

Building A National Defense System To Address Marine Pollution Through Maritime Diplomacy And Address Threats In The South China Sea

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Abstract – Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world and has the potential to become the world's maritime axis. One of the five pillars initiated by President Joko Widodo is maritime diplomacy which is necessary in realizing maritime security. Threats to maritime security are not bound by national borders, and therefore require international cooperation built through maritime diplomacy. One of the maritime threats occurring in Indonesia today is marine pollution. To deal with this threat, Indonesia has cooperated with several countries, including the Philippines and Australia. Indonesia as an archipelago that is in a cross position between two continents and two oceans has both great advantages and threats, so national defense is needed to answer real maritime threats. The SCS is a strategic area bordering Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC, which has a high potential for conflict. Indonesia has been dragged into the SCS dispute since 2010, after China claimed Indonesia's EEZ in the northern Natuna Islands. This research is a qualitative research that uses the literature study method, so that the data obtained is secondary data analyzed with interactive techniques. The results showed that the synergy between the the Indonesia Armed Forces and the people in facing threats in the SCS can be realized through the Navy's escort to Natuna fishermen so that they can fish more freely.

Keywords – South China Sea; Natuna Sea; fishermen; people; National Army of the Republic of Indonesia

I. INTRODUCTION

As an archipelagic country, Indonesia is located in a cross position between two continents (Asia and Australia) and two oceans (Hindia and Pacific) which provides great advantages as well as threats. Forms of military threats according to the Indonesian Defense White Book (Kemhan RI, 2008) can be in the form of aggression, armed rebellion, sabotage, espionage, acts of armed terror, communal conflicts, sea and air security threats, and territorial violations. Maritime defense is needed to answer maritime threats that cannot be carried out by marine military forces alone, but must be carried out in an integrated manner with other military forces, and involve all elements of non-military defense forces in a universal defense system in the maritime domain (Susmoro, 2019).

The South China Sea (SCS) is a strategic area bordering Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC (People's Republic of China). In some parts, there are overlapping jurisdictions between claimant states (Brunei Darussalam, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and PRC), which makes the potential for conflict in this region quite high (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013).

Indonesia has been dragged into the SCS dispute since 2010, after China claimed Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in the northern Natuna Islands. China's unilateral claim continued and culminated in 2016 when Chinese fishing vessels

conducted illegal fishing activities in Natuna waters. China's assertive actions intersect with Indonesia's national interests, so the Indonesian government seeks to secure its national interests in Natuna even though Indonesia is not a disputing country (Sulistiyani, Pertiwi, & Sari, 2021).

II. METHODS

This research is qualitative research, which is research whose findings are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation (Strauss & Corbin, 2003). Qualitative research is descriptive and tends to use analysis with an inductive approach (Noor, 2011).

This research is also a library research, which is research conducted by collecting information and data with the help of various kinds of library materials such as books, previous research, articles, notes, and various journals related to the problem to be solved. Activities are carried out systematically to collect, process, and conclude data using certain techniques to find answers to the problems discussed (Sari & Asmendri, 2020). So that the data used is secondary data, namely data that has been collected by other parties and researchers can search for this data through other sources related to the data to be sought (Kuncoro, 2009).

Then the data is analyzed using interactive techniques, namely data analysis that is carried out interactively and continuously until completion. The steps in the analysis consist of data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014).

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Defense science is a science that studies how to manage national resources and strength in times of peace, war, and after the war, to face threats from outside and within the country, both in the form of military and non-military threats to territorial integrity, state sovereignty, and the safety of the entire nation in order to realize national security (Suprayitno, 2014).

In the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 on the Indonesian National Army, Article 1, Paragraph 5, it is stated that national defense is all efforts to uphold the state, maintain the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and protect the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state, prepared by considering the geographical conditions of Indonesia as an archipelago.

The SCS is a contested area because it has strategic value as Sea Lines of Trade (SLOT) and Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) that connect the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean, making it the busiest route in the world. In addition, the SCS also has economic value with natural resources in the form of oil and natural gas reserves. This strategic value makes each claimant state try to defend their national interests by carrying out various maneuvers, ranging from China's launch of the nine-dash line map, the Philippines' filing of a lawsuit against China to the UN Permanent Court of Arbitration, to assertive actions such as the construction of artificial islands and China's military presence in the SCS. The complexity of the SCS issue has even made great powers such as the United States present through its military power by increasing the frequency of Freedom of Navigation Operation (FONOPS) activities to oppose China's expansion in the region (Sulistiyani, Pertiwi, & Sari, 2021).

In its development, the SCS conflict also began to drag Indonesia since 2010, after China claimed the northern region of the Natuna Islands, which are Indonesian EEZ waters. Meanwhile, China argues that it has the right to the waters in the Natuna Islands on the basis of the traditional fishing zone argument. China's unilateral claim over Natuna waters continued until it brought Indonesia and China to a tense situation in 2013 and reached its peak in 2016. In March, May and June 2016, a number of Chinese fishing boats sailed into Indonesia's EEZ and conducted a number of illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) activities. The incident occurred again in 2019 and 2020, where this time not only fishing vessels were involved, but the Chinese coast guard also committed similar violations (Sulistiyani, Pertiwi, & Sari, 2021).

In addition to diplomacy, Indonesia is also trying to strengthen its position by developing the Natuna Islands in terms of economic and human development. For example, President Joko Widodo has distributed land certificates to 102 Natuna residents as proof of legal rights to land that already belongs to the Natuna community. In addition, the Indonesian government also encourages fishermen from Java Island to sail in the Natuna Sea. A total of 470 fishermen have agreed to sail in Natuna waters. With the activities in the North Natuna Sea, it is expected to improve the economy of the surrounding community and also become an important point that marks Indonesia's presence in the region and emphasizes that Natuna is an inseparable part of

Indonesia (Sulistiyani, Pertiwi, & Sari, 2021).

The Natuna Sea has abundant natural potential ranging from fish, oil, to natural gas. The low catch of fishermen in Natuna is due to the lack of facilities owned by fishermen, both the size of the ship that is too small, to the absence of radar, GPS (Global Positioning System) and radio communication (Lumbaranrau, 2020). This is reinforced by Edhy's opinion (Idris, 2020) that the lack of fishermen's activities in Natuna is due to high sea waves, making it difficult for ships from Indonesia to be in these waters. So do not be surprised, many foreign ships from China and Vietnam with qualified ship conditions and capacities almost control Natuna waters.

In addition, according to Herman (Yosephine, 2020), some Indonesian fishermen admit that one of the obstacles when fishing in Natuna waters is the presence of foreign fishermen who interfere with fishing activities. Sometimes they are expelled and chased by foreign fishermen, even though the waters are still the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. With more intensive government attention in Natuna waters, in the form of sea surveillance from Indonesian warships, fishermen feel safer and freer to fish. They are more confident to go to sea because they are escorted by warships.

The policy of sending Pantura fishermen to Natuna has also drawn polemics. According to the People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA), the policy shows that the Indonesian government ignores justice for the 7000 fishermen in the traditional Natuna origin. The government should focus on local fishermen by providing capacity building. Mobilizing fishermen from Pantura to Natuna will not solve the country's sovereignty war in the North Natuna Sea. The government should encourage Natuna fishermen to actively fish with assistance from the Marine Security Agency, the Indonesian Navy, Fisheries Supervisory Ships, or the Directorate of Water Police (Ambari, 2020). In addition to the rejection of local fishermen, Pantura fishermen who go to sea in Natuna also experience losses due to small catches (Farid, 2020). The synergy between the the Indonesia Armed Forces and the community in overcoming threats in the SCS can be realized from the Navy's escort to Natuna fishermen who catch fish.

Maritime security can be analyzed in the same way as recognizing relationships with other terms. Maritime security organizes a web of relationships, replacing or incorporating older, well-established concepts, as well as relating to more recently developed ones. At least four of these require consideration: sea power, ocean security, blue economy and human resilience. Each of these concepts leads us to a different dimension of maritime security. The concepts of sea power and ocean safety are century-old understandings of hazards at sea, the latter two emerging at about the same time as maritime security. The core dimensions of human security concern food, shelter, sustainable livelihoods and secure employment. Human security has several maritime dimensions, stretching from the safety of seafarers to the vulnerability of coastal populations to maritime threats more broadly. In particular, the resilience of coastal populations has been identified as a key factor in the emergence of maritime threats and therefore critical in their prevention (Bueger, 2015).

Maritime security has the following characteristics: threats to maritime security are not bound by national borders, and therefore require international cooperation; threat identification is influenced by non-traditional security perspectives because the scope of threats is broad, does not only originate from military forces, and focuses on state actors only; and is determined by a state's construction of security based on its perception of what it considers to be a potential threat to maritime security stability (Kemlu RI, 2016).

The sea is central to Indonesia. As the largest archipelago in the world, Indonesia views the sea as the unifier of the islands in the archipelago. The sea is also seen as a source of national wealth for economic development. In addition, the sea can also act as a medium for national defense. Therefore, it is important for Indonesia to maintain maritime stability and security. The vast sea area also provides its own challenges for Indonesia. Indonesia's seas are prone to criminal acts (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016).

In order to overcome maritime threats, it is necessary to have a common view from various agencies and institutions related to the construction of maritime security in line with Indonesia's interests. This common view can be built through a joint identification process related to understanding the potential of the national sea, the dynamics and development of the region and countries that are Indonesia's neighbors, Indonesia's strengths (especially related to Indonesia's strategic position), and the main threats to Indonesia's maritime security (knowing your potentials, neighbors, power and threats). If it is able to identify each of these points, Indonesia will be able to determine the right strategies and instruments to overcome national maritime security

threats (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016).

Globalization plays a role in driving increased global economic activity, including increased production, trade and distribution activities of developing countries in Asia. As a result, trade traffic and transportation of goods are also increasing, especially those that use sea routes. Along with these developments, the sea has also become increasingly vulnerable to maritime security threats that are increasingly complex and transboundary in nature. However, each country has a different perception of maritime security threats. What is considered a threat by one country is not necessarily considered a threat by another country. Based on the transboundary and constructive characteristics of maritime security threats, international cooperation is needed to overcome common threats and build a common perception of maritime security threats. In the process, the implementation of maritime security diplomacy is carried out at various levels, namely at the bilateral, regional and international levels (Kemlu RI, 2016).

At the bilateral level, maritime security cooperation involves two countries and is built on aligned interests. Bilateral cooperation is considered more productive due to the absence of complexity of interests and membership. Furthermore, the parties involved in cooperation can easily determine the targets of cooperation achievements. In addition to these advantages, bilateral cooperation is also useful, among others, to reduce mistrust between the two countries, especially if the parties are involved in a dispute resolution process (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016).

Pollution of the marine environment is carried out by humans, either directly or indirectly into the marine environment which can result in such adverse effects as damage to the sustainability of marine life so that it is dangerous to human health, disruption of activities at sea including fishing. This will have a negative impact on ecosystems, habitats, marine biota and a decrease in the quality of the coastal environment. The threat of pollution, if not handled properly, can result in increasingly widespread negative impacts on human life and biota (Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

The government has issued Government Regulation No.19 of 1999 concerning the Control of Marine Pollution and/or Destruction. The government regulates the mechanism for reducing marine pollution, including the establishment of a National Coordination Team for handling marine debris. There are several types of marine pollution including; oil spills; marine debris; dumping; industrial waste pollution; and non-oil added vessel accidents at sea. Various parties/sectors have made efforts in overcoming and controlling pollution, but are still sectoral and not integrated. Pollution control in coastal and marine areas cannot be done partially and must involve many parties/sectors in it (Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

Examples of maritime diplomacy in the realm of marine pollution include Indonesia and the Philippines. The potential for oil pollution in the Sulawesi Sea and Sulu Sea has made Indonesia and the Philippines concerned about the impacts that can damage the marine environment and harm the community's economy. To respond to this potential pollution, Indonesia and the Philippines formed international cooperation in the 1981 Sulawesi Sea Oil Spill Response Network MoU and there are efforts to be ready and prepared for oil spills, namely Regional Marpollex. Indonesia and the Philippines are archipelagic countries and both countries are bounded by the Sulu Sea and the Sulawesi Sea. These two sea borders are included in areas that are vulnerable to oil spills because they are traversed by tankers and fishing boats. The border between Indonesia and the Philippines is bordered by the Sulu Sea and the Sulawesi Sea, which does not receive as much attention as the Malacca Strait (the strait between Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore) because it is considered not to cause excessive concern for the marine environment. However, the level of vulnerability of the border between Indonesia and the Philippines is increasing because the area around the Sulawesi Sea, namely the mainland of the island of Kalimantan (East), has several oil and gas exploration and exploitation activities, and the waters are the Indonesian archipelago Sea Route (ALKI II) so that many commercial ships including VLCC tankers loaded with oil pass through the shipping lane in the Sea. Therefore, Indonesia and the Philippines are cooperating to prevent seawater pollution due to oil waste. Sea water pollution due to this oil waste will cause losses for both countries, oil spills will result in the loss / death of fish which impacts on the loss of fishermen's livelihoods and damage to the marine ecosystem that is inevitable (Permatasari, 2018).

To avoid impacts that can harm the country, cooperation on environmental issues is carried out to protect the maritime borders of Indonesia and the Philippines. This cooperation on environmental issues discusses the agreement on training in dealing

with sea water pollution due to oil waste. This cooperation is carried out as an effort in readiness and preparedness to deal with oil spills at sea as well as to preserve the aquatic environment and ensure coordination and cooperation if there is cross-border pollution as an implementation of the Sulawesi Sea Oil Spill Response Network Plan 1981 MoU cooperation agreement between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia. Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia established cooperation between bordering countries to create a pollution response mechanism. This cooperation in recent years has only been participated in by Indonesia and the Philippines. Malaysia did not participate in the Regional Marpol activities contained in the Sulawesi MoU. The reason for Malaysia's non-participation is unknown to both Indonesia and the Philippines. So the researcher wants to see, how the implementation of Regional Marpol through cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines without Malaysia. The implementation of Regional Marpol by Indonesia and the Philippines is an effort to tackle sea water pollution due to oil waste. Indonesia and the Philippines conduct this cooperation to coordinate readiness and preparedness in overcoming oil spill problems that will occur in the future. In its implementation, to deal with oil pollution, training is carried out to deal with oil spills at sea, this training is carried out by bringing in personnel and ships to simulate countermeasures. Not only that, the implementation is also carried out by sharing information related to oil pollution at the state border (Permatasari, 2018).

Australia and Indonesia also have quite a lot of cooperation regarding preparedness and handling of transboundary marine pollution. Such as discussing the handling of marine pollution virtually with the Australian Maritime Safety Authority (AMSA) (Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, 2021). In addition, Indonesia and Australia also cooperated in resolving the Montara oil pollution case in the Timor Sea which caused economic losses and pollution of the marine environment in Indonesian waters. The stages of diplomacy carried out by Indonesia include communication with Australia and PTTEP Australia and holding meetings in the context of negotiations to overcome the pollution that occurred and the losses experienced by the Indonesian people around the waters of East Nusa Tenggara. The latest effort made by Indonesia is advocacy to the Australian PTTEP oil company (Claresta, 2018).

IV. CONCLUSION

Indonesia has been dragged into the SCS dispute since 2010, after China claimed Indonesia's EEZ in the northern Natuna Islands. One of the Indonesian government's steps in dealing with the conflict was to develop the Natuna Islands in terms of economic and human development, including by sending fishermen from Java to Natuna. However, it caused a polemic where Natuna fishermen rejected the presence of Pantura fishermen. Losses were also experienced by Pantura fishermen when sailing there because of the small catch of fish. The government should pay more attention to Natuna fishermen by strengthening their capacity to sail in Natuna and providing escorts from relevant stakeholders for their safety. The fishermen are often expelled and chased by foreign fishermen. The high waves in Natuna also cause the lack of fishermen activities there so that it is even controlled by foreign fishermen with more adequate ships. The synergy between the Indonesia Armed Forces and the community in overcoming threats in the SCS can be realized from the Navy's escort to Natuna fishermen who catch fish.

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world and has the potential to become the world's maritime axis. One of the five pillars initiated by President Joko Widodo is maritime diplomacy which is necessary in realizing maritime security. Threats to maritime security are not bound by national borders, and therefore require international cooperation built through maritime diplomacy. One of the maritime threats occurring in Indonesia today is marine pollution. To deal with this threat, Indonesia has cooperated with several countries, including the Philippines and Australia.

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