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Connectivity Indonesia's Maritime Global Axis Policy

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the concept connectivity forms Axis World Maritime Indonesia with One Belt One Road (OBOR) and see the implementation of cooperation with China and its benefits for Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative method eksplanatif. The data collection technique using observation, interviews with sources and literature. Research found that Indonesia has a great opportunity to work together in realizing the PMD and the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century to emerge as a global player. OBOR concept including the construction of the Maritime Silk Road, not merely based on economic interests but part of a political strategy of China's exit from US domination and its allies. In addition to building political influence in the countries included in the construction of the Maritime Silk Route.

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bentuk konektivitas konsep Poros Maritim Dunia Indonesia dengan One Belt One Road (OBOR) serta melihat dengan China implementasi kerja sama manfaatnya bagi Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif eksplanatif. Dengan menggunakan teknik pengumpulan data observasi, wawancara dengan narasumber dan studi pustaka. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa Indonesia memiliki peluang yang besar untuk bersinergi dalam mewujudkan PMD dan Jalur Sutra Maritim Abad ke-21 untuk tampil sebagai pemain global. Konsep OBOR termasuk di dalamnya pembangunan Jalur Sutra Maritim. bukan semata dilandasi kepentingan

Jurnal Pertahanan Volume 2 Nomor 1 Januari-April 2016 ISSN 2087-9415 hh. 53-70 ©2016 JP. All rights reserved. ekonomi tetapi bagian dari strategi politik China untuk keluar dari dominasi AS dan sekutunya. Selain itu untuk membangun pengaruh politik di negara-negara yang masuk dalam pembangunan Jalur Sutra Maritim.

Introduction

Indonesia has already called the maritime countries because it has a sea area of 5.8 Million km² which consist of 0.8 million km² sea territorial, 2.3 million km² of sea Archipelago and 2.7 million km² of exclusive economic zone. In addition, Indonesia has 17,480 islands and a coastline of 95,181 km. The strategic role of Indonesia and the awareness of the importance of the sea for the benefit of improving the economy, Indonesia needs a maritime concept that would bring the Indonesian economy is strong. Maritime is a system that connects the global pulse of the countries in the world and become the most important road in the continuity of the global economy.

Indonesia as the largest archipelago country in the world that has a very strategic geographical position which is located between the continents of Asia and Australia and

divides the Pacific and Indian Ocean. In the future, this position will become increasingly important because it is estimated by 2040 the demand for energy and natural resources will rise sharply by about 56% (Hao, 2008). Southeast Asia, particularly the Malacca Strait region is become one of the important area because role as a Sea Lane of Communication or (SLOC) and the Sea Lines of Trade (SLOT) that are vital for international trade (Till, 2004).

The position of Indonesia as an archipelagic country recognized by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (UNCLOS 1982). According to the rules of the UNCLOS, Indonesia must open its territory for foreign ships to cross the sea to determine the flow of traffic of foreign ships and aircraft passing directly and as quickly as possible through or over archipelagic waters and the adjacent territorial. Ships and foreign aircraft can be exercising the

right of through lanes sea islands of Indonesia (ALKI) for a cruise or flying from one part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone to any part of another high seas or an exclusive economic zone across the territorial sea and archipelagic waters of Indonesia (Sefriani, 2011).

Awareness of the major countries using sea power showing international their political competition in countries large magnitude. The competition for access and control along the shipping route between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, cruise lines, markets, and natural resources (Yani, 2015). Therefore, Maritime Global Axis (MGA) is the attitude to the benefits not only in economic terms, but also maintain the greatness that since the era of Sriwijaya has become a symbol of greatness in Southeast Asia.

China considers Indonesia as a country that geopolitical and strategic geo-economic. Indonesia's strategic value is required China to increase investment and collaboration with all countries concerned by the increase in the sea lanes by offering a program of

major infrastructure projects for developing countries that crossed Silk Route One Belt One Road (OBOR). In addition, the conditions for China's geostrategic Indonesia is very important for the security of energy supplies from the Middle East through the Malacca Strait than as a potential market. The conditions that made Indonesia the reason China wants to be included in the OBOR.

One Belt One Road is an economic development plan that focuses on policy coordination, trade without barriers, construction infrastructure (including railways and highways), and financial integration and relations between peoples (Zhang, 2016). According to the documents National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC, 2015), Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiative forward OBOR economic objectives. Many production sectors facing overcapacity China since 2006.

China's leaders hope to solve the problem of excess with exploring new markets in neighboring countries through initiatives of OBOR. This initiative will provide more opportunities for the development of China's less developed border regions. For those countries that will be invited to the cooperation, China aided funds from the Bank designated for the implementation of this cooperation, namely Bank Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank or AIIB to provide loans to countries that have the same vision as the OBOR.

China's offer to help countries in line with the vision of OBOR followed by Indonesia's President who does have the same vision wants to make Indonesia be Maritime Global Axis (MGA) with open connectivity areas that are geographically less strategically so economically becomes less advanced due to the vastness Indonesian territory and the lack of transportation that carries the region's economic product to the outside. MGA's strategic based on economic development, port infrastructure, and others supporting.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the concept of connectivity form Indonesia's MGA with China's OBOR and the implementation both cooperation, then the question research is: 1) What is the form and of implementation connectivity between the policies of the World Maritime Axis with One Belt One Road?; 2) What are the benefits of connectivity with the World Maritime Axis One Belt One Road to the national interests of Indonesia?; 3) What are the threats Axis World Maritime connectivity with One Belt One Road to the national interests of Indonesia?.

Connectivity and Cooperation

Connectivity is specifically defined as a network in which there are activities to expand or become large and even globally to improve the prospects of cooperation (Buchan et al, 2011). Connectivity within a global organization should be created and maintained (Lorenzen & Mudambi, 2013) because it is a key role in transferring knowledge and global excellence (Cantwell & Mudambi, 2011). Connectivity in the social sciences is defined as a node-node interconnected. These nodes can mean a country or individual, and the nature

of their mutual relations in the form of trade or cooperation.

In addition to the analysis of network dynamics, social scientists study how strategic behavior is influenced by the connectivity agent. In the last twenty years, the concept of connectivity has been intensively analyzed by economists, given the relevance of the concept connectivity in many economic situations, ranging from employment, trade, cooperation between enterprises, corporate governance and free market (Jackson, 2003).

The idea of connectivity refers to the interconnection between agent in the context of international relations can be interpreted that the connectivity is a state of connectedness between actors in international relations, which in the context of this research is the State. Connectivity should make cooperation within the group easier.

Fowler and Christakis (2010) says, "Interacting with others in a large population without structures that create connectivity greatly reduces the possibility of cooperation. The greater connectivity between agents makes

the higher level of cooperation." Connectivity refers to the interconnection between the physical elements of spatial structures that can be explained and measurement of organizational processes that are interconnected in a functional demographic unit (Opermanis, 2012).

From the description above, the author makes a conclusion that connectivity is a connected state among countries, be it political, economic, social and cultural as well as the region. Connectivity is a powerful resource for the emergence of a partnership.

One Belt One Road (OBOR)

Since 2013, Chinese President Jinping has taken the initiative of "One Belt One Road (OBOR)" became an important part of China's strategy of domestic economic and social development, as well as one important part of China's foreign strategy (Liping 2015). OBOR is an overall effort to harness the economic power of China to strengthen and expand cooperative interaction, creating a web integrated inter-connected in the economic. social and political to eliminate mistrust and increase the sense of common security (Swaine, 2105). OBOR is described as five main goals in terms of connectivity and cooperation through the coordination of policies, connectivity facilities, trade without barriers, financial integration, and the union of man (Winter, 2016).

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a strategy or plan of action established by decision makers in a country against other countries or other international political unit is controlled to achieve specific national goals as outlined in the national interest (May, 2002). Foreign policy can mean as an act of rational action of a country to meet its national interests in the international environment, it can also mean just as a statement the leader or the ruler of a international country to the community, may also act aggregation of all the interests in of a country or nation (Warsito, 1998). Allison (1999) proposed three models describe the decision-making process of foreign policy is a rational actor models, models of organizational

processes and bureaucratic political models. Foreign policy is a result of the actions of rational actors, especially a monolithic government, which is done intentionally to achieve a goal (Mas'oed, 1990: 234).

International Cooperation for National Interest

The bilateral relationship is used to strengthen the cooperation between the two countries to use their influence to achieve its national goal. Krishna (1993) in the international political dictionary says that: "The bilateral relationship is a state that describes a relationship of mutual influence or a mutual relationship between the two parties or two States".

Bilateral relations international relations is always in two contexts, ie cooperation and conflict. The establishment of a partnership based cases, on most several governments closer together with the proposed settlement or discuss the issue, said the evidence the technical to approve a settlement or another and end the negotiations with agreement or a certain sense that is satisfactory to both parties (Holsti, 1998).

Devetak et al (2001) defines the national interest as a real thing possessed by any country in a variety of his behavior in international relations, although its implementation every country has national interests of different which is based on the factors which make up the country both historically, politically, economically, and geographically.

Research methodology

This research is compiled using qualitative research design involving the link between philosophical worldview, a research strategy chosen, and a variety of specific methods in a series of studies (Creswell, 2003: 19). Qualitative research is research data in the form of verbal and analysis without the use of analytical techniques (Sangadji & Sopiah, 2010) which aims to study the social cultural and phenomena (Wahyuni, 2012) toward generalizations (Sutrisno & Hanafie 2007).

Eksplanatif qualitative research methods are also used for data collection in this research. Informant interviews using purposive sampling

system. Location of the study will be focused in Jakarta, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defence and the Navy Headquarters, as well as data collection via email to the informant.

Discussion

World Maritime Axis Policy

The desire of the Indonesian nation to become a maritime country has long even before the Old Order (Dahuri, 2015) with the proven success of the sailors Indonesia to Madagascar and Easter Island by crossing the Indian Ocean (Limbong, 2015). Indonesia Marine Policy of MGA stated seven pillars, namely: (1) Management of Marine Resources and Human Resources; (2) Defense, Security, Law Enforcement and Safety Sea; (3) Governance Institutional Sea: (4) Economic, Welfare Infrastructure and Improvement; (5) Management of Space Marine and the Marine Environment Protection; (6) Maritime culture Bahari; and (7) Maritime Diplomacy.

Vision MGA is to make Indonesia as a maritime country whose

advanced, independent, strong, and able to make a positive contribution to the peace and security of the region, and the world according to national interest principles archipelago insight, sustainable development, economic blue, integrated management and transparency, participation and equality and equity. MGA has 77 programs, comprising: program management of marine resources and human resources; program of defense, security, law enforcement and marine safety; program and institutional governance of the sea; economic programs, infrastructure, and improved welfare; program management of sea space and protection of the marine environment; maritime culture program; and maritime diplomacy program.

Initiatives One Belt and One Road (OBOR) China

Background OBOR initiatives started because the world changes towards a complex global world that have an impact on the international financial crisis continues to escalate; world economic is slow to recover, global development is uneven;

international trade and investment landscape as well as the rules of multilateral trade and investment are in great adjustments.

The initiative to jointly build Belt and Road is an attempt to embrace the trend toward a multipolar world, toward economic globalization, cultural diversity and applications greater IT, designed to enforce global free trade regime and open world economy with the spirit of regional cooperation opens.

The purpose of this initiative is to achieve economic policy coordination broader and deeper regional cooperation to a higher standard; and jointly create the architecture for economic cooperation in an open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all parties.

The concept of the initiative of China with the term One Belt, One Road (OBOR) (Zhigang, 2015) will be run through the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, which will connect the world economy stems from the circle of East Asia as a starting point and developed to the circles of Europe, as well as covering countries with

huge potential for the development of its economy. The Silk Road Economic Belt focuses on the mainland to unify China, Central Asia, Russia and Europe (Baltic); linking China to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and West linking Asia; and China Southeast Asia, South Asia and the Indian Ocean, while the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road was designed for in the oceans linking the Chinese coast to Europe through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean on one route, and from the Chinese coast through the South China Sea to the Pacific Southern other.

On land, this Initiative will focus on building the Eurasian land bridge together and develop the economic corridor China - Mongolia -Russia, China - Central Asia - West Asia, and China–Indochina peninsula, advantage taking of these international transportation, relying on the city down-town core along the Belt Road and using industrial economy as the main platform of cooperation. At sea, the Initiative focuses to build transportation routes that smoothly, safely, and efficiently,

which connects the major sea ports along the Belt and Road. China Economic Corridor - Pakistan and Bangladesh - China - India - Myanmar which are all related, so it requires a closer cooperation countries traversed.

World Maritime Axis Connectivity with One Belt One Road China

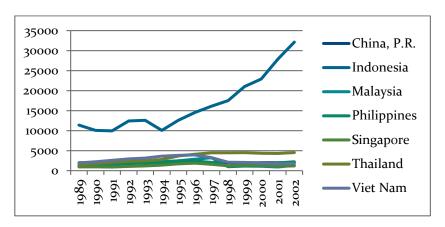
World Maritime connection between shaft and OBOR is based on the pillars of the construction of marine infrastructure and Improvement of Welfare, at points increase infrastructure investment cooperation with partner countries. Indonesia, which is building the strength of the country through the maritime economy and that China is expanding maritime economy as a point of meeting the interests of both countries.

The concept of 21-Century Maritime Silk Road and the concept of OBOR can synergize with the concept of MGA, on the condition that Indonesia has a Grand Strategy, which builds and empowering potential of sea power and geostrategic politics. MGA is a concept that is suitable as a grand strategy, because it is based on

geo-strategic position of Indonesia is very strong, which is in the middle of the interaction, whether political, and trade in the Indo-Pacific region, which needs to be optimized.

OBOR has two components. First, the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB), which will connect China, Central Asia, West Asia and Europe through the land. Second, 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR), which will connect China with the countries of Southeast Asia, Oceania, Africa and Europe by sea. In addition, OBOR will certainly take advantage of the presence of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to lend money finance infrastructure projects.

Readiness of China to secure OBOR through strengthening the military, especially the navy to secure the Silk Maritime (MSR) as shown by the military spending in 2014, China ranked second in the world, about onethird of the expenditure United States (China US \$ 216 billion and US military spending approximately US \$ 610 billion). United States fell approximately 6.5% while China increased by 9.7%) Seeing budgets are so large, the American military fleets and China looks ready to explore the Pacific, South Asia, and the Indian Ocean.



Graphic 1. Comparison of China with ASEAN Military Budget (Source: SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)

Compared with the ASEAN countries, according to data from Stockhom International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) military spending of China from 1989 to 2002 increased sharply, and when compared to military spending ASEAN countries significant differences are very associated with China's claim to the South China Sea with nine its dashline. China has pioneered the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) with an initial capital of US \$ 50 billion. Additionally, a special fund of US \$ 40 billion-one of which will be used to provide training to the Human Resources (HR) from regional countries marine silk road.

The world's shaft maritime policy context is reflected in Indonesia's efforts in achieving the Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) entered the top five ranking TNI military power the world in 2024 to come. Because the agency world military power, the Global Fire Power Military, in 2015 alone was put Indonesia in the 12th with a Power Index 0.5231. Perspective realism was seen from foreign policy to sink ships

that violate the sovereignty of Indonesia. Recorded during the 2015 number of 101 foreign vessels have been sunk for conducting illegal fishing in Indonesian territory as reported minister of maritime affairs and fisheries.

In addition to prioritizing the utilization of marine. maritime economic diplomacy is expected to encourage the strengthening of foreign investment to support development in the field of marine and maritime infrastructure increase the carrying capacity to utilize marine resources as well. Attract foreign investment in the field of transport, ports. communications, mining, and the development of alternative energy in the marine sector should be one of the main targets of economic diplomacy maritime.

Benefits Connectivity World Maritime Axis with One Belt One Road China

According to data from the World Bank in 2014, China ranks first as the country with the largest economy in the world. Gross domestic product (GDP) of China on Purchasing

Power Parity (PPP) by the end of 2014 reached US \$ 17.6 trillion. This position shift US GDP is only US \$ 17.4 trillion. Japan ranked the 4th with a GDP of US \$ 4.78 trillion under India at rank 3 with a GDP of US \$ 7.27 trillion. Indonesia itself into the top 10 world economic powers is ranked 9th with a GDP of US \$ 2.55 trillion.

In the country, especially from the eastern part of Indonesia, connectivity with overseas trade lanes, the development of 42 priority ports in ASEAN, where 14 ports in Indonesia. Fourteenth this port that will connect Indonesia with foreign countries. There are two options, namely the selection of one the Silk Road through the trade waterway, including Riau, Dumai, Belawan, Aceh and Pontianak, while option 2 the Silk Road through the Strait of Sulawesi, through Bitung, Makassar, Balikpapan, Samarinda, and can connect up to Surabaya.

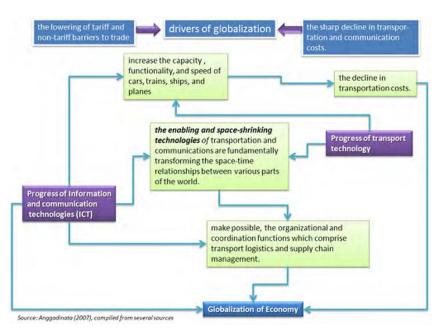


Figure 2. Economic Globalization (Source: Sea Anggadinata in Tol Development in 2015-2019 and Implementation RPJMN 2015, Bappenas)



Figure 3. Main Line Toll Sea (Source: Marine Highway Development and Implementation in 2015-2019 RPJMN 2015, Bappenas)

Marine highway is the MGA project slices of Chinese maritime silk route. China will be poured funds amounting to US \$ 50 billion to Indonesia to build infrastructure

marine highway where the instrument is the construction of a port, shipyard construction and the addition of a fleet of ships.



Figure 3. Main Line OBOR (Source: Financial Opportunities in MENA, One Belt One Road, Agricultural Bank of China, DIFC Branch)

Connectivity MGA Threats with One Belt One Road China National Interest Indonesia

The important port for China, illustrated by the fact that six out of ten

of the world's busiest container port in China, led by Shanghai with 29.1 million TEUs (20-foot equivalent unit) in 2010; Shenzhen and Guangzhou together handle 45 million a year.

Hongkong adjacent to handle 23 million TEUs, even Singapore, which once led the world economy (28 million in 2010) is now ranked second in the distribution channel and container output but remains the busiest port in the world in total shipping tonnage.

This time as one of the energy/oil and gas in the world, China is very worried about the security of their ocean supply lines in the waterway, which stretches 800 km (500 miles) between the Indonesian island of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. China as well as with the United States, Russia, Japan and India, understand today about 70 percent of world trade moves across the Indian Ocean between the Middle East and Asia Pacific, and a quarter of the world's crude oil trade through the Strait of Malacca.

Chinese silk lines both land and maritime side of Geopolitics, geoeconomic security and defence, could be a threat. Silk Road will be a threat, if Indonesia fierce fight directly involved in politics, economy and ideology between China and the United States and its allies in Asia, who do not want to see China take control of Asia Pacific economies. The Indonesian government also, be in control of China, if diplomacy in the field of Ipoleksosbud defence weak. What's hot is the issue of territorial claims by China, including Natuna Island in the LCS.

The first challenge, the Indonesian people need to know the contents of the column of seawater, marine biota, the content of the seafloor, security and marine safety. "Indonesia needs science, technology, science capacity, and substantial funding as well as the possibility of international cooperation, given the number of Indonesian waters bordering the jurisdiction of another country. Indonesia utilization of all marine resources is a challenge both for the nation.

Indonesia navigational sea lanes not only connecting the islands are in Indonesia, but also linking the region with international trade Indonesia. A third challenge for the Indonesian nation associated understanding of marine threat. Some threats such as the exploitation of natural resources, a violation of the law of the sea such as smuggling and trafficking, as well as the threat of state arriving by sea. The fourth challenge is securing the maritime area of Indonesia from various threats.

According to Montratama (2015) defines MGA as a vision to make Indonesia as the center of world marine activity. MGA is essentially a lane or lanes in which the case and the course of the traffic of persons, goods, services, investments between one port to another point, in the territory of the country or across jurisdictions (cross border). This traffic crossing or passing through the toll the sea that are not free of interest or free from potential threats and existential, in other words, we are a nation of Indonesia and other countries that use the shaft maritime must have policies and strategies for security cooperation and maritime safety are comprehensive, integral and effective.

Threats classical form of intervention, the invasion of a foreign country or an open war with other countries. Burgess (2008) in his article

reveals the existence of a threat other than the threat of war, the threat of non-traditional cross-border dimension. Indonesia's position to face the competition between the two great powers to continue to maintain a positive relationship with China, the other side can China has great potential to create instability in Southeast Asia, especially as threatening the unity of ASEAN.

Conclussion

To realize the vision of MGA, Indonesia strategizing reliable from various perspectives in the form of political forces, economic cooperation policy, infrastructure investment and naval forces armed with sophisticated. In addition to the negotiating skills and competence of Indonesian human resources necessary to organize any agency involved and the division of tasks and authority.

Indonesia has not shown a real implementation of the policy of the vision MGA despite Indonesia's cooperation with China in the maritime field becomes inevitable. Maritime connectivity infrastructure development in Indonesia be a

tremendous attraction that can make a major contribution to the strength of the economy.

Indonesia has a great opportunity to work together in realizing the MGA and the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century to emerge as a global player. OBOR concept including the construction of the Maritime Silk Road, not merely based on economic interests but part of a political strategy of China's exit from US domination and its allies. In addition to building political influence in the countries included in the construction of the Maritime Silk Route. Construction of the line was joined **RCEP** development opportunities.

Political and economic center of gravity of the world was changed from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Fray major countries are now centralized into the Indo-Pacific region. It is characterized by the increasing tensions in the East China Sea and South China Sea. Security and stability in the Indo-Pacific region is threatened. The Silk Road Maritime is a geopolitical concept to satisfy the

ambitions of China.

Recommendation

With the conception maritime axis, needed reaffirmation that Indonesia is an archipelagic country. Not only the island nation (geographically), but rather existence of the state of Indonesia which became part of world trade traffic. Indonesia's national interests as part of the maritime axis as the basis of maritime Indonesia as an archipelagic country in the geopolitical context. Sea Tol policy is expected to give a multiplier effect to the public economy.

Therefore, the technical work should be coupled with a marine highway productions regulations capable of maintaining the stability of the future development. development as executor downstream marine national economy, must be at prop with the development industrialization, so that connectivity reach the upstream and can downstream sectors of the national economy. Indonesia requires Defense Integrated Development of the Army, Navy and Airforce strong to maintain the sovereignty of its territory.

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