where Indian has inclined itself with US to cope with China rise.*

**Answer.**

Regarding the role of us, lower level of attention paid by the US towards the Indian Ocean in comparison to the Pacific Ocean, whereas India-China dynamics are characterized by continuous suspicion, as both continue to contest each other in the Indian Ocean due to their fear of dominance by the other in the region. However, competitive coexistence is the key to regional stability.

10. *Indonesia and Thailand has conducted maritime security cooperation for many years. With current threat and challenges in the Indian Ocean (US-China rivalry, Indian-China rivalry), Gulf of Thailand (drug trafficking, human smuggling), Malacca Strait (piracy and armed robbery) what measures for both countries should take to develop their future cooperation.*

**Answer.**

Collective efforts need to take place not only Thailand and Indonesia, but also beyond, including among ASEAN and between ASEAN and its relevant Dialogue Partners such as the US, China and India at both top and operational level. Sufficient mutual trust among countries needs to be established and enhanced so that they are willing to share information, conduct exercise and establish hotlines to cooperate in preventing and suppressing the maritime threats so as to assure that sea line of communicate would be safe and free.

## Biography



Full Name	:	Colonel (Navy) Adriansyah, S.E
Date of Birth	:	07 April 1967
Education Background	:	- Bachelor Degree of Economic Management-2010
Military Course	:	- Advance Course-2001 - Naval Command and Staff College-2004 - Defence Attaché Course-2011
Military Experience	:	- CO of Fast Patrol Boat Class 859-1998 - CO of Mine Sweeper Class 726-2000 - XO of Naval Base Type B-2003 - CO of Naval Base Type C-2008 - CO of Frigate Class 351-2010 - Indonesian Naval Attaché to Thailand-2012
Current Position	:	- Staff Officer for The Fleet Commander 1-2017



## **Summary**

**Title :** Enhancing Indonesia - Thailand Maritime Security Cooperation to Response Security Challenges in Southeast Asia.

**Field:** Strategy

**Name:** Colonel (Navy) Adriansyah, S.E. Course NDC Class 60

### **Background and Importance of the Problem**

The world security landscape has been changed since 9/11 with nature of the threat has shifted from traditional security issue into a non-traditional security issue. The latter defined as non-traditional security issues, e.g. human trafficking, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, irregular migration, terrorism, piracy, money laundering, disease, famine etc. These threats inflicted more human lives than inter-state conflict and are very different from traditional threats.

Indonesia and Thailand live in the same region and shared a common interest, one of them is regional stability. Since early 2000, both countries had to cope with maritime security issues in and around The Malacca Strait. Piracy and armed robbery, irregular migration, human trafficking and drug trafficking were prevailed in and around that waters. Thailand which located in the northern part of the Malacca Strait has joined with other Southeast Asia countries effort to battle the threats. On the other hand, Indonesia was affected by increasing maritime security threat in the Malacca Strait which drove other countries and organizations to designated that water as dangerous waters. This situation has prompted Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore to launched coordinated patrol on 20 July 2004, which Thailand joined later.

Even though there was an improvement on the Malacca Strait in term of maritime security after the patrol launched, it's doesn't mean the joint effort had to be concluded. Otherwise, countries in the region should enhance their cooperation on maritime security in order to cope with evolving threat, both bilaterally and multilaterally. On the bilateral basis, Indonesia and Thailand have to explore more opportunities ahead in order to contribute more on Asia Pacific security and stability. The reason behind this is security challenges in Southeast Asia, in particular on the Malacca Strait, Gulf of Thailand and eastern part of Indian Ocean is increasing in years to come.

### **The objective of the Research**

The research objective is about to identify and explore opportunities for Indonesia and Thailand in order to enhance their maritime security cooperation as a response to security challenges in the region. Both countries had common interest i.e. regional stability, therefore that should be common ground to explore and develop more on maritime security cooperation. Regional security challenges are complex with combined state and non-state actors.

The research questions are:

1. Why Indonesia and Thailand should explore a new form of maritime security cooperation in order to enhance their cooperation rather than current establishment?
2. What type of new form of maritime security cooperation that Indonesia and Thailand need to explore and develop?
3. Will such enhancement answers the security challenge this region copes with?

### **The scope of the Research**

The scope of this research is on Indonesia and Thailand maritime security in the last 10 years. The data need to be collected are those related

to Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation, either from both governments or from the third party which are valid and accountable. Those will be classified into primary and secondary data and will be analyzed through a qualitative approach.

## **Methodology**

This study used a qualitative research methodology. It looks at both the primary and secondary data which provided intellectual analysis on Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation. The data collection includes the setting of delimitation for the study, collecting through observations and interviews, documents and visual materials.

Primary data collected by conducting qualitative interviews between the prominent and related figures in both countries, the statement made by both governments, the academician and scholar which relevant to this thesis. The interviews used both the structured and unstructured format for open-ended questions with the aim to have a valuable first-hand opinion and also would be able to confirm certain contradicting issues raised while conducting the study.

Taking into account the topic is more related to qualitative research, therefore the main source of gathering information is by referring to the secondary data. Those are related materials such as books, journals, public documents, Indonesian Navy documents, Indonesian Ministry of Defense documents etc. Last but not least is the National Defense College of Thailand library.

The approach taken into consideration for the data analysis encompasses the controlled comparison and congruence method as to ensure the data and evidence obtained are as comprehensive and representative toward the research questions.

## Results

Indonesia and Thailand have initiated their defence cooperation since early 1970's right after the foundation of ASEAN. Both countries have developed a strong, mature and wide defence cooperation that covers Army, Navy and Air Force and intelligence cooperation. Senior defence officials of both nations have always met regularly every year to discuss the current and future cooperation either on Ministry of Defence level or Armed Forces level, including service level. While their middle-rank officers, Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO) and enlisted meet on the ground on the form of combined exercise, either Army, Navy or Air Force. These occasions show how strong Indonesia and Thailand bond on defence cooperation that has been nurtured more than 50 years ago.

One key area of cooperation is maritime security cooperation which in recent years has been involving many actors other than Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has been running, i.e. civilian agencies such as Indonesian Maritime Security Agency (Badan Keamanan Laut/Bakamla) and Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordination Center (MECC). Taking into consideration that future threat and challenge on the maritime security issue in the region will require more cooperation between nations, Indonesia and Thailand should enhance their maritime security cooperation into a wider area and involve more role from civilian maritime security agency while also enhancing navy to navy cooperation in terms of capacity and capability building. In order to achieve their common goal, both countries should take care of following issues.

First, cooperation legal basis. The legal basis for maritime security cooperation should transform from sectoral cooperation agreement into multi-sectoral cooperation one. There should be a single and comprehensive agreement between Indonesia and Thailand which covers all kind of maritime security cooperation between different agencies in two countries. One should remind that other than maritime security and fishery issues, drug

trafficking and human smuggling are also common threat and challenges for Indonesia and Thailand. Therefore, it's important for both countries to enlarge their legal basis on maritime security cooperation into a multi-sectoral agreement at a higher level. This agreement might be discussed between a most senior official in Indonesia and Thailand cabinets whom in charge on security affairs.

Second, set up a joint senior officials meeting to discuss the maritime security cooperation. Taking into consideration that maritime security challenges has been evolved and ramified, Indonesia and Thailand should set up a venue for joint senior officials meeting called Indonesia-Thailand Maritime Security Forum which all stakeholders, military and civilian agency, from both nations assemble regularly to address and review their cooperation. The forum could also determine the cooperation way ahead since it's should be better if Indonesia and Thailand have middle term roadmap for maritime security cooperation. Such a roadmap should decide by their respective senior official on cabinet level and that's why the existence of bilateral maritime security forum is important.

Third, cooperation still dominated by navies. Indonesia and Thailand cooperation on maritime security has been mostly dominated by naval cooperation. With the Cold War has been gone and new threat and challenges arise, both nations have to widen its maritime security cooperation beyond naval actors. The role of civilian maritime security actor like Indonesian's Bakamla and Thai's MECC has to enlarge in years to come since with complex security challenges, the navies can't cope with it alone.

Fourth, cooperation still limited to a traditional shape. The cooperation between Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy so far mostly limited on traditional shape i.e. intelligence, officer exchange and combined exercise. The two countries need to improve their naval cooperation into more advanced shape, like increasing the frequency of coordinated patrol, increasing the complexity of naval exercise and enhancing the intelligence exchange. While Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy still waiting for the settlement of maritime border issue on the Andaman Sea, both navies actually still could strengthen their field cooperation.

Fifth, cooperation still focused on the bilateral country issue. The engagement of Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy on maritime security cooperation still basically drive by both countries bilateral issue instead of the regional issue. With the flourish of regional security issue like the rivalry between the United States and China at sea, Indonesia and Thailand should put it into their consideration on future naval cooperation. Taking into account that the rivalry could change the regional balance of power, Indonesian and Thai maritime security cooperation, in particular, naval cooperation, should enhance into conflict prevention mode.

Sixth, maritime border delimitation issue. The effort to enhance and increase Indonesia and Thailand maritime security cooperation still has a hurdle with maritime border delimitation issue. Both countries had yet to reach agreement on the economic exclusive zone (EEZ) on the Andaman Sea north of Malacca Strait. Therefore, Indonesia is reluctant to conduct a

coordinated patrol with Royal Thai Navy as long as that border limitation issue does not resolve yet. In general, Indonesia and Thailand have agreed on conducting Patkor INDOTHAI but postponed the implementation until the delimitation issue solved diplomatically.

Seventh, no cooperation yet for multinational operations. Peacekeeping cooperation between Indonesia and Thailand has been agreed on THAINESIA HLC. With maritime peacekeeping operations has also become a regular activity in some part of the world ocean, it's better for Indonesia and Thailand to enlarge their current peacekeeping cooperation into maritime forces component. The main idea for maritime peacekeeping cooperation is how both navies share their view, experience and best practice on such operations, with Indonesian Navy could share its own experience with Royal Thai Navy on how to prepare and engage on the multinational maritime task force for peacekeeping based on Indonesian first-hand experience on UNIFIL Maritime Task Force operations.

Eight, strengthening naval HADR cooperation. THAINESIA HLC has been covering HADR cooperation under the guise of military medicine cooperation. Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy could take measure into HADR cooperation that beyond military medicine cooperation. Other than exercise, both Indonesian Navy and Royal Thai Navy has their respective experience on HADR operations during their response to Indian Ocean tsunami almost 14 years ago.

## **Recommendation**

Indonesia and Thailand should enhance and enlarge their bilateral maritime security cooperation with more involvement of their respective civilian maritime security agency. Other than HLC for senior military officials, both countries should set up a new forum which involving all military and civilian maritime security agencies. The new forum will focus on enhancing maritime security cooperation seamlessly between civilian agency and military agency. This forum could be the answer to evolving maritime security threat and challenge in Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, taking into account the unresolved on maritime border between Indonesia and Thailand in the Andaman Sea, both government should expedite the discussion on that issue. Once the maritime border issue resolves, Indonesia and Thailand have more opportunity to enlarge and enhance their level of cooperation on their border north of Malacca Strait.