Mohd. Agoes Aufiya | Indonesia’s Global Maritime Fulcrum: Contribution in the Indo-Pacific Region

Indonesia’s Global Maritime Fulcrum: Contribution in the Indo-Pacific Region

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Abstract
This research attempted to analyse the effectiveness of the new policy under the President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) which is called as “Global maritime fulcrum” or poros maritim dunia as approach in contributing Indo-Pacific region stability. The policy has strong maritime sense linkages inspired by Indonesia’s past maritime kingdom such as Majapahit and Sriwijaya glory, hence the new government try to revive the maritime identity in the nation-state to achieve national interest not only for domestic development but importantly also for stability in the region. As the relatively new policy at the time, the research try a preliminary assessment within two years of Jokowi administration. The effectiveness of this policy will be assessed no how the policy were implemented dan responded to deal with challenges in the Indo-Pacific region including the domestical sphere. The discussion will be followed with the concluding remarks for suggestion on the policy including evalutions as well as recommendations.

Key Words: Maritime, Indo-Pacific, Indonesia, Joko Widodo, Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), Sea Toll.

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Research Method

In the research would use qualitative approach which combine descriptive and analytical method. The study seeks analyze the basis of the Indonesian foreign policy from its dual focus on bebas dan aktif to one that is more focused on engaging across a wide range of issues. The research aims to explain (how and why) the relations between the foreign policy and the objective of the global maritime fulcrum can contribute toward stability in Indo-Pacific region. In data collection, library research as well as primary and secondary sources would be gathered from reports, agreements, declarations, books, articles, newspaper and electronic websites. Given that the topic is relatively new, the scholar also seeks to enhance his work through expert interviews which will contribute as primary sources as well.

Understanding Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy

The background behind Indonesia government under Jokowi administration on the foreign policy of “Poros maritim dunia” or global maritime fulcrum (GMF) has several motivating factors on why the new government chooses as one of its primary motto on foreign policy in international arena. First, not surprisingly in the historical background, it is believed that the ancestor of Indonesian mainly that the Sriwijaya and Majapahit empires at 14th century and 16th century six hundred developed powerful fleets to conquer not only in local seas in Indonesia region but it expanded upto the southern Thailand and the Philippines, this became the source of the spirit of Indonesia maritime identity which is being reiterated in the country to enact the GMF policy today1. Second, geographically, Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelagic state with vast territory which has 1,826,440 square kilometres of land and 2.8 million square kilometres of water with 92,877 sq. km of inland waters with 18,108 islands. Further, the country expanded its territory under the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) by 7.9 million square kilometres (Cribb & Ford, 2009). Another factor makes this become more significant, because its strategic value from natural resources such as timber, petroleum, natural gas, tin, nickel, copper, coal and even fisheries.2

Third, in terms of geo-strategic position, Indonesia lies in the very strategic

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2 Geoffrey Till, 2015
and dynamic location, which situated between two oceans, namely Indian ocean and Pacific Ocean. In this position, Indonesia could be seen as “bridge” of the two oceans where lies between Indian Oceans in the Asian continent and the Pacific in Australian continent which is possesses four from the seven the world major maritime sea lanes of communication (SLOC’s) namely Sunda Strait, Makassar Strait, Lombok Strait and more importantly is Malacca strait which plays very important role for movement trade for several countries. Within this reality, it reflects within Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia’s ‘strategic centrality’ related with economic, political and military linkages particularly from major until middle power such as the United States, India, Australia, China Japan and South Korea which vitally considering the stability, foreign policy and geopolitical thinking in Jakarta.3

In the context of Jokowi’s administration, to understand the global maritime fulcrum (GMF) policy foreign policy background on today’s challenges, could be tracked in the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla 2014’s vision, mission and action program on the title “Jalan perubahan untuk Indonesia yang berdaulat, mandiri dan berkepribadian” (alteration/revolution way for Indonesian sovereign, independent and personality) as candidate of president and vice-president in the election time. According to Jokowi’s vision on Indonesia he stated that to establish Indonesian as sovereign, independent and identity based on gotong-royong (mutual cooperation),” which for him could be achieved through his missions namely:

1. Achieving identity as an archipelagic country by securing maritime resources and maintaining territorial sovereignty for sustainable and independence economically.
2. Realizing advanced society, sustainable and democratic state based on law.
3. Strengthening maritime nation identity as well as bebas-aktiv as foundation of foreign policy.
4. Improving Indonesia human resource quality to achieve high development, progressive as well as prosperity.
5. Strengthening national competitiveness.
6. Projecting Indonesia as maritime power, advanced and independent nation-

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state based on national interests.
7. To create the society based on (Indonesia) cultural personality.⁴

The concept of global maritime fulcrum is also mentioned in the East Asia Summit (EAS) when he was delivering speech in November 2014, Jokowi elaborated the notion by listing the five pillars of the maritime fulcrum, he outlined five missions that would act as the pillars supporting the maritime-fulcrum doctrine:

1. Rebuilding Indonesia’s maritime culture. Indonesia as biggest archipelagic country with 18,000 islands, should realize that the oceans as part of national identity and prosperity which means by good ocean management therefore determines Indonesia’s future.

2. Maintaining and managing marine resources, by the development of a sustainable fishing industry by sovereignty on marine food sector.

3. Prioritizing maritime connectivity and infrastructure development. The program including developing logistical networks and deep seaports, establishing maritime tourism industry, constructing sea highways along the coast of Java and shipping industry.

4. Intensifying maritime diplomacy. This by inviting partner countries to work together on maritime and marine issues in order to reduce and mediating dispute as well as conflicts factors such as territorial disputes, illegal fishing, smuggling, piracy, violations of sovereignty and marine pollution.

5. Strengthening Indonesia’s maritime defense capability. The aim is not merely to maintain Indonesia maritime sovereignty and its natural resources, but also ensuring the safety and peace of the region maritime security.⁵

Indonesia maritime potential as the design of Indonesia geopolitical architecture is called as the ‘strategic trinity’ which consisted with three main aspect namely (1) geo-politics (including socio-political aspect); (2) geo-strategy (including security-military aspects); and (3) geo-economics

⁴ ibid

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(including economic-resources aspects). The GMF coincide with the “strategic trinity” which both of concept similarly focused on political, economy and defence architecture within today’s Indonesia state affair and can project comprehensive national maritime policy.

**Challenges in the Indo-Pacific Region to the GMF Policy**

The Indo-Pacific today which become more relevant and significance today. There are at least two definitions regarding the concept of Indo-Pacific, first, geographically, it means as “triangular spanning of two ocean” where Indonesia in between the strategic the Indian and Pacific Ocean as well as at the heart of geographical position notable maritime powers in the region particularly Australia in the southeast, Japan in the north and India in the southwest. Second, more importantly geo-strategically, the region increasingly interdependence in security and economic linkages which interrelated geopolitical linkages among the nation-states where every significant change will affect other element in the region (Passarelli, 2014).

As far as the region play significant role in the world economic as well as strategic gravity, there are some serious challenges to the region today. From Indonesian perspective, the former indonesia’s Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa believed that peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region is instrumental in allowing regional countries to pursue economic development, progress and prosperity, however, he underlined three main challenges to the region: First, challenges stemming from ‘trust deficits’; Second, the challenge of unresolved territorial claims; Third is the challenge of managing change in the Indo-Pacific region which could not be resisted (Natalegawa, 2013).

Putting Marty’s argument in line with the facts that the region has specific problems namely, first, the South China Sea dispute which Today, South China Sea dispute becomes the most disturbance issues

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in the Indo-Pacific and could be considered as the most challenging issues which may affect other aspect in the region. China’s assertiveness movement in regard to direct maritime territorial disputes with other countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Japan, Brunei, the Philippine in the South China Sea and in some extent Indonesia under the background of natural resources interest in the South China Sea particularly fisheries, hydrocarbon as well as territorial extension potentially increase regional strategic tensions driven in large part, not only to the region stability order, but also including Indonesia.\textsuperscript{9}

\textit{Second}, Non-traditional security threat including terrorism, illegal fishing, drugs, piracy. Non-traditional security threat becomes increasingly occurred in the Indo-Pacific region. Non-traditional security (NTS) issues is defined as threat which emerges from non-military source which endanger the livelihood and survival of the people as well as a nation-state. The form of NTS issue is varied from food shortages, resource scarcity, climate change, irregular migration, infectious disease, natural disasters up to people smuggling, drug trafficking, and transnational crime.\textsuperscript{10} In the Southeast Asia region, the regional stability increasingly is disrupted by the transnational crime as part of non-traditional issues.

\textit{Third}, Global power shifting. The Indo-Pacific region becomes the fulcrum of global geopolitics defined in large part by United States continued role as “predominant power” as well as its strategic role followed by the expanding emerging powers interest such as India and China in the given geographical importance.\textsuperscript{11} In this expanding interests among emerging and predominant powers, there are significant regional security convergences and different degrees of strategic balancing between these major players in Indo-Pacific region, which will rise rivalry between US, China and in some extend India to build regional as well as the new global order. The twenty first century is already witnessing the ‘Rise of South’ particularly ‘China and India’ to global prominence with their sustained growth and fast economic development have shown toward developed North countries and to the predominant power of the present


\textsuperscript{11} ibid
day. The increased global profile of China and India and their power projection jump in international system have established both as a great power and key player of new unfolding game of ‘global power shift’.

Furthermore, As GMF has strong economic aspect to implement it successfully, some thinker believes that the most challenging hurdle for GMF is from domestic challenges in the country itself particularly in political, economic and strategic aspects. Jokowi mentioned three fundamental problems of Indonesia, the first is corruption, second is an inefficient bureaucracy, and the last is infrastructure. Second, weak infrastructure and financial. Infrastructure development gap still happened in Indonesia, currently economic development programs among regions in Indonesia are still focus in Java Island. This is evident from the contribution rate of economic growth in Java which reached 58%. Third, underdeveloped naval and coast guard. Indonesia relatively far for ideal force particularly in Air Force (TNI AU) and Naval Force (TNI AL) within its vast territory. The Chief General of Indonesia National Army (TNI) Gatot Nurmantyo underlined that the strength of the army and main weaponry system (Alutsista) in several outer islands and Indonesia’s border is still minimal which affected on national security and defense. This could be a problem for TNI if the state of territory could not controlled against any countries.¹²

The GMF Policy Implementations and Responds to the Region Challenges

The key Implementation of global maritime fulcrum fundamentally in realizing the global maritime fulcrum is to support the president's ambition could be realized through the concept of sea toll over the next five years. The sea toll is a six-lane highway freeway which will connect the ports throughout Indonesia. By the sea tolls, it is expected that the Indonesian people in various part of the archipelago will no longer experience the scarcity of commodities. In its implementation, sea toll program starting from 2015 and until June 2016, there are six sea toll lanes from western to eastern Indonesia, as the Government has established 24 ports as Marine Link Nodes with support 47 non-commercial ports and 41 ports are under construction. The government's target is to

have 100 ports built by 2019. The government also provided ships which are 3 ships by 2015 and 30 vessels are targeted by 2016. In addition to the construction of ports, the development of airports is also accelerated as “Air Bridge”. By 2016, nine airports have been developed to have higher standards, and six airports have been officially opened by 2016.\(^\text{13}\)

As result of this basic implementation of GMF, rice price in East Indonesia costs down 22 percent compared to before the sea toll operated. Sugar price is reduced 28 percent compared to before the sea tolls, bulk cooking oil is reduced 15 percent, wheat flour 29 percent, chicken meat 28 percent, eggs 49 percent, plywood 17 percent, cement 22 percent. The Minister of Transportation, Budi Karya assessed that this program could had an impact on the decline in the price of goods 10% to 50%. However, this program will continue to be developed until it can be felt equal price in various regions.\(^\text{14}\)

In responding to regional challenges in Indo-Pacific, the GMF policy has responded the challenges. First, respond to South China Sea dispute, President Jokowi stressed Indonesia's unchanging stance over the conflict that can play as contributor for stability and peace in the South China Sea security. In another word, Jokowi wants all parties should prioritize peaceful settlement of disputes.\(^\text{15}\) Within ASEAN circle, Jokowi encourage the ASEAN members and China to respect the International Law, particularly the United Nation on Law of Sea or UNCLOS in 1982. Jokowi urges the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea 'DOC), encouraged the implementation of the South China Sea 'Code for Unlimited Encounters at Sea' (CUES) and Communication (Hotline Communication) in the South China Sea as well as the real implementation of the EAS Statement on Enhancing Regional Maritime Cooperation agreement on 2015.

Second, on his approach to manage the rivalry in the global power shifting, Indonesia’s status as middle power could be considered to use two approaches to manage


the global power shifting in the region, namely by multilateral approach and bilateral approach. In multilateral approach, Indonesia uses ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asia Nations) with several mechanisms by involving the member and partner countries to build coalitions in multilateral forums such ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), ADMM Plus (ASEAN Defense Ministrial Meeting) and importantly EAS (East Asia Summit) to reduce domination and rivalry of the great power. Indonesia also intesified its commitment in the Indian Ocean Rim (IORA) by contributing to build the India Ocean architecture within its chair tenure during 2015-2017 as part of president Jokowi’s Nawa Cita (nine strategic program) within global maritime fulcrum (GMF), this role was reflected in Indonesia initiation and involvement to promote economic market and investment within the IORA commitment. In Bilateral level engagement, Indonesia under President Jokowi explores another strategy to reduce regional challenge by engaging China mainly in economic aspect and United States in defense aspect for bilateral level strategy. This statement reflected that Jokowi puts balance relations between two powers in order avoid dependency to sole one power as well as balance relations.

Third, Respond to Non-Traditional Security Threat which will be divide into three part. First, terrorism, In the government's efforts to tackle terrorism, the government strengthened the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) as the main instrument undertakes two approaches namely continuously making efforts to control and reduce radicalism by soft approach and hard approach. Based on BNPT reports, the agency has arrested 170 suspected terrorists during 2016. The number has increased 107 percent compared to 2015 which is 82 cases. In the counter-terrorism operation throughout 2016, 33 suspected terrorist died and 40 others have been convicted by the court. It is proven that the Indonesian authorities succeeded in thwarting the nine terrorist acts throughout 2016 that the world has appreciated.

To overcome illegal fishing, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) as the front guard. Several strategies were formulated by KKP Minister Susi Pujiastuti to develop marine and fisheries sector based on three pillars, namely sovereignty, sustainability, and prosperity. The KKP implemented moratorim and fishery reforms to restore the exploitation of
fish to a reasonable level as it lasts for a long time and it is proven that the impact of the KKP’s moratorium policy has succeeded in reducing fish exploitation by 35 percent (Widyanita, 2016). The effort to enforce the IUU eradication is under the coordination of “Task Force 155.”

Associated with the development of the national fishery industry, Jokowi said that the government has started construction of Central Marine and Fisheries Integrated (SKT) Strait of Lampa which will be completed in the end of 2016 followed by 10 other areas. By those regulation, the rate of fish exploitation in Indonesia has decreased between 30 and 35 percent, thus enabling to increase the national fish stock from 7.3 million tons in 2013 to 9.9 million tons in 2015. Even Throughout the first half of 2016, domestic fishery products increased 7.34 percent over the same period last year. During the implementation of the foreign ship moratorium policy of November 2014-November 2015, there was a decrease of production in the fishing port of foreign/foreign ships where the worst incident occurred in the Tual Fisheries Port (VAT) of Tual, Southeast Maluku by 99 percent to 149 tons in 2015, on the contrary with 10 local shipbuilding ports rose by 76 percent in 2015 (Widyanita, 2016).

Task Force 115 Throughout 2016 has conducted the arrest of 781 fishing illegal vessels mostly from Vietnam. Since Susi has served as a minister, KKP has sunk 236 fishing boats (Suara, 2016).

Third, Drugs problem. National Narcotics Agency (BNN) as the spearhead of the government fighting against illegal drugs. The entry of narcotics into the country relatively easy, especially due to the length of the coast of Indonesia which affect the surveillance of the small ports. Based on the BNN report which dealing with drug cases, the prevalence of narcotics abuse rates in student groups addicts that have been decreased in the last ten years. In 2006 the number reached 8.1 percent, when in 2016 decreased more than half to 3.6 percent. According to BNN, prevention and rehabilitation is one of the key efforts in reducing the prevalence of narcotics abuse. The drug case also related to money laundering case, from drug trafficking that has been revealed by BNN, with the confiscation of assets reached Rp 263 billion, derived from 21 cases of 30 suspects. Throughout 2016, the number of narcotics cases reached 807 with the suspects arrested by BNN around 1238 people, consisting of 1,217 Indonesian and 21 foreign nationals. Compared to the 2015
report, the number of cases and suspects in 2016 has increased significantly. By 2015, decisive action has been made with the execution of deaths against 14 drug dealers. The National Narcotics Agency (BNN) has urged the Attorney General to immediately execute 148 death sentences on narcotics cases in the country in 2017.¹⁶

Fourth, piracy and sea robbery. The TNI AL created special task force for maintain security along the waters of the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea. The task force called as Western Fleet Quick Response (WFQR) under the command of the western fleet (Koarmabar). According to International Fusion Center (IFC), Singapore-based sea safety forum stated that crimes in the Malacca Strait fell by 80% over the past 5 years from 300 cases in the Malacca Strait in 2012, this achievement has become the best achievement in the last 5 years. Even, Irawan ensure that throughout 2017, the waters of the Strait of Malacca and Kepri in zero piracy incidents. The declining number of piracy and sea robbery in the Riau Islands and Malacca Straits also has gained recognition from the Malaysian Government through the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (APMM / MMEA).

In responding to the Domestic Challenges, the Jokowi administration to solve domestic main problem. In responding corruption, inefficient bureaucracy and regulations, the government's leading effort to prevent corruption is through the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). In 2016, KPK conducted 96 investigation activities, 99 investigations, and 77 prosecution activities, both new cases and the rest of the handling of cases in the previous year. In addition, the execution of 81 judicial decisions that have permanent legal force. More than 497.6 billion rupiah has been put into the state treasury in the form of PNBP (non-tax state revenue) from corruption cases. In the Coordination and Supervision of Fields of Action, the KPK has coordinated 163 cases, from 76 cases targeted in 2016. While supervision is conducted on 201 cases, out of 156 targeted cases. Among the cases handled, there are 17 cases resulting from Direct Corruption Operation (OTT), which in 2016 is the highest number of OTT in KPK history.¹⁷


A significant effort in reducing bureaucratic inefficiency was the government issued 13 packages of economic policy. President Jokowi also officially abolished thousands of local regulations (perda) that hampered economic growth and contradicted the regulations made by the central government by canceling 3,143 local regulation in provincial level. In addition, the government achieved success in reducing loading and unloading time in ports (dwelling time) currently on average for 3.3 days (Antara, 2016). In Priok port dwell time reaches 3.1-3.2 days. Compare to 2013, the dwelling time had reached 6.7 days.

Second, responding weak infrastructure and financial. President Joko Widodo stated that the acceleration of development is necessary. Acceleration of development includes two things, logistics infrastructure including roads, ports, airports, and railways and the acceleration of strategic infrastructure development includes power generation, telecommunications, irrigation, and public housing. The government has also announced the construction of 2,650 kilometers of roads, 3,258 kilometers of railways, 24 ports, 15 new airports, it is also being built train for urban transportation such as Mass Rapid Transportation (MRT), Light Rail Train (LRT), as well as commuter line. In addition, the electrical infrastructure in which targeted an addition 20,000 MW is expected to be realized until 2019. In agriculture sector 2016, an acceleration of completion of 22 reservoirs under construction, 8 new reservoirs, 387 new retention basin and rehabilitation of 71 retention basins. The expansion plan of agricultural area and rice field is 144,613 hectares. The government also will build and rehabilitate tertiary irrigation networks for 200 thousand hectares of paddy fields.

As infrastructure investment is needed at least Rp 6,500 trillion, which is only 25% or around Rp 1.638 trillion investment requirement could be provided from national budget (Suprapto, 2014). Government efforts to meet the infrastructure budget generally use two strategies other than foreign debt. Firstly, the Government has slashed unnecessary

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budgets by enlarging fiscal space derived from reductions in energy subsidies and then the funds uses for infrastructure development to finance the financial gap of government infrastructure. Second, financing for infrastructure development utilize the non-governmental budget such as private sector, state-owned company (BUMN), as well as government-private sector cooperation under the government guarantees. In 2016, BUMN investments are targeted at Rp 410.2 trillion, of which there are 62 strategic projects with a project value of Rp 347 trillion. The value of BUMN investment will continue to be enlarged with the result that in 2019 could reach up to Rp764 Trillion. While the other 75% financing should be sought from other parties such as state-owned companies and private parties.

Third, responding underdeveloped naval and coast guard. To realize the world's maritime fulcrum requires strong sovereignty through the strength of the Indonesian military, mainly the Naval Force (TNI AL) as well as related institution such as Bakamla (the Marine Security Agency or Coast Guard) to ensure security and law enforcement in the territory of Indonesia. President Joko Widodo targets by 2024, TNI could meet the minimum basic strength of defense posture for the Army, Air Force, and Navy. Based on data obtained the total value of the budget of the arms spending reached about US $ 7.74 billion until 2019. In detail, first, the Army procurement plan to have heavy weapons such as tanks, helicopters of invasion and special infantry weaponry with a total budget US $ 1.51 billion. Second, the navy will purchase marine weapons, such as submarines, warships, maritime surveillance system for security of potentially conflicting sites, and other weapons under the budget approximately US $ 3.27 billion. Third, the Air Force will procure fighter jets, heavy transport aircraft, missile defense systems and radar systems with a total defense value of up to US $ 2.85 billion. In this case, it has begun to appear that the government is seriously increasing the capability of Indonesian defense (Kontan, 2016). Therefore, to realize the global maritime fulcrum vision in the defense aspect is required TNI AL or Indonesia Naval Force strategy in the amid limited defensive budgets to protect Indonesia's sovereignty with four main strategies namely: (i) Modernization of the major weapon system (alutsista); (ii) Restructuring of marine fleet command; (iii) The domestic defense industry; (iv) Maritime surveillance; (v)
Maritime defense diplomacy; (vi) Strengthening Indonesia Coast Guard (Bakamla).

**Conclusion**

Within two years Jokowi administration assessment has reflected the approach of GMF in the regional stability which could be considered by strengthening economic development and defence capability in domestic level while in the same time balancing the great power rivalry by multilateral and bilateral act in international level. This approach could be understood because of the implementation of bebas-aktif principle under global maritime fulcrum foreign policy. Another important aspect is that Indonesia plays middle power role which tends to pursue multilateral diplomacy on constructive manner to approach issues of regional stability and management.

Despite relatively good progress in the implementation of GMF, there are three potential projections in the future to increase regional stability possibilities today, namely:

1. Increasing maritime organization participation including IORA or other forums to resolve the non-traditional as well as traditional threat in maritime issues and to increase good coordination with other countries.

2. Creating grand design of Indonesia’s maritime policy which encompasses all potential maritime aspect of Indonesia such as tourism, maritime infrastructure, energy, defense and others to sustain the policy as path of the country.

3. Collaboration between GMF and OBOR to overcomes financial problem & increasing confidence building to manage China assertiveness in SCS. Other cooperation with other maritime countries also have potential collaboration to increase Indonesia maritime policy development.

The effectiveness of the policy toward domestic challenges, such as (i) corruption, Inefficient Bureaucracy & Regulations; (ii) weak infrastructure and finance; and (iii) underdeveloped naval & coast guard, seems in the good progress, however the corruption still as the main problem of the country to develop better. The corruption become more difficult task when backed by political party which will possible to weaken the KPK in the parliament process. Another challenge is the financial source to implement infrastructure.

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20 See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkApphZzA4Y a CNN Indonesia Interview with Head TNI AL Ade Supandi
program of GMF which tend to highly dependent to the private and foreign countries loan to build the infrastructure while the government also try to increase domestic loan or collaboration with private investment. The Indonesia Coast Guard (Bakamla) as new agency importantly need to be upgraded to defend Indonesia’s sovereign water from any intrusion particularly from non-state actor to reduce NTS threats toward the country.

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