

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

South China Sea has been a dynamic of territorial disputes despite the claiming of territory that has been a main international security issue in ASEAN region (Sulistiyani et al., 2021). Not only in the ASEAN region but it also pays a lot of attention in the international scope. This area is very crucial where it holds lots of natural resources which have big role on the world oil distribution, trading, and international fleet of course (Wardhana, 2021). The ownership and control of different islands, reefs, and rocks in the South China Sea are at the centre of a protracted territorial and maritime dispute known as the South China Sea dispute. China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Taiwan, and other countries all have claims to sovereignty over certain marine areas (Wiranto et al., 2015).

The South China Sea is an important geopolitical location for the world's superpowers, including China, the US, and many Southeast Asian countries (Wiranto et al., 2015). It also serves as a major route for international trade (Macaraig & Fenton, 2021). Several countries have claimed sovereignty over the archipelagos, reefs, and sporadic islands that make up this body of water, making it one of the most contentious territorial disputes in the entire world. The history of early colonization, nationalism, and modern military force is entwined with the South China Sea dispute.

A huge body of water, the South China Sea is bounded to the north by China, to the west by Vietnam, and to the east by the Philippine Islands. It has several uninhabited islands, atolls, and rocks that have proven to be a major source of conflict between China and its neighbours in Southeast Asia (Roszko, 2019). One of the largest fishing grounds on earth is found in the South China Sea, and it is thought that the seafloor there contains significant oil and gas reserves (Macaraig & Fenton, 2021).

The origins of the current South China Sea conflict can be traced back to the early 1900s (Kivimaki, 2002). A chart designating the Paracel and Spratly islands as French territory was circulated after France claimed sovereignty over them in 1933 (Chang, 1991). Many nations expressed interest in these islets over the years, with China expressing its interest in the 1940s after claiming the islands as a historical bequest. Following the discovery of underwater oil and gas riches in the 1970s, the South China Sea issue flared up once more (Kivimaki, 2002). Almost 70 Vietnamese soldiers died when China forcibly took the Paracel Islands from

Vietnam in 1974 (Yoshihara, 2016). Other episodes included clashes with Taiwan and the 2012 takeover of the Scarborough Shoal from the Philippines (Cruz De Castro, 2018).

Historical claims, geopolitics, nationalism, and resource extraction have all contributed to decades of territorial conflicts in the South China Sea. China has employed a variety of strategies to impose its supremacy in the area, including intimidating its weaker Southeast Asian neighbours and building artificial islands that it later utilized as military bases (Sulistyani et al., 2021).

Geopolitical tensions and military posturing have been worse over the past few years, and both sides continue to claim sovereignty over the disputed waterway. Even though many countries, including Taiwan, Malaysia, Vietnam, and the Philippines, have questioned China's claims, the US has also entered the war in the sake of preserving regional stability.

As the world's biggest archipelago, Indonesia holds a key maritime position in Southeast Asia (Yani & Montratama, 2018). The nation is made up of more than 17,000 islands that are dispersed along the equator line that runs through the Pacific and Indian Oceans (Cribb & Ford, 2009). Indonesia's complicated sea and land boundaries present a number of maritime security problems, especially those pertaining to the South China Sea (SCS) (Suseto et al., 2019). One of the most contentious maritime regions in the globe is the SCS, which is contested by many nations, including Indonesia, which has expressed its concerns about the situation.

In 2014, Jokowi was elected as the seventh president of the Republic of Indonesia focussing on improving infrastructure in Indonesia by doing bilateral cooperation with China. After Indonesia held its election in 2019, Jokowi has won the election, and it makes him rule with a second period. Jokowi's foreign policy during 2019-2024 aimed to balance economic interests, regional stability, and national sovereignty. The administration actively participated in global affairs while prioritizing the protection of Indonesia's maritime interests and asserting its role as a leader within ASEAN. The non-aligned stance provided flexibility in diplomatic engagements, and cultural diplomacy and environmental initiatives contributed to enhancing Indonesia's global standing. Overall, the foreign policy approach reflected a strategic and pragmatic effort to address the diverse challenges and opportunities in the international arena. However, during his second term in office, Jokowi's administration has also been compelled to address major international security issues, including the South China Sea dispute. As an archipelagic nation, Indonesia has a vested interest in maintaining peace and stability in the South China Sea, which is a critical maritime trade route connecting this to the South China Sea dispute, Indonesia has adopted a pragmatic and equidistant approach in its foreign policy towards the United States and China. This is evident in Indonesia's strategy of maintaining

good relations with both countries while not aligning itself too closely with either side. Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi's administration recognizes the importance of managing its great power relations with both China and the United States. This approach is crucial in the context of the South China Sea dispute, as Indonesia aims to avoid being dragged into the conflict and maintain its position as a neutral party. The Indonesian government has emphasized the need for a diplomatic strategy in South China Sea dispute. By delving deeper into the diplomatic measures taken by Indonesia in addressing the South China Sea dispute, this research can provide a better understanding of the role and impact of Indonesia's diplomatic actions within the complex geopolitical context of the Southeast Asian region.

B. Research Question

From what has explained in the background above, the study formulates the problems as follows:

“What are the Indonesia diplomatic strategy in addressing the South China Sea dispute under Jokowi’s administration?”

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Diplomacy

According to Missiou-Ladi (1987), diplomacy is the method by which a state seeks to attain its objectives in foreign policy, namely securing prosperity and justice for its citizens through negotiations with other states.

Diplomacy in the Atomic Age is the conduct of foreign relations between politically independent entities through bilateral negotiations, multilateral conferences, or through the forum of multilateral organizations (Kertesz, 1959).

Diplomacy is the solution of conflicts and disagreements between nations and states through non-military, peaceful means, and cooperation between states in various fields (Botirovna & Rustamovich, 2021).

According to Cohen (1999:1), diplomacy is the professional management of relations across sovereignties, involving reporting, communication, and negotiation across borders.

Diplomacy is bargaining, seeking outcomes that are better for both parties than alternative solutions, and involves communication, understandings, compromise, and restraint (Schelling, 1970:64).

To sum up there are two types of definition of diplomacy. First, diplomacy regarded as conduct or method to solve mostly conflict and dispute between states. Second, diplomacy

refers to method used by states in seeking mutual benefits in carrying their relations. Since the study focus on South China Sea dispute phenomena, the first definition of diplomacy fit the purpose of this study.

2. Diplomatic Strategy

In this study, diplomatic strategy refers to any means or strategies applied by a state in solving dispute with other state. The following sections elaborate various diplomatic strategies used in handling disputes:

1. Mediation: a conflict resolution process where a neutral third party helps disputing parties improve relationships, communication, and problem-solving to reach voluntary agreements on contested issues (Moore, 2014:24). There have been cases in which mediation is use in resolving conflict. Mediation has been implemented in the case of South Sudan (Katumba, 2021).
2. Reciprocating strategy: is the most effective way to avoid diplomatic defeat without going to war, especially when faced with a bullying opponent (Leng & Wheeler, 1979). One of the examples is the case of US-China trade war where China implemented retaliatory tariff on US product (Swenson & Woo, 2019).
3. Negotiation: a joint decision-making process between individuals, groups, organizations, communities, societies, and supranational systems to reach agreement about joint or reciprocal acts (Tracy, 1995). A study explains about the use of negotiation in the ethnical conflict in Myanmar (Ganesan, 2017).
4. Coercive: Coercive diplomacy combines coercion, positive inducements, and assurances to resolve crises short of war, but success depends on favourable context, skilful diplomacy, and psychological factors beyond the coercer's control. This diplomacy has been successful in ending the Iranian nuclear crisis (Harris, 2020).
5. Arbitration: is the process where a third party (arbitrator or arbitral tribunal) settles disputes between two parties, with a final and binding arbitral award (Dugane & Charhate, 2018). This resolution has been implemented in the case the South China Sea which include China, Philippines, and Vietnam (Pemmaraju, 2016).
6. Preventive diplomacy: action to prevent disputes from emerging between parties, to prevent current disputes from evolving into conflicts, and to restrict the spread of conflicts when they arise (Zyck & Muggah, 2012). Preventive diplomacy has been implemented in the case of ASEAN role in the South China Sea dispute (Seng, 2014).

7. Islamic diplomatic strategy: Islamic diplomatic strategies can play a significant role in resolving and managing conflicts at both a communal and international level, based on the Quran and the Sirah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (Tasgheer et al., 2022). Iran emphasized its commitment to peaceful nuclear activities in line with Islamic principles and sought to reach an agreement that would recognize its rights under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The resulting JCPOA in 2015 aimed to ensure the peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief (Harris, 2020).
8. Signalling strategy refers to the deliberate use of signals or actions by states to convey information, intentions, or capabilities to other actors in the international system. Recent study explains about how China uses signalling strategy in the effort of claiming its territory in South China Sea (Ramadhani, 2014).
9. Military diplomacy: military diplomacy is the peaceful utilization of military resources for cooperative relations with foreign countries to enhance national interests and attain objectives of foreign policy (Maharjan, 2023).

To sum up, the current study identifies eight diplomatic strategies in handling conflict or dispute as follows: mediation, reciprocating strategy, negotiation, coercive, arbitration, preventive diplomacy, Islamic diplomatic strategy, signalling strategy, and military diplomacy.

3. Constructivism

The diplomatic strategies conducted by a state or nation are influenced by the way they understand the world. This study believed that diplomatic strategies are influenced by constructivist approaches. Therefore, the following section explains the notion of constructivism and why this approach fit the current study.

Constructivism is a theory of international relations that places a strong emphasis on the significance of social construction and the part that ideas, conventions, and identities play in influencing state behaviour (Freundlieb, 2019). Constructivism questions the conventional realist and liberal viewpoints by suggesting that states' identities, interests, and behaviours are not predetermined but are instead shaped through social interactions and shared understandings. Nicholas Onuf introduced constructivism to International Relations in 1989 (Peltonen, 2017). Scholars like Alexander Wendt have further refined this theory, emphasising the influence of ideas, norms, and culture on international relations (Shu, 2020).

According to Onuf (2013), constructivism is a way of thinking that looks at how the international order is socially constructed. He stresses the idea that the rules and structures that guide international relations are not fixed or pre-existing. Instead, they are made and changed all the time by states and other actors interacting with each other. Likewise, Wendt argues that

social systems and intersubjective understandings shape how states act. Wendt talks a lot about how shared ideas and rules shape the international order (Shu, 2020). On the other hand, Kratochwil defined constructivism as the idea that the way the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction relies on changing normative and epistemic processes, such as how people understand and interpret their own identities and interests (Kratochwil, 1990). He talks about how foreign relations are socially constructed, focusing on norms and the way practical reasoning works. Like Kratochwil, Finnemore postulates the main thing that shapes how people interact with each other is their ideas. The most important ideas are "intersubjective" beliefs that a lot of people share. These beliefs shape the interests and identities of purposeful agents. She stresses how the world is socially constructed and how important shared ideas are in shaping people's identities and interests (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001). Nevertheless, Katzenstein belief that constructivism shows how the international system is socially built, how important actors' identities and interests are, and how agency and structure are mutually constituting. From this point of view, foreign politics is seen as a space where people's identities and how they interact with each other shape politics (Behraves, 2011).

In summary, there are three approaches to constructivism: social constructivism, norms and institution, and identity-based constructivism. This study emphasizes the norm and institutional approach. Norms are the rules and ideals that everyone in the international system follows. Thinking about rules help to understand the moral setting that affects Indonesia's activities in the South China Sea. By looking at how Indonesia follows or doesn't follow established rules, we can learn more about its diplomatic beliefs, principles, and commitments. Finnemore's norm life cycle theory helps us understand how Indonesia's efforts to support ASEAN norms and principles help keep the peace in the region by looking at its role as a norm entrepreneur in easing the conflict in the South China Sea. Constructivism shows how ideas, conversations, and social interactions affect government policies and interests. This helps us understand Indonesia's goals more deeply than just looking at standard power dynamics (Choir, 2020). Also, constructivism recognizes that identity and ideology play a part in how states act, which is important to Indonesia's efforts to maintain a balance in its relationships with all sides of the South China Sea dispute without fully supporting any one side. Compared to materialist or rationalist theories, this more nuanced method helps to understand Indonesia's diplomatic strategy better. Constructivism can also be used to analyse how Indonesia's approach to the dispute has been influenced by its interactions with other states and international organizations. For example, Indonesia's participation in the ASEAN Regional Forum reflects its desire to

promote regional cooperation and stability through dialogue and confidence-building measures (Stewart, 2018).

There are many advantages of constructivist approach as compare to neoliberalist and neorealist.

First, according to Lugosi (2012), constructivist approaches in international relations enable better, deeper explanations by considering identity as a factor. Second, the constructivist framework in international relations emphasizes norms and values, rather than power, that shape the behaviour of states (Chandler, 2004). Third, constructivism has demonstrated empirical value by documenting a new causal role for norms and social structure in global politics (Checkel, 1998). Fourth, constructivist approaches in international relations can lead to missed empirical reality of power politics and a postpositivist epistemology, enhancing the understanding of the world (True & Mintrom, 2001). Fourth, constructivist approaches in international relations address issues differently, incorporating intersubjective bases of social action and social order, and considering international structure as contingent practice (Ruggie, 1998). Fifth, constructivist theory can be applied to empirical research in international relations, focusing on key issues like ethnic and national identity, gender, and political economy (Kubalkova, 1998). Sixth, constructivist approaches in international relations provide a corrective to methodological individualism and materialism, while demonstrating empirical value and a causal role for norms and social structure in global politics (Checkel, 1998).

4. Dispute

This study focusses on dispute that is occur in South China Sea. The South China Sea is a geopolitically important maritime region, located between Southeast Asia and East Asia. Disputes in this region involve several surrounding countries, including China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan. This region is at the centre of conflict due to different claims regarding sovereignty over the islands, coral reefs, and surrounding waters.

A dispute commonly denotes a clash, divergence, or altercation between multiple parties on a specific issue, subject, or point of contention. Disputes can occur in different circumstances, including legal, interpersonal, corporate, or international issues. Disagreements frequently arise due to contrasting viewpoints, concerns, or understandings, and can be resolved by means of negotiation, mediation, arbitration, or adjudication. Dispute can vary from minor disputes to more substantial confrontations that can escalate if not appropriately managed or resolved.

According to Morrow (1986), disputes are initiated by nations to change the international status quo across one or more issues to an outcome they prefer, often involving competition between coalitions and the recruitment of additional members to support their position.

Boundary disputes, a specific type of international dispute, can be categorized into territorial, locational, functional, and resource-related disagreements, with governments often aiming to resolve these disputes quickly to prevent escalation (Prescott & Triggs, 2008).

The outcomes of disputes have a significant relationship with international stability, with decisive victories and imposed settlements potentially increasing stability, although such outcomes may lead to subsequent disputes to preserve past achievements (Maoz, 1984).

The United Nations Charter distinguishes between "disputes" and "conflicts," with disputes being more formulated than situations but less than conflicts, which may involve violence or the probability of violence (Wright, 1957).

International disputes arise from the scarcity of goods or contradictory values, and the peaceful settlement of these disputes is a principle that has developed alongside the prohibition of the use of force (Neuhold, 2016).

In conclusion, international disputes are characterized by efforts to alter the status quo in favour of specific national interests, often involving strategic coalition-building and can lead to varying degrees of stability post-resolution. They are differentiated from conflicts by their level of formulation and potential for violence. The peaceful resolution of such disputes is a principle that aligns with the broader prohibition of force in international law. Boundary disputes represent a common form of international disagreement with specific categories and implications.

The terms dispute and conflict have the same meaning when referring to a disagreement or conflict between the relevant parties. However, the fundamental distinction is in the level of intensity, character, and method of completion. Disputes are more likely to be resolved peacefully and structuredly, whereas conflicts include higher levels of stress and may necessitate more drastic action. Conflict or dispute can manifest in a variety of ways, with each situation having its own dynamics and reasons. The following are a few examples of common disputes or conflicts:

1. Maritime dispute: involve diplomatic disagreements over maritime zones, often involving resources like oil, fish stocks, and minerals, and are more likely to occur between democratic, developed states (Mitchell, 2020).
2. Territorial conflict: territorial conflict includes disputes relating to ownership, use, and potential trans-boundary environmental harm, and can involve various forms of conflict, such as war (Kohen & Hébié, 2018).
3. Border dispute: border disputes are official disagreements between governments, or unofficial or popular aspirations to territorial change (Steers, 1984).
4. Militarized interstate dispute: where one member state uses military force short of war towards the government, official representatives, forces, property, or territory of another state (Jones et al., 1996).
5. Dispute inflation: Dispute inflation is the process by which a disagreement over a thing or problem becomes more and more important to the parties involved, with the potential to escalate into a major conflict (Hall, 2021).

D. Hypothesis

Indonesia's primary diplomatic approaches to resolving the South China Sea dispute combine active participation in regional forum, adherence to international law, and neutral mediation. These tactics should help to protect Indonesia's interests, encourage fruitful communication between the parties involved, and advance stability in the South China Sea area.

E. Research Method

Methods of research are the means of data collection and acquisition. This research was conducted using qualitative methods, which involved the elaboration of existing facts, which were supported by prior facts, and a conclusion. The techniques used to collect data consisted of library research, with data obtained from books, journals, reports, newspapers, websites, online news, international agreement documents, and other relevant print and electronic sources.

F. Research Limitation

This research will focus on Indonesia's diplomatic efforts in dealing with South China Sea disputes. This limitation allows the research to specifically analyse Indonesia's diplomatic strategy, policies adopted, and related key actors.

This research can limit the focus on Indonesia's role in the regional context, especially within the ASEAN cooperation framework. This allows research to understand Indonesia's influence in regional relations regarding the South China Sea and diplomacy carried out within the ASEAN framework.

This study is limited to the Jokowi era, focusing on the diplomatic strategies and actions undertaken by Indonesia in the South China Sea dispute during the 2014-2024 period of Joko Widodo's presidency.

G. Research Purpose

The research objective is to understand Indonesia's diplomatic strategy in dealing with South China Sea disputes under Jokowi's administration from 2014 to 2024.

H. Systematic Research

In this research, the writer has divided the discussion into four chapters that will eventually correlate. Each chapter itself is being written in the following systematics:

CHAPTER I: introduction

This chapter explains the background of the problem to be researched. Then, continued with the problem formulation, theoretical basis, hypothesis, research methods, research limitations and writing systematics.

CHAPTER II: conflict in South China Sea

In this chapter, it will explain about the conflict that is happening in South China Sea.

CHAPTER III: Indonesia diplomatic strategy in addressing South China Sea dispute under Jokowi's administration

analyse Indonesia's diplomatic strategies applied in resolving the dispute.

CHAPTER IV: conclusion