

Sea Power Indonesia Related to Geopolitics in The South China Sea and Goeconomics in the North Natuna Sea Sloc & Slit

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Abstract

This article talks about Indonesia's sea power from a geopolitical perspective in the South China Sea and goeconomics (Sea Lane of Trade/SLoT) as well as communication lines (Sea Lane of Communication/SLoC) in the North Natuna Sea. The theory used to analyze this journal is the concept of sea power. This article also dissects the wealth of natural resources as well as the strategic position of the country which needs to be utilized optimally for the national interest. The research method used is the descriptive qualitative method. The results of the analysis show that Indonesia has extraordinary natural resource potential for the future. Indonesia's strategic location must be fully utilized and security must be maintained.

Keywords: Sea Power, Geopolitics, Goeconomics, South China Sea, North Natuna Sea SLOC and SLIT



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INTRODUCTION

When talking about Indonesia's defense, it is not only talking about the armed forces. However, it also talks about the diplomatic roles of a country. Indonesia is currently the world's pivot along with the rising awareness of countries in the Asia Pacific. China, which is increasingly advanced and powerful, wants to shift its economic center from west to east and the Asia Pacific to become the center. Indonesian waters have direct borders with ten countries: India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Palau, Timor Leste, and Australia.

Based on the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) concerning the law of the sea, geostrategically, Indonesia has three Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes (ALKI) and four chokepoints (the Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait, Lombok Strait, and Ombai-Wetar Strait). ALKI I crosses the South China Sea, Natuna Sea, Karimata Strait, Java Sea, Sunda Strait, and the Indonesian Ocean. ALKI II crosses the Sulawesi Sea, Makassar Strait, Flores Sea, and Lombok Strait to the Indonesian Ocean. ALKI III is divided into several lines and axes, namely:

- 1) ALKI IIIA crosses the Pacific Ocean, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Sea, and Sawu Sea to the Indonesian Ocean;
- 2) ALKI IIIB crosses the Pacific Ocean, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Leti Sea, and Timor Sea;
- 3) ALKI IIIC crosses the Pacific Ocean, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea to Arafuru Sea;
- 4) ALKI IIID crosses the Pacific Ocean, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Strait, and Sewu Sea east of Sawu Island to the Indonesian Ocean;
- 5) ALKI III E crosses the Sulawesi Sea, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea.

ALKI and chokepoints are important maritime areas because they have strategic value for the interests of many countries in the world, especially as trade and transportation routes (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2014). The presence of ALKI manifests

Indonesia's sensitivity as an archipelagic state with full rights to the sea area within its group of islands but must support international shipping lanes. The meaning of ALKI's presence is significant because it can shorten the travel time for international goods distribution. Unfortunately, the supporting infrastructure for shipping and port security is insufficient. As a result, Indonesia has yet to reap the maximum benefits.

Every water has its challenges, like land. When sailing, it is not uncommon for ships to pass through narrow lanes, headlands, and straits. Only a few areas are strategic, have high economic value, and can also become chokepoints even though the sea area in the world is 2:3 compared to land. Chokepoints are traffic-limiting positions and challenging to pass. Because the worst possibility is that the ship can be blocked at any time by large ships, sinking ships, or cross-border crimes. Likewise, shipping routes that pass through areas with unstable political conditions will pose a criminal threat.

(Marsetio, 2014) stressed the importance of sea power for the survival of a nation. The ratio of Indonesia's land and sea areas is 2:3. Indonesia should pay more attention to its sea area. Countries with large sea areas can be both a source of benefits and problems. In order to guarantee national interests in the sea, Indonesia needs to build a structured and systematic sea power. Sea power development should involve all components of the nation in exploring national resources because Indonesia's sea power can no longer stand alone like the era of the Sriwijaya Kingdom and the Majapahit Kingdom, which were famous in the seas.

According to (Marsetio, 2014), sea power is the ability of a country to use and control the sea (sea control) and prevent enemies from using it (sea denial). Sea power can also be said when a country has a reliable navy. The focus of sea power is not only on warship fleets. Sea power now includes all potential sea powers that use the sea as their arena. National strength supports sea power, such as law enforcement at sea, commercial ship fleets, laboratories, ports, maritime industry, and services. Non-military aspects must be included in sea power, such as trade by sea, shipping, fisheries, maritime insurance, and the shipbuilding industry. Indonesia's goal as a maritime country can be achieved if these activities are carried out within the framework of the government and made in the national interest.

Meanwhile, (Bueger, 2015) explained that maritime security could be understood in a related matrix framework, consisting of the marine environment, economic development, national security, and human security. In identifying the concept of maritime security, according to Christian Bueger, three things must be considered, namely:

- 1) Maritime security matrix;
- 2) A securitization framework that provides a means to understand how various threats are included in maritime security;
- 3) Theory of security practice which aims to understand what actions are taken in the name of maritime security.

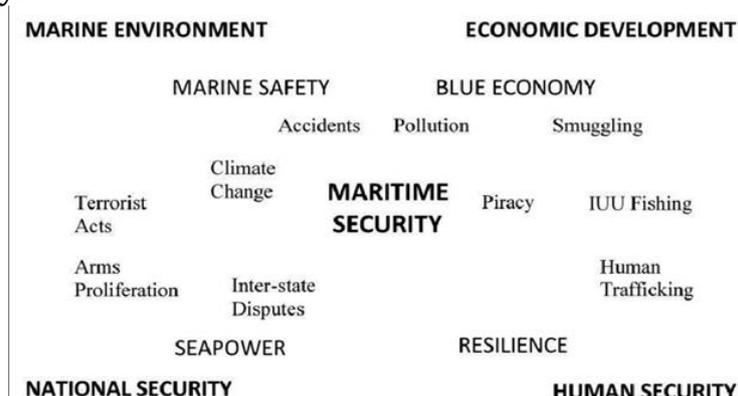


Figure 1. Maritime Security Matrix (Bueger, 2015)

For Christian Bueger, maritime security goes beyond standard dimensions. Maritime security links several issues through existing security concepts and adjusts to temporary issues. Bueger still regards sea power, especially the navy, as a tool to achieve national security. Sea power in maritime security also discusses how nation-states operate their navy outside territorial waters. Projecting a nation's naval power to war means securing SLOCs, and raising awareness of a nation's presence in international waters is a core goal of traditional maritime security. Protecting SLOCs includes search and rescue, preventing oil spills at sea, managing maritime installations, and counter-piracy and terrorism operations.

As previously mentioned, maritime security aims to protect SLOC for trade shipping lanes, collection of marine resources, or other sea-based activities. Beyond the traditional understanding, maritime security discusses the strategy for managing the maritime economy or the "blue economy." The blue economy uses maritime security to create a safe maritime environment through laws and regulations and the management of marine resources. Its management is related to the blue economy with another maritime security dimension: human security. Humanity in maritime security relates to humanitarian action or disaster management, food security through protecting maritime fisheries from Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) fishing, and protection of the marine environment.

RESEARCH METHODS

There are two types of research methods, namely qualitative methods and quantitative methods. The qualitative method is a type of method that is explaining, describing, or in the form of a narrative (Sudarto, 1995). While the quantitative method is more numerical in nature and data collection can be done by distributing questionnaires which can be online or in person (Mulyana. 2010). The author uses qualitative methods in working on this research paper. In addition to data collection techniques, there are two sources, namely primary and secondary. The technique used for data collection in this study is to use secondary data. Secondary data is data processed by other people which is then published. Both in the form of news, journals, books, and even websites (Nasution, 1996).

RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

Research Results

Geopolitics in the South China Sea

Indonesia's geographical position is in two oceans, namely the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. In addition, Indonesia is also surrounded by the continent of Asia and the continent of Australia. The existence of Indonesia is also under the orbit of the Geostationary Satellite Orbit (GSO). Indonesia is the largest country in the Southeast Asia region. so Indonesia has a sense of responsibility to maintain regional security stability. Indonesia is not a country that directly impacts the South China Sea conflict. However, Indonesia's national interests could be disrupted due to the conflict. The Natuna Islands are Indonesia's outermost territory and are directly adjacent to the South China Sea. Undeniably, it will be affected if there is a conflict in the South China Sea.

Referring to the Preamble to the 4th paragraph of the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia is mandated to maintain world order based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice, and this is the first rule of Indonesia's involvement in resolving the South China Sea conflict. Furthermore, the basis for implementing Indonesia's involvement in world peace efforts is that Indonesia's foreign policy objectives are free and active. Then the contents of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) regulated matters, including namely:

- 1) The 12-mile feature is defined as the territorial sea boundary;
- 2) Foreign ships may pass through archipelagic countries that have deep water straits because there is the right of innocent passage. As long as the ship does not carry out activities other than just passing;
- 3) Additional zones with features 24 miles out;
- 4) The EEZ is pulled out of the 200-mile feature;
- 5) Limit of the continental shelf with a feature of 200 miles.

The conflict resolution provisions listed in the UNCLOS Convention using peaceful means refer to the United Nations Charter mandate. There are two procedures for resolving disputes, namely, binding and non-binding. The binding procedure for resolving conflicts peacefully is that when the conflicting parties cannot resolve the conflict, they can file a lawsuit. The Arbitration Court and the International Court of Law of the Sea are convention institutions that have the authority to represent when victims of a conflict submit their decisions to the conflict. Meanwhile, non-binding settlement procedures mean that the parties to the conflict can determine their peaceful way according to their wishes (Haffsari & Kurniawan, 2018).

Indonesia's geopolitical development is speedy with power and central living space. National ideals can be achieved if they meet the demands for living space and military strength, which cover four dimensions, namely:

- 1) Space Dimension, the dimension that connects living space with the military;
- 2) The Frontier dimension, the dimension that becomes an imaginary boundary that influences the people of neighboring countries;
- 3) The Political Dimension, the power to be able to meet the necessities of life in order to manifest national aspirations based on political, economic, and military strength;
- 4) Dimensions of State Security, establishing buffer zones to expand space in dealing with external physical threats (Yani & Montratama, 2015).



Figure 2. Indonesia's geopolitics in the South China Sea (source: <http://maritimnews.com/>)

Indonesian waters have an area of 3,166,163 km². When viewed in the Southeast Asian region, Indonesia is one of the largest archipelagic countries. Thanks to the breadth of waters, Indonesia geographically has four Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2012). Like a knife edge, the breadth of the waters can be both an advantage and a threat to Indonesian sovereignty. Currently, the threat comes from the South China Sea conflict. Indonesia's interests that intersect with the South China Sea,

namely the existence of one of China's nine-dash lines, are considered by various groups to be within Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is claimed as far as 200 miles. Difficulties in ascertaining the position of the nine-dash line due to the absence of precise coordinate data. Indonesia's position on the nine-dash line, namely:

- 1) Indonesia declares a joint protest with other countries and does not justify the presence of a nine-dash line on the map of the People's Republic of China. Drawing lines is considered inappropriate when viewed from international law and international law of the sea. The issue of drawing a line for Indonesia is a matter for every country, especially the parties to UNCLOS. This problem cannot be said to be a bilateral problem between Indonesia and China alone;
- 2) In 1969, the continental border line between Indonesia and Malaysia was drawn for the waters of the Natuna Islands. The claim has been registered with the United Nations. On March 21, 1980, Indonesia issued the EEZ Declaration, which included a maritime zone from the Natura baseline of 200 nautical miles. The EEZ declaration has been registered with the United Nations. China has never protested against these two instruments.
- 3) The ambiguity of concepts and terms that change from the nine-dash line starting from the relevant waters, historical rights, maritime rights, and traditional fishing grounds. China's claims regarding the nine-dash line are still ambiguous when there was an incident where fishermen were caught in the Natuna waters. China said that China and Indonesia have different views on the waters regarding the location of the incident.
- 4) In the bilateral meeting between Indonesia and China, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of China revealed differences of opinion regarding the two countries' maritime rights in the Natuna waters. Maritime rights (maritime rights) intersect with the Nansha Islands (Spratly). Settlement of maritime rights can only be carried out if the status of the Nansha Islands (Spratly) is complete. Indonesia rejects this argument because it is not entitled to maritime zones related to shells and atolls, which are features in the South China Sea. In the lawsuit filed by the Philippines, one of the features in the South China Sea is close to Natuna (Cuarteron Reef). Based on the Arbitral Tribunal decision, corals only have rights to as much as 12 Nm of the territorial sea as Cuarteron Reef. The results of drawing the nearest feature based on claims show that it still intersects with claims in the waters of Malaysia and Vietnam. However, the withdrawal of this feature does not directly affect Indonesian waters (Agusman, 2016).

In the era of President Joko Widodo's administration, Indonesia's approach to the South China Sea conflict has changed. Previously, Indonesia was an active player seeking a peaceful settlement of disputes. Indonesia's approach focuses on protecting its national interests, especially around the Natuna Islands (Toruan, 2018). However, Indonesia continues to pay attention to things that displease China. The marketing basis of maritime geopolitics and economic politics has become the character of Indonesia's foreign policy. Alfred Thayer Mahan's geopolitical theory inspired this geopolitical policy. Sea power is an instrument for the state to control the world. The United States has proven its focus on economic and defense power by managing sea potential through sea control (Fathun, 2018).

Geoeconomics on the SLOC and SLOT lines

The goal of economic development is to increase the economy's level and achieve the Indonesian people's prosperity. As a country with the characteristics of an archipelago state, it is fitting for Indonesia to develop its potential to eradicate poverty, income inequality, and development. The sea is a link between countries; it should be disseminated to all Indonesians

so they know its value. Equitable economic development on each island is expected to be an economic driver according to the potential and existing problems. Guidance is needed on the development of spatial structures in each province so that they can understand which patterns of commodity movement prioritize for regional development (Sodik, 2006).

The World Maritime Fulcrum means realizing Indonesia as a maritime country that is strong, great, and prosperous. The existence of the World Maritime Axis expects to restore Indonesia's identity as a maritime country for the welfare of the people. Indonesia's economic equality carry out through the construction of sea highways. Indonesia is actively pursuing maritime diplomacy in its foreign policy for the next five years. In order to achieve the World Maritime Axis, development practices and processes are needed in various sectors ranging from politics, economics, social and culture, defense, and even infrastructure. The state uses geo-economy as a tool to achieve its national interests. Consideration of geographical position is needed to determine how big the chance is to achieve national interests. Indonesia carried out political maneuvers in the field of geo-economy, namely economic aid and trade policy. Bilateral agreements, subsidies, tariff wars, exports and imports, and free trade areas are forms of trade policy (Lilimantik 2015).



Figure 3. SLOC lines in Indonesia (source: Kompasiana.com)

The Indonesian government's efforts to gain national interests by making trade policies can achieve through economic instruments with political considerations. According to Barachuhy, when implementing trade policies, the government will exploit the existing economic potential to achieve its national interests. As the largest archipelagic country, Indonesia's geographical position is very strategic. Indonesia has direct access to the world's largest market. The Malacca Strait is one of the Sea Lane of Communication (SLOC) that passes through Indonesia. The specialty of the Malacca Strait is that it ranks first in the global container shipping lane. From a geoeconomic perspective, the South China Sea has potential in its natural resource content. Both marine resources and natural gas are abundant in the South China Sea. The main sea routes connecting East Asia with other continents are the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean; this is why the position of the South China Sea is very strategic. The South China Sea area is passed by transit shipping by sea, one-third of the total. The position of the South China Sea is geopolitically unique, so it becomes a sea route of strategic importance. Oil transportation also passes through the South China Sea route. Whichever country occupies the South China Sea controls the sea route from the Malacca Strait to East Asia (Anggraeni, Sulistiyanto & Supandi, 2021).

The Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Poverty Reduction (MP3KI) is mentioned in Presidential Regulation Number 32 of 2011. The Indonesian government seeks to maximize the benefits of SLOC and ALKI (Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Routes). Indonesia's advantage from maritime modalities is accelerating growth in various

regions of Indonesia, especially in eastern Indonesia. Indonesia builds maritime competitiveness, increasing the strength and integrity of the national economy, utilizing the ownership of one of the SLOC and ALKI as a sea lane for international shipping by forming Efforts to Accelerate and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development.

Indonesian waters are Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and Sea Trade Lines (SLOT), vital for international trade (Marsetio, 2014). SLOC and SLOT are essential routes for the Indonesian nation. For many countries in the East Asia region, the existence of SLOC or SLOT is essential because the economic orientation of East Asian countries is export and import. Indonesia is obliged to guarantee the security of the SLOC and SLOT areas. Regional security and stability must be maintained so that commercial ships do not feel anxious when they cross Indonesian waters. This condition will be the reason for other countries to present their navy.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia is a country that has a broader sea area than its land area. When the land can no longer provide food needs, the sea has an essential resource for the future. Indonesia has a strategic geographical position for shipping and world trade routes. Therefore, optimizing Indonesia's sea power should be done as well as possible. Besides that, the security and preservation of the sea must be maintained so that our children and grandchildren can still benefit from the wealth of the sea.

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