

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL SEAPOWER SYMPOSIUM

THE ROLE OF NAVIES IN
A WORLD AT PEACE

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REAR ADMIRAL MOESTOPO
DEPUTY CNS
INDONESIAN NAVY

New Port-Rhode Island October 2 nd 1979

Admiral Thomas B. Hayward
Chief of Naval Operations
US Navy.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Navy Chief of Staff I would like to thank Admiral Thomas B. Hayward - CNO, US Navy, for his kind invitation to attend the fifth International Seapower Symposium held at the US Naval War College, Newport - Rhode Island.

In this opportunity I would like to contribute a paper in accordance with the theme of this Symposium "The Role of Navies in a World at Peace".

Of course it would be viewed primarily from the point of the Indonesian geography as an Archipelagic state in particular, but it will also be viewed from the Navy's point in general.

Allow me to express my gratitude for the opportunity of attending this symposium and I hope that this paper will be a useful contribution for a better International understanding.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Moestopo', with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

MOESTOPO
REAR ADMIRAL
Indonesian Navy

THE ROLE OF NAVIES IN
A WORLD AT PEACE

Introduction

1. Prosperity and security

- a. Basically the life of a nation contains a twofold aspect, the prosperity and the security aspect and this represents a universal principle. Every nation in this world surely harbours aspirations of becoming a secure, prosperous and peaceful nation. Therefore it is expected of each nation to continually increase their efforts in making this aspiration come true.
- b. The prosperity and security aspect could be compared to the face of a coin where it is impossible to separate the value from the exterior of the coin since they are interrelated and dependent upon each other. Therefore, any effort to increase one aspect will unavoidably affect the other.

2. Universal Naval norms.

- a. The sea constitutes a living and non-living resource, a means of transport and commerce, interinsular as well as international.
- b. Basically man's habitat is land. As a land creature man is forever struggling to achieve prosperity, welfare and security as well as trying to create a life according to his desired standards.
- c. Urged by the ever increasing demands for a more prosperous life, man is finally driven out of his natural

dwelling place to roam the seas in search of new pastures in order to increase his standard of living.

Thus, in the end the sea became a means of commerce and economics, a passage and a space for a nation's life.

3. The role of Navies at peace time

From the prosperity and security aspect related to the existence of the Navy universally, we will observe what roles the Navies in general and the Indonesian Navy in particular, play in the world, both regionally and internally at peace time.

Principle Ideas

4. Indonesian Geopgraphy and the Archipelagic Concept.

a. Indonesian geography.

Indonesia as the largest country among Asean countries in South East Asia, is an Archipelagic State consisting of no less than 13.667 island. From the above number, 6.044 have been formally named and mapped. It covers an area of no less than 5 million square kms; two thirds of which is water. Islands or groups of islands are surrounded and linked by these waters. In view of this Indonesia is adopting the "Archipelagic Concept".

- b. Observing the configuration of Indonesia where most of it's area consist of water and sea boundaries, the sea being a long term source of minerals, energy and protein, the sea asset plays an important role in achieving one nation's aspirations, apart from that the sea is a

deciding factor in the framework of the realization of the Archipelagic Concept, based on :

The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelagic as one

Political Unity, in the sense :

- a. That the whole National Territory with all it's contents and resources forms one Territorial Unity, one place, one sphere of life and one unity of norms of the whole of the people, and the asset and property of the people.
- b. That the Indonesian Nation consisting of various ethnic groups and speaking a variety of regional languages, embracing a variety of Religions and worshipping God in various ways, must form one Complete National Unity in the broadest sense of the word.
- c. That psychologically, the Indonesian people must have the sense of belonging to one unity, with the sense of one destiny and one responsibility of being one Nation with one Motherland, imbued with one resolve to achieve the National ideals.
- d. That Pancasila is the only philosophy and ideology of the state and Nation, the foundation and the guidance leading the Nation toward it's goal.
- e. That the entire Indonesian Archipelago forms one Legal Unity in the sense that there shall only be one National Law serving the National interests.

2. The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as one Social and Cultural Unity, in the sense :

- a. That the Indonesian society is one, the life of the Nation must be a life that is harmonious with equal stages of social progress evenly spread and balanced, and with a harmonious life adjusted to the progress of the Nation.
- b. That the Indonesian culture is essentially one: whereas the existing various cultural expressions expose the cultural wealth of the Nation which constitute the assets and foundation for the flourishing of the entire National Culture, the results of which can be enjoyed by the Nation.

3. The Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as one Economic Unity in the sense :

- a. That the resources in the territory of the Archipelago, potentially as well as effectively, are collective capital and property of the Nation: and that the daily necessities of the people must be provided for evenly throughout the country.
- b. That the stage of economic development in all the regions should be harmonious and balanced without neglecting the specific characteristics of the regions in developing their economic life.

4. The Realization of the Indonesia Archipelago as one Unity of Defence and Security, in the sense :

- a. That a threat to any island or region is essentially a threat to the entire Nation and State.
- b. That every Citizen shall have equal rights and duties regarding the defence of the state and Nation.

5. The National Interest of Indonesia at and through the sea.

a. As a Life Line.

The Republic of Indonesia is an Archipelagic State enfolding Archipelagic waters and islands which constitutes one Indonesian National Territory. It covers the entire Indonesian Waters including it's natural resources, living as well as non-living; nevertheless, the right of innocent passage for foreign vessels through Indonesian Waters is guaranteed. Indonesia has a sovereign right to the natural resources on it's Continental Shelf as well as the right to explore and exploit those national resources both living and non-living, in it's Exclusive Economic Zone.

b. Maximum utilization of the Indonesian Waters is basically aimed at the prosperity and security of the Indonesian Nation, which is basically the enforcement of Indonesian sovereignty at sea, which includes :

- 1) Exploring and exploiting of Marine resources, living and non-living, as well as using the Indonesian Waters as a means for navigation, transportation, both interinsular and International; for the benefit of the Nation.
- 2) Develop intellectual life and general welfare especially maritime manpower.
- 3) Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as a Political and Juridical unity.
- 4) Realization of Defence and Security in Indonesian Waters in order to prevent and deter hostile efforts through the sea, such as subversion, infiltration, invasion, smuggling and other violations against the law.

- c. Upholding the Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty and Sea Control of the Indonesian Waters are preconditions in achieving the National goals, that is a just and prosperous society.

6. The role of the Indonesian Navy in the National Defence and Security System at Sea

- a. The strength of the Indonesian Navy is a guarantee of the Defence System which possesses power projection and anti-power projection, this in turn is a guarantee for the continuity of welfare and security, which in the end means a guarantee for National Interest. Thus, the task of the Navy is to guarantee the projection of National Interest at and through the sea. The strength of the Navy can not be separated from the development of the National Sea Power, being one of the components which consists of a Naval Fleet, Merchant Fleet as well as Maritime industries and services.

- b. The role of the Indonesian Navy at peace time.

The forces possessed by the Indonesian Navy is being utilized to support National Development by participating in social and National activities, being traditionally one of the dynamic social forces. Spillover benefits of the Navy through Civic Missions, are being used to support the Development and Welfare. These Civic Missions will become a tradition for the Navy.

- c. The role of the Indonesian Navy at war time.

Viewed rationally, a country such as Indonesia will never be free from threats because of the geopolitical and geostratigical factors of the world.

In order to face those threats, all potentials possessed by the National Sea Power should be joined, which principally is the application of the Total People's Defence-Security Doctrine at sea. With the Indonesian Navy as a nucleus. It should be added here that war is the last resort of solving a problem for the Indonesian people and it will only be done in extremely compelling situations.

The role of Navies in a world at peace.

7. Respecting the sovereignty of other Countries.

Essentially, sovereignty is the highest, unlimited authority of a State. A State's sovereignty is manifested in the relative State's jurisdictions or rights, for example, the State's right to enforce its Laws.

The role of the Navy is to enforce sovereignty and Laws at sea in supporting its National Interest. According to Admiral Stansfield Turner, the principle task of the Navy can generally be divided in Sea Control and Projection of Power ashore. Sea control as well as projection of Sea Power ashore can respectively be manifested in two basic missions, a war time combative or combative function and deterrent function. Thus to exercise Sea Control in peace time we threaten to deny another access to the sea, but if we have to go to war there are two sides to the coin: One antagonist is trying to deny the other the use of the sea, the other to assert his own use.

The role of the Navy in exercising Sea Control at peace time can be directed towards the guarding of sovereignty and enforcement of Law at sea, with activities such as, protecting navigation as well as other activities at sea for example, exploration and exploitation of resources, construction of underwater cables etc, which are done both in internal waters as well as in Archipelagic Waters, territorial seas, the sea lanes, the continental shelf, the contiguous Zone and the exclusive economic zone. Where as the role of the Navy, which is the execution of the projection of power at peace time, is done outside the exclusive economic zone, i.e., on the High Seas. Both those functions are executed by respective Navies for the sake of National Interest. The interests of respective countries differ, so that the execution of the respective Navies' missions can result in conflicts. In order to overcome this problem the International Sea Law has been established, which should be observed by each and every country. The problem is that the Navy in exercising its mission of projection of power in its country's interest, notably on the High Seas, often invites provocation due to the presence of its Naval forces. This usually results in attracting other Naval forces to measure their strength and thus cause conflicts. This should be realized and prevented since its presence should be directed towards supporting regional stability and sovereignty of adjacent coastal states in that region.

In exercising its activities the Navy should constantly respect the sovereignty of other countries; besides, it should remain alert and uphold its sovereignty and laws, those based on the laws of the relative country itself as well as those based on the International Law. Sovereignty, sovereign rights

jurisdiction and other rights of a country over its waters determined in various regulations of the country's laws and International laws, should be respected. If each country observes the rules as stated in the International Sea Law, the stipulations of the International conventions as well as the country's local regulations, which should not be contrary to the International convention, would mean that each country respects the sovereignty and laws of another country and thus the continuity for security of each country is guaranteed and this would result in the realization of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutralism on the High Seas.

8. Supporting the regulations of International Sea Law

The desire for the realization of prosperity and security for the whole Nation and society is the basic norm of all free Nations in this world. Viewed from the existence of the Navy universally, it will be observed that there is a very close link to this issue, especially for an Archipelagic State like Indonesia. It is in this context that the interest of a Nation at or through the sea, as an economic as well as life line, should be established and its security guaranteed. Particularly for Indonesia who has as one of its dominant factors National Resilience, it is apparent that the development, of its National Resilience is solely to protect themselves and not to be used as a means of political wrappings with other countries. Therefore Indonesia has its interest too in maintaining world peace in general and South East Asia's in particular, since it would mean that in this way Indonesia can continue its struggle of realizing its ideals. Indonesia considers war as something inhuman and not in accordance with human dignity and National Interest, since it is obvious that war will

hinder its efforts of National development. In this frame work Indoensia feels obligated to participate in every International effort of preventing war especially in maintaining International peace. Therefore Indonesia will always try to solve all conflicts which might arise with and other countries by negotiations and mutual agreements. Negotiations have been held and have resulted in various agreements and International laws which obligates those participants who have agreed, to observe them. From the above explanation it is obvious that those regulations as well as agreements between Nations, especially those concerning the sea, should be observed by Indonesia. The means for obeying regulations and rules, National as well as International, is the apparatus of law enforcement at sea, in this case the Navy is one of the components in the total system of safeguarding the sovereignty and law enforcement at sea.

Arising from the exercise of law enforcement at sea, which means the creation of order and legal security at sea, the support of each Navy as a force is a necessity, it is more over a mission and task which should be exercised primarily in connection with the International Sea Law unanimously agreed upon, for instan. determining the limitations, freedoms on the High Seas and the Continental Shelf.

9. The Navies in International Cooperation

We know that the Navy was created because of the necessity to safeguard navigation or in other words, the existence of the Navy is due to increasing demands for prosperity. Therefore, in it's further development the Navy does not only serve

as a protection for the Merchant Fleet but also as a protection for National Interest at and through the sea.

The mission carried out by each respective Navy in implementing National welfare at peace time could be elevated into the prosperity and security of mankind. With the aid of all existing equipment and technology this could be done without distracting anything from its main function which execution is arranged through International agreements. Apart from the equipment and technology possessed, principally the Navy is of an International characteristic so that International Cooperation through the Navy can be easily accomplished.

Various fields where the Navy can participate actively in the in the framework of International agreements, bilaterally as well as unilaterally, are among others :

a. Research

As in the case of outer space, ever since the olden days the sea has represented an attraction as well as a challenge and a mystery to mankind. Numerous efforts have been made to know more about the sea, characteristic as well as contents wise. These efforts have been developed continuously and completed with increasingly modern equipment. However, man's limited ability pitted against the vastness of the sea with all its characteristic nuances, demands an International cooperation in order to achieve optimum results.

In this case the Navy's participation could be directed towards research in natural sciences such as Marine science,

applied sciences such as Hydro-Oceanography and Engineering for instance Marine Engineering. It goes without saying that these types of research are not directed towards the sea's characteristic as a means of communication but more towards the improvement of efficiency in exploring and exploiting the sea. This needs to be stressed since we are faced with the problem of a faster increase in population than the ability to supply food; in this case the sea would prove to be an inestimable source of living and non-living protein resources. Apart from this, the minerals on the seabed would prove to be a big enough stimulus for marine exploration and exploitation.

b. The preservation of environment

In connection with the ever increasing demands of life, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, lately, man in exploiting natural resources, is apt to forget conditions for the preservation of its environment. This is also the case in the Marine environment as we can see from several extinct species; coastal forests so necessary for fish breeding cut down and sea pollution caused by various sources. More over, there are tanker disasters, offshore exploration and exploitation causing heavy damages, destroying both biological life and industries as well as the environment.

These environmental disturbances should at all costs be prevented for the sake of the continuing for a decent life in future. All this demands an effort to try and find a balance between marine exploitation for a current life's continuation and welfare and a decent life's continuation in future. In this instance, the Navies in the world can

simultaneously participate actively especially in establishing regulations for environmental preservation, prevention of damage, rehabilitation of both damage and pollution in addition to education and training in marine environmental problems.

c. Search and Rescue.

The International SAR covers navigational safeties such as issuing early warnings for approaching typhoons, buoys, establishing of SAR stations etc. Therefore, in the course of International efforts where the Navy plays a role, it is not only the SAR'S actions which are focussed but also the efforts of preventing accidents from happening.

In connection with the Search and Rescue field, it is necessary to start taking measures for the utilization of Earth satellite facilities in order to assist SAR's efforts. It is therefore necessary to invent designs for electronic equipment which would be able to send and receive distress signals through the Earth satellite, for the sake of mankind.

d. Information.

In the last decade science has developed so fast that in consequence it's distribution has been somewhat inadequate or at least not as fast and complete as desired. For maritime problems, seminars such as this are one way of distributing information. Even so, for various research, scientific inventions as well as technical progress, apart from distribution through journals and magazines, it is necessary to establish an International cooperation which arranges a Marine Referral System, whether independently or jointly,

with existing referral systems such as the Info Terra for instance; this matter should be given some consideration later on. The main thing is that the above can be realized and be of use to all Nations over the world, either those living in coastal areas as well as those living far inland.

Resume

10. The presentation of the Indoensian Navy in achieving the goal of it's Nation's struggle which is an increasingly prosperous and secure life, has been brought forward.
11. The role of the Indoensian Navy is more conspicuous due to the geographical situation of Indonesia as an Archipelagic State.
12. All the Navies in the world can achieve a lot for the interest of mankind by cooperating in matters such as :
 - a. Mutual respect for other country's sovereignty in it's Territorial seas.
 - b. Jointly enforce the Inter national Sea Law concerning:
 - 1). the use of High Seas
 - 2) Anti pollution
 - 3) SAR problems.

c. Cooperation in the research field

d. Cooperation in the Maritime data field

Conclusion

13. Thus, the points considered necessary for the attention of this symposium I have presented in the hope that it will be beneficial for this meeting.

New Port-Rhode Island
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