

INDONESIA'S SEA DEFENSE STRATEGY IN ANALYSIS GOVERNMENT IMPACT AND EFFORTS TO SECURE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO SEA Lanes (ASLs/ALKI)

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ABSTRACT

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is a sovereign country and has a large area with a water area that is much wider than the land area. The concept of an archipelago nation by the international community is getting stronger and recognized by the results of the 3rd United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea or the United Nation Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) on 10 December 1982 which took place in London, English. In 1996, the Government of Indonesia submitted a proposal to the United Nations International Maritime Organization (IMO) regarding the establishment of Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) in Indonesia's territorial waters. The proposal was approved by IMO, and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia then issued Law Number 6 concerning Indonesian Waters. The understanding of the ALKI security from the various parties involved is still not completely the same, due to the fundamental differences in its main duties and functions. Therefore, in this paper, the author tries to formulate various matters related to the impact and efforts of the Indonesian government, based on an analysis of Indonesia's maritime security and maritime defense. The method used by the authors in this study is a qualitative method with a literature study design and a phenomenological approach. The results of the study conclude that efforts to secure ALKI require preventive and deterrence capabilities through government efforts to increase cooperation and coordination involving the roles of all authorized agencies and through cooperation with other countries in terms of technical support related to improving security control in ALKI. in improving the defense and strength of the sea in anticipating and minimizing threats that occur in the ALKI area.

KEYWORDS: National defense, maritime security, threats, ALKI, sea power

INTRODUCTION

A big idea, which is Indonesia's aspiration to become a World Maritime Axis, came to the fore when Indonesian President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) officially replaced Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in October 2014. The ideal of a maritime axis became the main vision that was carried for the fifth period, the seventh presidential year of Indonesia in the future. Indonesia is a country that has approximately 17,506 islands scattered in the waters of the ocean that reach 5.8 million square kilometers. Being in a very strategic cross position, Indonesia is an advantage which is the basis for the government's desire to make Indonesia the world's maritime axis.

The vision of becoming the world's maritime axis continues to be a top priority in the current work of the Indonesian government. ALKI is one of the most influential parts in fighting for these big goals. It is a big question, whether the ALKI will be an opportunity for Indonesia to move towards the world's maritime axis or will it even pose many threats or obstacles that slow down the government in realizing this idea.[1]

Talking about the sea and its territory, the territory of Indonesia was first determined by the Territoriale Zee en Maritime Kringen Ordonantie (TZMKO) 19394. In the TZMKO, the Dutch government determined that the width of the sea belonging to Indonesia was only 3 nautical miles from the mainland. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia struggled for the concept of Archipelago Insight starting from the drafting of the concept in the Djuanda Declaration on December 13, 1957 which was later confirmed in Law No.4 / PRP of 1960 concerning Indonesian Waters.

The Indonesian government has fought for recognition of the concept of the Archipelagic Concept through various diplomatic processes which can be said to be complicated and difficult with our neighboring countries, until finally the concept of the Archipelago State or Archipelago Insight was accepted in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (United Nation Convention on the Law of the Sea) signed in Montego Bay, Jamaica, on December 10, 1982.[2]

When a country has given part of its territorial sea area to be open for international shipping, that country has carried out its obligations as an archipelagic country accompanied by granting navigation rights for foreign ships and foreign aircraft to pass through the area. Whereas every archipelagic country has the right of peaceful passage, the right of archipelagic lane passage and the right of transit passage using a separation scheme. The determination of the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channel creates benefits as well as challenges our country's sovereignty. By becoming an open area for international shipping, this has led to the emergence of various issues related to the safety and security of shipping along the archipelagic sea lanes.[3]

Based on the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), Indonesia has three ALKI (Indonesian Archipelago Sea Lanes) and several choke points that are strategic for global interests,

such as in the Sunda Strait, Lombok Strait, and Makassar Strait. Safeguarding ALKI and all the choke points is a strategic agenda for the national interests of the Indonesian state as well as the community and the international community.

With regard to the airspace above the ALKI, UNCLOS 1982 Article 53 which has been ratified by Law Number 17 of 1985 concerning the Ratification of the United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea, emphasizes that archipelagic countries such as Indonesia can determine their own ALKIs and routes flight over it.

There is a problem, namely the United States (US) has not ratified this Convention, so that if US ships or aircraft passing through the air space above the ALKI are still adhering to the old rules (Traditional Route for Navigation). This often creates problems were based on the old rules US planes crossing over traditional routes they consider it legitimate and are considered not to violate the rules on the grounds that the US has not ratified UNCLOS in 1982. This is tantamount to that America recognizing UNCLOS in 1982 but not willing to obey and implement.[4]

Regarding the idea of a maritime axis that prioritizes the role of the Indonesian sea, as stated by President Joko Widodo at the beginning, it cannot be separated from a series of crucial problems that appear to be obstacles in the effort to achieve these ideals. The threat to maritime security has not been resolved until now. Territorial interests of other countries, be it economic, political, and security, can also be a barrier for the Indonesian government. Not to mention if we see the problems of many lawbreakers that ultimately harm the Indonesian state.

In the above context, this paper discusses the dynamics and challenges of international traffic routes in Indonesian territory, namely the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channel (ALKI). The ALKI route is a representation of the vast territorial waters of the national jurisdiction of the Indonesian state which is closely related to Indonesia's status as a maritime country. ALKI itself is an open area and has indeed been proven to cause various problems at sea.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is a qualitative method with literature study design and phenomenology. In qualitative research, the researcher must not influence the situation and social interactions between the researcher and the subject / informant being studied and even between the subjects studied. The interactions between the individuals studied should occur as they really are in the context, not engineering researchers.[5]

The qualitative research method is also a research method that emphasizes in-depth understanding aspects of a problem rather than looking at the problem for generalization research. This research method prefers to use in-depth analysis techniques (indepth analysis), which examines the problem on

a case-by-case basis because the qualitative methodology believes that the nature of one problem will be different from the nature of another problem.[6]

In accordance with the research design, research is carried out on the phenomenon of threats and security in the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channel and its impacts and also what efforts should be made, because security in ALKI waters and Indonesian marine waters in general are not yet optimal.

Data Collection and Analysis

According to Moleong (2007), the source of qualitative research data is a display in the form of spoken or written words that are observed by researchers, and objects that are observed in detail so that the meaning implied in the document or object can be captured. The source of the data must be original, but if the original data is difficult to obtain, then photocopies or copies will not be a problem, as long as strong evidence of validation can be obtained.

The end result of qualitative research is not only producing data or information as difficult to find in quantitative research methods, but also must be able to produce meaningful information, even hypotheses or new knowledge that can be used to help solve problems and improve levels human life.[7]

Data collection was carried out through literature study. Discussion of problems and analysis is carried out through an in-depth literature process, which is then compiled into a comprehensive and in-depth report and analysis. Data collection techniques are the most strategic step in research, because the main purpose of research is to get data. Without knowing the data collection technique, the researcher will not get data that meets the established data standards.

Data collection can take place in a variety of steps and rules, multiple sources, and multiple ways. When viewed from the data source, data collection can use primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources are data sources that directly provide data to data collectors, and secondary sources are sources that do not directly provide data to data collectors, for example through other people or through documents.[8]

3. RESULT AND DISSCUSSION

3.1 The National Defense

State defense, also known as national defense, is all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of a country and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state.

State defense is carried out by the government and prepared early by the state defense system. National defense is a joint force (civil and military) held by a State to ensure the integrity of its territory,

protection of people and / or safeguarding its interests. National defense is managed by the Ministry of Defense.

State Defense System

The Indonesian State Defense System is a defense system that is universal in nature which in this case involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats.[9]

In order to realize the vision of the World Maritime Axis Government, the Indonesian Navy as the main component of the state defense force at sea has endeavored to carry out the duties mandated by law through the national defense strategy at sea as outlined in the form of the Archipelago Marine Defense Strategy (SPLN).

The SPLN owned by the Indonesian Navy which has been used since 2004 through Kasal Decree needs to be reviewed, whether this strategy has been able to realize the five pillars contained in the maritime axis. Therefore, the SPLN needs to be examined to what extent it is able to answer all the needs to realize the vision of Indonesia as a world maritime axis and be able to secure the ALKI area, or there needs to be renewal so that the SPLN can support the achievement of the five main pillars of the vision. The target of the SPLN is to prevent parties that have the potential to interfere with the sovereignty of the country and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia by sea.[10]

3.2. Maritime Security

Security is basically an effort to manage threat elements with the ultimate goal of creating an environment in the state and at the individual level that is free from all forms of threats (Buzan, 2007).

The emergence of maritime security issues begins with the function of territorial waters that are increasingly strategic for the interests of countries in the world. According to Susanto and Munaf (2014: 48-50), the maritime area is the main lifeblood of global economic interactions, thus making maritime security a crucial issue for many countries in the world. Maritime security stability is needed by all countries in the world in order to protect the national interests of the nation which have an impact on national development. Maritime security is a small part of national security, so the national security practices of a country determine how maritime security practices are in national policy (Octavian & Yulianto, 2014: 159-160).

3.3. Threat

What is a threat? Whereas in general, a threat is an effort or activity carried out by a certain group or individual which has the potential to endanger the safety of other groups or individuals. Threats are more related to risk, whereas risk is the thought of a threat itself. Threats of course can create problems that can be troubling for people in a country.

Types of Threats

1. Military Threat

Military Threats are threats that use force of arms and do so in an organized manner. This threat is considered to have the ability to endanger the sovereignty of the State, the safety of the entire nation and the territorial integrity.

2. Non-Military Threats

Non-Military Threats are a type of threat that has different characteristics from the type of threat where there is no physical nature or form that cannot be seen with the eye. Even so, this non-military threat is no less dangerous, even more dangerous than a military threat.[11]

The establishment of the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channel (ALKI) can not only have a positive impact on national development activities for the welfare of the people, but can also pose a potential threat to Indonesia's national interests. The potential threats in ALKI will certainly have an impact on the surrounding waters and islands, and vice versa.[12]

3.4 Indonesian Archipelago Sea Lanes (ALKI)

The Fourth Indonesian Navy Strategy Forum in 1991, proposed the design of the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Lanes (ALKI) as follows:

1) ALKI I: Sunda Strait - Java Sea - Karimata Strait - Natuna Sea and South China.

2) ALKI II: Lombok Strait - Makasar Strait - Sulawesi Sea.

3) ALKI III:

a) Ombai Strait, Wetar Strait, Banda Sea (West P. Buru), Seram Sea (East P. Mangoli), Maluku Sea, Pacific Sea.

b) Timor Sea, Leti Strait, Banda Sea (West P. Buru), Seram Sea (East P. Mangoli), Maluku Sea, Pacific Sea.

c) Arafuru Sea, Banda Sea (West P. Buru), Seram Sea (East P. Mangoli), Maluku Sea, Pacific Sea.[13]

3.5 Sea Power

The term Maritime Power, basically consists of two sub-systems which include sea power and sea force, both of which are complementary to one another in building maritime power. The essence of sea power for a country is the extent to which it is possible for the state to use and utilize the sea effectively for the interests of its country. This contains a broad definition, including trade, shipping, maritime industry and utilization of marine resources as well as other strategic potentials that are owned to the fullest. Meanwhile, the naval force is needed to protect and secure all these activities.

As with the theory put forward by Alfred Thayer Mahan regarding the requirements that must be met to build sea power, namely geographic location and conditions, geographic physical configuration, area, number and character of the population or population, and the most important thing is the character of the government as well as the character and national attitude.[14]

3.6 Marine Defense Strategy at ALKI

In particular, the Navy has a unique role. These roles are:

1. The role of the military, which is enforced in the context of upholding sovereignty at sea by means of seeking national defense and bases, preparing forces for war preparations, counteracting any military plans by sea, protecting and maintaining maritime borders, and maintaining the stability of maritime area security.
2. The role of the police (constabulary), which is carried out in order to enforce laws at sea, protect national marine resources and assets, maintain order at sea and support national development in contributing to national stability and development.
3. The role of diplomacy (naval diplomacy, show of naval strength, gun boat diplomacy) is diplomatic support by using sea power as a means of diplomacy in supporting government foreign policy, designed to influence the leadership of a country or several countries in peaceful or hostile situations.[15]

Impact

The location of Indonesian waters with their strategic position, if there is instability from the emergence of a serious threat, will certainly have a significant impact on one of the areas. The implementation of the right of archipelagic sea lane passage has been accommodated under Article 53 paragraph (1) of the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea which can be implemented through archipelagic sea lanes determined by the archipelagic state together with the International Maritime Organization (IMO). The ALKI designation can not only have a positive impact on national development activities for the welfare of the people, but can also pose a potential threat to Indonesia's national interests. Indonesia's geographic condition has an open position which at any time can be an opportunity for other countries to enter and carry out their activities in Indonesian territory with the various impacts it causes. The potential threats in ALKI will certainly have an impact on the surrounding waters and islands.[12]

1. Negative Impact

Each ALKI has various potential threats. These threats are: a. Sengeketa South China Sea, b. The Threat of Conflict in the Ambalat Block, c. The Threat of Timor Leste Border Conflict. Among ALKI I, II, and III, ALKI II is the fastest and safest sea channel for shipping. Because ALKI II crossed the sides of West Indonesia and East Indonesia. This happened because of the silting in the Malacca Strait which made world shipping ships prefer the ALKI II route.

ALKI II, if you look at the existence of a potential threat / danger, for now, it still comes from the impact of the Ambalat Block conflict. On the other hand, the existence of abundant natural resources in ALKI II waters such as illegal fishing and other natural resources also adds to the level of vulnerability of legal violations in the area.[16]

2. Positive Impact

The importance of ALKI II provides a positive value for Indonesian maritime affairs. ALKI II, which includes the Lombok Strait, Makassar Strait, and Sulawesi Sea, is a shipping route that has many roles because it supports the Malacca Strait which is starting to become shallow and congested.[12]

The benefits that Indonesia gets from ALKI are:

- 1) Indonesia is an important part of the creation of a "civilization" associated with the oceans.
- 2) Indonesia is an important connecting part of the Eurasian Blue Belt.
- 3) Indonesia plays a very big role in the Global Logistic Support System and in particular related to SLOCS (Sea Lanes of Communication) and COWOC (Consolidated Ocean Web of Communication).
- 4) Ocean territory and Indonesian ALKI are important links in HASA (Highly Accessed Sea Areas) where the three oceans namely India, Southeast and South Pacific meet therein and,
- 5) Related to World Shipping that crosses ALKI with Dry Cargo and Liquid Cargo.

The Strait of Malacca is the shortest route for goods and energy supply traffic from the Middle East, Europe and Africa to East Asian countries, such as Japan, China and Korea, which can shorten the distance up to 2000 KM, compared to the alternative sea route through the Sunda Strait.[17]

3.7 Discussion

3.7.1 Efforts Made by the Government

For the Indonesian context, efforts to develop a national defense system must pay attention to the country's geostrategic factors, both inside and outside. Geostrategic factors in directing defense policy makers, in this case the government through the Ministry of Defense, to create a credible defense system based on the concept of a unified approach and a comprehensive strategy covering the entire territory of the Indonesian archipelago.[25]

The external geostrategic factor requires defense policymakers to develop strong deterrence capabilities, at least through developing diplomatic, reconnaissance and early warning systems capabilities. The national defense system must also be optimally deployed in various forms of military operations to win the war. Indonesia's defense strategy recognizes three types of war, namely general war, limited war, and revolutionary war.[9]

Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu once stated the commitment and achievements of the Joko Widodo administration in the defense sector. Some of these include increasing the budget to

complement the main weaponry system (alutsista), building the welfare and professionalism of TNI soldiers, to strengthening border posts in Kalimantan, Papua and East Nusa Tenggara. Even the Kalimantan border has been equipped with chips so that it can be monitored if there is a shift.[18]

To protect national interests in the seas of the State of Indonesia, the strengthening of the legal basis that governs its territorial waters has been established, as for the actions of the Indonesian government to protect national interests, one of which is the issuance of Law Number 6 of 1996 concerning Indonesian Waters as a substitute for Law Number 4 Prp. 1962. To enforce a security system at sea, it must be built using the principle of synergizing strength among all security enforcement agencies at sea. This synergy can be realized by the existence of unity that is reflected in the organizational structure, mechanisms and procedures for administering security at sea carried out by the officers with the ultimate goal of upholding sovereignty and sovereign rights as regulated in UNCLOS 1982. [24]

Based on Government Regulation Number 37 of 2002 relating to ALKI II, crossing the Sulawesi Sea - Makassar Strait - Flores Sea - Lombok Strait gets a special priority scale for security from the State of Indonesia because in the ALKI II area there are many ships from various countries with various kinds of ships as well as foreign aircraft. This makes security responsibility the responsibility of the state.[26]

If it is related to the defense aspect, it is necessary to plan at the strategic level in ALKI II, especially the possibility of threats and / or challenges either caused by the state or non-state (non-state actors) [27]. Threats originating from the state can occur because ALKI II can be used to shift foreign military power from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean or vice versa, while the threats posed by non-state actors can be carried out by individuals or syndicates that are likely to cross countries as a manifestation of transnational crime. . This of course requires proper planning and strategy from the government.[16]

Shipping via ALKI is expected not to interfere with Indonesia's national interests, so there needs to be research and identification in the areas that will be passed by ALKI, in terms of:[23]

- 1) Local or intercept traffic intensity ALKI;
- 2) Location of dense and intensive fishing areas;
- 3) Locations of ongoing oil and gas exploration and exploitation areas;
- 4) Location of submarine pipes and cables;
- 5) Location of marine park areas and other nature reserve areas;[30]
- 6) Location of tourist areas, particularly beaches and tourist islands which are adjacent to ALKI;[28]
- 7) Location of sensitive areas in the marine environment;[29]
- 8) Identify the ability of existing facilities along the ALKI to deal with all possibilities, both marine pollution and security and law enforcement.[13]

The implementation of the SPLN can be carried out through military campaigns, namely through interrelated joint operations, dimensional operations and assistance operations with the support of national forces.[19]

To carry out maritime security around the Malacca Strait and the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Channel I (ALKI I) with patrol entities or elements consisting of various units ranging from the Republic of Indonesia Sea and Coast Guard Unit (KPLP), elements from the Ministry of Sea Transportation, the Police Waters (Polair) from the elements of the Police, Customs & Excise, the Republic of Indonesia Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla RI) and the Indonesian Navy often overlap in the implementation of security operations at sea. This is because in the preparation of the security operation plan is not well coordinated and integrated and well integrated. In safeguarding the marine area, it must always be guided by the 1982 IMO and UNCLOS rules that have been ratified by the Indonesian state as an archipelago.[22]

In general, the problem of disruption to sea transportation lies in the imbalance between the needs for facilities, infrastructure and transportation facilities as well as population growth and also economic development in an area or region.[20]

3.7.2 Government Efforts Related to the Readiness and Capability of the Indonesian National Army (TNI)

Regarding the government's efforts to secure ALKI in relation to threats from outside, the issuance of the Right of Passage in the ALKI in Governmental Regulations No. 36, 37 and 38, which relates to the traffic rights of ships and aircraft over Indonesian oceans, on 28 June 2002 ALKI security operations are the tasks of the TNI which are carried out functionally and integrated by the Indonesian Regional Fleet Command and the Indonesian Air Force Operations Command assisted by the Indonesian National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas) which is tasked with organizing defense and security efforts over national airspace independently or in collaboration with the Command Other main operations are in the context of realizing the sovereignty and integrity as well as other interests of the state.[21]

The success of carrying out ALKI security operations is also inseparable from meeting the needs of personnel and logistics who are on target, right in use, on the right number and on time. This includes operational support, initial support and operational re-supplies, support for maintenance and repair of Alutsista, transportation support, and health care support for personnel.[17]

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The impact that can be taken from the existence of this ALKI, although indeed the risk is that our country's waters become open to the crossing of foreign ships, but the most important thing is that the

security system must also support so that it can remain able to maintain the unity of the Republic of Indonesia and can also take advantage of its existence. the crossing activities.

Violations committed in the maritime world must be dealt with quickly, decisively and measurably and transparently in accordance with applicable regulations. Where at this time many provisions have not been implemented so that violations of existing provisions and regulations still occur, especially in the transportation of strategic commodities.

The shipping world has categorized Indonesia's international waters as a dangerous area for the shipping of foreign ships. According to data from the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), during the first semester of 2012 alone there were 177 security disturbances and 32 of them were piracy in Indonesian waters. Therefore, it is necessary to rearrange the operational plan to be implemented and the security strategy at sea, especially in the Strait of Malacca and ALKI I, which are categorized as areas most prone to crime or disturbance at sea. This is due to the weak enforcement of maritime law in Indonesia against vessels with legal and illegal cargo crossing Indonesian waters with lax checks on passing ships and lack of supporting facilities to carry out security at sea and lead to abuse by unscrupulous persons. responsible for taking advantage of these weaknesses.

Therefore, the Indonesian government to provide security guarantees in the ALKI area in the interest of regional security by continuing to increase its attention to the political, legal, defense and security aspects of the Malacca Strait and ALKI I in particular and the entire ALKI area in general and to activate the implementation of patrols. joint security of all entities in Indonesia. As a response to piracy, piracy, especially in the waters of the Malacca Strait, which is increasingly prevalent, it is hoped that the Navy and Bakamla and other marine elements will further increase the frequency of patrols in the area.

As a maritime country, Indonesia is considered important for advanced industrial countries, especially in the trade sector by sea. For this reason, maritime security needs to be continuously strengthened, especially in the ALKI area so that various problems do not arise. Indonesia needs to continue to strengthen defense and security in the maritime and border areas.

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