

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Indonesia as the world's largest maritime country is recognized by worldwide which is clearly stated in UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea), where was ratified by the countries of the world.¹ In the Juanda Declaration the sovereignty of Indonesia as an archipelago state is also set forth. As it known the 3/5 of the territory of the country is the region with water surrounded by ± 17,508 Islands which are rich in natural resources.²

Indonesia is an archipelago state, where the islands are separated by sea. However, in this case the sea become a hindrance for each ethnic groups in Indonesia to be interconnected with the tribes of 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 sailed to keep the contacts and interactions with other group. In fact, the cruise is undertaken by people in Indonesia (Nusantara) maritime era who have come to Madagascar. The Evidence of the cruise of Indonesian people is based on the same type of boat which called "*Jukung*" that discovered in Madagaskar, Jukung is the boat that was used by the people of Borneo to sail.³

¹ http://www.academia.edu/8734640/SEJARAH_KEMARITIMAN_INDONESIA, accessed August 5th 2015, 07.41 A.M

² Ibid

³ <http://blogzulkiflirahman.blogspot.com/2012/09/makalah-wsbm.html>

The history of Indonesia as the world largest maritime country is also proven on the emergence of successive kingdoms in Nusantara. The book entitled "the maritime history of Indonesia" written by Judge Benardie SP (2003) contain notes and the description of the history of development of the infrastructure of leading form such as cruise routes, trade, as well as the construction of the shipyard of the great kingdoms of Nusantara which was focused on the development of maritime power. Every Kingdom in the archipelago, have the power of the social development strategy on economic, political, defense and security, also sea infrastructure especially ship industry.

The peak of the triumph of Nusantara's maritime power occurred during the reign of Majapahit (1293-1520). Under Raden Wijaya, Hayam Wuruk and Gajah Mada. Majapahit successfully conquered and unified the country.⁴ Majapahit influenced even foreign kingdoms like Siam, Ayuthia, Lagor, Campa (Cambodia), Anam, India,China, and the area that was known as Philippines. Majapahit also had the biggest numbers on navy and its armament in the Nusantara or Indonesia.

In the middle of 2014, Indonesia elected a new president to rule the country. 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. In the electoral debate on May 2014 Jokowi proposed his policy on maritime arena. He promised to strengthen Indonesia maritime security, expand the work of regional diplomacy to

⁴ Ibid

refuge the whole region of the Indo-Pacific, and the last plan, to make Indonesian navy as a respected regional maritime power in East Asia. Jokowi also planned to change Indonesia into a Global Maritime Axis which means Indonesia as the maritime power in Indo-Pacific.⁵

Jokowi has a vision to enhance the maritime defensive power to protect the country maritime assets, sea-lanes, and territorial water from traditional and non-traditional threats⁶. Back to couple years before, Indonesia had so many island disputes with the neighborhood countries such as Sipadang Lingitan Island. Indonesia was also known as its capabilities of Indonesian naval which weaker than the smaller states in South East Asia such as Singapore and Malaysia. In Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono regime, the government adopted MEF or Minimum Essential Force where its agenda was a twenty-year plan on modernization of the Indonesian Navy and air force, where weapon development and modernization were also included in the plan.⁷

The MEF has several challenges such as limited resources, the research facilities and ill-equipped infrastructure that made the plan stuck. In 2001 the budget for Indonesia's defense was 0,5 percent of GDP and changed to 0,9 percent of GDP (US\$8.3 billion) in 2013. This budget was lower than Australia (US\$26 billion), China (US\$112 billion) and Japan (US\$51 billion). Those

⁵ Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla Vision-Mission and Action Program, (Jakarta, may2014),http://kpu.go.id/koleksigambar/VISI_MISI_Jokowi-JK.pdf (accessed on April 1st 2015).

⁶ <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2014/11/indonesia-maritime-liow-shekhar>

⁷ Shekhar, V., & Liow, J. C. (n.d.). Indonesia as a Maritime Power: Jokowi's Vision, Strategies, and Obstacle Ahead.

countries allocated 2 percent of their GDP to increase their defense GDP.⁸ To solve this Jokowi proposed two approaches, by raising Indonesia defense budget to 1,5 percent of GDP higher than before and attracting foreign investment. During Jokowi visited Japan in August, Japan agreed to give contribution for Indonesia in building maritime infrastructures.

Jokowi on his presidential induction gave speech focusing on the maritime sector. There are several points that could be pointed out⁹. According to the speech Indonesia should work hard to return as a maritime state. Jokowi believed that Ocean, sea, strait, and bay are Indonesian future of civilization. He would like to return Jalesveva Jayamahe,(in sea we are wealth) as Indonesian Symbol. As the chosen helmsman by the people, he invited all people to take the Republic Indonesia ship then sail together to Indonesia Raya. He also mentioned in his speech will stand as what people and constitution desire.

In Soeharto era, Indonesia focused on the Agriculture sector which it was a plan to resolve the poverty and food scarcity in Indonesia. In 1970 until 1980, President Soeharto made massive investments to agricultural infrastructure. A number of reservoirs, dams, and irrigations were built to support agriculture development.¹⁰ To support Agriculture development, Soeharto also made Pembangunan Lima Tahun (PELITA) which this plan used until PELITA VI.

⁸ <http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2014/11/indonesia-maritime-liow-shekhar>

⁹ Setianegara, H. (2014). Strategi Maritime: Pada Lerang Laut Nusantara dan Poros Maritim Dunia. Yogyakarta: LeutikaPrio.

¹⁰ Pak Harto dan Ketahanan Pangan. (2013, March 6). Retrieved May 15, 2016, from Soeharto.co: <http://soeharto.co/program-pertanian-era-pak-harto>

Meanwhile, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono focused on the development for all which concerned on the stability of economic especially on the equality for all Indonesia citizens on economic and law. SBY proposed six basic developments to achieve his vision.¹¹ First, apply an inclusive development strategy, which ensures equity and justice, and be able to respect and maintain the diversity of Indonesian people. Second, the development of Indonesia must have a territorial dimension. Third, create a national economic integration in the globalization era. Fourth, develop local economic in each region, in order to build a strong domestic economy nationally. The Fifth is growth with equity. And the last is the development on human resources skills and capabilities.

Focusing on 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's maritime sources for economy and security sector. This vision is important to be discussed, because of its actor and its prospect for Indonesia's domestic and international interest. Especially in the last 50 years there was no president which focusing on the maritime sector.

B. Research Question

From the illustration above, the research question can be formulated as follows :

¹¹ Hasan, A. (2009, August 19). Enam Strategi Pembangunan Pemerintah SBY. Retrieved 5 15, 2016, from News Okezone: <http://news.okezone.com/read/2009/08/19/1/249296/enam-strategi-pembangunan-pemerintah-sby>

“Why has President Jokowi decided Global Maritime Axis to achieve Indonesia National security Interest?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the proposed research question, some concepts are applied. The first concept is geopolitics. This concept is used because it is considered to be able to help to analyze why Global maritime is needed and important for Indonesia. The second concept is maritime strategy. It is the concept to analyze the goals and lacks of policy then create a better policy to use. The last concept is Security dilemma where this concept is used to support the explanations why Indonesia needs Global Maritime Axis.

1. Geopolitics

In the human affairs, geography always has a big role on it's actions, where geography shapes the identity, character, and history of the nation-states, and help and hinder their social, political and economic development.

According to Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan from the International Relations, the key concept book, *“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.”*¹²

¹² Griffiths, M., & O'Callaghan, T. (2002). *International Relation: The key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.P.120

Nicholas Spykman, one of the most inspiring scholars in geopolitics, introduced the 'Rimland Theory' which this theory is a vis-à-vis with Heartland theory. Spykman argue that Heartland is actually a disadvantaged region because of lack of sea routes access.¹³ He also brought some phrases which counter the Mackinder Heartland phrase, " *Who controls the Rimland, rules Eurasia. Who rules Eurasia control the destinies of the world.*"¹⁴

What Spykman means about Rimland is inner crescent, which is in between Heartland and marginal seas, so it's more important than Heartland. The inner crescent included Asia Minor, Middle East, South East Asia, East Asia and East Siberia except Russia.

The connection between location, wealth, and power is concerned by geopolitical analyst, where the three of them influence each other's. According to Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan the heart of geopolitical analysis is a belief that the position of state's economic and military capability in the hierarchy of states and how they relate to their neighbors are the consequence of geographical factor.

Global Maritime Axis that Jokowi proposed is to maximize the maritime capability from security and economy to become a new vision that actually an improvement from a policy that has been implemented by the previous presidents of Indonesia. There are several challenges that Jokowi should face in

¹³ Rimland Theory. (2015, September 14). Retrieved May 15, 2016, from Taskhila Online: <http://www.takshilaonline.com/gk/geography/rimland-theory-upsc-geography-paper-1-unit-10-models-theories-and-laws-in-human-geography-108.htm>

¹⁴ Ibid

implementing this vision. These challenges are from the facility and the budget needed by the Indonesian Navy on performing duty for the security of Indonesia maritime territorial. This policy would face a lot of obstacle in the next few years especially in the Jokowi's regime.

There are several benefits for Indonesia on Jokowi's Global Maritime Axis vision, especially for national security Interest of Indonesia. Jokowi's vision on this idea is more focused on Indian Ocean which is different from the past foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa that was called as Pacific-Indo-Pacific plan.

For national security Interest, Global Maritime Axis vision could become a trigger to Indonesian Navy to increase their capabilities on defending the Indonesia maritime area. Indonesian Navy known as a weak navy even compared to small countries such as Singapore and Malaysia on its capability for its navy. This also could trigger the modernization of the Indonesian Navy weaponry to help Indonesian security.

2. Maritime Strategy

Maritime strategy is related with sea and management of sea resources, which could bring the best benefit for the wealth also honor to the owner. Maritime strategy could be defined as an art on how the state could achieve the goals and political targets based on the maritime assets.¹⁵ In the book *The Influence of Sea Power Upon history*, by the author Alfred Thayer Mahan there are six main

¹⁵ Setianegara, H. (2014). Strategi Maritime: Pada Lerang Laut Nusantara dan Poros Maritim Dunia. P.59 Yogyakarta: LeutikaPrio.

components that strong navy army should possess:¹⁶ The components are geographical position, physical confirmation, extent of territory, character of the people, number of population, and character of government

Alfred Thayer Mahan believes by achieving the six components, one state also will achieve the Sea Power. Sea power is the most important thing for one state to achieve the glory and wealth, and one state would fall and lost if they couldn't maximize their sea resources. The excellence of the navy is also needed to create the Sea Power, where the navy is the front line of the state to protect and defend the sea resources and the state.

Indonesia is the world's largest maritime country in the world. As it known with the 3/5 of the territory of the country is the waters surrounded by the ± 17,508 Islands which are rich in natural resources. According to the history and culture of Indonesian civilization, the ancestor also used Indonesian Sea as their priority for living, trade, security, and invasion to other region.

In his induction speech Jokowi mentioned about the physical condition of Indonesian sea where he tried to persuade Indonesian people to work together with him to maximize and return the Indonesia sea capabilities. He also mentioned about the ancestor shibboleth about Indonesian Sea.

The main points on his induction speech are the effort of Jokowi to achieve his goals where he tried to create the character of the people to agree with his vision. By examining Indonesia's physical, geographical, and territorial and

¹⁶ **Ibid**

number of population, the points are already in accordance with the qualification of Alfred Mahan's Sea Power. The vision that Jokowi proposed also includes enhancing and developing Indonesian Naval capabilities and power. The effort to enhance is to gain the sea power where the main goal of Jokowi's vision is to achieve Indonesia maritime state and become the Global Maritime Axis.

3. Security Dilemma

The basic assumption of security dilemma is security as something for each state to compete. Every state does their own effort to have protection for them. This happens because the international system is lack of order or called as Anarchy. It requires more power to protect one state from another state. When one state acquires more power it would create insecurity of other state where they also try to acquire more power as the result, then the possibility is creating an arm racing between states.

According to Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan "*The security dilemma arises primarily from the alleged structure of international system rather than the aggressive motives or attentions of state. This structural basis is exacerbated by the understandably conservative inclinations of defence planners to prepare for the worst and focus on the capabilities of their rivals rather than rely on their benign intentions*"¹⁷

¹⁷ Griffiths, M., & O'Callaghan, T. (2002). *International Relation: The key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.P.292

They also examined the intensity of security dilemma into two kinds.¹⁸ First the intensity of security dilemma is depending on the degree to which one can distinguish between defensive and offensive weapons as well as the relations between them. Second the intensity of security dilemma is depends on the political relationship between each state. The degree of trust and sense of common interest are concerned in this intensity.

Indonesia used to have so many island disputes with the surrounding countries, such as the case of Sipadang Linggitan Island. Indonesia is also known as its capabilities of Indonesian naval which weaker than the smaller state in South East Asia. The military capabilities of other states beside South East Asia countries such as China, Australia, and Japan also create a dilemma for Indonesia especially to protect its resources, for example Australia where they have big navy armament and also China who become the biggest Navy in Asia nowadays.

Under the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, he tried to enhance Indonesian maritime force by adopting the Minimum Essential Force. This MEF is a twenty years plan on modernizing the Navy, but there are several challenges on modernizing the Indonesian Navy such as limited resources, ill-equipped infrastructure and out-of-date defense research facility. In 2001 the budget for Indonesia defense was 0,5 percent of GDP and changed to 0,9 percent of GDP (US\$8.3 billion) in 2013 .¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Shekhar, V., & Liow, J. C. (n.d.). Indonesia as a Maritime Power: Jokowi's Vision, Strategies, and Obstacle Ahead

This budget was lower than Australia (US\$26 billion), China (US\$112 billion) and Japan (US\$51 billion). Those countries allocated 2 percent of their GDP to increase their defense GDP, and the implementation of IMF also has been slow. PT Pindad and Surabaya-base PT PAL, remain underfunded and underequipped limiting their effective contribution.²⁰ Also more than 7 percent of ship components are imported, with very little contribution where apart from labor which from the Indonesian industry.²¹ Indonesian Naval capability is also weaker than the smaller countries in Southeast Asia such as Singapore and Thailand.

To solve the problems, Jokowi brings two approaches. First, raising the defense budget up to 1,5 percent in five years and second, attracting the foreign investment. Jokowi also tries to increase defensive capability of the Navy to protect country's maritime assets, sea-lanes, and territorial from every threat

D. Hypothesis

Jokowi has decided Global Maritime Axis to achieve national security interest because:

1. Based on Indonesia territorial, historical background and Indonesia past disputes experiences on maritime matter, Global Maritime

²⁰ Amir Tejo, "Imported Components Dominate Shipbuilding Industry," Tempo English Online, May 14, 2014, <http://en.tempo.co/read/news/2014/05/14/056577719/Imported-Components-Dominate-Shipbuilding-Industry> (accessed on September 24, 2014)

²¹ Linda Yulisman, "Shipbuilders struggle to meet production targets," The Jakarta Post, August 14 2013, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/08/14/shipbuilders-struggle-meet-production-targets.html> (accessed on September 24, 2014)

Axis would give Indonesia a strong position on political matters with other states.

2. Jokowi Global Maritime Axis vision would bring the opportunities for Indonesia National Interest such as Modernizing Indonesia security capabilities especially Indonesian Navy for protecting the Indonesian resources, and the future prospect on maximizing Indonesian Sea resources and asset like fishery and marine aquaculture.

E. Range of Research

In order to focus the research, the range of research would be limited from 2014 until 2016 where Jokowi does his presidential works. This research also would take the data from the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidential regime, especially on maritime security matters. The data would be collected from 2004 until 2014 in Susilo Bambang Yudhotono presidential regimes.

F. Purposes of Research

This research aims to achieve some purposes as follows:

1. To get through on Jokowi's Global Maritime Axis Policy for Indonesia National Interest especially in maritime security territorial.
2. To analyze Jokowi's Global Maritime axis policy especially its benefit for Indonesia National security interest

3. To apply theories and concepts in international relations studies into real political life of the nation.

G. Methodology

Library research was the main method used to write this paper. The data were gathered by collecting references in the forms of books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers, and journals. Internet sources were also used since some updated information and data related to the topic discussed were only available through internet.

H. Outline

The outline of this thesis is as described as follows:

CHAPTER I highlight the background, research question, purpose and benefit of the research theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II provides information about the history of Indonesian Maritime, Jokowi point of views on Indonesia and Indonesia maritime capabilities especially on security arena.

CHAPTER III discusses Global Maritime Axis from the people who support it, the goals of GMA and what is the actions already done in Jokowi regime to realize Global Maritime Axis

CHAPTER IV discusses about the opportunities of Global Maritime Axis for Indonesia National security interests, the challenges for Global maritime axis. This chapter also will explain why Jokowi decided to take this policy.

CHAPTER V is the closing part of the thesis in which it contains the conclusion and suggestion.