

INDONESIA RESPOND TOWARDS CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia is an archipelago country consist of 70% sea and 30% land territory. Under Joko Widodo administration, Indonesia has strong vision with the idea NAWACITA. NAWACITA is a term to describe nine priority programs initiated to make a change towards Indonesia policy. In order to bring the maritime country identity Jokowi, announce that Indonesia will become the Global Maritime Fulcrum in his administration.

One State that currently has a strong economy and continues to increase is China. China's economic growth has implications for the shifting from Europe to Asia. China with the vision and concept to connect China with other countries called the Belt and Road Initiative. The purpose of this research is to know the interest of Jokowi on Joining the China's Silk Maritime Road on Belt and Road Initiative, how this program influence Indonesia during Joko Widodo administration and the future project and possibility between both countries.

Keyword(s): Indonesia, China, Belt and Road Initiative

INTRODUCTION

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

METHODS OF RESEARCH

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.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. 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

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).

From this empirical generalization, the concept formulation process, preposition formulation and sequencing are carried out, and then transformed into theory induction.

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:

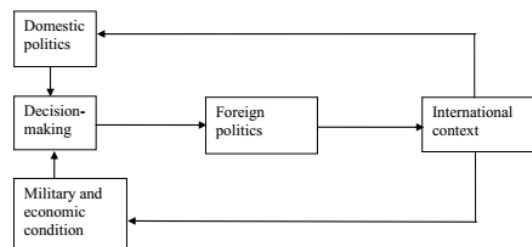
a) Domestic Politics;

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



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, Russet 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.

RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the writer explains how Joko Widodo shifted the policy and implemented the Foreign Policy Global Maritime Fulcrum towards the China’s Silk Maritime Road on Belt Road Initiatives using the William D. Coplin decision-making process concept made by Jokowi administrations on decision to join the China’s global Policy.

A. Jokowi’s Domestic Politics

Since taking his office in October 2014, Indonesia’s President Joko Widodo has pursued a stridently different style of foreign policy that significantly marks a departure from the multilateralism of his predecessor, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). In his inauguration address in October 2014, Jokowi stated that Indonesia, as the third-most populous democracy, the most populous Muslim-majority country, and the largest economy in Southeast Asia, would keep pursuing the “free and active” foreign policy, but backed by stronger defensive power. By strengthening the

importance of global maritime fulcrum as the new orientation of his foreign policy, President Joko Widodo also stressed the importance of his called NAWACITA program, which included calls to build up a credible national security and defense infrastructure. He also mentioned the importance of modernizing the Indonesian Military (TNI)’s outdated equipment and the need to strengthen the national defense industry (Madu, 2017).

Indonesia today seems to be more assertive in defending its national sovereignty and interests. The free and active foreign policy has been significantly reinterpreted. Under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono the policy was interpreted as “all nations are friends, zero enemies”. In Jokowi’s era, the policy has been reinterpreted to become “all nations are friends until Indonesia’s sovereignty is degraded and national interests are jeopardized”. The reinterpretation is not to say that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is wrong, but it was needed to strengthen Indonesia’s role at the international level visible. The new interpretation of a free and active foreign policy is shown in two accounts, such as: sinking foreign ships that commit illegal fishing in Indonesian waters and death penalty for drug-related offenders (Madu, 2017).

Based on Ludiro Madu on his journal, while maintaining SBY's achievement on international activism of Indonesian diplomacy, at the same time, Jokowi's government seeks to find a new space for filling the gap that the previous government seemed to be ignored, that is domestic orientation. With the domestic orientation, president Jokowi has used its international position for increasing its national economic interests and political sovereignty. Today's Indonesia is very different from what it used to be. Its emerging economy coupled with the doctrines of sovereignty and national interests has given confidence, leading to a more assertive stance. It knows what it wants and is willing to strive to get it. When it comes to national interests, the administration is unwilling to negotiate and ready to confront whatever or whoever stands in its way. Furthermore, continues must understand that new shape of foreign policy is not merely what President Jokowi desired, but it is the aspiration of the people. Jokowi's asserted that Indonesia's foreign policy must "bring diplomacy back to earth" (*diplomasi membumi*) (Madu, 2017). In a growing democracy, citizens have more say in shaping Indonesia's relations with other countries compared to the past. Thus, Indonesia's assertive foreign policy has taken into account what the public wants. Most of Jokowi's policies

mentioned above, such as sinking foreign ships that commit illegal fishing and executions of drug kingpins, were widely supported by the Indonesian public.

Jokowi's actions are contrast with former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's motto "million friends and zero enemies," where Indonesia kept a low profile despite being Southeast Asia's largest economy and the world's fourth-most populous nation. While Jokowi may want Indonesia to be more visible, a proactive foreign policy could also distract him from an ambitious agenda to revive economic growth at home. President Jokowi started stepping away from his predecessor's foreign policy of keeping everyone happy. Jokowi, criticized the United Nations and International Monetary Fund at the Asian African Conference in Jakarta. He pledged to increase defense spending, ordered foreign boats seized for illegal fishing to be destroyed, and declined to pardon two Australian drug smugglers facing a firing squad, leading to warnings of damaged ties. In addition, Jokowi seems unafraid of making enemies to further domestic priorities, whereas it would be unthinkable for Yudhoyono to criticized the IMF and the UN. Jokowi looked to be more relaxed and confident as the leaders of China and Japan flanked him during the conference in Jakarta, as he woos foreign capital to help fund his 7 percent economic

growth target. That compared with his early forays on the regional stage including the G-20 summit in Brisbane in November 2014 soon after he took office where he appeared ill at ease and said little in public (Rakhmindyarto, 2015).

Hikmahanto Juwana, a professor of international law and relation at the University of Indonesia thinks the current inward focus of Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi is a counteraction to that of the SBY administration. Indonesia's international roles during the SBY and Marty era were appreciated by the public, but the local public SBY's own constituents wanted something more concrete or 'down to earth' and give real benefit to Indonesia society. During SBY's government, Indonesia's regional and internal roles are not something concrete to them. On the other hand, Jokowi wants to give something real to the people, thus the attention to Indonesian migrant workers and Indonesian crew members in South Korea, to show the Indonesian people that the cabinet was really working. By implementing different foreign policy from SBY's, it doesn't mean that Jokowi must abandon its international roles (Syahrin, 2018).

Reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy also increased the idea of nationalism. This idea has always been in Indonesian politics because it is a notion that would sell well. During presidential

campaigns in 2014, both candidates championed the nationalism idea in their own way. For Jokowi's campaign, the nationalism pitch was always going to be there whether he liked it or not because of his Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) party's strong nationalistic sentiments (Syahrin, 2018).

According to Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, Jokowi's foreign policy is not reflecting a narrow nationalism, but was more results driven and people oriented. In her special remark at the Washington DC. Retno Marsudi rejected criticism of its narrow nationalism and stressing its important contributions regionally and globally. She confirms that "What has changed, however, is that today, Indonesia wants its foreign policy to bring as much possible tangible results that can be felt by everyday Indonesians. Indonesia foreign policy serves the immediate needs of our national interests "the needs of Indonesian people" (Zulfikar & Nugroho, 2019).

Some criticism revealed that the appointment of Retno Marsudi as Jokowi's Foreign Minister has contributed to Indonesia's inward looking in pursuing its international interests. The fact that the President's inexperience in foreign policy has also given much opportunity to Retno Marsudi for developing Jokowi's vision in giving priority to domestic interests through various bilateral cooperation than regional

or multilateral ones. An Australian-based Indonesian, Greg Fealy, even blamed this tendency to Jokowi's "unsophisticated view of the world". Nevertheless, this criticism also gives somewhat strong foundation for Jokowi's foreign policy that is different from his predecessor (Zulfikar & Nugroho, 2019).

B. Economic and Military Condition

Since its launching, Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) has generated discussion on the nature of the program. At the launching, President Jokowi stressed on the external aspect of the program that posited it as Indonesia's strategy in managing regional power dynamics. However, several details of GMF could be said that the program put more emphasize on domestic aspect before it could respond positively to regional dynamics. National development concern rather than playing an active role in the international stage was considered Jokowi's way to distinguish his administration from his predecessor, President SBY. Some scholars consider GMF as Jokowi's flagship consist of continuation and distinction with the previous program of MP3EI (Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development) under SBY's presidency. Both of the programs contain infrastructure development in Indonesia by building several connectivity

projects (Aufiya, 2017). Nevertheless, the MP3EI never put emphasize on maritime sector, GMF has shifted away from the idea that was merely connecting center-hub Indonesia's economic center to refocusing to the neglecting maritime aspect in most of Indonesian's awareness.

Besides the fact that GMF concerning more on domestic aspect, Indonesia could not manage in implementing one of the leading elements of the program, internal connectivity, by relying solely on the domestic source. Under the presidency of Jokowi, Indonesia is direly in needs of foreign investment to achieve one aspect of the GMF. Indonesia since then puts its economic diplomacy mainly to attract foreign investment. In several international forums, Jokowi openly invites international businessmen and foreign capital to invest in Indonesia.

GMF since then has attempted to engage with the regional development of major power foreign policy strategy. GMF is dubbed as complementary with China's 21st Maritime Silk Road, in which Indonesia could play significant role to develop both countries programs successfully. A great transformation is taking place in the 21st century. The global geo-economic and geo-political center of gravity is shifting from the West to East Asia. Asian countries are rising. This momentum will be very good in supporting

Indonesia's ideals as a global maritime fulcrum.

To become a maritime country, infrastructure between islands and along the coast in each island is something that must be built and developed. This inter-island road must really be realized to accelerate inter-island transportation in Indonesia. Indonesia has great potential to become the global maritime fulcrum considering Indonesia is in the equator, between the two continents of Asia and Australia, between two Pacific and Indian oceans, as well as Southeast Asian countries. To be able to become the world's maritime axis, the port system in Indonesia must be modernized in accordance with international standards so that services and access in all ports must follow international procedures.

The Belt and Road Initiative vision and objective have been in the preceding part of the research, vast infrastructure, engineering and synergy projects will need to be built in the coming decades after the BRI released. China launched two new financial institutions, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Silk Road Fund, in response to the substantial financing gap for infrastructure investment in Asia. As member country, Indonesia is very likely to get funding for infrastructure and high-return projects. The MOU on strengthening Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between the People's

Republic of China and The Republic of Indonesia as a result of Boao Forum For Asia (BFA) annual conference in Beijing and economic cooperation highlighted among topics in the talks between President Xi Jinping and President Joko Widodo and related cooperation documents are signed afterwards, which can ensure the cooperation between two countries (Hadrianto, 2017).

The five pillars are first, the rebuilding of Indonesian maritime culture. As a country consisting of 17 thousand islands, the Indonesian nation must realize and see itself as a nation whose identity, prosperity, and future, is largely determined by how we manage the oceans. The second pillar is the commitment to maintain and manage marine resources by focusing on building sea food sovereignty through the development of the fishing industry by placing fishermen as the main pillars. Our maritime wealth will be used as much as possible for the benefit of our people. The third pillar is the commitment to encourage infrastructure development and maritime connectivity by building sea tolls, seaports, logistics, and the shipping industry, as well as maritime tourism. Maritime diplomacy that invites all Indonesian partners to work together on the maritime sector is the fourth pillar of the development agenda. "Together we must eliminate the source of conflict in the sea, such as illegal fishing,

violations of sovereignty, territorial disputes, piracy, and sea pollution," he said. Finally, as a country that has become the fulcrum of two oceans, Indonesia is obliged to build a maritime defense force. "This is needed not only to safeguard our sovereignty and maritime wealth, but also as a form of our responsibility in maintaining shipping safety and maritime security" (Damuri, 2014).

The ideals and agenda of the government of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kala above will be the focus of Indonesia in the 21st century. Indonesia will become the World Maritime Axis, a force that navigates two oceans as a maritime nation 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 Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries policy is translated into three pillars of mission, namely sovereignty, sustainability and welfare, namely:

- a. **SOVEREIGNTY.** Independent in managing and utilizing marine and fisheries resources by strengthening national capacity to enforce law at sea to realize economic sovereignty, which is carried out through supervision of management of

Marine and Fisheries Resources (SDKP) and fish quarantine systems, quality control, safety of fishery products and fish biosafety.

- b. **SUSTAINABILITY.** Adopt the concept of blue economy in managing and protecting marine and fisheries resources responsibly with environmentally friendly principles as an effort to increase productivity, which is carried out through the management of marine space; management of marine biodiversity; sustainability of resources and capture and aquaculture businesses and strengthening the competitiveness of marine and fishery products.
- c. **PROSPERITY.** Managing marine and fisheries resources is for the greatest prosperity of the people, carried out through human resource capacity building and community empowerment; and development of marine and fisheries science and technology innovations (Saha, 2016).

In order to strengthen its identity as a maritime country, eradication of illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing has been carried out and the development of maritime and marine economics. Eradication of IUU fishing has become the government's main priority in protecting

marine and fisheries resources. Success in handling prevention and eradication of illegal fishing due to the ongoing supervision of the management and utilization of marine and fisheries resources. Indonesia has vast landscapes and extraordinary natural resources, from various sectors such as agriculture, food, energy and maritime that can be utilized. The Maritime Sector management and utilization must be carried out responsibly, in order to maintain the sovereignty, sustainability and welfare of the NKRI (Saha, 2016).

C. International Context

During the process of shifting to a new consumption-driven economy, China needs to open up to the big market in the Eurasian continent. Essentially, the New Silk Road strategy aims to facilitate large scale infrastructure construction, energy sale and transport, as well as the relocation of manufacturing industries all of which are relevant to Indonesian economy in the long term. Nevertheless, it will also increase China's active participation in the regional affairs, prompting it to take on the role of a responsible major country in the region all of which are on China's agenda for its neighborhood diplomacy.

The ancient Silk Road consisted of several trade routes connecting major civilization across Asia, Europe and Africa,

which facilitated the exchanges of goods, know how people, and ideas and which consequently promoted economic. Cultural and social progress in various countries. In addition, it facilitated dialogue between different civilizations. In contrast to during these ancient times, peace, development and cooperation are the underlying themes of the New Silk Road Initiatives. Nevertheless, challenges to this initiative exist in the form of complex international and regional landscapes.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has two components: Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI), which is intended to link China and Europe via land and sea routes. This initiative Beijing's most ambitious integration project to date lies at the heart of China's foreign policy. The Silk Maritime Road is designed to build sea routes with faster connectivity to increase trade along the land and sea-based Silk Road, linking Asia with Europe and Africa. Under the strategic framework of the Silk Maritime Road, China has been buying up the development and operational rights to a chain of ports stretching from the southern regions of Asia to the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and even South America. According to the Financial Times, China has spent billions expanding its port network to secure sea lanes and establish

itself as a maritime power (Szechenyi, 2018).

China's shipping ports are among the busiest on earth. Eight of the world's ten busiest container ports are in that country, with the port of Shanghai the busiest on the planet. China is the world's third largest ship owning nation and the largest shipbuilding nation, with roughly 30 million compensated gross tones (CGT). Chinese enterprises are also active in the construction and management of ports around the world. Through the construction and management of ports and international shipping assets along the Silk Road as well as the building of faster connectivity via sea routes and an increase in trade, Beijing plans to expand China's reach as a maritime power (Szechenyi, 2018).

There are three existing for agendas for these initiatives. First, they intend to link Central Asia, South Asia, and West Asia together in order to boost connectivity and complementary across the sub-regions, and to ultimately assist the establishment of Asia's supply chain, industrial chain, and value chain. This will, in turn bring Pan-Asian and Eurasian regional cooperation to a new level. Second, the initiatives aim to foresee infrastructure development and systemic innovation, both of which are necessary to build conducive business environments in relevant countries and in the regions as a whole, all of these should

establish an orderly and unimpeded flow of production factors, to lower trade cost, and to reduce trade and investment barriers. In addition, the initiatives aim to boost the development of landlocked countries and the remote areas of coastal countries in order to provide greater drive for reform and the opening up of the various countries. Third, the initiatives aimed to strengthen people to people exchanges for future peace and development in Asia. In essence, the three agendas of the "Belt" and Maritime Silk Road initiatives are based on five pillars: first is Policy. Second, Roads: Development of cross-border transportation, infrastructure and the construction of transportation network linking Asia's sub-regions and connecting Asia with Europe and Africa. Third is Trade: Facilitation of trade and investment, as well as removal of trade barriers. Fourth is Currency: More trade settlements in local currencies and more currency swap schemes, strengthening bilateral and multilateral financial cooperation, development of new financial arms for regional development, reduction of transaction cost, enhancement of capacity to fend off financial risk through regional arrangement, and enhancement of regional competitiveness in a global scheme. Last is People: Improvement of state-to-state relations, enhancement of inter-civilization dialogue, exchange and understanding, as

well as improvement of friendship between different peoples, especially at the grassroots level (Zhao, 2015).

The initiatives will rely on existing bilateral and multilateral mechanisms between China and other countries in the region, and will use existing platforms of regional cooperation that have proven to be effective. In other words, the initiatives will be built on the continuation and upgrading of existing mechanism, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic community or the ASEAN, and China FTA.

D. Indonesia-China as Maritime Power

At the global level, the maritime sector is a sector that has always been very sensitive to matters related to the economy and national security of a country. Through the maritime sector, every country is able to obtain various forms of economic benefits, and at the same time, the maritime sector is also be able to provide its own problems for a country related to the threat of national security. This is as well as UN documents related to the threat of international security and peace. While in terms of economy, the maritime sector is able to provide great economic benefits, given the sea saves a variety of natural wealth and marine areas are the path of international trade transport.

For Indonesia, the maritime sector is a vital sector for the economy of the

country, given Indonesia which is an archipelagic country with a vast maritime territory, has a promising marine wealth. Approximately 75 percent of Indonesia's sovereign territory is marine area, and consist of territorial sea. Exclusive Economic Zone (ZEE), and sea 12 miles. In addition, the territorial waters of Indonesia hold enormous economic potential. How not, the Indonesian sea contributes 70 percent of national oil and gas production, large fishery production to put Indonesia second world rank in 2012, and coral reefs reaching 85.000 km² (Rakhmindyarto, 2015). This potential provides a new ambition for Indonesia currently under the Jokowi administration, to re-generate the maritime power of Indonesia and become a global maritime fulcrum.

The idea of Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum has surfaced since President Joko Widodo expressed his ambition to exploit the marine resources and territorial waters of Indonesia as an International Indonesian power and become global maritime fulcrum, in the inauguration speech in 2014, it was started internationally by President Jokowi at the 9th East Asian Summit in Naypyidaw, Myanmar on 13 November in the same year. This ambition is not without reason, considering Indonesia does have a rich marine potential and has vast territorial water. On the other hand, Indonesia is also

trying to restore its past maritime glory as stipulated in the motto “*Jalesveva Jaya Mahe*” (in our seas we triumph). This ambition ultimately influenced the policy direction of Indonesia in strengthening its identity as an archipelago and a maritime country in the eyes of the world. Global Maritime Fulcrum has five pillars as the stance of this policy. Those five pillars are the realization of Indonesia’s effort to change the domestic policy direction, rather than as a basis for determining the direction of foreign policy and diplomacy. However, it is precisely the strengthening of domestic policies that will be instrumental in creating the strength of Indonesia and provide bargaining power for Indonesia in the eyes of other countries. Meanwhile, for the foreign policy aspect, President Jokowi promised to maintain the stability of the region, as well as Indonesia will participate in determining the future of the Indo-Pacific region. Indonesia as a maritime country and a global maritime fulcrum has the responsibility to ensure its maritime defense, not only to protect the maritime and state sovereignty, but also the security of marine and maritime activity. One of them is to be active in maintaining security stability in the Indo-Pacific region, which is vulnerable to regional conflicts in the region as well as to illegal acts in water areas. Indonesia’s policy has no different

from China’s policy related maritime area (Witular, 2014).

China as the rising power has a new course in its foreign policy, which emphasizes the importance of establishing diplomatic relations with neighboring countries. This policy direction is very different from China before 2012, preferring to remain humble as its strategy in international relations, undertook a strategy revolution in its foreign policy, namely by further establishing interconnectivity between neighboring countries and encouraging cooperation with each other (Connely, 2015, p. 6). This change in policy direction spawned a new diplomatic idea from Chinese academics who advocated China to put its periphery countries the first priority. In the context of China as the rising power, China needs to emphasize such a form of diplomacy and prioritize good neighborhood policy (Yan, 2014, p. 153). This is because for three reasons, first, to become a global power, China must first show strength in the region and become a regional power. Secondly, along with the United States efforts to block China’s strength, good neighborhood policy can be a medium to gain much support from other countries to offset the pressure the United States has. The third reason is, by pointing out that China is a “good neighbor”, then neighboring countries will feel more at ease seeing

China's current strength (Yan, 2014, p. 156).

One of China's efforts in realizing its policy is to realize the program "Belt and Road Initiative", which then led to Maritime Silk Road. China's initiative to form Maritime Silk Road is to develop infrastructure and cooperation with South Asian and Southeast Asian countries, the Northern Indian Ocean and Europe while emphasizing the safety of maritime trade. In the project, the most affected area is ASEAN, as nearly 85 percent of China's goods are imported into ASEAN and by sea. For this reason, China feels the need to establish cooperation and connectivity with ASEAN countries in order to safeguard its national interests and strengthen its influence in the region. ASEAN is not only a big market for its products but also a priority in terms of foreign investment. Not only does China want to invest in the ASEAN region, but the other goal of Maritime Silk Road is also to encourage companies in ASEAN to cooperate and do business with China (Sriyanto, 2018).

Indonesia's ambition with its Global maritime Fulcrum, and China with Maritime Silk Road is a manifestation of the ambition of both countries to become the center and strength by utilizing the maritime territory. What distinguishes between MSR and GMF lies on the existing policy direction GMF promoted by

President Jokowi prioritizes the improvement of domestic maritime infrastructure and prioritizes inter-island connectivity because Indonesia consist of islands and is surrounded by vast maritime areas. While China through MSR wishes to establish interaction among other countries by purposing of further expanding the network of alliances and cooperation. In other words, Indonesian policy focuses more on connectivity in the domestic sphere, while China is more in the wider scope of overseas.

Indonesia's ambition to become a global maritime fulcrum, according to the authors is not only related to domestic issues and not oriented to foreign policy, but within a certain period of time, these things can determine the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy, but within a certain period of time, these things can determine the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy. President Jokowi prioritizes inter-island connectivity in the archipelago and revives Indonesia's maritime glory, as stated in the five pillars mentioned earlier. Although the direction of foreign oriented policy is only visible on the two pillars, other pillars are also oriented towards the establishment of Indonesia's identity as a global maritime fulcrum.

By strengthening domestic matters, Indonesia can show its identity as an archipelagic country with a good maritime

culture and a strong maritime territory, which deserves to be called a global maritime fulcrum. At the same time, the global maritime fulcrum is also actually a tool for Indonesia to establish cooperation with other countries. Therefore, to realize the existing pillars, Indonesia needs to establish good cooperation to support the realization of ambitions in global maritime fulcrum. One of the promising and strategic cooperation is with China. Meanwhile, on the other hand, China is also in desperate need of Indonesia in strategic cooperation Maritime Silk Road. Because, to strengthen its influence and role of Indonesia in the region.

Indonesia's longstanding bilateral relations between Indonesia and China provide many advantages for both parties. Since establishing a comprehensive strategic partnership, both have deepened their political beliefs, and mutually reinforced cultural exchanges through people to people. The continuation of this increasingly bilateral relationship, one of which is that China and Indonesia are committed to contributing to regional peace and security, as well as in creating world development and prosperity. President Jokowi and President Xi Jinping, who met at the BFA forum (Boao Forum for Asia) in 2015 (Pattiratjawanne, 2015, p. 20). Shared with each other the importance of building a joint venture to promote the importance of

the strategic partnership between the two countries. These include sovereign equality, mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual benefit, reciprocity, and unity and coordination in the new era.

In relation to China's Maritime Silk Road and Global maritime Fulcrum Indonesia, the two countries agreed that both of them had the same and complementary interests. Between Indonesia and China, the two agreed to synergize the two projects so that mutual benefit to each other. Through MSR and GMF promoted by each country, China and Indonesia agree to strengthen policy strategies and communications, advanced connectivity of maritime infrastructure, deepen cooperation in industrial investment and construction of major projects, enhance maritime economic cooperation, maritime culture, maritime tourism, as well as to develop a joint Maritime (Maritime Partnership). Indonesia and China see that in the strategic partnership plan is built they can benefit from each other in realizing their ambition to become a force in the maritime fulcrum of the world.

Looking back on the five pillars that became the basis of Indonesia's ambition to become a global maritime fulcrum, Indonesia certainly desperately needs a partner like China who can meet Indonesia's need to realize its ambition. One of them is to build a maritime

infrastructure, in which case President Jokowi expressed his ambition to build 24 seaports and deep seaports that will connect the Archipelago. Indonesia needs substantial investments to build such a large project, and country that can facilitate that ambition is China. Indonesia needs at least US \$ 6 billion investment to expand ports in Sumatra, Jakarta, East Java and South Sulawesi and Papua. In this case, Indonesia needs big investors like China, and China which is an important trading partner and investor for Indonesia can take the opportunity to encourage cooperation with Indonesia (Zhao, 2015, p. 19). Long before 2014, the two countries agreed to work together to develop a maritime infrastructure.

With the MSR, it certainly enables Indonesia to strengthen its existing strategic partnership, and because Maritime Silk Road is not a form of hegemony but rather an economic tie and diplomacy, Indonesia is more than happy to work together. Profits in the cooperation that exists between the two in MSR and GMF, certainly not only obtained by Indonesia but also China, For China, Indonesia is an important partner for MSR, as Indonesia is profitable in terms of resources, markets, labor and geographic. Within the sphere of ASEAN, Indonesia is the country with the largest population and largest GDP, making Indonesia an important partner for China to deepen its

economic ties with ASEAN. Therefore, the strengthening of strategic cooperation undertaken by China and Indonesia through the framework of Maritime Silk Road and Global Maritime Fulcrum will be more on the cooperation of economic nature and infrastructure. Such cooperation will strengthen Indonesia's position as a global maritime fulcrum, with more integrated maritime and archipelago areas. In addition, cooperation with periphery countries like Indonesia, which is a major force in the ASEAN region, will be very beneficial for China in establishing economic cooperation bonds scheduled in Maritime Silk Road (Szechenyi, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Jokowi's Global Maritime Fulcrum and China's Silk Maritime Road has the strong connectivity as both of policies have the same goal in maximizing the maritime resources owned by both States. In this policy both States have the mutualism relations within China with the Silk maritime road trying to connect and open the trade way through the Asian countries. Indonesia has the strategic position in this policy by becoming the one of the silk roads and will become the main lane in this huge foreign policy. Jokowi respond it as the opportunity to realize his policy which makes Indonesia as a Global Maritime Fulcrum.

Indonesia-China cooperation in Belt and Road Initiative makes huge changes for Indonesia as what already stated by Joko Widodo that Indonesia in the next 5 years will become the “era of infrastructure development”. With the big project made by Jokowi in Indonesia it can be proven with the project of infrastructure development all over Indonesia from the west of Indonesia until the eastern of Indonesia. The LRT project as the one of results from Indonesia and China cooperation within China investment into this Project. The other project is the Sea tolls in some harbors in Indonesia within those Sea tolls will used for connecting Indonesia and of course China and other States around the world as the one of the programs to realize the Global Maritime Fulcrum.

In this research is not the perfect research written by the writer, because of the limitation of the research time and in this research the writer only focused on how Jokowi utilizes the geographic connectivity towards China’s Silk Maritime Road, this research explains a little about the belt connectivity with China and more focused on the maritime connectivity as the study case. Hopefully the coming research can explore more towards this issue especially on how significantly this project made an impact for Indonesia besides the geographic connectivity is this policy really help

Indonesia in the past 5 years since Jokowi become President of Indonesia.

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