

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Joko Widodo, during the campaign for the General Election the President launched a concept called, NAWACITA. NAWACITA is a term to describe nine priority programs initiated to make a change towards Indonesia that is politically, economically sovereign and has a personality in culture. One of these points of NAWACITA is "bring back the country to protect all nations and provide security for all citizens, through free active foreign policy, trusted national security and the development of integrated state-owned "*Tri Matra*" which is based on national interests and strengthens identity as a maritime country " in carrying out its political promises, President Jokowi declared Indonesia to be a Global Maritime Fulcrum with the motto *Jalesveva Jayamahe* (in the sea we triumph) (Li, 2018).

President Jokowi's desire to make Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum, was delivered in his speech at the 9th East Asia Summit (EAS) at Nay Pyi Daw, Myanmar. Jokowi's style of global maritime fulcrum has five pillars, first is rebuilding Indonesian maritime culture, second is safeguarding other resources and creating sea food sovereignty by placing fishermen on the main pillars, third is giving priority to infrastructure development and maritime connectivity by building sea tolls, deep seaport, logistics, shipping industry, and maritime tourism, fourth is implementing maritime diplomacy, and fifth is increasing cooperation in the maritime field and efforts to deal with sources of conflict, such as fishing theft, violations of sovereignty, territorial disputes, piracy and sea pollution by assuming that the sea must unite various nations and countries rather than separate them. Moreover, to build maritime power as a form of responsibility to safeguard shipping safety and maritime security (Li, 2018).

Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno LP. Marsudi on the same occasion explained that Indonesia's maritime axis plan could not be separated from the vision and mission of President Jokowi's five years prioritizing, safeguarding Indonesian sovereignty, increasing protection for Indonesian people and legal entities, and increasing Indonesia's economic diplomacy. To protect Indonesia's sovereignty, Minister Retno stated that Indonesia would not tolerate violated state territorial integrity. Therefore, in order to become a global maritime axis, Indonesia seeks to carry out maritime cooperation with other countries (Li, 2018).

One State that currently has a strong economy and continues to increase is China. Napoleon Bonaparte once said, "*Ici repose un géant endormi, laissez le dormir, car quand il s'éveillera, il étonnera le monde*" (This is where a giant falls asleep, let him sleep, because when he awakes, he will surprise the world). Napoleon Bonaparte predicted China's power in the future. China's economic growth has implications for the shifting of the world economic order, the increasing Chinese economy has made the world view of the center of the global economy shifting from Europe to Asia. In our own economic theory, we recognize the term of The Asian Miracle, which signifies the rapid growth of the Asian economy (Rahmawaty, 2015).

China is an extraordinary economic power: the center of the manufacturing industry in the international world and can be regarded as one of the influential countries in the global economy, even World Bank President Jim Yong Kim said China is the states with the world's second largest economy (Diel, 2015). Almost all countries in the world currently receiving investments provided by China, the most prominent funding provider, major investors in the world from Africa to Latin America, as well as a growing source of major research and development (Rodrik, 2010). One of the factors that makes

the Chinese economy continues to strengthen is in terms of industry, the proof is the increasing export activities by China, China has succeeded in exporting or selling its production goods to various countries in the world. The main national interests or goals of China are prioritized in the economic sector, which is why China has never been involved in major conflicts, at least militarily (Dollar, 2017).

The involvement of Indonesia in China's program Belt and Road Initiative, Indonesia will provide benefit for as the interest of Joko Widodo in realizing his program during his administration, besides that realizing the Joko Widodo program in joining Belt and Road Initiative is a sign of deepening ties between the China and Indonesia that looks to expand economic cooperation from electricity and mining to new sectors such as e-commerce and tourism (Dollar, 2017).

B. Research Question

From the background explanation, the research question can be written as follows:

“Why does Indonesia have an interest in joining China's silk maritime road on Belt and Road Initiative?”

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Foreign Policy

Different from domestic policy, foreign policy is created to represent the national interest of a state towards the international arena. As a form of national interest, foreign policy has its composition which then could be considered as foreign policy

Foreign policy is defined as the actions of governmental officials designed to promote national interests beyond the

countries territorial boundaries. Foreign policy is composed of the goals sought, values set, decisions made, and actions taken by states and national governments acting on their behalf, in the context of the external relations of national societies. Foreign policy also outlines strategies to be used by the government to guide their actions in the international arena (Coplin, 1992).

Theory of foreign policy explains how state's actions create to bring the national interest and give the benefit to the state in the international arena. The Belt and Road Initiatives has already taken the attention of Indonesia's government as the solution realizing the policy in maximizing the sea potential. This concept will explain how the policy, then, could represent the national interest of Indonesia.

a. Model of Decision Making

A state in creating a foreign policy, should consider some points of consideration that might influence the decision-making process, either in domestic level or even in international level, the theory of international politics by William D. Coplin on his book Introduction to International Politics could be applied to analyze the interest of Indonesia in joining Belt Road Initiative.

According to William D. Coplin, there are three factors which become the considerations of foreign policy making process, those are:

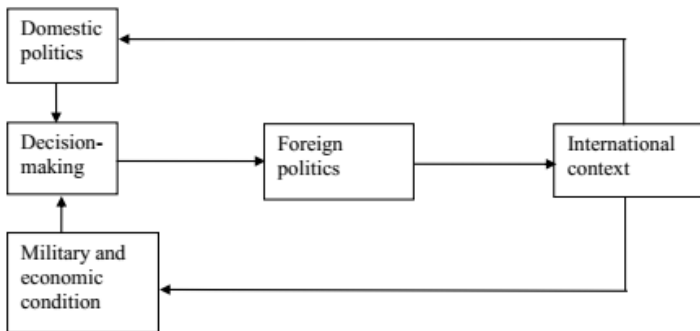
- a. Domestic Politics;
- b. Economic and military conditions; and
- c. International context, that is a situation where a state that become the purpose of international politics and other state's influences that is still relevant with the issue that is concerned on.

The decision making of foreign policy was influenced by the determinant factors which may be able to be

explained by this further illustration by D. Coplin explaining about the interactions among factors which influence the decision-making process (Coplin, 1992).

Figure 1 William D. Coplin Decision-Making Process

The Main Factors Influencing the Form of Foreign Politics



Source: William D.Coplin. Introduction to International Politics: a theoretical overview by MarsedesMarbun, Bandung, Sinarbaru, 1992.

Based on the illustration by Coplin which is explained above, there are three factors of consideration which influence the decision-making process of foreign policy. Those aspects are domestic politics/conditions, military and economic condition, and international context. Of course, these factors are correlated one to another which then become the consideration which results in a policy of a state.

a. Domestic Politics

William D. Coplin stated “to determine the way foreign policy works, it can be observed from the domestic situation of a country.” The condition of domestic politics of a state could affect in the foreign decision making, either by culture or political system of its state. Domestic politics includes cultural factors which are fundamentally affected the people behavior and domestic politics condition which is currently occurred. In the international politics, even though the State is the actor, but people is the one who are responsible to make the decision to do such action and reaction. People are unlike a State. They decide and play a concept of national interests, arranges strategy, and makes decision or even evaluates the decision which are already executed. In the case of some States, the leader of a State (President, Prime Minister, or King) plays a dominant part of the decision-making process (Coplin, 1992).

Conforming to William D. Coplin, internal political situation in a state gives a big effect in formulating a foreign policy, policy influencer is the political condition of the state which is influencing a foreign policy. A decision maker needs the support from policy influencer as a backing to strengthen the policy.

There are four types of policy influencer according to William D. Coplin, Bureaucratic Influencer, Partisan Influencer, Interest Influencer, and Mass Influencer. The first bureaucratic influencer refers to individuals and organizations in executive body that have function to support the decision maker to arrange the policy. Therefore, the bureaucratic group has an important position in the policy making. It happens because they help decision maker and give the information that are related with the policy and the bureaucratic also guarantee

the policy which will be used into the society. The second influencer is the partisan influencer. They tend to change the demands of society into political matters. The method of this party to influence is pushing the elite politics by preparing the individual who will be participating in the decision making. Their concern might be the domestic policy which gets the impact from the foreign policy. The third type of policy influencer is the interest influencer. They consist of the individuals who have the same interest, but they are still powerless to be a party. However, their voice is important for the policy influencer to get support. The last policy influencer is the mass influencer. Public opinion becomes one aspect which is considered more by the decision maker in creating foreign policy. Therefore, mass influencer or public opinion is related with the climate-opinion which is owned by the population and as scale considerations in making foreign politics (Coplin, 1992).

In analyzing the domestic politics of Indonesia, it could be seen by using the type interest influencer as Joko Widodo stated that Indonesia will become the global maritime fulcrum in his presidential campaign. This kind of interest is already implemented in his policy called "NAWACITA". His strategy to realize his interest one step to make it closer is joining this policy and to cooperate with China as the motive to gain Joko Widodo's interest in realizing his foreign policy.

b. Economic and Military Conditions

According to William D. Coplin, the economic and military capacity of a state can be determined as an instrument of foreign policy. However, in the implementation of the theory the author will use the economic capacity as the tool to explain the research

question. As stated in the book of “Introduction of International Relation” by William. D. Coplin, we have to realize that economic ability of a state played important roles in their foreign policy because the economic aptitude functions as the instrument of foreign policy (Coplin, 1992).

Furthermore, according to William D. Coplin, the assessment of economic capacity of a state must include the analysis of the state’s welfare and how the extent of wealth could fulfill the needs of its people and its economic growth. Furthermore, when we discuss the economic capacity of a country, actually we pay attention not only to its production capacity but also his capacity when compared with other countries, as well as the country's ability to meet the economic demands of its people quantitatively or wealth per capita and qualitatively or product type.

In terms of economy, William D. Coplin states that economy is one of the factors in national interests, where the aim is to improve the quality of the state’s economy, industry and trade. The economic conditions of a states certainly greatly affect the entire condition of the states. There are many ways that the states can do to improve its economy and ensure that it remains stable. One way is to establish cooperation with other countries, both bilateral and multilateral cooperation, depending on the needs and objectives of the countries that are cooperating.

Seen from economic factors the interests of Indonesia to join the idea of Belt and Road Initiatives initiated by China as an initiator is certainly to improve the economic quality of the Indonesian people. President Joko Widodo took advantage of the opportunity to realize development in terms of infrastructure development for Indonesia, because as we know infrastructure development in the era

of Joko Widodo is built very intensely both domestic and infrastructure that connects with the international community. In this case the idea of the Belt Road Initiative is in line with the policies of Joko Widodo who aspire to maximize the potential of the sea to make Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum.

c. International Context

According to William D. Coplin, there are three elements of International condition which possibly affects a state's foreign policy. Those are geographic, economic, and political condition. In addition to that, Russett as quoted by William D. Coplin book added that the geographic factor is related to international trade and the state's behavior in any kind of multicultural relations. He stated that "International condition is a product of foreign policy of states in the past, present, or even future that might be or be anticipated".

By considering those factors, economic and geographic factors are quite reasonable to be related with the policy made by Indonesia especially during Joko Widodo's administration in joining Belt and Road Initiative to maximize the interest of Indonesia towards Belt and Road Initiative policy.

b. Maritime Fulcrum

Looking at the conceptual basis of the maritime fulcrum pillars, the implementation of the maritime fulcrum concept should prioritize the implementation of sovereignty at sea. Then there need to be quick legal settlement of maritime control to ensure marine activities run well. The concept of maritime fulcrum has 5 pillars

they are: (1) Maritime Culture; (2) management of marine resources; (3) maritime connectivity (4) Maritime diplomacy; and (5) maritime defense (Maksum, 2015).

The idea of global maritime fulcrum was introduced by Joko Widodo on his Presidential election campaign in 2014. this idea occurs despite the problem happen such as corruption, budget leak, unfairness and etc. This idea occurs as the great expectations for Indonesian people in order to reappear the old identity as the nation of seamen (Maksum, 2015).

The ambition and agendas on Joko Widodo reign will be focused on 5 pillars in order to create Indonesia as the global maritime fulcrum. As the power that will sail through two big oceans as maritime people that is prosperous and authoritative. In guarding the vision of the Sea of the Future Nation and supporting the mission of “NAWACITA” mandated by President Joko Widodo the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries continues to encourage the growth of the marine and fisheries sector with various policies. The policy is translated into three pillars of mission, namely sovereignty, sustainability and prosperity.

2. Geopolitics

The term Geopolitics was first used by Rudolf Kjellen, a political expert from Sweden in 1905. As a branch of political geography, geopolitics was focused on the development and need for space for the states. The combination of the natural development theory of a States by Friedrich Ratzel’s and *Hearthland's* theory of Sir J. Halford to justify expansionist practices from several states (Mill, 2010).

According to Friedrich Ratzel, Geopolitics is the development of political geography, where the state is

governed as a living organization that spatially develops a framework that meets the needs of people or demands for *lebensraum* (living space) needs that are explicitly related to national cultural development with territorial expansion, which is then used to legalize imperial expansion from the German state in the 1930s (Bassin, 1987). In the hands of German thinkers at the time, especially Haushofer, Geopolitics developed as a branch of science where power (politics) and space (*lebensraum*) were central elements. So, Haushofer named Geopolitics as a state science covering the fields of politics, geography (space), economics, sociology, anthropology, history and law, first described in his famous book "*Macht Und Erde*" (power and world) (Perdana, 2017). He argues that Germany needs to enlarge *Lebensraum* (living space) in order to create health among the population. The term Geopolitics has been known since the 19th century and Geopolitics is an idea where politics and space can be used in a national policy. Geopolitics is related to the relationship between state, external strategy, and global power balance. Geopolitics deals with the idea of how geographical factors including territory, strategic location, population, natural resources, are influenced by economic and technological factors (Perdana, 2017).

Geopolitical theory in its explanation says that a State is analogous to a living organism, where the state will also experience growth. In this growth, the state must also have sufficient space. Geopolitics is born as a science where political and spatial factors are two interrelated things and become central elements in international relations. The current Geopolitical Context is certainly different from the former geopolitics, where geopolitics was emphasized when a States needed territory, it had to be done by means of military expansion into areas that it wanted to control. However, in contrast to the geopolitics that developed at this time where when the States needs additional territory for its national

interests, it no longer has to be done by expanding into the area, but it can be done by cooperating with the countries that own the region. So, for example, when the States needs an area where the region has direct access to the sea, countries that need the region can establish cooperation with countries that have direct access to the sea, and of course the cooperation that is established also benefits each other (Perdana, 2017).

By applying the concept of national interest and geopolitical theory in bilateral cooperation carried out by China and Indonesia, where such cooperation in the form of the idea of Belt and Road Initiative can be seen that both countries have their respective interests such as China as the initiator of this policy, China has an interest in launching this project in terms of sea lanes that will connect China to several countries in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia as the largest country in Southeast Asia which has a larger sea area than other countries in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, Indonesia under the regime of Joko Widodo which prioritizes infrastructure development both land and sea also requires China as an Investor in Indonesia's development projects in the administration of Joko Widodo in the next 5 years, as we know that Joko Widodo campaigned to make Indonesia a global maritime fulcrum which is a one of programs in Belt and Road Initiative (Silk Maritime Road) that facilitates Joko Widodo aspirations to develop Indonesia's potential in maritime sector.

D. Hypothesis

To answer the research question on why does Indonesia have an interest on China's Belt and Road Initiative because,

1. Joko Widodo's foreign policy decision making process is influenced by the domestic condition of Indonesia, economic and military condition, and also the

international context has the big role on Jokowi's Foreign Policy as a Global Maritime Fulcrum.

2. Joko Widodo succeeds in maximizing the opportunity as the Global Maritime Fulcrum through the Silk Cooperation with China's Silk Maritime Road as the geographic connectivity in order to stabilize economic condition of Indonesia through the development of Indonesian Infrastructure with China mutual relations.

E. Research Objectives

This research purposes are to prove how significant the impact Indonesia has gained after becoming a member of the Belt and Road Initiative especially in the economic field and also whether this idea is the right step for Joko Widodo to join and prove that Indonesia is the world's maritime axis through the idea of Belt and Road Initiative.

F. Scope of Research

This research has a limited research range from 2014 which is the beginning of the Joko Widodo administration and the early time that Indonesia joined the Belt and Road Initiative idea until 2018 which is the end of Joko Widodo's tenure. The 2014 election was based on the beginning of Indonesian cooperation with China in the idea of One Belt One Road (OBOR) now called as Belt Road Initiative (BRI). The selection of the year 2018 is the year of his presidency and it's the fifth years of Joko Widodo cooperation with China in the Belt Road Initiative policy since 2014.

G. Research Methodology

1. Approach

In this research, the analysis is carried out using a qualitative approach. This approach combines the processes of three aspects, namely description, classification, and connection. The data that has been obtained is then described so that the context of the discussion is obtained in the form of the characteristics of the data (e.g. in the form of facts, opinions, ideas, etc.). After that, data that has the same characteristics are classified into one another (e.g. how a fact / news is evidence of predictions of ideas).

2. Collecting Data Method

This research emphasizes library research techniques. The data contained in this study is valid data and obtained from printed media in the form of books. In addition, data are also obtained from internet media such as official sites or news sites, online journals, reports and documents from initiatives and related institutions. In addition, this research also contained other sources related to the object of research and can support the research process.

3. Data Analysis Method

This research uses deductive analysis techniques or by understanding facts. That is, begins by gathering facts related to the object of analysis. Then these facts are transformed into empirical generalizations. From this empirical generalization, the concept formulation process, proposition formulation and sequencing are carried out, and then transformed into theory induction.

H. Thesis Outline

This undergraduate thesis consists of five chapters and each of them will be elaborated systematically in sub-chapters given. The systematic writing of this research is arranged as follows;

CHAPTER I

This chapter contains background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research objectives, scope of research, research methodology and thesis outline.

CHAPTER II

This chapter contains the history of Indonesia-China relations, the establishment Belt and Road Initiative, then the involvement of Indonesia in Belt and Road Initiative as the member of this policy.

CHAPTER III

This chapter contains the decision-making process of Indonesia in joining Belt and Road Initiative especially how big influence implemented on the domestic politics, economic and military condition and the international context. The implementation of the Idea Jokowi's Maritime Fulcrum

CHAPTER IV

This chapter contains the implementation of geopolitics concept which is how Indonesia seen this idea for realizing the Indonesia foreign policy as Global Maritime Fulcrum. The project and possibility relations with China's Silk Maritime Road

CHAPTER V

This chapter contains the summarize and provides the conclusion of all discussions.