

Global Maritime Fulcrum and the New Eurasia: Opportunity and Challenge for Indonesia

Sugiarto Pramono

PhD Student in Department of International Politics
School of Political Science and Public Administration
Shandong University
Jinan, Shandong Province, People's Republic of China
sugiartop@gmail.com

Liu Changming

Professor of Department of International Politics
School of Political Science and Public Administration
Shandong University
Jinan, Shandong Province, People's Republic of China
liucming@sdu.edu.cn

Abstract—Huge of economy growth push China expands energy and market, technically China revival new Silk Path through the One Belt One Road Policy (OBOR) initiative. With OBOR China drives the Rise of New Eurasia and make this region become alternatives for US-Europe trade relations. On other hand Indonesia with Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) in China perspectives especially and Eurasia generally has very strategic geographical position for at least reinforce New Eurasia through sea line and as the Eurasia liaison with the world (mainly US, Japan and Australia that politically opposite with China interest). In this new global power structure as implications from the Rise of China, Indonesia has opportunity and challenge mainly as middle power. On one hand Indonesia find at least: (1) market (new Eurasia) with cheap access because the OBOR and GMF line; (2) push its economic growing as consequences of market expansion; (3) find its role as Sea Power so that push its bargaining position in international area; on other hand Indonesia also become (1) trade destinations from others countries mainly China easier; so that (2) dependence toward China politically. In this new world power structure Indonesia must has ability for stand on its position as state that has free active foreign policy. Indonesia should be (1) push productivity; (2) able to exploit Eurasia's new market; (3) reinforce its position between two great power (China and US); and (4) create the Rise of Indonesia.

Keywords—Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), New Eurasia, One Belt One Road (OBOR).

I. INTRODUCTION

The rise of China's economy makes this country need more energy and new market, so that become the main factor for China's economic expansion that technically doing through OBOR (One Belt, One Road) in Xi Jin Ping's era. One Belt One Road (OBOR) is China's most ambitious and visible foreign policy initiative of the last three years.[1] OBOR is initiative of China to connect 65 countries in Asia, Europe and Africa in many sectors such as commercial, cultural, cultural even tough physical trough land route (railway and high way) and sea route. A major aim of this initiative is to fund a broad range of infrastructure in order to promote greater connectivity by air, land and sea between China, Eurasia, Europe, South Asia, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. There are 2 component of OBOR, namely: (1) the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB), this initiatives is effort to revive silk road trade

routes from China through Central Asia, West Asia until Europe; and (2) 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) that connect Quanzhou Port in China, Quinhon in Vietnam, Palembang Port in Indonesia, Malacca Port in Singapore, Galle Port in Srilangka, Calicut Port in India, Muscat port in in Arab Peninsula and Malindi Port in Kenya.

China's OBOR vision push the rise of New Eurasia and becomes alternatives model for US-led Atlanticism.[2] In this situations, believed that New Eurasia will rise economically and open opportunity and challenge for Indonesia, as middle power in Asia that in the same time, is pushing itself as Sea Power through GMF (Global Maritime Fulcrum). This article is effort for explore opportunity and challenge the rise of Eurasia in Indonesia perspective.

II. GLOBAL MARITIME FULCRUM

Indonesia is an archipelago country with more than 17 thousands islands big and small. There are five big island namely: Sumatera, Kalimantan, Java, Sulawesi and Papua. Geographically, Indonesia is in between 2 important ocean as route of merchant ship (Pacific and Indian) and between two important continents that very dynamic economically (Asia and Australia). This geography position create Indonesia as a country that has very important role in world trade route.

In history, Nusantara (modern term for mention Indonesia archipelago), Majapahit (12-15 Century) and Sriwijaya empire (7-13 Century) ware maritime and commercial kingdom.[3] Sriwijaya and Majapahit had connected in many sectors with others power unit in the world. Traces of foreign relations Sriwijaya and Majapahit visible from various archaeological remains and acculturation of culture in modern Indonesian society.

Now in the modern era, Indonesia effort to revival world maritime role. In East Asia Summit November 13, 2014, 7th Indonesia President, Joko Widodo announced GMF and in the same moment he also explain 5 bridge stone of Indonesia GMF, namely: (1) building a maritime culture; (2) maintaining and managing marine resources; (3) development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity; (4) strengthening maritime diplomacy and (5) as the State which is the fulcrum of two oceans, Indonesia is obliged to build a maritime defense force. Like China's OBOR, GMF is aimed also developing

Indonesia's maritime infrastructure with a priority on upgrading and developing Indonesia's ports maritime transport, shipbuilding industry, domestic tourism, and maritime forces, both civil and military.[4]

At least 24 ports are designated as naval port lines, 47 non-commercial ports are built, and 100 ports are targeted for completion in 2019 as the realization of policy towards Indonesia as the world's maritime axis [5]. Through this vision, government doesn't only effort to connect more than 17 thousands of island in Indonesia but also effort for connected the world. There are 4 strait that Indonesia has, such as: Lombok Strait, Sunda Strait, Malacca Strait and Makassar Strait. With those 4 strait Indonesia geographically has very important role in world trade.

III. NEW EURASIA

In Mackinder's Heartland Theory, Eurasia is important point in the world political geography. Eurasia is combination between 2 region, Europe and Asia. Eurasia is also used for designate to pieces of Soviet Union. When we consistent use the term of *region* as a big island, Eurasia is a region, "there is no geologic boundary between Europe and Asia - they are combined as Eurasia." [6]

There are 93 independent counties in Eurasia, namely: 48 countries of Europe (including the island countries of Cyprus, Iceland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom); 17 countries of the Middle East; 27 countries of Asia (including Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, Philippines, and Taiwan); and one new country now often associated with Oceania - East Timor. Thus, nearly half of the world's 196 independent countries are in Eurasia. [7]

Mackinder, a prominent political geographer, mentions the term of *Pivot Area* or *Heartland*, namely: geographical strategic position for controlled the world so that in the very famous premise Mackinder teach us that: "who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; and who rules the World-Island commands the World. [8] Which include the Pivot Area are Soviet Union, West China, a part of Mongolia, a part of Iran and Afghanistan.

More detailed for better understanding Mackinder's Theory is that the world contains two parts (1) the World Island (2/12 of the world, namely: Europe, Asia and Africa, in this case America and Australia were not taken into account); (2) the Ocean (9/12 of the world in which surrounds the world island). This two parts of world was divided in to 3 part: (1) the Heartland that contain Soviet Union, West China, a part of Mongolia, a part of Iran and Afghanistan; (2) inner marginal crescent (North, West and South Europe, Middle East, a part of Southeast Asia, South Asia and China, all this area was coastal areas of the world); and (3) land of outer or insular crescent (Canada, US, Middle and South America, Australia and Oceania).

What that China do in Eurasia with its OBOR vision, actually, effort that be inspired by Mackinder Theory. This China's effort easier mainly because China had great

experience with Silk Road, trade links that connected China with Africa and Europe. With those 2 important legitimation (Mackinder Theory and History Great Experience) China becomes driver of the rise of Eurasia.

Connectivity between China's OBOR mainly 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) with GMF are going naturally. It is mean with or without two governments agreement the linkages between them will be happen [9] We can see for example how in Malacca Strait the two links (MSR and GMF) connected. In this situation Indonesia has opportunity and challenges at the same time. GMF can become instrument that give a lot of easy for foreign commodity to entrance Indonesia Market but in the same time GMF also can become instrument for push expansion of national product to other countries of course this second opportunity can be taken by Indonesia when Indonesia has high domestic productivity so that GMF must be accompanied by effort for making national productivity rise. With assumptions that Indonesia can create high volume of productivity Indonesia has wide opportunity for get Eurasia market.

IV. OPPORTUNITY FOR INDONESIA

In this context Indonesia as an emerging market has a big opportunity for explore the Eurasia market. Interestingly Eurasia market as a Pivot Area has connected at least to others OBOR states that initiated by China so that OBOR area with 65 countries add up 62.3% population, 30.0% GDP, 38,5% land area and 24.0% household consumption of the world [10] The Eurasia market more interesting again mainly because Indonesia-Centre Asia trade value still very small, only under USD 1 billion, except Azerbaijan that more than USD 1 billion but dominated by Oil and Gas. [11]

Even though of course China, Russia and European company will as soon as join and making this market more dynamic but there is still opportunity for Indonesia. Indonesia only need for fast moving to expand its product of course after making market mapping in this area. When Indonesia can exploited this new market Indonesia productivity will improve. A lot of Indonesia companies grow up and it can reduction unemployment.

When Indonesia can take benefit from the rise of Eurasia, Indonesia economic will grow up together with the rise of Eurasia, on other hand GMF doing important role in world trade so that politically Indonesia can making control toward world trade activities mainly that through Indonesia line. When Singapore has very high benefit from Malacca Strait, Indonesia will get more benefit with at least 4 straits but benefit from straits activities can't straight got by Indonesia without coordination policy and cooperation with a lot stake holders that has straight interactions with Sea.

For Indonesia, sea is not only give benefit and advantage but also with long beach line in more than 17 thousand islands, sea also becomes hard work for make sure safety so that a power full navy is very important for a country with archipelago geographic design but from opposite perspective so many example in which country with design archipelago

geographic design becomes the Sea Power and can explore a lot of resource from other side of world. Success experience as maritime countries that can mentioned as model for Indonesia are the British who mastered the financial and regulatory aspects, the United States that controls almost all of the Sea Lines of Communications/ SLOCs, South Korea as the world's shipbuilding giant, Denmark which controls 15% of the capacity of global container vessels through Maersk Group, and Singapore with the Port of Singapore Authority as the world's largest port operator. [12]

There are at least 3 conditions that allow Indonesia becomes Sea Power again: **first**, great experience in the history. We can see for example how Majapahit (12-15th century) and Sriwijaya (7-13th century) in their era become maritime and commercial kingdom. Sriwijaya and Majapahit had connected in many sectors with others power unit in the world such as China Empire, Europe, Arab and India peninsula etc. As a Sea Power the two Kingdom had important role in the past world merchant. Economy activities and trades were very dynamic in north beach of Java 17 century. The Java (an island in which Majapahit Kingdom was located) on XV-XVI century mainly in beach town (such as Gresik, Tuban and Surabaya) was the merchant town that so many trader from oversea countries such as: Malay, Chinese, Campa, Persian, Indian, Gujarati, Bengali, Tamil, Siam, Bugis, Arabic, Kasymir, Portuguese and so on. [13]

Second, Sea Power theoretically becomes theory base for GMF. Alfred Thayer Mahan (1849-1914) in his phenomenal book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783* explain a lot about Sea Power. At least there are 2 perspectives related with sea: Sea as limitation and Sea as power for a country. Sea Power sees Sea as a power than limitation. There are at least 6 element as Sea Power, namely: Geographic position; Physical conformation; Extent of territory; Number of population; Character of the people; Character of the government [14] Sea Power is not about natural resource but also about how to manage it. Even though still many something that need to be adapted, Mahan perspectives about Sea Power gives initiative for Indonesia becomes Sea Power. Some modifications in accordance with the contemporary developments of the world make Indonesia take a lot of benefits from Mahan's perspective.

Third, the rise of Eurasia making Indonesia opportunity for become Sea Power more open because this big area is not only new market but also very strategic area in Mackinder's Heartland Perspective. GMF and OBOR linkages making Indonesia can easier to access this market. When Indonesia can take advantage of this opportunity it is not impossible Indonesia will get many benefits economically and politically.

Base on at least those three important thing (great historical experience like that Sriwijaya and Majapahit doing as Maritime as Commercial Kingdom; Mahan's Theory about Sea Power; and the rise of new Eurasia) Indonesia has very big opportunity in the future for becomes Sea Power. Dependence of so many countries to Indonesia sea trade line making them politically depend on Indonesia for example in many forum in UN Indonesia can use its position for get

support in many voting and this situation create higher Indonesia bargaining position.

V. CHALLENGE FOR INDONESIA

Indonesia also has big challenge from the rise of Eurasia, the biggest challenge mainly come from China. **First**, In China's perspectives, Indonesia is a great power in Southeast Asia, because has important geographically position for give guarantee that China's sea merchant line especially MSR line that becomes a part of China's OBOR vision work well. In this context Indonesia's GMF was saw by China as very "sexy" so that no wonder when Chinese investment and export to Indonesia is increasing, and China influence to Indonesia also bigger. China become 5 biggest investment in Indonesia base on BKM (Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal) data per quarter I, 2017 until 0.6 billion dollars US or 8.2 percent [15] also Indonesia becomes trade destination for China's commodity. Indonesia-China trade deficit from 2012 to July 2017 [16]

Second, in case Indonesia-China economy relations Indonesia step by step will become China market and cheap labor for China's company in Indonesia. Indonesia's position in economic relations with China impact to politically dependence to China, in this context Indonesia feel difficult for keep its free movement politics (Politik Bebas Aktif). GMF in this setting is only a Chinese instrument to conquer the Indonesian economy because it only facilitates the flow of goods from China to Indonesia but if Indonesia can accompany the vision of GMF by pushing Indonesia's productivity strongly it is not impossible that GMF actually pumped the Indonesian commodity go out and expand not only to China and Eurasia event the world market.

Third, Indonesia should be able to take advantage of opportunities from China but must also be careful not to get in to the influence of China. With this strategy Indonesia is able to play a key role as a counterweight to China-US tensions; and **fourth**, there are so many issues that accompany relation between two countries such as ships burning and China's protest to name of North Natuna Sea. If the two countries can't manage those issues then that issues can disrupt the stability of relations between the two countries in the future.

VI. CONCLUSION

New Eurasia, opening opportunities and challenges for Indonesia. The rise of Indonesia is closely related to how this nation responds to the growing international dynamics. GMF plays an important role in responding to the rise of the new Eurasia. A number of points that need to be noted are, **first**, GMF is a vision that is still premature, so the concepts still need to be developed and operated in detail. Learning from the experience of China's success with its OBOR or even The US with its marshal plan can inspire the management of GMF in the future. **Second**, the tradition of politics in Indonesia shows that the succession of leaders is not always followed by continuing the program or even the vision of previous leaders,

often replacing the new and often for no substantial reason. A similar thing is possible with GMF, there is no guarantee that GMF will be forwarded by future Indonesian leaders.

Third, GMF has not only had long historical roots in the past, especially in the kingdom of Majapahit and Sriwijaya, both of which are maritime kingdoms that have political and economic links in global networks but also have a theoretical foundation. Alfred Thayer Mahan's review of *Sea Powers* shows that nations that utilize marine resources are able to dominate the world. Britain, America and Japan can be designated as examples of nations that have the ability to explore the sea and make them rule the world. In the case of Indonesia, this nation has had a key geographic potential as it connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans, as well as the Continent of Asia and Europe. Such potential management skills enable Indonesia to play a key role at the global level. On the other hand, Indonesia's geographical potential is a burden of security and an opportunity for other countries to use it for their national interests if the management is poor.

Fourth, If China's OBOR pushes a new Eurasian rise, then GMF could potentially drive global gains with many records. With its geographical position, Indonesia is easy to maneuver that can affect global distribution.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors would like to thank China Scholarship Council (CSC) that has been sponsoring the author's study in Shandong University (SDU). The author is also grateful to Department of International Politics, School of Political Science and Public Administration, SDU that was facilities author's in writing this articles.

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