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Maritime Diplomacy in Realizing the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 through the Concept of World Maritime Axis

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ABSTRACT: Indonesia plays an important role in global maritime dynamics. The maritime sector is critical to international trade and regional security. The concept of the World Maritime Axis has been introduced as the basis for Indonesia's maritime development. The Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 is Indonesia's long-term roadmap to become a major economic power. It focuses on the optimal use of the maritime sector, with maritime diplomacy playing an important role in achieving this vision. This article examines the research objectives to answer the main question: "How do the projections and strategies of maritime diplomacy contribute to the achievement of Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045 through the World Maritime Axis Concept?". This study uses a qualitative approach to examine the projected achievement of the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 through the concept of the World Maritime Axis. The data collection technique is a comprehensive literature review, including government policy documents, international reports, and relevant academic publications. Data analysis was conducted using content analysis techniques to identify, analyze and report patterns (themes) in the data. The research findings show that Indonesia must navigate shifts in global power competition. Indonesia's maritime diplomacy will play an important role in optimizing maritime resources for national and international interests. To strengthen these efforts, a strong defense and security posture is needed amidst regional dynamics.

Keywords: World Maritime Axis, Maritime Diplomacy; Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045



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INTRODUCTION

The World Maritime Axis concept, promoted by Indonesia, aims to take advantage of its favorable geographical position as the world's largest archipelago, located at the crossroads of two continents (Asia and Australia) and two oceans (the Indian and Pacific Oceans). This gives Indonesia significant geopolitical and geo-economic advantages, both globally and regionally. Indonesia's Maritime Policy aims to develop Indonesia into an independent, strong and

advanced maritime power that contributes significantly to regional and international security and peace in line with national interests. Indonesia plays an important role in the global maritime framework. The sea is not only a valuable natural resource, but also a vital conduit for international trade and regional security. Indonesia plays an important role in this regard (Ampun et al., 2023; R. Ramadhan et al., 2023). At the national level, Indonesia has established the concept of a global maritime axis through Presidential Regulation No. 16/2017 on Indonesia's Ocean Policy(Keputusan Menteri, 2019). This policy serves as the main reference for ocean management and aims to accelerate the realization of this concept. The World Maritime Axis is defined in this policy as Indonesia's vision to become a strong and globally competitive maritime nation.

The sustainable economic development pillar in the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 prioritizes the development of the maritime sector. The goal is to build a strong maritime economy, a resilient maritime force, and a strong maritime civilization, which ultimately leads to the creation of a world maritime axis. It can be concluded that the achievement of a world maritime axis is very important in the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045. The goal is to build Indonesia into a country with a sustainable and inclusive economy that plays a more prominent role in the global order.

Maritime diplomacy is an important foreign policy tool that aims to secure national maritime interests and strengthen Indonesia's position in the international arena (Amri & Zahidi, 2023). Maritime diplomacy also serves as a tool to attract foreign investment and technology needed for the development of maritime industry and maritime infrastructure (Putra, 2023). As one of the pillars of the global maritime axis concept, the project plays an important role in achieving these goals. However, achieving the goals of this development vision faces significant challenges due to international dynamics, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. The success of efforts to achieve the planned development will be greatly influenced by regional dynamics.

Previous research shows that maritime diplomacy has become an important tool for island states to defend their sovereignty and maritime interests, as well as to promote economic growth (Fahad S. & Kistyanto A., 2021 (Otto, 2022; Yani & Montratama, 2015). Wirawan (2022) discussed the importance of maritime security in improving Indonesia's defense diplomacy within the framework of the World Maritime Axis. (Kusumawardhani & Afriansyah, 2019) examined how Indonesia's maritime policy aims to develop the country into an independent and advanced maritime power. Another study by Hanggarini et al. (2022) explores how Indonesia uses maritime diplomacy to strengthen its position in regional and global dynamics. However, there are still gaps, especially in exploring a comprehensive and multidimensional maritime diplomacy strategy in the context of Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045 and the dynamic geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific.

Therefore, this research aims to fill the gap through the research question underlying this study, namely, "How are the projections and strategies of maritime diplomacy in contributing to the achievement of the 2045 Golden Indonesia Vision through the World Maritime Axis Concept?", with the aim of examining the projections and strategies of Indonesia's maritime diplomacy in

Maritime Diplomacy in Realizing the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 through the Concept of World Maritime Axis

Dao

contributing to the achievement of the 2045 Golden Indonesia Vision through the World Maritime Axis Concept.

The conceptual framework of this research builds on theories of diplomacy and maritime policy studies, integrating aspects of maritime security, regional cooperation, and maritime economic development. This research brings an aspect of novelty by analyzing maritime diplomacy strategies within an updated framework that takes into account recent changes in geopolitics and maritime security, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. With a qualitative approach, this research is expected to provide new insights on how maritime diplomacy can be optimized to support sustainable maritime development in line with Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045, as well as its contribution to improving Indonesia's position and influence in the international arena (Hanggarini et al., 2022; Wirawan, 2022). Through in-depth analysis, this research aims to make a significant contribution to the academic literature and policy practice in the field of maritime diplomacy and sustainable maritime development.

METHOD

This research uses descriptive qualitative research methods that interpret and describe existing data based on the current situation. The research design is also descriptive, explaining the object of study as it is according to the situation and conditions at the time of research (Sugiyono, 2020). This method can provide a detailed description of how maritime diplomacy projections and strategies contribute to the realization of Indonesia's vision as a world maritime axis, which is a crucial component of the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045. This research is based on secondary data obtained through in-depth literature review and interpretation of various materials found in scholarly journals.

The data collection process was conducted by conducting a literature review to gather theories and concepts from various sources such as books, government regulations, journals, and other relevant scientific publications. The collected data was then thoroughly analyzed to form the basis of thought and discussion in the research. Data analysis was conducted through content analysis techniques, where the collected data was organized, categorized, and analyzed to identify key themes, patterns, and trends related to maritime diplomacy and its implementation in the Indonesian context. This process allowed the research to interpret the data in a systematic and structured manner, resulting in a coherent understanding of how maritime diplomacy can contribute to the achievement of the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 and Indonesia's role as a world maritime axis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

World Maritime Axis in the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045

At the East Asia Summit in Naypyidaw, Myanmar on November 13, 2014, President Joko Widodo highlighted Indonesia's position as a global maritime axis. This vision is based on five main pillars: maritime culture, maritime economy, maritime connectivity, maritime diplomacy and maritime security. Indonesia recognizes the changing geo-economic and geopolitical dynamics of the 21st century as the focus shifts from the West to East Asia. Approximately 40% of global trade is conducted in this region (Hastuti, 2022; Rinika et al., 2023). Indonesia's ownership of four of the world's nine strategic straits-the Malacca, Makassar, Sunda, and Lombok Straits-puts it in a key position to influence regional stability.

According to "Presidential Regulation No. 16/2017 on Indonesia's Maritime Policy," the world maritime axis is Indonesia's vision to become a sovereign, advanced, independent, and strong maritime nation capable of making positive contributions to regional and global security and peace in accordance with national interests. The concept of the World Maritime Axis is an important element of Indonesia's maritime policy that has the potential to have a significant impact on regional dynamics. Geographically, the oceans play an important role for ASEAN countries and beyond, not only for Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei and Singapore, but also for other ASEAN members. If effectively implemented, this strategic concept will enhance Indonesia's regional and global standing.

The maritime sector is crucial to achieving Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045, which aims to make Indonesia a sovereign, developed and sustainable archipelago. According to the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2025-2045, the maritime sector is one of the main pillars of sustainable economic development. The goal of making Indonesia the world's maritime axis is a national strategy to develop a maritime economy, strengthen maritime power, and build a resilient maritime civilization. This includes improving the quality of maritime human resources, promoting maritime technological innovation, and strengthening maritime culture as the foundation of maritime civilization(Bappenas, 2019). In the context of maritime development, the goal is to achieve resilient maritime defense and security capabilities and increase the contribution of the maritime economy to about 12.5% of GDP by 2045. This goal is expected to be a roadmap towards the Golden Indonesia 2045.

Considering these factors, it is clear that Indonesia's national interests in maritime development include interrelated security, economic and geopolitical aspects. Therefore, Indonesia's maritime diplomacy demonstrates a strong commitment to utilize its maritime potential to achieve its national interests in the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 through the concept of a world maritime axis. Indonesia aims to strengthen its position as a world maritime axis through a combination of security, economic and diplomatic efforts. This will have a significant impact both regionally and globally.

The Indo-Pacific Region's Geopolitical Dynamics

Maritime Diplomacy in Realizing the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 through the Concept of World Maritime Axis

Dao

Challenges and Opportunities for Indonesia. The changing geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region present both challenges and opportunities for Indonesia. As great powers shift their focus and power to the region, Indonesia must adjust its security, defense, and foreign policy strategies (Pasaribu et al., 2023). These adjustments include enhancing regional cooperation, strengthening maritime diplomacy, and developing maritime defense capabilities to protect its territorial sovereignty.

Japan, India, the United States, and China are major powers that prioritize the Indo-Pacific region, highlighting its importance in global geopolitics(Dachi & Yurianto, 2023). This includes maintaining open transportation routes and strengthening trade relations. For example, the United States has implemented the rebalancing or pivot to Asia-Pacific strategy as a containment measure against China's growing influence (Jung & Chen, 2019). Meanwhile, India implemented the Act East policy to counter China's growing influence in the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean regions (Liu, 2023). In contrast, China is expanding its influence in Southeast Asia through economic means, offering infrastructure projects funded by concessional loans and launching the One Belt One Road/OBOR project (now known as the Belt Road Initiative/BRI) as a step towards becoming a new superpower (A.B. et al., 2023; Foo et al., 2020) Fany et al., 2023). Thus, maintaining stability in the Indo-Pacific region is a very important issue.

The South China Sea, a maritime region rich in natural resources, has become a focal point of geopolitical disputes involving Southeast Asian countries and global powers (Tandy et al., 2021; Toruan & Theodorus, 2020). The AUKUS alliance, a strategic defense pact between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, was ratified on September 15, 2021. Its formation has had a significant impact on the geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region (Cheng, 2022; Sumadinata, 2022). The alliance was formed to counterbalance the growing influence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the region. The alliance raises concerns about the potential for armed conflict and escalation of tensions, particularly in the South China Sea dispute. The PRC has expressed concern about AUKUS, seeing it as an escalation of tensions and a threat to nuclear non-proliferation stability. Australia's participation is seen as a precaution against potential threats from China.

Indonesia, a non-aligned country with a crucial geopolitical position in the Indo-Pacific region, has expressed concern about the impact of this situation on regional stability, as shown in a study by (Nindya & Abiyya, 2022; Thao, 2023). Due to its strategic location and proximity to Australia, Indonesia plays an important role in maintaining the geopolitical balance in the region. Indonesia seeks to maintain this balance without jeopardizing its diplomatic and economic relations with the United States or China. In contrast, Vietnam and the Philippines tend to be closer to the United States, while Myanmar and Cambodia tend to be closer to China (Ginanjar et al., 2023). As a member of the Five Power Defense Arrangements, Malaysia, along with other Southeast Asian countries, faces the dilemma of choosing between aligning with China or forming regional solidarity to counterbalance China's influence, as described by (Suharman, 2019). The ASEAN organization faces significant challenges in formulating a common strategy to address this issue.

Dao

Indonesia is recognized as having an important role in the global geopolitical constellation, especially through its initiative to strengthen its position as the world's maritime axis. This statement is clear, concise, objective, and consistent with the characteristics outlined in the assignment. No changes are needed. The strategy involves leveraging a strategic geographic position and effective diplomacy to improve maritime economic, security, and defense infrastructure. The goal is to support national progress and prosperity and increase Indonesia's influence in the international arena, as expressed by (Sartono et al., 2021). Maintaining a balance in international relations with major world powers, while prioritizing national interests and domestic development, is essential to this strategy. Indonesia's participation in global geopolitics is expected to increase through this approach, especially in efforts to maintain power stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

To achieve this, Indonesia is expected to implement a multidimensional strategy that maximizes the potential of its maritime strategic position for national interests and contributes to regional stability. Effective maritime diplomacy and sustainable maritime capacity building are critical to addressing challenges and capitalizing on opportunities in the Indo-Pacific region. These measures will strengthen Indonesia's position as one of the world's leading maritime nations and support the achievement of the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045, which aims to transform Indonesia into a global economic power with a resilient maritime sector.

Indonesia's Maritime Diplomacy

In the midst of increasingly complex geopolitical dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region, the implementation of Indonesia's maritime diplomacy becomes very important to realize Indonesia's vision as a world maritime axis and maintain the pillars of maritime security. (Nursafitri & Ramadhan, 2022) Analyze the urgency for Indonesia to protect its national interests from various threats and disruptions to its maritime security and defense, while building and maintaining its recognition as a world maritime axis in the international arena. This includes protecting maritime trade activities and maintaining stability in critical waters, which are the lifeblood of global trade.

Throughout history, diplomacy has played an important role in Indonesia's state-building process. Even before Indonesia adopted the concept of maritime diplomacy to realize its vision as the world's maritime axis, it has been actively involved in it. The Djuanda Declaration, promulgated on December 13, 1957, is an important example of this. The Djuanda Declaration was an important milestone that gained international recognition. Its principles were adopted in the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), as reviewed by Kusumawardhani & Afriansyah (2019). Through this declaration, Indonesia emphasized that its sovereign territory includes the entire territorial sea area, which is inseparable from the land area. This step affirms the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the Maritime Diplomacy White Paper, maritime diplomacy is defined as the implementation of foreign policy aimed at optimizing maritime potential for the fulfillment of national interests and international legal norms. Hanggarini et al. (2022) examine Indonesia's maritime diplomacy as a systematic effort by the state to use foreign policy tools and maritime strategies to advance

Dao

its national interests through the oceans. Maritime diplomacy includes negotiating international agreements related to maritime issues, enhancing maritime economic cooperation, securing maritime trade routes, and sustainable management of marine resources. Maritime diplomacy also includes aspects of defense and security diplomacy, focusing on critical issues such as piracy, illegal fishing, and marine pollution.

Indonesia has an important strategic position in global geopolitics, which can be leveraged to strengthen diplomatic relations and promote regional cooperation, especially in Southeast Asia. This analysis is supported by (Humphrey, 2018; F. V Ramadhan & Chaerul, 2023). As a maritime axis, Indonesia has the opportunity to develop extensive maritime cooperation with countries in East Asia, Europe, and the Americas. This cooperation can cover aspects such as trade, shipping, tourism, maritime security, defense and environmental protection. Indonesia's participation in international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the Indian Ocean Rim Association of States (IORA), the International Maritime Organization (IMO), and the ASEAN Maritime Forum demonstrates Indonesia's significant contribution to regional geopolitical dynamics. In addition, Indonesia has acted as a mediator in various maritime disputes. These facts are outlined by (Rijal, 2019; Zulhatta & Marsetio, 2023).

Moreover, Indonesia has demonstrated through its policy planning dialogue with Vietnam that ASEAN can play an important role in addressing current issues, such as the competition between the United States and China and the ongoing tensions in the South China Sea, as noted by (Hutama, 2019; Putro et al., 2023). Although ASEAN still faces challenges in uniting its forces, (Darmawan & Mahendra, 2018) explain. Initiatives such as the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) demonstrate Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN, not only in the economic sphere, but also in defense and maritime security, as (Anwar, 2020) points out. The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) promotes the principles of inclusive dialogue and cooperation. The AOIP reaffirms ASEAN's principles of centrality, inclusiveness, and complementarity, and recognizes ASEAN's important role in maintaining stability and peace in the Indo-Pacific region. It also affirms Indonesia's important role in building regional peace and stability.

Indonesia's participation in the Group of Twenty (G-20) strengthens Indonesia's position in global diplomacy. (Olifiani & Elyta, 2023)Found that Indonesia plays an important role in global economic recovery efforts as the only ASEAN member in the G-20. Found that Indonesia ranks among the top ten G-20 countries in terms of purchasing power parity(Siregar et al., 2023).

Indonesia's leadership in the international arena, including its role as President of the G-20, underscores Indonesia's significant position in global diplomacy. The G-20 is an international forum representing more than two-thirds of the world's population, three-quarters of global trade, and 80% of global gross domestic product (GDP). The G-20 provides an important platform for Indonesia to assert its contribution and role in achieving national interests on the global stage. Indonesia aims to enhance maritime economic and trade cooperation, secure trade routes, and improve maritime capacity and infrastructure through effective maritime diplomacy. These efforts are critical to attracting the international investment, technology and partnerships

needed to develop the maritime industry and related sectors. Indonesia actively participates in international forums to achieve these goals. This statement supports the achievement of Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045, which is based on the idea of Indonesia as the world's maritime axis.

Maritime Diplomacy Projections and Strategies

Indonesia's maritime diplomacy strategy to realize a world maritime axis is an important component of Indonesia's efforts to improve its position on the international stage. The strategy focuses on harnessing Indonesia's maritime potential to strengthen maritime security and defense, enhance economic cooperation, and promote regional stability.

Indonesia prioritizes three main dimensions in implementing its maritime diplomacy, namely sovereignty, security, and prosperity. The sovereignty dimension, as explained by Kusumawardhani and Afriansyah (2019), focuses on strengthening maritime laws and treaties, accelerating the resolution of maritime border disputes, enhancing maritime defense and resilience, and increasing development in the maritime region. These efforts are aimed at creating a stable maritime environment in Indonesia, with a focus on the security dimension. This is due to the challenges faced, such as illegal fishing, piracy, and increasing marine pollution, as explained by (Hermawan & Sidik, 2019; Juanita et al., 2021). The welfare dimension is realized through maritime economic diplomacy, which aims to support maritime development that has a direct impact on improving people's welfare, as described by (Astuti & Fathun, 2020). Indonesia aims to establish itself as an independent and sovereign maritime nation and contribute to regional and global security and peace through a comprehensive and multidimensional approach.

To achieve this, it is imperative for Indonesia to formulate a strategy that is in line with the dynamics of global power competition, leading to the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 and the realization of the World Maritime Axis concept. Indonesia seeks to maintain regional balance and build productive relationships in a complex global environment in the dynamic Indo-Pacific. This includes navigating a strategic position between the hegemony of the United States and China, while cooperating with ASEAN countries. According to (Herindrasti, 2019), this geopolitical context is a reality that all countries must face. Indonesia's success in realizing its maritime vision and playing an active role on the global stage depends on its ability to effectively build and manage relations with these two great powers.

Based on the analysis conducted, it was found that Indonesia has focused on several key strategies, including strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation, comprehensive marine infrastructure development, marine environmental protection initiatives, and enhancing maritime defense and security diplomacy. These can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. Indonesia's Maritime Diplomacy Strategy and its Contribution to the Indonesia Golden Vision 2045

No.	Maritime Diplomacy Strategy	Strategy Description	Contributing to Indonesia's Golden Vision 2045
1	Strengthening regional	Enhance cooperation with	Strengthen regional

Maritime Diplomacy in Realizing the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045 through the Concept of World Maritime Axis

Dao

	cooperation	ASEAN and other strategic	geopolitical and security
		partners on maritime issues.	positions.
2	Maritime Infrastructure	Invest in the development of	Encourage economic
	Development	maritime infrastructure such as	growth and trade.
		ports and sea lanes.	
3	Conservation of Maritime	Initiatives to protect marine	Ensure the sustainability
	Resources	ecosystems and maritime natural	of natural resources.
		resources through international	
		cooperation.	
4	Maritime economic diplomacy	Leverage maritime resources to	
		increase foreign investment and	Increase the contribution
		exports.	of the maritime sector to
		-	GDP.
5	Enforcement of the	Strengthening compliance with and	Enhance maritime
	international law of the sea	enforcement of international	sovereignty and territorial
		maritime law.	integrity.
6	Maritime defense and security	Efforts to enhance maritime	Ensure maritime security
	diplomacy	defense and security capabilities.	and protect national
		, ,	interests.

Indonesia's structured and sustainable maritime diplomacy strategy demonstrates the country's strong commitment to realizing its vision as the world's maritime axis, which is important not only for improving national economic welfare, but also for strengthening Indonesia's position and influence in the international arena. The successful implementation of these strategies will determine Indonesia's position in achieving the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045 and cementing its role as a global maritime power.

As a member of the G-20 and a key player in Southeast Asia through ASEAN, Indonesia is well positioned to play a more proactive role in global governance. With its strategic location, Indonesia can effectively use international forums to advocate for the implementation of international norms and rules, mediate conflicts, and advance its national interests in the face of future challenges and projections. This proactive approach allows Indonesia to influence global discussions and contribute to the establishment of a more just and balanced international order. This approach increases Indonesia's presence and influence on the international stage and provides opportunities to shape global policies and rules.

Given the dynamic global economic and political environment, it is imperative for Indonesia to maintain its focus on enhancing its defense and security capabilities to protect its sovereignty and national interests in an increasingly competitive global context. Given the escalation of militarization in the South China Sea, the expansion of China's claims from the nine-dash line to the ten-dash line, and the intensifying competition between the United States and China, it is imperative for Indonesia to strengthen its defense posture. This requires supporting Indonesia's maritime diplomacy with strong defense and security capabilities, including military modernization and enhanced maritime security. Indonesia's strategic position as a maritime nation requires a strong defense posture to deter aggression or unilateral claims and protect territorial integrity and national interests.

Dao

Given the challenges to the rules-based international order, Indonesia plays an important role in promoting and strengthening this system. This is important to prevent unilateral actions by large states and to ensure that the interests of small and medium-sized states are represented. Indonesia should continue to play an active role in promoting the rules-based order in international forums, such as the United Nations, and strengthen its defense and security systems. In doing so, Indonesia's position in maritime diplomacy will be strengthened and the country will continue to assert its role as a sovereign and influential maritime nation.

Indonesia's vision as the world's maritime axis involves broad and complex aspects. Effective maritime diplomacy is key to realizing this vision. To maximize Indonesia's maritime potential economically and strategically, maritime diplomacy must be integrated into an integrated and intensive maritime development policy.

Indonesia's maritime diplomacy strategy will play an important role in optimizing maritime resources for national and international interests, promoting regional and global peace and security, and contributing to the country's economic prosperity in line with the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045. Through a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach to maritime diplomacy, the focus of maritime diplomacy is to optimize the use of maritime resources, strengthen maritime sovereignty and security, and integrate maritime policy with foreign policy. The importance of diplomacy in addressing external and internal challenges, as well as exploiting economic and strategic opportunities, is critical to achieving long-term goals in a sustainable manner. In pursuing this vision, it is important to consider global geopolitical dynamics as well as domestic needs.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia's maritime diplomacy strategy is a crucial element in its aspiration to become the World Maritime Axis. It plays a significant role in strengthening Indonesia's position in the international arena and is an integral part of achieving the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045. The strategy focuses on upholding sovereignty, enhancing security, and promoting prosperity. It is important for Indonesia to maintain regional balance while building productive relationships, especially in the dynamic Indo-Pacific context, given the complexity of current global geopolitical dynamics. Indonesia, as a member of the G-20 and a key actor in ASEAN, has the opportunity to be more proactive in global governance and use this platform to advance its national interests. Challenges such as the escalating militarization in the South China Sea and intensifying rivalry between the US and China require Indonesia to strengthen its defense and maritime security capabilities, including through military modernization.

Therefore, the role of maritime diplomacy strategy is crucial in realizing Indonesia's image as an advanced, independent, and strong maritime country, leading to the Golden Indonesia Vision 2045. By implementing an effective maritime diplomacy strategy, Indonesia can optimize its maritime resources for national and international benefits, promote regional peace and security, and make a significant contribution to the country's economic welfare. Through joint

commitment and efforts, Indonesia's position as the world's maritime axis will be solidified. This will also strengthen its role and influence in creating a more just, balanced, and peaceful global order.

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