SECURITIZATION OF MARITIME SECURITY ISSUES IN SUPPORTING INDONESIA'S DEFENSE DIPLOMACY AT ADMM-PLUS ON MARITIME SECURITY

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Abstract –Indonesia is one of the countries which has many maritime security issues that needs to be managed appropriately through defense diplomacy approach, including the ASEAN framework. ADMM Plus on Maritime Security as the highest defense forum and dialog in ASEAN on maritime security issues is expected to be able to build confidence building measures and mutual trust between ASEAN member states and non-member states in solving maritime security issues. However, some goals have not been achieved due to many complex problems on maritime security in domestic sphere. This paper will use securitization theory, defense diplomacy concept, and maritime security concept for analyzing the maritime security issues in Indonesia which need securitization for supporting its defense diplomacy at ADMM Plus on Maritime Security. However, the securitization progress faced several challenges coming from various aspects, especially the habit of political leaders that only use maritime security as political instrument without concerning to the real security issues.

Keywords: Maritime Security, Securitization, ADMM-Plus, Defense Diplomacy

Background

The Southeast Asia sea is the busiest maritime trade routes in the world. It encourages an important value on the political and security aspects. The importance of the Southeast Asia seas is not only for the countries in the region, but also for the countries outside the region, both as a crossing of commercial ships and as part of a geopolitical strategy. As the consequence of the sea important roles is the emergence of transnational criminals and terrorist groups that uses the Southeast Asian Region as their maritime crime operations area.[2]

The maritime security threat not only affects certain countries, but also poses a threat to regional and global security with the greatest potential to hamper international trade. The ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime records various types of transnational crimes that often occur in Southeast Asia region, some of which occur within the maritime dimension:

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[2] Jakarta International Defense Dialog (JIDD), "Strategic Assessment Building Maritime Collaboration for Security and Stability", (Jakarta: JIDD, 2014).

drug trafficking, human trafficking, piracy, arms smuggling and maritime terrorism.[3] The maritime security threat poses dangerous non-traditional threat to the region and can not be handled by single country since the crime operation area covers multiple countries.[4]

The maritime security threat should also be understood from its potential to be developed into a global problem. Referring to the case reported by Stig Jarle Hansen on the case of piracy in Somalia, which was started from the actions of local fishermen hijacking vessels that engage in illegal fishing within their territory and later widen into piracy action against large commercial vessels.[5] If the pirate is attacking cargo

ships of high economic value, it will greatly affect the wheels of the global economy. This is highly potential to occur in Southeast Asia, especially in the busiest trade routes such as the Malacca Strait and the Singapore Strait.

In dealing with the cross-border maritime security threat, one country cannot address it single-handedly because it relates to the territorial sovereignty of other countries, besides the weak capabilities of Southeast Asian countries to overcome them. [6]The most effective effort for countries in South East Asia region is to conduct international cooperation between ASEAN member states and countries from outside ASEAN who have interests in the Southeast Asia waters in overcoming the threat. However, in order to address this issue together, ASEAN countries face fundamental challenges, such as differences in interests and maritime doctrine among the ASEAN member states that may potentially lead to disputes and intra-regional conflicts.[7] Not to mention when it has to confront

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[3] Maritime terrorism refers to the term issued by The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, that maritime terrorism is a terror activity conducted in the maritime environment, either by using maritime media (such as ships) or attacking maritime objects by impacting terror, such as ships, ports, personnel / ship crew, coastal areas and others. Center of International Maritime Security, "The ISPS-Code and Maritime Terrorism", in http://cimsec.org/isps-code-maritime-terrorism/12098, 15 Juli 2014, accessed on 5 February 2018.

[4] ASEAN, "ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime", in http://asean.org/storage/2012/05/ASEAN-Plan-of-Action-in-Combating-TC_Adopted-by-11th-AMMTC-on 20Sept17.pdf, 20 September 2017, accessed on 5 February 2018.

[5] Stig Jarle Hansen, "Private security & local politics in Somalia", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol.35 No.118, Desember 2014, hlm. 585-598.

[6] Rodon Pedrason, "Defense Diplomacy Introduction", Subject of Defense Diplomacy, Indonesia Defense University, 9 May 2016.

[7] David Carpie, "Structures, Shocks and Norm Change: Explaining the Late Rise of Asia's Defence Diplomacy", *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Vol.31, No.1, April 2013, hlm. 1-26.

with great powers state from outside the region that tends to dominate. Therefore, the implementation shall require a clear cooperation mechanism, promoting Confidence Building Measures (CBM) / mutual trust to avoid inter-state conflict and does not violate ASEAN's non-intervention principle within the ASEAN Way.[8]

Indonesia with its sea region covers two thirds of the Southeast Asia sea, as well as the largest archipelago country, and as the "natural leader" of ASEAN[9], has the interest and ability to be the initiator in bringing the issue of maritime security at the ASEAN level and foster effective maritime cooperation mechanisms between ASEAN countries and to accommodate the interests of non-regional countries without harming the region itself. One of the most relevant approach is to maximize the defense

diplomatic medium at the ASEAN level so as not to violate the principle of non-intervention ASEAN and CBM principle. The highest form of ASEAN cooperation in defense and security sectors that is also relevant to these requirements is the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and ADMM-Plus which involves ASEAN partner countries.

ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security

Basically, ADMM is the partner of defense and security cooperation and discussion which first established in 2006 and has been successful in commencing the defense and security cooperation in Southeast Asia and establishing CBM among ASEAN member countries. At that time, the new terminology and concept of "defense cooperation" was introduced in ASEAN, known as defense diplomacy.[10]ADMM has agreed on six forms of technical cooperation, including in maritime security cooperation. For more specific areas of maritime security, there is the framework of ADMM-Plus technical cooperation.[11]

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[8] ASEAN Way refers to the basic principles of ASEAN, including; (1) Respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, integrity of national territory, and national identity of each country; (2) The right of every State to lead a national presence free of interference, subversive or external coercion; (3) Not interfering in the internal affairs of member countries (4) Settling differences or debates peacefully; (5) Refuse the use of lethal force; (6) Effective cooperation; ASEAN Secretariat, "The ASEAN Charter", (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2008).

[9] Rodon Pedrason, *ASEAN's Defense Diplomacy: The Road to Southeast Asian Defense Community*, (Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2015).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] ADMM, "About the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM)", in https://admm.asean.org/index.php/about-admm/about-admm-plus.html, 14 January 2014, accessed on 20 January 2018.

ADMM-plus was established in 2010 as the results of consultation mechanisms and cooperation within the ADMM framework which demonstrate an outward looking strategy of ASEAN in its external relations, which involves non-ASEAN countries or external powers called "Plus countries". The Plus countries are strategic ASEAN countries like Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Russia, and the United States (US).[12]

ADMM-Plus moves on different mechanisms with ADMM, which ADMM-Plus agrees to work in six forms of practical cooperation (*Expert Working Group*/EWG), including *Counter-terrorism, Humanitarian Assistance, Disaster Management, Peacekeeping Operations and Military Medicine, Cyber Security,* and *Maritime Security.*[13] One of the technical forms that become the main focus of ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security [14] is discussing maritime security issues. To date, ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security has conducted several meetings that result in activities in security and defense cooperation within the maritime security sector. Like *Table-Top Exercise* (TTX) and *Field Training Exercise*(FTX). In addition, the dialogue and transparency in these activities are believed to have successfully promoted mutual trust or CBM among member states[15]

The ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security activities are specifically focused on building the country's maritime instrument, sharing information related to maritime crime in the region, and enhancing regional stability and peace through maritime security cooperation. ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security also contributes to the realization of the ASEAN Security Community and facilitates the Vientiane Action Program, a program aimed at building a safe, peaceful and prosperous ASEAN.[16]The purpose and function of ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is aligned with the concept of defense diplomacy, especially in establishing CBM and mutual trust. The concept of defense diplomacy can be

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[12]   *Ibid.*
[13]   *Ibid.*
[14]   ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is a term used to refer to any form of ADMM-Plus activities with maritime security dimensions, both at the forum / dialogue level, to practical cooperation.

[15]   Jakarta International Defense Dialog (JIDD), "Strategic Assessment Building Maritime Collaboration for Security and Stability", (Jakarta: JIDD, 2014).
[16]   Davies Matthew, "Explaining the Vientiane Action Programme: Asean and the Institutionalisation Of Human Rights", *The Pacific Review,* Vol. 26. No 4, September 2013, pg.385-406.

understood from Rodon Pedrason's definition:[17]

> "all methods and strategies used by countries that may be in a state of competition with one another, but they have used a certain kind of practice including economic, culture, political cooperation, defence cooperation and diplomacy to make friends, hopefully cooperate with one another, and, most importantly, to build and increase mutual trust".

Based on this definition, ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security, which is an inter-ministerial defense interlocutor and produces a defense cooperation framework within the maritime security sector, can be regarded as an ASEAN defense diplomacy medium that focuses on the dimensions of maritime security.[18]

Indonesia's Interests in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security

Considering the ideal objectives, ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security should be the main facility for Southeast Asian countries in addressing maritime security issues. However, there are still various maritime security issues encountered by the Southeast Asia region, ranging from the previously mentioned maritime crime to traditional threats such as maritime border disputes, both bilateral and multilateral disputes, like the Chinese Sea dispute with assertive actions from the China side. Meanwhile, the maritime security threat in Southeast Asia in recent years has been significantly increased and can be seen in the form of piracy, smuggling, illegal fishing and marine pollution. These are the root cause of marine incidents in Southeast Asia.[19]

Table 1 shows that every year the number of incidents is relatively increasing in the Southeast Asian region. However, the increase is not symmetrical with the ability of the countries in Southeast Asia to address it. Simply stated, the weak maritime surveillance will have an impact in increasing threats to maritime and can trigger intra-regional conflict at the regional level. Table 1 also shows an increase in incidence and is most prevalent in Indonesian waters, especially in the Malacca Strait.

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[17] Rodon Pedrason, "Defense Diplomacy Introduction", Subject of Defense Diplomacy, Indonesia Defense University, 9 May 2016.

[18] Rizky Reza Lubis, "Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy in Reducing Great Powers' Rivalry in the South China Sea", Thesis, (Sentul: Indonesia Defense University, 2017).

[19] See Seng Tan, "Providers not protectors: institutionalizing responsible sovereignty in Southeast Asia", *Asian Security Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 13, September 2011, pg. 201-217.

Table 1. Comparison on the Number of Sea Incidents in Southeast Asia in 2011-2015

Locations		2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
S E ASIA	Indonesia	40	46	81	106	100	108
	Malacca Straits	2	1	2	1	1	5
	Malaysia	18	16	12	9	24	13
	Myanmar (Burma)		1				
	Philippines	5	5	3	3	6	11
	Singapore Straits	3	11	6	9	8	9
	Thailand	2				2	1

Source: IMB, "Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships-2015 Annual Report" (January–December 2015), (London: ICC-IMB, 2015), pg. 5.

The Strait of Malacca is one of the world's busiest sea routes, with over 70,000 ships crossing the straits annually because it is the shortest route for European, Middle Eastern and Indian ships to pass.[20] In accordance with UNCLOS 1982 regulation, in addition to Malaysia and Singapore, Indonesia is one of the three countries that have responsibility for the management, safety and freedom for innocent passage passing through the Strait of Malacca.[21]

Indonesia has a great interest in maritime security issues in the region, considering that two-thirds of Indonesia's marine territory is within the maritime region of Southeast Asia. The strategic value of an archipelagic country and the ownership of the Strait of Malacca and bordering Singapore Strait as the two busiest paths in the world has become both threat and challenge in the maritime dimension for Indonesia.[22]

With the rising threats and challenges in Southeast Asian waters, both traditional and non-traditional dimensions in the maritime context, the authors point out four important notes stating that Indonesia is one of the most concerned countries on maritime security issues when compared to other Southeast Asian countries. This requires Indonesia to focus on its interests that can be translated through multilateral defense diplomacy instruments such as ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security. The interests, are as follows: First, as an archipelagic country that has Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC). Table 2 shows that Indonesian waters are the most

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[20] Sheldon W. Simon, "Safety and Security in the Malacca Strait: The Limits of Collaboration", NBR Special Report, 2010.

[21] Muhammad Saeri, "Characteristics and Problems of the Malacca Strait ", Transnational Journal, Vol. 4, No.2, May 2013, pg. 806-818.

[22] *Ibid.*

Table 2. Actual Attacks and Attempted Attacks by Location 2015

		ACTUAL ATTACKS		ATTEMPTED ATTACKS	
Location		Boarded	Hijacked	Fired Upon	Attempted
S E ASIA	Indonesia	94	3		11
	Malacca Straits	1	4		
	Malaysia	6	6		1
	Philippines	8		1	2
	Singapore Straits	8			1
	Thailand	1			

Source: IMB, "Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships-2015 Annual Report" (January–December 2015), (London: ICC-IMB, 2015), pg. 8.

crime operations in Southeast Asia.

The security and marine safety issue in Indonesia is not symmetrical with the ability of Indonesia to overcome it so it requires cooperation with other countries. Because one of the major issues in marine security and safety is the lack of synergy between nations due to the national interests of each country and the differences of maritime doctrine.[23]

Secondly, Indonesia's efforts in realizing the Vision of the World Maritime Axis, with the main idea of the World Maritime Axis Vision is to develop a maritime identity and affirm on the "archipelagic outlook", with insights that Indonesia's waters constitute economic potential and national power. Referring to the five pillars of maritime policy on the Vision of the World Maritime Axis, there is the pillar of maritime diplomacy[24],

define as diplomacy that promote and based on the aspects within the territorial sea of Indonesia, especially diplomacy in promoting resolution related to maritime border disputes.[25]

Third, the emergence of maritime terrorism issue[26]. Since the tragedy of the WTC building bombing in September 2011 and the Bali Bombing, Indonesia has been taking serious attention to the terrorism

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[23] *Ibid.*

[24] The concept of maritime diplomacy is a term applicable to a wide range of activities in maritime or aquatic areas. In this case the main task force exists in the navy of a sovereign state. In peacetime, maritime diplomacy is conducted to influence the behavior of other countries in the context of interactions and transactions that occur in the territorial waters. See Muhammad Harry Riana Nugraha and Arfin Sudirman, "Maritime Diplomacy as Indonesia Maritime Security Development Strategy", Journal of Political Discourse, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 2016.

[25] Iis Gindarsah dan Adhi Priamarizki, "*Indonesia's Maritime Doctrine and Security Concerns*", *RSIS Policy Report*, Vol. 9. No 9, April 2015.

[26] The maritime terrorism is handled by following the applicable international and national laws. It also in accordance with location of terrorist attacks, whether they are dynamic, like in a ship, or static, such as in offshore oil refinery in the middle of the sea. Therefore, it allows the military intervention, since the Navy has security function at sea. See, Senia Febrica, *Maritime Security and Indonesia: Cooperation, Interests and Strategies,* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

issue and actively participating in the policy of war on terror which is proclaimed by the US. But this has become a dilemma for countries that still face the problem of unemployment and poverty like Indonesia. This will be more complicated if we have to choose whether to address economic problems or dealing with terrorism[27] Not to mention the majority Muslim population of Indonesia, where the terrorist movement are recruiting people with radical belief of Islam, so often the government have to confront its own people. The emergence of terrorist groups operating in the maritime dimension, such as the Abu Sayyaf group operating in the Southeast Asian region[28] can complicate Indonesia's position with regard to maritime security and its consistency in war on terror policy.

Fourth, China's assertive action in the South China Sea. Basically, Indonesia positions itself as a neutral party in the South China Sea dispute and can be a potential mediator.[29] However, with Indonesia's national interests (China's claims in Natuna waters) and the current geopolitical reality, it is virtually impossible to maintain that position. Although Indonesia has no claim in the South China Sea, but Indonesia can strengthen its potential diplomatic position as the mediator or honest broker that should be utilized to protect Indonesia's national interests in dealing with assertive actions of other countries, particularly China.

In the narrow maritime dimension perspective, Indonesia's current interests in the South China Sea are part of the concept of "Nine Dashed Lines" of China related with Indonesia's ZEE and possible potential conflicts in the South China Sea or disputes that currently threaten the security and safety of shipping, and the freedom of navigation in South China Sea. This will ultimately have an impact on the Indonesian economy because the South China Sea is the main route for Indonesia's import-export to East Asian countries.[30]

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[27] Wahyu Susilo, "Behind the Indonesias Ship crew Hostage", in http://www.dw.com/id/di-balik-penyanderaan-abk-indonesia/a-19387471, 11 July 2016, accessed on 25 January 2018.

[28] Berlianto, "Military Operation kills 40 Abu Sayyaf combatants", in http://international.sindonews.com/read/11228 37/40/operasi-militer-filipina-tewaskan-40-anggota-abu-sayyaf-1468303746, 12 July 2016, accessed on 25 January 2018.

[29] Sarah Raine dan Christian Le Mière, "Chapter Three: Southeast Asia–between emerging great-power rivalry", *Adelphi Series,* Vol, 3, No.1, April 2013, pg. 436-437.

[30] Jakarta International Defense Dialog (JIDD), *op.cit.*

Based on these four aspects, ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is the most appropriate forum as defense diplomacy media to emphasize the position and importance of Indonesia. In fact, to this extent ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security tends to operate in the level of dialogue and security cooperation normative, whereas ADMM-Plus is the forum of dialogue and the highest defense cooperation in ASEAN.[31]

ADMM-Plus also poses challenges in some aspect, particularly the ASEAN non-intervention principle that limits some of the intense cooperation within the framework of ADMM-Plus cooperation that must involve the military. In addition, ADMM Plus is a forum that involves external power from ASEAN and it can be potential to protect national interests against countries outside the region (globally). However, the presence of external power can also be an issue for external power state intervention on ASEAN policy. It demands the serious engagement of ADMM-Plus member countries, especially those with major influence in ASEAN, including Indonesia which has great interests in the maritime security dimension. Therefore, it is indispensable for Indonesia to take serious attention on the securitization of maritime sector security.

Securitization of Maritime Security Issues in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security

To understand the importance of securitization in maritime security issues based on the problems described earlier. Thus, it is necessary to understand the relevant concepts of maritime security in this case. According to Sam Bateman, maritime security can be divided into two parts, namely traditional and non-traditional. Traditionally, maritime security is a state defense effort against military threats and the protection of national interests and maritime sovereignty. Traditionally, maritime security lies in the sphere of piracy, terrorism, natural disasters, smuggling, illegal fishing, and environmental threats.[32]

Meanwhile, Marry Ann Palma declared maritime security as a "condition", a condition when a country is free from threats to its interests in the maritime aspect.

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[31] See Seng Tan, *op.cit.*

[32] Rupert Herbert-Burns, Sam Bateman, dan Peter Lehrs, *Lloyd's MIU handbook of maritime security*, (New York: CRC Press, 2008).

Such threats can be both military and non-military. In principle, the threats occurred within the sea dimensions as its cross-border facilities. Therefore, maritime security is the responsibility of every country. In its management, the greater the maritime territory of a country, the greater its responsibility for securing its territory.[33]

The concept of maritime security continues to evolve, followed by the 9/11 events that link the concept of security with safety. As the time progressed, more institutions and regulations and representatives are involved in maritime security (such as ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security in the form of defense diplomacy). In addition, it is important to note the changing patterns of interaction between actors involved in maritime security, where coordination is not only at national but also regional and international levels.[34]

Based on the development of this concept, Palma divides maritime security issues into two categories: first, maritime security as a national security with the aim of protecting the territorial integrity of the source of internal threats. Secondly, maritime security with regional impact, because every country must have a policy related to external threats (transnational crime) that will impact on regional dynamics.[35]

In this paper, the concept of maritime security lies in the basic conception of the realization of maritime security, namely through law enforcement and the enforcement of sovereignty, where both are interrelated. [36]ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is a maritime-related cooperation. Security in this context, takes the definition of marine security of Benard Kent Sondakh which implies that the sea is safe to use and free from threats or disruption to the activity of use or use of the sea.[37] However, with marine problems and a threat to Indonesia, there is a need for

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[33] Mary Ann Palma *The Philippines as an Archipelagic and Maritime Nation: Interests, Challenges, and Perspectives*, (Sydney: University of Wollongong, 2009).

[34] BhubhindarSingh, "Introduction: Defence Diplomacy and Southeast Asia. *From 'Boots' to 'Brogues': The Rise of Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia, RSIS Monograph*", (Singapore: Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2011).

[35] Mary Ann Palma, Martin Tsamenyi, dan William R. Edeson, *"Promoting sustainable fisheries: The international legal and policy framework to combat illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing"*, (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2010).

[36] Yanti and Bayu Vita Indah, "Capacity Building of Fishermen Related to State Defense Efforts in Border Areas", Journal of Social Policy on Marine Economics and Fisheries, Vol. 4, No.1, June 2014, pg. 15-24.

[37] Bernard Ken Sondankh, "National Sovereignty and Security in the Strait of Malacca", Kuala Lumpur: MIMA International Conference on the Straits of Malacca, 2004.

securitization of maritime security to create a clear policy framework when faced with multilateral forums such as ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security.

Securitization theory was first created by Ole Waever and subsequently developed by Buzan, so the explanation of securitization was dominated by Copenhagen School thinking.[38] Copenhagen School explains securitization as an inter subjective and social construction process in which the threat to referent objects[39] considered critical for protection. Basically, it can be said that the security problem is a construction product. An issue can be defined as a security issue because of the discourse content plus the existence of a

political actor who transforms it from unimportant issue becomes an urgent issue. The concept of securitization relates to the power of idea or the attempt in constructing the mind.

The main purpose of securitization by the state is to change its status in the hierarchy of government policy.[40] Thus, securitization on maritime security issues will change the hierarchy of government policy into priorities. Priorities in this context are not merely in terms of expressions, *nawacita,* or statements of political officials, but at with leverage structure, clear, and has written product so it can inform the formulation of strategic policy and operations. In simple thought, securitization can be understood as an attempt to understand who does the securitization, on what issues (threats), to whom, why, with what results, and on what terms. There are 6 important stages in securitization: *securitizing actor, speech act, existential threat, referent object, audience,* dan *functional actor.*[41]

The following are application of the concept of securitization of maritime security issues in Indonesia if intended to

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[38] The position of the Copenhagen School is (via media) between traditional security that tends to be state-centric and critical security that focuses on individuals or global security. The flow of security adopted by the Copenhagen School is more about societal security or public security. Unlike the referent object owned by the traditional security of the country and global security that is individual, society security from Copenhagen School refers to two things, namely the state and society. In Barry Buzan & Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pg. 213.

[39] Referent object is an object (state or society) which is viewed as existentially threatened and must be secured. The next question is whether only the state is the sole actor in securitization? According to Buzan 'no', in principle securitization can be done by anyone. In
Barry Buzan & Eric Herring, *The Arms Dynamic i n World Politics*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

[40] Buzan & Hansen, *op.cit.*
[41] *Ibid.*

support Indonesia's defense diplomacy in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security:

- Securitizing Actor

  The actor conducting the securitization is the Government of Indonesia.

- Speech Act

  A statement from Securitizing Actor, Indonesia represented by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo expressed his seriousness in addressing maritime security issues in his speech to realize the World Maritime Axis Vision, both in domestic conferences and in international organizations and forums, such as International Maritime Organization (IMO) and ASEAN[42] The Indonesian Navy[43] and the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia also stated in several conferences that the issue of maritime security is a concern that has a high priority level.[44]

- Existential Threat (s)

  The real threat of maritime dimension and should receive special attention in this context are:

  − Transnational crimes with maritime dimensions are relatively increasing in the Indonesian sea.

  − China's assertiveness in the South China Sea and the Chinese claim that ties with Natuna.

  − Maritime terrorism.

  − Vision of the World Maritime Axis (maritime diplomacy).

  − Increase Indonesia's influence with countries in South East Asia Region and external powers.

- Referent Object

  All objects that are perceived as existentially threatening and must be secured. In this context the referent object is the whole of Indonesian society.

- Audience

  All countries in Southeast Asia as well as outside countries of interest.

- Functional Actor

  The perpetrators of maritime crimes.

  The securitization of maritime security issues is increasingly implemented by the Indonesian

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42 "Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis", in http://presidenri.go.id/maritim/indonesia-sebagai-poros-maritim-dunia.html 13 November 2015, accessed on 3 February 2018.

43 "Indonesian Navy-Hold the Important Role in Guarding the Maritime Security ", in http://cakrawala-dispenal.org/index.php/berita/365-tni-al-pegang-peranan-penting-jaga-keamanan-maritim.html, 12 July 2015, accessed on 3 February 2018.

44 Defence Media Center, 4th *JIDD Discussing the Efforts to Build Maritime Security Cooperation,* in http://dmc.kemhan.go.id/post-jidd-ke4-bicarakan-upaya-membangun-kerjasama-

keamanan-maritim.html,17 March 2014, accessed on 3 February 2018.

government since the launching of World Maritime Axis Vision in the Presidential campaign, Joko Widodo. However, the securitization is not detailed and specific to issues of urgency to security and defense, such as the lack of seriousness of Indonesia in creating maritime security in vital and threatening places, such as the Malacca Strait and the Natuna waters that has been claimed by China to be part of the South China Sea.[45]

This proves that if Indonesia is able to maintain its maritime security then Indonesia will be able to create an effective Indonesian defense diplomacy strategy to achieve the national interest, especially in the field of maritime security and defense.

However, in terms of Indonesian national interests (including in maritime dimensions) are still difficult to define both in terms of their terms and substances. This is because there is no written product that clearly states the national interests of Indonesia in the maritime sector. Consequently, it will be difficult to develop long-term strategies and national goals related to maritime security.[46] Thus, the first step that needs

to be done is to interpret the maritime security issue by securitizing the issue. As previously explained that ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is a relevant defense diplomatic medium to protect Indonesia's interests related to maritime security. Following are the securitization flow of maritime security issues that can be discussed in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security.

Based on the Flow Scheme of Securitization of Maritime Security issue in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security above, if Indonesia has agreed and has made maritime security as an important issue, with securitization of the urgent maritime security issues, then all aspects of the state will lead and support the maritime sector. This will support Indonesia's defense diplomacy related to maritime security in the region in various forums and cooperation frameworks such as ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security which can be a strategy of Indonesian defense diplomacy to achieve wider national interests.

However, to date, Indonesia has not interpreted the maritime security issues as a critical issue that needs to be raised and discussed in forums such as ADMM-
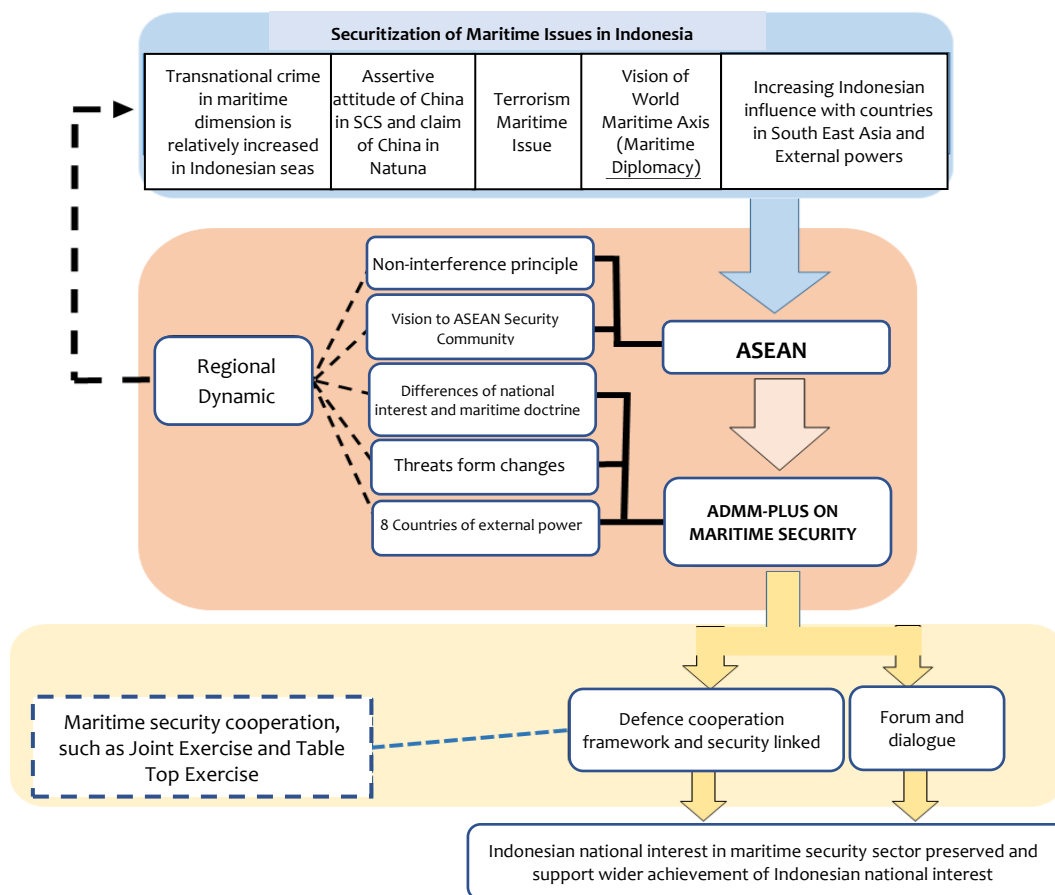
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45 Budiman Djoko Said in Lubis, *op.cit*.
46 Willy F. Sumakul, "National Interest (Indonesia) and Developing the Defense

Power", *Quarterdeck,* Vol. 9, No. 7, November 2015, pg. 10-16.

Plus on Maritime Security. The maritime security issues in Indonesia tends to be popular only in certain moments, especially on political momentum. This is proven by the absence of written products and clear objectives in regards to Indonesia's attitude against the multi-state maritime security issues. On the other hand, there is also overlapping regulation issue.[47]

Indonesia's lack of understanding regarding the currently faced maritime security issue is a critique against the concept of securitization for its inability to identify the problem. Lene Hansen referring to it as "the silent security dilemma" or "security as silence". The term of "security as silent" means an

Scheme 1. Flow Scheme of Securitization of Maritime Issue in ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security

47   Abraham Utama, "Overlapping Law Enforcement", in https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20151 004163018-20-82691/tumpang-tindih-aturan-penegakan-hukum-maritim, 5 October 2015, accessed on 5 February 2018.

insecure subject does not have the ability to claim its the security issue.[48]

In addition, the consequences of "security as silence" are problematic when the settlement of a security issue is no longer performed through political logic (compromise, debate, and solution). When a handful of elites with privileges (as security actors) have the legitimacy of suspending civil rights and freedoms for security reasons.[49] Critics of securitization are also discussed by Bigo and Huysmans. They argue that the conceptualization of securitization is a discourse drama that skip (not through) bureaucratic routines, like practices by police or other professional security groups. Extraordinary action by the ruling elite through securitization makes the elite may take any action to achieve security. In addition, the ruling elite has the legitimacy to gain control over the political process by suppressing power from parliament and the opposition groups.[50] In conclusion, Indonesia's

security issue situation (including maritime security) often stands as a political instrument.

Conclusion

There are many threats that disrupt the stability of maritime security in Indonesia to this date, especially non-traditional threats. There are many different perspectives and interests among countries in Southeast Asia and the users' countries or countries that have interests in Indonesian maritime territory. This could create potential barrier in dealing with threats that disrupt the management of maritime security both in Indonesia's sea territory and in Southeast Asia. ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security is the most appropriate defense diplomacy medium for Indonesia to protect its national interests, especially in the maritime security sector. ADMM-Plus on Maritime Security provides a platform for ASEAN and External Powers to express their interests through security forums, discussions and cooperation in the maritime sector.

Considering the current dynamics in the region, Indonesia is required to utilize its maritime problems as a means in prioritizing its interests, especially in the field of defense and security. However,

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[48] Lenne Hansen, "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and The Absence of Gender in The Copenhagen School", *Millennium-Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, June 2002, pg. 285-306.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Jeff Huysmans, "*Defining social constructivism in security studies: The normative dilemma of writing security*", *Alternatives-Amsterdam Then New York Then Guildford-*, Vol. 27, No. 1. February 2002, pg. 41-62.

Indonesia still has low commitment in determining and prioritizing maritime security as state critical concern. This can be seen from the absence of written products and clear objectives regarding Indonesia's attitude related to the multilateral maritime security issues. Therefore, it is necessary to secure the maritime security issues to address the urgent demands of maritime security dynamics in Indonesia and the region. However, securitization in this case tends not to provide any solution due to its ineffective implementation. This is also due to the weakness of the concept of securitization. In conclusion, securitization is an extreme form of politicization that makes certain actions shall be legalized for security objectives. Only then, an issue will be deemed important or will be secured if it conforms to the political logic of the actor involved in the securitization approach (the government elite) and implementing in Indonesia.

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