

Global Maritime Axis under Jokowi: The Opportunities and Challenges for Indonesia's National Security Interests

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Abstract

This paper will analyze the reasons why Jokowi has decided Global Maritime Axis to achieve Indonesia National Security Interest. Jokowi mentions about the five visions of Global Maritime Axis, which are maritime culture, seafood based industry, the infrastructure related to maritime connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense force. According to Alfred Mahan's six elements of Sea Power, Indonesia is already in accordance with all the six elements such as its geographic conditions, physical conditions, the number of people, etc. Those all could create opportunities for Indonesia to achieve the maritime power. But there are also some several challenges for Jokowi visions on Global Maritime Axis, such as overlapping and discoordination on several departments such as Bakamla (the Maritime Security Board) and others Maritime's departments.

Keywords:

Global Maritime Axis; Sea Power; Navy; National Security Interest;
Indonesian Sea; Geopolitics

Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelago state, where between each islands with the other islands are separated by the sea, but in this case the sea rather than be a hindrance for each ethnic groups in Indonesia to be interconnected with the tribes on the other islands. Since the days of nautical, cruise and inter-island trade has grown with the use of a wide range of traditional boat types, Indonesia's ancestors became the sailor that sail to keep contacts and interactions with other group. In fact, the cruise is undertaken by people in Indonesia (Nusantara) maritime era have come to Madagascar. The Evidence itself is based on the same type "*Jukung*" used by the people of Borneo to sail.

On the middle of 2014, Indonesia has elected a new president to rule Indonesia. This is the first Indonesia's peaceful transition from the old president to the new elected president, where the transition is from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono regime to Jokowi or Joko Widodo regime. On the electoral debate Jokowi proposed his policy on maritime arena, in May 2014, Jokowi promised to strengthening Indonesia maritime security, expand the work of regional diplomacy to refuge the whole region of the Indo-Pacific, and the last is plan, the Indonesian navy as a respected regional maritime power in East Asia.

Jokowi also targeted to change Indonesia into a Global Maritime Axis which means Indonesia as the maritime power in Indo-Pacific. Jokowi has vision on enhances the maritime defensive power to protect the country maritime assets, sea-lanes, and territorial waters from traditional and non-traditional threats.

Jokowi propose two approaches, by raising Indonesia defense budget to 1,5 percent of GDP higher than before and Attracting foreign investment. Where the second approach has worked by Jokowi, during his visit to japan in August, Japan agree to give contribution for Indonesia in building maritime infrastructures.

Focusing in maritime arena is one of the worthy strategies that Jokowi proposes on. Indonesia is the biggest archipelago state in the world. This policy is one of efforts from Jokowi regime to maximize Indonesia its maritime sources for economy and security sector. This vision is important to be discussed, because of its actor and its prospect for Indonesia interests in domestic and international.

Opportunities of The Global Maritime Axis

On his book, *The Influence of Six Power Upon History*, Alfred Mahan mentions about six elements which every states who achieve this six elements would be awarded Sea power where could give the state glory and the health.¹

The six elements that Alfred Mahan mentioned are:²

1. Geographical Position
2. Physical Confirmation
3. Extent of Territory
4. Character of the People
5. Number of Population
6. Character of Government

According to the first element, Geographical Position, Indonesia was consecrated by Indonesia Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI or Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia) a "hallway" of world maritime traffic.³ ALKI is the Channel for the exercise of cross-flow of Sea Islands based on the international law of the Sea Convention. This flow is the flow for cruise and flight which can be utilized by a foreign ship or aircraft to have a peacefully route.

¹ Setianegara, H. (2014). *Strategi Maritime: Pada Lerang Laut Nusantara dan Poros Maritim Dunia*. Yogyakarta: LeutikaPrio.

² Ibid.

³ Setiawan, A. (2014, November 14). *Pidato Lengkap Jokowi DiKTT ASEAN Soal Poros Maritime*. Retrieved March 18, 2016, from VIVA News: Dunia.news.viva.co.id/news/read/558043-pidato-lengkap-jokowi-diktt-asean-soal-poros-maritime

ALKI is settled to connect the two oceans, which is the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. It is also settled for all foreign ships and aircraft which go cross to the North to the South of ALKI.

Indonesia is surrounded by two big oceans which are Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean. Indonesia is also surrounded by two continents, Asia and Australia continent. Based on historical background, Indonesia is the international connectivity for world maritime distribution where the international traders need to pass Indonesia to go to Australia from Asia.

The Second element is Physical Confirmation; Indonesia's shape of the surface of the earth is not flat. There is a mountain, mountain range, and the hill. There are valleys, high and low land also.

Indonesia is gifted by the unlimited maritime resources which could be used to fulfill the need of the country from fish, grouper, snapper, gobia, agronomy of mollusks such as clams, pearls, and sea cucumber, and seaweed farming,

The third element by Alfred Mahan is Extent of territory. Indonesian Sea territorial is regulated by three rules, which are:⁴

I. The Continental Shelf

Continental shelf boundary is part of the sea floor that still connected to the mainland continent or continuation of the continent in the sea. The perimeter of continental self is less than 200 meters from the deep sea of one state.

II. Territorial Sea

⁴ *Pembagian wilayah perairan laut di Indonesia*. (n.d.). Retrieved March 26, 2016, from Rumah Belajar:
<https://belajar.kemdikbud.go.id/SumberBelajar/tampilajar.php?ver=12&idmateri=131&lvl1=6&lvl2=3&lvl3=0&kl=7>

Territorial sea is limit of one state's waters drawn from the outer coast or outlying islands as far as 12 miles (19.3 km) towards the sea.

III. Economic Exclusive Zone

ZEE is the area which is located from 200 miles from the outermost islands of Indonesia. By ZEE, Indonesia has the right to take and make use of all the potential of existing natural resources.

The fourth element is Character of the People. Indonesia ancestor was a sailor where they sailed their ship until Madagascar. Indonesia also has the shibboleth *Jalesveva Jayamahe* where they still put maritime as their historical identity .The number of people who have job as a fisherman also high in Indonesia especially for the people who live in the coast.

The fifth is Number of People. Based on the 2013 census Indonesia had a population of 249, 9 million people, making the country the country with the largest population in the world. This number was expected to continue to grow so that projected by 2015 the population of Indonesia would have amounted to 255 million and it would have reached 305 million inhabitants by the year 2035.⁵

And the last is Character of Government. In the Soekarno era, Indonesia tried to implement policy that focused on maritime by establishing Djuanda Declaration but it was not going well at that time. From Soeharto to SBY, maritime was not given so much concern on the maritime sector because they were focused on the land sector. But, in Jokowi era he proposed maritime focus strategy which tried to create Indonesia as the Global Maritime Axis. This vision also had some supports by the government of Indonesia where one of the supports is increasing the military budget in 2016. The other support is the ratification of Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2014 tentang Kelautan (Contitution Number 32 in 2014 about Maritime). The

⁵ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL>

establishment of Bakamla and Sea toll also one of the efforts made by government to support Global Maritime Vision.

By analyzing the 6 elements of Alfred Mahan, Indonesia has big potential to use their maritime asset to become one of the sea powers. From the first element until the last element, Indonesia is already in accordance with the requirements of the 6 elements that Alfred Mahan mentioned.

Global Maritime Axis would be one of the best ways for Indonesia to pursue its interest on Sea power, where they could find and control the glory and the wealth of Indonesia in maritime matters. Global maritime policy would be maximizing the maritime asset of Indonesia, on geographic aspects until Indonesian people have a part on enhance Indonesia maritime capabilities.

The global Maritime Axis vision also has good points on its perspectives to enhance Indonesia maritime sector. This vision is a big opportunity for Indonesia to return their glory as one of the biggest maritime states in the world.

On his speech in East Asia Summit 2014, Jokowi mentioned geographic, geopolitics, and geo-economy as one of the influenced factors on Global maritime Axis vision. Looking at the geopolitics theory, Geopolitics is the study of the influence of geographical factors on state behavior – how location, climate natural resources, population, and physical terrain determine a state's foreign policy options and its position in the hierarchy of states.⁶

By analyzing the definition of geopolitics, Global Maritime Axis is one of visions which Jokowi proposed by looking and analyzing the Indonesia geographical factor where the capability of Indonesian resources as the main concern. Jokowi has well understanding between the connection of location, wealth and power. His vision

⁶ Griffiths, M., & O'Callaghan, T. (2002). *International Relation: The key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.

on Global Maritime Axis is seen as the way of his effort to accomplish geopolitics strategy.

In the past Indonesia had some tension with Malaysia on the cases of Ambalat, Sipadang, and Linggitan Island. Both parties were on territory dispute case which both parties claimed those islands on their territorial borders. Also the newest dispute on South China Sea where in SBY era. The foreign ministry, Marty Natalegawa said Indonesia would not take a part of this conflict, but Jokowi In East Asia Summit mentioned about The South China sea Disputes.

“We call for closer cooperation in maintaining maritime security. Specifically regarding Sea Southern China, Indonesia welcomes the commitment to implement the DOC (Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea). I also support the completion of the COC (code of conduct in the South China) through consultation as soon as possible.”⁷

Some countries in Asia also proposed a policy concerning maritime sector such as India who proposed Look East Policy and China who proposed China new Silk Road policy which made Indonesia weary of their Interest in maritime sector.

The competition of military spending between each state in Asia such as China, Singapore, Australia, South Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam makes Indonesia in the situation where Indonesia should have more capabilities on protecting its resources no matter what.

All those conditions force Indonesia to enhance their security especially on maritime sector where they need to protect their assets. These factor created a

⁷ Setiawan, A. (2014, November 14). *Pidato Lengkap Jokowi DiKTT ASEAN Soal Poros Maritime*. Retrieved March 18, 2016, from VIVA News: Dunia.news.viva.co.id/news/read/558043-pidato-lengkap-jokowi-diktt-asean-soal-poros-maritime

condition where Indonesia has a security dilemma which their need to increase Indonesia capabilities on their security system will make the aforementioned at the end states feel threatened.

Global Maritime Axis has five visions, which are maritime culture, sovereignty at sea, the infrastructure related to maritime connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense force. All of the visions are concerning on strengthening Indonesia capabilities in maritime sector.

Global Maritime Axis vision also concerns on increasing Indonesia political position on protecting Indonesia maritime assets. Indonesia concerns on its assets on how Indonesia could protect and maximize its assets. By this policy, Indonesia could increase the navy technology and capability to protect its assets and create a strong political position by its power.

Indonesia is the chief of Indian Ocean Rim Association from 2015 until 2017. Indonesia is believed to be able to strengthen cooperation. IORA plays a major role in the future. The other member states of IORA is hoping Indonesia's experience and the key role state in ASEAN will be able to bring a significant change in cooperation among IORA member state.⁸

This is also a big opportunity for Indonesia to realize the vision of Global Maritime Axis; to enhance the security also the capabilities of Indonesia on maritime

⁸ Dahlan, F. (2015, February). *Indian-Ocean Rim Assosiation IORA Peran Indonesia Memperkuat Kerjasama Dikawasan Samudra Hindia*. Retrieved March 25th, 2016, from Tabloid Diplomasi: www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/current-issues/209-diplomasi-februari-2015/1833-Indian-Ocean-rim-assosiation-IORA-peran-Indonesia-memperkuat-kerjasama-dikawasan-samudra-hindia.html

sector. By becoming IORA chief leader, Indonesia is one step closer to realize the Global Maritime Axis vision.

Challenges of the Global Maritime Axis

One of the efforts of implementation of Global maritime Axis is Bakamla .where this agency has a function to monitor the sea activity in Indonesia territorial. This agency actually has the same function as some Indonesia institutions such as Marine and Coastal Protection unity or KPLP

Chairman of the Indonesian National Shipowners Association (INSA) , Carmelita Hartoto said , due to the overlapping of law enforcement at sea , shipping entrepreneurs have to bear the additional cost of up to Rp 8 trillion operations per year . That number represents the accumulated cost of the fuel consumption and the cost of time delays due to the dismissal of the ship while sailing. Moreover, the dismissal of ships at sea by several agencies also threatens the safety and security of the crew.

. This situation is one of the challenges for Jokowi as the one who proposed to see and watch. This challenge could affect the vision of Global Maritime Axis.

Second challenge is Jokowi has some advisors who are no longer active for Global Maritime Axis such as Rizal Sukma, Andi Wijayanto and Susi Pudjiastuti. Rizal sukma now is an ambassador Indonesia for Unites States of America, and Andi Wijayanto who was the secretary of cabinet and now he is not in the cabinet itself. Meanwhile Susi Pudjiastuti who is the Sea and Fishery Minister of Indonesia.

Looking at the situation which some of advisors of this idea do not stay active in implementing Global Maritime Axis policy, Jokowi needs more effort to realize his vision. Some people in Indonesia also doubt whether this vision would give a great development for Indonesia.

In 2014, the Defense Ministry published several defense policy papers: the Defense White Paper, State Defense Doctrine, State Defense Strategy, State Defense Posture and the harmonization of 2014 minimum essential forces. However the defense policy paper does not mention about the Global Maritime Axis vision. By looking on this, Jokowi should give more attention in filling the gap between the defense policy documents and his maritime vision.

Another challenge is Indonesia still do not publish their white paper while Australia has launched their 2016 new defense white paper which this paper has a function to give the view of their defense program which aims to pursuing their interest. Until now, there isn't any news regarding Indonesia defense white paper.

This situation also bring some thought between scholars in Indonesia because without the defense white paper it still not clear what Indonesia defense program direction would be. Looking at Global Maritime Axis where one the vision is to enhance maritime defense force, as long as there is no white paper it's still hard to see what Indonesia security would become in the future.

The Global Maritime Axis as the way to achieve National Security

In his presidential regime, Jokowi proposed Global Maritime Axis as his vision to create Indonesia as a better state. He mentioned about the Indonesia's history where our ancestors were the sailor and the kingdoms of Indonesia were concern and has glory in the maritime. Jokowi would like to return Indonesia as a maritime state which emphasizing *Jalesveva Jayamahe* as an identity.

The geography condition of Indonesia territorial almost completely consists of Sea. Jokowi tries to put the geopolitics strategy, which he would like to maximize and improve Indonesia maritime assets. He believed that when Indonesia could maximize its maritime assets, the power and wealth would come to Indonesia.

Indonesia in the past had some disputes in the maritime sector with others states especially neighboring states. Looking at the international world nowadays

where the military budget of one state are focused on maritime sector, Global Maritime Axis is an effort from Jokowi presidential regime on creating Indonesia to get a strong position in the world. This vision also is an effort to protect Indonesia's maritime assets and resources from external parties which has no connection with Indonesia.

Conclusion

Jokowi in his speech in East Asia Summit 2014 mentioned that Global Maritime Axis has five visions, they are maritime culture, sovereignty at sea, the infrastructure related to maritime connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense force. All of the vision are concerning on strengthen Indonesia capabilities on maritime sector.

Jokowi has decided Global Maritime Axis to achieving Indonesia National security Interest is because of the historical background of Indonesia where its ancestors were the sailor where he tries to returning the Jalesveva Jayamahe to Indonesia. Geopolitics strategy which is Indonesia maritime location would create the wealth for Indonesia. This policy could maximize Indonesia maritime assets also. And the last is as the effort of Indonesia to have strong political position and improve the capabilities of its maritime security on protecting Indonesia's maritime assets.

This vision is a long term implementation for Indonesia to achieve the vision. It is so hard to change Indonesia directly to the sea, where before all the policies are concern to land. This vision is needs time to success. Also all the role from government and people are needed on the achievement of this vision. Without any collaboration and team work this vision would be so hard to be achieved.

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