

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

As the biggest archipelagic state in the world, Indonesia has over ten thousands of islands that are connected by its seas within the state territory. Indonesia's waters hold their own significant values as they are blessed with abundant natural resources, rich marine biodiversity and even paradise-like islands that deliver Indonesia to top international tourism destinations. For its civilians, the country's waters serve as backbone to sustain their livelihoods, from finding food and jobs through fisheries for example. Moreover, due to Indonesia's strategic location, the archipelagic country is located between Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean and is also located closely to Malacca Strait where many ships go through in delivering their often high-value goods. This strategic location gives Indonesia advantages because many international ships will go nearby Indonesia and it may give access for Indonesia to expand its trading relations with other countries and companies, even the ones who are located on the other side of the Earth. These attributes open up excellent potentials for Indonesia to highlights its maritime aspect and turn it into one of the country's strengths.

Fortunately for Indonesia, the country's policies and regulations on its maritime and territorial waters have been developing since the birth of Djuanda Declaration back in 1957 which declares the state's territorial waters. The latest development for Indoensia's maritime came from President Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo. In 2014, during his

presidential inauguration speech President Widodo claimed that for too long, the country had been turning its back on Indonesia's maritime and his visions to turn Indonesia as a maritime state back.¹ President Widodo's vision for Indonesia's maritime visions are inspired by former President Soekarno's spirit to make Indonesia a great maritime state.² Shortly after his speech, his ideas became closer to realization when President Widodo introduced his ambitious visions and direction for Indonesia's maritime future development during East Asia Summit in 2014. Five years later, even though the first administration of President Widodo ended, the efforts to achieve visions of Global Maritime Fulcrum remains and continues. This is shown when Former Minister for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries delivered a message that the newly chosen Minister Edhy Prabowo that he should not turn his back on Indonesia's seas, rather he should continue the vision and mission of President Widodo to achieve Indonesia's vision as Global Maritime Fulcrum and include the seas as part of Indonesia's future.³

Global Maritime Fulcrum itself is a national vision for Indonesia to be a sovereign, developed, independent, secure, as well as having the ability to give positive contributions for regional and global security and peace in accordance to Indonesia's

¹ *Detik*, "Ini Pidato Lengkap Jokowi Saat Pelantikan Presiden", 2014, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2723911/ini-pidato-lengkap-jokowi-saat-pelantikan-presiden>; accessed 14 September 2019.

² "Pesan Menko Luhut Pada Generasi Muda: Cintailah Laut", Ministry Of Maritime Affairs And Fisheries, Last modified 2019, <https://kkp.go.id/artikel/14039-pesan-menko-luhut-pada-generasi-muda-cintailah-laut>; accessed 10 November 2019.

³ "Edhy Prabowo Siap Pimpin KKP Di Kabinet Indonesia Maju", Ministry Of Maritime Affairs And Fisheries, Last modified 2019, <https://news.kkp.go.id/index.php/edhy-prabowo-siap-pimpin-kkp-di-kabinet-indonesia-maju/>; accessed 10 November 2019.

own national interests.⁴ Moreover, Global Maritime Fulcrum is based on seven pillars to achieve the success of turning this vision into reality such as: (1) marine and human resource development; (2) naval defense, maritime security, and security at sea; (3) ocean governance and institutionalization; (4) maritime economy, infrastructure and welfare; (5) environmental protection and open space management; (6) nautical culture; (7) maritime diplomacy.⁵

Indonesia's Defense White Paper also includes Global Maritime Fulcrum in its national defense action plans and managements, especially when it comes to naval defense.⁶ In short, Global Maritime Fulcrum highlights the goals for Indonesia to elevate its maritime power and status by becoming the hub for maritime activities and giving contribution to the regional and global peace and security while holding on to Indonesia's national interests. Hence, it seems that Global Maritime Fulcrum is a national interest on its own although it also comes off as means to achieve other Indonesia's national interests. Moreover, given the strategic geographic location of Indonesia and with the right determined efforts coming from all stakeholders, objectives of Global Maritime Fulcrum are at good potential to be achieved.

⁴ "Presiden Jokowi Teken Perpres Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia", Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, Last modified 2017, <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-teken-perpres-kebijakan-kelautan-indonesia/>; accessed 10 November 2019.

⁵ Evan Laksmana, "Indonesian Sea Policy: Accelerating Jokowi's Global Maritime Fulcrum? | Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative", Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, Last modified 2017, <https://amti.csis.org/indonesian-sea-policy-accelerating/>; accessed September 14 2019.

⁶ Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia, "Indonesia Defence White Paper" Jakarta: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015; available from <https://www.kemhan.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/2015-INDONESIA-DEFENCE-WHITE-PAPER-ENGLISH-VERSION.pdf>; accessed 1 September 2019.

The path that Indonesia ought to take in order to achieve the visions of Global Maritime Fulcrum is clearly not an easy one to take. For instance, Indonesia is blessed with strategic location that it is surrounded with several neighbor countries and closely located to a strategic commercial shipping routes. Yet, such advantage could also have its own treacherous inevitable impact that can not be overlooked. In which, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia's position is so strategic that it makes Indonesia vulnerable to various forms transnational crimes that can threaten Indonesia's national interests and sovereignty which includes fisheries crimes.⁷

As a country which islands are connected by seas and waters, Indonesia still faces several maritime security challenges. One of the maritime security challenges that Government of Indonesia is tackling includes illegal, undocumented and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) that are committed by foreign actors or foreign fishermen. The aftermath of IUU fishing could be devastating for Indonesia because the loss caused is not only from economic aspects. Rather, the damages could also affect the marine environment and rich biodiversity that Indonesia possesses. According to President Widodo, Indonesia loses 101 trillion rupiah yearly which happened in 2014 due to rampant IUU fishing.⁸ It was also reported that Indonesia's 1200 marine species had faced decrease due to the massive IUU fishing that has

⁷ "Special Issues: Transnational Crime", Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, Last modified 2019, https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/89/halaman_list_lainnya/transnational-crime; accessed 14 November 2019.

⁸ "Kerugian Negara Akibat Illegal Fishing, 101 Triliun Rupiah!", Ministry Of Maritime Affairs And Fisheries, Last modified 2015, <https://news.kkp.go.id/index.php/kerugian-negara-akibat-illegal-fishing-101-triliun-rupiah/>; accessed 15 September 2019.

occurred over the years.⁹ Because the number of IUU fishing crimes happen frequently and often times it is conducted by foreign actors, this could be a serious threat for Indonesia's maritime security and its Global Maritime Fulcrum visions.

In the other hand, maritime security challenges also come from a violent terrorist group, Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) from the Southern Philippines. ASG itself is a radical terrorist/jihadist group that is notorious for being responsible over starting the Battle of Marawi back in 2017 as well as other crimes at sea such as maritime piracy, armed robberies and attacks against ships/vessels, and also abductions of ship crew members. Due to the long history of kidnappings for ransom and terrorist attacks in the Philippines, ASG has received supports from terrorist group Al-Qaeda and ASG has been designated as foreign terrorist group by the United States.¹⁰ As Indonesia is geographically located close to the Southern part of the Philippines, this makes it likely for Indonesia to prone to maritime terrorism attacks from ASG. Just recently in April 2019, an Indonesian fisherman, Heri Ardiansyah finally returned to Indonesia after he was abducted by Abu Sayyaf Group when he was sailing through Kinabatangan River in Malaysia, near the Philippines' Tawi-Tawi Islands in December 2018.¹¹ However, it is not the only case of ASG attacks on Indonesian's ships. Back in 2016, about 10 Indonesian ship crew members of a tugboat called *Brahma 12* by ASG members in

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Joe Cochrane, "Indonesian Sailors Kidnapped By Pirates In Philippines", *NY Times*, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/30/world/asia/indonesia-philippines-abu-sayyaf-brahma-hijacking.html>; accessed September 23 2019.

¹¹ Agnes Agya, "Last RI Survivor Returns Despite Losing Friend In Liberation From Abu Sayyaf", *The Jakarta Post*, 2019, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/04/12/last-ri-survivor-returns-despite-losing-friend-in-liberation-from-abu-sayyaf.html>; accessed 23 September 2019.

around Philippines' waters.¹² The list of cases about attacks and kidnappings for ransoms that relate to ASG members would go on. Surely, even though ASG itself is not originally from Indonesia, the threats they cause and crimes they conduct has been costly and put maritime security at stake. In addition, due to the capabilities of ASG and frequent attacks that they have conducted, maritime terrorism threats coming from ASG should not be undermined or underestimated.

At a glance, IUU fishing and maritime terrorism seem to be very different types of maritime security challenges. By its background and context, IUU fishing seems to be more related to economic matters while maritime terrorism could be driven by political-security matters. However, looking at the recent cases from these two maritime security challenges, I see that there is a necessity to asses and analyze on how IUU fishing and maritime terrorism may stand as challenges against the grand vision of Global Maritime Fulcrum. Moreover, IUU fishing and maritime terrorism that occur within Indonesia's territorial waters are conducted by foreign actors making them stand as an external threats towards the country. Hence, as one of the pillars of Global Maritime Fulcrum calls for maritime security, it is important to explore, examine and figure out how any kind of maritime security challenges inside Indonesia's waters that can affect Global Maritime Fulcrum. In which, this research has chosen to explore how IUU fishing and maritime terrorism—despite their differences—stand as threats

¹² Cochrane, *op. cit.*

towards Global Maritime Fulcrum itself due to its recent reoccurrences and cases within Indonesia's territorial waters.

To conclude, it is indeed a bold and optimistically ambitious move from Indonesia to come up with grand visions that are laid in Global Maritime Fulcrum. Moreover, the seriousness from Indonesia to achieve and realize the national visions within the President Widodo's maritime doctrine is not to be underestimated. In which, it can be seen from Indonesia's real strategies and policy implementation to realize those national visions that follow. Even though Indonesia has the capabilities and what it takes to turn visions of Global Maritime Fulcrum become reality, certainly there will be challenges that Indonesia has to handle and overcome first. One of those challenges is transnational crimes that threaten Indonesia's maritime security such as IUU fishing and maritime terrorism. These two types of transnational crimes can stand as maritime security challenges towards Global Maritime Fulcrum for many reasons. For example, both IUU fishing and maritime terrorism show their positions as maritime security challenges and their relevancy towards Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum. Moreover, for IUU fishing in Indonesia, the frequency of its reoccurrences and economic loss because of it can be concerning. While for maritime terrorism, the threats perceived from them could possibly challenge the maritime security pillar of Global Maritime Fulcrum. This also raises the questions regarding responses from Government of Indonesia towards IUU fishing and maritime terrorism. As these crimes are conducted and operated by foreign actors, this could indicate implications of

Indonesia's responses towards these crimes to Indonesia's relations with their neighboring countries.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the circumstances that have been explained above, this research would like to suggest the following research questions:

1. How do threats of illegal, unreported, unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) and maritime terrorism as transnational crimes challenge the objectives of Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum?
2. How does the Government of Indonesia respond to threats IUU fishing and maritime terrorism?
3. What are the implications of Indonesia's strategies and maritime policies to counter threats of IUU fishing and maritime terrorism towards Indonesia's relations with its neighboring countries?

1.3 Research Objectives

In a general, the main study of this research is about relations between a state and non-state actors that challenge the state's national interests and how the state's actions affect their relations with neighboring country. Whereas, for this research I have chosen the case of how IUU fishing and maritime terrorism that stand as maritime security challenges towards the objectives of Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum. As the actors of these transnational crimes are foreigners, Indonesia's counter measures

and strategies in handling those crimes may affect relations with Indonesia's neighboring countries. Even though transnational crimes that occur in Indonesia, especially Indonesia's territorial waters are not limited to IUU fishing and maritime terrorism, I have chosen to focus on those two for this research.

Hence, there are three main objectives of this research. The first objective is to explore, analyze and give detailed description on how IUU fishing and maritime terrorism can challenge the objectives of Indonesia's vision to be Global Maritime Fulcrum, responses and strategies from Government of Indonesia to counter those threat and its implication towards Indonesia's relations with their neighboring countries.

Secondly, this thesis hopes to achieve its objective to study about relationship between state and non-state actors through the case of how Indonesia deals with threats of maritime terrorism and illegal fishing in order to defend their interests in the objectives of Global Maritime Fulcrum. In which, this research aims to study the dynamics between state and non-state actors that are involved in the case and how their responses may have certain impact towards one another. Moreover, this thesis hopes to study the relevance of theory and concepts from the field of International Relations.

Thirdly, the objective of this thesis also include giving fresh perspective, understanding and insights about strategies that Indonesia has applied in order to realize the visions of Global Maritime Fulcrum despite the existence of external threats such as IUU fishing and maritime terrorism and the implications of those strategies to Indonesia's neighbor countries.

1.4 Research Contribution

Following the research objectives that have been listed above, I am going to mention the several contributions this thesis hopes to give. Firstly, I hope this research about Global Maritime Fulcrum and transnational crimes could contribute to never-ending development of International Relations studies, especially on the matter about relations between state and non-state actors that challenge their interests and the impact towards state-to-state relations. Secondly, I hope this thesis could give contribution by providing insights about IUU fishing and maritime terrorism that threaten Indonesia's maritime security and objectives of Global Maritime Fulcrum. Thirdly, I wish that this thesis could give positive contribution through achieving the mentioned research objectives above to individuals who are keen in International Relations studies, students, and scholars. In which, I hope that this research could give them new knowledge and insights that can be useful and beneficial for them personally and educationally.

Last but not least, I am optimistic that this research could give contribution for creating policies and regulations in the future, especially the ones that are related in dealing with transnational crimes and/or strengthening maritime security. I am also hopeful that perhaps results of this research could be used for future policy-makings related to development of Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum as well as the country's maritime policies in general. Last but not the least, I also hope that this

research could help the students and research of International Relations in the upcoming age.

1.5 Structure of Writing

In this section, I will briefly explain the contents of each chapter of this research. The first chapter serves as the introduction to this research which contains a general summary of the main topic of this thesis. The first chapter will include the background of the topic of this thesis, the research questions that I will attempt to address and answer, as well as the objectives and contribution of this thesis.

The second chapter serves as the theoretical framework for this thesis. Whereas, in this chapter, theory and concepts of International Relations that are relevant and used as fundamental base to analyze how IUU fishing and maritime terrorism challenge the objectives of Global Maritime Fulcrum and strategies that Government of Indonesia uses to counter those crimes and the implications of those strategies towards Indonesia's relations with neighboring countries will be elaborated. The second chapter also contains literature review that compares and summarizes preceding studies and existing scholarly articles on pillars and objectives of Global Maritime Fulcrum, maritime terrorism, IUU fishing and relations between Indonesia and their neighboring countries.

The methodology of this research will be elaborated and explained in the third chapter of this thesis. Whereas, this chapter will provide rigorous explanation on the research approach, method and technique that will be used for data collection or the

process of collecting information and gathering data needed to properly answer research questions of this thesis. Lastly, this chapter will provides method for data analysis that will be used in order to analyze collected data and information and eventually answer the research questions.

Discussion of this research will be contained in the fourth chapter. In which, chapter four will be the pinnacle of this thesis because this chapter provides analysis and presents all gathered and collected data about maritime terrorism, IUU fishing, Global Maritime Fulcrum, Indonesia's strategies and its diplomatic implications. Whereas, those data will be discussed and analyzed in a systematic manners that begin from external threats, to Indonesia's responses towards those threats as well as its applications and finally the implications of those strategies to Indonesia's relations with neighboring countries. Moreover, this chapter will also analyzes how concepts and chosen theory of International Relations will relate and apply to the case of this thesis. Finally, the result of the analysis will serve as answers of brought research questions in the beginning of this thesis.

The final chapter of this thesis will be the fifth chapter, which is the conclusion and recommendations. Whereas, this chapter will summarize and conclude analysis from the discussion in the previous chapter. It will also conclude this thesis in general and provides recommendation for future related studies and also recommendation for Government of Indonesia that can be adopted in order to come out with future strategies in handling IUU fishing and maritime terrorism.