

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Indonesia is the largest maritime country in the world. According to the Geospatial Information Agency, Indonesia is a maritime country with an area of 6.315,222 km² of waters with 99,093 km² of coastline and 13,466 islands which are named and coordinated. It indicates that Indonesia has a vast sea from Sabang to Merauke. Based on outdoor structures, Indonesia has a strategic position where Indonesia is flanked by the Indies and the Pacific Ocean and the continents of Asia and Australia. The vast sea of Indonesia with a variety of natural resources, energy, biological and animal is a tremendous wealth for Indonesia (Pentingnya Informasi Geospasial untuk Menata Laut Indonesia., 2015)

Marine Law Expert Hasjim Djalal said maritime states were countries with the capability of utilizing the sea, even though the countries might not have many seas, but they had the ability of technology, science, equipment to manage and utilize the sea, both space, and natural resources and strategic locations (Muhamad, 2014). By definition above, a maritime country is a country that can use the sea to support its progress such as Indonesia; more than 50% of world trade is through the Indonesian sea. According to the Indonesian marine council, Indonesia's marine wealth reaches 171 billion US dollars every year or 2.046 trillion every year. In fact, according to the director of the Indonesian maritime institution (IMI), Indonesia's marine potential has reached six times the state budget (APBN) of around 7,200 trillion (Witjaksono, Reborn Maritim Indonesia., 2017).

In this case, proper management of marine natural resources is essential for the future of a nation. Therefore, as a maritime country, Indonesia has ratified international marine law (UNCLOS 1982) stated in constitution number 17 of 1985. In this case, Indonesia

has the right and obligation to protect and maintain every island that exists. Up to now, there are 168 who ratified UNCLOS as the legal basis for the sea in the country (Kurnia, 2008).

The various potential of Indonesian natural resources and natural marine, which 2/3 of them are in the sea, are challenges and opportunities for Indonesia. In the era of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's government, they have committed themselves in their administration to focus on taking care of the Indonesian sea with the aim of returning Indonesia's maritime glory as Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) is one of Joko Widodo's administrative visions. In Joko Widodo's inauguration speech as President of the Republic of Indonesia in the MPR on October 20, 2014, a new orientation and milestone in the rise of the Indonesian nation to become an archipelago of all its activities must characterize maritime (Murniningtyas, 2015).

"We must work as hard as we can to restore Indonesia as a maritime country. Ocean, sea, strait, and bay are the future of our civilization. We have been backing the sea for too long, back the ocean, backing the strait and the bay. Now is the time for us to return everything so that Jalesveva Jayamahe, in the Sea, we are triumphant, as the motto of our ancestors in the past, can be re-blaring."

According to the 2014 speech at the East Asia Summit, the President delivered 5 (five) pillars of Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) which included building a maritime culture; maintaining and managing marine resources; infrastructure development and maritime connectivity; strengthening maritime diplomacy and building maritime defense forces. The Marine Program launched by President Joko Widodo is one of the "Nawa Cita" programs, which mean bringing the country back to protect all nations and providing security to all citizens, through active and free foreign policy, trustworthy national security, and

building Matra State Defense based on national interests and strengthening the identity of a maritime country (Wedhaswary, 2014).

The desire of the Indonesian Government in managing maritime or marine wealth and increasing the strength of the Navy will certainly face various challenges, obstacles, opportunities, threats, strengths and weaknesses as an archipelago located between two oceans and two continents. So there needs to be serious action in realizing President Jokowi's vision as an implementation effort in managing, developing and advancing the Indonesian sea so that it can be actualized. Of course, it needs the assistance from developed countries to meet the national demand, in the provision of technology and some necessary facilities (Indonesia's Naval Development and Maritime Cooperation, 2014).

President Joko Widodo opened ample opportunities for cooperation and investment in various fields in Indonesia, in this case especially the maritime sector. In implementing collaboration, in 2015 President Jokowi visited the United States to improve and deepen relations between Indonesia and the United States in the maritime field. The United States is categorized as a maritime country because it manages the development of its marine waters in a serious, comprehensive, planned and sustainable manner. Besides that, America is famous for its strength and maritime diversity (Joint Statement by the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia, 2015).

Previously Indonesia and the United States had a long relationship since 1949. Relations between the two countries continued to be strengthened during the presidency of Joko Widodo, where Indonesia and the United States formed a Strategic Partnership. One of these strategic partnerships has a focus on maritime cooperation. It will help Indonesia learn and work together to improve its maritime affairs. Because maritime country of Indonesia still has many shortcomings such as the Marine Police. Marine police are significant

because, without the Sea Police declaration, other countries can easily claim and disturb the Indonesian sea, especially countries that are directly adjacent to Indonesia. The marine police accept sea law, maritime security, and international trade. The Samudra Police has four fundamental maritime pillars, and the other 3 are maritime economics, defense, and maritime paradigms. Besides Ocean Police, Indonesia also requires a Costs Guard. Indonesia as a maritime country that has the second longest coastline in the world must have a Coast Guard. In the future, the Coast Guard in Indonesia will be held by the Marine Security Agency (Bakamla). According to Rizal Ramli, the maritime and resource coordinating minister said if every large country with a long coastline had a Coast Guard like the United States. Therefore, following Indonesia's vision as a Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), Indonesia strengthened maritime cooperation with the United States through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in the maritime field (Witjaksono, Reborn Maritim Indonesia., 2017).

The signing of Indonesia and United States Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was on October 24, 2015. The following is the field of maritime sector cooperation between Indonesia and the United States: Maritime security, maritime economy, Fisheries Conservation and Management, Maritime Safety and Navigation, Marine Sciences and Technology and Marine Resources. While on March 28-29, 2018, Indonesia and the United States continued to strengthen bilateral cooperation, especially in the maritime, marine and maritime law fields. The two countries signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) between the Republic of Indonesia Sea Security Agency (Bakamla RI) and the United States Coast Guard (Iswanto, 2018).

B. Research question

Based on the background, the most appropriate research question is "Why has Indonesia strengthened

maritime cooperation with the United States in the reign of Joko Widodo in 2014-2018"?

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the above of research question, the authors use the theories and concepts as follows:

1. Theory of International Cooperation

In this study, the author uses the Theory of International Cooperation, because all countries in the world cannot stand alone without cooperation. Generally, International cooperation is a form of relationship carried out by a country with another country that aims to meet the needs of the people and for the interests of countries in the world. This international collaboration includes cooperation in the political, social, defense, cultural and economic fields, guided by each foreign policy. This collaboration aims to improve shared prosperity since relations between countries can accelerate the process of improving welfare and solving problems between two or more countries.

According to KJ Holsti, international cooperation can be defined as follows (Holsti, 1988):

- The view of two or more interests, values, or objectives meets and can produce something, promoted or fulfilled by all parties at once.
- The views or expectations of a country that policies decided by other countries will help the country to achieve its interests and values.
- Approval or specific problems between two or more countries in order to utilize equality of interests or conflicts of interest.
- Official or unofficial rules regarding future transactions made to carry out the agreement.
- Transactions between countries to fulfill their agreements.

International cooperation is a series of relationships which is not based on violence or coercion, but on the other

hand, are legally legalized. State actors build cooperative relationships through international organizations and international regimes, which are defined as agreed sets of rules, regulations, norms, and procedures for decision making, in which the expectations of actors and state interests meet within the range of international relations. International Cooperation consists of three parts, namely; (James E. Dougzgrherty & Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, 1997)

- a) Bilateral Cooperation: Agreement made by two countries only and is a Treaty Contract.
- b) Regional Cooperation: Agreements made by several countries in one area are limited to Law-Making Treaty and Contract Treaty
- c) Multilateral Cooperation: Agreements made by the state without being restricted by a particular region, are international with a Law-Making Treaty.

Based on the three categories of cooperation forms proposed above, in this study, the theory of international cooperation that will be used is bilateral cooperation, namely cooperation carried out by only two countries. The two countries that have formed bilateral cooperation as objects of discussion are Indonesia and the United States, especially in maritime cooperation. Indonesia and the United States have significant diplomatic relations. Indonesia and the United States have had important diplomatic relations. When the Jokowi administration began to paying attention to the sea area, it used the principle of the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) because of previous strategic partnership between the two countries was very close during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, in 2010 included the political sphere and security, economic, social, education, science and technology.

The strategic partnership between Indonesia and the United States continues to be improved, especially cooperation in the maritime field in the Jokowi's government that will

support the interests of both countries, protect the oceans, and promote sustainable development in the maritime sector. Based on a written statement from the US Embassy to Indonesia, Indonesia and the United States have signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Maritime Affairs (Memorandum of Understanding on Maritime Cooperation).

On October 24, 2015, the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in the maritime field marked the official opening of cooperation in this field between the two countries. The following are fields of maritime sector cooperation between Indonesia and the United States: Maritime security, maritime economics, Marine Resources, Conservation and Management of Fisheries, Maritime Safety and Navigation, and Marine Science and Technology. March 28-29 2018 is the 2nd Indonesian-US Ocean Law and Ocean Policy Dialogue. Deputy of Sea Sovereignty Coordination, Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs, Arif Havas Oegroseno, said Indonesia and the United States continued to strengthen bilateral cooperation between the two countries. In particular, in the fields of marine, sea and maritime law. The increase in maritime cooperation between Indonesia and the United States which is the aim of the second bilateral dialogue is the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MoU) between the Republic of Indonesia Sea Security Agency (Bakamla RI) and the United States Coast Guard (Iswanto, 2018).

2. The concept of National Interest

National interest itself is considered as an essential factor that serves as a guide for decision makers in the process of making foreign policy because in interacting with other countries in the international environment, each country strives to achieve its goal. The success of a country is also seen from its success in achieving and maintaining its national interests because national interests are fundamental to every country by efforts to meet national interests, what can affect a

country's attitude in responding to specific issues and how to relate to other countries.

National interests themselves according to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton defined as follows: (Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, 1996)

"The fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of these elements that constitute to the state most vital needs. There includes self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being."

State interests are general and typical concepts. Although the national interest that a country wants to achieve is different in its implementation, it generally revolves around five general categories called Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton as:

1. Self-preservation is defined as the right of a country to maintain the existence of its country. Self-preservation can also be interpreted as an attempt by the State to maintain its identity and its national identity amid global developments, where existence becomes essential in international relations as a form of state recognition of other countries. Indirectly, this will be important to maintain the survival of the State in international relations.
2. Independent is defined as independence, the freedom of a country to determine its destiny by not being bound or colonized by another country. So that this can determine attitudes in determining political decisions. This independence can also affect the survival and recognition of a country in the international arena.
3. Military security is essential for the stability and whereabouts of a country. It is because there is a tendency that a country with a significant quantity and quality of

weapons will have a higher initial position and strength which can affect its position in relations between countries.

4. Territorial integrity can be interpreted as territorial integrity. Territorial integrity is a form of the sovereignty of a country where sovereignty is as a form of existence and the highest recognition of the existence of a State in the international political arena. Territorial or regional security also contributes to the security and political stability of a country that is very influential in the decision making of a country.
5. Economic well-being is defined as an effort to realize economic prosperity which is one of the pillars that supports the stability of a country. Economic stability is the most critical factor that affects the level of progress and development of a nation.

In this study, the author considers that all aspects are essential for Indonesia to achieve their national interests. In self-preservation, Indonesia seeks to maintain national identity as a maritime nation. In accordance to maintain a national identity, the Joko Widodo's government began to focus on maritime affairs through its vision of Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). The maritime state policy formulated by the Jokowi government is to make Indonesia a world maritime axis that connects inter-island transportation routes and increases the carrying capacity of existing ports in coastal areas of Indonesia. The idea of a world maritime axis wants to make Indonesia a calculated maritime power between two continents (Asia and Australia) and between two oceans (Indian and Pacific). The Indian Ocean will be in an important geostrategic position, so it must be guaranteed not to become a battleground between the surrounding countries. Indonesia has a maritime border area of nearly 1300 km in the Indian Ocean, bordering Australia, India, Malaysia and Thailand. In addition, Indonesia also has an Exclusive Economic Zone of as far as 1.5 million km² in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean. With

this condition, the Indian Ocean has become an important area for Indonesia's economic growth, while also being a source of vulnerability in terms of security for Indonesia (Paskarina, 2016).

The Independent, as an independent country, Indonesia has the right to determine its destiny by not being bound or colonized by other countries. Therefore, this can determine attitudes in determining political decisions. The example the effort was carried out by the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to show that Indonesia had the courage to fight the perpetrators of illegal fishing. IUU Fishing's practice is not merely a matter of managing the environment and fisheries resources such as fishing, but also includes many other illegal activities. These activities include human rights violations through human trafficking and slavery, smuggling and trafficking of drugs and narcotics, protected endangered animals, and various other crimes. As a form of real commitment to safeguard the sea that is threatened by sustainability, Minister Susi invited FAO member countries, international organizations, and other non-governmental organizations to attend and announce their commitments at the Our Ocean Conference (Indonesia Sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia, 2015).

Military security is an essential factor in achieving national interests. Countries that have a significant quantity and quality of weapons will have a higher initial position and strength that can affect positions in relations between countries. To achieve national interests, Indonesia established maritime cooperation with the United States in maritime security, because to improve Indonesia's maritime security must improve military security. It is where the United States has the largest Navy in the world and also the coast guard will qualify as the 12th largest fleet in the world. Regarding security, the two countries not only focus on maritime security, which is a priority of this strategic collaboration but also takes into account port security. Both countries want port security following international standards to make it easier to

detect and prevent maritime security threats, especially regarding transportation for shipping goods between the two countries (Kaplan, 2017).

Territorial integrity is a form of the sovereignty of a country. The sovereignty of Indonesia and the United States is a form of existence and the highest recognition of the existence of a State in the international political arena. Territorial integrity contributes to political security and stability in decision making. In this study, the United States considers that Indonesia is an important country in the region to maintain stability, due to significant economic growth and political stability, because the shift in the center of the world economy to the Asia Pacific region where the majority of the countries within it are archipelagic countries has produced a battle map of new interests among countries in the region. This fight no longer occurs in the continent (continent), but moves to competition in the control of the sea or ocean. The phenomenon of maritime disputes in the South China Sea is evidence of the struggle of interest. (Anggraeni, 2018).

Economic well-being, based on natural resources and the environment, Indonesia has enormous potential. The main goal of the realization of Indonesia as the Global Maritime Fulcrum is the welfare of the people through the development of maritime infrastructure such as ports, reviving sea traffic so that the distribution of goods can reach remote areas with balanced prices, get the maximum benefits from the sea not only for fishermen but also for the whole people of Indonesia. Taking into account that 90% of world economic transactions occur on the sea, which is 40% of that figure through Indonesia, only 40% of domestic sea transportation is carried out by Indonesians, with around 5% of exports carried out by domestic vessels, while the remaining 95 % by foreign vessels. through a strategy, namely building food sovereignty through the development of the fisheries industry, prioritizing infrastructure development and maritime connectivity, by building sea toll roads, deep seaport ports, logistics, shipping industry, and maritime tourism, as well as defense and security

strategies carried out by carrying out maritime diplomacy to eliminate sources of conflict in the sea, such as fishing theft, violations of sovereignty, territorial disputes, piracy and sea pollution and to build a maritime defense force to maintain shipping safety and maritime security. Seven economic spectrums have the potential to contribute to the maritime sector to Indonesia's national GDP. The potential for marine economic value is estimated to reach a minimum of 8.22 trillion dollars per year (Wahyudin, 2016).

D. Hypothesis

1. Because Joko Widodo wants to improve maritime security, protect the oceans, and promote sustainable development in the marine sector, beside that because United States has the same vision with Indonesia especially in maritime sector.
2. Because Joko Widodo has the vision to realize Indonesia as the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF).

E. Methodology

1. Type of Research

The type of research in this thesis is qualitative research. According to Bogdan and Taylor defines qualitative research as research that produces descriptive data in the form of written words or verbally from people and observable behavior (Moleong, 2002). In qualitative research, it is essential to emphasize the importance of a researcher to be able to understand the meaning of human behavior, the social context of interaction and the social phenomena that occur. (Creswell, 2009)

2. Method of collecting data

Method of Collecting Data conducted for this research are:

Library Research: This research was conducted by obtaining references from various books, journals, reports and related material with research objectives. (Zed, 2004)

3. Method of analysis data

The research of this undergraduate thesis uses analysis technique by gaining data as much as possible and classifying the data which is coherent with this topic. Later, the data are systematically presented based on the relation between one and another subtopic.

F. Research Purpose

This research aimed:

1. Providing systematic information related Indonesia establish maritime cooperation with the United States.
2. Providing systematic information about Indonesia's interest in strengthen maritime cooperation with the United States.

G. The Scope of Research

To avoid the breadth of the discussion in this study and to prevent an unfocused explanation, the author limits research within the period from 2014-2018 where Indonesia strengthened maritime cooperation with the United Nations in the government of Joko Widodo. Started from the period, the author assumes that during the reign of Joko Widodo it focused on the maritime field, which was one of his visions to make Indonesia a Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF).

H. Outline

Systematically the writing in this paper is as follows:

CHAPTER I: is an introductory chapter that contains the standard rules of scientific writing that contain the

background of problems, research questions, theoretical frameworks, hypothesis, methodologies, research objectives, the scope of research, and systematic research.

CHAPTER II: is a chapter the researcher will attempt to explain the history of Indonesia maritime.

CHAPTER III: is a chapter that the researcher will attempt to explain the cooperation between Indonesia and the United States in the maritime field and the meaning of Indonesia's strategic position.

CHAPTER IV: is a chapter that explains Indonesia's national interests in building maritime cooperation with the United States, which includes Indonesia having the vision to become the world's maritime axis. Also, Indonesia wants to improve maritime security, protect the oceans, and promote sustainable development in the marine sector. Besides that, the researcher will explain the advantages and disadvantages of this collaboration.

CHAPTER V: is the closing chapter and contains conclusions drawn from the overall analysis.