

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The climate change happened recently becomes an important issue that attract the attention of the states in the world especially Indonesia, because the impact of the climate change is clearly felt by the Indonesian citizens. Many natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunami, droughts, floods, fires, landslides and food crisis happened at almost the entire of the world especially in Indonesia recently are as the real impacts of the climate change.

Natural disaster is an unexpected problem, and Indonesian region is susceptible toward the natural disasters. Indonesia is famous as a state with the diversity of natural disasters from the lower level until the high level. It is understandable because Indonesian archipelago is located in the pacific ring of fire. This position makes Indonesia known as the vulnerable disaster state. The fact of Indonesia as the “disaster area” can be observed from what happened during the year 2006-2011.

When Aceh and North Sumatra still suffered from the loss caused by tsunami in December 2004, suddenly Nias and Simeliu were attacked by earthquake which was more tremendous compared with the tsunami happened in March 2005. Then there was the earthquake in Jogjakarta on May 27th, 2006. An earthquake of 5.9 on the Richter scale killed 3.098 people. In October 2010

occurred three successive natural disasters; they were Wasior floods in Papua with victim claimed as many as 100 people, followed by the earthquake and tsunami in the Mentawai with 431 fatalities.¹ Post-it, as though disaster after another is unrelenting. Near the end of 2010, Indonesia was hit again with the catastrophic eruption of Mount Merapi in Yogyakarta area. Natural disaster is also a threat that cannot be predicted by the states in the world, because it can happen at anytime and anywhere. It proves that every country, whether they are developing or developed countries may also face the disaster threat. For example, Japan was hit by very powerful tsunami disaster in March 2011 and it devastated the lives of living beings and caused tens of thousands of casualties and property damages.

According to the Center Research Epidemiology Disaster (CRED) and the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction United Nation (UN-ISDR), natural disasters such as earthquakes and large tsunamis hit Japan caused a loss of 366 billion dollars (285 billion euro), as many as 29.782 people died in the disaster since 302 years ago. Storms and floods accounted for the 70 percent of the earthquake disaster, but it is the biggest killer.² Figures released by the Research Center of Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED) and the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction of the United Nations (UN-ISDR) shows the earthquake that is

¹<http://green.kompasiana.com/iklim/2011/09/18/saatnya-indonesia-belajar-%E2%80%9Cshippaigaku%E2%80%9D-dari-negeri-sakura-atasi-bencana/>(accessed March 22, 2012);

²(accessed March 22, 2012); available from <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/293428/pbb-kerugian-akibat-bencana-2011-capai-366-miliar-dolar>

claimed to kill 20.943 people most of the Japanese population. The earthquake and tsunami disaster that triggered a nuclear power plant in Fukushima in March is also the most expensive disaster, causing the damage valued at 210 billion U.S. dollars.

Even though the disaster in 2011 was claimed to have less victim than in 2010, but the material loss caused by disasters in 2011 and the foremost damage caused by the earthquake and tsunami in Japan is the greatest disaster in history.³ However, Japan has re-emerged to implement the disaster management, so the same mistakes will not be repeated again. Especially in terms of doing the right counseling to handle the natural disasters based on the local knowledge, innovation in building an early warning system, as well as the provision of skills in terms of evacuation and handling of victims of the earthquake.

This treatment includes physical and psychological preparation, food distribution, soup kitchen, and placement of refugees. When the earthquake and tsunami happened in March 2011, the Japanese government deployed 50 thousand troops (military) and NHK Japan directly covered the areas which were hit by tsunami using helicopter because the best hierarchical organization is the organization of the army.⁴

³(accessed March, 22,1012); available from : <http://www.voanews.com/indonesia/news/PBB-dala-Bencana-Alam-137615133.html>

⁴ accessed March 22, 2012); available from : <http://green.kompasiana.com/iklim/2011/09/18/saatnya-indonesia-belajar-%E2%80%9D-dari-negeri-sakura-atasi-bencana/>

National disaster rescue team went to work, they no longer waited and lingered meeting. All rescue workers understand the duty that they should do, and it was coupled by the calm attitude of Japanese citizens in facing the tsunami disaster. Those factors made the Japanese government more ready to focus on the logistic distribution, and rescue the victims the tsunami disaster. Japanese citizens always obeyed the safety regulations and procedures for the disaster response. Public awareness which is always responsive to the disaster can be a lesson for Indonesia in facing the disaster. Japanese resilience in facing major disasters won praise from many countries from around the world.

In handling the natural disasters, Indonesia can optimize further the role of disaster management in promoting soft power diplomacy the same as what Japanese did when facing the tsunami disaster in March 2011. Worldwide recognition for Japan achievement in disaster management is as evidence that Japan has the nation's competitiveness potential to be developed and this is the soft power. In the constellation of international relations or national products building that has high sales value, and the disaster management which has the well excellence so that Japan can become a world-class center of excellence.⁵

Japan disaster has shown many things to the world that disaster which often views as something negative can be managed to become a positive social capital to resolve social, economic, political, and social culture problem even the

⁵ Ibid.,

positive image of state in handling the disaster. Japan has successfully demonstrated an effective disaster management to become a powerful soft power in diplomacy.

As a big country and vulnerable to disaster, Indonesia should continue to learn from Japan's historical experience in disaster management. After the 2004 Aceh tsunami and other natural disasters occurring in Indonesia, there is an arising national consciousness in disaster management. Referring to the experience of Japan, the devastating disaster has changed the mindset of Indonesian people who view the disaster as a negative thing into a strong soft power as the social capital to build productive international cooperation which creates a sense of unity, solidarity, humanity and resilience of the nation that becomes more powerful. To note that the contemporary studies conducted by I.Kelman shows that disasters are not always become a bad factor for society, but within certain limits can be managed to resolve the political problems and conflicts that had been unresolved, both in the context of issues in the national level and between states.⁶

Kelman's argument explains that the disaster would provide a great space for parties that have potential as disaster-prone countries to look for space that can be done to reduce the risks of natural disaster itself. Natural disasters can also be managed to be a chance to increase political cooperation, economic, social and

⁶ Kelman, I. 2006. "Disaster Diplomacy: Hope Despite Evidence?". *World Watch Institute Guest Essay*, 2006, Kelman, I. 2007. "Disaster Diplomacy: Can tragedy help build bridges among countries?" *UCAR Quarterly*, Fall 2007, p.6, Kelman, I. 2007. "Weather-Related Disaster Diplomacy". *Weather and Society Watch*, vol. 1, no.3, pp. 4,9

cultural cooperation.⁷ Countries that are classified as a disaster-prone areas or potentially affected by disasters, which previously did not perform an intensive cooperation, and even tended to be politically hostile, then choose to cooperate to reduce the risk and impact of disasters. Disaster management can be used as a medium to create the soft power of a country the same as what the Japanese government has done.

The security agenda is expanding, including other non military aspects, such as the environment, global climate, social cultural conflicts, democracy, natural disasters, inequality, public policy and so on. In this condition, the actor is forced to revisit the concept of security and the concept of power. The state actor is forced to revise security and power concept. In the development, the dominance of the military aspect is reduced, but influenced by peace and security issue. There is a close link between the level of domestic security and international development issue; locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally, one of which also raised the issue of disasters and climate change that has become a contemporary issue at the global level.

In international relations, it is believed that the use of hard power (military force) as a form of unilateralism is not necessarily solving the problem. Conversely, the use of soft power is even more to strengthen the effort to solve

⁷ Kelman, I. 2008. "Disaster Diplomacy: Diplomats should not rely on disasters". Vol.47, 12 April 2008, pp.8-9

world problems. It is proven with the implementation of various religious dialogues and cooperation in social and cultural as one of soft power form that is considered to reduce the tensions in various parts of the world today. Humanitarian assistance in disaster areas has been used as a soft power to demonstrate the existence of the nation. Humanitarian aid often does not require prerequisites must exist in diplomatic relations between the countries formerly.

For example, Indonesia providing assistance to Haiti when a devastating earthquake hit in 2010, though Indonesia and Haiti did not have diplomatic relations. In other context of domestic relations, I. Kelman study about Aceh conflict gives an interesting image. Humanitarian assistance in disaster management framework has unified internal conflict that has lasted for decades. The earthquake and tsunami in Aceh December 26, 2004, is one of the factors that caused the conflict in Aceh is resolved.⁸ At the regional and international level, soft power will be more prominent because of other factors that also influence the constellation, and the global political and economic equilibrium now is the emergence of new power to balance the influence of the United States like the European Union, India, China, and Japan. New economic and political power has created great enthusiasm in inter-state relations with all of positive effects on the recapitulation in regional and international dynamics.

It would be easier to establish relations between nations through a variety of diplomatic activities without the use of military force. In turn of course makes

⁸ Kelman, I. and J-C. Gaillard. 2007. "Disaster diplomacy in Aceh". Humanitarian Exchange, No.37 (March 2007), pp. 37-39.

these countries exist and would be more respectable in view of the world. According to Nye (2011), the application of hard power and soft power adapted to the behavior of existing power. Hard power is essentially the use of force or the payment for the changing strategies of others, while soft power is the use of something that is attractive or persuasive to change the existing preferences from other parties which would benefit the parties themselves. Japan's strength in natural disaster management in tsunami which is responsive and accurate amazed the world.

The society in the world views that disaster management in Indonesia makes tremendous progress. After the Aceh tsunami in 2004, Indonesia is a country that does not have a disaster management system and device, and then later, it has a fairly complete national disaster management system. In a period of about 4 years after the enactment of Law No. 24 of 2007, Indonesia is considered by many as the advanced countries in disaster management, compared to South Korea that takes more than 15 years to have a national system of disaster management. Therefore, the Government of Indonesia recognizes that efforts to control the impact of natural disasters is not enough to bilateral cooperation, but more effective when using "natural disaster" diplomacy as the media of soft power in dealing with the natural disasters in Indonesia, as what has been done by the Japanese government in the disaster management of tsunami in March 2011.

B. Research Question

Base on the background above, the research question is formulated as follows:

How are the Indonesian government's efforts to apply the natural disaster diplomacy as a medium of soft power disaster managements in Indonesia in Yogyakarta 2006-2011?

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the question research above, the writer use the concept of diplomacy as the main theoretical framework then focused on the natural disaster diplomacy.

Soft Power Diplomacy

In international relations, there are several different definitions about diplomacy delivered by some experts. However, the writer just writes some definitions which are appropriate to explain the problem. Through the concept of power, the state become more exist and honorable in world view.

According to Nye, Jr in his book "*Soft Power : The means to Success in World Politics*", the concept of power is divided into implementation of hard power and soft power adjusted by the existing authority behavior. From the book "The Means to Success in World Politics", it is explained that hard power is a power and payment used to change other party strategy. While soft power

is the use of something that is attractive and persuasive to change the preference from other party which is favorable for parties themselves. In other word, soft power is the ability to make other parties to do something that one's want without force or payment but attractiveness.⁹ In the soft power, another party does something that one's want because of their desire, without the force, while hard power is a strategy or step or action which forcing other state to obey.¹⁰ That action includes military force or economy embargo (or the sticks). The threat can get along with military secure promise or reducing the trading problem.

According to Nye, the source that produces soft power for a country include its culture (where it is attractive to others): it values (where they are attractive or not undercut by inconsistent practices) and it policies (where they are seen as inclusive and legitimate in the eyes of others).¹¹ A country can use many instruments in their environment as source of soft power, like diplomacy, publicity, broadcasting media, exchange programs (culture or education), giving aid, contact military cooperation, aids for disaster, and the credibility of government disaster countermeasures skill.¹²

Study of disaster diplomacy is an important instrument to struggle for political purposes such as peace, economic, and interests like intensive

⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York : public Affairs, 2004),xi.

¹⁰ Ibid.,

¹¹ Joseph S.Nye,Jr, " the Future of Soft Power in US Foreign Policy" dalam Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (ed.), *Soft Power and US foreign policy: theoretical, historical and contemporary perspectives*, Routledge, New York, 2010, h. 4

¹² Ibid.,

economic cooperation among countries, or socio-culture interests to build humane and civilized communities. The phenomenon of natural disasters if being understood in a positive perspective, it could provide tremendous added value to solve various problems of humanity that had been unresolved through political and economic diplomacy, which it has a distributive character or win and lose.

Weizhun studies increasingly demonstrate the functionality of disaster diplomacy. According to Weizhun, the progressive growth of China's economic in the last 10 year cannot be separated from the effort of China's government capitalization to manage the natural disaster as the facility in building the international cooperation with the states which suspected China's intervening policy. China is no longer considered as a power of an enemy, because China shows the political empathy to involve in cooperation with the prone disaster state. From this later the China's investment can be planted in the country which has refused to invest the capital of China.

“The practice of disaster Diplomacy has a great influence and actual values on improving national and international interest. Disaster Diplomacy is flexible and multiform yet uncertain and there are some restrictions in the process of diplomatic practice. Disaster Diplomacy can also promote the Chinese role “as a responsible and powerful country”.”¹³

The Cambridge review has done a set of research about interpreting the process of natural disaster in the disaster diplomacy study. The study from

¹³ Weizhun M, The Apocalypse of The Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami”. World Politics Economy (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). Vol.6 (in Chinese). Atau dalam Weizhun, M. and Q. Tianshu 2005. “ Disaster Diplomacy: A New Diplomatic Approach?”. Shanghai Institute For International Studies International Review, Spring 2005, pp. 111-124 (in Chinese).

Cambridge review shows the interesting discovery that the natural disaster gives wider chance for states which involved in political interest and economic conflict prefer to cooperate rather than to continue the conflict.

“The Cambridge Review of International Affairs which critically analyze the argument for disaster diplomacy as an opportunity to increase cooperation among rival states are re-examined in a CAS framework. Based on the application of CAS to the case studies, the article concludes that creative diplomacy for disaster reduction is most effective at the ‘edge of chaos’, that narrow region where there is sufficient structure to hold and exchange information, but also sufficient flexibility to adapt new alternatives to meet urgent needs.”¹⁴

Indonesia is a region that is identified as vulnerable to a range of disasters. The disaster happened caused the suffering in the society like sacrificing the human souls, the loss of properties, the damaged environment, the destroyed building product such as facility and infrastructure damages, also public facilities, and so on.

Many research about natural disaster diplomacy show that Indonesia as a prone disaster area can modify this problem and change it into positive energy to build cooperation broadly. It can be realized when the center government and the local government has social awareness toward disaster diplomacy issues.

¹⁴ Kelman, I. and T. Koukis (eds). 2000. ‘Disaster Diplomacy’, special section in Cambridge Review of International Affairs (edited by Charlotte Lindberg Clausen), vol. XIV, no. 1, pp. 214-294

The earthquake that occurred in Aceh, Yogyakarta, and Padang was the site of the disaster that caused massive damage, either in the context of casualties or infrastructure damage. There is a tendency that all the decisions or the management of natural disasters concentrated in Jakarta, so it resulted in a delay of assistance and service needed by society victims of natural disasters as long bureaucratic implications. The process of reducing the impact of devastating natural disasters which are both in the short term context for the provision of medical services and food to earthquake survivors, and long term reconstruction of residential services and public utilities, has a long-term impact.

But from the several studies and documents conducted by the author, earthquake and eruption of Mount in Yogyakarta shows the changing of political behavior in diplomacy. In the case of natural disaster in Yogyakarta, the government of Indonesia constructed the synergy with the Local Government to manage natural disaster issue. Local and Central Government in the case of natural in Yogyakarta are trying to develop the institutionalized reasons diplomacy, which characterized by the management of disaster diplomacy that was more programmed and systematic, so aids come because the practice disaster diplomacy do not make many social, economy, and the security problems.

Disaster diplomacy in Yogyakarta is more apply, which by natural disaster they create international cooperation with stakeholder abroad. The scheme of

natural disaster diplomacy that use by the local government of Yogyakarta tend to copy the disaster diplomacy used by China's Government. As a study done by Weizhun, China's economic growth have significant progress within 10 years and it can not be denied that this one of the effort from Chinese Government capitalization to manage natural disaster as tools to create international cooperation with countries that doubt China's interventif policy.

The Local government of Yogyakarta, both in province level and urban district are done with International cooperation in the case of social, economy, education, culture with many countries like Japan, India, China, Singapore and South Korea. Those are the cooperation Government to Government, in the form of sister city as well as sister province concept, also in the form of government to society in the form of culture and education exchange and the last, Government to manufacture in the form of plating investment to drive economic wheel in Yogyakarta.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background and theoretical framework, the writer arranges a hypothesis on the subject above as follows: Indonesia government efforts to apply for Natural Disaster Diplomacy as a medium of soft power in natural disasters through the implementation of Weizhun model study in Yogyakarta.

E. Scope

Focusing more on the topic research, the writer limits the time, which the research is conducted. The writer is going to explain the efforts Indonesia government to apply natural disasters from 2006 until 2011.

F. Methodology

This research uses quantitative method, the method that is commonly applied in any research that took secondary data in any kind of documents such as books, journals, articles, on-line or non on-line. Meanwhile, this research does not use questionnaires or other collecting data. Inductive logic is applied in this research, which tries to make a conclusion from any specific terms to make general conclusions, so, it may give some more detailed meaning and makes it simple and easily accurate.

G. Writing Systematic

In explaining this undergraduate thesis and make it clearer and systematic, the researcher divides the report in several chapters that give points of its chapter which are;

Chapter I

This chapter is the introduction that contains regulations in writing scientifically, backgrounds of this research paper, research question, theoretical

framework that consist of some theories and one concept, hypothesis, scope of writing, and the systematic of the writing.

Chapter II

This chapter explains a general definition of natural disaster; the classification of the natural disaster in Indonesia and explains about the several of natural disasters in Indonesia and the impacts of natural disaster.

Chapter III

The third chapter discusses about disaster happens in Asia. In addition, it will give description the model studies Diplomacy disaster functionality, and the implementation study of disaster diplomacy in Asia.

Chapter IV

Forth chapter is the application of its hypothesis that tries to relate to each problem, and to try again the efforts Indonesia governments. By applying the theoretical framework above, it will explain on how Indonesian government can apply natural disaster diplomacy as a medium of soft power in Yogyakarta disaster.

Chapter V

The fifth chapter contains the conclusion that extracts all of the chapters in this paper and also answers the research question.