

The Pasir Island Ownership Dispute between Indonesia and Australia Perspective from the Aspect of State Defense

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Abstract

The ownership of Pasir Island around the NTT and Australia areas becoming a polemic that is still happening in Indonesia. Various demands from the people of the island of Rote who think that the Pasir Island belongs to Indonesia have criticized the Australian side for their actions stating that the Pasir Island is their external territory, which is called Ashmore Reef. According to the MoU between Indonesia and Australia, that the Pasir Island is a nature conservation area which is listed in the description of the MoU Box in the map presented. However, the capture of traditional fishermen sailing in the area by Australian troops has drawn criticism from Indonesians. Moreover, oil and gas exploration by the Australian government in a cluster of Pasir island poses a certain threat to Indonesia in the national defense sector. Based on the findings in this paper, the large amount of oil and gas around the sand island has caused the Australian side to prohibit Indonesian fishermen from making a living in the area even though the 1974 MoU allows this. Therefore, elements of state defense need to be aware of this considering that natural resources, both in relation to the treatment of citizens and exploration areas, are the threats to the Indonesian government, especially to the sovereignty of the state. Thus, the Indonesian side needs to make new laws or regulations that are free from various interests, such as presidential regulations or other regulations that can also accommodate the economic, social and cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, it is necessary to have a dialogue with the Australian government regarding the dispute, especially in the context of affirming or realigning the 1974 MoU which could accommodate Indonesia's interests, prior to international arbitration if necessary.

Keywords: Pasir Island, dispute, state defense, sovereignty.

1. Introduction

Indonesia's maritime boundaries and islands are bordered by other countries which often face conditions that lead to threats from criminal acts, and even ownership disputes over Indonesia's foremost islands. Each region of the Republic of Indonesia has a strategic context in national integration and state sovereignty so that every inch of the country's territory is an important asset for the nation. One of the islands, that is located on the outermost of Indonesia is still experiencing ownership disputes at this time is Pasir Island in the territory of NTT Indonesia or called as Ashmore Reef by Australia.

The case of the disappearance of Sipadan-Ligitan is an example of a dark case for Indonesia so that the integration of the 'Unitary 'State of 'the Republic of 'Indonesia is disrupted. The case of Pasir Island is interesting to observe considering that the case of the island being separated from Indonesian ownership had occurred during the previous administration. In addition, the occurrence of the arrest of traditional Indonesian fishermen by Australian Patrol vessels due to sailing to catch fish around the sand islands which they consider to have become Australian territory. Widodo, AS (2007) added that on March 14, 1997 in Perth Australia, an agreement was implemented between the two countries regarding the 'delimitation 'of the 'Exclusive 'Economic 'Zone (EEZ) and maritime boundaries, this agreement is much fairer because it follows the rules of the '1982 UN Law of the Sea Convention. (UNCLOS III) so that it is in the middle line between Indonesia and Australia this agreement was implemented because the Australian side violated the 1974 MoU, but Indonesia itself has not 'ratified 'this agreement' in its internal law.

In early 2003, Australia issued a policy indicating an agreement to share the profits in the Timor Gap with the East Timorese state as well as a policy to close the Ashmore Reef area from all fishing activities by Indonesian fishermen from 3 July 2003. However, Australia should not decide unilaterally to implement policies in the Pasir Island cluster area, but all policies must go through talks between the two Australia-Indonesia countries, because the area is still managed jointly according to the MoU in 1974. The case of Indonesian fishermen caught on Pasir Island deserves the attention of the Indonesian government, despite the weaknesses that might bind the Indonesian government in the 1974 MoU.

In the international world, the legal basis used by a country to claim a territory as part of its sovereignty is to use international law sources. The legal basis is regulated in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. These sources of law include international treaties or conventions, either general or specific which expressly mention provisions recognized by the disputing country. In Australia, the international legal basis used to place Pasir Island as part of its sovereignty was the cession agreement from Britain to Australia on 23 July 1931 (Ekon, 2013).

The issue of the use of marine resources in Pasir Island is still an interesting issue to study because until now there are still many who question the contents of the agreement between Australia and Indonesia concerning the validity and basis of an agreement that was made and agreed upon by both parties. In international law, claims of ownership of an area based on historical arguments, traditional proximity, or geographical proximity cannot be accepted because they can be "subjective". Historically, Pasir Island is located about 320 km to the north of the west coast of Australia, but is closer to about 140 km to the south of Rote Island, Indonesia (Antara News, 2006).

However, the rebuttal was given by the Australian side who explained that the Ashmore Reef island group was indeed their property because the area was a former colony from Britain which was then handed over to Australia. Another opinion was also conveyed by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Pasir Island or Ashmore and Cartier Island belongs to Australia. This is evidenced by the absence of Sand Island in the map of the 'Republic of Indonesia' (NKRI) since 1957 (Michella, W., 2022). Furthermore, to accommodate the interests of the community, especially traditional fishermen in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), the Government of Indonesia has made a 'memorandum' of 'understanding (MoU) with 'Australia which was signed' in 1974. This was done only to accommodate their interests, and was further refined in the agreement in 1974. 1981 in the MoU box. This MoU regulates the traditional rights of NTT to carry out traditional fishing activities around Ashmore and other islands around it.

Based on this explanation, both parties are eager for ownership of the Pasir Island or Ashmore Reef group of islands as their territory. In relation to the International Relations, where talking about sovereignty is still very relevant and considered an important issue, it is not an exaggeration if the outermost small islands are considered a fixed price for state sovereignty, especially Indonesia, which is neighboring with many countries, even in a strategic position as a international route. Therefore, Asana, R., Suwartiningsih, S., & Hanto Nugroho, A. (2017) mentions that if the presence of the Maritime Axis Doctrine proclaimed by Jokowi, actually the outermost small islands need special attention because they are one of the important components in the success of the Doctrine. As the front porch of state sovereignty, the outermost small islands must of course be given special attention in the defense sector because they are closely related to the issue of territorial boundaries and state sovereignty.

Thus, this paper tries to reveal various considerations for the Indonesian government in making policies and placing Indonesia's foremost islands as part of the "front area" of the Republic of Indonesia. It is proper for the government to build growth centers that are able to create various uses in the outer islands, especially in the sand islands, both from the economic sector and the national defense sector. The government is required to seriously deal with the outer islands so that there will be no glaring inequality with areas located on the borders of neighboring countries. Therefore, this paper will describe the facts of ownership of the Pasir Island (Ashmore Reef) both from the point of view of the Indonesian government and the Australian government as well as elements of defense that can be studied from the foremost island in Indonesia.

2. Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach which by Neuman (2006) is said to focus on interactive processes with explicit values to describe a social reality. Research using a qualitative approach will produce data in the form of written and unwritten (oral) statements. So, in this study, in line with Moleong's (2007) statement, the data generated are in the form of words, sentences and images obtained from the process of analyzing various literatures. While the type of research used is explanative with an inductive approach. According to Neuman, this type of explanatory research will assist the author in analyzing, identifying and explaining the factors and indicators related to the thing to be studied so that later they can explain a fact. Because this study uses an inductive explanation of facts, hypothesis testing begins by explaining the facts specifically and drawing general conclusions.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. The Pasir Island Ownership Status Form Indonesia Perspective

In relation to Australia's claim to ownership of the Pasir Island, parties who often dispute Australia's ownership over Pasir Island is the Sand Island National Committee (*Komite Nasional Pulau Pasir*, KNPP) and the Timor Gap and Sand Island Working Group, including an expert in animal husbandry from Nusa Cendana University, Dr. Yusuf Leonard Henuk (author of the book *Pulau Pasir Nusa The Dream of the Rote People*).

The basis for the claim for ownership of Pasir Island by KNPP and the Working Group of Timor Gap and Pasir Island as described in the book "Pulau Pasir Nusa Impian Orang Rote" includes, among others (Henuk, 2008):

1. Register of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1751 which proves that the Pasir Island Cluster had been managed by the Rote, NTT people for 400 years;
2. Indonesian fishermen have been looking for fish, sea cucumbers and other marine biota around Pasir Island for hundreds of years;
3. The graves of the Rote people in Pasir Island are 161 pieces;
4. Pasir Island belongs to the Rote kingdom and since the 15th century has been under the management of the Dutch East Indies. This can be proven through the inscription of King Thie (FOE MBURA) on Pasir Island which was made when this King was stranded on the Island;
5. The proximity of the Pasir Island region to Rote, Indonesia. According to this reasoning that the distance from Rote Island to Pasir Island is only 78 nautical miles, while the distance from the West Coast of Australia is 190 miles;
6. The decision of the International Court of Justice regarding the dispute over the islands of Sipadan & Ligitan in favor of Malaysia, because the Malaysian population is proven to carry out activities in a sustainable manner on the two islands.

The six basic claims for sovereignty/ownership over Pasir Island by the KNPP and Working Group Timor Gap and Islands need to be analyzed from international law in order to determine the extent of Indonesia's chances of winning its claim, if this issue is brought to the International 'Court' of 'Justice.

Regarding the basis 'for 'the claims for ownership of the 1st to 4th Sand Island, namely the registration letter of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies 1751, the search for fish, sea cucumbers and marine life by Rote fishermen, the existence of Rote people's graves and the inscription of the king of FOE MBURA on Pasir Island are evidence of the discovery and Dutch East Indies government occupation of Pasir Island. According to the international ' law 'principles, finding and occupying an island or continent is one way to gain sovereignty over that island or continent. Moreover, the historical record on the activities from certain party over the island could be a good consideration in owning the island. This rule was applied on the Sipadan and Ligitan Island case that make Indonesian lost those islands. Another similar thing is the case of the dispute over South 'China 'sea as the China uses their historical background in claiming the sea and the' islands among the' south' China' sea.

The fact is even harder when it is clearly counted that the distance between Ashmore Reef and Rote Island, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) just around 80 mil and the distance between the island with North Queensland, Australia is approximately 400 mil. Even 3 water resources on the Island is can be said belongs to the sailor Ama Rohi, the sailorman who is came from Sabu Island. This factor can be one of the reason why, nowadays Indonesian fishermen still without any hesitate still do some maritime activities on the related island. Their sense of “belong to the past” still attached among these fishermen and claimed this island was once conquered and managed by their ancestor.

Added by Balint (2005), that early ‘Rotenese ‘visitors to ‘Pasir Island planted‘ coconut tree to provide ‘supplies and ‘useful elements, and marking ‘the ‘location of the strategic ‘well. They also‘ built‘ low‘ stone‘ fences‘down along the‘ water‘ to make fish‘ traps. One man would shake a coconut leaf at the open side of the trap to prevent the fish escaping, while others would throw ‘grated ‘coconut ‘into ‘the ‘water. The coconut oil ‘would‘ spread‘ out‘ over‘ the surface and‘ create the water clear, so that the men‘ could easily‘ see - and‘ spear - the‘ fish.

In clarifying the dispute resolution that occurred, that the direction of the struggle of the people of NTT is most appropriate directed at the struggle or demands for protection and respect from Australia for the fishing rights of traditional Indonesian fishermen in the marine waters around Pasir Island. The form of this struggle or demand is the demand to amend the Memorandum‘ of ‘Understanding‘ between‘ the Governments‘ of Indonesia‘ and Australia regarding fishing by traditional‘ Indonesian‘ fishermen‘ in the ‘exclusive‘ fishing‘ zone and the Australian‘ continental‘ shelf, 1974.

The provisions of the ‘Memorandum‘ of ‘Understanding that need to be amended are provisions that stipulate a prohibition on traditional Indonesian fishermen from taking fresh water, catching turtles and their eggs as well as a prohibition on catching birds and their eggs around sea waters or the coast of Pasir Island.

Provisions regarding the prohibition of taking fresh water, catching fish and taking their eggs as well as the prohibition on catching birds and their eggs need to be amended because they are contrary to the traditional rights of Indonesian fishermen. As is well known, traditional Indonesian fishermen from generation to generation since hundreds of years ago always go to Pasir Island not only to catch fish but one of the main goals is to collect turtle eggs and seabird eggs. The tradition or habit of taking turtle eggs and seabird eggs in the waters or beaches around Pasir Island that has been going on for hundreds of years by Indonesian traditional fishermen according to customary international law which was later codified in Article 51 of UNCLOS 1982 must obtain respect and protection from the Australian government even though Sand Island and its surroundings are subject to Australian sovereignty. For clarity, the provisions‘ of ‘Article‘ 51 of ‘UNCLOS‘ 1982‘ stipulates that a coastal state or an archipelagic state must respect the traditional fishing rights of neighboring countries that are‘ directly affected to certain‘ areas‘ located in archipelagic or territorial sea waters.

The situation in the implementation‘ of ‘traditional fisheries rights ‘including‘ the nature, scope‘ and‘ area‘ in which‘ such ‘rights and‘ activities‘ apply at the request‘ of one of the countries‘ ‘concerned‘ ‘must be‘ ‘regulated ‘by a ‘bilateral ‘‘agreement‘ between them. If Australia refuses to make amendments to the 1974 MOU, then there are two possibilities that must be taken by the Indonesian government, namely withdrawing the 1974 RI-Australia MOU or‘ submitting‘ the matter‘ to the‘ International‘ Court‘ of Justice or the‘ International

Tribunal. For The Law of The Sea). If the termination of the MOU' is taken by Indonesia, the legal consequences, the 1974 MOU will end and the rights of Indonesian fishermen are returned to their previous position, which is what Indonesian ancestors did hundreds of years ago. On the other hand, if this issue is brought to an international court, the rights of Indonesian fishermen around Pasir Island have the opportunity to be restored because the obligation to respect the rights of traditional fishermen has been legally recognized in the 1982 UNCLOS.

3.2 The Pasir Island (Ashmore Reef) Ownership status form Australia Perspective

Ashmore' Reef' National' Nature' Reserve' and' Cartier Island' Marine' Reserve (the 'Reserves') are within' Commonwealth' waters' off the' coast of northern' Western' Australia. Environment' Australia (EA) is the' Commonwealth's managing' authority for' the Reserves. The Reserves' protect' unique and' vulnerable' marine ecosystems' with high' biological diversity. The Reserves' include reefs' which are part' of remote reef' systems which' provide critical stepping' stones 'for the transportation 'of biological 'material from' the centers of biodiversity in the Indo-Pacific to the reef and other inter-dependent ecosystems located along the Western Australian coast (Commonwealth of Australia, 2002).

The Territory was received from Britain' in 1933 and 'administration responsibility for was moved from the 'Northern 'Territory to 'the Commonwealth' when self-government' was instituted' in the Northern' Territory in 1978. Petroleum mining activities' in the area' adjacent to the Territory' are 'administered on behalf' of the Commonwealth' by the Northern' Territory Department of Mines' and Energy. Commonwealth 'laws, laws of the Northern Territory and Ordinances' made' by the' Governor-General' make up' the body' of law applicable' in the Territory' of Ashmore 'and Cartier' Islands.

Ashmore is positioned 450 nautical miles' west of 'Darwin, 330' nautical miles north of Broome' and 60' nautical miles' south of the' Indonesian' island of Roti. It is situated at latitude 12 'degrees and 15 'minutes 'south and longitude' 123 degrees and' 5 minutes east. Cartier' lies approximately 25' nautical miles' to the south-east of' Ashmore. Together' Ashmore and Cartier cover' approximately 750' square kilometers' (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014). They are located in Australia's' External Territory' of Ashmore' and Cartier' Islands and are also within an area subject' to a Memorandum' of Understanding (MoU) between' Indonesia and 'Australia, known' as the MoU 'Box as shown by the 'figure below.

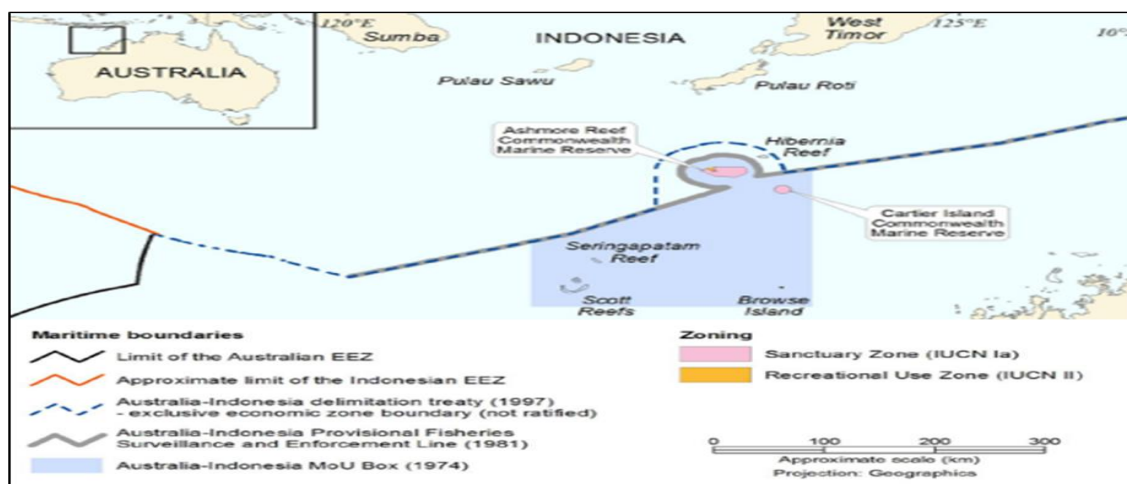


Figure 1. MoU Box 1974 between 'Australia 'and 'Indonesia

Memorandum Of Understanding or it is usually known in the international agreement to highlight some events about some agreements which have been succeeded by several related actors, which then be used for the rules of agreement that will be made as the core of the implementation of agreement. In November 7th 1974 there is an MOU that agreed by Indonesian and Australian Government in regard of this issue, or its mostly known as “Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of Australia and the Government of Republic of Indonesia Regarding the operation of Indonesian Traditional Fishermen in Areas of Australia Exclusive Fishing Zone and Continental Shelf” which ruled the terms of fishing and another rules in Ashmore Reef. (Supardi et.al, 2013).

This MOU also provides Australia with a tool to manage access to its waters while for Indonesia, it enables Indonesian traditional fishers to continue their customary practices and target species such tripang, trochus, abalone, and sponges. This MOU seems cannot stay last long recognizing that in 1993 Australia declared a marine protected area around Ashmore Island, and in 2000 around Cartier Island (Department of Agriculture, 2011).

3.3 The Aspects of National Defense against the Ownership Status of Pasir Island

Bueger (2014) defines maritime security as a state of absence of maritime threats such as inter-state disputes, maritime terrorism, piracy, human trafficking and narcotics, weapons smuggling, illegal fishing, environmental problems, maritime accidents to epidemic of a disease. Till (2009) defines maritime security as a "good" or "stable order at sea", where the sea is in good condition or a state where the sea regulation is running well. The sea as a resource that becomes a trade route, exchange of information, and as a political tool, has risks and threats that can occur in the process of regulation, so that it has the potential to affect the survival and sustainability of the human beings in it, even the state.

Asana, R., Suwartiningsih, S., & Hanto Nugroho, A. (2017) added that there are five alternative perspectives in maritime security, namely security of the sea itself, ocean governance, maritime border protection, military activities at sea and security regulation. of the maritime transportation system. The perspective of security of the sea itself sees that maritime security is the security of the maritime environment itself. That is, a 'healthy' sea is the main step that can be used in this perspective, making it easier to see other perspectives as well. Furthermore, the ocean governance perspective is closely related to the previous perspective. However, this perspective is described as an implementation of regulations and practices to regulate the use of the sea as well as its users. Meanwhile, the maritime border protection perspective emphasizes the importance of state sovereignty as a form of national security that needs to be considered by archipelagic countries, such as Indonesia. Law enforcement and sovereign rights are regulated by looking at this perspective.

In realizing maritime security, the perspective of military activities at sea places the role of the military as an important aspect in maintaining maritime security. Finally, the perspective of security regulation of the maritime transportation system, of which the International Maritime Organization (IMO) is one of the results. A regulation in the form of an organization is needed to regulate maritime security. From the various explanations above, it can be understood that the maritime border protection perspective is a reference in supporting the elements of national defense for the sake of the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the military activities at sea perspective will also be used as the main supporting perspective in the study using the maritime security concept. The presence of a defense policy against the outermost small islands is one of the government's efforts to maintain the country's sovereignty. This perspective is used to examine sovereign rights and law enforcement that is used by the state as a reference (other than UNCLOS) with

the stipulation that the state must strive for border security and preservation in various aspects. Furthermore, the military activities at sea perspective is used because national defense is also closely related to traditional issues, so the role of the military in maintaining state sovereignty is one of the important keys.

Furthermore, the international law used as a reference is UNCLOS 1982 Part IV Archipelagic State (Article 46-54). In this section various provisions, rights, what can and cannot be done by archipelagic countries are regulated in it. UNCLOS 1982 Part IV Archipelagic State (Article 46-54) has become one of the important benchmarks for Indonesia in determining the direction of its policy. This is reflected in Jokowi's seriousness in directing Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis where the outermost small islands are one of the three main aspects that will fulfill Jokowi's vision. The defense policy made and enforced by the Jokowi government through various efforts cannot be separated from the 1982 UNCLOS.

Determination of defense policy against the outermost small islands will not be an important and successful part of Jokowi's 'ground' during his reign if it does not refer to the provisions and identification of Indonesia as the largest archipelagic country in the world. So, in the author's view, Jokowi's actions in determining Indonesia's position in international relations are of course bound to and refer to the world's view of Indonesia, and one of these references is through international law, which specifically exists at UNCLOS 1982. As an archipelagic country, Indonesia has a great opportunity to promote itself as a maritime country. However, like other countries in the world, Indonesia's position also poses a threat. This is where the role of UNCLOS 1982 for the archipelagic state, because it has clearly regulated the rights of the archipelagic state.

In addition, in a white paper on national defense, the Indonesian Ministry of Defense (2015) describes that the development of the strategic environment is one of the concepts that is considered in making state policies. Therefore, in relation to the outermost small islands, the situation being looked at is the issue of borders between countries. The existence of the outermost small islands, which include priority areas for managing the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as Indonesia's conflict-prone position in the Asia Pacific Region, requires Indonesia to optimize defense in the outermost small islands.

In addition to the jurisdictional efforts above, Indonesia's defense policy towards the outermost small islands can be seen through the role of the relevant Ministries/Agencies, namely the Ministry of Defense, Marine and Fisheries Ministry (KKP) and National Border Management Agency. The three ministries were added or supported by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as the implementer of the defense policies prepared by the Ministry of Defense, carrying out their roles in accordance with their respective duties and functions. As for the Ministry of Defense as a civilian authority, it carries out its role as a regulator of state defense (regulated in Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense). Organizationally, the Ministry of Defense oversees the TNI as the operational stakeholder for defense policy. Likewise, the KKP with its vision of "realizing an independent, advanced, strong and national interest-based Indonesian marine and fishery sector" will also later carry out its role as the manager of the outermost small islands which are one of the components of the maritime sector.

Therefore, it is necessary to take strategic steps to address the dispute over the ownership of the sand island with Australia. Apart from oil and gas exploration activities by

Australia in the area of the island group, it is clear that the ownership of sand islands which can indicate the territory of an area is very crucial in order to support the country's defense from the threat of mastery of natural resources in the area. In addition, the firmness of the state leadership, in this case the President of the Republic of Indonesia, is supported by the relevant Ministers, of course, it will have a different impact on disputes that occur. Indeed, Indonesia's free and active foreign diplomacy needs to be put forward, however, from a defense perspective, power projection needs to be put forward in order to get a balance of power as a form of prevention for unexpected actions in the future between Indonesia and Australia.

4. Conclusion

Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic country regulated in UNCLOS 1982 became the basis of Indonesia's interests under the Jokowi administration to realize the World Maritime Axis Doctrine. The doctrine, which was Jokowi's idea since the beginning of his reign, then influenced various domestic components, namely norms, structures, and relations between Indonesia and other countries/parties. The norms referred to refer to international law, namely UNCLOS 1982 and are contained in national regulations and laws such as Presidential Regulations, Laws, and Ministerial Decrees. While the structure in question is the role of the relevant Ministries/Agencies, namely the Ministry of Defense, Marine and Fisheries Ministry (KKP), National Border Management Agency, and Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) which carry out their functions and duties for the defense of the outermost small islands. As for the relationship between Indonesia and other countries/parties, it can be seen from bilateral cooperation with neighboring countries, as well as actively bringing the issue of the outermost small islands to ASEAN.

The fact that there is a lot of oil and gas around the sand island has caused the Australian side to prohibit Indonesian fishermen from making a living in the area even though the 1974 MoU allows it. Therefore, elements of state defense need to be aware of this considering that natural resources, both in relation to the treatment of citizens and exploration areas, are a certain threat to the Indonesian government.

In an effort that needs to be carried out based on several analyzes and approaches, the involvement of traditional stakeholders or traditional leaders, such as: tribal chiefs, customary leaders, kings, and additional mediators, is very much needed. To strengthen such a position, the Indonesian government needs to make new laws or regulations that are free from various interests, such as a presidential regulation or other regulations that can also accommodate the economic, social and cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, it is necessary to have a dialogue with the Australian government regarding the dispute, especially in the context of affirming or realigning the 1974 MoU which could accommodate Indonesia's interests, prior to international arbitration if necessary. A hope for consideration that this case can be possibly solved through G20 moment or under the support by ASEAN.

Indonesia, which during the Jokowi administration used an active defensive-based defense strategy, prioritized cooperation efforts related to territorial disputes in the outermost small islands without aggressive action. The strategy also means that the economic sector is positioned as one of the main supporters and even the goals of defense, so that all government activities must lead to the welfare of the people and the improvement of the country's economy. So in defense policy it is known as the motto defense support prosperity. Defense is placed in the outermost small islands not only to maintain the sovereignty of the

country through military operations, but also to help maintain the security of the implementation of activities to utilize resources to support the economy. However, military activity (TNI) remains the main standard in the state's efforts to maintain the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Considering Indonesia's geographical situation, which is also a regional and global route, military power is very much needed.

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