MARITIME AXIS AND INDONESIA’S NATIONAL SECURITY:
CHALLENGE AND HOPE

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Abstract - The maritime and marine potentials are so great on the one hand, were a blessing on Indonesia’s geographical condition, but on the other hand, it can lead to conflict. Exploitation and illegal activities on marine resources without considering sustainability will worsen the welfare of society and often conflicting international relations. As a country that becomes the crossing of foreign ships where four straits of the seven important straits of the world exist in Indonesian waters, Indonesia is a country that is vulnerable from the side of maritime security. Crime in Indonesian waters is still frequent, either by Indonesian citizens themselves or foreign nationals. The Government of Indonesia with the Nawa Cita program has the vision of Indonesia as a maritime axis of the world. Meanwhile, as a policy, the successful implementation of maritime axis policy is largely determined by content of policy and context of implementation. The successful implementation of maritime axis policy will impact the realization of the welfare and security of Indonesian society. This article uses a qualitative approach with data sources and literature related to maritime axis. Validity and reliability of data is done by reference triangulation. The results show that the implementation of maritime axis policy still requires the readiness of the implementer as the front guard of maritime axis policy along with the development of maritime infrastructure of international standard.

Key words: maritime axis, content of policy, context of implementation, national security

Preface

The administration of President Joko Widodo restores the spirit of maritime by making Indonesia a maritime axis of the world. The concept of World Maritime Axis is outlined in Presidential Regulation No. 2 of 2015 on National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015-2019. Indonesia as a world maritime axis is supported by five main pillars: first, the redevelopment of Indonesian maritime culture; second, the commitment to maintain and manage marine resources with a focus on building sovereignty of seafood through the development of the fishery industry by placing fishermen as the main pillars; third, commitment to encourage the

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development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity by building sea tolls, seaports, logistics, and shipping industries, as well as maritime tourism; fourth, maritime diplomacy which invites all Indonesian partners to cooperate in the maritime field; and fifth, build a maritime defense force.\(^3\)

Indonesia consists of more than 17,504 islands with 95,181 km of coastline and lies in a very strategic position between the Asian and Australian continents as well as the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The land area reaches about 2,012,402 km\(^2\) and the sea is about 5.8 million km\(^2\) (75.75%). As an archipelagic country with vast sea and long coastline, maritime and maritime sectors become very strategic for Indonesia in terms of ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, legal, environmental, defense and security aspects.

The important role of the maritime sector for Indonesia according to the author's opinion is actually a renaissance of the Indonesian Republic which has historically had maritime glory such as Sriwijaya, Samudera Pasai, Ternate and Tidore, and so on. The development worsened after the process of conquest by foreign powers from Western countries such as Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch which resulted in waning of the maritime sector's attention and the importance of the land sector. This continues until the period of foreign powers was driven away out off the archipelago.\(^4\)

In contemporary context, the struggle as a maritime state began with the Djuanda Declaration on December 13th 1957 until the establishment of Indonesia as an archipelagic state with UNCLOS 1982 which was ratified by Law No.17 of 1985. Now maritime axis policy again reinforces the priority of marine sector development in national development. It is realized that maritime and sea potentials are so great that on one side is a blessing of a geographical condition of Indonesia, but on

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the other hand can cause conflict if not managed properly.

The strategic position of Indonesia and its geopolitics of being between two continent and two seas traversed by thousands of foreign ships going through ALKI and important straits, on one hand shows its strategic geographic position, on the other it becomes a vulnerability in the aspect of maritime defense and security. The challenges that may be faced in the aspect of defense and security such as: national knowledge awareness concept that has yet to be comprehend, infrastructure and core weaponry system limitation, maritime regulation which is still without supremacy which impacts the increase of illegal activities utilizing maritime media. Exploitation and illegal activities against maritime resources are carried out by both local and transnational actors. Other issues include the delimitation of maritime borders, the quantity and quality of maritime human resources, the weakness of law enforcement, and the limited maritime infrastructure adds to the list of maritime issues in Indonesia.

James E Anderson states that the policy is "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern." (A series of actions that have a specific purpose followed and executed by a perpetrator or a group of actors to solve a particular problem). The concept of policy offered by Anderson, according to Budi Winarno, it is considered to be more precise because of what is actually done and not on what is proposed or intended. In addition, this concept also clearly distinguishes between policy with the decision which implies the selection among various alternatives that exist5,5

Thomas R. Dye, as quoted by Islamy defines public policy as “...is whatever government choose to do or not to do”. This definition emphasis that public policy is about the the embodiment of “behavior” and not simply a statement of the desires of the government or public officers 6.

Overcoming the above problems is not as easy as turning your hand. Major and fundamental changes must be made, along with the government’s commitment to

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make Indonesia the world's maritime axis. The maritime axis policy can increase the defensive strength to maintain the integrity and sovereignty of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). So how far can maritime axis policy can implicate the defense sector? How is the preparedness of the defense sector to support the maritime axis policy?

**Research Method**

The research was conducted with qualitative research design. In qualitative research an evaluation of the phenomena that occur can be conducted. Maritime axis policy is a domestic public policy, but at a certain level will have an implications on the relationship between nations. Indonesia territory is bordered by 10 countries, of which 7 countries abut territorial waters with Indonesia, Indonesia has 3 ALKI, and 4 straits traversed by foreign shipping. This can certainly be an opportunity to increase national development (prosperity) without ignoring security (security). The data collection for this article was conducted using literature and document studies as a source of research data. Validity testing and data reliability are done by triangulation technique.

**Literature and Conceptual Framework Review**

Grindle states that the policy implication is not just related to the translation of political decision into routine procedure through bureaucracy, furthermore relating to conflicts, decision, and who receive what in certain policies.7

In the policy process there will always be a possibility of a difference between what is expected (planned) by the policymaker and what is actually achieved (as a result or achievement of the policy implementation). Duneshire calls this as an implementation gap.8 Thus, the success of public policy is not only based on economic, efficiency and administrative principles, but ethical and moral consequences are at stake in reflecting the behavior of the apparatus in relation to the welfare interests of the people, including those relating to national security.

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Any policy actually contains a risk of failure. Policy failure is in two categories, i.e., non-implemented policies, and unsuccessful implementation. Non-implementation occurs because the parties involved in the implementation do not cooperate or have cooperated inefficiently, work halfheartedly or because they have not fully mastered the problem, or problems faced is beyond the scope of their power.

Unsuccessful implementation occurs because a policy is implemented as planned but considering external condition it is deemed disadvantages, the policy is unsuccessful in realizing the desired impact or result thus it is considered as a theory failure. Policies that has a failure risk due to bad execution, and bad policy, or bad luck.

Anderson suggests that policy implementation can be seen from four aspects of who is involved, the situation, compliance, the effect on the policy and its impact. "Who is involved in the policy implementation, the nature of the administrative process, the compliance with policy, and the effect of implementation on policy content and impact ". Thus, policy implementation becomes important because it can be seen whether the policy is truly applicable and successful to produce outputs and outcomes as planned. Policy output is expected to emerge as a direct output that can be seen in a short time after the implementation of the policy. Outcomes are the impact of the policy expected to arise after the release of output. Outcomes are measured after the release of output or in a long time post implementation of a policy.

The concept of national security of the Indonesian Republic is contained in the fourth paragraph of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution “...melindungi segenap bangsa Indonesia dan seluruh tumpah darah Indonesia... serta ikut melaksanakan ketertiban dunia yang berdasarkan kemerdekaan, perdamaian abadi, dan keadilan sosial” (protecting the whole Indonesia Nation, as well as participating in world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice) using all of its potential and resources to maintain national

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10 Wahab, op.cit.
In maintaining national security, the state carries out the tasks of state defense to uphold the state’s external sovereignty against external threats by using military force.

Today the concept of Security leads to human security where the state carries out its obligations to protect citizens from all forms of threats, frees citizens from fear and freedom of want.

When speaking of security it is clearly established that there is a correlation between military power and prosperity. Likewise with the maritime axis policy that builds 24 piers as part of the sea toll. Politics has a relationship with the identification of the core region from an international perspective, and the relationship between the capabilities of the sea, air, and land owned. Adagium "It takes two if by the sea" shows that the maritime axis can serve as the basis of national defense policy. This is due to Indonesia's obligation to ensure the safety and safety of shipping when crossing the archipelagic sea lanes of Indonesia.

The opening of waters as part of the world maritime axis has the potential as a conventional threat because it can involve Indonesia in maritime issues. As is known, maritime boundary disputes have not been fully resolved by Indonesia together with its neighboring countries. When we look back at the concept of insight into the archipelago, which is the way of the Indonesian nation's perspective on self and its environment has implications on the archipelago as a political, economic, socio-cultural, and security archipelago. This is what is further understood as geopolitics when linked with a geographical state can show the options in its foreign policy as well as its position in the hierarchical state as stated by Griffith:

“Geopolitics is the study of the influence of geographical factors on state behaviour – how location, climate, natural resources, population, and physical terrain determine a state’s foreign policy

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options and its position in the hierarchy of states.”

Based on the above description, the dimension of maritime security in maritime axis policy is like a piece of currency between domestic policy and foreign policy. In relation to the policy, in a democratic state, the final decision of the policy is done by one of the parliament. Likewise with the policy on the security aspect. Policies are also related to the tools and actions taken. The actions taken as policy implementation by individual countries must be closely related to the future and the fate of each other political unity. The policy undertaken to meet domestic demand as an external impact is the increasing need for security, which when perceived by other countries can potentially lead to a balance of power. Based on the above description then the conceptual framework can be seen in Figure 1.

Maritime Axis Policy vis a vis National Security

As the largest archipelagic country in the world, Indonesia has a great opportunity as part of the world’s maritime axis because of its geographical position in the equatorial region, between two continents, Asia and Australia, between the two oceans, the Pacific and the Indies. The maritime axis is a strategic idea embodied to ensure inter-island connectivity, the development of the shipping and fishing industries, the improvement of marine transportation, and the focus on maritime security. The enforcement of the sovereignty of the maritime territory of NKRI, the revitalization of the maritime economic sectors, the strengthening and development of maritime connectivity, the rehabilitation of environmental degradation and the conservation of biodiversity, as well as the enhancement of the quality and quantity of marine human resources, are the main programs in the administration of President Jokowi to realize Indonesia as the maritime

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16 Martin Griffiths and Terry O’Callaghan, International Relations: the Key Concepts, (Routledge: New York, 2002), p.120.
axis of the world. The consequence of the maritime axis policy is that the port system in Indonesia should be modernized in accordance with international standards so that service and access throughout the port must follow the standard procedure.

Implementing maritime axis policy requires political will and commitment of all parties to succeed. The maritime axis policy through the construction of a new seaport with 24 new docks will increase the intensity of both national and international shipping. When viewed from the perspective of prosperity then the increased intensity of the voyage is expected in line with the increase of trade intensity so that it can grow the economy and accelerate the connections of all regions of Indonesia, especially the outer islands.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework
Source: Processed by wirter, 2017

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However, prosperity approach coincides with strengthening the security aspect (security). If it is just the welfare approach, then Indonesia will only be a place for international actors to take advantage of the policy. Likewise, taking into account only the security aspects will also complicate the acceleration to achieve output and feel the outcome of the maritime axis policy. As it is known that Indonesia ratified UNCLOS in 1982 and ratified by Law no. 17 of 1985. The long process of ratification and the realization of UNCLOS one of the impetus was when foreign ships were thus free to enter Indonesian waters which were then vulnerable to Dutch recolonization efforts. So Ir.Djuanda struggle which began in 1957 and successfully passed in 1982 embodies a concept of an archipelagic state intact which later became the conception of archipelagic insight.

When viewed from a security perspective, the maritime axis policy also requires strengthening on the defense aspect. The national security policy in implementing maritime axis policy certainly needs to take into account both internal and external threats, and of course examine carefully the global policies it has ratified. The development and strengthening of the TNI (Indonesia National Army) base in the border and the foremost island is realized with TNI postures that can maintain the sustainability of the maritime shaft policy. The presence of the elements of state defense in addition to showing the presence of the state also has an impact on growing mutual trust and warning on possible threats. Domestically, the presence of state defense elements in line with the maritime axis policy can increase the nationalism and patriotism of the people on the borders, islands in the forefront, and the outermost. The sea is the basis of everyday life of the people of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke, and from Talaud to Rote, as well as their future. Connectivity is a key word to achieve progress and achieve the ideals of prosperity for all people in the

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archipelago Archipelago. The harbor becomes a liaison and hub that enlivens and connects various islands, from the nearest to the remotest, from the central government to the border of the territory of the neighboring country.

**Potential Conflict in Maritime Axis Policy**

The most likely threat in Indonesia is asymmetric and conducted by state actors or non-state actors within direct or indirect threat. In relation to the context of Indonesia as an archipelagic country faced with changes in the global situation as well as major power in the Asia Pacific region, the security aspect requires a re-manifestation of “mengayuh diantara dua karang” (paddling between two corals) written by Hatta.

Boundaries of areas that have not yet been delimited are still disputes impacting on some of the boundaries of ZEE has not been established, and not all territorial sea boundaries and continental shelf boundaries is yet agreed by neighboring countries. The unilateral concept of "Nine Dotted Lines" by China that irritates the waters of the Natuna Islands Sea is another potential conflict. In addition, ongoing criminal activity in the sea may also have an impact on national security disturbances. This great attention to security aspects simultaneously goes with the policy of a welfare-oriented maritime axis can not be separated from the pursuit of freedom. This is in line with what Barry Buzan has stated about security i.e:

> “Security is primarily about the fate of human collectivities...about the pursuit of freedom from threat. The bottom line is about survival, but it also includes a substantial range of concerns about the condition of existence...Security is affected by factors in five major sectors: military, political, economis, societal, and environmental.22

Conventional threat refers to the physical figure of threats in the form of a state as a threat in the form of intervention, aggression, bombardment, and so forth. Today, physical threats are shifting with a wider spectrum and not just physical. Even today these non-physical threats are increasingly intrusive to the security of citizens, resulting in the emergence of the

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term human security. Threats that attack human security to achieve freedom are done by corrupting a nation's citizens through terrorism, drugs, illegal activities that eventually cluster into transnational crime.

With its geographical condition and the existence of maritime axis policy, the threat has a chance to destabilize Indonesia. This is observed by the smuggling of drugs with various modes by sea as much as 80 percent of drugs enter through large ports such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar. Similarly, smuggling of weapons through the sea lane used by a group of domestic actors to conduct separatism against the government such as Aceh, Poso and Papua. In the future, it is predicted the occurrence of maritime terrorism as well as Marawi events that attacked Indonesian ABK. In relation, Indonesia is a strategic country with geographical location so that its geotragic full of future potential conflict can threaten the freedom of Indonesia to run maritime axis policy so that the policy of maritime axis is vulnerable to policy failure.

With all the limitations to enforce national security and foster mutual trust, Indonesia needs regional and global cooperation to succeed the maritime axis policy. Regional and global cooperation is concerned with avoiding an arms race because each country seeks to balance its military might because they have yet establish a sense of trust.

Indonesia's national security in maritime axis policy requires cooperation with neighboring countries through joint activities such as warships visits, joint training, and coordinated patrols, and so on. Cooperation undertaken by the element of defense is required not only in relation to the interests of defense, but on a broader scale including the successful achievement of prosperity aspect.

Intermestic Maritime Axis

Maritime Axis policy which became part of the world’s maritime axis shows an option between domestic or international policy. The option of international and domestic policy shows intermestic (Wirajuda, 2003). With all the limitations to enforce national security and foster mutual trust, Indonesia needs regional and global cooperation to succeed the maritime axis policy. Regional and global cooperation is concerned with avoiding an arms race because each country seeks to balance its military might because they have yet establish a sense of trust.

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Maritime axis policy in the President’s vision...
and mission shows Jokowi’s foreign policy in maritime geopolitics. Maritime geopolitical concepts adopts Alfred Thayer Mahan geopolitics theory as an entreprenuer of maritime orientation which proves that navy strength is a national instrument to rule the world. Mahan’s view is a description of proper sea management by the United States as the orientation of source of economic strength and national defense at that time.

Hasjim Djalal states that maritime state is not the same with an archipelagic state. Maritime state is a state that are capable of exploiting the sea, even if the states is not near the sea, but has the technology, knowledge, equipment, and other to manage and exploit the sea, it’s space or natural resources as well as it’s strategic location. Therefore, many archipelagic nations or island nations that have not become maritime nations because they have not been able to take advantage of the sea that is already in his power.

The implementation of the World Maritime Axis policy by Joko Widodo's Government invites reactive attitude from countries inside and outside Southeast Asia which shows attitude that does not support or oppose what is executed unilaterally by Joko Widodo's Government. This attitude can certainly affect the harmony and security stability that has been in relatively conducive conditions in the region. Resistant, openly resistant reactions, and containing retaliatory messages may affect inter-country interactions.

Similarly from the domestic side shows that maritime is only a concern of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. While other ministries / agencies / bodies still ignore the attention to the maritime sector. This narrow view of the maritime aspect reflects the truth of Hasjim Djalal's remark that states that many archipelago nations open maritime countries. The maritime state is demonstrated by the utilization and management of maritime not yet realized in synergy between institutions. This shows that the policy is not implemented (non-implementation) and the presence of ministries / agencies / institutions that are unsuccessful because of its bad execution.

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25 Poltak Partogi Nainggolan, op.cit, p.169
The non-implementation of policy according to Hogwood and Gunn occurs because the parties involved in the implementation do not cooperate or have cooperated inefficiently, work halfheartedly or because they have not fully mastered the problem, or problems handled beyond the scope of their power. Unsuccessful implementation usually occurs when a policy has been implemented in accordance with the plan but given the unfavorable external conditions, the policy is unsuccessful in realizing the desired impact or outcome.\(^{26}\)

The maritime axis policy is a gigantic project that can be said to be a lighthouse project involving many parties such as, ministries / agencies / institutions / TNI / Polri which all have an interest in the policy. Who became the leading sector of the maritime shaft project? As Grindle explains that the real implementation of public policy is not just about the mechanism of elaboration of political decisions into routine procedures through bureaucratic channels. Rather more than that, it concerns the issue of conflict, decision and who gets what from one policy.

The unimplemented maritime axis policy is due to: 1) policy formulation which is an important step but often underestimated without sharpening the formulation of policy issues by finding appropriate ways and strategies in achieving the policy objectives; 2) content or policy content. Content-side policies have at least the following characteristics: clear, undistorted, supported by proven theory, easily communicated to target groups, supported by both human and financial resources; 3) the implementer must have the capability, competence, commitment, and consistency in implementing a policy; 4) Environment. Socio-economic, political, public support and population culture where policies are implemented.

Thus on the environmental aspect of maritime pros policy becomes an internestic policy if viewed from the perspective of prosperity and security. When implementing a maritime axis policy with the construction of a sea toll in the Indonesian territory adjacent to another country there will be a change in the environment from a security perspective known as the balance of power. Security

\(^{26}\) Wahab, op.cit, p. 62.
and welfare as two sides of the coin, certainly mutually reinforcing in the context of maritime shaft policy. The strengthening of the security sector is a necessity that also becomes a security dilemma as it will ultimately lead to the concerns of neighboring countries. Faced with that we certainly do not need to stop because of consideration of security dilemma. Because, returning to the constitution of Indonesia is not an aggressive country against other countries especially invasion, aggression, or intervention. But the security policy related to the maritime axis is intended to strengthen the national interests of Indonesia as an archipelagic country that needs to be maintained wholeness.

Nevertheless, the security sector has not been fully covered in maritime axis policies. The government's orientation which still focuses on the welfare aspect has not been in line with the security interest. Thus, as stated by Grindle it can be concluded that maritime shaft policy as a

Table 1. Maritime Axis Policy Indicator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>There has not been a significant maritime infrastructure development such as the sea toll connecting between islands, the development of the shipping and fishing industry, the improvement of sea transport.</td>
<td>National Maritime Awareness Movement Coordinator&lt;sup&gt;27&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Limitations of the power of the alusista, as a concept of deterrence in the defense strategy of the State</td>
<td>Ses Ditjen Kuathan Kemenhan&lt;sup&gt;28&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Still using the doctrine / strategy of state defense that uses active defensive patterns when associated with active free politics is still a polemic of some circles, Due to the projected power as the use of force in the maritime environment, including the use of offensive military operations</td>
<td>Ses Ditjen Kuathan Kemenhan&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The new military defense architecture is in the drafting stage which still requires periodic review</td>
<td>Ses Ditjen Kuathan Kemenhan&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From various sources (have been reprocessed)

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.
comprehensive policy can not be implemented. Indicators not yet implemented (non implementation) maritime axis policy is shown in Table 1.

**Conclusion**

The policy of maritime axis is the strategic idea of the Indonesian government which is proclaimed to connect the inter-island to make the movement of people and goods more efficient and effective, the development of shipping industry and marine resources are very rich, and equally important is the security of the Indonesian territory, sea. Thus maritime axis policy is done by formulating a clear and measurable problem with the ways and strategies of implementation and achievement of policy objectives.

The maritime axis policy coincides with the security policy. Indonesia's national security in maritime axis policy requires cooperation with its neighbors (regional) and global cooperation. Regional and global cooperation is not only conducted by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and fisheries (welfare aspect / prosperity) and the Ministry of Defense (security aspect). But it requires the cooperation of all parties because basically maritime axis policy is an intermestic policy that requires integration and universal of all components of the nation to succeed. If not then there will be a policy failure. Implementation of maritime axis policy as an intermestic policy requires technical policy and determines the implementation of each sector as a leading sector. Furthermore, the socialization of the policy is directed to all parties, especially those directly involved so that it can accept maritime shaft policy as a common interest. On the other hand, because the security and welfare are attached to each other even intertwined or intermestic, in addition to paying attention to prosperity factors are also in line with the preparation of facilities and infrastructure including defense alutsista in order to safeguard the security interests (security).

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