



DEFENSE GAP ERA OF THE JOKOWI GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE ECONOMIC FOCUS ON INDONESIAN MARITIME

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia has small and outermost islands, is not an easy thing to protect these islands. The case of rights to ownership of the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan which fell into the hands of Malaysia in 2002 based on the decision of the International Court of Justice is one of the impacts to the ineffective supervision of small islands in Indonesia. Cases regarding maritime boundaries, state ownership, and sentiments of nationalism are one of the problems that occur in border areas. Therefore, Indonesia must take concrete actions in the management of small and outer islands based on the law of the sea convention which functions as a baseline in determining the boundaries of the sea area. This study uses a qualitative method, namely to study events and is used in research. The aim is to analyze the defense program in the Jokowi administration era. By using primary data and secondary data, the author again tries to explore how to focus on defense in Indonesia's maritime sector as a developing country that has a priority in the defense sector. The results of the study show that Indonesia during the Jokowi administration used an active defensive-based defense strategy, prioritizing related efforts related to territorial disputes in the outermost small islands without aggressive action. The defense policy made and enforced by the Jokowi government through various efforts cannot be separated from the 1982 UNCLOS.

KEYWORDS

Defense, Defense Economic, Era, Gap, Government, Maritime



Introduction

Indonesia has historically had a very dominant influence in the Southeast Asian region and even the entire Asian region. The territory of Indonesia, which is two-thirds of the ocean, has resulted in the archipelago being colored by the various struggles of life at sea. In historical records, evidence is recorded that the ancestors of the Indonesian people controlled the seas of the archipelago, even being able to navigate the vast ocean to the coast of Madagascar, South Africa. Unfortunately, after achieving the glory of maritime culture, Indonesia continued to experience setbacks, especially after the entry of the VOC and Dutch colonial rule into Indonesia. The Giyanti Agreement in 1755 between the Dutch and the Kings of Surakarta and Yogyakarta resulted in the two kings having to hand over the trade of their territory to the Dutch.

As a country surrounded by the sea, almost all of its provinces have territorial waters, such geographical conditions make Indonesia a maritime country that has a marine fisheries area of not less than 6.85 million km² and it is estimated that the area contains fish production of 10 million tons per year, however, with potential The abundant marine resources of the Indonesian people have not been able to maximize this potential. This is caused by the development paradigm that prioritizes urban communities and rural agriculture so that they pay less attention to the lives of people in coastal areas and are still very less proportioned when compared to other aspects such as agriculture, industry, political communication and so on.

The concept that was initiated by Indonesia as an archipelagic country has factual and juridical powers in the eyes of countries in the world. The archipelagic state of the Indonesian Nation has been recognized in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). In this regulation, it is very clear that every country that has a beach regulates its authority over its coast. These areas include territorial seas with a width of 12 nautical miles from the baseline, an additional zone with a width of 24 miles from the baseline, an exclusive economic zone with a width of 200 miles from the baseline, and the continental shelf to a depth of 350 meters. The convention basically also regulates the drawing of maritime boundaries when a dispute occurs between neighboring countries. The problem also includes overlapping authorities between neighboring and opposite countries. Indonesia, which has thousands of small and outermost islands, is of course not an easy thing to protect these islands. The case of the loss of ownership rights to the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan which fell into the hands of Malaysia in 2002 based on the decision of the International Court of Justice is one of the impacts of the ineffective supervision of the small islands in Indonesia. Cases regarding maritime boundaries, state sovereignty, and sentiments of nationalism are one of the problems that occur in border areas. Therefore, Indonesia must take concrete actions in the management of small and outer islands based on the law of the sea convention which functions as a baseline in determining the boundaries of the sea area (Erwin, 2011).

The Importance of Defense Systems

The development of globalization and the strategic environment affects the national defense system, dynamics that are calculated for the next few years such as economic growth which is an important component in the development of the country's military power, especially in the Asia Pacific region. military threats, non-military threats and hybrid threats that can be categorized in the form of real and unreal threats. These threats include terrorism and radicalism, separatism and armed rebellion, natural disasters, violation of border areas, piracy and theft of natural resources, disease outbreaks, cyber attacks and espionage, drug trafficking and abuse as well as open conflict or conventional war. Domestic conditions also cannot be separated from the influence of the strategic environment triggered by ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural and security factors. This development is a challenge that affects the implementation of national defense in Indonesia.

The implementation of national defense is aimed at safeguarding and protecting state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation. National defense for the Indonesian people is structured in a universal defense system, not aggressive and not expansive in order to protect national interests. The resolution of problems related to and affecting national defense is carried out by prioritizing diplomacy strengthened by modern military forces. The conflict between Taiwan and China makes Taiwan need to increase its military defense, considering the case of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. According to Wheeler and Booth, a security dilemma is created when a large increase in military power occurs in a country that causes anxiety in other countries (Baylis and Smith, 1997: 117). On the other hand, Taiwan's military power has de facto strengthened

with the Taiwan Defense Reform and Modernization Program in collaboration with the United States on a hitherto scale.

Taiwan is developing some of its military defenses by increasing its defense budget over the next five years, making the United States interested in military intervention if China attacks Taiwan without reason. While the US has long upheld the concept of "strategic ambiguity"

vis-a-vis Taipei, Chen believes there are signs that Washington's policies towards Taiwan are becoming more straightforward by the day. In addition, the transition of the government system from communist to democracy created a new government structure in Taiwan, the United States and Taiwan, to ally themselves in order to safeguard their respective interests in the East Asia region. What Taiwan needs to modernize its military is a comprehensive defense system to ward off military attacks from China and counterattack that is quite effective at points of military bases in China is still unstable. By relying solely on its own strength, Taiwan will not be able to reform and modernize its military to survive a Chinese military invasion.

In the case of China's invasion of Taiwan, this is an illustration of the influence of security stability in the East Asia Region through international political studies, because these relations and conditions are studied as a tool to achieve political and military goals, and the actor in this problem is the state. International politics is defined as the relationship between independent, sovereign states, which is characterized by conflict, competition, cooperation, and accommodation. The focus of attention in international politics is the issue of the distribution of international power; situations that contribute to the balance between competing countries to the breakdown of the balance of power, and to the characteristics of the communication process between countries around the world; the interests represented by the alliance between countries; patterns of conflict and cooperation between non-aligned countries and western countries; relations based on economic trade and interdependence, efforts towards institutions that provide opportunities for peace and international cooperation.

Research methods

This study uses a qualitative method, namely to study events and is used in research. The aim is to analyze the gap in the defense program in the Jokowi administration era. By using primary data and secondary data, the author again tries to explore how to focus on defense in Indonesia's maritime as a developing country that has priorities in fields other than defense.

Results and Discussion

A. Border Issues Between Countries

The Asia Pacific region still has the potential for border disputes that have not been fully resolved. Empirical facts show that one of the main causes of war is the issue of territorial boundaries. The ongoing conflicts and crises in this context can increase the occurrence of traditional threats if dispute management is not carried out properly. As an archipelagic country that is very open from various directions, Indonesia has a number of unresolved border problems. In addition, the state of Indonesia has 92 outermost/frontier small islands, of which 12 outermost small islands require priority in their management so that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia can be optimally guaranteed. This condition has the potential to cause a violation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, especially in the land border areas of the country which have not yet received a mutual agreement and the outermost/frontier small islands that have not been managed properly. Violations of state sovereignty in air and sea territories, such as foreign flights/ships, will cause tension, and may even lead to conflict.

The existence of a maritime threat that is so complex, it is very important to build a maritime culture in Indonesia. Indonesia, which is an archipelagic country, has the potential to develop Indonesia's maritime power by involving the community, government and the private sector. The cultivation of maritime culture must be accompanied by a clear follow-up in implementing the policy. The existence of clear policies will support the development of Indonesian maritime culture. Maritime Culture Planting Must be accompanied by a maritime defense policy so that the maritime culture planting is able to support Indonesia's maritime defense

Globalization and the Dynamics of Indonesian Maritime Threats

There are three general characteristics of globalization in the context of international security, namely: (1) New forms of interconnectedness; (2) The behavior of new and old power; and (3) New security relations among players. Globalization will provide a new form of relationship between countries in a region due to political, economic, and security factors, besides that globalization will affect changes in state behavior as actors. Defense and foreign policies will inevitably change to adapt to environmental changes due to globalization factors. In this case, globalization will require each country to improve the security of its territory, both on a national, regional and global scale.

The impact of globalization greatly affects the flow of world trade activities in the waters of Southeast Asia, especially the Malacca Strait which is the gateway for the entry of world oil carriers from the Middle East to the Asia-Pacific region, including Indonesia. No less than 70,000 ships each year pass this route, the growth of maritime activity increases by 74%, including an 80% increase in the distribution of oil and gas imports from the Middle East to East Asia. Indonesia. Based on Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA), which are categorized as objects of maritime threats are:

- a) Maritime Interest Areas: sea lanes and marine areas.
- b) Transportation means: ships, cargo, and crew, and passengers.
- c) Maritime Infrastructure: ports, waterways, port terminal facilities, and piers.

Referring to the MDA category above, it can be concluded how many national maritime objects have the potential to be harmed by transnational crimes. Indonesia with a sea area of 93,000 km² with an EEZ (Economic Exclusive Zone) of 6,159,032 km² certainly cannot be separated from a series of transnational crimes such as piracy, oil smuggling, weapons, drugs, and human activities. In fact, the spokesperson for the National Narcotics Agency (BNN), Sumirat Dwiyanto, said that the sea lanes in Indonesia are already vulnerable as locations for drug smuggling. Around 80% of drug smuggling is carried out through seaports and free waters, namely the Malacca Strait, Sulawesi Sea, and waters off the Java Sea. 15 Sea routes are objects of maritime crime because of their very wide coverage areas that are difficult to maintain optimally by the authorities.

According to former KSAL Admiral TNI (Ret.) Bernard Kent Sondakh, the issue of maritime terrorism is the main issue affecting relations between countries. As a country that has “four” out of “seven” international chokepoints, Indonesian waters are very vulnerable to maritime terrorism attacks because every day hundreds of ships of various types and from various countries pass through it. In the event of a maritime terrorism attack in Indonesian waters, there is no doubt that countries with an interest in Indonesian waters will intervene directly on the ground. The impact was unimaginable, political, economic, legal and military. The dynamics of maritime threats have shifted from military aggression to non-military and transnational threats. This can be seen from the security recapitulation data for the period January 1–December 2014, in the figure:

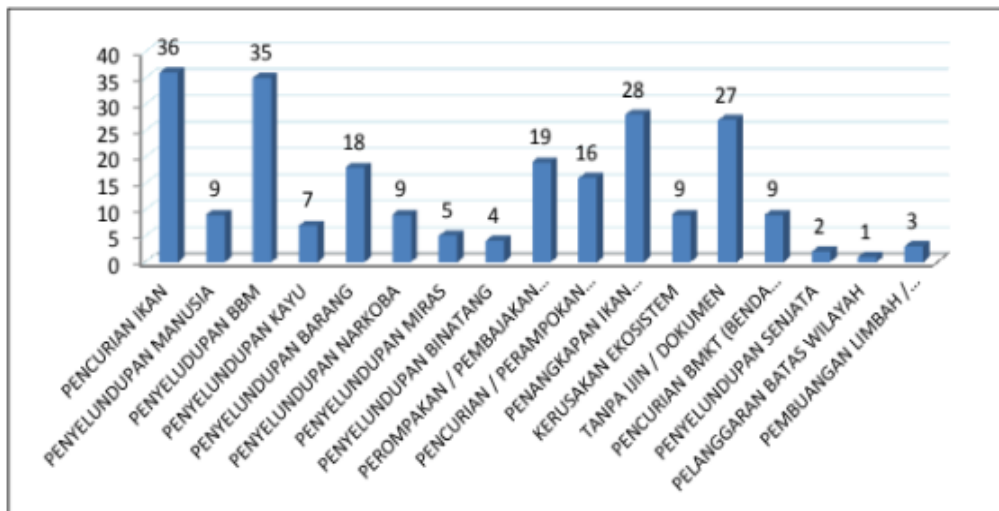


Figure 2. Indonesia Maritime Security Recapitulation 2014

Referring to the number of threats above, it is necessary to take several strategic steps to build an optimal national maritime defense force. At least the state has to project its maritime defense strength as a supporting factor for the vision of the world maritime axis that has been echoed by President Jokowi. The development of maritime power has indeed become a major issue for Indonesia in dealing with the changing series of threats, both on a regional and global scale.

Indonesian Defense Policy Pre-Jokowi's Government

Through the research conducted, the defense policies made by each President, namely Soekarno to SBY, none of them specifically made defense policies against the outermost small islands. It can be said that there is a policy that focuses on the maritime sector, but does not bring the issue of the outermost small islands as a defense issue. There are also those who brought the issue of the outermost small islands into their reign, but were not included in the defense policy. This means that there is no defense policy aimed at the outermost small islands. In other words, the outermost small islands did not get a strategic and crucial position as the front porch of state sovereignty during the administration before Jokowi.

Indonesia's Defense Policy Against Small Outer Islands During Jokowi's Administration

1. Jurisdiction: International Law and National Legislation.

The international law used as a reference in this research is UNCLOS 1982 Part IV Archipelagic State (Article 46-54). In this section various provisions, rights, what can and cannot be done by archipelagic countries are regulated in it. UNCLOS 1982 Part IV Archipelagic State (Article 46-54) has become one of the important benchmarks for Indonesia in determining the direction of its policy. This is reflected in Jokowi's seriousness in directing Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis where the outermost small islands are one of the three main aspects that will fulfill Jokowi's vision. The defense policy made and enforced by the Jokowi government through various efforts cannot be separated from the 1982 UNCLOS.

With reference to UNCLOS 1982 Part IV Archipelagic State (Article 46-54), Indonesia under the Jokowi administration determined various national regulations, namely as follows:

- 1) Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97 of 2015 concerning General Policy of National Defense for 2015-2019.⁶ In this regulation, it specifically discusses the development of border areas and the outermost small islands which the Jokowi government calls the front porch of the Republic of Indonesia. The President has directed two things regarding defense of the outermost small islands, namely integrating the roles and functions of Ministries/Agencies and optimizing bilateral/multilateral diplomatic efforts with neighboring countries.
- 2) Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97 of 2015 concerning General Policy of National Defense for 2015-2019.⁶ In this regulation, it specifically discusses the development of border areas and outermost small islands which the Jokowi government calls the front porch of the Republic of Indonesia. The President has directed two things regarding defense of the outermost small islands, namely integrating the roles and functions of Ministries/Agencies and optimizing bilateral/multilateral diplomatic efforts with neighboring countries.
- 3) Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97 of 2015 concerning General Policy of National Defense for 2015-2019.⁶ In this regulation, it specifically discusses the development of border areas and the outermost small islands which the Jokowi government calls the front porch of the Republic of Indonesia. The President has directed two things regarding defense of the outermost small islands, namely integrating the roles and functions of Ministries/Agencies and optimizing bilateral/multilateral diplomatic efforts with neighboring countries.
- 4) Decree of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Number: Kep/1255/M/XII/2015 concerning National Defense Policy 2015.⁹ In realizing maritime security, border areas and the outermost small islands must be accessible by sea and land forces. In other words, border areas and the

outermost small islands are made into priority areas for defense by increasing surveillance, security operations and empowerment.

5) Regulation of the National Border Management Agency Number 1 of 2015 concerning the Master Plan for the Management of State Borders for 2015-2019.10 In this regulation, Jokowi through the BNPP emphasizes the importance of cooperation with countries bordering the sea directly with Indonesia, especially ASEAN countries. The cooperation covers cross-border cooperation, in the fields of economy, defense and security.

From the various defense regulations and laws against the outermost small islands above, the author finds that the goals, targets and directions of defense policies made by the Jokowi government are to succeed the World Maritime Axis Doctrine promoted by the president of the Republic of Indonesia. This is in line with the constructivist view which believes that Jokowi's ideas, concepts and even belief in Indonesia's maritime power can really influence all of the goals, objectives and directions of Indonesia's defense policy. This is also supported by two perspectives in the concept of maritime security, namely maritime border protection and military activities at sea which emphasizes the importance of maintaining sovereignty by placing the military as the ideal posture of national defense.

Indonesia during the Jokowi administration used an active defensive-based defense strategy, prioritizing cooperative efforts related to territorial disputes in the outermost small islands without aggressive action. The strategy also means that the economic sector is positioned as one of the main supporters and even the goals of defense, so that all government activities must lead to the welfare of the people and the improvement of the country's economy. So in defense policy it is known as the motto defense support prosperity. Defense is placed in the outermost small islands not only to maintain the sovereignty of the country through military operations, but also to help maintain the security of the implementation of activities to utilize resources to support the economy. However, military activity (TNI) remains the main standard in the state's efforts to maintain the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Considering Indonesia's geographical situation, which is also a regional and global route, military power is very much needed.

Conclusion

National strength under President Jokowi's administration will be determined by Indonesia's maritime conditions. The goal to make Indonesia as Indonesia's maritime axis seems to be very helpful for Indonesia to adapt to the rapidly changing strategic environment as a result of globalization factors. In addition, the dynamics of the ever-evolving threat can be faced through the development of maritime power.

Collaboration between the monetary and monetary security angles is very important to be executed in the Maritime Axis so that in the end it will uphold Indonesia's capacity as the Maritime Axis throughout the world. If this collaboration is effectively completed, then at that time, President Jokowi has changed the basic teachings of Indonesia's international strategy.

This is the importance of building the strength of the Navy. A country with an area the size of Indonesia which consists of thousands of islands with five major islands (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua) requires more attention in the defense and security sector. If it is possible to have war, the war will take place at sea, not on land with civilians at stake.

The sea is not only used for defense and security. Like President Joko Widodo's vision to make Indonesia the world's maritime axis, Indonesia's seas will also be prioritized for trade in sea lanes, fisheries, and the use of natural resources in the sea. On that basis, the conception of Indonesia's defense must undergo a change. In accordance with President Joko Widodo's foreign policy vision, Indonesia must be able to become the world's maritime axis.

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