

The Vision of "Indonesia Towards the World Maritime Centre (Poros Maritim Dunia) "from the Perspective of Maritime History, Majapahit Kingdom and Patih Gajah Mada Vision, Geopolitics and Geostrategy in Southeast Asia.

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Abstract

The announcement to create a maritime economic initiative known as the 21st Century *Maritime Silk Route* (MSR) by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 has created a new paradigm shift in geoeconomics and geopolitics of various countries included in the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. Through this agenda, China intends to redevelop the maritime pathways in the sea and oceans that once elevated China as one of the world's leading maritime powers. Compared to the countries in Southeast Asia that still have various perceptions on China's agenda, Indonesia instead views this agenda as an opportunity to develop its territories that have long been marginalized from the tide of development and in line with the changing world economic-political agenda in the 21st century through an idea known as "Indonesia Towards World Maritime" inspired by Mr. Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla in 2014. Taking into account the importance of this idea to Indonesia's geo-economic and geo-political agenda, the research and writing of this paper is aimed at revisiting the history of Indonesia maritime which was once a world-class maritime cruise and trade route before being erased by hundreds of years of Dutch colonization. In addition, the study also aims to see and evaluate the extent to which the idea of "Indonesia Towards World Maritime Centre" is able to restore the spirit of the Indonesia nation and become a major maritime power in the Southeast Asian Islands.

Keywords: Maritime history, Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, and Geostrategy.

A. INTRODUCTION

Alfred Thayer Mahan, a high-ranking officer of the American Navy known for his Theory of Sea Power and *Sea Naval* through his book *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, published in 1965, stated that the power of the navy and navy are two (2) elements that are important enough to ensure the progress and success of a country and vice versa, if these sea forces are being ignored will result in losses and can even tear down a country. Mahan also stated that a country that is limited to the sea is certainly much better than a country that is limited to land. What Mahan talks and believes in his book on the importance of the seas and oceans to a nation is well-founded and proven to be true when the countries that were once colonized, achieved independence and formed

a nation-state after the end of World War II began to position themselves in the current world economic and political system by rebuilding its economy and geo-politics based on the sea. Looking back on Indonesia's past history, Mahan's theories, thoughts and suggestions are not new to Indonesia. In other words, Indonesia's majesty as a maritime power with a vast and strategic territory called "Nusantara" has become the focus of sailors, traders and scholars until it is engraved in the minds and maps of the early world before the century AD.

Indonesia's own history does not seem to have begun with its terrestrial strength but rather begins with the history of the wisdom of the rulers and the persistence of the Indonesian ancestors in dominating the seas and oceans until it succeeded in producing a *bahari* kingdom. This has been proven by the Government of Srivijaya (7th-14th century), Majapahit Kingdom (13th-16th century), 16th century Demak Islamic Kingdom, Gowa-Tallo Kingdom in 17th century Makasar and many others. Based on the records and early records of the sailors, traders and scholars from Arabia, India, China and Europe have shown the superiority, greatness and prosperity of these kingdoms in the field of administration, military (sea fleet), trade, navigation, centers of knowledge and religious activities, diplomatic relations and so on. What distinguishes Mahan's thinking in the 19th century and the rulers who supported the early kingdoms mentioned above is in terms of ideas, *worldview* and unity of thought in relation to the power of the sea. What is clear, Mahan only reveals his knowledge in scientific form (theory and writing) and focuses more on the aspects of defense and empire expansion only whereas the rulers of these early kingdoms have revealed the power of the sea in a practical and more comprehensive or holistic form, not only the defense and expansion of the empire but encompassing all aspects of the knowledge of statehood (administration, economic, political and social).

B. INDONESIAN MARITIME HISTORY

History has recorded that the ancestors of the Indonesians sailed and sailed various seas and oceans in the world using ships such as the Borobudur (Jawa) and the *Pinisi* (Bugis-Makasar) to load various priceless commodities. Starting with the Srivijaya empire that emerged in the 7th century or more precisely in 671 AD, which managed to take control of almost all the waters in the archipelago (including part of the Southeast Asian mainland), cruise lines, trade routes and conducting trade activities with traders from various parts of the world especially from Arabia, India and China (*Tiongkok*) through the domination of the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda Strait. According to the records of Arab traders, the Srivijaya Kingdom is rich in various commodities such as fresh lime, wood, cloves, nutmeg, ivory, gold, tin and many others that are hunted by Arab, Indian and Chinese merchants.

With this abundant wealth the Kingdom of Srivijaya has enabled it to enlarge its marine fleet to dominate trade routes and keep the peace at sea especially from the attacks of *pirates* or pirates who often rob cargo of merchant ships and make the crew slaves or slaves for sale at trade ports such as Malacca (Malay Land), Brunei (north of Kalimantan) and Jolo (Sulu) in the Philippines. It can be said that in the 9th century AD the Government of Srivijaya managed to colonize directly or indirectly against the Southeast Asian governments such as Sumatra, Java, Malaya, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Philippines and thus made it the strongest trade and maritime power "emporium" that was unrivalled in the archipelago at that time. Indonesia's success and prominence as a maritime power in the Southeast Asian region was further continued by the Majapahit Government which was founded by Nararya Sanggramawijaya (Raden Wijaya) in 1293 AD and based on Java Island.

During the era of the Majapahit kingdom, Indonesia not only continued its status as the leading trading power in Southeast Asia as the Srivijaya Government had done but also emerged as a feared military power that managed to expand and unite the territories of Southeast Asia under its power. This kingdom has reached its peak during the reign of Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gajah Mada from 1350-1389 AD. This is because in the era of the Majapahit empire not only controlled almost all the waters in the archipelago including the mainland of Southeast Asia, the voyage lines, trade routes and carried out trade activities with traders from all corners of the world but the more important was to successfully consolidate and consolidate the territories of the archipelago, Desantara Indochina, Dwipantara China and India which are geographically separated by the sea into a geo-political union, geo-economic and geo-cultural known as the archipelago and thus make the status of the Majapahit Government equivalent to the status of the Government of China.

In the oath of magic known as the Palapa Oath which was once recited by Patih Mangkubumi Gajah Mada in front of Raja Tribhuwanotungga Dewi has vowed not to touch *palapa* (spices or *spices*) as long as it is not successful in uniting the various territories comprising Gurun, Seram, Tanjungpura, Haru, Pahang, Dampo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang and Tumasik. Under the leadership of Senopati Sarwajala Mpu Nala, the Majapahit warships have successfully conquered one by one kingdoms in Southeast Asia and achieved its mission and vision of uniting all these regions and forming a geo-political called the archipelago. All these successes would certainly not have worked if the rulers of the Srivijaya and Majapahit governments had not put the maritime mission and vision on the agenda of his administration.

Apart from the policies of its rulers who have a maritime mission and vision, the success of Srivijaya and Majapahit as an economic, political and cultural center is also due to the policies of its rulers who have established trade and diplomatic relations with various dynasties from China which were quite feared as an economic, military and cultural power of the world at that time. For example, the Srivijaya Government has had good relations with Liu Song Dynasty (420-479 AD), Liang Dynasty (502-557 AD), Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD), Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD), Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368 AD) and Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 AD). For example, I Tsing, a prominent Chinese priest who on his adventures to India had stopped by Indonesia several times during the Srivijaya government era to study and learn the teachings of Buddhism there. In addition to the historical records mentioned above, pre-historic findings in the form of archaeological finds found in the Indonesian territories have also further strengthened the argument that the Indonesians are indeed a "maritime race or a *bahari* nation". The discovery of pre-historic sites or sites in the form of sailboat paintings and fiddling on the walls of caves such as those found on Muna Island, Seram Island and Arguni Island clearly shows and illustrates that the ancestors of the Indonesians were sailors. In addition to the above findings, the evidence of the early governments of Indonesia as a maritime kingdom is also reinforced by the discovery of various inscriptions such as the inscription of Kedukan Bukit dated 682 AD which explains Srivijaya as the maritime kingdom that reached its peak during the reign of Dapunta Hyang.

According to the inscription of Kota Kapur dated 686 AD found on Bangka Island, it is stated that Sri Jayanasa has launched a naval expedition to punish the government in Java which is referred to as the Tarumanagara Government (Western Java) and the Holing Government (Central Java) for allegedly defaulting to the government of Srivijaya. Apart from Java, the expedition is also said to have been extended to Malaya to dominate trade in the Straits of Malacca, Sunda Strait, Karimata Strait, South China Sea and Java Sea. After the fall of the Majapahit Kingdom in the

14th century AD due to internal disputes or crises, the birth of new governments and liberation from the influence of Majapahit, the entry of Islam, the entry of Western powers and so on, the superiority of Indonesia as a trading power and maritime power was continued by other governments that had been colonies of the Majapahit Kingdom a long time ago such as the Demak kingdom, Pasai, Melaka, Brunei, Makassar, Banten, Batavia, Gersik, Ternate, Manila and many others.

In the post-Government era of Majapahit, the existence of the above-mentioned governments seems to no longer stand on the spirit and unity of the archipelago as Patih Gajah Mada once did but only stand and grow separately. It can be said that after the fall of the Majapahit kingdom, efforts to continue Indonesia's prominence as a naval and military (military) force were attempted to continue by the first Islamic Demak Government in Java. According to Tome Pires in *The Suma Oriental* has stated that this kingdom based in Jepara also has a large marine fleet. For example, during the reign of Pati Unus or Prince Sabrang Lor, the Portuguese invaded the Portuguese in Malacca. Under the leadership of Fatahillah, the Demak Kingdom defeated the Portuguese in 1527 and regained control of Sunda Kelapa. In addition to getting ahead of the thinking of Hugo Grotius and Mahan, the rulers of the traditional kingdoms in Indonesia have not only paid attention to the strength of the marine fleet but also implemented the concept of freedom at sea and are concerned with good relations with outsiders. At the end of the 15th century, there were two kingdoms in Makassar, the Tallo government and the Gowa government which eventually merged into a twin kingdom called Gowa-Tallo, which was eventually known as the Makassar kingdom. In order to reunite the wlayah-wilayah in Sulawesi and revive the vision of the archipelago (Majapahit), the Makassar government under the leadership of King Tunipalangga Ulaweng has conquered various small kingdoms and also formed friendships with the kingdoms of Bone, Salumeko and Luwu. In addition, Raja Tunipalangga Ulaweng also invited Malay, Arab and European traders (Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danish, Spanish) and Chinese to trade and build trade plants in Makassar.

What is clear here is that the rise of Makassar has shown that the policy of his rulers to re-defend the principle of freedom at sea and trade to all parties has succeeded in making this kingdom one of the strongest maritime governments and heir to the Srivijaya and Majapahit governments in the era of the entry of western powers in Indonesia. When Makassar was ruled by Sultan Alauddin, it was said that the Dutch and Portuguese had persuaded the sultan to sever trade ties with other western powers and forbade the sailors and merchants of Makassar to trade in Maluku and were asserted by Sultan Alauddin to the Netherlands as follows:

"My country is open to all nations, and what I have is for you, so are the Portuguese." God has made the earth and lau, the earth has been divided between mankind and the sea given in general. It is not unheard of that a person is forbidden to sail at sea. If you do that, then you will snatch food from your mouth. I am a poor king"

C. INDONESIA AS A MARITIME NATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

As an initial step to bring to life all the glorious history of the ancestors of the Indonesia people that had been eroded and extinguished and reunited the original territories of Indonesia were separated and broken by the Dutch colonialists through the policy of *divide et impera* as reflected in the *Teritoriale Zee en en Maritieme Kringen Ordonantie* 1939 (TZMKO), Indonesia under the leadership of President Ir. Soekarno or better known as Karno after achieving independence through the Proclamation of Independence 17 August 1945 introduced *Pancasila* as a philosophy and ideology of

the Republic of Indonesia through the National Policy Law (UUD) of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. Under Clause 25A states "... The Union State of the Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago nation characterized by an archipelago with territories whose borders and rights are set by law "which ultimately creates slogans or slogans such as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the *local wisdom* of Indonesia and *Wawasan Nusantara*. In his speech on 9 September 1953 during the inauguration of the establishment of the Institute of Marine Forces (now known as the Naval Academy or AAL) warned the AAL cadets as follows:

"... To improve our situation, strive for us to be a nation of returning sailors, a nation of sailors in the broadest sense, not just *jongos-jongos* on board. We must have a merchant fleet and a military fleet that is busy at sea matching the rhythm of ocean waves."

In his speech, Karno realizes that the soul of the *bahari*, which was once the Indonesian, has begun to fade from the past colonial times by the VOC and the Netherlands and wants the Indonesians to rise again by making the sea and oceans a platform for struggle. In his speech, Karno also wanted Indonesians not only to remain in the old quarters, to be subordinates or as sailors only to foreigners but it is time for Indonesians to dominate the trade and Indonesia has a strong navy. In his speech on March 20, 1965, during the inauguration of the establishment of the Indonesian National Resilience Board (LEMHANNAS), Karno emphatically emphasized the importance of strengthening Indonesia's sea defend as follows:

"... to organize a defense (a strong national and a strong nation, must be based on his *obyecief gegeven* what? What I mean is: first, that Indonesia is an archipel, other than India, other than the PRC, other than Germany. Indonesia is an ocean sprinkled with islands, every little child can express and understand it; Second, this Archipel was placed by God between the 2 Asian-Australian Continents and the 2 Pacific and Indian Oceans, so I say... Indonesia is a cross-position, kreuz position says Karl Houshofer, thirdly, Indonesia is made up of seas and thousands of islands, has very rich resources. Neither the fertile land, the sea nor the bummi contain the minerals of the world's most common mines, fourthly, the Indonesians are actually inter related with the nations that inhabit the Pacific Islands, Indocina to Madagascar... therefore, the kingdom of Merina Racila Historisch has to do with our people, fifth, we should know that Indonesian culture, the Islamic element is there, the Christian element is there, the Hindu element is there, the Chinese element is there, the original Indonesian element is there."

Indonesia's determination to expand its territory or sea limit, which is only 3 miles from the outer island designated by the Dutch colonialists through *Ordonantie* 1939, determined its territorial boundaries as an archipelago nation, united all territories including its islands and waters that were geographically separate and arranged peaceful traffic of its voyage and the sovereignty of its waters (geo-political) to the world began to emanate under the leadership of Ir. Raden Hj. Djoeanda (Juanda) Kartawidjaja as the 10th Prime Minister of Indonesia. By taking the recommendation and opinion of Mochtar Kusumaatmadja to create an idea called the "Archipelago Foundation" to be made into the Law of the Indonesian Islands and recognized by the world, Indonesia under the leadership of Djuanda issued the Indonesian Government's Announcement on the National Waters of the Republic of Indonesia on 13 December 1957 which was later known as the Djuanda Declaration and became Act No.4/PRP/1960 which made the following assertion:

".. That all the waters around, between and that connect the islands which include the mainland of the Republic of Indonesia with no regard to the us or the width, are a reasonable part of the mainland territory of the Republic of Indonesia and thus are

part of the inland waters or national waters that fall under the sovereignty of the Union State of the Republic of Indonesia."

Through this declaration, the Indonesian government has declared that its territory and water sovereignty has expanded from 2,027,087 sq. km to 5,193,250 sq km without covering Irian Jaya yet although it has not yet been accepted or ratified by neighboring countries. After the announcement of this declaration, the Indonesian government through its delegation led by Kusumaatmadja has championed this agenda internationally through the United Nations (UN). In the First International Convention on the Law of the Sea I (UNCLOS I) held in Geneva in 1958, the Indonesian government proposed a concept known as "Archipelago State Principles" for archipelago countries but this concept was objected to by the United States which has veto power despite being supported by the eastern bloc. In the Second International Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS II) in 1960 the Indonesian government had fought for the sovereignty of its waters to be expanded from three nautical miles to 12 nautical miles but remained disputed by the United States and the western bloc.

The Indonesian government's strong spirit to champion the ideology and philosophy embodied in *Pancasila*, *Wawasan Nusantara* and the Djuanda Declaration finally began to bear fruit when in the Third International Sea Law Convention in 1973 located in Montego, Jamaica in principle agreed to accept the concept of an archipelago state and in 1982 the United Nations (UN) formed UNCLOS and agreed to grant Indonesia status as a country with the status of State of the Islands (*Archipelagic State*). The certification as an Islands State by the UN through UNCLOS 1982 has confirmed Indonesia's status as the largest island nation in the world, enabling the Indonesia government to redefine the breadth and limits of its seas made through Act No. 17 of 1985 and thus assert that the waters including islands numbering around 17,000 are not separatists but rather Indonesian unionists. Under the leadership of President Abdur Rahman Wahid, a plan to create the Archipelago Day was carried out and this plan has become a reality during the era of President Megawati Soekarno Putri which is celebrated every 13 December every year by the Indonesian people beginning in 2001, taking the historical date of the declaration of the Djuanda Declaration and continued to be celebrated until now.

D. INDONESIA MARITIME VISION

When Indonesia gained independence in 1945, which was initiated by President Soekarno until now under the leadership of President Jokowi, various efforts were made by the government to restore the maritime or *bahari* soul and make Indonesia a maritime state. Historically, the desire to make the State of the Union of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as the world's maritime shaft was embodied for the first time when President Joko Widodo in his speech after the appointment before the People's Assembly (MPR) on October 20, 2014 said "... that we have long overlooked the sea, overshadowed the oceans, and overshadowed the straits and felled, and now it is time for us to return them all, so that "Jalesveva Jayamahe", in the sea as we succeed, as our ancestors did in the past, could return to materialization". Making the world maritime shaft an ambition (vision) of the Union of the Republic of Indonesia is also aimed at making Indonesia strong maritime (strong), united (*unity*), prosperity, and authoritative (*dignity*). Before talking about the idea of the world's maritime shaft from the perspective of historical review and the Asia-Pacific agenda of the 21st century, it is good to understand to some extent what the world's maritime shaft means from Indonesian glasses? Generally the world's maritime shaft by analogy can be likened to a "world maritime road" which means a sea strip used to pass by the ships of the world's

countries in creating common interests. In addition, the term of the world's maritime center can also be seen as a doctrine that gives instructions on a *common purpose* that emphasizes various aspects such as geography, geo-strategy, geo-politics and geo-economics between the two oceans i.e. Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean.

"In heading to Indonesia as the world's maritime shaft, it means that Indonesia is the center of the world's maritime activities, not a local maritime activities or regions. Among them is the creation of "world cities" coastal cities that will be areas of interracial industry and trade, which are of course many benefits to the economic life of the Indonesians."

Therefore, it can be said here that the rapid development of infrastructure in various regions at the time of kin and the latest transfer of the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan may have something to do with Indonesia's mission and vision towards the idea of world maritime shaft. Being recognized as an *Archipelagic State* by the United Nations (UN) through UNCLOS 1982 has given Indonesia an advantage to realize its mission and vision of becoming a maritime nation. This is because this vast sea region has given Indonesia considerable access to develop a wide range of marine resources and related to it in line with the paradigm shift in global economic and political development based on the sea or also known as the *blue economy* in the 21st century. Nowadays, the world's economic and political powers such as the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, India, China, South Korea, Japan and many others seem to have raced to widen their influence and domination over the seas and oceans that are beyond their territorial seas until the UNLOS 1982.

The United States through the United States *Marine Corps*, *United States Coast Guard* and *Department of Navy* published a maritime development plan known as *A Comparative Strategy for 21st Century Sea Power* in October 2007. Through this plan, the United States has vowed to become the world's maritime economic and political power, producing a slogan that reads "the maritime power protects the American way of life". China, which once earned the nickname as the *sleeping giant*, seems to have developed its maritime policy based on a strategy known as the *Chain of Pearl* that eventually spawned a world-shaking agenda known as the Maritime Silk Route to replace the *Land Silk Route*. The land across the Asian and European continents has lifted China's civilization on the economic and political maps of the world in the past.

In this vision, China has targeted the waters of the South China Sea that are included in the Pacific Ocean up to the Indian Ocean to be developed on a large scale for the purpose of mutual prosperity thus provoking conflicts with neighboring countries and the world's maritime powers. In addition to the United States and China, India, which also belongs to the world's maritime powers, has also developed its maritime policy by creating a military policy known as *Freedom to Use the Seas: Maritime Military Strategy* and Britain also established its maritime policy known as *Britain Rules the Waves* as a strategy in the face of the era of globalization, current economic and political developments of the world. In Southeast Asia, countries that had just been free from colonial grip and achieved independence after World War II and subsequently formed a nation-state such as Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar have also established various visions, missions and policies to develop their respective marine economies. Compared to the countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is one of the leading countries in its view and development of its mission, vision and marine policy.

This idea and vision inspired by Pak Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla is not a coincidence but is driven by three things which is based on the awareness of the history of Indonesia maritime, Indonesia's former status as an archipelagic state, sea states and now as

maritime countries and even more important after taking into account the changing world economic-political agenda in the 21st century. Looking back at these three factors has reminded President Jokowi-Vice President Jusuf Kalla that Indonesia can no longer continue to boast of its history and status but should put Indonesia into the tide of global change. Nowadays, economists and politicians have seen the 21st century as a period of Asian revival marked by the emergence of several countries such as India, China, Korea and Japan as the world's economic and military power. The most obvious example is when China under the administration of President Xi Jinping has developed and rebranded the glorious history of the "Silk Road" either on land or at sea by introducing the idea of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) which later became known as the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI).

Through this idea, China, formerly labelled as the *sleeping giant*, is now seeking to re-enhance the history of silk roads by emphasizing on the development of infrastructure, ports and trade center in mainland Asia and sea routes that stretch across the Asian continent to Europe. Taking into account China's determination to realize the idea of the BRI and certainly impacting ASEAN countries, Indonesia under Pak Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla has taken this opportunity to help accelerate its agenda as a maritime nation by making Indonesia a friend and perpetrator (*actor*) of the BRI. If China uses the slogan of reinstating the glorious history of the silk road and it also seems to have its own slogan, it is to revert the glorious history of "Jalyour Rempah" or Spice Routes and realize the Indonesian agenda towards the World Maritime Centre by 2045.

To this end, President Jokowi during the East Asia Summit (EAS) held in November 2014 in Myanmar threw five (5) pillars or *pillars* (1) to re-establish Indonesia's maritime culture; (2) commitment in safeguarding and managing marine resources by focusing on developing the sovereignty of *marine food* (resources) through the development of the fishing industry by placing fishermen; (3) commitment to encourage the development of infrastructure and maritime relations by building sea tolls, sea ports, logistics, and shipping industries, as well as *maritime tourism* (tourism); (4) maritime diplomacy which invites all Indonesian partners to cooperate in the field of sea; (5) developed the Indonesian maritime defense force and was subsequently supplemented by two principles namely (6) the management of sea space; and (7) the Management of the Marine Board. All seven principles will be coordinated under the Indonesia Marine Policy (KKI) through Perpres No. 16/2017 and placed under the captivity of the Ministry of Coordinator of the Field of Maritime.

If there valuation of China's ideas, mission, vision and strategy in implementing the Maritime Silk Road agenda with the success of past maritime historiography, having multiple seas and islands and a strategic position that is on the path of world trade route, flanked by two continents (Asia and Australia) and shelled by the world's two major oceans - Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean then it is impossible for Indonesia to become the world's maritime shaft in 2015. 2045 or earlier than that period. Therefore, the government's policy of formulating and implementing various strategies and strong support of the Indonesian nation can be considered as decisive to the success or failure of Indonesia's mission and vision towards the world maritime shaft.

E. HOW FAR THIS VISION CAN RESTORE THE GLORY OF INDONESIAN MARITIME HISTORY AND SPIRIT OF NUSANTARA

Since the announcement of the idea or doctrine of "Indonesia Towards World Maritime Centre" by President Jokowi in 2014 to date, a question of the subject matter that has become a question mark among Indonesians is whether there has been a

positive development of the world's maritime shaft dock. this and bring well-being to the Indonesians? Also questioned is whether this doctrine seen as a great soul can be achieved? Does this doctrine also accept a fate similar to the vision of marine development that previous governments had embraced that apparently failed to benefit prosperity to the people and Indonesia itself? If viewed on paper and geo-political, geo-strategical, geo-economic and geo-cultural realities, then it is not impossible that this doctrine of "Indonesia Towards World Maritime Centre" cannot be fully achieved or at least bring little change to the people and Indonesia itself. As a country with the status of the world's largest archipelago, Indonesia has a strategic position on the world stage as it is flanked by two continents, namely the Asian and Australian continents and flanked by the world's two major oceans, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean which are the main marine means to various countries.

With around 17,500 islands, the world's second longest coastline of 99,093 km, its sea area is about 3,273,810km, its vast territory from Sabang to Merauke and capturing 40% of the world's total 90% of the world's trade by sea has given Indonesia a huge advantage over other countries to become the world's maritime shaft. Before discuss further on the question of how far the Indonesian doctrine towards the world maritime shaft can restore the glory of Indonesian maritime history and further reinforce the slogan that maritime as a unionist rather than a separatist as well as reviving the spirit of the maritime and the archipelago then it would be good if we recall the history of Indonesia's success in its traditional times. Long before the Southeast Asian Islands were approached and colonized by foreign powers, the territories of the region called Lynda N. Shaffer as *maritime realm* had several maritime kingdoms that were quite strong and feared at that time by the agrarian kingdoms of the islands and the mainland of Southeast Asia. Among them are the Srivijaya and Majapahit in Indonesia; Malacca in Malaya; and the Sulu Sultanate in the southern Philippines. Historically, the emergence and development of the above kingdoms as an economic and political power in the region is in principle not due to the natural wealth of its terrestrial land but has a very close association with the government's policy of dominating the seas and the surrounding straits for the purpose of trade and ports thus enabling it to emerge as a maritime power and the emporium of trade between the east and the west as well as the ability of the government to process and mobilize the full of a natural and human resources (sea people and slaves) in the nearby territories. According to Witjaksono:

"History has recorded that Indonesia has succeeded in becoming the world's maritime shaft in its time. This was once proven by the two great kingdoms, Srivijaya and Majapahit, with its maritime powers including navigation and warships, they have managed to dominate and colonize Southeast Asia until it reaches the archipelago, becoming the *center of excellent* in the world-recognized maritime field."

The wisdom of the rulers developing its economy and politics between the 7th and 17th centuries enabled the region to grow and became the focus of merchants from all over the world, thus being dubbed by Reid of that era as *The Age of Commerce*. Prior to the 13th century, the emergence and development of maritime and agrarian governments in this region in terms of geopolitics existed only as an economic and political power limited in terms of space, power and separation from 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 Gadjah Mada, an early effort to unify the territories in the region under a banner known as the archipelago inspired by Patih Gadjah Mada. The archipelago which is also known as the *Malay Islands (Malay Archipelago)* by British and *Nederlandsch-Indie* (Hindia Netherlands) by the Dutch in colonial times and the

Southeast Asian Islands is today a region that is maritime and unique in terms of history. This is because the archipelago was not "discovered" by travelers and merchants and in contrast to the American history that Christopher Columbus (Portugal) had discovered, the Cape of Hope by Vasco de Gamma (Portuguese), the Australian continent by James Cook (English) and many others.

In other words, the territory and seas of the archipelago have long been inhabited by humans, have had a high civilization and were visited by travelers and merchants from outside before the west knew the meaning of The Age of Exploration and *The Age of Voyages* in the 15th century to sail to the rest of the world to obtain colonies and various commodities. In terms of geo-politics, the archipelago refers to areas that include Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and all Indonesian islands including Timor-Timor and Pulau Irian. In terms of etymology, the word Nusantara for the first time appeared in the historical fold of the region during the Majapahit era (1293-1478) in Java under the rule of Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gadjah Mada (Prime Minister). The archipelago is derived from the Javanese words "Nusa" (*island*) and "Antero" (*other, as a whole*) created by Patih Gajah Mada to strengthen the Java-based Majapahit kingdom and its grip on the empire and its conquered territories consisting of three basic political units, namely the great state (*grand state*), *mancanegara* (*country surrounding*) and archipelago (areas which do not resonate Javanese culture, but sometimes still claimed as colonies where they had to pay tribute). During his coronation as a sculptor, Gadjah Mada recited an oath known as the *Oath of Amukti Palapa* recorded in the book so called *Pararaton* which reads as follows:

"Sira Gadjah Mada pepatih amungkubumi tan ayun amukti palapa, sira Gajah Mada: Lamun huwus kalah nusantara ingsun amukti palapa, lamun kalah ring Guron, ring Seram, Tanjungpura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompo, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana ingsun amukti palapa" (Translation: Gadjah Mada Sang Maha Patih will not enjoy the palapa, said Gadjah Mada "As long as I have not united the archipelago, I will not enjoy the palapa. Before I conquer Guron Island, Pulau Seram, Tanjungpura, Pulau Haru Pulau Pahang, Dompo, Bali Island, Sunda Palembang, Tumasik, I won't taste the palapa).

In the oath, Patih Gadjah Mada swore by saying " Lamun huwus kalah nusantara ingsun amukti palapa" which means "If I have lost the islands across, then I enjoy the rest". He also vowed not to worship or eat palapa or spices as long as he has not managed to unite the territories he refers to as the archipelago under the rule of Majapahit. During the reign of the Prabu Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) who succeeded Tribhuwanatungga Dewi, Patih Gadjah Mada continued to strive and achieve his oath by conquering Bali and Lombok, Palembang, Swarnabhumi (Sriwijaya), Tamiang, Samudra Pasai, and other states in Swarnadwipa (Sumatra) has been conquered. Then Bintan Island, Tumasik (Singapore), Peninsular Malaya, and a number of regions in Kalimantan such as Kapuas, Katingan, Sampit, Kotalingga (Tanjunglingga), Kotawaringin, Sambas, Lawai, Kandangan, Hedgehog, Samadang, Tirem, Sedu, Brunei, Kalka, Saludung, Solok, Pasir, Barito, Sawaku, Tabalung, Tanjungkutei and Malano. Based on the term *Nusantara* supported by Patih Gajah Mada, it can be said that the geopolitical region of the ancient archipelago is so vast that it covers the entire Malay world including Indonesia from Sabang in the west to Manokwari in the east, Borneo Island including Brunei and Sarawak and Sulawesi Island; the territory of Malaya 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 finally colonized by Western powers, the term and geopolitical concept of the archipelago championed by Patih Gajah Mada was broken

and began to be buried and completely lost in the archipelago map. Through the English-Dutch Treaty in 1824, Malaya including Singapore and part of North Borneo were placed under British rule known as the "Malay Islands" (*Maleische Archipel, Malay Archipelago, l'Archipel Malais*) and territories in Sumatra, Riau-Lingga, Java Island, Sulawesi Islands, Kalimantan and others placed under the influence of the Netherlands dubbed as *Nederlandsch-Indie* (Dutch Indie).

Under colonial rule, the functions and roles of the sea that were once the backbone of the economy to the history of the formation, glory and reconciliation of the early kingdoms in the archipelago seem to begin to be marginalized and replaced with the terrestrial-based and geopolitical economies of the archipelago have been re-broken according to the western-style image and the interests of the colonists themselves. Although there have been various attempts to reinstate the "archipelago spirit" and anti-colonial in Indonesia, most of these efforts have ended in failure. The failure of the Dutch colonists (Indonesia to defend its territories in the region and the slogans "Asia for Asians" and "Areas of Shared Prosperity of Greater East Asia" of Japanese creation seem to have given local nationalists a re-enactment to revitalize the unification of the territories in Nusantara that Patih Gadjah Mada once championed through various slogans or new ideas such as the Malay Raya and Indonesia Raya.

However, the scenario and political turmoil during the Second World War did not seem to allow the reunification of the Nusantara region. For example, Soekarno had declared Indonesia's independence earlier without involving Malaya in 1945. Malaysia (Malay Land) under Tunku Abdul Rahman only achieved independence from the British in 1957. In other words, the struggle of these nationalists only succeeded in freeing the country from the clutches of the colonialists and creating a sovereign nation-state instead of the Malay-centric unity of the archipelago. Although Indonesia has achieved independence and developed rapidly and is united through the spirit of ASEAN, the question of the formation of a nation-state and regional spirit seems to still be the main agenda of the countries in the Southeast Asia. According to Abdul Rahman Embong, this is due to the specificity of history due to the domination of colonialism, the formation of the 'nation of ideals' or 'dream nation' of the countries as a result of the vision formed in the struggle for the struggle and the struggle to fill and strengthen the independence. Francis Fukuyama in his work entitled *The End of History* loudly stated that the 20th century especially after the end of the Cold War was the century of the end of history.

Fukuyama's argument is fully supported and even more outspoken by Kenichi Ohmae in his book *The Ends of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economics* which says that the formation and strengthening of the nation should no longer be the main agenda to the country at the end of the 20th and 21st centuries because it is considered to be the era of the end of history and the formation of nations with political boundaries, the economic and social that separates the world's countries. In other words, Ohame tries to convince that the 21st century is a century of "a world without borders and a global nature" in line with the concept of globalization of today's world, especially from the economic aspect. According to Ohame, the superiority and grandeur of the government and its citizens who have a distinctive "nasion-state" (nation-state) is only in name but in reality, outdated and torn down by a new power or ideology called capitalism based on "region state" or states. In Fukuyama and Ohame, these former colonies will not be developed or at least be able to stand together and sit as low as other world countries (developed or colonial countries) if they continue to support the *ideology of the nation state* which it sees as a nation of creation and a purely colonial dream. From the above kinks, the question arises as to what is the best approach or

mechanism to restore the spirit of the archipelago and the soul of the Indonesian maritime? What is clear here is that the reunification of the territories in Indonesia based on the archipelago concept of Patih Gadjah Mada seems difficult to revive as it has been extinguished by Dutch colonialists for hundreds of years.

In addition, takes into account that the geography and maritime border in Indonesia with its neighbors in the Southeast Asian archipelago is characterized by *geometric boundary*, thus indirectly adding to this difficulty. Taking into account the winding historical journey and geo-political fragmentation that the Dutch colonialists have made in Indonesia, surely the idea of Indonesia towards the world's maritime shaft is the best idea to restore the glory of Indonesia's maritime history, develop territories that have long been marginalized, strengthen the sovereignty of its waters and benefit its people. The selection of this maritime-lined doctrine can also be likened as a bridge and catalyst towards re-empowering the networks of the seas and territories on the awareness of the nature of the oceans themselves that are always *mobile* according to the tides, "not out of date hot decks of rain decks", does not know the meaning of international borders, serves as the builder of a civilization, certified its superiority by sailors and merchants of antiquity and many others. Hugo Grotius, a lawmaker appointed by the Dutch through the East India Company to defend the Dutch seizing a Portuguese-owned merchant ship in the Straits of Malacca, once argued that "the sea as well as with air should not be conquered and should not be referred to ownership by any country whatsoever".

To ensure that this idea can be realized, in addition to planning the seven (7) principles that President Jokowi has proclaimed must also rectify some of the confusion of terms such as whether it is the status of a sea state, a maritime state or an archipelago state, the concept of hinter-land and hinter-sea, the term sloping and isolated island or the front island; do not ignore the "historical islands" as stated by Marshall Sahlins ; inculcate the *mindset* of the sea as a unionist and not a separator; see the concept of "land-water" as a union rather than a separator i.e. like an island is home and the sea is its yard; and the slogan *Jalesveva Jayamahe* or at sea we are success among the people especially those on the coast and island. This is because without full awareness and involvement from the Indonesian community it will not allow this doctrine to be achieved because it is in the hands of the Indonesian people themselves who will determine the success or failure of this doctrine. In addition to relying on policy matters and changes of mind, the ability of local scholars to support this doctrine in the form of science is needed on the agreement that "the pen is sharper than the sword". As stated at the beginning of this writing, the research and writing on the history of the origin of the ancestors of the sailors not only began with the Srivijaya period but should begin again in the pre-historic or pre-character period marked by the emergence of ancient humans called *homo sapiens*. In addition, researchers and writers should also provide space or place to historical actors or actors who store various memories of the past but are no longer affordable and embodied in written form to be highlighted and known to the public. According to Witajaksono:

"In order to explore the Indonesian people's memory of its maritime development, it is necessary to conduct research by tracing the backward plot, hoping that the information obtained will not occur time jumps that result from the loss of errors in understanding the development of the maritime history of the archipelago. In addition to finding scientific sources as well as documents or archives that can be held accountable, it is also necessary to carry out the absorption of dialogue is information from historical actors, with the aim that the scientific information obtained can be integrated with the understanding of a number of historical actors that can still be found.

F. CONCLUSION

As previously explained, Indonesia is a country that is fortunate enough to have been blessed with a variety of seas and islands that are quite strategic and have a considerable wealth of natural resources. Historically, it has also shown how the great-grandmothers of the Indonesian tribes during the pre-character period had mastered the world's major seas and oceans as a route for sailing, migrating, expanding empire and trading. The domination of Indonesian sailors appears to be even more prominent during historical times or AD marked by the emergence of various kingdoms such as Srivijaya, Majapahit and Makasar. However, the entry and colonization of western powers, especially the Netherlands, in the 17th century, has torn down the history of this glory for hundreds of years. As Indonesia achieved independence in 1945, various efforts were made by the rulers to restore this glorious history in a new form or platform in line with the changing world economy and politics. In fact, the idea of the Indonesian World Maritime Centre arguably the government's policy to make Indonesia the leading maritime power in the Archipelago of Southeast Asia in the 21st century. However, it should be noted that all these efforts will certainly not succeed if the awareness and spirit of the sea among Indonesians is not cultivated and strengthened in advance. To this end, the historical event, the appreciation and pride of the Indonesian people regarding maritime historiography is also important to serve as a reminder as said by Susanto Zuhdi which is "... The history of maritime searches all human activities regarding the seas with their variety of aspects. In these case, maritime history function to record and provide any information for any interests, including for topographical names of the world... In other words, the history of maritime actually plays an important role as reminders". Further Zuhdi also stated that "The sea is life. Life is the sea, how is it possible to deny the sea, because it means denying life itself.

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