GLOBALIZATION AND MARITIME CHALLENGES IN WESTERN PACIFIC: US ENGAGEMENT FOR BROADER MARITIME COOPERATION WITH ASIAN NATIONS

Wahyu Wardhana

Universitas Pertahanan
email: wahyu_w016@yahoo.com

Abstrak

Laut dan lautan adalah sumber daya yang tidak ada habisnya. Sebuah negara yang memilih lautan untuk meningkatkan kepentingannya akan menjadi kuat secara politik dan makmur secara ekonomi. Dalam ekonomi global saat ini, kawasan Pasifik Barat adalah jalur laut yang sangat strategis yang membentuk arsitektur politik international dengan peningkatanan perannya dalam ekonomi dunia. Tulisan ini akan menjelaskan kebergunaan kekuatan angkatan laut dari kekuatan maritim kelas dunia seperti Angkatan Laut Amerika Serikat dan kerjasamanya dengan negara-negara Asia di Pasifik Barat berdasarkan kerangka teoretis dari J.R Hill dan Ken Booth dalam membahas tantangan keamanan maritime di Pasifik Barat. Simpulannya adalah bahwa Amerika Serikat telah menjadi kekuatan angkatan lautnya di Pasifik Barat selama bertahun-tahun dengan memberdayakan seluruh aspek dari kekuatan laut atau maritim baik hard power maupun soft power yang bermanfaat sebagai penjamin keamanan dari jalur perdagangan maritim.

Kata Kunci: Amerika Serikat, maritim, Negara-negara Asia, perdagangan laut

Abstract

The seas and oceans are endless resources and a nation who chose oceans to advance their interest became politically strong and economically prosper. In today globalized economy western Pacific regions are strategic sea lanes that shape international political architecture with increased role in global economic. This essay will describe the usefulness of naval power of world class maritime power especially US Navy and its cooperation with Asian Nations in western Pacific based on theoretical framework from J.R. Hill and Ken Booth in addressing maritime security challenges in western pacific. The conclusion is that The US has been maintaining its naval power in western Pacific for decades by utilized all aspect of sea power in term of hard power as well as soft power to serve as security assurance of maritime trade routes.

Keywords: Asia Nations, maritime, sea commerce, United States

Introduction

The seas and oceans are endless resources that in history of mankind had been using for transportation, a source of food, recreation, offshore mining and sea commerce and also a medium of state power projection. History teaches us that nations who chose oceans to advance their interest became politically strong and economically prosper, with naval power as a protector of its interest in the broad ocean (Jae-hyung, 2003). Many great maritime powers such as Spain, Britain, and US stressed the centrality of secure maritime trade route and critical choke points to become a prosperous nation (Erickson & Goldstein, 2010).

Maritime choke points, such as Malacca Strait is a significant maritime characteristic and scare resource on maritime trade route. Several numbers of choke points is found in western pacific, around Indonesia, the Philippines and the South China Sea with several maritime security challenges would seriously hamper vital trade flow (UK Ministry of Defense, 2011). In today globalized economy and free trade era, western Pacific regions are strategic sea lanes that shape international political architecture with increased role in global economic as hub of several emerging economic power. An emerging economic power based on international trade rooted from the idea of Adam Smith's absolute advantage and David Ricardo's comparative advantage (Edward, 2012).

Advantages of domestic economic in international trade are needed to transport by the sea as the most economical way. But, international sea commerce had been establishing around Western Pacific since the first century. The modern version of international sea commerce accelerated toward economic globalization facing many challenges and security threat. As the primary national power in military term of maritime security, naval forces contribute to the international maritime security and protect the increasing of international trade traffic (Tangerdi, 2002).

Globalization is also a multidimensional process and it has implications for maritime security policy. As well-known state threat to international sea commerce are military in the nature, there are several non-state and transnational threats to maritime security domain, such as economic sector of free flow of sea commerce through Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs); political sector from non-state political violence and insurgence; human security sector from terrorism and people smuggling. As a vital interest for every nation in interdependence world economy, the challenge from maritime security threat in western Pacific region requires international cooperation due to the nature of those threats as a transnational threat. This cooperation depends upon the degree of existence of a substantial threat, from correspondingly modest action of assuring freedom of transportation, defend the SLOCs, and even destroy the engaged threat.

This essay will describe the usefulness of naval power of world class maritime power especially US Navy and its cooperation with Asian Nations based on theoretical framework from J.R. Hill and Ken Booth in addressing maritime security challenges in

western pacific. The cooperation will affect US coalition and alliances, in Western Pacific, such as with South Korea, Japan, and opportunity to strengthen maritime security cooperation with China and ASEAN. The cooperation will involve interoperability, training and education (Tangerdi, 2002), and operationalized the maritime security cooperation to community relation activity. The operationalized of maritime security cooperation in addressing common threats can be carried out such as international staff consultations, combined search-and-rescue exercise, and regularly scheduled combined law enforcement patrols (Bradford, 2005). The community relations activity will play to create maritime domain awareness of the people and strengthen mutual trust building in assure the security of maritime domain and defend national wealth and prosperity.

A World Class Maritime Power: A Power to Maintain Maritime Security

Ken Booth argues powerful maritime power is a nation with naval power which capable of fulfills the functional needs required by the environment according its interest in the use of sea (Hu & Oliver, 1988). Based on this function Booth divided navy into three functions, which is diplomatic, constabulary, and military duties (R.W. Button, et.al, 2008). In term of geographic reach, Booth divided state naval power into coastal, contiguous-sea, oceangoing, and global navies. Otherwise J.R. Hill classifies states into maritime superpowers, medium power and small power (Hu&Oliver, 1988). Both, Ken Booth and J.R. Hill, showed relation between naval capability and naval function as a foundation of maritime power of the state to assure maritime security.

A nation with global interest requested a global navy or superpower navy which capable of global naval presence and power projection. An Oceangoing navy which can be equated with Hill's medium power navy are a navy which capable of defending national interest beyond 200 mile economic zone. Booth categorized 60 % of world navies are contiguous sea navies and another 35 % are coastal navies. These navies have the conventional deterrence and maritime defense capability and also contributing to regional maritime stability through naval diplomacy. With the basis of functional approach small navies are capable of constabulary duties, conventional deterrence, and some degree of naval diplomatic functions with limited geographical reach within coastal area or within its 200-mile economic zone based on UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), (Hu&Oliver, 1988).

In western Pacific region, there are many naval powers with various degree of naval capability. United States as a major maritime power with global force projection is capable of carrying out all the military roles of naval forces on a global scale. While China, India, and Japan as a medium regional force with the ability to project force into the adjoining ocean basin and probability of unregularly operates on global scale. A city port-state, a Singapore, can be categorized as small maritime power with inshore territorial defense capability is capable of coastal combat and constabulary duties.

Cambodia and several other navies in Western Pacific and Indian Ocean are the world's smallest and weakest navy (R.W. Button, et.al., 2008).

The use of naval power to address maritime security challenges varied each depends on its naval power, interest, and threat perception. A state deprived of maritime superiority might adopt a strategy of fleet-in-being, to dissuade potential adversary while in the same period of time threaten those of the enemy. A state with lower capability exercised sea denial to deter enemy without being able to control that area oneself (UK Ministry of Defense, 2011). Several countries with coastal defense in western Pacific, engage with other great naval power to prevent the conflict and enable capacity building, capability development, diplomacy and trade.

An Effort to Maintain Maritime Security

Current sea commerce has spurred growth rates in some Asia nations, increase societal economy, an educated young society, and positive contribution to regional peace and stability. A sea commerce which has occurred since two millennia ago, extended north to China and westward to India and eastern African coast with Malacca Strait as its hearts (Miksic, 2013).

From this ancient sea commerce, in the tenth century saw the development of further trade linkages between the Middle East and Southeast Asia through ports along the coast of Indian Ocean (Wade, 2009). Muslim merchants established convoy merchant fleets (Karim) to the Indian Ocean, and the new Fātimid caliphate provided armed escorts for these merchant fleets (Liu&Schaffer, 2007). These arrivals of arms escorts reflect the great importance of maritime trade route which connected the Arabian Desert with China, passing through southern India, Zabaj/Srivijaya in Sumatra, and Champa in today central Vietnam (Wade, 2009). This relation and cooperation assure a security of ancient maritime trade route from pirates that's could disturb the sea commerce.

The sea commerce in Indian Ocean and Southeast Asian waters in medieval period from 10th to 13th century had been dominated by the Chola Empire based in Tamil Nadu and the kingdom of Srivijaya based on Sumatera Island. Both kingdoms maintained maritime security from piracy and smuggling throughout South and Southeast Asia with Atlantic-style command of the sea with patrolling open sea-lanes. In 1025, the Cola Empire conquered the maritime power of Srivijaya and acquired its harbour cities due to an increasing competition for the control of the lucrative China trade (Garza, 2014).

At the same period of time, in east Asia, when China under Ming Dynasty, the sea route from the Korean peninsula to the northern coastal regions of the Chinese mainland usually attacked and plundered by the *wokou* (Japanese pirates), (Boxer, 1980). This pirate appeared during the collapsed of Ashikaga Yoshiteru ruling era (1546-1565), (Akira). In the early 15th century, Chinese fleet under Admiral Zheng He embarked to assured maritime sea commerce and established good relations along littoral entities between China and the Arabian Peninsula and prevent piracy along

maritime Silk Road (Roell, 2016). Even this naval expedition had exacerbated a fiscal and monetary crisis; this expedition could be seen as naval presence to secure maritime trade route from the piracy. In 1407, after the collapsed of Srivijaya in Palembang there were many pirate activities, one of them was Chen Zuyi, a Chinese pirate who had laid waste to the southern seas and conducted piracy around Jiugang (Palembang) region was captured by Zheng He (Akira).

In 1433, Ming maritime power had been in a steady decline; it brought the development of a number of illicit trading networks. Through Ryukyu maritime network to Ming Court, the ports of Southeast Asian ports such as Patani, Ayutthaya, Melaka, Palembang, northern Javanese polities, had access to a steady flow of Chinese goods into their markets to maintain the prosperity of their own economies (Bradley, 2008). The maritime security threat from Wokou Pirates in East Asia recovered due to increasing strength of the Portuguese presence in the 16th century. In 16th century, Mughal Empire in the Indian subcontinent had different approach to maintain its sea commerce security. Mughal Empire did not patrolling the open sea lanes, but they emphasis on controlling littoral and riverine area (Garza, 2014).

Since the 16th to17th century in the era of western exploration, the ocean had been subject to the freedom of the seas as global common. Along with colonialism, many British merchant engaged in trans-Atlantic sea commerce and piracy was a major challenge for that time. In the 18th century, when the economic security based on sea commerce with North American colony was in considerable danger, British Empire waged war upon the pirates by issued naval law an increased deployment of the Royal Navy (Roger, 2004). British Empire faced similar problem of piracy in East Indies but difficult to suppress due to political instability since the Portuguese destroyed the Malay Empire of Malacca and the pirates in East Indies avoided the heavily armed European vessels. In 1789 American Ships begun to came to East Indies and US naval presence to assured freedom of navigation and open trade marked in 1800, when US frigate Essex sailed to Indonesian waters and the South China Sea to protect American merchant's ships from pirates and privateers during the U.S. conflict with France (Preble, 1870).

In late 18th century and early 19th century, based on Dutch's the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) the gem trade between Burma and Qing China and textile from China to Southeast Asia showed it was profitable and the rampant human smuggling (Tagliacozzo&Chang, 2011). In this period, Chinese pirates had effected on the economy since they were threatening vital commercial waters of Fujian and Guangdong (Boxer, 1980). The Chinese pirates reduced in 19th century when Qing navy increased their strength and naval presence. Their threat was further diminished in 1855, at the Battle of Ty-ho Bay, in present-day Hong Kong harbour and the Second Opium War (1856-1860). They fought both American and British naval forces, and to maintain maritime security British naval forces conducted frequent campaigns to destroy the pirates and defend the maritime trade routes (Boxer, 1980). While the US sea commerce to the Orient secured by a network of ports across the Pacific Ocean. This network including consulates was established in Fiji in 1844, Samoa in 1856, and the Marshall

Islands in 1881. The process of U.S. maritime expansion in the Pacific eventually became a goal in and of itself, culminating in the opening of Japan in 1853 and the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain in 1898.

Us Naval Presence To Assured Maritime Security In Globalized Economy

US domestic economic progress and industrialization during the second half of the 19th century encouraged President Theodore Roosevelt to construct the Great White Fleet based on Mahan Idea. This fleet then went to fight in two world wars in the 20th century (Makoto, 2016). At the beginning of the 20th century, US economic growth and its naval power had stimulated US greater role in Asia (Bratton, 2012) This involvement had changed the global position of the US and US naval posture from cruiser fleet to protect US merchant ships became a fleet of big gun battleships to establish sea control and defend it's from maritime threat (Bratton, 2012).

The US victory in Pacific War had laid a framework for alliance in the cold war with Japan and South Korea, and also constructive cooperation with newly independent nations of Asia in western Pacific in maintaining secure SLOCs. Several bilateral security alliances also conducted by US with the Philippines in 1951, and Taiwan from 1955 until 1980 and Thailand in 1954 (Bratton, 2012). During the 1970s and 1980s, there was considerable concern over the security of the world's SLOCs and choke point from Soviet threats (Nincic, 2002). It became facts to justify US naval presence in Indian Ocean and building up of naval bases in Diego Garcia.

The US has been maintaining its naval power in western Pacific for at least six decades by utilized all aspect of sea power. In term of hard power, the US naval presence served as security assurance of maritime trade routes (Bratton, 2012). In term of soft power, the US maritime power maintained naval diplomacy from network of official, semiofficial, and maritime educational network. The US also maintained maritime security through several means, like naval port calls, expansion of joint exercises, anti-piracy cooperation, and disaster management and humanitarian Assistance (Bratton, 2012). US concerns after the end of cold war in western Pacific was increasing trade and conducting cooperation to assuring maritime security from terrorist and pirate's threat, managing regional conflicts, and maintaining free flow of sea commerce. Several terrorist and insurgent attacks had threatened SLOCs; the Sri Lankan Tamil Sea Tigers have conducted multiple maritime terrorist attacks such as in October 2001 when a suicide boat hit the oil tanker MV Silk Pride off northern Sri Lanka. The Philippine-based Abu Sayyaf group has also committed a number of terrorist attacks and armed robbery at the sea lanes off northern Indonesia (Nincic, 2002).

In June 2014, President Barack Obama responded this non-traditional security threat with the "*United States Counter Piracy and Maritime Security Action Plan*," to strengthen maritime security to counter piracy. Furthermore, "*A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Sea power*," expresses the centrality of U.S. naval presence to protect

the maritime sea route under any circumstance, and that by operating jointly with allies and partners, US naval forces can effectively address the threats to maritime security and assure national prosperity (Hendrix dan Armstrong, 2016).

Conclusion: Potential Partnerships and Coalitions for Secure Ocean of the World

Rapid economic growth in globalized economy had increased demand on SLOCs and chokepoints. What was true in Adam Smith and David Ricardo's time remains true today and sea-based trade remains the most cost-effective means of international trade (Anderson, 1996). Consequently, maritime security cooperation required strong naval power and close cooperation with partner and allies.

While the US navy has countered piracy in western Pacific in recent years, it has not played as the hegemonic maritime power such as Great Britain. Even the piracy in this region since 1990s did not reach such levels as to significantly affect international sea commerce; US still conducted naval forward presence. Moreover, it was not prepared to take on an antipiracy role but the US naval power focused on its traditional role to deter adversary and preparing for naval warfare with great power competitors (Farley&Gortzak, 2009).

However, the US naval power particularly US Pacific Command (PACOM) began pursuing a series of initiatives designed to facilitate cooperation between the states of the Pacific Rim in 2000. The US has not only contributed to building capabilities of the regional actors to deal with piracy, it has also tried to increase communication and coordination among these states. In 2000, PACOM introduced APAN, the Asia Pacific Area Network as an internet network designed to increase transparency and information sharing between states and civilian organizations. PACOM also initiated MPAT (Multinational Planning Augmentation Team) workshops, which brought together officers from various regional military organizations in order to help facilitate teamwork and multilateral planning.

In sought to maintain secure sea route, US navy had also launched an initiative to increase maritime security around Straits of Malacca by way of the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI). With this initiative, neither Malaysia nor Indonesia was willing to support US naval deployments in theirs territorial water. In respond of international attention, in July 2004, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore had pursued multilateral approaches and launched coordinated maritime patrols, code-named MALSINDO patrols, to address the problem of crime in the Malacca Straits (Farley&Gortzak, 2009).

Based on trilateral naval deployment to secure the Malacca Straits, by Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, it has provided an opportunity for the three countries to pursue the same objective in maritime security. A potential multilateral security cooperation system can be built in western pacific, including the Maritime Task Flotilla and visits to each other's ships to enhance mutual understanding. Even there is a competing maritime power, by this effort US as global maritime power and China,

Japan, and Republic of Korea which has experience antipiracy operation in the coast of Somalia can conduct a multilateral antipiracy operation and share knowledge in western Pacific. Such cooperation might build mutual trust and understanding to create maritime cooperation based community relation activity. This activity can be conducted likes Kiel Week in Europe with involvement of civilian, young people, and student in sailing event, and traditional maritime sports such as dragon boat and traditional sailing races, and also performances from naval personnel. With this effort, even with different interest or even rivalry, a secure maritime domain with a harmony of interest based on mutual trust can strengthen partnership to each other via sea commerce.

Reference

Anderson, John R. (1996). "Multi-National Naval Cooperation into the 21st Century," *Halifax Maritime Symposium* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: May 22–23, 1996)

Boxer, C.R. (1980). "Piracy in the South China Sea." *History Today*. November 1980.

Bradford, John F., (2005). "The Growing Prospects For Maritime Security Cooperation In Southeast Asia," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 58, No. 3. Summer 2005.

Bradley, Francis R. (2008). "Piracy, Smuggling, and Trade in the Rise of Patani, 1490–1600." Journal of the Siam Society Vol. 96.

Bratton, Patrick. (2012). "The United States as a Pacific Power," in *Sea Power and the Asia-Pacific: The Triumph of Neptune*?, by Geoffrey Till and Patrick Bratton (ed.). New York: Routledge

Button, R.W. et.al. (2008). *Small Ships in Theater Security Cooperation*. (RAND Corporation:

Edward, J. Lincoln. (2012). "The U.S. Approach To Regional Trade Agreements Involving East Asia," In *Asia At A Tipping Point: Korea, The Rise Of China, And The Impact Of Leadership Transitions*, by Gilbert Rozman. Korea Economic Institute, Vol 23. 2012.

Erickson, A.S. & Goldstein, L.J. (2010). "Studying History to Guide China's Rise as a Maritime Great Power." *Harvard Asia Quarterly*.

Farley, Robert M. and Yoav Gortzak, (2009). "Fighting Piracy: Experiences in Southeast Asia and off the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Strategic Security*. No. 1 Vol. 2, No. 1. February 2009.

Garza, Andrew de la. (2014). "Command of the Coast: The Mughal Navy and Regional Strategy." *World History Connected* 12.1

Hendrix, Jerry and Benjamin Armstrong. (2016). *The Presence Problem: Naval Presence and National Strategy*. (Washington DC. Center for a New American Security - CNAS.org.

Hu, N.T.A. & Oliver, J.K. (1988). "A Framework for Small Navy Theory: The 1982 U.N. Law of the Sea Convention." *Naval War College Review*. Spring 1988.

Jae-hyung, L. (2003). *China and the Asia Pacific Region: Geostrategic Relations and a Naval Dimension*. USA: Universe, Inc.

Liu, Xinru, and Lynda Norene Schaffer. (2007). *Connections across Eurasia: Transportation, communication and cultural exchange on the Silk Road*. New York: McGraw Hill

Makoto, Iokibe. "The Japan-US Alliance as a Maritime Alliance," available at http://www.jfir.or.jp/e/special_study/seminar2/conver_2.htm

Matsuura Akira, "Chinese Sea Merchants and Pirates," *A Selection of Essays on Oriental Studies of ICIS*.

Miksic, John. (2013). *Singapore and the Silk Road of the Sea, 1300-1800*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Nincic, Donna J. (2002). "Sea Lane Security and U.S. Maritime Trade: Chokepoints as Scarce Resources," *Institute for National Strategic Studies*. (National Defense University.

Preble, George Henry. (1970). *The First Cruise of the United States Frigate Essex*. Salem, MA: The Essex Institute.

Roell, Peter. (2016). "China's Maritime Silk Road – An Ambitious Undertaking: A View from Europe, Institute for Strategic," *Political, Security and Economic Consultancy*, Issue No. 411.

Roger, Adamson. (2004). "The Fading Gleam of a Golden Age: Britain's Battle Against Piracy in the Americas in the Early 18th Century," *Honors Projects*. *Paper* 21.

Tagliacozzo, Eric and Wen-Chin Chang. (2011). *Chinese circulations: Capital, commodities, and networks in Southeast Asia*. (eds.) (Duke University Press.

Tangredi, Sam J. (2002). "Globalization and Sea Power: Overview and Context," in *Globalization and Maritime Power*, by Sam J. Tangredi (ed.). Washington DC. Institute For National Strategic Studies.

UK Ministry of Defence. (2011). *Joint Doctrine Publication 0-10: British Maritime Doctrine*.

Wade, Geoff, (2009). "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 40(2). June 2009.