

A Reflection of “Indonesian Maritime Fulcrum” Initiative: Maritime History and Geopolitical Changes

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Abstract

The announcement of a maritime economic initiative known as the 21st Century Maritime Silk Route (MSR) by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 created a new paradigm shift in the geo-economy and geo-politics of countries in the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. With this initiative, China aims to rebuild maritime lines in the seas and oceans where China once was regarded as one of the world's leading powers. In contrast to countries in Southeast Asia, which still hold divergent views on the Chinese initiative, Indonesia sees it as an opportunity to develop regions that have long been marginalized from development. It is in line with the shift in Indonesia's global economic-political agenda in the 21st century through a doctrine known as "Indonesia as a Maritime Fulcrum," which was initiated by “Jokowi” Widodo and Jusuf Kalla in 2014. Taking into account the importance of this idea in Indonesia's geo-economic and geo-political agenda, this study is to reflect on Indonesia's history as a global maritime and trade power before it was undermined by the Dutch occupation. In addition, using historical approach, this study aims to see and evaluate how the idea of "Indonesia as a Maritime Fulcrum" can restore Indonesia's reputation as a major maritime power in the Southeast Asian archipelago.

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Introduction

Alfred Thayer Mahan, an American Naval Officer known for the Theory of Sea Power and Sea Naval in his book *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, published in 1965, once stated that maritime power and naval power are two of the most important elements that determine a country's progress and success, and neglect them will result in its setback or even demise. Mahan also said that countries that have sea borders and are surrounded by seas fare better than landlocked ones. Mahan's assertions in his book on the importance of the seas and the oceans to a country were vindicated when nations that were once colonized, achieved independence became nation states after the end of World War II began to position themselves in the current world economic and political system by focusing their economic and geo-political rebuilding on the sea.

Looking back on Indonesia's past, Mahan's theory, ideas, and proposals were not new to the country. In other words, Indonesia's past glory as a maritime power with its vast and strategic territory called the "Nusantara" has been the focus of many sailors, traders and scholars and was well-established on the map of the world before the turn of the century. Indonesian history did not begin with the power of the land, but rather with the wisdom of its rulers and the persistence of ancestors to conquer the seas and oceans and establish glorious maritime kingdoms. This was proven by the establishment of the Kingdom of Srivijaya (7th-14th century), Kingdom of Majapahit (13th-16th century), Demak Islamic Kingdom (16th Century), Gowa-Tallo Kingdom in Makasar in the 17th century and others. Early records by sailors, traders, and scholars from Arabia, India, China, and Europe testified to the superiority, power, and prosperity of these

kingdoms and their prowess in governance, military (navy), trade, sea-faring, scientific, religious education, diplomacy and other sectors.

What distinguishes Mahan's 19th century thoughts from those of the early kingdoms are the ideas, worldviews and coherence of thoughts regarding the power of the ocean. What is clear is that Mahan merely put his knowledge in a scientific form (theory and writing) and focused more on the defense (naval) aspect and imperial expansion while the rulers of these early kingdoms were demonstrating the power of the sea in practical and more holistic ways, which is not just defense and imperial expansion but covers all aspects of knowledge (administrative, economic, political, and social).

There are several studies analyze and review on the formulation of Indonesian global maritime fulcrum. Rochwulaningsih et al (2019) questioning why Indonesia has not been able to become a strong maritime country by catching economic opportunities through the availability of abundant natural resources, geographical conditions, and historical heritages of the past. She emphasizes that if Indonesia wanted to become a great maritime state it was necessary to build maritime power in the fields of shipping, defense, and military. In addition, the results of a critical study were also conveyed by Connelly (2015) regarding Indonesia's position in dealing with outside relations in order to realize its vision as a strong maritime nation. This vision affects Indonesia's position at the ASEAN and Asia Pacific levels as seen in the resolution of the South China Sea dispute. With this vision, Indonesia is in fact a fully sovereign state on land, air and sea. The formulation and implementation of the vision as a maritime nation have become more common since President Joko Widodo's era. In addition, Sambhi (2015) explores the main components that determine the success of the implementation of Indonesian jargon as the world's maritime axis, which includes the issue of territorial disputes, illegal fishing, and military modernization. Therefore, this study is more a reflection on how Indonesian dreams should be realized as the world's maritime fulcrum.

Origin of Indonesia as Twenty-First Century Maritime Fulcrum Idea

Since Indonesia achieved independence in 1945, from President Soekarno to today President Jokowi, efforts have been made by successive administrations to restore the nation's standing as a maritime power. The idea of making the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) a global maritime axis emerged in President Joko Widodo's speech following his inauguration at the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) on October 20, 2014. In the speech, Jokowi said "... for too long we have turned our backs on the seas, on the oceans, and on the straits and the bays, and now it is time for us to look back so that *Jalesveva Jayamahe* (in the sea we are glorious), as the motto of our ancestors, echoes again."¹ By making Indonesia a maritime power as a goal, the government wants to see the Unitary State of Indonesia as a strong, united, prosperous, and dignified nation.

Before discussing the idea of a global maritime fulcrum from the perspective of the twenty-first century historical perspective and the Asia-Pacific agenda, it is helpful to understand a little about what is meant by global maritime fulcrum from Indonesia's point of view. In general, the term global maritime fulcrum can be analogously referred to as a "global maritime highway," which means a sea line used for the passage of ships by the world's ships for common interests. In addition, the term global maritime fulcrum can also be understood as a doctrine of common purpose that emphasizes various aspects such as geography, geo-strategy, geo-politics, and geo-economy across the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean (Witjaksono 2017, xxxi).

The rapid development of infrastructure in the regions in the past few years and the plan to move the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, may be linked to the country's mission and vision to advance the idea of global maritime fulcrum. The conferring of the status as an Archipelagic State by the United Nations (UN) through United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 1982 has given Indonesia an advantage in realizing its goal to become

¹For further details on this speech please see the text of President Joko Widodo's speech following his inauguration before the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) on October 20, 2014.

a maritime nation (Rochwulaningsih 2019; Strating 2018). This is because this vast expanse of sea has given Indonesia great opportunities, especially in developing a wide range of marine and related resources in tandem with the paradigm shifts in global ocean-based economic and political development, also known as the blue economy of the 21st century.

Today, global economic and political powerhouses including the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, India, China, South Korea, Japan, and others appear to be racing to expand their influence and dominance in the seas and the oceans that are outside their territory, creating the need for rules under UNCLOS 1982. The United States through The United States Marine Corps (USMC), The United States Coast Guard (USCG), and the Department of Navy published a maritime development plan known as A Comparative Strategy for 21st Century Sea Power in October 2007 (Collin 2015). Through this plan, the United States has pledged to become a global maritime economic and political power, launch the slogan "sea power protects the American way of life". China, once known as a sleeping giant, seems to have developed its maritime policy based on a strategy known as the Chain of Pearl, it eventually led to a world-changing agenda known as the Maritime Silk Route (MSR). MSR was formed in order to replace land-based Land Silk Route across the Asian and European continents which elevated China's civilization on the world economic and political map in the past.

In this vision, China's large-scale development plans to create mutual prosperity in the South China Sea waters which straddles from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean, have caused tensions with neighboring countries and global maritime powers. In addition to the United States and China, another maritime power India has developed its maritime strategy by introducing policy known as Freedom to Use the Seas: Maritime Military Strategy. Britain has also established its maritime policy known as Britain Rules the Waves, as a strategy to face the era of globalization and the current global economic and political developments. In Southeast Asia, countries that were free from the clutches of colonialism and gained independence after the Second World War and subsequently formed nation states such as Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar have also come up with their own visions and policies to develop their own marine economy. Compared to other Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia is leading with its vision to develop its maritime policy on December 13, 1957 through Djuanda Declaration, initiated by Djuanda Kartawidjaja, as the 10th Prime Minister of Indonesia.

The idea of Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum declared by Mr. Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla is not a coincidence but is driven by three things: in the awareness of Indonesian sea-faring history, its status as an archipelagic maritime power and now as a maritime country and more significantly, once again taking into account the changing political economy of the world in the twenty-first century. Looking back on these three factors has reminded President Jokowi-Vice President Jusuf Kalla that Indonesia can no longer boast of its history and stature but should position Indonesia in the current global change. Today, economists and politicians have viewed the twenty-first century as an era of Asian revival, as marked by the emergence of several countries such as India, China, Korea and Japan as economic and military leaders of the world. The most obvious example is when China under the administration of President Xi Jinping developed and re-branded the "Silk Line" glittering history both on land and in sea by introducing the One Belt One Road (OBOR), later known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Wenjuan Nie 2016; Mobley 2019).

Through this initiative, China, formerly known as a sleeping giant, is now working to regain the historical silk road by focusing on infrastructure, ports, and trade centers on the Asian mainland and sea routes across the Asian continent to Europe. Considering China's ambition to realize BRI and its certain impact on The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, Indonesia under Mr Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla has taken this opportunity to help accelerate its maritime visions by making Indonesia as a partner and actor in the BRI. China's ambition to restore the glory of the silk road appears is to restore the "Spice Line" or Spice Routes and Indonesia can realize its goal to be the Global Maritime Fulcrum by 2045.

To this end, President Jokowi launched five (5) pillar principles during the East Asia Summit (EAS) held in November 2014 in Myanmar, namely (1) reviving Indonesia's maritime culture; (2) preserving and managing marine resources by focusing on building marine-based food self-sufficiency, it was realized through the development of the fishery industry by focusing on

fishermen; (3) Developing maritime infrastructure and transportation by establishing sea highways, ports, logistic hubs, and shipping industries, as well as maritime tourism; (4) organizing maritime diplomacy that invites all overseas partners to invest in the maritime sector; (5) developing Indonesian maritime defense strength and two additional principles: (6) Developing marine space management; and (7) Developing marine board governance. All these seven principles will be incorporated under the Indonesian Marine Policy (KKI) through Presidential Regulation No. 16/2017 and placed under the auspices of the Coordinating Ministry of Maritime Affairs.

By reviewing China's ideas, missions, visions and strategies in implementing the MSR project with the success of its maritime past, it has a wide range of seas and islands and is strategically located on the route of world trade, flanked by two continents (Asia and Australia) and combined with two of the world's major oceans such as the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean it would be impossible for Indonesia to become the world's maritime axis by 2045 or earlier. Therefore, the government's policy to formulate and implement the various strategies, as well as to support the Indonesian people can be regarded as a determinant of the success or failure of the mission and vision of Indonesian ideas towards the world's maritime axis.

Looking Back on Indonesia's Glorious Maritime State

History records show that Indonesian ancestors sailed and traveled across the seas and oceans of the world using vessels such as the Borobudur (Java) and the Pinisi (Bugis-Makasar) to transport a variety of priceless commodities. Beginning with the reign of Srivijaya in the 7th century or more precisely in the year 671 AD, it managed to occupy almost all the waters of the archipelago (including most of Southeast Asia), sea lines, trade routes and carry out trade activities with merchants from various corners of the globe, especially from Arabia, India and China through the conquest of the Straits of Malacca and the Straits of Sunda. According to the records of Arab traders, there is a mention of the Srivijaya Kingdom rich in various commodities such as camphor, clover, cloves, nutmeg, hatchet, ivory, gold, and tin, which Arab Indian and Chinese traders also coveted (Sulistiyono 2017, 55 - 65).

The abundant wealth the Srivijaya kingdom had enabled it to expand its fleet to dominate trade routes. Moreover, this kingdom was able to maintain peace at sea especially from pirate attacks that often rob the cargo of merchant ships. The pirates also make their sailors slaves to be sold in commercial ports such as Melaka (Malaya), Brunei (north Borneo) and Jolo (Sulu) in the Philippines. Arguably the 9th century AD Srivijaya successfully colonized, either directly or indirectly, kingdoms of Southeast Asia, such as Sumatra, Java, Malaya, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Philippines and established itself as a trade empire and the greatest maritime power in the archipelago at that time. The success and superiority of the Indonesian nation as a maritime power in the Southeast Asian region was furthered by the Majapahit Kingdom, which was established by Nararya Sanggramawijaya (Raden Wijaya) in 1293 AD and based on Java Island.

During the reign of the Majapahit Kingdom, Indonesia not only maintained its status as the premier trade power in Southeast Asia, but also emerged as a formidable military power that expanded and consolidated its territories in Southeast Asia under its rule. The kingdom reached its peak during the reigns of Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gajah Mada from 1350-1389 AD. This is because the Majapahit Kingdom not only dominated almost all the waters of the archipelago including the mainland of Southeast Asia, navigation lines, trade lines, and carried out trade activities with traders from all over the world, but more importantly was able to unite the territories in the Archipelago, the Indochina Desert, the Chinese and Indian Archipelago which are geographically separated by the sea into a geo-political, geo-economic and geo-cultural unit known as Nusantara, and at the same time make the status of the Majapahit Kingdom equal to the Chinese Kingdom.

Patih Mangkubumi Gajah Mada in his sacred pledge known as the Sumpah Palapa before King Tribhuwanotunggadewi vowed not to touch the palapa (spices or spices) if he failed to unite the various regions of Gurun, Seram, Tanjungpura, Haru, Pahang, Dompoo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang, and Tumasik. Under the leadership of Senopati Sarwajala Mpu Nala, Majapahit warships succeeded in conquering individual kingdoms in Southeast Asia and achieved their

mission and vision to unite all these territories and form a geo-political entity called Nusantara.² All these successes would certainly not have been possible had the Srivijaya and Majapahit kingdoms not set forth their maritime mission and vision in the agenda of their administration.

In addition to their maritime vision and mission, the success of Srivijaya and Majapahit as economic power, political and cultural hubs was also due to their policy of establishing trade and diplomatic relations with various dynasties from China that were feared as economic power, military and cultural powers in those days. For example, the Srivijaya Kingdom established good relations with the Liu Song Dynasty (420-479 AD), the Li Dynasty (502-557 AD), the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD), the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD), the Yuan Dynasty (1279- 1368 AD) and the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 AD). For example, I Tsing, a leading priest from China who on his pilgrimage to India traveled several times to Indonesia during the reign of the Srivijaya Kingdom to deepen and study Buddhism there.

In addition to the historical records mentioned above, pre-historical archeological findings in Indonesia have further strengthened the argument that Indonesia was indeed a "maritime nation". The discovery of prehistoric sites in the form of sailboat paintings and wall-to-wall caves such as those found on Muna Island, Seram Island and Arguni Island clearly shows that Indonesian ancestors were seafarers. The evidence of Indonesia's early kingdoms as a maritime government is further strengthened by the discovery of various inscriptions such as the Bukit Kedung inscription dating back to 682 AD which describes Srivijaya as a maritime kingdom that reached its peak during the Dapunta Hyang rule.

According to the Kota Kapur inscription dated 686 AD found on Bangka Island, it is said that Sri Jayanasa had launched a military expedition to punish the Javanese kingdoms referred to as the Kingdom of Tarumanagara (West Java) and the Holing Kingdom (Central Java) for allegedly breaking the Srivijaya Kingdom's rules. In addition to Java, the expedition is also said to be extended to Malaya to trade in the Straits of Malacca, Sunda Strait, the island of Borneo, the South China Sea and Java Sea (For further explanation please see Limbong and Porch 2015; Hamid 2013). After the collapse of the Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th century AD as a result of internal strife, the birth of new kingdoms that liberated themselves from Majapahit's influence, the introduction of Islam, the entry of Western powers, Indonesia's supremacy as a trade and maritime power was continued by other kingdoms that had once been colonies of the Majapahit Kingdom such as the Kingdom of Demak, Pasai, Melaka, Brunei, Makassar, Banten, Batavia, Gersik, Ternate, Manila and many others.

In this post-Majapahit era, the existence of the aforementioned kingdoms did not seem to be based on the idea the unity of Nusantara as Patih Gajah Mada set out, but only developed independently. It is arguable that after the fall of the Majapahit Kingdom, the pursuit of Indonesia's supremacy as a trade and military force was attempted by the first Islamic-based Demak Kingdom in Java. According to Tome Pires in *The Suma Oriental* (Cortesao 1944), the kingdom based in Jepara also had a large sea fleet. For example, during the reign of Pati Unus or Pangeran Sabrang Lor attacked the Portuguese in Malacca was unsuccessful. Under Fatahillah's rule, the Demak Kingdom defeated the Portuguese in 1527 and regained control of Sunda Kelapa (Sulistiyono et al 2019).

In addition to being ahead of Hugo Groutis and Mahan, the rulers of the traditional kingdoms of Indonesia not only paid attention to the strength of the sea fleet but also implemented the concept of freedom at sea and emphasized good relations with outsiders. At the end of the 15th century, there were two kingdoms in Makassar - the kingdom of Tallo and the kingdom of Gowa, which eventually merged into the twin kingdom of Gowa-Tallo and eventually became known as the kingdom of Makassar.³ In order to reunite the territories of Sulawesi and revive the vision of

²The Majapahit naval fleet led by Patih Gajah Mada and Mpu Nala is said to have hundreds of large-scale warships capable of carrying thousands of troops and supplies and equipped with weapons such as rifles and cannon.

³According to Abd. Rahman Hamid who cites Edward Poelinggomang's writings, after the end of the war between the two kingdoms and sealed a treaty of oath between King Gowa and King Tallo that "whoever pits Gowa against Tallo will be condemned by the Gods ... since then the relationship between the two kingdoms became close and inseparable carved in the form of a single expression, *naruangkaraeng* (one people of two kings).

Nusantara (Majapahit), the Makassar kingdom under the leadership of King Tunipalangga Ulaweng conquered a number of small kingdoms and also forged friendships with Bone, Salumeko and Luwu kingdoms. King Tunipalangga Ulaweng also been invited Malay, Arab and European (Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danish, Spanish) and Chinese traders to trade and build commercial plants in Makassar.

What is clear here is that the rise of Makassar has exposed the policies of its governments to uphold the principles of freedom at sea and trade with all parties and has succeeded in making it one of the strongest maritime kingdoms and heirs to the kingdoms of Srivijaya and Majapahit in the era of western powers in Indonesia. During Makassar's rule of Sultan Alauddin (1593-1639), it was said that the Dutch and Portuguese persuaded the sultan to cut trade with other western powers and forbade Makassar seamen and merchants from trading in Maluku.

Attempts to Revive Indonesia's Maritime Glory after Independence

As a prelude to reviving all the glorious history of Indonesian ancestors who had united Indonesia's original territories that were later separated and broken up by the Dutch colonialists through a policy of *divide et impera* as embodied in the *Territoriale Zee en Maritieme Kringen Ordonantie* 1939 (TZMKO), Indonesia under President Ir. Soekarno, or better known as Bung Karno, after gaining independence through the Declaration of Independence August 17, 1945 introduced Pancasila as a philosophy and ideology of the Republic of Indonesia through the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945. Clause (Article) 25A states "...The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is an archipelagic nation with territorial boundaries and its rights set forth by law" which ultimately establishes the motto or slogan such as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the local wisdom of Indonesia and Wawasan Nusantara.

In his speech, Bung Karno realized that the new soul that had once been the heart of Indonesia had faded starting during the colonial era by the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) and the Dutch and wanted the people of Indonesia to rise again by making the seas and oceans a medium of the struggle. In his speech, Bung Karno also prodded the Indonesian people to not only remain subservient to foreigners but to the extent that Indonesians must dominate trade and has a strong navy.

Indonesia's willingness to expand its territory or coastline only three miles from the outlying island established by the Dutch colonial through the Ordinance of 1939, to define its territory as an island nation, uniting all territories including its geologically isolated islands and waters, splitting and regulating sailing traffic and its geo-political control over the world, began to unfold under Djuanda Kartawidjaja. Taking the advice and views of Mochtar Kusumaatmadja to come up with an idea called the "Archipelago Principles" to become Indonesia's National Law and be recognized by the world, Indonesia under the leadership of Djuanda issued the Indonesian Government's Declaration on Waters of the Republic of Indonesia on December 13, 1957, known as the Declaration of Djuanda and into Law No.4/PRP/1960, which makes the following assertions:

".. That all the waters around, between and connecting the islands that comprise the mainland of the Republic of Indonesia without regard to its extent or extent, are a natural part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and are therefore part of the inland waters or national waters that are under the sovereignty of the United Republic of Indonesia"

Through this declaration, the Indonesian government has declared its territory and its sovereignty expanded from 2,027,087 sq km to 5,193,250 sq km without covering Irian Jaya, even though this had not yet approved or ratified by neighboring countries. Following the declaration, the Indonesian government through its representative led by Mochtar Kusumaatmadja championed the proposal on international forums through the United Nations (UN). In the First United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (briefly UNCLOS I) held in Geneva in 1958, the Indonesian government proposed a concept known as the "Archipelago State Principles" for archipelago nations, however, this concept was opposed by the United States with a veto despite

It is called the twin kingdoms of Gowa-Tallo or Makassar where the king of Gowa acts as king and king of Tallo as Mangkubumi." (For further explanation please see Hamid 2013, 137 and Poelinggomang 2004).

the support of the eastern bloc. At the Second International Maritime Convention (UNCLOS II) in 1960 the Indonesian government fought to extend its sovereignty from three nautical miles to 12 nautical miles but was opposed by the United States and the Western bloc.

The Indonesian government's strong desire to fight for the ideologies and philosophies contained in the Pancasila, National Archives and the Declaration of Djuanda finally began to bear fruit when the Third International Law Convention in 1973 at Montego, Jamaica in principle agreed to accept the concept of an island nation and in 1982 the United Nations (UN) established UNCLOS and agreed to grant Indonesia a status as an Archipelagic State. The UN's recognition of a United Nations through UNCLOS 1982 has affirmed Indonesia's status as the largest Archipelagic Nation in the world, enabling the Indonesian government to redefine the extent of its maritime law made through the Law. 17 1985 and at the same time asserted that the area of water included islands of about 17,000 that do not divide but instead unite Indonesia. President Abdul Rahman Wahid proposed Nusantara Day and the idea became a reality during the era of President Megawati Soekarno Putri, who declared December 13 as Nusantara Day starting 2001, after the date of the Djuanda Declaration.

How the Idea can Revive Nasantara Maritime Glory and Spirit?

Ever since President Jokowi announced the idea of "Indonesia as a Global Maritime Fulcrum" in 2014, to a key question that has often been raised among Indonesians is whether this doctrine has brought a positive impact and prosperity to the people of Indonesia. There have also been questions whether this noble idea can be achieved, or whether it will meet the fate of other maritime development visions advocated by the previous governments, which apparently failed to benefit the people economically and Indonesia itself. On paper and considering geo-political, geo-strategic, geo-economic and geo-cultural realities, it is possible that this "Indonesia as a Global Maritime Fulcrum" doctrine will not be fully achieved or will bring little change to the people and Indonesia itself. Being the world's largest archipelago nation, Indonesia is strategically positioned internationally as it is flanked by two continents, the Asian and Australian continents and is also flanked by the world's two major oceans, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, which serve as global sea lines for many countries.

With about 17,500 islands and the world's second longest coastline of 99,093 km and the sea area of about 3,273,810 km, stretching from Sabang Island to Merauke and 40% of the world's 90% trade by sea, Indonesia has a huge advantage compared to other countries to be the world's maritime hub. Before discussing further the question of how Indonesian maritime fulcrum can restore the country's past glory and reinforce the slogan that the seas unite rather than divide, and revive the spirit of the sea and Nusantara, it would be good to review Indonesia's traditional history. Long before the Southeast Asian Islands were invaded and colonized by foreign powers, territories in the region, dubbed by Lynda N. Shaffer (1996), as the maritime realm, had several maritime kingdoms that were formidable and feared by the agrarian kingdoms of the islands or in the mainland of Southeast Asia. These include the Srivijaya and Majapahit governments in Indonesia; Malacca Kingdom in Malaya; and the Sulu Sultanate of southern Philippines.¹⁴ Historically, the emergence and development of the upper kingdoms as economic and political powers in the region was in principle not due to the natural richness of its mainland but rather closely related to the kingdoms' policy of controlling the sea and surrounding areas for trade and port purposes thus enabling it to emerge as a maritime power and an empire of trade between the east and the west as well as their ability to fully mobilize natural and human resources (seafarers and slaves) in nearby territories.

The wisdom of the governments to develop their economy and politics between the 7th and 17th centuries allowed the region to develop and become a focal point for traders from all over the world, which Reid calls The Age of Commerce (Reid 1988). Prior to the 13th century, the emergence and development of maritime and agrarian kingdoms in the region was purely geopolitical and was limited in terms of space, power and as a limited economic and political power in terms of space and power and they were independent of each other. However, these geopolitical features and patterns began to change in the 13th century with the emergence of the Java-based

Majapahit kingdom. Under the rule of Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gajah Mada, there were early attempts to unify the territories of the region under a banner known as Nusantara, initiated by Patih Gajah Mada. Nusantara⁴, also known as the Malay Archipelago¹⁸ to the British and the Dutch during the colonial period and the Southeast Asian Archipelago today is a characteristically maritime¹⁹ region and is historically unique. This is because Nusantara was not "discovered"²⁰ by travelers and merchants and differs from the history of America, which was found by Christopher Columbus (Portuguese), Cape of Hope by Vasco de Gamma (Portuguese), the Australian continent by James Cook (English) and many others.

In other words, the territories and seas in this archipelago have long been inhabited by humans, were highly civilized and have been haunted by travelers and merchants from before the West knew the meaning of The Age of Exploration and The Age of Voyages in the 15th century to sail around the world for colonies and various commodities (.21 Geopolitically, Nusantara refers to areas including Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and all Indonesian islands and includes East Timor and Papua. In terms of etymology, the term Nusantara for the first time appeared in the history of the region during the reign of Majapahit (1293-1478) in Java under the rule of Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gajah Mada (Prime Minister). Nusantara, which derives from the Javanese words "Nusa" (island) and "Antero" (other, as a whole), was created by Patih Gajah Mada to strengthen the Java-based Majapahit kingdom center and its grip on the empire and conquered territories with three main political units: *negara agung* (grand state), surrounding countries and Nusantara (areas which do not resonate Javanese culture, but sometimes still claimed as colonies where they had to pay tribute). During his tenure as prime minister, Gajah Mada recited an oath known as the Pledge of Allegiance of the Palapa recorded in the book of Pararaton which reads as follows:

"Sira Gajah Mada pepatih amungkubumi tan ayun amukti palapa, sira Gajah Mada: Lamun huwus kalah nusantara ingsun amukti palapa, lamun kalah ring Gurun, ring Seram, Tanjungpura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompo, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana ingsun amukti palapa"

[Translation: Gajah Mada the Prime Minister, will not enjoy the palapa, Gajah Mada vows. "As long as I have not united Nusantara, I will not enjoy the palapa. Before I conquered Gurun Island, Seram Island, Tanjungpura, Haru Island, Pahang Island, Dompo, Bali Island, Sunda Palembang, Tumasik, I will not taste the palapa].

In the swearing-in ceremony, Patih Gajah Mada swore by saying "*lamun huwus kalah nusantara, isun amukti palapa*", which translates as "Only if I have defeated outer islands will I enjoy rest". He also vowed not to touch or eat the palapa or spices as long as he failed to consolidate the territories he referred to as Nusantara under Majapahit. During the reign of King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) who succeeded Tribhuwanatunggadewi, Patih Gajah Mada continued to seek and fulfill his oath by conquering Bedahulu (Bali) and Lombok, Palembang, Swarnabhumi (Sriwijaya), Tamiang, Pasai Ocean, and other states in Swarnadwipa (Sumatra). This was followed by Bintan Island, Tumasik (Singapore), Peninsula Malaya, and other parts of Borneo such as Kapuas, Katingan, Sampit, Kotalingga (Tanjunglingga), Kotawaringin, Sambas, Lawai, Kandangan, Landak, Samadang, Tirem, Sedu, Brunei, Kalka, Saludung, Solok, Pasir, Barito, Sawaku, Tabalung, Tanjungkutei, and Malano.

Based on the term Nusantara advocated by Patih Gajah Mada, it can be said that the ancient Nusantara geopolitical area covered the entire Malay world, including Indonesia, from Sabang in

⁴In ancient times, there were various names given to islands located in south-east Asia. Travelers from China named this island as Nan-hai (South Sea Islands); Ancient Indian records call it the Dwipantara (Kepulauan Tanah Sebereng), a name derived from the Sanskrit word *dwipa* (island) and *antara* (outer, afar). The Arabs call it *Jaza'ir al-Jawi* and in Latin it is called *benzoe*. Europeans call it the "Indian Islands" (*Indische Archipel*, *Indian Archipelago*, *l'Archipel Indien*) or "East Indies" (*Oost Indie*, *East Indies*, *Indes Orientales*). Other names are also used "Malay Archipelago" (*Maleische Archipel*, *l'Archipel Malais*). During the Dutch occupation, the official name used was *Nederlandsch-Indie* (Dutch East Indies), while the Japanese occupation 1942-1945 used the term *To-Indo* (East Indies). See also Alfred Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, New York: Dova Publications, 1869 and Bernard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara Sejarah Indonesia* (Translation.), Jakarta: Gramedia, 2008.

the west to Manokwari in the east, the island of Borneo including Brunei and Sarawak and the island of Sulawesi; Malayan region, including Singapore; most of the Philippine archipelago; Papua New Guinea (from Manokwari to Merauke). After the fall of the Majapahit empire, the emergence of several other kingdoms and eventual colonization by Western powers, the archipelago's geopolitical terms and concepts championed by Gadjah Mada have been broken down and begun to disappear on the archipelago. Through the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, Malaya, including Singapore and part of North Borneo was placed under British rule known as the "Malay Archipelago" (Maleische Archipel, l'Archipel Malais) and regions of Sumatra, Riau-Lingga, Java Island, Sulawesi Islands, Kalimantan and others were placed under Dutch influence known as *Nederlandsch-Indie* (the Dutch East Indies).

Under the colonial rule, the functions and role of the sea that were once the backbone of the formation, glory and unification of the early kingdoms in the archipelago seem to have been marginalized and replaced by the land-based economy and the Nusantara geopolitics were broken up for the interests of colonizers. Although there have been various attempts to restore Indonesia's "Nusantara spirit" and forge anti-colonialism, much of this effort only ended in failure. The failure of the Dutch colonialists (Indonesia to defend their territories in the region and the slogans of "Asia For Asians" and "Prosperity Together with East Asia" by the Japanese creation seems to have given space to local nationalists to revive the spirit of unification of territories fought by Patih Gadjah Mada through various slogans or new ideas such as the Greater Malaya and Greater Indonesia.

However, the scenario and political turmoil during the Second World War did not seem to allow the reunification of the archipelago. For example, Sukarno declared Indonesia's independence ahead without involving Malaya in 1945. Malaysia (Malaya) under Tunku Abdul Rahman only achieved independence from the British in 1957. In other words, the struggle of the nationalists only managed to free their countries from colonialism and establish a sovereign nation state rather than the reunification of Nusantara with the Malay nation as the core. Although Indonesia achieved independence and was developing rapidly and was united with the ASEAN spirit, the issue of nation state and regional spirit still seems to be the main focus of the countries in the Southeast Asian Archipelago.

According to Abdul Rahman Embong, such was due to the historical specificity of colonialism, the formation of the 'ideal nation' of these countries as a result of the vision created in the struggle for independence and the struggle to fill and strengthen that independence.²³ Francis Fukuyama in his work entitled *The End of History*²⁴ states that the 20th century especially after the end of the Cold War was the end of history. This Fukuyama argument is fully supported and further supported by Kenichi Ohmae²⁵ in his book *The Ends of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economics* which argues that the issue of creation and strengthening of nation states should not be a major goal for nations at the end of the 20th and 21st century because he considers it the era of the end of history and the formation of nations with political, economic and social boundaries that separate the nations of the world. In other words, Ohame tries to convince us that the 21st century is the century of the "borderless and globalized world" in line with the concept of globalization today especially in the economic aspect. According to Ohame, the superiority and pride of the government and its citizens who have their own "nation state" is just in the name only, but in fact the concept is outdated and has been undermined by a new power or ideology called capitalism which is rooted in "region state" or territorial state.

In Fukuyama and Ohame, these former colonies would not advance or catch up with other countries in the world (advanced nations or colonizers) if they continued to support the nation-state ideology that he saw as the creation and desire of colonizers. Drawing on the above contradictions, the question arises as to what is the best approach or mechanism for restoring the Nusantara spirit and the Indonesian soul? What is clear here is that the unification of Indonesian territories based on the Nusantara concept created by Patih Gadjah Mada seems difficult to do as it was eradicated by the Dutch colonialists for hundreds of years. In addition, the fact that the geography and maritime boundaries of Indonesia with neighbors in the Southeast Asian Archipelago are geometrical boundaries has indirectly compounded this difficulty.

Considering the turbulent historical journey and the geo-political breakdown of the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia, Indonesia's idea of a global maritime pivot is a great idea to restore the

glory of Indonesian maritime past, to develop regions that have long been marginalized, strengthen its sovereignty and at the same time benefit its people. The choice of this maritime-based doctrine can also be likened to a bridge and catalyst towards the re-empowerment of seas and territories on the realization of the ever-mobile nature of the sea, low and high tides, "standing the test of time", impervious to international borders, acting as the builder of a civilization, was recognized for its excellence by sailors and merchants of old and others. Hugo Grotius, a Dutch-appointed legal expert through the East Indies to defend the Dutch seizure of a Portuguese merchant ship in the Straits of Malacca once argued that "the sea as well as the air cannot be conquered and cannot be referred to ownership by any country"

To ensure that the idea can be realized, in addition to planning the seven principles outlined by President Jokowi, we must also correct some of the misunderstandings of terms such as whether the status of a maritime nation or an archipelago country, the concept of hinterland and hintersea, terms of outer and isolated islands or inner island does not ignore the "historic islands" as stated by Sahlin (1985) instilling a mindset of the sea as a unifier and not a separator; namely the concept of "land and land" as a unit rather than a partition and see the islands as home and the sea as its yard; and ensure that the *Jalesveva Jayamahe* slogan or in the sea we are victorious is truly alive among the people especially on the coasts and on the islands. This is because without the full awareness and involvement of the Indonesian people it will not be possible to achieve this doctrine because it is the Indonesian people themselves that will determine its success or failure.

In addition to relying on basic matters and changing mindsets, the ability of local scholars to support this doctrine in the form of knowledge is essential to the consensus that "pen points are sharper than swords". As it was revealed at the beginning of this paper, research and writing on the history of the early ancestors of the seafarers not only began with the Srivijaya period but should begin again in the pre-historical or pre-literary period marked by the emergence of ancient humans called homo sapiens. In addition, researchers and writers should also provide space or places for historical actors or actors who retain a variety of past memories but are no longer accessible and embodied in the form of writing for public display and recognition.

Conclusion

As previously explained, Indonesia is a very fortunate country as it has been awarded with a variety of strategically placed seas and islands and a wealth of natural resources. Historically, it is evident how the ancestors of the Indonesian nation during prehistoric times have dominated the world's major seas and oceans as a means of sailing, migrating, expanding empires and trading. The dominance of Indonesian seafarers seems to be more prominent during the history or the era marked by the emergence of various kingdoms such as Srivijaya, Majapahit and Makassar. Nevertheless, the entry of and colonization by western powers, especially the Dutch in the 17th century, undermined this glorious past for hundreds of years. After Indonesia achieved independence in 1945, efforts were made by the governments to revive this glorious past in a new form or platform in keeping with today's economic and political changes. Thus, the idea of Indonesia as a Global Fulcrum can be said to be a government policy to make Indonesia the leading maritime power in the Southeast Asian Archipelago in the 21st century.

It should be noted, however, that all these efforts will certainly not be successful if the Indonesian people are not strengthened in the first place. For this purpose, in addition to being a historical event, the appreciation and pride of the people of Indonesia in relation to maritime education is also important to serve as a reminder as Susanto Zuhdi said, "... The history of maritime searches all human activities regarding the seas with their variety of aspects. In these cases, maritime history function to record and provide any information for any interests, including for topographical names of the world.

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