MARITIME SECURITY INCREASES DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN THE WORLD MARITIME AXIS FRAMEWORK

Deny Wirawan

Defense Diplomacy Study Program, Faculty of Defense Strategy, Defense University,

Jl. Salemba Raya No.14, Central Jakarta, Special Capital Region of Jakarta 10430

wirawandeny90@gmail.com

Abstract

President Jokowi, in his vision of the World Maritime Axis, wants Indonesia to return to its nature as a maritime country, where Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world which occupies a strategic position between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean The two oceans constitute a global trade crossing route which is the driving force of the world economy Indonesia's geographic existence between the two oceans benefits Indonesia geo-economically and geostrategically Indonesia's territory also includes the Malacca Strait and the Singapore Strait, which are the two busiest routes globally, making threats and challenges that have their maritime dimensions for Indonesia Ensuring maritime security in national and regional waters is an absolute thing for Indonesia to support global economic stability by trading various commodities in these sea routes In dealing with cross-border maritime security threats, handling by one country is not possible because it is related to the territorial sovereignty of another country, so defense diplomacy becomes one of the main pillars in the development of maritime security in Indonesia Implementing defense diplomacy in addressing maritime security disturbances will gradually increase defense capabilities This article discusses the importance of maritime security in improving Indonesia's defense diplomacy within the framework of the World Maritime Axis, with qualitative research using the content analysis method In discussing this issue, he refers to the maritime security approach and the concept of defense diplomacy.

Keywords: Security Maritime, Defense Diplomacy, World Maritime Axis.

1. Introduction

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world which occupies a strategic position between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean The two oceans are global trade routes that drive the world's economy Indonesia's geographical presence between the two oceans benefits Indonesia geoeconomically and geostrategically Moreover, Indonesia's territory also includes the Strait of Malacca, one of the main transit routes for commodity trade to Asia In 2011, of the 87 million barrels of oil produced daily, an estimated 15.2 million barrels were traded across the Strait of Malacca Meanwhile, according to estimates from the *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development* (UNCTAD) *Review of Maritime Transport* 2011, about half of the total trade by sea is carried through the Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait, and Lombok Strait each year With the increasing economic growth of the region, the strategic value of the Malacca Strait and the surrounding marine area will also increase, including for Indonesia (Tomas Hirst, 2016).

The Indonesian sea's strategic position and wealth are valuable assets for the Indonesian people. The management and utilization of Indonesia's marine areas, both the territorial sea and the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), can significantly contribute to the development of the welfare of the Indonesian people. Furthermore, Indonesia's strategic position and vast sea area can also create vulnerability to various forms of maritime threats, such as piracy, illegal exploitation of natural resources, irregular migration, and others. With this background, Indonesia's identity as a maritime nation is primarily determined by how the Indonesian people manage the sea. Indonesia needs to optimize its strategic position and management and utilization of marine resources for the national interest, politically, economically, socially, culturally, defense and security.

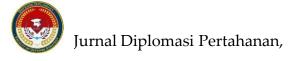
Recognizing this, President Joko Widodo, at the beginning of his administration, had conveyed the Vision of the World Maritime Axis as an effort to realize Indonesia's geostrategy, which departs from efforts to utilize Indonesia's marine assets both

economically and strategically The Vision for the World Maritime Axis was first officially launched at the 9th East Asia Summit On this occasion, President Joko Widodo outlined the concrete derivatives of the Maritime Axis Vision through its five main pillars, namely: i) the development of Indonesian maritime culture; ii) optimal protection and management of marine resources for the benefit of the people; iii) infrastructure development and maritime connectivity; iv) maritime cooperation through diplomacy; and v) development of maritime defense forces.

The vision of the Maritime Axis needs to be actualized through the priority of marine-oriented development policies (*National Ocean Policy*), which includes Indonesian marine development programs/plans, and national maritime strategic policy directions. It is essential for the government to integrate the National Marine Policy into foreign policy through maritime diplomacy. Maritime diplomacy is operationalized through three dimensions, namely: (i) the dimension of sovereignty (sovereignty); (ii) the security dimension; and (iii) the dimension of prosperity (prosperity) (BPPK Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015)

As an archipelagic country, Indonesia's open waters are vulnerable to various sources of threats, such as illegal fishing, piracy, marine pollution, terrorism, and other illegal activities. These various threats certainly have the potential to disrupt national security and interests, even regional and global security. The extent of maritime security threats that are cross-border require international cooperation to overcome them. For this reason, the implementation of diplomacy is directed at fostering bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation in resolving security issues at sea. Defense diplomacy as part of maritime diplomacy plays a vital role in the implementation of diplomacy to foster bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation in resolving security issues at sea.

Based on the description above, the author will focus on discussing maritime security in enhancing defense diplomacy within the framework of the World Maritime



Axis. The discussion in this paper uses a maritime security concept approach and the concept of defense diplomacy.

2. Methodology

The research method in this study uses content analysis. Method content analysis is a research method used to identify patterns of content analysis through systematic data collection from a collection of texts, which can be in the form of written, oral or visual books, newspapers, and magazines. This method is used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts in a text or collection of texts. The researcher measures and analyzes the existence, meaning, and relationship of these words and concepts, then concludes the message in the text.

The words in a study can also represent a variety of differences—content analysis in research and analysis of articles related to maritime security research and defense diplomacy. Text analysis can assist defense diplomacy analysts in planning and research activities. The defense decision cycle involves extensive, timely, and detailed analysis of the operating environment. Analysts need much reading to comprehensively analyze the content An introductory summary of a theme in a large number of texts saves time spent reading material and concentrates the analyst's research, thereby providing a way to prioritize documents based on their relevance to the research topic.

3. Literature review

3.1 Maritime Security Concept

The term maritime security becomes a trend when discussing security at sea with the consideration that the potential of the sea is still not optimally explored, so a rule regarding *sea control is needed*. This is expected to create "*maintaining good order at sea*" because the sea holds natural resources that can be explored and exploited by coastal countries and other countries.

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The concept of maritime security is inseparable from the thoughts of Buzan and Hoyt, who emphasize the concepts of traditional and non-traditional security. Along the way, this concept is discussed in greater depth in the documents issued by the *Informal Consultative Process* (ICP) held by the United Nations based on the United Nations General Assembly Resolution (Resolution 54/33 1999) The United Nations mentions several indications that can be declared as a threat to maritime security, including:

- 1 Piracy and Armed Robbery, sea crimes that endanger the safety of sailors as well as the security of navigational and commercial routes.
- 2 Terrorist acts threaten ships, offshore installations, and other maritime activities. That have an impact on disrupting the state's economy and even physical attacks.
- 3 Illicit trafficking in arms and weapons of mass destruction.
- 4 Illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substance

s.

- 5 Smuggling and trafficking of persons by sea using ships that are not suitable for use and treatment that is not in accordance with human rights.
- 6 Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing, identified on a food security scale that threatens the stability of international relations and maritime security.
- 7 Intentional or unlawful violations of the maritime environment as an important issue for the potential of marine resources that threaten the security of a country or a country, many of which affect the relationship between the social and economic interests of the coastal state.

From the above conditions, it is known that although the definition of maritime security in the international order has not been clearly established, the international community is asked to pay attention to maritime security and form a mutual

agreement between countries so that the threat component as a factor that endangers "maritime security" can be handled properly. - individually or together.

3.2 Defense Diplomacy Concept

Defense diplomacy is a whole way and strategy through various aspects of cooperation such as economics, culture, politics, defense, and diplomacy so that countries can have friendly relations, can further cooperate with each other, and most importantly increase trust (Pedroson, 2015) Defense diplomacy is used as a tool to achieve a country's foreign policy targets.

Gregory Winger in his writing *The Theory of Defense Diplomacy* explains that defense diplomacy is a way of using the military not for violence, such as exchange of officers, warship visits, joint military exercises in order to achieve a country's international interests Still in Winger's writings, Andre Cottey and Anthony Foster state that defense diplomacy is the use of the military in peacetime as a tool for security policy and foreign relations This is reinforced by Martin Edmons who defines defense diplomacy as the use of the military for operations other than war by utilizing its training experience and discipline to achieve national interests both at home and abroad (Winger, 2014).

The success of the implementation of defense diplomacy is highly dependent on diplomatic efforts carried out at the global, regional and bilateral levels. Of all that, diplomacy at the bilateral level plays a very important role. The success of a country's defense diplomacy strategy is a collaboration of diplomacy, defense and development components. However, partially there are main characters of a country's defense diplomacy (Syaufi, 2009):

- 1) Defense diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures;
- 2) Defense Diplomacy for defense capabilities;
- 3) Defense Diplomacy for Defense industry

Defense diplomacy is carried out by adhering to several basic principles. The first is that defense diplomacy must be carried out within the corridor that lies between the government's defense policy and foreign policy. This implies that in achieving the mission outlined by the defense policy, defense diplomacy is also a sub-system of diplomacy driven by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu). Applications in the field can vary, for example in the context of bilateral cooperation, the making of an agreement in the field of defense (Defence Cooperation Agreement) is carried out on the basis of the provisions outlined in the regulations for making international agreements and its signature requires full power approval issued by the government through the Minister. Overseas (Anwar, 2014)

4. Results and Discussion

1. Regional Strategic Environment

The sea area plays an important role in Southeast Asia This fact makes the political and economic dynamics in this region strongly influenced by the sea History records that the Kingdom of Srivijaya and Malacca built their government by considering the sea as a vital geopolitical aspect European countries also built strong naval fleets to support the colonization process in the Southeast Asian region Until now, the territorial waters of Southeast Asia continue to be a vital route for shipping and trade in the region and the world Income derived from the sea such as the fishing industry, *hydrocarbon extraction* and tourism generate a significant contribution to Indonesia's national income Currently, more than 60% of the Southeast Asian region depends on its economic activities on the sea and maritime sector (Bradford, 2005).

On the other hand, the territorial waters of Southeast Asia also have potential threats to regional political and economic security. This threat can be in the form of territorial disputes or various transnational crimes such as piracy/armed robbery, terrorism, drugs, and people smuggling. These various threats encourage countries in

the Southeast Asian region to formulate maritime security based on regional conditions and challenges faced in the region.

Based on the foregoing, various efforts have been made to address maritime security threats, including through the establishment of a maritime security regime at both regional and global levels. At the global level, there is the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS) as the main reference for international law of the sea. Several other initiatives were carried out by *the International Maritime Organization* (IMO). At the regional level, there is ASEAN which places maritime security as an important element in the ASEAN Political-Security Community. In addition, there are various other maritime security initiatives both at the regional and international levels.

As one of the countries in the region, Indonesia is actively involved in various initiatives both at the regional and global levels to oversee the dynamic development of the international security regime that supports Indonesia's national interests. The end of the Cold War became an important milestone for a change in maritime security perspective. The sea is not only valued as a safety perimeter for land areas, but also has economic value as a natural resource, transportation route, and important environmental asset. The emergence of various non-traditional threats such as piracy, terrorism, and smuggling of narcotics and illegal drugs is a new challenge faced for maintaining order in sea waters (maintaining good order at sea).(Keliat, 2015)

4.2 Threats and Challenges to Indonesia's Maritime Security

The forms of maritime security threats in Indonesia include terrorism, armed robbery, and piracy, smuggling of people and goods, IUU fishing, irregular immigration, illegal exploration/exploitation of natural resources (SDA), pollution at sea, drug trafficking, transnational organized crimes (TOC), maritime border disputes, and natural disasters. Among these threats, the threat of cross-border crime (TOC) is considered the most detrimental threat. In addition, the threats that are now the focus are the threats of illegal exploitation of natural resources, terrorism, and piracy.

If maritime security is defined as a condition of a maritime area that is free from threats, then efforts to identify maritime security threats in Indonesia are important and necessary Broadly speaking, transboundary organized crime that poses maritime security threats in Indonesia can be categorized into 2 (two) namely (i) crimes that use the sea as an object (such as IUU fishing, *illegal waste dumping*, and *illegal poaching*), and (ii) crimes that use the sea as a means (such as people smuggling and trafficking in persons and piracy and armed robbery at sea) In addition to the threats mentioned above, several other threats also need to be of concern to Indonesia, including: oil spills from offshore exploration operations, cross-border plastic waste, theft of valuable artifacts found on shipwrecks, and damage to cables submarine cable.

4.3 Indonesian Maritime Security within the framework of the World Maritime Axis (PMD)

More specifically, the promulgation of the Vision for the World Maritime Axis brought several changes to Indonesia's maritime security handling activities, including the strengthening of maritime resource protection. Basically, Indonesia intends to garner support and cooperation in dealing with transnational crime issues at sea. In addition, Indonesia is now starting to build its maritime power. The development of maritime defense forces is also one of the important aspects in the Vision of the World Maritime Axis. Modernization of the main tools of the defense system (defense equipment) is important to ensure territorial sovereignty and security of maritime resources as well as to maintain the security and safety of navigation through international sea lanes.

Indonesia's Defense Policy in general can be seen in the *White Paper* issued by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia every five years. The White Paper contains a comprehensive defense policy that is disseminated to the public both domestically and internationally. In the Defense White Paper, various forms of threats and developing strategic environmental conditions are described. Threats that influence Defense policy decisions and directions are divided into three forms,

namely, military, non-military and hybrid threats, which can also be categorized into real and unreal threats. To overcome the types or forms of threats above, Indonesia needs to form a defense that is universal. It is universal in nature, meaning that efforts to defend the state do not only involve the military but also all ministries/agencies and all resources included in it.

In realizing PMD, Indonesia needs to form a strong defense by taking into account the types of threats and how to anticipate these threats. In anticipating threats, Indonesia needs to first identify what threats could occur. In this case, what are the threats that can slow down or even thwart the realization plan to realize PMD. There are several ways to talk about the exercises that can thwart the realization of PMD, so the homework problems that need to be discussed are. The threats in question are all forms of activities and events that can hinder the realization of the interests of Defense and security in PMD. Defense and Security Interests in the PMD framework consist of:

- 1. Maintain the sovereignty and integrity of the maritime territory;
- 2. Support the security of the existence, utilization, exploitation, and preservation of marine resources;
- 3. Build defense which reflects the personality of Indonesia as an archipelagic country;
- 4. Carrying out defense diplomacy in the maritime domain;
- 5. Building awareness of defending the country through strengthening maritime culture;
- Realizing a maritime defense posture that is independent, advanced, strong, and based on national interests.

In an effort to protect Indonesia's territorial area and EEZ, the Indonesian Navy as the main component of securing the territorial waters has also added the Fleet Command III which is located in Sorong, Papua The addition of military strength in the region by the TNI is actually not only limited to the addition of the Fleet Command



in Sorong but also the addition of three other TNI units, namely, the 3rd Infantry Division/Kostrad in Makassar, Koopsau III in Biak, and the Pasmar-3 Marine Corps in Sorong The existence of various developmental challenges faced and the importance of securing the entire sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia from West to East in the context of realizing PMD, makes the TNI need to develop its organization, especially towards the East.

In addition, the TNI-AL has also built three major naval bases (Lantamal), namely in Pontianak (Lantasmal - XII), Tarakan (Lantamal XIII) and in Sorong (Lantamal XIV) Lantamal XIV in Sorong was intended to be the main base for strengthening security in ALKI - III Meanwhile, Lantamal XIII Tarakan is intended to strengthen Indonesia's position in the Ambala Sea and ALKI - II and Lantamal XII Pontianak is intended to strengthen Indonesia's position in ALKI the North Natuna Sea The development of maritime defense forces and I is one of the crucial aspects in the Vision of the World Maritime Axis.

In addition to securing the entire sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia above, in PMD, Indonesian military forces in the territorial waters must also be built to be able to reach a wider area. This is inseparable from the need to anticipate threats and challenges from outside, including in it, to secure Indonesia's national interests in the territory of other countries and internationally For example, protecting the safety of Indonesian citizens whose lives are being threatened in the maritime areas of other countries; monitor and supervise Indonesian commercial ships sailing in international waterways and; interests to maintain security and prevent conflicts in the South China Sea It is also realized that the current defense force is still not ideal considering the challenges faced by Indonesia in order to achieve PMD are very complex Various challenges that come from outside such as encroachment on the sovereignty area, the theft of marine resources, smuggling, and piracy are clearly one of the considerations for the formation of an appropriate defense force In addition to challenges and threats that come from outside, there

are also challenges that come from within These challenges include; separatism, terrorism, and communal conflicts with the nuances of racial issues.

More specifically, the challenges that can affect the acceleration of PMD realization are cultural issues The culture in question is maritime culture Indonesian people have long turned their backs on the sea and depend on agriculture and plantations for their livelihoods The agrarian mindset still dominates almost all Indonesian people This is what makes the realization of PMD still far from perfect and must continue to be pursued.

Talking about Indonesia's defense forces, we are talking about a universal defense system that involves all components of the nation The development of national defense is carried out to realize military and non-military defense towards a respected regional maritime power in the Asia Pacific Region with active defensive principles, in order to guarantee national interests The development of national defense is carried out through the formation of defense forces, both military and nonmilitary defense.

The development of military defense forces is realized through the fulfillment of the Minimum Essential Force (MEF) Meanwhile, non-military defense forces are directed at the development and effectiveness of the roles of ministries/agencies, as well as the public in anticipating non-military threats A clear example of developing a non-military defense force is the enforcement of KKP regulations and policies related to the supervision of marine and fishery resources In addition, in the Ministry of Defense Regulation concerning the Embodiment of PMD, the development of state defense awareness that is oriented towards maritime culture is also considered necessary The development of state defense awareness is an example of developing non-military forces that target all levels of society The overall development of defense forces, both *military* and *non* - military, must be carried out to ensure the ownership of all Indonesian personnel _____i a.

Speaking of PMD, we will immediately refer to the important role of the Navy (AL) as a concrete manifestation of the military's role in realizing PMD According to Marsetio (2015), the Indonesian Navy is the main component of defense at sea and is one of the important factors for the success of Indonesia's development as PMD However, in a broader context, maritime defense in the context of PMD does not only involve the role of the Navy (TNI AL), but also involves other dimensions such as the Army (TNI AD) and the Air Force (TNI AU) The synergy of the three dimensions is important to ensure that every need will lead to the effectiveness of the need. For example, the Indonesian Army has a need to buy new tanks stationed in the Java region, if in the future there is a deployment of forces outside the island of Java, it is also necessary to think about purchasing a TNI AL tank transport ship that can transport these tanks. This is what is referred to as integration between dimensions in a TNI movement system.

In interpreting the first pillar of PMD, increasing awareness of the Indonesian people as a maritime nation needs to be understood in a deeper context. The context in question is the extent to which the formation of a community's identity will help the government control its community. Identity formation is one of the "radical†forces. If we return to the understanding of power or power, we find that the meaning of *power* is to direct others to do something according to our wishes. One of the most radical forms of power that people can easily be directed at is identity formation. Identity is closely related to cultural issues. That is why rebuilding maritime culture is the same as giving back community identity. The problem is, the development of a maritime nation's identity must also be followed by an increase in maritime-based human resources. How ready we are to face all kinds of maritime challenges and how ready we are to realize the goals of PMD also depend on human resources with maritime characteristics.

4.4 Use of Defense Diplomacy in Improving Maritime Security.

The definition of defense diplomacy is cooperation in peacetime by using the Armed Forces and other institutions as a means of security and foreign policy Defense diplomacy is carried out not only by military personnel, but also by other state officials or institutions such as politicians, security personnel, intelligence, non-governmental organizations as non-governmental institutions, study centers, and community groups.

Furthermore, Cottey and Forster stated that defense diplomacy can be carried out through formal or informal channels defense diplomacy activities in the form of a combination of common interests in bilateral and multilateral relations between senior military leaders and defense civilian officials, placement of defense attachés, bilateral cooperation agreements in the defense sector, training of foreign civil and military defense personnel, assistance of experts in carrying out democratic control for the Armed Forces, defense management and military engineering, relations and exchange of military units and personnel as well as visits to warships, deployment of military or civilian personnel to the military or defense ministries of friendly countries, dispatch of training teams, provision of military equipment and other material assistance, military exercises bilaterally and multilaterally.

For Indonesia, defense diplomacy can be categorized based on three main functions: (1) defense diplomacy for the Confidence Building Measure (CBM), (2) defense diplomacy to increase defense capabilities, and (3) defense diplomacy for the development of the domestic defense industry.

Defense diplomacy activities for CBM in the context of maritime security are: The Indonesian Navy is active in cooperating with the navies of friendly countries This cooperation includes high-level cooperation (*Navy to Navy Talk / NTNT*) , humanitarian assistance and natural disasters, joint exercises and operations, and education International cooperation between the Navy and the Navy of friendly countries is essentially to create dynamic relations between countries that reflect

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intimacy, harmony, equality and mutual benefit Several collaborations in the form of exercises and other multilateral seminars held include the Indian Ocean Symposium (IONS), Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo (MNEK) Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS), International Maritime Security Symposium (IMSS), Asean Navy Chief Meeting (ANCM), Rimpac Exercise, Kakadu Exercise, Seacat Exercise and various other collaborations In addition, cooperation in the field of education is also carried out by the Navy with the Navy of several friendly countries in the Asian, Australian, American and European regions by implementing programs; (1) Education and courses in the field of the Navy (2) Exchange of Sesko Force Education student officers, (3) Exchange of teaching lecturers for the Indonesian Navy and Royal Australian Navy (4) Provision of subject matter from friendly country lecturers to Seskoal In other words, joint exercises and operations can also be interpreted as the Navy's strategy in its interactions with the Navy of friendly countries.

Defense diplomacy activities to improve defense capabilities in the context of maritime security are carried out by handling organized and unorganized crimes between the Navy and has been managed by building integrated cooperation between countries in the region, including coordinated patrols (Patkar) with neighboring countries such as India: Patkar Indindo "Ocean Shakti", Malaysia: Patkar Malindo, Philippines: Patkar Philindo, Thailand: Patkar IndoThai and Australia: Patkar Ausindo Joint operations carried out by the Indonesian Navy include the Malacca Strait Patrol (MSP) carried out to handle maritime security in the Malacca Strait and Singapore Strait by four countries namely; Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore and Thailand which joined in 2008 The Indomalphi *Trilateral Maritime Patrol* is the joint operation of the Indonesian Navy with the Navy of friendly countries, namely Malaysia and the Philippines This joint operation aims to work together to secure the border waters of the three countries in the waters of the Sulu Sea and the Sulawesi Sea.

Defense diplomacy activities to improve the domestic defense industry in the context of maritime security are carried out by increasing the development of domestic

industries. Both BUMN and BUMS, which include technology transfer (ToT), research and development cooperation, and investment in joint ventures. In the field of maritime security, Indonesia has entered into cooperation in the procurement of warships, submarines, survey vessels, missiles, and radar surveillance with the Netherlands, South Korea, France, Sweden, and Japan.

Defense diplomacy is a strategic step considering Indonesia's needs and limitations in the defense sector. With the cooperation of the defense industry, the improvement of military technology can be carried out. The development of China's defense industry, which is increasingly rapid, can be used as an opportunity for Indonesia to improve its domestic defense industry through effective cooperation.

In the context of achieving PMD, defense diplomacy can be an instrument to strengthen cooperation in maritime defense, such as cooperation in satellite sensing technology and joint patrols. Defense diplomacy can thus create opportunities for Indonesia to meet needs in the defense sphere. In addition to meeting needs, defense diplomacy is also used to block the possibility of conflict (*conflict prevention*) through increasing mutual trust (*CBM/Confidence Building Measure*). With the defense diplomacy activity between Indonesia and China, it is hoped that there will be an increase in mutual trust between the two Mutual trust between the two can minimize the challenges that arise between the cooperation of the two.

In a larger context, Defense Diplomacy can also be used by Indonesia to face the challenges that come from increasing competition between China and the United States Joint forums such as ADMM plus or *joint patrols* can be used by Indonesia to maintain regional security stability against potential threats that come from the competition between the two countries.

5. Conclusion

President Jokowi through the Vision of the World Maritime Axis wants Indonesia to return to its nature as a maritime country Indonesia's position as an archipelagic country in the next few years faces a strategic environment marked by the increasing complexity of traditional and non-traditional threats that must be faced. Maritime Security as Indonesia's territorial integrity remains the most vital interest in Indonesia's foreign and defense policy. Through the Vision of the World Maritime Axis, Indonesia views defense diplomacy as a means to maintain the country's territorial integrity, improve regional order, and enhance domestic defense development.

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