

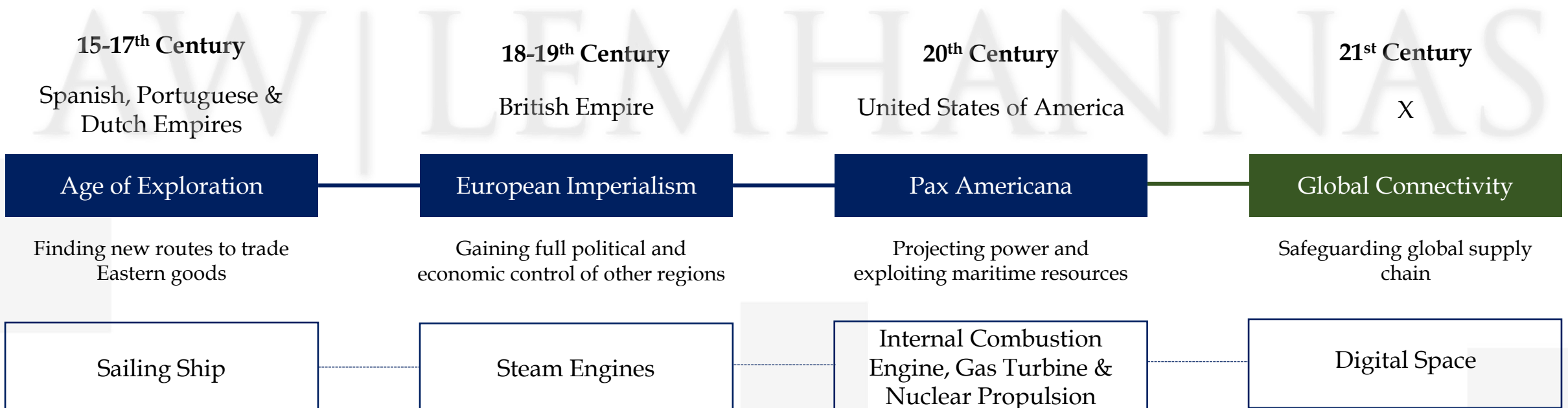


GeoMaritime X Hegemonic Transtition

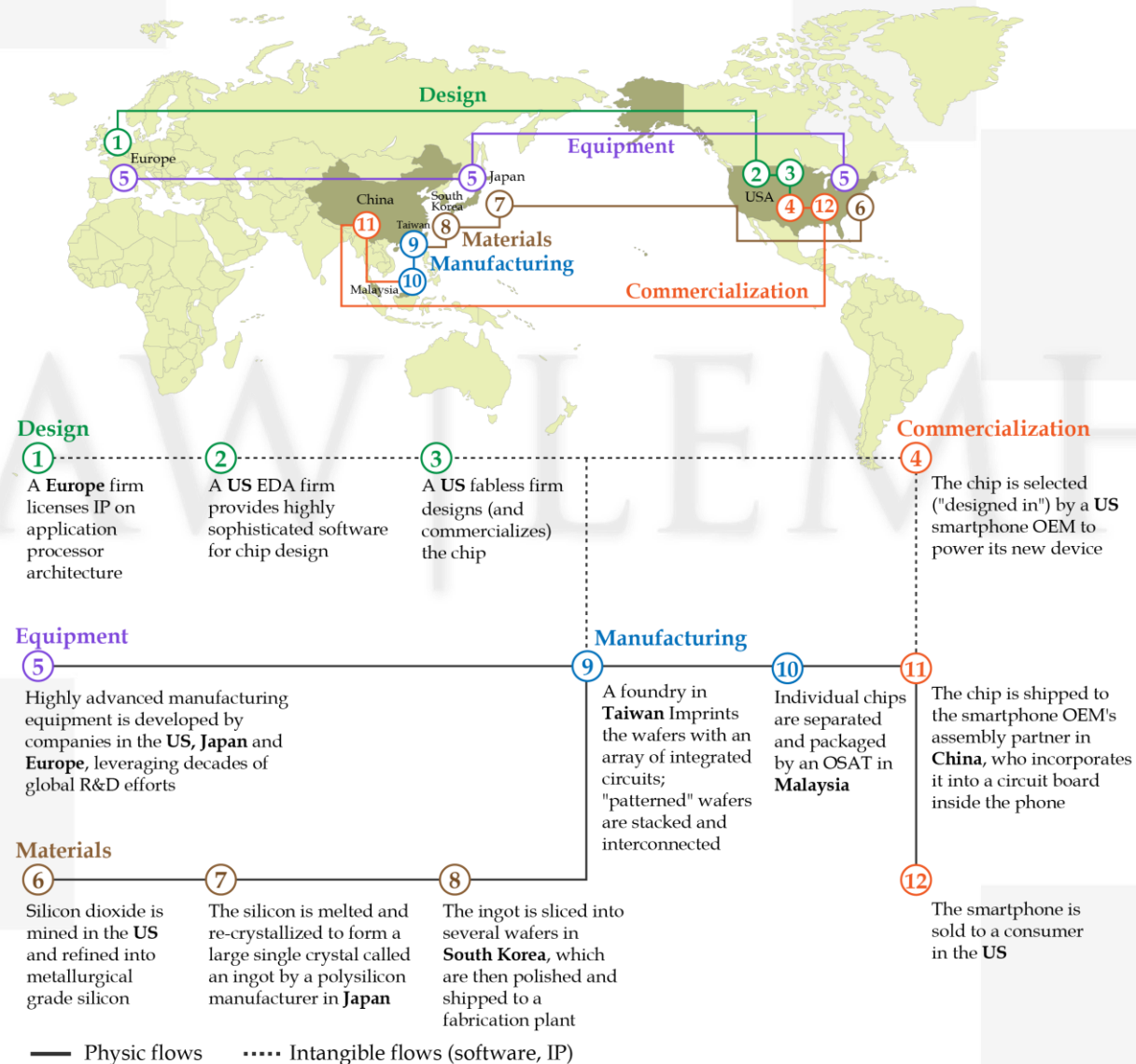
Andi Widjajanto



Geomaritime Evolutions



Global Supply Chain: Semiconductor



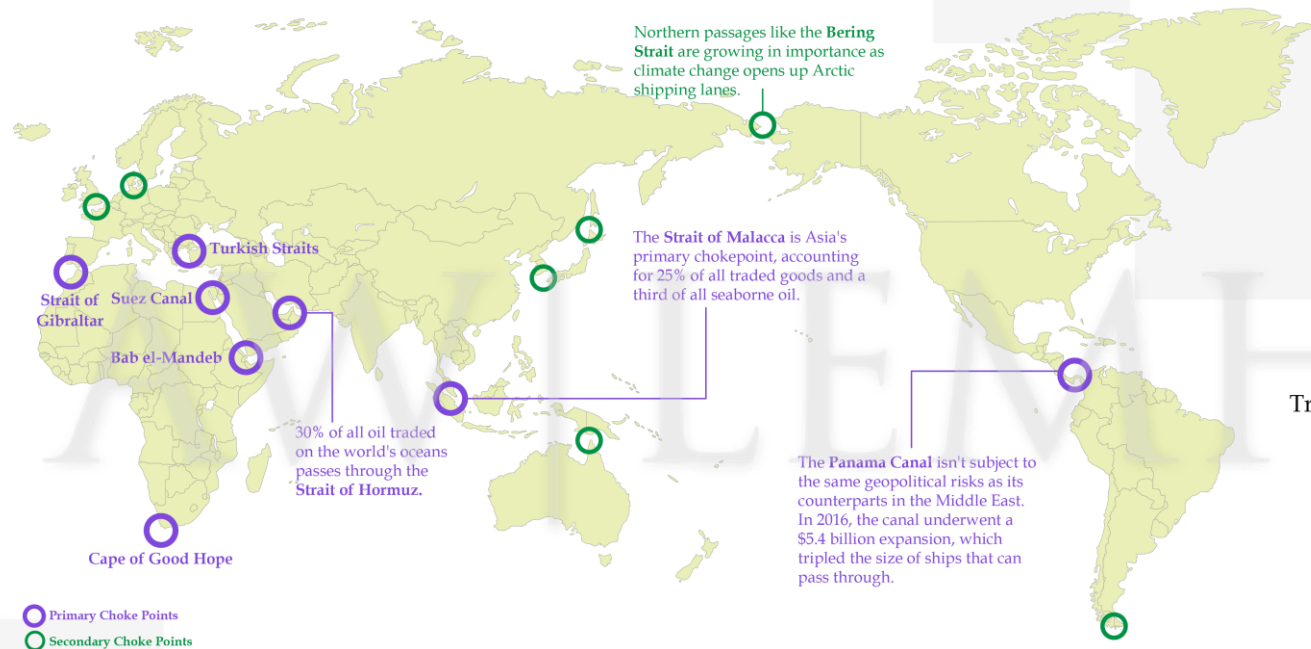
The graphic shows the **journey of semiconductor industry** that involves six major regions (US, South Korea, Japan, mainland China, Taiwan, and Europe) at different stages from the design to manufacturing process.

Despite the proximity to customers being an essential driver, there are **three additional key factors** influencing the global interdependent structure of semiconductor supply chain, such as global R&D networks, geographic specialization, and trade liberalization. In particular, global trade policies enable physical and intangible **flows** across semiconductor supply chain.

Global Logistics Risks



The World's Key Maritime Choke Points



Risks to Global Trade Choke Points

	Panama Canal	Suez Canal	Strait of Malacca	Strait of Hormuz	Strait of el-Mandeb	Turkish Straits	Dover Straits	Strait of Gibraltar
Temperature extremes	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Flood and drought	High Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Storms	Low Risk	High Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	High Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk
Haze and fog	Medium Risk	Medium Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Conflict	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Medium Risk	Medium Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Terrorist attack	Low Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Piracy	Low Risk	Low Risk	High Risk	High Risk	High Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Cyberattack	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Trade and transit controls	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Disrepair	Medium Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk
Unforced delays	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	Low Risk	High Risk	Low Risk

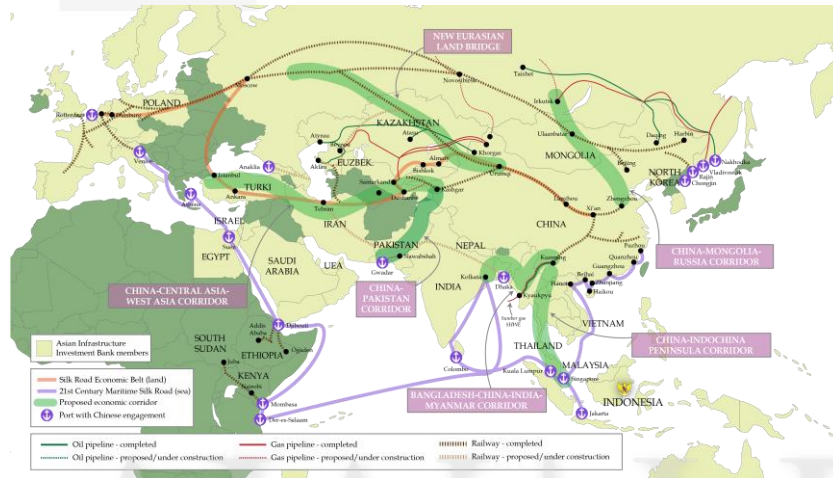
● High Risk
 ● Medium Risk
 ● Low Risk

Approximately 80% of global trade is being **shipped by sea** which describes the **essential role of maritime transport**. Global Intelligence Services (GIS) identifies eight of world's major choke points. In the context of maritime trade, these are usually straits or canals located at strategic locations and have a high volume of traffic. In practice, these vital points pose several **risks**, both structural such as the recent Suez Canal blockage, and geopolitical risks. The data above represent threats at eight global choke points which vary in terms of type and degree depending on the location.

Global Connectivity Rivalry



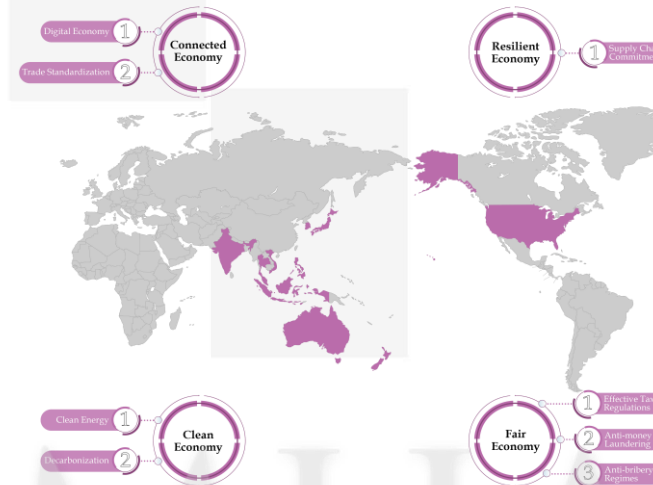
Belt and Road Initiative (China)



Transportation Corridor Europe Caucasus Asia (European Union)



Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (US)



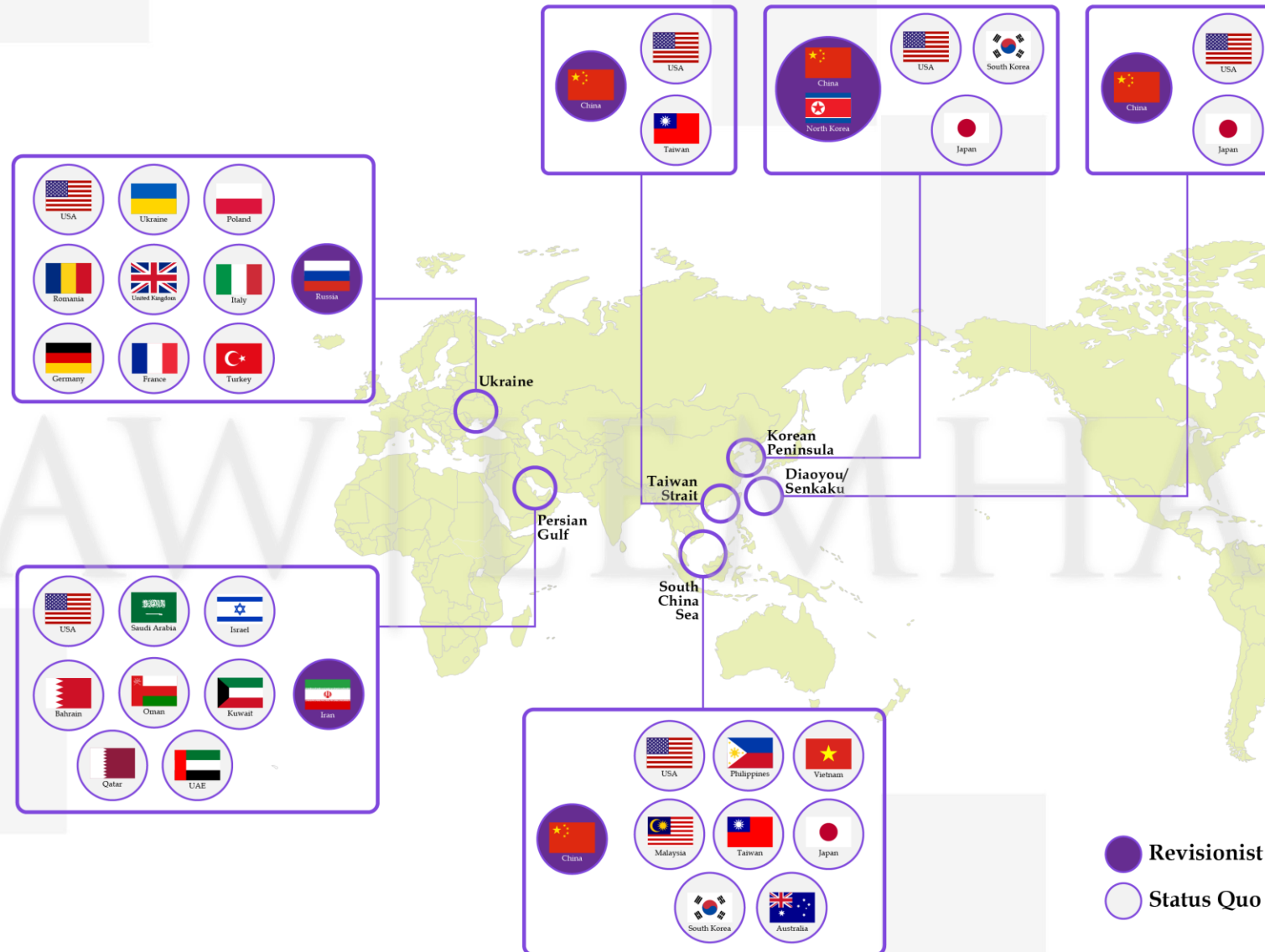
International North-South Transport Corridor (Russia)



A core component of global politics in this era lies on the competition of strategies for **connectivity**. Recent strategic **rivalries** between **U.S.** and **China** are an illustration of this competition. On its part, Beijing has initiated the **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)** promoting infrastructure development and placing the country at the heart of Asian trade. On the other hand, the U.S. proposed an **Indo-Pacific Economy Framework**. The idea is to establish a solid regional economy by enacting structural reform in Asia-Pacific countries.

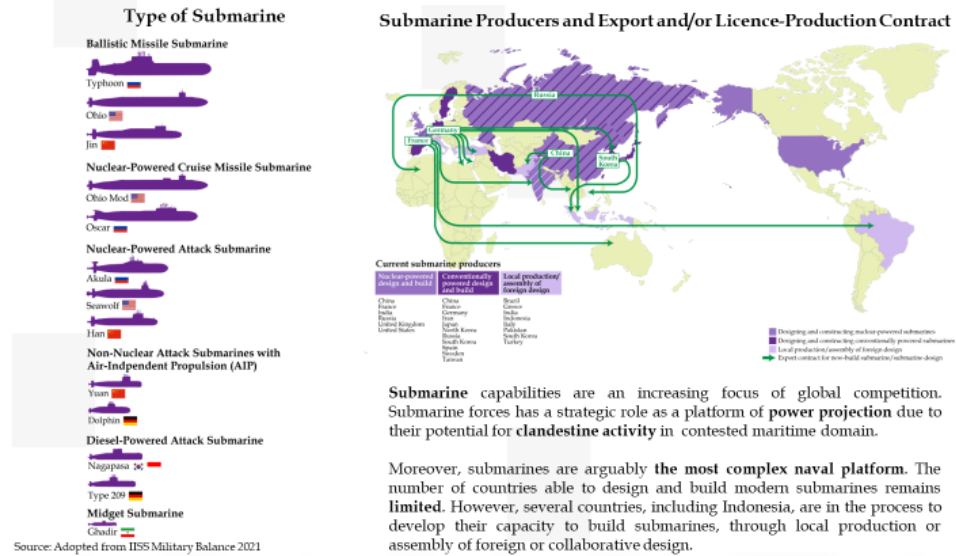
In similar vein, the operationalization of the multimodal International **North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)** become an important strategy for **Russia** to adjust its logistics needs. INSTC may imply a major geopolitical change in the region as it competes with the previously **EU-initiated Transportation Corridor Europe Caucasus Asia (TRACECA)** in terms of connecting Europe to Asia.

Hegemonic Conflict Hotspot



Currently, there are six hotspot areas prone to become a locus for hegemonic conflict: **South China Sea, Taiwan Strait, Diaoyou/Senkaku, Korean Peninsula, Persian Gulf, and Ukraine.** These hotspot areas are mostly located in Asia with China acting as a revisionist power. The United States presents as a status quo power in all hotspots area. As a hegemonic power, the United States has interests to maintain its political, economic, and military predominance.

Global Trend: Submarine Development

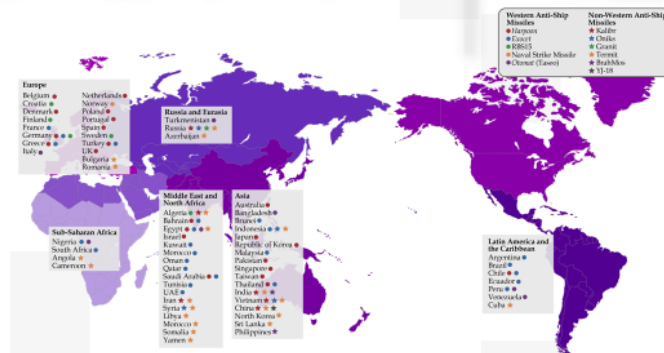


Submarine capabilities are an increasing focus of global competition. Submarine forces has a strategic role as a platform of **power projection** due to their potential for **clandestine activity** in contested maritime domain.

Moreover, submarines are arguably the **most complex naval platform**. The number of countries able to design and build modern submarines remains **limited**. However, several countries, including Indonesia, are in the process to develop their capacity to build submarines, through local production or assembly of foreign or collaborative design.

Global Trend: Anti-Ship Missiles

Operator of Major Surface-Launched Anti-Ship Missile

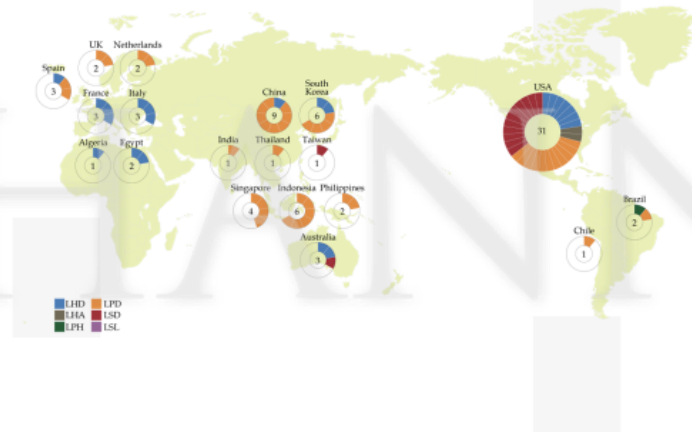


Source: Adopted from IISS Military Balances 2020

There has been a proliferation of **anti-ship-missile** capabilities in more countries. These missiles give states an **Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD)** capability that is disproportionate to their cost and technical requirement. This means that states with a large supply of anti-ship missiles can easily disrupt important sea lanes used by more powerful navies.

Global Trend: Amphibious Ship

Global Principal Amphibious Ship Holdings



Source: Adopted from IISS Military Balances 2022

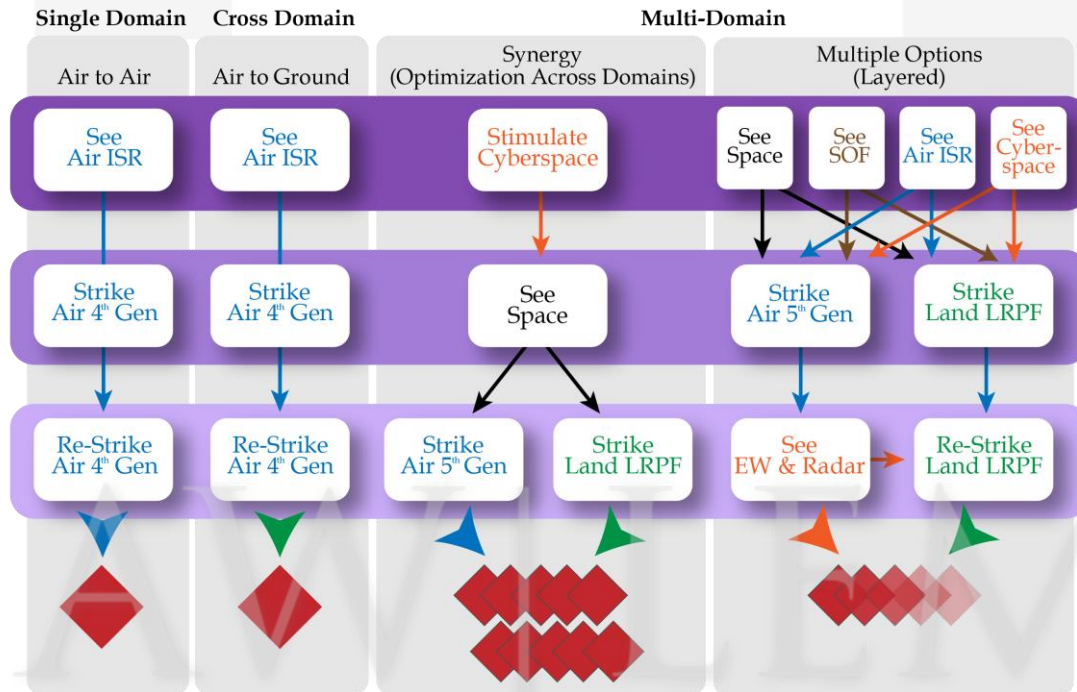
Amphibious capabilities provide a **versatile** and **responsive** force for crisis response and national defense. Amphibious forces can be deployed in a variety of mission profiles, including assault, raid, withdrawals, and support for other operations.

Contested maritime domains have increased the attractiveness of amphibious forces due to their ability to deploy and sustain forces in a wide range of areas. Furthermore, growing significance in disaster-relief missions further drives global ambition in amphibious capabilities.

Multi-Domain Operations (MDO)



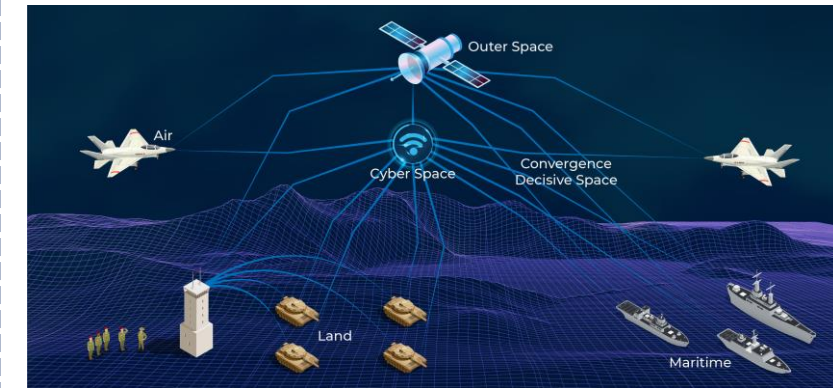
Military Operations Comparisons



Multi-Domain Operations propose solutions to solve the problem of a **layered standoff**. The central idea is the **rapid and continuous integration of all domains of warfare** to deter adversaries. If deterrence fails, the military **penetrates** and **disintegrates** enemy anti-access and area denial (A2/AD) systems; **exploits** the resulting freedom of maneuver to defeat enemy systems; and consolidates gains to force a **return to competition** on terms more favorable to our strategic objectives.

Sumber: Adopted from US-Army TRADOC (2021)

MDO Illustration



MDO Solutions



Compete (Forward Presence Forces)

- Enable defeat of information in unconventional warfare
- Conduct intelligence & counter adversary reconnaissance
- Demonstrate credible deterrent

Whole of Government

Diplomatic; Economic

Penetrate (Forward Presence & Expeditionary Forces)

- Neutralize and disintegrate key elements of long-range fires
- Contest enemy maneuver forces
- Maneuver from operational and strategic distances

National & District Level Forces

Information Warfare; IRBMs/SRBMs; Cruise Missiles; Cyber; Long-Range SAMs

Disintegrate (Forward Presence & Expeditionary Forces)

- Exploit disintegration of long-range fires
- Neutralize mid-range fires
- Conduct independent operational maneuver
- Conduct deception

Conventional Forces

SRBMs; Mid-Range SAMs; Long-Range Multiple Rocket Launchers

Eksploit (Forward Presence & Expeditionary Forces)

- Exploit disintegration of long-range fires and air defense
- Disintegrate medium-range fires
- Maneuver to positions of advantage
- Isolate and defeat enemy land forces

Conventional Forces

Maneuver; Short-Range Air Defense; Electronic Warfare; Counter-PNT, Cyber

24 February 2022

Legend:

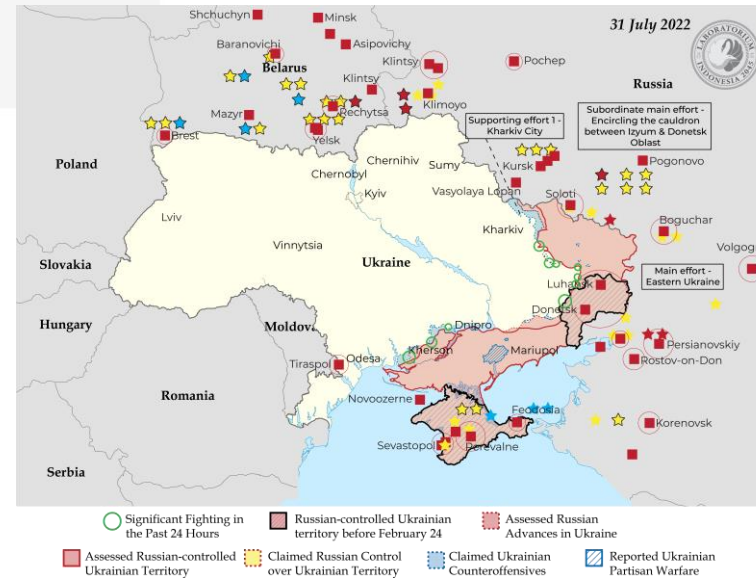
- Hostomel Air Base, Near Kyiv, Ukraine
- ★ Tank Unit
- ✪ Air Unit
- ✪ Others Unit
- ✪ New Deployment
- 🛡 Russian Air & Missiles Strikes
- 🇷🇺 Russian-Occupied Ukrainian Territory

Map Labels:

- Belarus:** Sluchyn, Baranovich, Minsk, Asipovichy, Klintsy, Klintsy, Pohep, Brest, Mazyr, Pinsk, Brest, Minsk, Asipovichy, Klintsy, Klintsy, Pohep.
- Poland:** Lviv, Vinnytsia, Chernihiv, Sumy, Kursk, Pogonovo, Boguchar, Volgograd.
- Slovakia:** Lviv, Vinnytsia, Chernihiv, Sumy, Kursk, Pogonovo, Boguchar, Volgograd.
- Hungary:** Lviv, Vinnytsia, Chernihiv, Sumy, Kursk, Pogonovo, Boguchar, Volgograd.
- Romania:** Tiraspol, Odesa, Kherson, Dnipro, Mariupol, Donetsk, Luhansk, Persianskivskiy, Postov-on-Don, Korenovsk.
- Serbia:** Tiraspol, Odesa, Kherson, Dnipro, Mariupol, Donetsk, Luhansk, Persianskivskiy, Postov-on-Don, Korenovsk.
- Ukraine:** Kyiv, Chernobyl, Chernihiv, Sumy, Kursk, Pogonovo, Boguchar, Volgograd, Luhansk, Donetsk, Dnipro, Mariupol, Persianskivskiy, Postov-on-Don, Korenovsk.
- Russia:** Moscow, St. Petersburg, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tyumen, Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Samara, Volgograd, Rostov-on-Don, Sochi, Yalta, Sevastopol, Kerch, Feodosiya, Perekop, Simferopol, Sevastopol, Kerch, Feodosiya, Perekop, Simferopol.

Key Features:

- 1. Belarus/Kyiv axis:** A red line connecting Belarus to Kyiv.
- 2. Kharkiv axis:** A red line connecting Kharkiv to the Russian border.
- 3. Crimea axis:** A red line connecting Crimea to the Russian border.
- 3. Donbas axis:** A red line connecting Donetsk and Luhansk to the Russian border.



Penetrating and disintegrating enemy A2/AD systems is a key tenet of MDO. The Russia-Ukraine conflict and Taiwan Strait crisis clearly illustrate the MDO approach. Denying sea access is China's and Russia's priority to defeat their adversaries.

This map illustrates the Taiwan Strait, highlighting military staging areas and potential invasion beaches. The strait is defined by the dashed line representing the 122°E meridian. Key locations include:

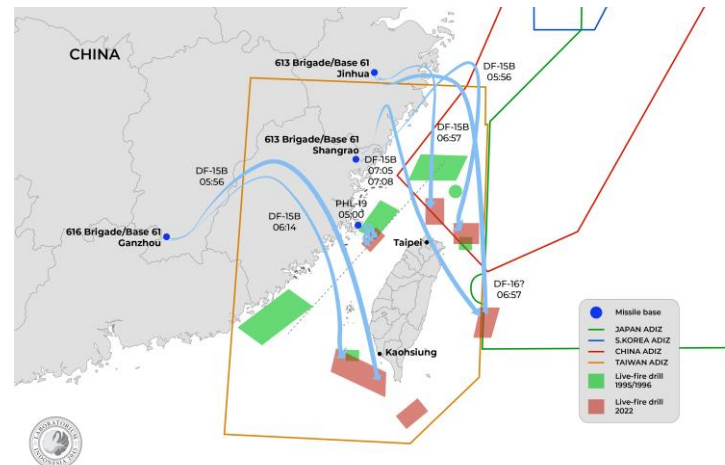
- China (Left):** Shantou, Nan'ao Is., Dongshan Is., Kinmen Is. (Taiwan), Xiamen, Xiang'an, Quanzhou, Nanti, Pingtan Is., Fuzhou, Matsu Is. (Taiwan).
- Taiwan (Right):** Taoyuan airport, Ministry of National Defense HQ, Taipei, Keelung naval base, Su'ao naval base, Hualien air base, Huadong Defense Command, Yushan (5,521 m), Tainan cold coast, Kaohsiung, 10th Army, 6th Army, 8th Army, Chiyai Air base, Penghu Defense Command.

Legend:

- Amphibious staging areas
- Potential invasion beaches
- ✈ Air base
- ✈ Naval base
- ✈ Army base

Notes:

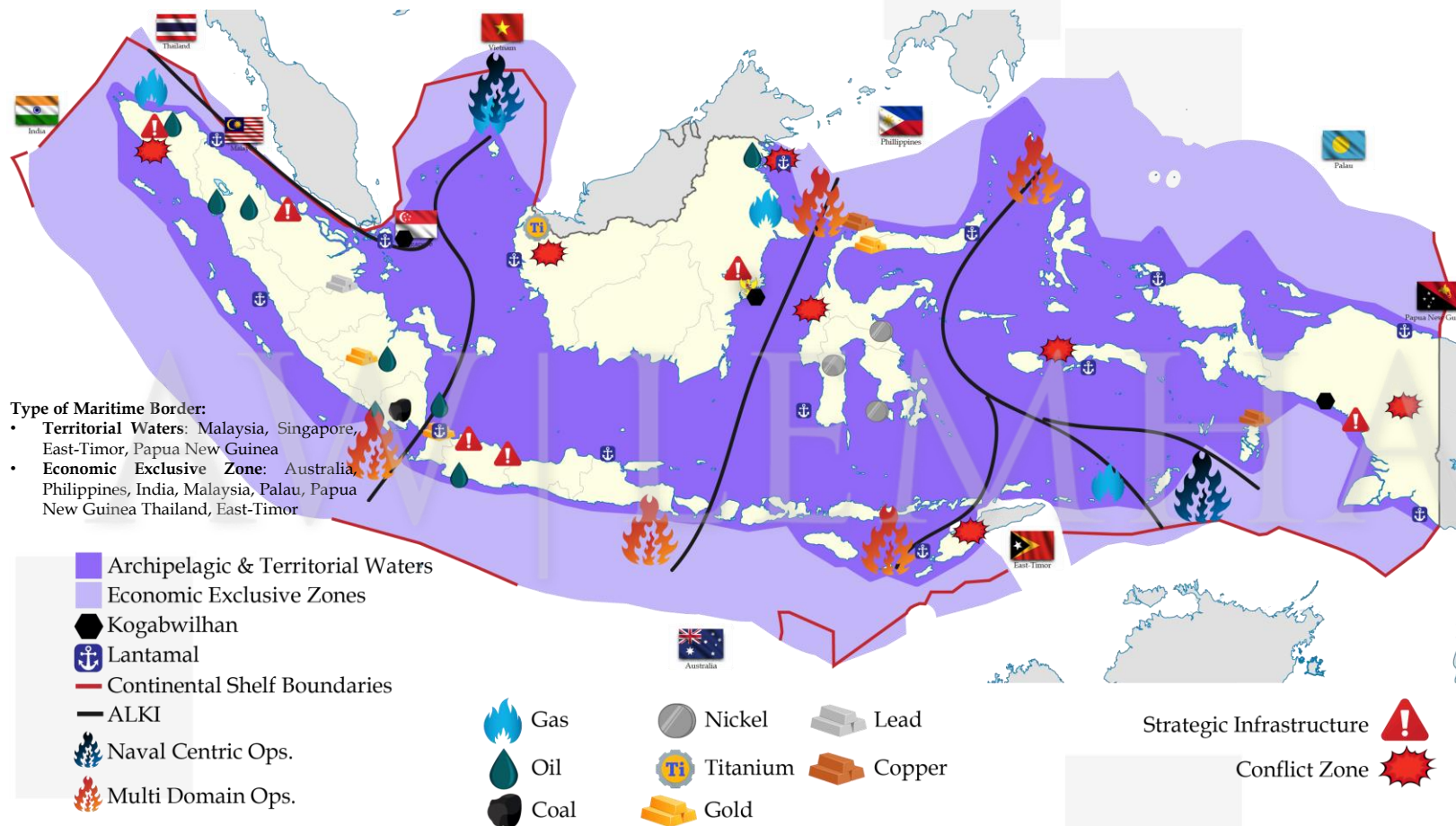
- The beaches around Taoyuan City are an attractive landing point because of their size and proximity to airstrips, a port and Taipei.
- Barricades off the coast of these beaches would hamper a possible invasion.
- The Mountains soar more the 2 miles high in some areas.
- Much of the coastline provides natural deterrence with rugged cliffs in the East and shallow waters in the West.



Maritime Challenges



Indonesia Maritime Boundaries



Geographical conditions and changes in the characteristics of threat pressure the defense paradigm to focus its transformation on **anti-access/area denial (A2/AD)** strategy. Securing national strategic infrastructures, such as capital city, natural resources exploration sites, and other vulnerable areas is a priority in this paradigm.

Defense strategy must be adapted to its surrounding terrain. **Choke points** requires a **multi-domain operations** strategy. On the other hand, the **open sea** call for a **naval-centric** strategy.

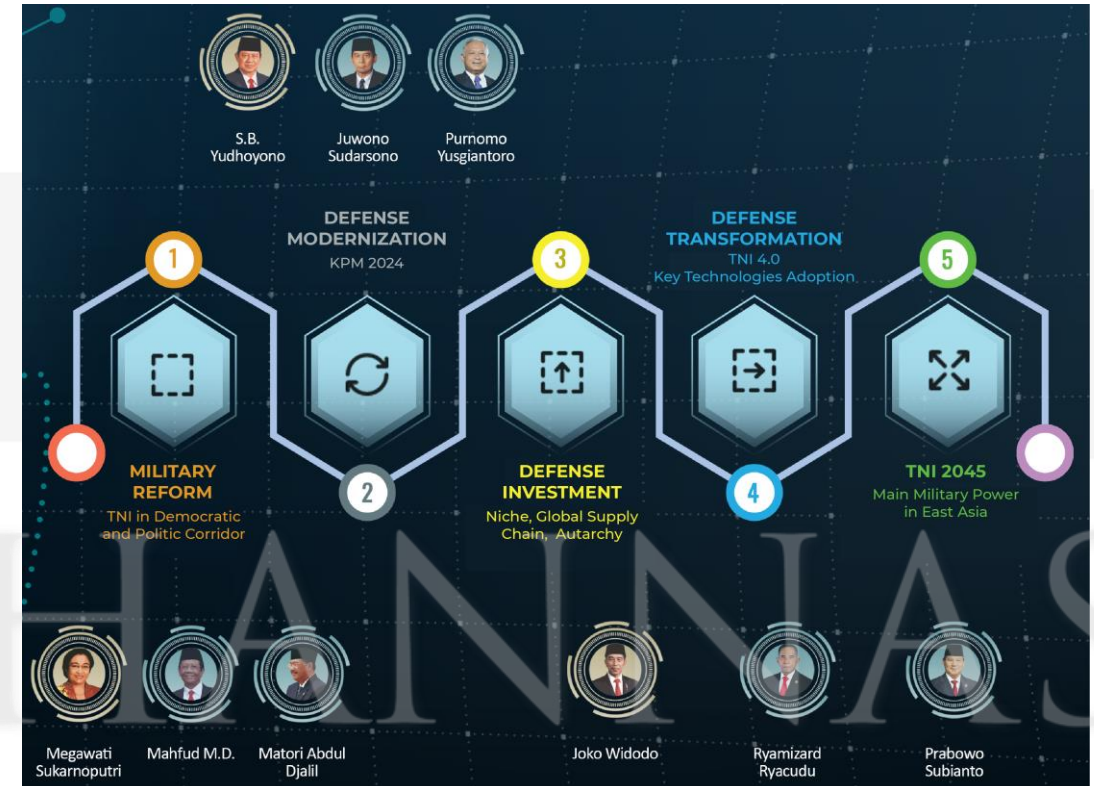
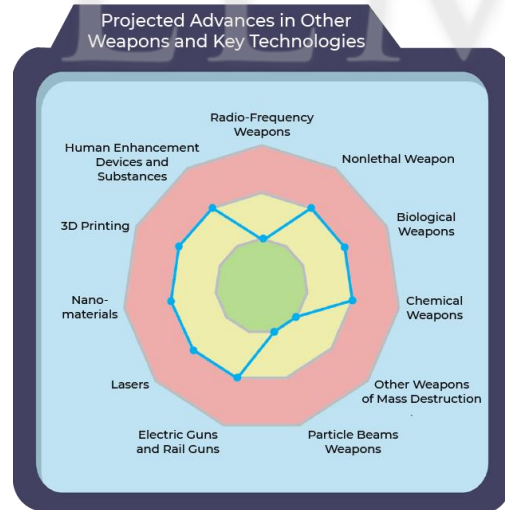
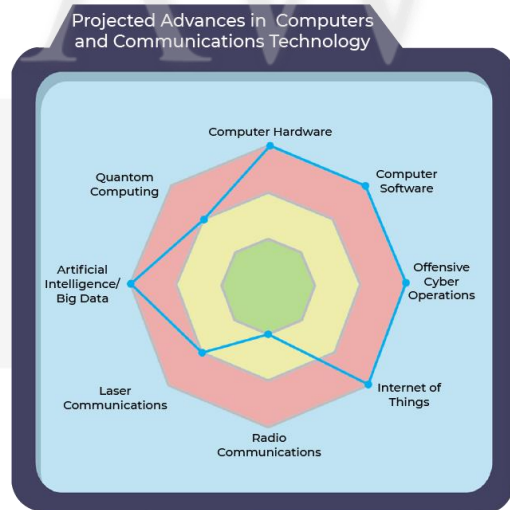
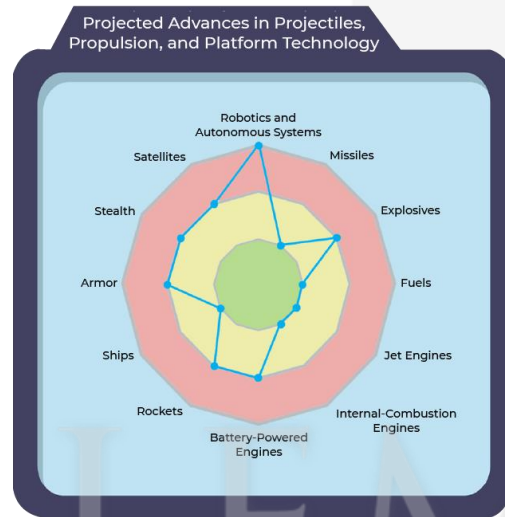
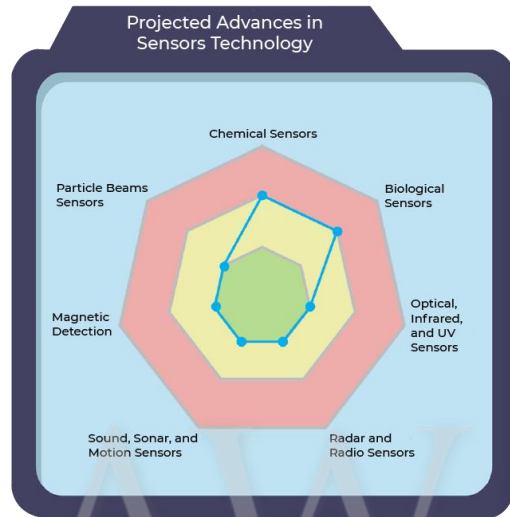
Defense Transformation



Moderate

High

Revolutionary



Development of military technologies ought to be a **priority** component for Indonesia's strategy to face **disruption** caused by **hegemonic war scenarios** and **revolutionary technological leaps**. Based on current projection, several sectors will experience technological disruption, such as artificial intelligence/big data, computer hardware, computer software, offensive cyber operations, the internet of things, and robotics systems.

In order to fulfill the vision of "Indonesia Defense Force" 2045, Indonesia **has passed** several stages. President Megawati has given the **foundation** for military reform in line with the establishment of the UU TNI. President Yudhoyono has prescribed Minimum Essential Force (Kekuatan Pokok Minimum) 2024 which becomes the **basis for defense modernization**. Finally, President Jokowi has encouraged **investment** in the defense area by passing the UU Cipta Kerja. Simultaneously, he also realizes defense transformation through the **adoption of the principal military technologies**.

