

Ideology Movements of Trisakti Trilogy: Remending Maritime Archipelagic as a Concept of Indonesian Unity in the Threat of Democracy and Sovereignty Crisis

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Abstract

Indonesia has great potential in managing its maritime strength. Historical traces have recorded that Nusantara kingdoms succeeded in showing their strength to build geopolitical and global trade routes. Having a geographical structure makes Indonesia pay great attention to the sea. Archipelagic state is not merely interpreted as an archipelagic concept, but it is a state that connects islands to and from a sovereign territory by presenting a national maritime power. Indonesia is expected to be a successor to the maritime nation considered in Southeast Asia and also to play its role in the global geopolitical strategy. National unity must be followed by strong geographical entity. The emergence of the Juanda Declaration as a diplomacy order was to defend the principles of the sovereign island nation of Indonesia. The sea is no longer defined as a separator, but a link and unifying sovereignty. State sovereignty become the foundation of the Trisakti trilogy. Fully sovereign in political, self-sufficient in economic and conforming personality in cultural values are the basis of the foundation. It rejects all forms of new-style imperialism, capitalism and foreign dictation of life value system.

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Introduction

During the last decades, various issues have emerged and developed in line with the rapid pace of globalization. During the Cold War, global issues were more concentrated on national security issues and only become the conflict between the two camps, the Western and Eastern block. However, as the concept of world paradigm develops, current issues are increasingly racing and widening in the global economic growth imbalance, future threats of ideology and national sovereignty, waning local culture, collapse of cultural identity, new class colonialism, exploitation of natural resources, and the threat of the creation of biological weapons after the cold war and the struggle for ideological influence.

In the era of contemporary globalization, all developing issues involve not only the state, but also non-state actors such as civil society movements, academia, multinational companies, and global networks in the world. The impact of these strategic issues appears to be subordinate to the object of reference for State security. It means that the State becomes an important subject of all the main people who responsible for the security threat in the country. The state as a sovereign entity is fully responsible for providing security guarantees to its citizens from global issues and threats.

The geographical position of abundant natural resources in almost all parts of Indonesia poses a serious threat to major countries in the world to take an important role in influencing Indonesia's political lobby. The opportunity to invest or cooperate as widely as possible is performed by utilizing political actors who play in the arena. It is necessary to understand that all threats and interferences to sovereignty must be resisted, whether it is performed by natives or foreigners.

The total area of the state reaches 1,900,000 km², or about 57 times the area of the Dutch, 5 times the size of Japan, almost 4 times the size of France, 2 times the area of Pakistan and more than half the area of India. From east to west, the Indonesian archipelago stretches for 5,000 km, from north to south about 2,000 km (Lombard 2008, 12). It is very difficult to carry out the integrity of a strong security force system, let alone control it by coordinating a very large area.

This geographic condition is so complex that it is not easy to manage it into one integral part to form a single archipelago. Skills in understanding the concept of State ideology are needed. The ability to construct the Trisakti ideology into a concept in controlling Indonesian from all regions east to west, north to south the diversity of this equatorial country.

Resilience and competence from all aspects of the life of an integrated nation play an important role in developing national strength in facing all challenges, threats, obstacles and disturbances that attack from outside and from within. To ensure national security, a strong national ideology to produce a national identity with integrity.

The concept of security becomes a strategic study from various angles, starting from military power, territoriality, energy sources or natural wealth supplies, food security, and diplomatic or policy strategies to the legitimacy of power to gain allies between countries. Security studies have mentioned many aspects of why security throughout the archipelago is prone to conflict especially the issue of corporate expansion such as the VOC's corporate colonization of Indonesia. The incident is still happening with the obscuration of the meaning of investment hiding behind a network of global oligarchic systems to take maximum profit and pose a threat to the sovereignty of the nation. Security coverage often occurs when the concept of state security tends to persist, a weak political paradigm system, bad maritime diplomacy, as well as mental and unpreparedness in the face for an attack or external threat to come. Maritime diplomacy is intended for the purposes of warning other countries or deterrence which can be understood as the use of threats by one party of deterrence in the context of military strategy to convince the other party to restrain and ward off various attempts at action (Butler 2005, 20-22).

Buzan (1991, 4) states that the concept of security can only be understood by integrating the level of analysis and security dimensions. The level of analysis is divided into individual, national and international levels, both regional security and the broader system. While the security dimension consists of military, political, security *societal*, economic and environmental.

Maritime security is a small part of national security, so the practice of a country's national security determines how maritime security practices in its national policy (Octavian and Yulianto 2014, 159-160). There are many problems with national security practices, marked by a drastic decline in the democracy index. The democratic system in Indonesia is currently experiencing disorientation and escalation of conflict between public relations and the state. The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), the Indonesian Democracy Index, and the Democracy Report, these three reports show that the quality of democracy has shown a significant reduction, which not only touches aspects of civil liberties and pluralism, but also declines in the function of government. Globally, Indonesia is ranked 64th in the world, far from neighboring Timor-Leste at 44th, and below India at 53rd. The worst record of the quality of Indonesian democracy in the last 10 years. The report revealed that two of the five assessment indicators fell quite sharply, namely the variables of civil liberties and political culture, each of which fell drastically by more than 20%.

National security experiences a lot of turmoil and conflicts between its citizens. Legal injustice, social inequality, democratic crisis, food crisis, freedom of speech crisis, exploitation of natural resources, foreign corporate oligarchy, apparatus repression and so on are considered to

have a major influence on national sovereignty as well as hampering the growth of the world maritime power axis.

The failure of modern Indonesia to establish itself as a great maritime country is mainly due to at least several fundamental factors, failure to create economic integration as an archipelagic state, and failure to reform the traditional products coming from their abundant natural resources (Rochwulaningsih et al. 2019).

This is due to the high number of dependence on the oligarchic system in the government, as well as excessive import policies and the dominance of foreign corporations in every policy related to natural resources. Not to mention the changing pace of global geopolitics has made Indonesia farther away from the axis of a great maritime country, and lost its influence and national integrity in front of countries in the world. The internal crisis in Indonesia and the concept of the idea of sovereignty brought by Indonesia are widely observed by other countries as a study of diplomatic politics.

The development of global geopolitical turmoil has made Indonesia forget the basis and concept for the birth of this nation's spirit. The noble identity of Indonesian ancestors is beginning to erode by oligarchic interests. Ir. Soekarno once spoke out loud about the civilization national-staat which was considered to have reached its peak when the Sriwijaya Empire and the Majapahit Empire came to power. It does not stop there, Ir. Soekarno also produced ideas or ideology movements that formulated the formation of national unity and character known as Trisakti.

Trisakti is no longer interpreted as a thought of the past but needs to be constructed into an ideological movement that is believed to be able to build the foundation of a strong national sovereignty system. It is believed that it will be able to build a strong system foundation to prevent the fragility of the joints of Indonesian unity and integrity. This concept of thought seeks to maintain the integrity of the nation that once triumphed as the strongest maritime nation ever in its era, by uniting different areas to form one strong building and respected by other nations. The geopolitical-geohistorical linkages in the Sriwijaya empire, Majapahit and the kingdoms in Java provide room for the Trisakti concept to reconstruct this glory by collaborating with the *archipelagic* concept into the concept of National power. Emphasizes territorial power consisting of islands into one strong unitary territory surrounded by oceans.

The basic concept of the territory of an archipelagic State has been laid down in the Djuanda Declaration, at December 13, 1957. "Principles of Archipelagic State", views the sea and land areas as a unified whole, solid in accordance with the philosophy of "Motherland". The most important definition in the concept of archipelago is the unity between sea and land (including the air above it), where the ratio of the sea is greater than the ratio of land (Djalal 1979, 70).

This declaration has strategic value for the Indonesian people. The sea is no longer a separator from national power, but as a unifier of the Indonesian nation from all parts of the archipelago, which is then treated as the absolute sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Nusantara is understood as the concept of a national maritime power as an effort to unite the islands into one large State which covers all spheres of national life including aspects of political power, economy, socio-culture, defense and security.

This study reconstructs the thoughts of Ir. Soekarno regarding the Trilogy of Triksakti as a national power in the world arena and the archipelagic concept in the glorious history of previous kingdoms in successfully building geopolitical strategies and maritime powers at that time before the Indonesian state was formed. It becomes a serious problem when China's expansion has been occurred in the South China Sea which threatens ASEAN countries, including Indonesia.

Has the expansion changed not only to maritime security threats but to the involvement of foreign intelligence in global political strategies to influence or suppress the policies of the Indonesian government? This will be a new threat to the integrity, identity and sovereignty of the nation. However, everything returns to the Indonesian military culture which focuses on more domestic issues. The white book of Indonesian Defense in 2015 noted that domestic or internal conflict has become a dark history of the Indonesian journey. It becomes a point as well as a

warning that whether the shift in threats in Indonesia today is more only about maintaining domestic security. Especially the crisis of democracy, the crisis of social justice and the growth of the oligarchic system that has created hostility between its citizens until now.

Trisakti Ideology Concept

Trisakti thought was a thought that opposed the style of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism that gripped Indonesian sovereignty at that time. Whereas the remnants of a prolonged colonialism still leave pragmatic characters within the Indonesian nation, namely bureaucrats who sit in power who are enslaved by imperialism the new style of. Colonization of a democratic system that is filled with nuances feudalistic, authoritarianism to destroy the economic, social and legal systems. Power eventually confronted and turned its people into enemies object which must be controlled by eliminating one of the components of democracy, namely the freedom of expression of civil society which is socially critical in nature, must be faced with criminalization efforts.

Trisakti ideology concept as an effort to eliminate all forms of colonialism in all areas of human life. These are all efforts to eliminate the seeds of colonialism and build a framework for an independent Indonesia (Prabowo 1984, 80). The attitude of patriotism to be sovereign in politics, independent in the economy, and to have a personality in culture emphasizes the essence of independence as a state of individuals living as a state, moving dynamically and independently to achieve civilized national goals.

Indonesia currently shows the condition of the involvement of the transnational capital classes in regulating domestic policy, as a result of foreign influence at the heart of the country's strategy. Democracy seems to be modified according to the interests of the oligarchs. The investment map must be read early and carefully to take a stand against the massive defections and expansions that are costing the country. There should be no room for dishonesty hiding behind the investment symbol. Investment must be interpreted as a mutually beneficial economic power without any attempt to intervene by the state in the state systems and public diplomacy. This could threaten the long term sovereignty of the Indonesian nation.

The bondage and helplessness will become the bars that slowly ensnare the sovereign power of the Indonesian State in global relations. Soekarno was once on fire in his efforts to fight global influences that wanted to regulate Indonesia's geopolitics. That geopolitics determines us as a nation from Sabang to Merauke, and to defend it we must know all the details of Indonesia (Sudarso and Rahardjo 2010, 32).

The Trisakti Soekarno ideology, is believed to be able to build a foundation of value systems with efforts to strengthen and maintain the integration of the nation that once triumphed as a formidable maritime state, uniting the islands into a whole, strong and sovereign territorial unit under central power with a controlled system.

To build a democratic country, an independent economy must be built. Without an independent economy, it is impossible to achieve independence, let alone establish a sovereign state. Soekarno explained that the characteristic of the colonial economy was the principle of dependence in many ways, including food, and vice versa, what the colonial economy wanted was the exploitation of export materials (raw materials). Reject all attributes of modern colonialism, fight against all forms of domination that destroy the noble culture of the nation and restore an independent, realizing integrity of political personality, fair, civilized and maintains the security of mankind.

This Trisakti is the ideal ideology structure and pattern for the future of the Indonesian nation that must be fought back to become the basis of thought of Indonesian leaders. Soekarno's prediction in this mind was to free the nation from modern colonialism, prioritize the interests of the people, optimize all natural resources for the welfare of the nation and maintain national sovereignty from the traps hiding behind development and modernity.

Bung Karno's ideology Trisakti was not the only way, but a comprehensive, measurable and consistent way to be applied in the whole system of government thinking. Consistent with rejecting emphatically new forms of imperialism, colonialism and capitalist funding institutions that are indirectly oppressive, deceive developing countries into submitting to global interests.

Conceptually, Indonesia has a strong national principle and vision, not only to bring together the diversity of society but also to protect them from being uprooted from traditional and historical roots. To maintain, care for and revive everything, it is necessary to need tools to unite the nation so that we are not easily swayed, complacent on issues that are prone to making us divided, hypocritical, resentful, hostile within the frame of Indonesianness.

Independence in politics is an effort or result of state thinking without any dark agreements and policies that ultimately do not take sides with people's problems, have a hypocritical character, and do not have a philosophical basis for improving the quality of the nation. Being self-reliant in the economic system is managing natural resource potential in Indonesia fairly, rejecting all forms of exploitation and colonization of the earth's wealth by political traitors who work together with multinational companies to extract as much resources as possible through corrupt regulations that impact people's misery prolonged.

Utilizing all the wealth of the earth in Indonesia for the prosperity of all Indonesian people without exception. Having personality in culture is defined as an effort to uphold the noble values of the Indonesian nation from hedonist, materialist, and liberal interpretations that put aside the foundation of the noble system of Pancasila values. The value of Pancasila can also be interpreted as the cultural value of the personality and identity of the Indonesian people.

Geopolitical Concept of the *Nusantara*

Nusantara is understood as a national territorial concept by emphasizing the existing and separate islands connected by the sea to form a large area known as the State of Indonesia. With a geographical condition that is characterized by maritime affairs, Indonesia needs a maritime geostrategy that maintains the outer part of Indonesia's territory, namely the sea.

Geostrategy is the formulation of a national strategy by calculating the geographic constellation of Indonesia and taking into account the social, cultural, population, natural resources, and regional and international conditions (Basri 2001).

The threats and challenges that occur in the current geopolitical constellation are not only on the issue of terrorism, embargoes of superpowers, and ceasefire but also the issue of State sovereignty, which includes food sovereignty, sovereignty of natural resources or crops, economic sovereignty, territorial sovereignty and security civil society.

Indonesia is a great nation that carries diversity in it, inheriting the spirit from the glory of the archipelago kingdoms which controlled as a great maritime power by controlling the world's strategic routes. The power of Sriwijaya and Majapahit with the maritime power built at that time had succeeded in controlling the silk route in the Malacca Strait to the mainland of Southeast Asia and uniting their territorial islands into one form of the archipelago. Some experts claim that the Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms were maritime kingdoms. Sriwijaya is recorded as a maritime kingdom as described in I'tsing's notes. And in 775 M, the Sriwijaya kingdom had become a very famous kingdom, so that it was called the highest king of all kings on earth (Coedes 1918, 31).

This concept was successfully built by our ancestors and became the spirit of the identity of the people Nusantara before the Indonesian State was formed. Kingdoms such as Sriwijaya to Majapahit built dynasties with slick geo-strategies. Local genius is closely related to Sriwijaya's geopolitics in forming a maritime state and Majapahit with its agrarian state. With such vast territorial waters and strong naval forces, Sriwijaya and Majapahit made records as a great maritime empires of their time.

Not only that, other opinions also noted that there was a strongest kingdom in the archipelago that stood before Srivijaya. Right on the island of Java, based on records from the Han

dynasty, the Medang Lama Kingdom was the kingdom in Java in question. As an old kingdom, Java had a strong marine fleet compared to other kingdoms of its time, this shows that the number of fleets owned by a region shows its strength. By having the most durable naval fleet, Java is a major maritime country that is highly considered (Nugroho 2011, 16-17).

The kingdoms in Java first built ties with other nations, many envoys from the Javanese kingdom came to all corners of the world through shipping routes to establish trade relations. The shipping technology developed in Java was more advanced than the Europeans at that time (Nugroho 2011, 288). This illustrates that the technological capabilities developed by Java are able to provide inspiration and knowledge for other countries to develop them as well. Java demonstrated its intelligence in shipbuilding techniques to become a great maritime country in the world. It is not surprising that the greatest achievement of the maritime nation of the archipelago occurred during a royal dynasty such as Majapahit (Laksmiana 2011, 98).

In Chinese records, Indonesian sailors are called "Kun Lun" and their ship is called "Kun Lun Po". Wu royal records describe "Kun Lun Po" as a large ship reaching 200 feet in length, 20 to 30 feet in height, and able to accommodate around 600 people. On another note, a large ship capable of sailing in the Indian Ocean is "Sangara". According to Malay records, large ships with technology are jong-class ships that are only owned by Java (Nugroho 2011).

As a form of the Maritime kingdom, Java is here to play itself as a guard and protector in several areas, including neutralizing wars between regions that occurred at that time. Javanese assistance to Banjar in the event of royal succession (Hikayat Banjar), Javanese assistance to Bu-Ni when attacked by Sulu (History of the Ming Dynasty 1368-1643), and Javanese assistance to Malacca who was about to be attacked by Siam (Hikayat Hang Tuah)

This shows that the role of Java as a national maritime powerhouse is very calculated to deal with and face various geopolitical conditions at its time. What about the current state of Javanese hegemony? Java, which is the center of Indonesia's autonomous movement, as a controller of the economy, as the heart of the nation's strength, determinant of the nation's future policies, will other regions still consider their beliefs. What strategies will be carried out to fight various potential threats that weaken the national situation. Indonesia is not just a country that just became independent 75 years ago, the history of concept and identity has been born for centuries to become the identity of the archipelago. The past royal struggles have proven that the concept was *Archipelagic* a force in building a superpower maritime State which depicts the historical record of how this nation was self-sustaining through its National maritime power.

When the archipelago became the control of trade routes, as well as the establishment of political power there, regional resilience, technological prowess, and knowledge production helped, then the victories of maritime kingdoms in the archipelago stood. For this reason, a maritime country is required to have a strong naval fleet, both a war fleet and a trading fleet, the knowledge skills to produce weapons of war as a tool to maintain the sovereignty of its territorial territory (Suroyo 2007, 11).

The long description above shows that the Archipelago in ancient times as a maritime power. According to Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) said, "Who controls the sea, will control world trade and will ultimately rule the world". Related to sea power geopolitics also emphasizes the use of sea power in controlling the world through water expansion (Tuathail 1998, 5).

Indonesia's struggle in the field of maritime law has been going on for quite a long time, namely since the Djuanda Declaration on December 13, 1957, which stated that Indonesia adheres to the principle of an archipelago state which had received protests and stiff opposition from several countries because of the inter-island seas and including the sea around it is not a free zone, between and within the archipelago of the Republic of Indonesia constituting a unitary territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

At independence on 17 August 1945, Indonesia only had a sea area as far as 3 miles from the coastline, each island or only about 100 thousand km². When the Djuanda Declaration, the

area of the Indonesian sea was measured to be 12 miles from the coastline or islands so that the total area of the Indonesian sea reached 3 million km² or increased 30 times (Oegroseno 2012).

This is in line with the recognition by the international community of the State of Indonesia with the inclusion of provisions regarding this conception in the UN, UNCLOS (*Convention on the Law of the Sea United Nations Convention On the Law of the Sea*) in 1982 and which Indonesia has ratified in Law Number 17 of 1985.

Referring to the provisions above and the circumstances in which the potential of Indonesia's rich geographic strategy. Geostrategic is the basis for the formulation of the National strategy by accurately taking into account geographical conditions and constellations as the main factors in paying attention to social, cultural, political, human, natural resources and the national and global environment. As an implementation of the National maritime strategy in realizing maritime power that can guarantee the sovereignty, dignity and dignity of the Indonesian nation from all global threats and challenges.

The importance of the sea as a study discourse is part of the geopolitical strategy of a country. Reflecting on the power of the kingdoms in the archipelago that controlled the sea and became a maritime country and considering Indonesia's own geographical position, maritime historical research should not be ignored, Indonesia needs to examine more deeply, strategically than anything that was once a streak of the glorious history of the archipelago.

Maritime insight not only comes from the influence of sea power on the course of history, and is not only needed for the past, but is very important for the existence and survival of an archipelagic country like Indonesia, Indonesia's long history is a world with a reality that cannot be denied until now (Leur 1974).

Nusantara Maritime Security

There are many studies related to the constellation of National maritime security. Security in general concerns the military, territorial, energy or natural resource content of a country. Maritime security continues to grow to the attention of many countries, especially large countries that have interests in foreign policy or geopolitical strategies. The potential of the sea seems inexhaustible to become a projection of a nation's resilience and defense in the future. The desire of a state to control the sea and all of its natural characteristics is what then makes many countries have an interest in controlling the sea territory. *Maritime security* is "the combination of preventive and responsive measures to protect the maritime domain against threats and intentional unlawful acts (Feldt et al. 2013).

Marry Ann Palma (2009) defines maritime security with the condition that a country is free from various threats or disturbances to its national interests in its territorial or non-military threats, such as acts of violence to intimidate, coerce, undermine political interests and goals, challenge the sovereignty of a country, ignore national and international laws, exploit or steal marine resources, and smuggling illegal goods by sea.

Mahan's theory raises two important terms in maritime history, namely sea power and naval power. Sea power refers to total control over the oceans territorial, while naval power refers to protect the territorial area and pose a threat to the enemy (Manhan 1989).

The United States uses the term "*maritime security operations*" to describe security operations in the maritime area. In the Report on Oceans and the Law of the Sea in 2008 quoted by Richarunia Wenny Ikhtiari, the UN mentioned several indications that could be stated as a threat to *maritime security* a country's, including the following (Richarunia 2011). (1) Piracy and Armed Robbery, sea crimes that endanger the safety of sailors and the safety of navigation and commercial routes; (2) Terrorist acts, which threaten ships, off shore installations and other maritime activities that have an impact on the disruption of the state's economic condition and even physical attacks; (3) Illicit trafficking in arms and weapons of mass destruction; (4) Illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs and psycotropic substance, which accounts for 70 percent of the total

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

Maritime security becomes the focus of attention when it comes to state sovereignty, as well as security for shipping activities, both civilian and military. Activities from the territorial waters of the state to fulfill economic needs to those of a military nature (concerning national maritime security) must be guaranteed safety and security. Threats and disturbances to national security, including territorial conflicts, are seen as disturbing maritime stability. Apart from being a form of fighting state sovereignty in the maritime security area, it also touches on how the wealth of resources in maritime areas both in the oceans and in energy and mineral content requires a non-negotiable guarantee not to become a source of conflict or threats and disturbances globally.

We see that Indonesia is experiencing a problem of maritime sovereignty, what about China's claim to the Natuna Sea, even though legally speaking, the Natuna Sea is under Indonesian sovereignty. Various reports are increasingly confusing, overlapping the Natuna Sea claims against the Chinese government, because it involves a heated escalation and relations between the two countries, so Indonesia chooses or is still diplomatically resolving the illegal claims.

Natuna is one of the oil and gas producing regions in Indonesia. Based on a study report from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), Natuna's oil reserves reached 308.30 million barrels. Meanwhile, its natural gas reserves reach 54.78 trillion cubic feet. Oil and gas proceeds are the main source of income for Natuna. In addition, marine fishery resources reach 1 million tons per year (Kurniaty 2018). In the Asia Pacific economic security there is a strong element of maritime. Seafood is the main source of protein for many residents and fishing is a big industrial business, it becomes a threat if fish stocks are getting low and the environment is damaged. In Southeast Asia about 100 million people depend on the sea for their livelihood as a source of protein and income.

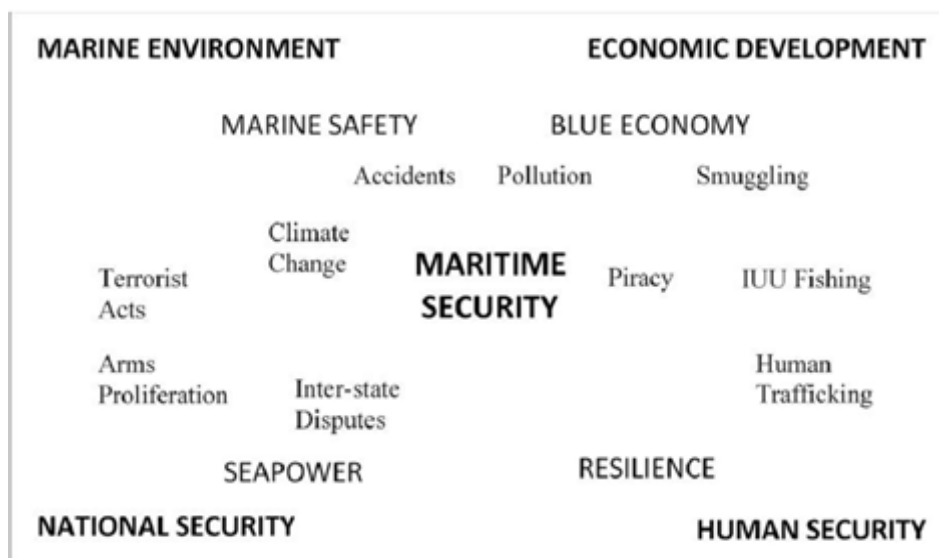


Figure 1. Maritime Security
Source: Buzan 1991, 20.

In the case of the Natuna Sea, Indonesia is in a strong position compared to China's claim which is only based on the rule Nine Dash Line . This party claim gives legitimacy for Chinese fishing boats to freely enter the territorial waters of the 200 nautical mile zone of Indonesia's EEZ

as in early 2016, which then the Indonesian government took a firm stance by arresting, burning and detonating vessels that violated the Indonesian EEZ zone.

The debate both support and against the claim of the Natuna Sea has made this nation aware that national maritime power is a discussion urgent and can also turn into an urgent stage in the future. That it is said that the national maritime power is weak, lackluster, and lacks in succession cannot be perceived as such. That it needs to be reviewed, yes. The geopolitical strategy in building a national maritime power must begin to be reconstructed again, not only as a discourse and jargon for politicization. Of course there are many approaches that will be taken, the approach to the maritime history of the archipelago also needs to be considered in addition to the diplomatic approach and the power of technology and science.

Not only the problem with Indonesia regarding the Natuna Sea polemic, China also ignited the polemic in the South China Sea which involved 4 countries at once. China with a number of countries has maritime problems that have not been properly resolved. Bilateral maritime border disputes between China and four countries, namely: the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam and Malaysia. However, because Beijing has far greater political and military power, the disputing states have not dared to take a firm stand against China.

China's policy towards claims in the South China Sea concerning Indonesia and other ASEAN countries raises big questions. In the ASEAN, Indonesia tends to be weak and takes a little more strategic role than just being a mediator. Indonesia is considered to be looking for safety behind political interests. Indonesia has not been able to be fully proactive in acting together with ASEAN countries in dealing with China's interference with its claims. In the case of the Natuna Sea, Indonesia is in a stronger position than China which is based solely on the imaginary point of the Nine Dash Line. It is not enough for Indonesia to just state the basis of claim Nine Dash Line China's illegal, because it is not in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Diplomatically, it is clear that the Republic of China does not respect Indonesia's territorial waters ("Natuna" 2016).

This condition is concerning, especially if it occurs heatedly in a national relationship. Disputes and struggles over claims of territorial territory are increasingly occurring, both in the use of energy sources, the supply of marine products and political power. The complexity of regional security disputes is also interpreted as an attempt to interpret who actually dominates the security forces, and is even interpreted as an "interpretation of who is actually interconnected in terms of secure interaction". An important factor in the definition of regional disputes is the "terrifying threat felt by two or more countries".

Weaknesses of maritime power and bad political strategy are part of other countries' threats to national security. Human security is increasingly being questioned again when States become part of the escalation of conflicts and disputes concerning State sovereignty and defense. However, awareness of the claim of maritime power still considers the aspects of negotiation and peace. So that it has not reached the stage of causing casualties, it's just that other opinions say this dispute has caused Indonesia to crisis over its own sovereignty or mistrust and suspicion of future relationships.

Aspects that are the pillars of maritime security are amity/enmity which can be used as a foothold to consider security in conflict areas (Stone 2009). Amity in question is the relationship between countries that exists based ranging from friendship to the expectations (expectation) will get support (support) or the protection of one another (Buzan 1991). Meanwhile, what is called enmity is described as a relationship that exists between countries based on suspicion and fear between one another.

According to Heywood (2014, 707) the broader understanding of security can be interpreted as the deepest and lasting issue in political life. Because security includes all levels, both security within each individual in society to State security from internal or external threats. Is there a question that wants to be answered thoroughly about how society can really live a decent life and

avoid anxiety or anxiety, which is free from all meanings of threats, intimidation and global violence?

So public security becomes the subordinate object of reference to State security. This means that the State is fully present and responsible for threats to the security of its people. As a political subject who has full power to regulate, protect and protect the security of its citizens from all threats. Issues concerning food security for all people in the State, economic security, environmental security, and natural resource security are part of the State's presence to ensure the safety of its people within the framework of the MDGs (United Nation's Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals). In order to ensure human security within the framework of these MDGs, the goals to be built and achieved are, as released by UNOCHA. (1) Protecting humans from prolonged criminal conflicts; (2) Protecting and empowering people / residents related to large-scale migration due to war crimes or crimes against human rights violations; (3) Protecting and empowering people to be more independent, develop and develop in post-conflict situations; (4) Economic insecurity, related to poverty eradication, improvement of economic life and social welfare; (5) Ensuring health for human safety from the spread of diseases caused by viruses that are epidemic globally and the threat of poverty, malnutrition, hunger as a result of conflict; and (6) Increase knowledge, skills and values for human security: provide basic educational facilities and public information regarding these three matters that are relevant to forms of systematic and organized crime.

Attention to human security is a form of concern for the importance of global security according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) above. The threat from the emergence of a new war will be driven more by the six objectives of human security.

Conclusion

Indonesia's geographic structure has an impact on Indonesia's strategic perspective on national maritime security issues. Indonesia has a "supra strategic" position to become an international trade shipping route that connects South Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia.

In the future, Indonesia will no longer be in a favorable position, in a position where historically its reforms have always been overshadowed by other countries who want to compete for interests, especially the interests of abundant natural resources so that there will be many traps from outside if they are not taken seriously. Maritime security issues related to external problems faced by Indonesia with other countries are also a face of Indonesia's authority in the eyes of the world. The ideology of the Trisakti trilogy in the context of the history of independence has succeeded in becoming the character of Indonesia in the reform era as a sovereign state led by a world proclaimer (lion podium) as well as the character of the Sriwijaya dynasty, Majapahit, which is known for its maritime power.

Trisakti ideology: sovereign in politics, independent in the economy and personality in culture as a form of revolution of a nation.

The Trisakti ideology is the basis for thinking and is the first step in improving what is known as national security (land, sea and air). Also internal security that needs to be addressed first, especially security issues in the everyday sphere of democracy. The relationship between the state and the people must be established with a strong and harmonious bond of unity and integrity.

So the planting of Indonesian unity and integrity in the concept Archipelagic needs to be returned to the consensus that has been built, and to fight back for the common good of all generations of the nation, so that Indonesia does not feel disturbed and threatened by its territorial sovereignty. The government is the main actor in building a sense of unity and integrity throughout Indonesia's sovereign territory. We are a great maritime nation with a territory united by the surrounding oceans. Prosperity from all maritime potential belongs to all generations of the Indonesian nation. The Trisakti Trilogy becomes the role, fundamental idea in determining the

direction of the policy of the Indonesian State to become a maritime country which is sovereign over its political components, has an economic system, and has a personality of its cultural system.

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