

SOUTH KOREA IN THE DYNAMICS OF INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY: HERMIT KINGDOM 4.0

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ABSTRACT

South Korea is a country that historically has always been flanked by major powers around it such as Japan, China, Russia, and even the United States. Nevertheless, South Korea in this era of globalization actually has a large capacity as a middle power country engaged by influential multilateral organizations such as the OECD, MIKTA, and G20. Later, South Korea also had huge popular culture implications around the world through its Korean Wave. So why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue? Whereas by weight of issue and substance, South Korea has a big point to play strategically on Indo-Pacific dynamics issues, such as the North Korea issue or the Alliance of South Korea and the United States. The study will use Economic Diplomacy and Middle-power-ship to explain the reasons why South Korea tends to be politically inactive.

Keywords: Constructivism Political Economy, Indo-Pacific, Middle Power, New Southern Policy, South Korea.

1. Introduction

1.1 Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific in recent times may be the best act of maritime history as two world giants with their own army band joining the competition of two largest oceans in the world combined. The US with its own triumphant maritime history and background in various wars and conflicts throughout history may need a way to contain the new rising star of the region, China. Having previously conquered Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines in late 1898, the U.S. victory in the 1941-1945 Pacific War against Japan was dramatic. The U.S. succeeded in becoming a hegemon in the Pacific by first taking control of Caroline and Marianas in the Pacific Islands, then putting Japan into Japan itself – which became an ally of the U.S. after losing the Pacific War as a U.S. military base in the Western Pacific (Scott, 2018). Afterwards, in 1980, the US gave its dominant narrative in strategic thinking also known as the Asia-

Pacific (Cummings, 1997). In the narrative, economic dynamics become the main discussion and give birth to new economic strengthened countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore (Scott, 2018). The establishment of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) is the result of this perspective is very Asiatic while other actors envisioned more broader terms or subject to be included in this scheme.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of China's economic revival on today's era is unstoppable, as well as the emergence of other new regional forces such as India, Australia, South Korea and Indonesia making the US feel anxious that geopolitical dominance will decline (Pan, 2014). On the other hand, geo-economics related to changes in general trade volume in the Pacific Indian Ocean is one of the reasons for the demonstration of the U.S. strategic concept in the region (Scott, 2018). The strategic discourse of the 'Indo-Pacific' in the US itself

first appeared in the official lexicon of US foreign policy in 2010 (Choong, 2019). This momentum was put to good use in President Obama's leadership with the vision of the U.S. 'Pivot to Asia' since 2011 and back to and more tangible implementation of the Trump regime in 2017. The concept of 'Indo-Pacific' was first initiated by German geopolitical expert Karl Haushofer in 1920 (Haushofer, Tambs, & Brehm., 2002). At the time, the concept attracted less geopolitical observers but, by the late 2000s, the concept of trying to unite the Indian Ocean into the Western Pacific Ocean to become one geopolitical stage was now considered to have reflected a new geopolitical reality as stated by Mohan (2012) and Pan (2014).

Choong (2019) also revealed that Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) is likewise concerned with the many sources of instability in various regions that have the potential for open conflict. Warming up the four potential points of conflict in the Indo-Pacific namely the Korean Peninsula, East China Sea, South China Sea and South Taiwan is an area that is feared to be a major war (Taylor, 2018). Japan, which is geographically neighboring China and a U.S. ally in the Pacific, is also fretting about China's rise. Japan under Shinzo Abe's government responded to China's threat by issuing a Free Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) foreign policy, which is essentially a policy of cooperation with India, the US and Australia that brings together two Indian and Pacific Ocean seas in the areas of security, defence, trade and freedom of navigation aimed at creating a rich and stable region based on universal values as argued by Rossiter (2018) and Hosoya (2019). Moreover, FOIP is also a collective response to prevent the growing dominance of Chinese influence in Southeast Asia and South Asia. Abe also took advantage of the Trump administration's seemingly neglected

opportunities and did not provide any specifics to strategic direction in the Indo-Pacific region, so that momentum has made Japan a major player in maintaining regional stability (Katagiri, 2019). The FOIP initiative as Japan's foreign policy is considered as a response by the Japanese government to China's rapid rise. Thus, the author harmonizes with anything as Hosoya (2019) said that nowadays, Japan seems to have more to shape its own regional order than is formed by China.

In 2007, to strengthen the concept of Indo-Pacific, Japan, the US, India and Australia conducted a quadrilateral strategic dialogue or "Quad" pre-initiated by Prime Minister Abe and US Vice President Dick Cheney (Hosoya, 2019). However, on its way, "Quad" encountered obstacles, other actors of other countries such as ASEAN considered the formation of the "Quad" had deviated from the principle of ASEAN centrality (Hosoya, 2019). On the other hand, the long-term loss of ASEAN's collective strength may lower the importance of ASEAN centrality in responding to the four Quad countries (Teo, 2020). Moreover, Sulaeman (2020) had argue that if ASEAN itself joins the band-wagon-ing with the US and quad, then there is a threat of conflict in Southeast Asia that not only originates external intervention but also comes from among ASEAN member states themselves. As we know, ASEAN also divided as some of its member may lean more to Chinese realm than to Western realm, and in contrast some of its member leaning toward US alliance instead of Chinese scheme.

1.2 South Korea and Indo-Pacific

As a state that located in Asia Pacific Region, South Korea extremely engaged with global dynamics. For a simple example, South Korea itself is part of alignment within United States' alliance toward North Korea in

the Korean Peninsula issue. Furthermore, Revere (2016) stated that the 28,500 U.S. forces in Korea show America's resolve to protect a key ally and represent U.S. commitment to the region. Therefore, South Korea as part of somewhat greater interest toward Asia Pacific in general.

For a long time in history, South Korea always surrounded by great powers. Park (2015) explained that Korea has been a disputed realm among the major powers in Northeast Asia since ancient times. Now that China is reemerging, Japan is re-energizing, and the United States is rebalancing toward Asia, rivalry over Korea is likely to return and become a crucial problem among the contending forces. Therefore, the rising of China, growing Japan, Russia/USSR in the past, and even the United States meddling in Asia Pacific proves those facts.

In nowadays dimension, the term Asia Pacific also changing as the actors intertwined with this area also expanding. Heiduk and Wacker (2020) briefly described that the word "Indo-Pacific" is used to refer to different, often divergent, definitions of Asia-Pacific that may include India. In terms of prejudice and unclear context, each of the actors may have their own understanding of what is known as the Indo-Pacific.

Furthermore, Heiduk and Wacker (2020) clarify that the word "Indo-Pacific" is primarily interpreted within Beijing as a US-led containment policy directed against China. ASEAN or India then emphasizes issues such as economic growth, connectivity and multilateral cooperation between the two oceans in their Indo-Pacific concepts. While in the US, Trump's administration is using it to curb China's rising influence.

Then, where is Korea in all these complexes? Kim (2018) stated that President Moon 's Chief Economic Advisor bluntly opposed the idea, arguing that FOIP (Free and Open Indo-Pacific) is a Japanese

initiative to connect Japan to the United States, Australia, and India. As a result, South Korea will see no gain from participating. Hence, South Korea is in dilemmatic position to thrive the global affairs in that situation. Alongside with that, Robertson (2020) has argued that from dilemmatic position might give South Korea better stance to face the so-called Indo-Pacific. He added that the idea that South Korea could move beyond the tension between China and the United States and actually gain benefit from ties with both countries is a common one. He even certain South Korea may be the Finland, Sweden or Switzerland in North East Asia.

Then, he also said that the concept is most often haunted by misinterpreted ideas of how much it implies to be a middle power. In South Korea, the clear understanding of becoming a middle power is as traditional as the more complex meanings relevant to foreign affairs beyond Korea itself. This means, South Korea becoming an underdog that could retract its way to benefit from its situation that pinched among great powers from a long time. However, the main question regarding this is why South Korea less politically active despite get a lot of influences from those great powers. Is becoming great middle power or upper-middle power really a thing to pursue? Or any other reasons beyond mentioned above still becoming a relevant subject to be analyzed.

1.3 South Korea as Middle Power

As middle-power, South Korea already played the role very well. South Korea is very keen to maintain its position through development program or multilateral diplomacy to sway its unluckiness to be hit among great powers as geographical weakness. Sohn (2016) argued that in an evolving world, South Korea seems to be a significant middle power country. South Korea played a part in convening

collaboration frameworks, participating itself in non-traditional security issues and developing free trade platforms.

Furthermore, he also added that intriguingly, all of this has been achieved by South Korea without formally using the word "medium-power diplomacy" that is closely identified to nations like Canada and Australia that usually correlated with terms like good neighbors, multilateral players, and fair brokers. Then, for one nation like South Korea that always faced with persistent, severe security threats, and almost in every timeline of history getting desperate by great nations, could help put extra benefits to reinvent itself as middle-power country like already described above. In addition, South Korea now finds it very useful to be actively involved in the field of diplomacy, which involves information, culture, institutions, the economy and technology.

South Korea activations as middle power country are ranging variously. From culture, environments, investments, and capacity buildings are provided by South Korea. Rhyu (2018) said that those issues and problems may be compiled by President Moon's new policies as South Korea now look further south and more global. Policies like New Southern Policies, Digital New Deal, Green New Deal, other priorities, and course of the economic policies of the President Moon administration might be contentious, but they were among the politically viable choices available when it came to work. Moreover, Kelly (2019) argued that the key argument of President Moon's calming effort was that of his liberal peers from 1998-2008, which was that North Korea would change its actions, or even become an ally to South Korea, if South Korea brought it into chill not rage.

South Korea as middle powers also an interesting subject to see. A modern middle power with such capabilities to create impactful wave across the globe should be

appreciated. In the region that extremely complex, South Korea as middle power country is not always under the spotlight of global transformations. As mentioned above, even located in paramount location of Indo-Pacific dynamics, South Korea still not a major player of the issue. Robertson (2020) even argued that the supremacy of North Korea in every studies or research of the Korean Peninsula has been impressive. In a strategic sense, South Korea is more critical and substantially stronger economically, more populated and more socio-politically diverse rather than North Korea. South Korea as middle power also appears low-key and segmented, regarding the cultural diplomacy that had been taken. In the complex of Indo-Pacific region with complicated actors, South Korea may look invisible as we discussed above. Therefore, the necessity to explore how South Korea reacts or behave in the capacity as middle power country is still very relevant. The puzzle on how and why South Korea and Indo-Pacific relations still an open water to explore.

2. Literature Review

Currently there is very little literature to discuss South Korea and Indo-Pacific. However, there are many clues that can be put together to find out how South Korea can get involved in the Indo-Pacific. Soeya (2020) explained how middle power cooperation can occur amid the rivalry of Indo-Pacific strategy led by the U.S. and BRI China should be reviewed and updated with the strengthening of cooperation institutions and see the threat of outside involvement to gain political dominance. South Korea as middle power is included in the case studies discussed. Swielande, (2019) also describes South Korea as one of the case studies of middle power plays an important role in the world order. Swielande (2019) also presents its hypothesis on the search for new powers

that could affect new regional relations, as well as how middle power can potentially fill the power vacuum to ensure the status quo in a region. Koo M. G. (2020) argued from a national security and interest point of view explained that China's push to conduct reclaimed islands in the South China Sea has caught the world's attention. In addition, BRI has encouraged the U.S. and Japan to oppose it through the FOIP strategy. Therefore, in his journal, Koo M. G. (2020) stated at the rivalry between the U.S., Japan and China that impacts South Korea through the perspective of 'Point-line-study' and advises South Korea to restore its long-lost identity in maritime affairs as well as cooperate with the Vietnamese Navy. Despite the different languages, the journal has provided new insights and reaffirmed South Korea as a strategic position.

Not from a middle power perspective alone, Patterson & Choi (2017) explained economic growth has brought South Korea to the international stage. This is inseparable from the diplomatic efforts of the South Korean president in the early aftermath of the ceasefire that has now had a positive impact. The tools of diplomacy through meetings between heads of state have expanded South Korea's trade relations so that Seoul has now enjoyed tremendous economic growth. Meanwhile, Bradford (2015) explained South Korea uses middle power diplomacy in global governance. Furthermore, he also explained how the global influence on South Korea's middle power. Dent (1998) also explained how foreign economic policy (FEP) could shape South Korea in its economic development. In the end, this journal describes the direction of FEP Korea can be a consideration to conduct economic diplomacy. In contrast to Nagy (2020), which describes middle power countries adapting and transforming the original middle power diplomacy to neo middle power in short, neo

middle power involves behavior that includes lobbying, isolation, and rule-making in the fields of security, trade and international law and aims to ensure that the interests of middle powers are not affected by Sino-U.S. strategic competition.

However, Jung, Lee, & Lee (2020) sees middle power Asian countries, one of which South Korea faces a strategic dilemma in the face of U.S.-China rivalry. On the other hand, quad members can recruit new members because according to Jung, Lee, & Lee (2020) the hegemon coalition will decline against the liberal international order. In addition, Rinna (2020) describes Russia's role in establishing relations with Seoul as an effort to increase its influence in East Asia, which combined with South Korea's middle power foreign policy has led the two to make policy alignments in contrast to U.S. policy such as North Korea-related policy. But this, according to Rinna (2020) could lead to a major tension between Russia and the US. While, Wei (2020) through constructivism approach, argued that the Indo-Pacific requires constitutive rules and norms to conduct broader practices in regional processes to achieve peace in the region. Through economic development priorities such as RCEP and CPTTP and AIIB can be used as a code of ethics process as a recommended means and practice for the rule making of maritime order (Wei, 2020).

Therefore, there are plenty of gaps in order to discuss a specific South Korean dilemma, or we can call it hermit capacity in so-called Indo-Pacific paradigm, through middle power-ship of South Korea. Especially, in order to answer "why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue?" there is still new perspective needed. Moreover, the path that we use in this

paper also seems to be new additional to the discussion room of this issue as above.

Indo-Pacific has now become the next strategic arena in the future. The widespread geographic reach and growing number of new regional actors such as Indians makes interaction between actors in the region more complex. The presence of hegemonic rivalry between the US and China as well as the emergence of new regional powers such as India, Australia, Indonesia and South Korea, forced each country to reposition its foreign policy to ensure the national interest remains secure, but at the same time can still maintain harmonious relations between countries. South Korea is one of the countries that can be considered as middle power, meaning that South Korea has a potential power and internationally acceptable influence. Through K-Wave's global impact, South Korea managed to play soft power and public diplomacy well. Cultural diplomacy has also been one of his main strengths. On the other hand, South Korea has emerged as a major player in the formation of FTAs in East Asia by successfully completing FTA with the US (Sohn, 2016). In addition, South Korea also plays respectable middle power role such as being involved in the Trans-Pacific Partnership as an extension of economic cooperation from FTA and at the same time, is also part of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) based in Asia. In this situation, South Korea is in a strategic position to play the role of middle power.

Geologically, South Korea is in the midst of a rivalry of two superpowers. Often, IR observers and international politics refer to South Korea as the Buffer State. In general, buffer states are countries that are located among rivalries of two potentially major strengths. Working with Japan and Russia makes South Korea have to ensure its national security. The conflict on the Korean peninsula, where North Korea's nuclear

projections have always been a major threat, also makes South Korea once again have to pay more attention to its security. But amid the complexity of its national security issues, South Korea can solve its various threats through trilateral military reinforcement with the U.S. and Japan, while conducting a network of Cooperation in various layers with China to make China feel involved in maintaining the stability of the Korean peninsula region. Not only focused on security and economy, South Korea has also started regional cooperation by participating in MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia). The Northeast Asia Peace and Co-operation Initiative (NAPCI) is another regional multilateral that South Korea aims to build trust through established habits of cooperation. In context, Indo-Pacific, South Korea as a middle power plays a different role to East Asian countries in general which focus on security and balancing strength. In the Indo-Pacific, dampening China's dominant influence has become a major origin. The U.S. assesses the presence of Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) and some countries can interfere with the geopolitical solidities of the Indo-Pacific. Meanwhile, the Koreans themselves sought to bridge the BRI with the New Southern Policy to facilitate the construction of an instructor connecting South and North Korea and the Eurasia Continent (Iuppa, 2020).

Hence, South Korea in the Indo-Pacific, has furthered accentuates economic diplomacy and utilizes its middle power to defend its national interests. Therefore, through the above series of mystifying disclosures regarding South Korea, the author identified the formulation of the problem by asking the question "why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue?" Throughout the concept of Middle

Power and Economic Diplomacy, the Author tries to find the right reasons for how South Korea can weigh in on a complex Indo-Pacific with few political problematic moves in order to keep head up in the game of the rival titans in the region.

3. Research Method

3.1 Qualitative Descriptive

This paper uses qualitative descriptive research methods to reflect ideas that then adjust and test the concepts and data we find in the research process. Neuman (2007) stated that qualitative research is research that uses data collection from interviews, writings, videos or sounds. Dawson (2007) also explained that qualitative research is a research that explores attitudes, behaviors and experiences through interview methods or focus groups. Nassaji (2015) also explained that qualitative research in social sciences often emphasizes detailed examination of cases that appear in the flow of social life. While descriptive method according to Nassaji (2015) is describing a phenomenon and its characteristics. General descriptive research also emphasizes more about what questions than how or why something happens.

Therefore, qualitative descriptive methods in the study try to describe South Korean behavior and interaction through various sources. Dawson (2007) also said qualitative research uses preliminary data collection as a guide to be able to adjust and sharpen research. While Nassaji's interpretation (2015) is also more holistic and often involves a rich data set of various sources such as opinions, perspectives and behaviors of the research object itself. Furthermore, Nassaji (2015) also explained the behavior of all qualitative researchers relying on a positivist approach to social sciences. This happens because they follow a linear research path, speak in the language of

"variables and hypotheses", and emphasize precisely the measurement of variables and test hypotheses associated with common causal explanations.

Furthermore, Nassaji (2015) explained that there are some people who believe that qualitative data is soft, intangible and intangible. However, on the other hand, Collier, Seawright, & Brady (2003) said that qualitative data is empirical because it involves documenting real events, recording what the source says, observing certain behaviors, studying written documents and visually examining images.

3.2 Literature Study

Aside of qualitative descriptive, in this paper we also use literature study to review arguments that we need to build better analysis for this paper. Snyder (2019) stated that a literature study is appropriate for the purpose of offering an analysis of a particular topic or research issue. Usually, this form of literature review is performed to determine the state of information on a specific issue. It could be used, for instance, to construct research areas, to define research divergence, or simply to address a specific topic.

Therefore, in this paper, since the issue is very limited to South Korean interactions and behavior, this method is relevant to be accepted as one of the method to conduct analysis deeper. Furthermore, Lingard (2015) argued that literature study is similar with eavesdropping a bunch of conversations, synthesis it, then add our point of views regarding the topic in the conversations. She explained that "Imagine yourself joining a conversation at a social event. After you hang about eavesdropping to get the drift of what's being said (the conversational equivalent of the literature review), you join the conversation with a contribution that signals your shared interest in the topic, your knowledge of what's

already been said, and your intention". It means, literature study is searching all the data regarding the specific topic you will research on then put down your perspectives regarding the topic as your key analysis argument in order to deliver it. Moreover, Boyer (2016) argued that with such method, researcher could get help in order to help articulate specific expectations, demonstrate proof of sufficient planning, choose suitable pathways, share information about relevant outcomes, partake in constructive criticism.

Further, Bordage (2009) argued that studies, which lack logical basis or a theoretical context, case the design and analysis of the research problematic to produce. Maggio et al (2016) said that, at the end of the day, a thorough literature review is the first critical step towards defining the appropriate analysis conceptual contexts.

3.3 Middle Power

Middle power as concept raises discussion among experts in International Relations. However, Jordaan (2003) explained that middle powers are countries which are neither large nor small in regards to foreign strength, capability and influence, and which show a tendency to foster cohesion and peace in the global system. Moreover, he also add that all middle powers show foreign policy behavior that stabilizes and legitimizes the global order, especially through multilateral and cooperative framework. Furthermore, South Korea as explained above, engaged in more libertarian issues in its diplomacy, especially currently under President Moon that already emphasizing that South Korea will forge ahead with inter-Korean cooperative projects as stated by Lee (2020), an exceptionally egalitarian way to face North Korean regime. This effort resembling Sunshine Policy in a glimpse as President Moon came from the same party

with Ex-President Kim Dae-Jung as explained by Lee (2020).

Middle power in Jordaan (2003) can be divided into two parts, traditional and emerging. Tradition middle power is middle power countries that seem to be sustained democratic countries and are also more interested in the global political economy. Whereas the emerging middle powers are recently developed democratic countries and so are more focused in the regional political economy. In addition, Jordaan (2003) also stated that middle-powers self-interest can be located at multiple stages, yet generally identified similarities are in the interest of global stability, controllability and predictability, a conservative approach that has the effect of legitimizing the status quo, and reinforcing (and amplifying) existing inequalities in power and wealth to their relative gain.

Thus, as explained above, South Korea is relatively sustained democratic country and more tempted with global political economies. These are proved by Briskey (2020) that stated that South Korea is one of established Asian democracies, then Park in Hsiao (2014) stated that South Korea is likely to be anywhere between electoral democracy and liberal democracy after the transition to democracy in 1987. This means that if we recognize that by now, in 2020, South Korea 's democracy is 33 years old, it is very advanced as opposed to Indonesia, for example, which had its transition to democracy in 1999. Furthermore, Roach et al (2010) argued that South Korea is an Asian Miracle in terms of economic growth and development. Now, South Korea is a major economy and a world-class manufacturer whose products trade around the globe with most research that emphasized on technology and design as its power, such as Samsung and LG Electronics. Moreover, they, for instance, have been sweeping international design

awards and other international achievements in regard of economy as mentioned before. These are meant that South Korea is looking for international level growth instead of just local or regional aims. In line with what Jordaan has stated before, those facts described that South Korea is a well-positioned middle power yet why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue? Remains biased if we not discuss this particular situation with economic diplomacy perspective as may help us to understand South Korean behavior toward the Indo-Pacific framework.

3.4 Constructivism Political Economic Diplomacy

Economic diplomacy in general term is one of the most important foreign political instruments for a country after the security and sovereignty sector. Many definitions explain what economic diplomacy looks like. However, Pajtinka (2016) explaining the term economic diplomacy in the contemporary era has two meanings, namely the meaning of diplomacy can be eaten as an effort to achieve the foreign economic interests of a country. Furthermore, Pajtinka (2016) also argues that the term economic diplomacy is "a specific type of activity of state bodies for economic relationships and their representatives vis-a-vis foreign countries conducted as a part of overall diplomacy of a state with the aim of achievement of the achievement of the goals of the foreign economic policy of a state." In other words, economic diplomacy is an activity that includes all diplomatic activities aimed at organizing foreign political interests in the economic field.

Meanwhile, according to Saner & Yiu (2001) defines economic diplomacy as "the activity of diplomatic missions aimed at the

promotion of the business and financial sector of the home state with the aim of supporting its economic development'. That is, the meaning of this second economic diplomacy, related to the use of economic tools to achieve every national interest in international relations. Different from Tóth & Horváthová (2016) and Saner & Yiu (2001), which define economic diplomacy with the perspective of the state and national interests, Bergeijk & Moons (2017) defines economic diplomacy as "a series of activities related to cross-border economic activities carried out by state and non-state actors in the world."

Then, Wilson (2017) also explained that trade and connectivity in the Asia Pacific has been running very intensely, but this economic trend has not been able to extend to the west in the Indian Ocean. The presence of regional economic institutions such as the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN+3, and APEC to IORA has been the foundation of the framework of economic cooperation in the Indo-Pacific (Wilson, 2017). Similarly, economic diplomacy should be a top priority of countries in the region.

Now, South Korea, which is in the midst of Indo-Pacific complexity, has used economic diplomacy as one of its good foreign policy instruments. This can be seen from the policy of restructuring FDI in the aftermath of the Asian crisis, establishing official development assistance (ODA) policies to participate in regional economic agendas such as OECD, APEC and ASEM further strengthen Korea's economic influence in the Indo-Pacific (Dent, 1998). Not only that, Paterson & Choi (2017) also argued that during the founding of South Korea since the 1950s until now, South Korean presidents have always paid attention and improved the quality of its diplomacy with other countries, especially in economic diplomacy. Thus, economic diplomacy is South Korea's priority instrument to survive

in a situation dominated by security issues in the Indo-Pacific.

While Balaam and Dillman (2013) explained that, constructivism in the field of international political economy is relatively breakthrough as new perspective in the broader sense of International Relation. Same with Constructivism in political context, in political economy context, they explained that economy policy as foreign policy are being valued as in their social context with emphasizes on the value, moral, pattern, and the meaning of the policy. Moreover, in their book, they also discussed that Constructivism Political Economy is highly underlined with identity, purpose, and meaning of the policy by the policy makers.

4. Results and Discussion

Korea as Middle Power in Indo-Pacific

This part of paper will try to solve why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue? Bonsal (1907) once stated that the Joseon Dynasty of Korea was sometimes portrayed as a kingdom of hermits. Later, Lubina (2015) described that a hermit kingdom/state is a concept applicable to any nation, entity or culture that voluntarily or conditionally walls off either metaphorically or geographically. Therefore, if we try to look metaphorically (and geographically), modern South Korean society has clamped by economy and military giants as China, Japan, and Russia. Plus, if we want to count North Korea, that means South Korea is full surrounded by threats so the term is still intact.

Moreover, Kennedy (2010) explained that South Korea's priority is its economic success. Further, Korean society is also understands the necessity to gain better wellbeing, as once South Korea was a poor and war-destroyed country. Then, South

Korean foreign policy and military strategy are very precarious as mentioned before, clamped by giants thus military force is essentially everyday knowledge. This particular point is proved by military mandatory that exists for South Korean young men (Kim, 2010). This means, the necessity to prepare the worst is still high for South Korea in order to be equipped for facing Kim Jong-Un's regime.

In addition, Kennedy (2010) also explained that small countries are essentially "consumers" of security because in an uneven environment, they generally cannot protect themselves; they thus depend on the international community. National Geographic once said (2020) South Korea is a small country with a lot of people. Consequently, the rich but small, those words maybe the best tagline for modern South Korea. As a small nation, Kennedy (2010) then stressed that South Korea, with all its stability, is peering into the 21st century with a curious mixture of economic hope and physical vulnerability.

The reasons maybe abundant, if we follow President Moon Jae-In policy in recent years, as in Indo-Pacific era, we could dub it as pacifist yet inward beneficial policies as President Moon's priority are peace first, mutual respect, and open policy (Ministry of Unification ROK, 2017). Huang (2017) said that President Moon might be too nice with North Korea. In comparison to his predecessors, he signaled that he would press for a measured relationship with the North. Rich, small, and pacifist in digital era, no doubt if we wanted to say Korea is still a hermit in 2020. New Southern Policy, Further North Policy, and Green New Deal are several series of policies that being undertaken by President Moon to thrive South Korea's row between the titans in the broader region of Asia Pacific (or Indo-Pacific). Yeo (2020) argued that South Korea

is trying to develop its own foreign policy approach. Therefore the sense of constructivism political economy diplomacy for South Korea is proven as Yeo mentioned. This effort is being taken by South Korea to exclusively presenting themselves in the Indo-Pacific apart from the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy that carried by Japan and the United States (to contain China). Although, President Moon's administration understands the pressures of major powers and the intensification of China – U.S. foreign policy rivalry, to seek alternative growth in ASEAN and South East Asia maybe the win-win solution that President Moon to avoid the clash of the titan as could harm South Korea in a sense. As Kim (2018) put it, South Korea is getting a dilemma in the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) scheme. The prosperity of South Korean people is rigid for President Moon in no matter what. It gives a humble vibes of benign capitalism to thrive economic growth for South Korea as getting tug war by the Trump-Xi's trade war. Panda (2019) even stated that President Moon came close to endorsing the Indo-Pacific strategy without actually doing so. Kennedy (2010) described the prosperity was, well, right in your face. From the squeaky-clean Incheon International Airport to the ultra-high-class shopping stores in central Seoul, it was clear that money, money, and money was the vital word in the game. Thus, money game has spoken, the hunt for growth and prosper is in high stake for South Korea, especially President Moon.

In broader sense, South Korea as tiny bit in titan's pool may be resulted from old problem, the UN Security Council. More generally, Kennedy (2010) added that stability may derive from a controlled international framework wherein the Major Powers (Russia, China, the United States, France, the United Kingdom) might have to

do most of the dirty work, supply the bulk of the peacekeepers, and recognize their greater obligations (their charge, after all for a veto by the Security Council). Then as middle power, South Korea, as argued before, not join the band of ensembles in the parade of Free and Open Indo-Pacific. South Korea chooses its way to differ the giants and decided to choose its own way to face Indo-Pacific. New Southern Policy becomes the headline of President's Moon facing and choosing the two plates of United States and China. One of the big marks of the New Southern policy is where South Korea decided to invest large sum of electric cars plant in Indonesia carried by Hyundai and LG (Rustandi, 2020).

Moreover, Robertson (2020) adding that South Korea could be Asian Switzerland, but their geographical and geopolitical dilemmas prohibit it from being blunt to conclude that growth is still the target to be accomplished, but peace and prosperity remains one side of the political fence, while North Korea's policies remain another. Hence, South Korea uses its middle power status to seek economic prosperity for its own agenda instead of join the political heyday of Indo-Pacific euphoria so South Korea's economic interest are bigger than political interest in Korea's mind of Free and Open Indo-Pacific. This means, as middle power, South Korea play economic end in general, compare to political end as the main statecraft for handling Indo-Pacific issues. North Korea relation also another mainframe that South Korea cannot avoid and instead distracted by the United States and China's competition, President Moon made trip across South East Asian to consolidated economic gain to boos South Korea bargain toward North Korea.

In addition, Ferrier (2020) said that South Korea should be the gateway to an updated US Indo-Pacific solution to the economic and governance foundations of the

policy that has been dominated by security concerns in terms of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Therefore, South Korea, as Ferrier said, could be alternatives if the United States wanted to fix fewer security concerns in the region. Chinoy (2020) also argued that South Korea should not afford to stay on the sidelines for a long time in continuing US-China disputes. As top-tier economy, state like South Korea, seen as a key possible substitute to China in the global telecommunications, digital technologies, artificial intelligence distribution networks.

Economic Interest Than Political Interest In this part of paper, the author will try to analyze "why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue?" as described above, South Korea, categorized as middle power, tends to use economic diplomacy to achieve its economic interests. The South Korean government's defense of its economic interests has been evident from every leadership of a South Korean president from time to time. During the leadership of President Park Chung-Hee, a major part of South Korea's development strategy prioritized preferential lending to export businesses and protectionism of the domestic industry and gave the blessing of free competition by compromising on "Chaebol" – a designation for large companies owned by rich families, to ensure South Korea's export economy can grow (Albert, 2018). Chapman (2018) also argued that President Park at the time also had confidence that industrialization was the best step for Koreans to rise up from the downfall of the Korean War and achieve economic success. Then, this agenda of economic interest continued after the Asian economic crisis, in which South Korea eventually restructured FDI and conducted debt swaps and signed international debt with its

economic security (Koo & Kiser, 2001). After going through a period of crisis, South Korea again expanded its economic interests by conducting FTA cooperation with the U.S., Australia and others and participating in regional economic cooperation such as ASEAN+3, APEC and other. From this, we can see that South Korea has always put economic interests first in a variety of ways.

This is certainly inseparable from South Korea's strict education system and highly motivated and educated population, so these factors have spurred South Korea to be able to develop high technology early and experience rapid economic development (ICEF, 2014). This also aligned with Santacreu (2018) who argues that innovation and technology are the main factors to shore up South Korea's export competitiveness and drive significant economic improvement over the past few decades.

Today, the geopolitical and geo-economic expansion to the Indian Ocean, driven by U.S. efforts to restore dominance in Asia due to China's seemingly unstoppable rise, is having an impact on allied countries and their partners (Park, 2019). The existence of China's BRI Strategy and the U.S.-led FOIP forced countries in the region to make the right strategic choices, of course this makes it difficult for partner countries to choose. Park (2019) explained that, the Indo-Pacific dynamics filled by U.S. and U.S. rivalries make South Korea more careful in determining each of its foreign policies, trying not to get caught up in the situation of U.S. and Chinese rivalry in the Indo-Pacific region. (Kim, 2018) also pointed out, the South Korean government under the leadership of President Moon Jae-in, the Blue House paid little attention to the FOIP that considers the Strategy, mostly aimed at rivaling China's dominance. Pardo (2019) also argued that, South Korea sees no clear and strong reason to choose between the U.S.

and China, as long as Seoul continues to benefit from both. Meanwhile, South Korea's relations with Beijing are still needed to maintain its economic interests. Although China does not always support BRI, Korea is also aware that China is the largest trading partner. Korean trade in term of export to China is 26.7%, therefore, South Korea chose to avoid hostilities with Beijing (Park, 2019). South Korea has its own way of maintaining neutrality from the political economic dominance between the U.S. and China but at the same time, still prioritizes its national economic interests in regional interactions in the Indo-Pacific region. South Korea's involvement in the U.S.-led multilateral Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP) does not make South Korea hesitant to join the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), a strategic trade partnership led by China (Sohn, 2016). This makes South Korea in a strategic position to play economic interests as a middle power country (Sohn, 2016).

South Korea's economic interests became increasingly visible when President Moon issued an NSP (New Southern Policy) policy that prioritizes cooperation with ASEAN member states and India aimed at not only strengthening economic cooperation, but cultural cooperation, people-to-security exchanges (Kwak, 2020). In the midst of fierce rivalry of influence between the U.S. and China in Indo-Pacific, South Korea through NSP offers regional strategies and cooperation oriented towards prosperity, peace and people-centered community of peace (Kwak, 2020). In order to gain maximum economic interest, President Moon made visits to 10 ASEAN countries and India and held a summit a year after the NSP declaration in 2017 (Kwak, 2020). This proves that economic interests are a priority agenda in the Indo-Pacific region. Kwak (2020) also explained that NSP takes South

Korea policy one step further by including the scope of security, diplomacy and economic cooperation that has never even been included in ASEAN policy also aligned with what Lee have said (2020). The important thing to know is the reputation of South Korea that has long been involved in international development projects for underdeveloped and developing countries through foreign development assistance (Park, 2019). It can be the capital and profit of South Korea to create new partnerships. Moreover, through NSP, for instance, South Korea received investment and business gains in electronic vehicle (EV) business in Indonesia through Hyundai and LG.

Although the Government of South Korea has run NSP in several ASEAN countries, Seoul does not seem to have any intention to rival the U.S. FOIP policy or BRI China, it is seen that the Government of South Korea decided to conduct policy collaboration between NSP and Indo-Pacific through the signing of the agreement between the Republic of Korea and the U.S. (Department of State of the US, 2020) and although not explicitly, South Korea also strengthened bilateral relations with China in various aspects (Park, 2019).

5. Conclusion

Hence, from the arguments mentioned above, South Korea could become the neutral zone with focus on becoming a hub on education, innovation, and economic across the region in order to develop more growth. South Korea role to play is rowing between the seas of the clash of titans. The absent of South Korea in the thrive of Indo-Pacific noise give assumption that South Korea may represent Andrzej Sapkowski famous quote from the Last Wish "I'm to choose between one evil and another, then I prefer not to choose at all". Moreover, the complete sentence of this quote is "I'm not a

pious hermit, I haven't done only good in my life. But if I'm to choose between one evil and another, then I prefer not to choose at all". Thus, Korea may not want to be hermit all the time, so in order to prove it to the world, South Korea need to stand up on its feet to decide the best decision for it, yet as a middle power, South Korea also need to calculate every step as not to be misjudge by the titans surround it, so a very careful and measured way as the New Southern Policy, or not to choose both sides and use its own perspectives instead, may be the best answer for South Korean middle power-ship. Even, South Korea is not saint like Switzerland or Canada; South Korea with all its competitive advantage in technology and culture may become a hybrid of neutral country alike.

Middle power role of South Korea may resulted middle way or in between of two options that South Korea is facing now. In one side, South Korea may be an ally for United State's configuration in Asia Pacific region. On other side, South Korea may still need China for its undoubtedly large market to thrive the economic growth. Yet all of these reasons may resulted in the New Southern Policy to engage South East Asian Region (and India) to sustain more growth in absence of China to some extent toward the US trade war in recent years.

Economic growth is a necessity that every country needs to thrive, to survive, and to live in this very competitive world. South Korea also no exception for it, combination of its middle power role to play in global pop culture, innovation and technology, and green energy sector may boost Korea for once and all. As a hermit crab, South Korea need to look out very carefully when and where it may out to continue walk, or in this sense, is to progress. Timing is crucially essential for South Korea. Situation and condition from the titans that clashed may progress South Korea in a unique way. The

capability of South Korea in creates their own opinion that win-win solution them in very ambiguous situation recently is a very smart diplomatic moves.

The narrow path between the titans might affect President Moon to decide what should he do for a mediocre South Korea to face to face with eagle and dragon. As a newly industrialized country, he may not want to risk the momentum to growth for South Korea as it already burden by the brotherly problem of the north. He consolidated South Korean potential profit in a relatively new traditional market of South Korean economics as the trade war continues.

The North Korean problem also another issue to worsen the dilemma of South Korea in the Indo-Pacific scheme. The Sino-North Korean relation and South Korean alliance with the West should be not hampered with new problem. The in-between way to go down to South East and South Asia, not to right or left, maybe the best option for South Korea the mediocre and newly rich country to not being pulled in the US-China rivalry. South Korea has invented the alternative to bargain in the heavy weight tug-of war game in North East Asia. As in other word South Korea also need to consolidate its voices in neutral countries, such as South Asian and South East Asian countries, in order to face its own problematic issues with the North.

Therefore, the question like "why is South Korea less politically active on Indo-Pacific issues than other East Asian countries, such as Japan with the Quad or China in the Indo-Pacific issue?" is kind of a reflection for South Korean behavior as middle-powered, high-tech, and cultured hermit in globalization era. Hermit 4.0 as we dubbed in the title of this paper may suit South Korean depiction in rise of the Indo-Pacific era as we argued before. The unusual mediocrity of South Korea in combine

culture, technology, and innovation give a blunt second exit to shape its own vision in the Indo-Pacific framework. South Korean answer to not choose either way may be a good lesson for other rising or emerging middle countries such as Indonesia, Turkey, and Mexico to be able use all of the

possibilities in their own displacement in very own region. As middle power may grow as upper power, this kind of innovative moves of diplomacy may needed for them in order to survive the in the titans chessboard of global politics and economy.

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MIDDLE-INCOME TRAP IN INDO-PACIFIC: A CASE STUDY OF INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

The term Middle-Income Trap (MIT) began to develop due to the growth rate of middle-income countries which had stagnated since 1980 (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). This is due to the inability of a country to compete with high-income countries that are superior in technology, as well as low-income countries which are superior because they have cheap labour costs (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). Indonesia as one of the MIT countries need to find a solution so that it does not continue to be trapped in it, the case experienced by Indonesia does not only threaten Indonesia to be caught in MIT's trap, but it can fall back into a low-income country (Basri & Putra, 2016). Therefore, Indonesia's role in the economic sector in the Indo-Pacific region is essential. The Indonesian government is expected to be able to use this opportunity to get out of the MIT trap as well as take advantage of the opportunities that exist to minimize the potential for Indonesia to fall back into a low-income country. In order to improve its economy, Indonesia can maximize the marine and fisheries sector or better known as the Blue Economy, including developing the marine tourism industry, such as increasing diving tourism destinations. Apart from that, the national leadership role is also significant and crucial, especially in strengthening the industrial sector (Basri & Putra, 2016). Using secondary data and case study methods, this paper will examine the opportunities that can be taken by Indonesia as an MIT country in the economic sector (especially the Blue Economy) in the Indo-Pacific region.

Keywords: Indonesia, Indo-Pacific, Middle-Income Trap, Blue Economy.

1. Introduction

Over the last 70 years, economic growth has occurred in all regions of the world, many low-income countries have experienced rapid development, and millions of individuals have been successfully lifted from the poverty line (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). Standard growth theory predicts that developing countries will grow faster and catch up with developed countries (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). However, only a few countries have achieved high-income status until now, and income growth in many countries is still volatile and unstable (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). In recent years, policymakers in slower-growing middle-income countries have assumed that they are stuck in a "Middle-Income Trap" (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). Many argue about the so-

called Middle-Income Trap, and some consider this phenomenon just a myth (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016).

The term Middle-Income Trap (MIT) began to develop due to middle-income countries' growth rate that had stagnated since 1980 (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). This is due to the inability of a country to compete with high-income countries and low-income countries. High-income countries have advantages in the field of knowledge, for example, quality research institutions, while low-income countries excel because they have low labour costs (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). Latin America and the Middle East are examples of countries that have been caught in this trap for decades (Gill & Kharas, 2007).

The ease of interpreting it makes the MIT concept often used in public policy

discussions, even the term MIT also used in several economic magazines and journals such as the Financial Times, Forbes, Times, The Economist, and The Wall Street Journal (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). Economists explain that more and more countries are identified as victims of MIT, these countries do not have to be from 'emerging market' groups such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam, but can be from 'upper-middle-income' groups such as Poland or even 'high-income' like Greece (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). According to Gill & Kharas (2007), modern growth theory predicts that middle-income countries should witness three transformations: (1) diversification will slow and then reverse, as countries become more specialized in production and employment; (2) investment will become less important, and innovation should accelerate; also (3) education systems will shift from equipping workers with skills that allow them to adjust to new technologies to prepare them to shape new products and processes. Middle-income countries must find driving factors such as increased productivity, innovation, and competitiveness while strengthening the economic fundamentals that promote and stabilize growth (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). It becomes a significant challenge to achieve high-income levels with the possibility of slowing growth along the way (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). Nevertheless, stagnation is inevitable and middle-income countries must have the patience to manage transitions responsibly, avoid traps and promote new opportunities (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016).

Indonesia as one of the MIT countries need to find a solution so that it does not continue to be trapped in it, the case experienced by Indonesia does not only threaten Indonesia to be caught in MIT's trap, but it can fall back into a low-income country (Basri & Putra, 2016). Therefore, Indonesia's

role in the economic sector in the Indo-Pacific region is essential. The Indonesian government is expected to be able to use this opportunity to get out of the MIT as well as take advantage of the opportunities that exist to minimize the potential for Indonesia to fall back into a low-income country. In order to improve its economy, Indonesia can maximize the marine and fisheries sector or better known as the Blue Economy, including developing the marine tourism industry, such as increasing diving tourism destinations. Using secondary data, this paper will examine the opportunities that can be taken by Indonesia as an MIT country in the economic sector (especially the Blue Economy) in the Indo-Pacific region.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Middle-Income Trap

Through his writing, Ohno (2009) explained that a low-income country that has experienced war, unstable political conditions, and mismanaged its economy is usually characterized as a fragile economic structure. This country is very dependent on extractive resources, monoculture exports, and assistance from foreign parties or foreign aid (Ohno, 2009). The internal value created by traditional industries such as mining and agriculture in the absence of dynamic manufacturing activities, makes this country appear prominent in production and trade but not in industrialization (Ohno, 2009).

From an East Asian perspective, Ohno (2009) said that economic growth began with the arrival of several manufacturing FDI companies that assembled, or processed light industrial products for export, such as garments, footwear, and foodstuffs. Likewise, Ohno (2009) also said that electronic devices and components could also be produced in this way. In the early stage or first stage, design, technology, production and marketing are

directed by foreign parties or foreigners (Ohno, 2009). At the same time, the primary materials and parts are imported, and the state only contributes to unskilled labour and industrial land (Ohno, 2009). While this generates jobs and income for the poor, the internal value remains small, and value created by foreigners dominates, as is the case with industrialization in Vietnam today (Ohno, 2009).

Ohno's research (2009) looks at Vietnam's past achievements as a developing country with vast and many transitions. His research focuses on the future and offers honest evaluation and advice so that Vietnam can develop to its full potential (Ohno, 2009). Ohno (2009) believes that Vietnam's people and government do not only want to achieve the MDGs or stop at the middle-income point. This country's ideals are high and will be achieved if the nation clearly identifies its current shortcomings and confronts its challenges right away (Ohno, 2009).

The main message of Ohno's (2009) research in Vietnam has reached a point where further progress towards higher incomes can only be obtained if internal value creation is increased. This requires appropriate government action rather than *laissez-faire* to guide and supplement private sector dynamism while avoiding MIT (Ohno, 2009). To improve the quality of policies, Vietnam needs to change its policy formulation process (Ohno, 2009). This, in turn, requires radical changes in the public administration system (Ohno, 2009). The scope and sequence of reforms must be chosen carefully to minimize the political and social energy required to transform the system while maximizing its positive impact (Ohno, 2009). Enlightened and strong leadership, a team of new technocrats, and strategic partnerships with foreigners have been proposed as useful starting points to meet these conditions (Ohno, 2009).

In his research, Gaulard (2015) explains the MIT concept, which is too often analyzed statistically by further questioning the sustainable nature of China's economic growth. Although China has experienced an economic slowdown in the past two years, it has achieved its ability to become a 'high-income economy' country (Gaulard, 2015). According to Gaulard (2015), the main problem highlighted by MIT theory is the increase in labour costs, partly due to demographic evolution in China, as well as the loss of international competitiveness. However, Gaulard's (2015) study aims to dampen this analysis' relevance by emphasizing the fact that salary increases in this situation account for less than the intensification of deep productivity problem.

Whether in the productivity of labour, which has not increased as rapidly as the cost of labour or in the productivity of capital, which has continued to decline since the 1990s, China's productive apparatus faces severe structural problems better understood using Marxist theory (Gaulard, 2015). The decline in the productivity of capital is not unique to countries affected by MIT (Gaulard, 2015). It is an inherent feature of the capitalist mode of production and its particular method of operation (Gaulard, 2015). China may fail to achieve what could be considered high per capita income, as it faces two main challenges: (1) its technology gap compared to all other developed countries; and (2) the reduction in the rate of profit experienced by the productive apparatus in all countries operating under the capitalist mode of production (Gaulard, 2015). Unfortunately, this large country classified as an "emerging" country does not appear to be an exception on the chaotic path that is currently affecting the capitalist economy (Gaulard, 2015). This raises more follow-up questions about the concept of emergence, which may require a more

thorough analysis based on input from recent MIT studies (Gaulard, 2015).

2.2 Blue Economy or Ocean Economy

According to Silver et al. (2015), oceans have been characterized as the common heritage of humankind, as vulnerable to the commons' tragedy, and as a significant ecological frontier. At the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) held in 2012, issues concerning oceans and questions relating to the oceans' governance were formally negotiated (Silver et al., 2015). Rio+20 has succeeded in creating interest and concern about the oceans for many individuals, as a broad thing and has never happened in any international meeting (Silver et al., 2015). Silver et al. (2015) believe that emerging issues related to the oceans include ocean acidification and sea-level rise, overfishing and marine biodiversity loss, a growing consensus on the high seas' conservation and development potential, and interest from some countries to territorialize more sea space. During Rio+20, Silver et al. (2015) track ocean negotiations and pay particular attention to using a relatively new term in the global environmental governance arena, namely the blue economy.

Silver et al. (2015) pay attention to ocean governance and the term blue economy which is motivated by three factors, namely: (1) the extent and significance of the oceans for development (the oceans cover 70% of the earth's surface, fish provide an essential source of protein for society, and new sectors such as mining and marine cultivation are developing rapidly); (2) much of the ocean space falls outside national jurisdiction, where many co-owned resources and UN-led governance are fragmented; and (3) state and private interest in ocean conservation and development are currently high, as reflected, for example, by the recently launched World

Bank *Global Partnership for Oceans*. Based on data collected through Collaborative Event Ethnography (CEE) at the summit, Silver et al. (2015) shows how the blue economy is used in four broader discourses on the relationship between humans and the sea: (1) the oceans as natural capital; (2) oceans as profitable business; (3) oceans as an integral part of the Pacific Small Island Developing States (SIDS); and (4) oceans as a livelihood for small scale fisheries (SSF).

The results of the analysis by Silver et al. (2015) suggest that the term blue economy appeared and circulated before Rio+20. Silver et al. (2015) highlighted four crucial discourses on the relationship between humans and the sea, and showed that despite the different problems, solutions and participants of the sea, the blue economy is defined and used to support them. In general, these findings are similar to Corson et al. (2013: 3) who argue that the discourse of global conservation and development is "instilled through and coordinated by international environmental policy agencies, organizations, activists, academics, and the transnational capitalist and managerial classes". Furthermore, the term blue economy was also used in The Economist magazine's first World Oceans Summit four months before Rio+20 or the African Union's statement on the concept of a "blue economy" as an essential part of Africa's future development (Silver et al., 2015). Not only that, the European Union also links the term blue economy with capitalization and accumulation and mentions and prioritizes five main sectors of blue economic growth, including: biotechnology, renewable energy, coastal and marine tourism, aquaculture, and mineral resources (Silver et al., 2015).

Walker defines the ocean economy concept in Rogerson & Rogerson (2019) as "the portion of the economy that relies on the ocean as an input to the production process or

which under geographic location, takes place on or under the ocean". Dwyer also identified the significance of the global marine economy as the sum of the marine-based industrial economic activities as well as marine ecosystem assets, goods and services, including offshore oil gas exploration, shipping, shipbuilding and marine equipment, fisheries and fish processing, aquaculture, as well as coastal and marine tourism (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019). Although there is very little agreement that explains the blue economy, it can be said that "the core of the concept is awareness of maritime resources and their capacity to contribute to poverty reduction, human well-being and economic opportunity" (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019). Furthermore, marine resources must always be used in a sustainable, stable, and inclusive manner (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019).

The sustainable use of marine resources is captured by the "blue economy" concept and has become very important in several global South countries (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019). Coastal and marine tourism is one of the most critical sectors of the blue economy and is arguably very important for many countries, including Africa (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019). Rogerson & Rogerson (2019) have analyzed the emerging planning for coastal and marine tourism in South Africa as part of the blue economy planning carried out under Operation Phakisa. The broad planning framework of Operation Phakisa is faced with some drawbacks, the most important of which is to prioritize the attractiveness of investment and stimulation of economic growth over issues concerning marine resource conservation (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019).

The blue economy idea recognizes the seas and oceans as the prime drivers of economic development with great potential for innovation and growth (Humayun &

Zafar, 2014). In order to obtain optimal benefits from this natural gift, an integrated National Maritime Policy is needed (Humayun & Zafar, 2014). Increased awareness and knowledge among decision-makers and the general public and capacity building through public-private partnerships are needed (Humayun & Zafar, 2014). Developing effective national compliance mechanisms and stimulating the renewal of the potential maritime sector through regional and international collaboration can usher in an era of significant growth (Humayun & Zafar, 2014).

3. Research Method

The literature findings on MIT and the blue economy prove that the sea has potential as a basis for economic and social development (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019), therefore this paper will focus specifically on Indonesia as one of the MIT countries that can use its opportunities to get out of the trap in the Indo-Pacific region by maximizing the marine and fisheries sector, better known as the blue economy. This research is structured using a qualitative approach so that the data processed produce narrative text in the form of words, sentences, and pictures, not in the form of numbers that must be processed using statistics as in quantitative research. The method to be used is a case study which focuses on one example, phenomenon, or unit of analysis, in this case, the Indonesian state which is studied in depth (Given, 2008)

The data in this study were collected using literature study techniques to obtain secondary data in writings from various sources such as books, articles in scientific journals, and previous studies. To obtain this data, the authors access through online data searches such as JSTOR. The data is then processed using analysis techniques from Miles and Huberman which consist of three stages, including: (1) Data reduction

(summarizing the data obtained, classifying them, and removing unnecessary data); (2) Presentation of data; and (3) Conclusion and Verification (Sugiyono, 2001).

4. Results and Discussion

The MIT concept was first coined by Indermit Gill and Homi Kharas by comparing general phenomena observed in regions such as Latin America and the Middle East to the possible slowdown in developing East Asian countries (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). According to Gill and Kharas, its rapid growth from low to middle-income levels supported by several factors such as cheap labour, pursuing necessary technology, and relocation of labour and capital from low-productivity sectors such as export-supported agriculture or high-productivity manufacturing, is often followed by lower growth (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). When the rural labour force decreases and wages increase, the accumulation factors that once driven high economic growth eventually lose their strength (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). Unless new sources of economic growth are found, a country may not compete with low-income countries dominated by mature industries or high-income countries that dominate innovative and high-tech industries (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016).

This phenomenon has become popular and is useful to describe policymakers' busyness in middle-income countries, especially in the impact of the global financial crisis (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). In 2009, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Razak announced in his speech: "We have become a successful middle-income economy, but we cannot and will not be caught in the middle-income trap, we need to make the shift to a high-income economy or we risk losing growth momentum in our economies and

vibrancy in our markets" (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). In recent years, MIT's nature and risks have been hotly debated by economists, business leaders, media experts, and groups in high-level policy circles (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016).

A country will be classified as MIT when it has the following characteristics: (1) GDP or per capita income ranging from 5,000 USD to 10,000 USD, at this stage a country will face difficult challenges in the form of a transition period to a higher income level (Spence, 2011); (2) An economic growth rate of less than 3.5% for 30 years, there is no specific determination that explains how many years a country will spend as an MIT country (Islam, 2015); (3) The GDP ratio against the United States is close to 5% to 45%, it is necessary to know several reasons why the United States has become the benchmark for many countries in determining MIT: first, it is a high-income country; second, have sophisticated technology; and third, it is assumed as a country with long-term balanced economic growth (Jones, 2002); (4) Average growth rate of 4.8% per annum for 28 years in Lower Middle Income (2,000 USD - 7,500 USD) (Felipe, Kumar, & Galope, 2014); and (5) Average growth rate of 3.5% per year for 14 years in Upper Middle Income (7,500 USD - 11,500 USD) (Felipe, Kumar, & Galope, 2014). The fourth and fifth characteristics are based on the number of years it takes a country to move from one income category to another (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017).

One of the advantages of determining the upper and lower limits of per capita income is that one can easily judge whether a country is included in MIT or not (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). Although it does not fully describe the development of a country, per capita income can be correlated with indicators of the quality of human life such as birth rates, mortality rates, and participation

in education (World Bank, 1989). There are two indexes built to evaluate whether a country has fallen into the MIT, including the Catch-Up Index and the ESCAPE Index (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). However, these two indices are still elementary, and the results given are also inconsistent (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). The Catch-Up Index is obtained by dividing the income level of a country by the income level of the United States (the premise is that a country is caught in the MIT because it does not meet the global economic leader - the United States) (Woo et al., 2012). Countries with a Catch-Up Index of more than 55% will be classified as high-income countries, while those below 20% will be classified as low-income countries, and the rest will be classified as middle-income countries (Woo et al., 2012). The ESCAPE Index is a little more complicated because it combines 20 indicators in five dimensions, consisting of: (1) economic growth and stability; (2) social progress; (3) communication technology; (4) legal institutions; and (5) environmental sustainability (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). If we use the ESCAPE Index, countries that have managed to escape MIT are China, Chile, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, while Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa and Turkey are still trapped (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017).

The following are some of the factors that are often associated with the cause of MIT: (1) An unfavorable demographic structure, the country will be faced with a difficult situation if the labour force population or productive age is smaller (example: the aging population in Japan); (2) A low level of economic diversification, meaning that a country has an export composition dominated by products with low value chains (exported commodities do not have derivative industries, for example iron ore which is sold directly without being

processed into stainless steel so that there is no added value); (3) Financial markets are inefficient, even though financial markets play an important role in stimulating innovation and supporting a country to shift (transition) to high income levels (for example: availability of financial services, underdeveloped venture capital, and low access to loans); (4) Inadequate infrastructure, access to infrastructure is needed to increase productivity with indicators, namely electricity infrastructure, telephone infrastructure, and transportation and logistics (for example: Oranges brought by truck from Medan to Jakarta will certainly take a lot of time and money when compared to Oranges brought directly by ship from China); (5) Low levels of innovation, including capacity for innovation, low R&D funds, and weak collaboration between private and public or universities and industry; (6) Weak institutions, including the efficiency of the legal framework, protection of property rights, and the quality of government regulations (investors do not want to invest not because of many regulations, but lack of certainty in regulations); and (7) An inefficient labour market that can hamper and harm the state, including freedom to determine wage rates and termination of employment relations or contracts (from the entrepreneur's perspective, wages are expected to be in accordance with the level of productivity, the same as markets that are expected to operate in accordance with the law of demand) (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017).

Indonesia as one of the MIT countries need to find a solution so that it does not continue to be trapped in it, the case experienced by Indonesia does not only threaten Indonesia to be caught in MIT, but it can fall back into a low-income country (Basri & Putra, 2016). This is caused by: (1) The level of quality of human resources in

Indonesia is still low in terms of education (lack of innovation because only 27.2% of Indonesia's population has tertiary education) and health so that it becomes uncompetitive (inadequate vaccination will make it difficult for students to study well, considering health is the main prerequisite in forming quality human resources); (2) Stagnant productivity of the manufacturing sector (lack of assistance from the state which makes it difficult for the industry to design backwards-forward linkage and weak total factor productivity and capital stock); (3) Large and widening income gap or inequality (high rent-seeker pressure, pressure on social assistance policies - redistributive policies, access to infrastructure that does not directly address poverty, and intergenerational poverty trap for low-income families) (Basri & Putra, 2016). Therefore, the national leadership role is significant and crucial, especially in strengthening the industrial sector such as fixing and designing pro-industrialisation policies for the long term in an integrated manner (Basri & Putra, 2016).

As a foundation for building sustainable industrial policy in Indonesia, the Joko Widodo government has issued Nine Programs or Nawacita, consisting of: (1) Renewing the state's obligation to protect all its people and provide security to all citizens through a free and active foreign policy, security national and national defense development based on national interests and strengthening the national identity as a maritime country; (2) Clean, effective, democratic and trustworthy government by giving priority and efforts to restore public trust in democratic institutions, as well as continuing democratic consolidation through reform of the political party system, electoral institutions and representatives; (3) Developing Indonesia, significantly strengthening rural areas within the framework of the unitary state of Indonesia;

(4) Rejecting a weak state by reforming the system through law enforcement that is free of corruption and dignity; (5) Improving the quality of the Indonesian people through improving the quality of education and training through the "Indonesia Cerdas" (Smart Indonesia) program, as well as improving the welfare and health of the Indonesian people through the "Indonesia Sehat" (Healthy Indonesia) and "Indonesia Sejahtera" (Prosperous Indonesia) programs; (6) Increasing the productivity and competitiveness of people in the international market so that Indonesia can advance and stand together with other Asian nations; (7) Realizing economic independence by moving strategic sectors into the domestic economy; (8) Revolutionizing the character of the nation through the policy of structuring the national education curriculum with citizenship education, teaching the nation's history, the values of patriotism, and building the spirit and character of defending the country through national education; at the same time (9) Strengthening Indonesia's diversity and social recovery by focusing on education policies for diversity and creating spaces for dialogue between citizens (Basri & Putra, 2016).

Apart from strengthening in the industrial sector, another strategy that Indonesia can take to get out of the MIT trap is to increase its role in the Indo-Pacific region's economic sector. The Indonesian government is expected to be able to use this opportunity to get out of the MIT trap and take advantage of the opportunities that exist to minimize potential if Indonesia falls back into a low-income country. In order to improve its economy, Indonesia can maximize the marine and fisheries sector or more commonly known as the Blue Economy (Ocean Economy) which is defined as: "the economic activities that take place in the ocean, receive outputs from the ocean, and

provide inputs to the ocean" (Patil et al., 2016). Seeing the very strategic geographical position of the Indonesian archipelago (Lasabuda, 2013), of course, it is not surprising that the marine economy is used as a foundation for the design of national economic development through the idea of a world Maritime Axis (Poros Maritim) (Syahrin, 2018). The marine economic sector is an economic activity that takes place in coastal areas and oceans, it would be better if Indonesia could develop several marine economic sectors, such as: (1) capture fisheries; (2) aquaculture; (3) fishery product processing industry; (4) marine biotechnology industry; (5) mining and energy; (6) marine tourism; (7) sea transportation; (8) maritime industry and services; (9) small islands resources; (10) coastal forestry; and (11) unconventional natural resources (Lasabuda, 2013).

As a country with a high level of biodiversity, Indonesia has 2000 out of 7000 fish species in the world (Lasabuda, 2013). According to Lasabuda (2013), Indonesia's marine fishery resource potential reaches approximately 6.4 million tons per year, consisting of: large pelagic fish (1.16 million tons), small pelagic fish (3.6 million tons), demersal fish (1.36 million tons), penaeid shrimp (0.094 million tons), lobster (0.004 million tons), squid (0.028 million tons), and reef fish (0.14 million tons). From these data, the allowable catch is 5.12 million tons per year, or about 80% of the marine potential that is spread across nine Indonesian Fisheries Management areas (Lasabuda, 2013). Besides, Lasabuda (2013) also discusses the Indo-Pacific waters which are mostly located in Indonesian waters as the centre of the world's coral reef diversity with more than 400 species. Biologically, Indonesia's coastal and marine areas also have global value because Indonesian waters are the spawning grounds for highly

migratory species such as tuna, dolphins, and various types of whales and turtles (Lasabuda, 2013).

The potential of Indonesia's marine and fisheries which are estimated to be able to drive the country's economic growth has potential economic values respectively: (1) capture fisheries of US\$ 15 billion per year; (2) marine cultivation of US\$ 46.7 billion per year; (3) aquaculture ponds of US\$ 10 billion per year; and (4) marine biotechnology amounting to US\$ 4 billion per year (Lasabuda, 2013). Furthermore, it is estimated that around 70% of Indonesia's oil and gas production comes from coastal and marine areas (Lasabuda, 2013). Of the 60 basins with potential oil and gas sources, 40 basins are on the offshore, 14 in the coastal area, and six on the mainland (Lasabuda, 2013). This area is also rich in various other resources such as mining materials and minerals (gold, silver, tin, iron ore, and heavy minerals) (Lasabuda, 2013). In addition to the energy sources mentioned above, several other non-conventional energy sources are tidal energy, wave energy, OTEC (ocean thermal energy conversion), solar and wind power, and mineral resources developed from deep ocean water (Lasabuda, 2013).

Indonesia can also develop the potential of maritime industry and services, for example, shipbuilding and dockyard, ship machinery and equipment industry, fishing gear industry (nets, fishing rods, fish finders, and rope), pond waterwheel industry (pedal wheel) and water pumps, offshore engineering, coastal engineering, submarine cables and fibre optics, as well as remote sensing, GPS, GIS, ICT, and so on (Lasabuda, 2013). According to Lasabuda (2013), another potential that Indonesia can develop is a marine transportation and environmental services. About 75% of trade products and commodities are transported through the Indonesian sea with a value of

around US\$ 1,300 trillion per year (Lasabuda, 2013). Indonesia's strategic potential with environmental aesthetics that is difficult to match by other archipelagic countries also provides excellent opportunities, especially for the tourism sector such as nature tourism and marine tourism, which is estimated at US\$ 54.3 billion per year (Lasabuda, 2013).

Finally, Indonesia's marine potential is related to an artistic potential such as cultural heritage objects of the past that have high economic value, often referred to as Shipwrecked Cargo (Benda Muatan Kapal Tenggelam - BMKT) (Lasabuda, 2013). Indonesia has 463 points where ships sank, which occurred from the 14th to 19th centuries (Lasabuda, 2013). This opportunity is certainly not to be missed because the past's cultural heritage can be useful as an attraction for diving tourism destinations with an estimated value of US\$ 40 million (Lasabuda, 2013). Through Presidential Decree No. 107 of 2000, the Government of Indonesia has formed a BMKT National Committee so that Shipwrecked Cargo provides benefits to the community and the state (Lasabuda, 2013).

But unfortunately, the idea of the Maritime Axis (Poros Maritim) that was put forward by President Joko Widodo still faces several obstacles that specifically need attention, for example, the threat of maritime border disputes or violations of sovereignty, piracy of maritime terrorism and separatism (social unrest between sea users, piracy, immigrants, as well as smuggling), and illegal fishing (Syahrin, 2018). As an implementation, the Indonesian government has ratified the Maritime Affairs Bill into the Maritime Law as a legal umbrella to regulate Indonesian marine's utilization and activities in a comprehensive and integrated manner following Indonesian national regulations (Syahrin, 2018). Not only that, President

Joko Widodo also appointed the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs as an institution that integrates problems related to the maritime sector and their solutions, and does not forget to disseminate information to people in the coastal areas of Indonesia as the first implementer of things that happen in the Indonesian oceans (Syahrin, 2018). The Maritime Coordinating Ministry's responsibility is not only limited to dealing with fisheries and marine resources issues, but also security issues, maritime boundaries, customs, and other matters that are the responsibility of several other ministries (Syahrin, 2018).

One of the advantages that Indonesia has in being able to take full advantage of the blue economy is that it has many underwater cultural heritage objects which are defined by UNESCO (n.d.) as "all traces of human existence that lie or have lain underwater and have a cultural or historical character". For example, shipwrecked can be used as a diving attraction, some of which are Molas Wreck and Mawali Wreck in North Sulawesi as well as USAT Liberty Wreck, Boga Wreck, and Japanese Wreck in Bali. In other words, Indonesia's opportunity to get out of the MIT trap especially in the Indo-Pacific region is not only limited to economic activities such as capture fisheries, fishery product processing industry, mining and energy, or marine biotechnology industry. Indonesia can also take advantage of the underwater cultural heritage objects which have high economic value too.

5. Conclusion

Economic growth that has occurred during the last 70 years in all regions of the world has resulted in many countries, especially those with low income, experiencing rapid development, one of which is the millions of individuals who have succeeded in being lifted from the poverty

line (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). However, only a few countries have achieved high-income status until now, and income growth in many countries has tended to be volatile and unstable (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). Some policymakers in slower-growing middle-income countries even assume that they are trapped in the "Middle-Income Trap" (Larson, Loayza, & Woolcock, 2016). MIT began to develop due to middle-income countries' growth rate that had stagnated since 1980 (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017). This is due to the inability of a country to compete with high-income countries and low-income countries. High-income countries have advantages in the field of knowledge, for example, quality research institutions, while low-income countries excel because they have low labour costs (Pruchnik & Zowczak, 2017).

As one of the MIT countries, Indonesia needs to find a solution so that it does not continue to be trapped in it, the case experienced by Indonesia does not only threaten Indonesia to be caught in MIT's trap, but it can fall back into a low-income country (Basri & Putra, 2016). Therefore, the national leadership (President) role is significant and crucial, especially in strengthening the industrial sector by fixing and designing pro-industrialization policies for the long term in an integrated manner (Basri & Putra, 2016). As a foundation for building sustainable industrial policy in Indonesia, the Joko Widodo government has issued Nine Programs or Nawacita (Basri & Putra, 2016). Apart from strengthening the industrial sector, another strategy that Indonesia can take to get out of the MIT trap is to increase its role in the Indo-Pacific region's economic sector. To improve its economy, Indonesia

can maximize the marine and fisheries sector or more commonly known as the Blue Economy (Ocean Economy). Indonesia can also take advantage of the underwater cultural heritage objects such as shipwrecked.

Seeing the very strategic geographical position of the Indonesian archipelago (Lasabuda, 2013), of course, it is not surprising that the marine economy is used as a foundation for the design of national economic development through the idea of a world Maritime Axis (Poros Maritim) (Syahrin, 2018). The marine economic sector is an economic activity that takes place in coastal areas and oceans, and it would be better if Indonesia could develop several marine economic sectors, such as: (1) capture fisheries; (2) aquaculture; (3) fishery product processing industry; (4) marine biotechnology industry; (5) mining and energy; (6) marine tourism; (7) sea transportation; (8) maritime industry and services; (9) small islands resources; (10) coastal forestry (mangrove); and (11) unconventional natural resources (Lasabuda, 2013). Nevertheless, unfortunately, the idea of the Maritime Axis (Poros Maritim) that was put forward by President Joko Widodo still faces several obstacles that specifically need attention, for example, the threat of maritime border disputes or violations of sovereignty, piracy of maritime terrorism and separatism (social unrest between sea users, piracy, immigrants, as well as smuggling), and illegal fishing (Syahrin, 2018). As an implementation, the Indonesian government has ratified the Maritime Affairs Bill into the Maritime Law as a legal umbrella to regulate Indonesian marine's utilization and activities comprehensively following Indonesian national regulations (Syahrin, 2018).

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INDONESIA PARTICIPATION IN DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN INDO-PACIFIC

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ABSTRACT

Global political, economic, and social dynamics in this modern era have shifted the interests of every nation from defense power acquirement to domination of resources. One of the richest of resources area is Indo-Pacific. There is still no international statute about the region's territorial borders, but some powerful states compose their own version of the borders scheme, based on their own national interests. As general geographical consensus, the area ranges from Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, and the land areas within. The geopolitically strategic region contains plenteous potential to empower Blue Economy and shipping industry, but also appeals various maritime security issues like piracy, smuggling and illegal fishing. Indonesia as one of the Founding Fathers of ASEAN and located at the strategic point of international trade route, has lots of potential to be major player in Indo-Pacific. Indonesia needs to enhance its political role while defending Indo-Pacific security through defense diplomacy. This research is conducted using qualitative method, with literature resources from various books, international articles, government and news website. The result of this research explains about Indonesia participation on defense diplomacy in Indo-Pacific, including the activities, opportunities and challenges within, and Indonesia's national interest in the defense diplomacy.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Military, Indonesia, Indo-Pacific.

1. Introduction

The global political, economic, and social dynamics in this modern era have shifted the interests of every nation in the world from colonialism and imperialism to domination of resources. Every country is now competing to fulfill the essential interests of its people such as food, development and national security, in a more diplomatic and mutually beneficial acts through international trade and cooperation.

Apart from shifting national interests, globalization also highlights the strategic value of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. With the presence of major Asian powers, the two waters are very important as the center of world security and economic growth. As the largest water area in the world, the two oceans—including the agricultural and maritime countries within—produce plenteous natural resources and high potential to develop Blue Economy. Although there is

still no international statute about the region's territorial borders, some countries especially the great powers (United States, Australia, Japan and India) compose their own version of the borders scheme, based on their national interests and still changing as the global situation and interests are developing. The general geographical consensus believes, the area ranges from Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, and the land area (states) within (Haruko, 2020).

The Indian Ocean is currently developing into a very strategic area as world trade route in the last 20 years. In total, at least 12% (about 20,000) ships did trading in 2015, including 2,000 oil vessels and nearly 1000 Indian Ocean container ships (Kazsubska, 2017). This data adds more strategic value to Indian Ocean and could help to open more opportunities for wider maritime exploration. On the other hand, the stability of this region also greatly affects its

member countries' national security, political conditions, domestic economic and social growth. In order to protect its national interest, Indonesia as a developing country, has to maintain good relations with the developed Indo-Pacific countries –especially in military cooperation– as one of the balancing efforts using hedging strategy.

Even though Indo-Pacific region is relatively peaceful, the countries within still have to maintain and increase their military strength, including improving defense equipment technology for national defense and regional security strategies. Military cooperation with various countries, including in the comparison of strength, prevents the emergence of a security dilemma, especially between countries that have experienced human rights violations or territorial borders.

Before getting deeper into the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesian military itself still faces several problems in their own territorial waters, both state security issues and tensions with other countries. For example, there are some piracy and foreign ships disputes that illegally steal natural resources in Indonesian waters. Even though Indonesia has approved an agreement with neighboring countries to conduct joint patrols, the efforts to protect Indonesia's sovereignty and security are still considered ineffective because Indonesia still has several shortcomings that hinder its military cooperation with other countries (RSIS, 2012). Lack of the ability of military power to protect the country can affect the credibility of the country's leadership in international realm. This is what Indonesia needs to improve in order to maintain its major role in the Indo-Pacific region.

Likewise, in the Southeast Asia region, Indonesia and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) member countries are also still getting various external pressures that affect their regional security and stability. For example, the issue

in South China Sea; which is located within the Indo-Pacific region, a dispute involving Southeast Asian countries with one of the great political and economy powers, China. Several ASEAN countries are bound by the BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) agreement with China and are under pressure in fighting for rights to the South China Sea. Although Southeast Asia is a regional unit, each member has their own interests and foreign policies (Thu, 2020). State security and national development are the top priorities, so economic and military cooperation with other major powers must be maintained.

It is not only Indonesia and Southeast Asia that are worried about China's domination in the Indo-Pacific region. Graeme Dobell from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) said the US has a strategy to combine its allied countries in the region to balance China's dominating presence (Wallis & Batley, 2020). The threats that may arise in this region need to be anticipated by increasing the strength and cooperation of each countries' military. Not only the developed countries, small island nations and developing countries also need to affirm their military strength in this regional cooperation in order to maintain maritime security, protect natural resources, and indirectly protect the national interests of each country.

Broadly discussed, it can be concluded that the spur of defense diplomacy through cooperation between Indo-Pacific countries is caused by the strategic value of this region that has the potential to become an area that is prone to transnational (maritime) crime. The area can be used as a route for the mobilization of terrorist organizations, smuggling and illegal trade, or exploitation of natural resources. It is hoped that Indonesia will be able to maintain regional security and its interests by showing the existence of its military power to in the international stage.

Apart from increasing their capability and modernizing military technology, Indonesia also needs to carry out diplomacy by maintaining military cooperative relations with other countries. Reducing threats to national security can be done by minimizing tensions with other possible actors.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific concept has been studied by a number of researchers and scientists, but there is still no consensus (yet) on a fixed definition. Various parties, especially developed countries, can freely define the scope of its territorial boundaries and interests in Indo-Pacific. The concept of boundaries by each party also often changes according to international dynamics that affect their capacities and interests. The term Indo-Pacific is essentially a biogeographic formation of the earth's seas mapped from the Indian Ocean, West and Central Pacific Ocean, and connected by the South China Sea, where Indonesia stands as a biogeographic link among the Indo-Pacific waters. The term Indo-Pacific is not a mere discourse, but scientifically a geopolitical area with a legitimate existence. This concept later evolved into a social construction of international relations as a form of regional cooperation in political, trade, economic and military grand strategy based on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS 1982) (Yadav, Kompas 2020).

In his research, Wada Haruko (2020) states the birth of the term "Indo-Pacific" has become the symbol of unifying powerful and developing countries within it or the ones with interests in the region (US, Australia, Japan, France, UK, India, and Southeast Asian countries). Then, they started to develop efforts to bring the Indo-Pacific as an ideal and strategic region based on the values of these countries. The countries in the Indo-

Pacific region have their respective geographic definitions that intersect with each other even though the geographical boundaries of the Indo-Pacific concept are still unclear. So that neither now nor in the future there is universal and coherent certainty about which countries belong to or control the region.

According to Auslin (2010), geographically, the Indo-Pacific region has the potential for dynamic economic power (blue economy), military and politics dispute or cooperation field, so that it becomes an important region in the world, with the hope of having a significant impact globally; creating a region with the stability of security and welfare of its people, into a more liberal area without having to involve US military forces or their allies, as the world's most impactful powers. However, Auslin also argues that there are several foreign policy challenges for the US and liberal countries, namely maintaining the security of the Indo-Pacific from issues of political tension that trigger any other issues that can affect global economy, politics and security stabilization.

Meanwhile, according to Wallis and Batley (2020), not only the US and its allies have an interest and power domination in the Indo-Pacific region, Australia and the island countries in the Pacific Ocean also play the important role as a starting point for analyzing geopolitical changes in the Pacific Islands and their impacts on the region. However, there is still a concern that the unique characteristics and interests of Pacific Island countries will be neglected as the great powers enter the Indo-Pacific region. Thus, the concept of 'Blue Pacific' was formed by Pacific Island leaders which aims to encourage Pacific Island countries to enhance their autonomy strategy as a "Blue Continent", to survive amidst global power competition in the region.

It can be concluded that one of the

“side effects” of the entry of great powers in the Indo-Pacific is the emergence of concerns for the residents of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands over the impact of geopolitical changes in the Indo-Pacific, even though they don’t share the same geopolitical perspective. One of the efforts to affirm the interests of the Pacific Island Leaders Forum is to emphasize the security concept of the 'Blue Pacific' which promotes the security of human rights and the environment (especially the ocean), where human welfare takes precedence over threats to national security. Australia is also expected to help address the domestic security issues in the Pacific Island countries (Wallis, Batley, 2020).

2.2 Indonesia in Indo-Pacific

As a country with promising maritime potential that is reckoned with in the world, Indonesia must begin to expand its geopolitical outlook beyond Southeast Asia to design its foreign policy and play a more active strategic leadership role. Indonesia has succeeded in strengthening its presence in the Indo-Pacific in the midst of international competition from major world powers, by cooperating with ASEAN as an association of countries from the strategic regions within the Indo-Pacific region itself, Southeast Asia (Scott, 2019).

Indonesia is also a potential great Indo-Pacific power, it must be able to prove its ability to handle various security issues in its country. For Indonesia, military power is an important aspect of state security even though it is not the main factor on determining the perception of the country's security. This is because the challenges to state security for Indonesia arise from internal problems such as the dynamics of changes in society in efforts to develop the country. According to Indonesia, establishing national and regional resilience is more important so that the protection support from

the great powers (The Quad, especially US) does not become an urgent necessity (Wanandi, 1982).

In addition, Indonesia also has an ambition to revive its identity as the largest maritime country so that it can play a more active role in the international realm, especially the Indo-Pacific, as presented by President Joko Widodo at the East Asia Summit in November 2014 as GMF – Global Maritime Fulcrum (Laksmana, 2019). Thus, Indonesia seeks to collaborate with ASEAN through the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific document, which was prepared with the hope of strengthening ASEAN cooperation in bilateral and multilateral dialogue with external parties that focus on welfare development and maritime aspects as an element of global leadership. This document is an attempt by Indonesia to maintain the autonomy of power in Southeast Asia. Through this strategy, Indonesia is indirectly implying a message to all major powers in the Indo-Pacific not to make the Southeast Asia as an arena for competition, but as the field to work together to strengthen the region security and prosperity in inclusive partnership (Manurung & Arry, 2019).

2.3 Regional Security

One of the main interests of every country is its own regional interests. Ensuring the security of the area in which the country is located cannot be achieved without the joint efforts of the neighboring countries. According to Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (Erokhin et al., 2018), regional security is a group of countries whose primary security interests are closely related so that they cannot be separated individually with each other. The theory sees the situation of interdependence in state security as a critical factor in grouping of territorial division.

In the Indo-Pacific realm, there are five countries with great powers that have the

potential to become the center of the Indo-Pacific geopolitics (US, PRC, India, Japan and Russia) who have very strong interests in the region - that may intersect one another, even to the point of threat of war. This geopolitical situation indicates that every country with a small or medium power in a region will tend to form a regional security (security community). The challenge is to convince major countries to work together to protect their respective interests, including maintaining regional security (Bell, 2005).

2.4 Diplomacy and Defense Diplomacy

State diplomacy in the defense sector is carried out to build trust between participating nations as well as a foundation to prevent conflicts with other countries (security dilemma). This strategy also aims to increase the capability and professionalism of defense through various education, training, strategic defense equipment procurement, and transfer of technology. Through this context, international defense diplomacy is expected to become an instrument of national defense diplomacy in fulfilling national interests (Widiyanto, 2019).

Defense diplomacy is carried out in the context of managing national interests and national defense. In the level of global competition, establishing military cooperation is an effort to balance power conducted by Indonesia in facing the domination of great power countries in the Indo-Pacific region, including the Southeast Asia region. Through defense diplomacy, Indonesia as a developing country can establish cooperation with major countries (The Quad: US, Japan, Australia, India), aimed to minimize the competition and threats risks from other countries. Through military cooperation, all involved parties, including Indonesia, are expected to do transfer of technology to exchange capabilities and various knowledge and

increase capabilities and maintain regional security (Winarno, 2014).

Defense diplomacy has several main functions, including: collecting and analyzing information on the armed forces and security situation in countries of conflict or the purpose of sending military forces, promoting cooperation, communication and mutual relations between sending armed forces and receiving countries, arranging working visits to representatives from defense authorities and military units of sending countries in receiving countries, supporting defense equipment business contracts between the sender and receiving countries, and as representatives of the sender countries and their armed forces at official event in receiving countries (Pajtinka, 2016).

According to Penghong Cai (2016), defense diplomacy is a traditional security concept used for political purposes, namely strengthening the defense and security of a country and its allies against the enemy together. Meanwhile according to Dr. Erik Pajtinka (2016), defense diplomacy is defined as a series of activities generally carried out by the state defense authority with the aim of achieving the country's foreign policy interests in the field of defense and security policy, which are determined by negotiation skills and other diplomatic skills.

3. Research Method

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach, since the data used is written data (words), from journal articles, books, news and government or international organization official websites. All dynamics reviewed in the data will form a timeline and interpreted as a conclusion to answer the formulation of research problems, without being quantified first. Then, we use Historical method because this research is compiled using data about a series of phenomena that have occurred, in the form secondary data

(literature study). The data is about the process and various dynamics of a series of activities in Indonesia's defense diplomacy efforts with other countries in the Indo-Pacific region.

This research will use literature study technique as the main technique because although it is secondary data, literature sources provide a variety of information and data needed easily, factually and completely. The sources for this research are literature data varied from articles of journals on similar topics, books on theory in military and diplomacy, previous research related to the Indo-Pacific, and news and websites of government or official institutions.

The data management and analysis method begin with the reduction step, where the data collected from all sources will be classified according to its compatibility of the content with the subtopics discussed in the data analysis section or used as argument support. Data that is not so relevant to the topic will not be included. After the data is classified, the data will be analyzed and presented in the form of descriptive or narrative text. After the data is coherently analyzed, the final step is drawing conclusion by narrowing down the main points.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Military Cooperation in Indo-Pacific

In the book *International Cooperation* by Zartman & Touval (2010), it is explained that cooperation has meaning as a situation in which the parties involved agree to work together to produce a benefit for all members that cannot be obtained by the efforts of one country alone. The intended benefits are not only material goods, but also understanding of progress in achieving common goals, such as the development of security, status or freedom of action, along with the boundaries between actors. Thus, it can be said that cooperation is defined as more than just "the

absence of conflict", but also actions that are taken consciously, specifically, and based on positive goals. Main elements of multilateral cooperation are concrete actions of working together, agreements (not just by chance), capital and benefits for all parties involved.

Defense diplomacy by military cooperation can be carried out between two actors (bilateral) or with more than two actors (multilateral), such as in the concept of ASEAN and Indo-Pacific regional cooperation. The main objective of this multilateral cooperation is to maintain state sovereignty, erode various forms of colonialism by foreign powers, harmonize economic policies, diplomacy, education, health, science, national defense and security. Cooperation between countries can cover all areas of government, namely politics, economy, social, culture, defense and security (Winarno, 2014).

The relationship between domestic factors and the interaction of the country with other international actors or external situations (international factors) is an important driving force for a country to form cooperative or even conflictual policies. However, both cooperation and competition between countries are closely linked. Based on natural human behaviour on interactive concepts, there is no "pure" kind of cooperation. Nevertheless, in international relations, states compete aggressively and always involve influence and strength (hard power). Multilateral cooperation is also used as a competitive medium, for example in an effort to maintain a balance of power in the regions of these countries (Zartman & Touval, 2010).

One example of multilateral cooperation by Indonesia in the Southeast Asia region is the establishment of ASEAN. In the Indo-Pacific context, ASEAN consensus forms the "ASEAN Collective Concept: An Indo-Pacific Outlook" which is

Indonesia's interpretation of the Indo-Pacific concept through ASEAN perspective. There is no ASEAN country that individually has their own outlook on Indo-Pacific. This policy is part of ASEAN centrality principle as interests of each Southeast Asian country in the Indo-Pacific cooperation are ASEAN's common interests (Widiyanto, 2019).

The Indo-Pacific has a dynamic security situation and is prone to marine crimes such as human and animal smuggling, illegal fishing and piracy. In addition, China has increased its presence by strengthening the intensity and capability of its Navy in the South China Sea region, thus it triggered military transformation and naval modernization for other countries inside and outside Indo-Pacific (raising security dilemma) including Indonesia as the largest archipelago country and located in the strategic world trade route (RSIS, 2012).

The US, Japan, Australia, India are the countries with the greatest power and influence in the Indo-Pacific and are also known as the 'Quad' (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue). The initial objective of its formation was to overcome the 2004 tsunami, then they re-started again in 2017 with a new goal of maintaining security and order in the area based on Indo-Pacific rules. Previously, The Quad had a setback in 2008 because each country still had different views and objectives on the area, before finally reuniting due to changes in global dynamics that produced common interest in the Indo-Pacific (Envall, 2019).

The Quad are still facing the challenge of uncertainty whether the four powers are able to maximize the opportunity to cooperate in line with the geopolitical competition in it. In addition, the effort to build regional order is also limited due to the absence of Indonesia. The power of China aggression, which was originally a factor in the decline of The Quad in 2008, has now

become a unifying factor because of their common goal to build regional cooperation based on shared values and principles, with threats from China (Envall, 2019).

Apart from facing Chinese aggression, some of the real security threats in the Indo-Pacific are piracy and terrorism, especially in the South China Sea region. ASEAN and other countries that have national interest in the area continue to work against these threats through cooperation and military modernization. The basic elements in the cooperation against terrorism consist of multinational integration, interoperability of two or more countries in dealing with same problems, and facilitating policy making for operations against security threats, in the tactical and strategic stages (Blannin, 2018). In the domestic sphere, government's efforts to develop counter terrorism (CT) capability require clear objectives and parameters for each participating country, covering all levels of the operational hierarchy, from individual CT practitioners, inter-agency networks, to policy makers. Meanwhile in the regional realm, capacity building is an effective way if the participating countries share the same security threats. Interoperability becomes an important aspect in the CT Indo-Pacific cooperation to the future by instilling a strategic relationship from the government's approach in expanding national and regional security across regions (Blannin, 2018).

Defense diplomacy is not limited to dialogue or peace agreements between the involved parties. Participating in defense diplomacy especially in the military area also means being active in various joint military physical activities in the Indo-Pacific environment: joint military exercises, conferences or seminars, student (soldier) exchanges with countries that are involved or have an interest in the Indo-Pacific to improve human resource capabilities (transfer of technology). TNI (Tentara

Nasional Indonesia) had discussed military cooperation with several US military representatives for Indonesia, including the enhancement of the Platoon Exchange program. This military cooperation includes military equipment and army exchanges for a joint military training program. Through this exchange program, the Indonesian Army sent a company of 43 soldiers to participate in joint training with the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii, USA. Meanwhile, the US Army sent the soldiers to join Indonesian Army's training ground located at the Para Riders 502 infantry battalion, Malang, East Java (Bhwana, 2020).

The use of force and military power in this modern era is used less frequently than in the past due to the increasing respect for human values. Even so, it doesn't merely mean that military power has completely lost its influence in securing national interest. The use of military force is decreasing, but not completely disappearing, because the measurement (the standard that determines the use of military force) of each country become varies according to each country's culture, situation, legal system and regulations (Gray, 2011).

4.2 Indonesia's National Interest

Every country has its urge to influence other countries using its national power. As Joseph S. Nye, Jr. states that state power is not only a debatable concept in political theory, but it is also described as the ability to influence the desired outcome or outcome and, if necessary, at the same time change the behavior of others in order to achieve its goals (Gray, 2011). While according to Aleksius Jemadu, every state has a national interest in safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity, so the regulated foreign policy must be based on the objective of mobilizing support from neighboring countries, especially major

countries and including international organizations. The act or implementation that is taken for this purpose is the intimacy of a diplomatic mission. In addition, the state also has interest in maintaining national and regional security. Thus, a foreign policy was drawn up with the aim of forming and revitalizing military and regional cooperation. For examples, the signing of military pacts and joint military exercises (Jemadu, 2017). It is for this consideration of national interests that Indonesia is participating in defense diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific.

Indonesia is part of the international system with a national defense system in both national and international dimensions. This encourages Indonesia to develop cooperation in the military sector with other countries, as part of the country's diplomacy grand strategy. Indonesia has "free and active" foreign policy and international cooperation (diplomacy) strategy based on non-aligned principles, which means that it does not take sides with any alliance of any party. Even so, Indonesia still must play active role in international political strategy for the creation of a peaceful political constellation, in the regional and global sphere. Recently, Indonesia's geopolitical and geostrategic interests have begun to shape its identity and interests in responding to the challenges faced through the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, an idea of "ASEAN centrality" which has succeeded in uniting different views on the concept of the Indo-Pacific region which fair, free and inclusive. Even though it has not created its own Outlook on Indo-Pacific, it does not mean that Indonesia does not have an interest here. Implicitly, Indonesia is even a very influential actor in the Indo-Pacific (Yadav, 2020).

But the driving force of Indonesia's defense diplomacy; globalization, also induces crimes to grow and run easier. The

Southeast Asian region which is strategic economically and geopolitically must have a strong political stance, led by a large country in the region, so that this is not dominated or made a great power competition field. Geographically, ASEAN and Indonesia cannot be separated. Also, the interests of one party are the interests of the other party as well. So, as the “leader” of ASEAN, Indonesia must be able to align its national interests in line with the interests of all ASEAN through the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (Yadav, 2020).

Currently, the capabilities of the Indonesian military, especially in terms of sophistication and modernity of the defense equipment of its Navy and Air Force, are still not as sophisticated as the ground forces defense equipment, while actually the biggest national border threats come from the water and air territories. Indonesia still needs help and lessons from other countries to advance its defense industry independently. The main interest of Indonesia in the defense diplomacy is to protect its country security by strengthening its national military force capability in dealing with transnational and maritime security issues. Thus, it can be concluded that Indonesia must increase its presence and position (stance) in the Indo-Pacific through defense diplomacy, to protect its national sovereignty and revitalize maritime culture, to enhance its political role in the Indo-Pacific.

4.3 How Indonesia Achieve its National Interest

Indonesia has no national Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, but through ASEAN which also accommodates the interests of all Southeast Asian countries, the strengths of each member country can be taken into account in the form of a collective power (bargaining power). Indonesia also has military budget for defense equipment and

weapons modernization, but Indonesia has agreed on CAATSA (Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act) with the US, so Indonesia has to get permission from the US they want to buy weapons or equipment from US's rivals like Russia and China. The Consequence of this CAATSA agreement is, Indonesia has to expand its market supplier to another western countries which are also US allies, like France, and Canada (CNN, 2020). This consequence actually helps Indonesia to establish wider diplomatic relations with other Western great powers. Indonesia learns that they can't just rely on only one vendor for their military equipment needs. Indonesia even has its own local producers of military weapons, PINDAD and PAL company, developed after got embargo sanction from the US following the Santa Cruz tragedy.

Aligned with Indonesia's increasing presence in the Indo-Pacific, Indonesia's defense budget for 2021 has also increased by Rp. 19.4 trillion, namely Rp. 137.3 trillion from the previous Rp. 117.9 trillion in 2020. This very large defense budget reflects the importance of the security aspect in maintaining the boundaries of Indonesia and the ongoing global geopolitical tensions despite the Covid-19 pandemic, economic recession, and global discourse. The Defense Ministry's budget breakdown is divided into a force use program at Rp 4.4 trillion, a professionalism and welfare program for soldiers at Rp 11.4 trillion, a defense policy and regulation program at Rp 35.4 billion, a defense equipment modernization program, non- defense equipment and infrastructure at Rp 42.5 trillion, development of defense resources at Rp 1.6 trillion, as well as research, industry and higher education programs of defense at Rp 543.8 billion, to management support program at Rp 76.2 trillion (Yadav, 2020).

Indonesia also actively joins other

Indo-Pacific states in joint military exercises, such as CARAT (Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training) which is a routine exercise with the US, Samudra Shakti, a naval exercise with India (NDTV, 2019), and the biggest Asia-Pacific military joint exercise organized by Thailand and US, Cobra Gold (Suwanrumpha, 2019), and many more. All these joint exercises are not just meant for capacity building and transfer of technology goal, but also defense diplomacy strategy by building communication and recognition between the forces.

4.4 Challenges and Opportunities

According to Stephan M. Walt, there is a theory of power relations which says that the distribution of power and interests between countries are the key factors that influence the emergence of conflict or war. Thus, any change in the distribution of power among countries is considered a major influence on stability and instability (Yadav, 2020). Likewise, the security stability in the Indo-Pacific Region which is influenced by the distribution of great powers (The Quad) and China, as well as ASEAN to counterbalance and prevent the domination of these great powers. Therefore, modernization of weapons and defense equipment in the short and medium term as well as a strategy to develop the defense industry in the long term is a logical necessity in accordance with space and time for Indonesia as deterrence in the midst of military, economic, and global political aggression, especially between the two superpower countries, which are the US and China (Yadav, 2020).

There are some opportunities for Indonesia to be benefitted through the defense diplomacy. First, Indonesia is located between two oceans and continents, with Malacca Strait in it, makes it an economically important state in Indo-Pacific. As stated by

US Energy Information Administration, in 2015, about one-third of all world oil and other liquid production (61%) was carried by sea through transit in the Strait of Malacca, as one of the world's second largest oil trading points. The Strait of Malacca lies between Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, which is connected to the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean via the South China Sea. It is the shortest sea route between the Persian Gulf suppliers and the main Asian petroleum market. Petroleum shipments through the Strait of Malacca will be distributed to China and Indonesia, two countries with the fastest growing economies in the world (Villar & Hamilton, 2017).

Geopolitically, Indonesia is a benevolent partner for the great powers because Indonesia is one of the Founding Fathers of ASEAN which makes Indonesia is quite respected amongst other ASEAN countries, including its insight to make ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific to protect Southeast Asian interests. Second, the US is more cautious for Indonesia not to be attached too close with China because of its BRI assistance in Indonesia, of course it will push the US to engage Indonesia closer, including to fight China's aggression in South China Sea. Also, Indonesia is world's biggest maritime and Muslim country, makes it as potential partner for Western states' interest, especially for the US to fight the terrorism.

In addition, one of the opportunities that can be viewed from economic and security perspective, Indonesia is currently considered to be transforming into one of the strongest countries in the Southeast Asia region. This is proved by Indonesia as one of the G20 organization which means Indonesia has gained significant progress in rapid economic development in recent years. Even during the Covid-19 pandemic, through the passage of the Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja (Omnibus Law), the World Bank sees

Indonesia as a prospective country in global economic competition. Apart from domestic debates, global investors see the Omnibus Law as Indonesian government's commitment to international investment as well as open investment opportunities that make it easier for investors to build strategic industries in Indonesia, including the defense industry. This provides the premise that Indonesia's economic commitment and growth becomes a logical process for changing Indonesia's identity (Yadav, 2020). The economic stability of a country can become a potential conflict in the country, which if not solved properly, it can expand to transnational conflicts, or lessen the interest of other countries to cooperate, including defense diplomacy with Indonesia.

With its ever-increasing economic capacity, it is only natural that Indonesia, which has so far been considered the de facto leader in ASEAN, is able to play a more important role in the region, even more broadly in the Indo-Pacific geopolitical contestation. These geopolitical and geostrategic steps reflect a change in Indonesia's identity and interests in an Indo-Pacific social construction, which in fact has yet to be de-jured (Yadav, 2020). Economic progress also affects the social image of the Indonesian nation which increases the confidence of other countries to establish diplomatic relations not only in the economic and political fields, but also in defense cooperation. This is because the progress of the state market is often associated with democracy, which is one of the assurances for priorities from the big countries (especially the Western nations) to maintain and support diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile there are some challenges for Indonesia too. First, Indonesia's military capability is not yet reached the Minimum Essential Force (MEF). In 2019, Indonesia has just reached 61,48% from the goal,

75,54% (*Kementarian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia*, 2019). The Indonesian government seeks to empower the national defense industry to achieve the MEF target. However, there are three challenges that pose a problem in efforts to empower the national defense industry. First, funding issues, then procurement cooperation with other countries, and last, the transparency in the procurement of defense equipment. The program to achieve MEF through the national industry is expected not only to develop defense equipment through procurement, but also through empowerment of the defense industry to build the independence of the country's workforce and production (DPR, 2019). Indonesia has to improve its military force capability and modernize the equipment to be compatible with other countries' military force and be seen as benevolent security partner (*Kementarian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia*, 2020).

The second challenge is a two-edged-sword for Indonesia, the Malacca Strait. As the most strategic trade route in the world, this Strait of Malacca is also a main target of maritime crimes that really disrupts people's safety and economic activities. According to a Reuters report, the maritime crime rate in Asian waters is still high, even in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic. More than 50 cases of hijackings, armed robbery and abduction in the region occurred in the first 7 months of 2020. These cases were two times more than the previous year, and is the highest number since 2016. Most of these issues occurred in the Sulu Sea and the Strait of Malacca, both of which are important routes in the shipping sector (Vestergaard, 2020).

As written in US Energy Information Administration official website, the Strait of Malacca is the main petroleum distribution chokepoint in Asia, in recent years, about 85% to 90% of all annual petroleum flows carried through this chokepoint have been

crude oil. The Strait of Malacca is also an important transit route for the distribution of liquified natural gas (LNG) from the Persian Gulf and suppliers from Africa. The International Maritime Bureau's Piracy Reporting Center says: piracy and attempted theft and hijacking, often threaten tankers in the Malacca Strait area (Villar & Hamilton, 2017). Economically, the safety of this route is also a main point to maintain Indonesia's partnership with other countries, especially for foreign investors in Indonesia. Indonesia's effort to secure this area reflects Indonesia's professionalism and commitment to uphold regional security and the Navy forces capability.

In my opinion, the other challenge for Indonesia in this defense diplomacy is also a two-edged-sword for Indonesia; which is the "Free and Active" foreign policy. This principle helps Indonesia to freely cooperate and make friends with every actor in this world. But somehow Indonesia stumbles on its own border of "not to take side – and to take side". Indonesia learns from its past of struggles to achieve national independence against the colonialism and imperialism; there is no nation that does want and need to be colonized by other nations. Thus, Indonesia was born with the idea of not taking sides (especially during the Cold War era, where Indonesia initiated the Non-Alignment Movement with other South Countries) because taking sides was considered as colonialism by having to abide under the influence and domination of a great power (foreign nation). Indonesia itself also has no intention, means and cause to intervene any country, as this principle is also implied in ASEAN's principle of non-intervention on domestic matter for all ASEAN members.

The basic principles that underly the foundation of Indonesia's "Free and Active" foreign policy provide benefits to Indonesia

because it allows Indonesia to carry out defense diplomacy with any party and without any constraint or opposition rules. In reality, Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific actually implies that Indonesia supports and needs the support from US, especially in the defense sector, because in fact most of activities in the defense diplomacy must involves US, or being organized by US (Moriyasu & Khan, 2020).

In addition, there are still some cases of China's aggression in the South China Sea and illegal fishing vessels roaming in Indonesian territory without permission. As reported in BBC Indonesia 30 December 2019, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed its strong protest against China regarding its fishing boats entering the Natuna region. Even though they were driven out, the foreign ship was still reluctant to leave. The incident with a Chinese boat in Natuna also occurred three years ago when a patrol boat from the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries caught a ship suspected of illegal fishing. The violation of foreign vessels in Indonesian territory prompted the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to make plans for Indonesia to increase its territorial security operations throughout 2020, through sea patrol and air patrol. Previously, the Head of the Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla) Achmad Taufiqerrochman said Bakamla had evicted foreign ships entering Natuna Sea and his party took guard of it. He said, since December 10 2019, Bakamla has cooperated with various regional partners in the world, and there will be a movement of fishing fleet vessels from North to South countries which may also enter Indonesia territory. Thus, Indonesia will also send its fleet to participate (BBC Indonesia, 2019).

Apart from Vietnam, China also has frequently violated Indonesia's territorial waters. As happened on September 13, 2020,

when the Chinese ship CCG 5204 entered Indonesian waters and was reluctant to leave even though Indonesia apparatus had given a warning. The ship refused to leave because he thought that the area was part of his territory according to the Nine Dash Line concept. This incident is not the first time China has done. In early 2020, Chinese fishing boats and Chinese coast guards entered the Natuna Sea. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded by sending an objection note. However, China still insisted on claiming 80% of the South China Sea area where the North Natuna Sea is located, referring to the Nine Dash Line concept. Apart from Indonesia, China also often has similar issues with other ASEAN countries; Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan and Vietnam (Kusumo, 2020).

These cases indicate that Indonesia must take strict but still diplomatic legal action, so as relationship between these countries remain harmonic. However, Indonesia cannot easily, clearly, and definitively determine who are allies and who are foes. Thus, Indonesia also cannot arbitrarily take decisive action to deal with these parties who interfere with the sovereignty of the country, the diplomacy factor must still be prioritized. These issues prove that in essence, that ideally every country will and be able to do whatever means – such as formulating foreign policies – that can protect its national interests, and certainly these policies must be flexible, applicable widely and universally for a long time, can be interpreted in various situations and conditions, for both urgent and well-planned needs for the future. Foreign policy is one of the top priorities for a country's Grand Strategy.

5. Conclusion

From all the descriptions above, this research is divided into 3 main points of

findings. First, what is Indonesia's national interests. Indonesia is a maritime country with "free and active" foreign policy, which means Indonesia is free to affiliate with any international actor, but is not legally bound. Thus, Indonesia has the obligation and rights to maintain good relations with all international actors, especially for the sake of fulfilling its national interests, especially to protect the security of its territorial waters.

Indonesia's territory safety shapes the trust from other countries to Indonesia's leadership and commitment on establishing Southeast Asia security. As the forum for developing countries, ASEAN has to hold onto a collective power to secure its interest in Indo-Pacific realm. Indonesia as the "leader" of ASEAN has to be able to prove its capability in securing Southeast Asia waters through this defense diplomacy. As a developing country, Indonesia still needs various international help and support from Transfer of Technology in equipment modernization and human resources capacity building. This defense diplomacy is also expected to be able to enhance Indonesia's diplomatic relation with powerful nations, for the sake of Southeast Asia not to a contestation gain, but to be a partner to work together with.

Shortly, we can summarize Indonesia's national interests are to strengthen its national military force capability in dealing with transnational and maritime security issues, like terrorism, illegal fishing, and piracy which are still happening in Indonesia's waters territory. Second, to enhance its political role in Indo-Pacific, as well as defending the region's security, third, to protect its national sovereignty and revitalize maritime culture, and last, through ASEAN outlook on Indo-Pacific, Indonesia also implicitly promotes Southeast Asia nations' message to other great powers; not to see Southeast Asia as

battleground because of its economic worth, but to see them as partner.

The second point is how Indonesia achieve its national interest. Indonesia participates not only in military seminar or summit, but it also various military physical activities in Indo-Pacific like multilateral military exercises. From whom Indonesia buy the equipment is an Indonesia military partnership tendency indicator. Another deeper defense diplomacy is intra-state government bodies interoperability and joint military activity, such as joint patrol in South China Sea with neighboring countries. Because of its “free and active” principle, Indonesia can’t be legally bound by any international security community, but Indonesia still striving to actively participate in global security activity in order to build international trust towards Indonesia.

The third point is challenge and opportunity for Indonesia regarding to its pursuit of national interests. As world’s biggest maritime country, one of the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, and part of G20 nations, Indonesia gains a lot of plus points in international stage. Indonesia is seen as a powerful nation in Indo-Pacific, especially because of its strong influence and leadership in Southeast Asia, which is a strategic point in Indo-Pacific region. Besides of the identity factors, geographically Indonesia has another plus point as one of the most important trade and shipping route in the world – Malacca Strait. In addition, Indonesia has a rich biodiversity and maritime resources which are so promising for Blue Economy sector

both for international and Indonesia's needs.

Unfortunately, some of the opportunities are also two-edged-sword and become serious challenges for Indonesia to keep eyes on. The breadth of Indonesia’s water area becomes easy target for maritime crimes. Malacca Strait for instance, as the busiest trading route in Indo-Pacific, has become main target of sea piracy which indirectly shows the lack of Indonesia’s capability to secure its region. Maritime security issues indirectly impacting Indonesia’s diplomatic relation with other nations. Not just piracy, Indonesia often gets bothered by illegal trespassing ships issues.

These maritime security issues expose Indonesia’s lack on human resource capability, coordination system and equipment modernity. Indonesia still has to be dependent on other countries’ military equipment because the local equipment producer is not yet capable to fulfill all Navy and Air Forces necessities, which are the front liner on protecting nation’s sovereignty. Defense diplomacy is expected for Indonesia’s military force to learn and acquire more transfer of technology in equipment modernization and human resource and capacity building. Politically, defense diplomacy implies the intention to maintain good relation between Indonesia and other countries, especially the great powers. Developing countries like Indonesia (through ASEAN) countries are engaging the great powers to prevent domination, as a balance of power strategy and surviving in Indo-Pacific geopolitics power competition.

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MENINJAU KEMBALI PENYELESAIAN SENGKETA WILAYAH ANTARA THAILAND-KAMBOJA (PEREBUTAN KUIL PREAH VIHEAR)

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ABSTRAK

Sengketa wilayah internasional masih menjadi salah satu isu keamanan paling populer hingga saat ini. Misalnya saja konflik wilayah perbatasan antara Thailand dan Kamboja. Kedua negara memperebutkan kuil Preah Vihear yang dianggap merupakan identitas bangsa dan berkaitan dengan harga diri bangsa. Selama lebih dari 50 tahun kedua negara bersengketa dan sudah banyak korban jiwa ditimbulkan akibat dari konflik tersebut. Beragam pendekatan serta upaya untuk mencapai perdamaian sudah coba dilakukan oleh berbagai pihak. Ajudikasi internasional melalui *International Court of Justice* membuat keputusan dan solusi untuk menjawab permasalahan tersebut pada tahun 1962. Tetapi sejak saat itu sampai tahun 2011 silam ajudikasi internasional tidak berhasil meredakan konflik/menjawab permasalahan ajudikasi internasional. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi permasalahan yang ada dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Dengan berfokus pada dua temuan utama dinamika sikap Thailand terhadap hasil dari ajudikasi internasional dan bagaimana permasalahan tersebut dimanfaatkan oleh kalangan populisme Thailand yang pada akhirnya menimbulkan pertumpahan darah 2011 silam. Penulis melihat hal ini dapat dihindari apabila resolusi konflik diimbangi dengan pendidikan masyarakat yaitu peningkatan *social environment* dan penguatan *bottom – up approach* pada resolusi konflik, supaya perdamaian dan resolusi konflik yang sesungguhnya dapat terwujud bagi kedua negara.

Kata kunci: Preah Vihear, Ajudikasi Internasional, Thailand, Kamboja, Sengketa Wilayah Internasional.

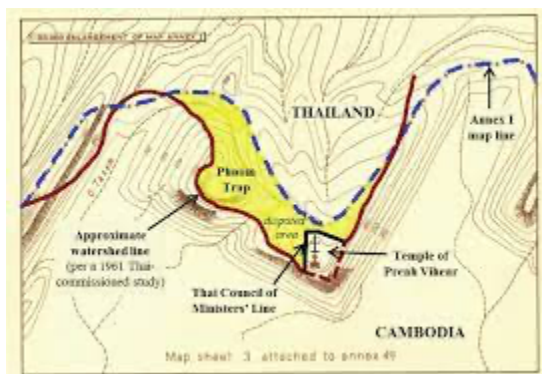
1. Introduction / Pendahuluan

Sengketa wilayah adalah sebuah kasus di mana suatu negara memperebutkan kepemilikan atas area lahan/tanah/wilayah milik negara lain/dengan kata lain ada ketidaksepakatan di mana garis perbatasan dibuat/seharusnya berada. Kemunculan sengketa wilayah sudah banyak dijelaskan oleh banyak ahli strategi melalui sudut pandang kepentingan ekonomi dan strategis atau kepentingan demografis yang meliputi: anggota kelompok etnis atau agama; Perbedaan sistem antar negara seperti demokrasi dan komunisme; identitas nasional dan konteks sejarah; hal-hal di atas merupakan penyebab utama yang kerap ditemukan dalam sengketa wilayah pada banyak kasus dalam studi perdamaian.

Sistem pembatasan wilayah yang memicu sengketa wilayah (internasional) masih banyak ditemukan di kawasan Asia

Tenggara sampai saat ini. Penyebab utamanya adalah garis batas negara yang merupakan hasil dari demarkasi era kolonialisme. Pembatasan sepihak yang dibuat oleh negara penjajah dianggap sering kali bertentangan dengan pemahaman yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat negara bersengketa. Meskipun sistem internasional sudah mengalami banyak perubahan sejak masa kolonialisme, serta munculnya lembaga-lembaga internasional yang dibentuk secara khusus untuk menyelesaikan masalah-masalah tersebut, persoalan tersebut masih memiliki potensi menyulut konflik. Perubahan-perubahan tersebut tidak menjamin adanya perubahan/masih menisakan batas wilayah bekas demarkasi penjajah untuk ‘diperebutkan’ negara-negara bekas jajahan (Mishra, 2016). Salah satu konflik yang terbilang cukup lama dan besar adalah sengketa wilayah antara Kamboja dan

Thailand yang didorong oleh sentimen identitas nasional dan masalah kedaulatan. Kedua hal tersebut semakin diperkuat dengan adanya peningkatan kapasitas militer, penumpukan kekuatan militer, dan penggunaan *alutsista* berat selama konfrontasi bersenjata di sepanjang perbatasan antara kedua negara bersengketa.



Gambar 1: Peta Lokasi Sengketa

Sumber: [https://www.iilj.org/wp-](https://www.iilj.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Ciociari-Request-for-)

[content/uploads/2016/08/Ciociari-Request-for-](https://www.iilj.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Ciociari-Request-for-)

Sengketa perebutan kuil Preah Vihear sudah berlangsung selama lebih dari 60 tahun (terhitung sejak gugatan pertama Thailand pada tahun 1953), dan menyebabkan beberapa dampak besar bagi keamanan dua negara yaitu perpindahan penduduk bagi penduduk lokal yang berada di area seluas 4,6km dari area sengketa, serta kematian puluhan tentara akibat konflik bersenjata di area tersebut. Sengketa wilayah ini disebabkan karena adanya selisih pendapat antara pemerintah Thailand dan pemerintah Kamboja. Kuil Preah Vihear dilihat sebagai kuil yang dicuri dari Thailand akibat dari garis perbatasan negara (annex 1) yang dibuat oleh Prancis sewaktu berakhirnya masa perang dunia II, Prancis waktu itu merebut kuil tersebut dari kekaisaran Siam, dan pada akhir waktu perang justru memberikan kewenangan atas kuil dan area di sekitarnya pada Kamboja.

Identifikasi permasalahan dan rumusan resolusi konflik sudah banyak

dibahas oleh para ahli studi perdamaian dan konflik internasional. Mulai dari upaya bilateral, multilateral, dan bahkan sampai pada adjudikasi internasional di *International Court of Justice* (ICJ). ICJ sudah memberikan putusan pada 1962 bahwa kuil Preah Vihear berada di bawah kewenangan pemerintahan Kamboja berdasarkan aspek sejarah dan asal dari kuil tersebut yang dibuat oleh Kekaisaran Khmer (sekarang adalah Kamboja) pada abad ke-9 M. Namun, keputusan ICJ tidak dapat diterima oleh pemerintah dan masyarakat Thailand sehingga menimbulkan konflik berkepanjangan sampai 50 tahun setelah putusan pertama ICJ (United Nations, 2013). Hal ini memberikan pertanyaan besar bagi para rekonsiliator perdamaian internasional terhadap solusi yang tepat dalam mengatasi konflik internasional mengingat putusan ICJ dianggap tidak relevan oleh masyarakat dan pemerintah Thailand. Lantas bagaimana seharusnya pendekatan dan solusi yang tepat untuk menjawab permasalahan tersebut? Untuk menjawab hal tersebut penulis akan melakukan beberapa analisis dengan menjabarkan faktor sejarah dari masing-masing pihak serta *claim* yang diajukan dan upaya-upaya yang sudah ditempuh sejauh ini sehingga pada bagian akhir dari tulisan ini penulis dapat memberikan masukan dari temuan-temuan penulis.

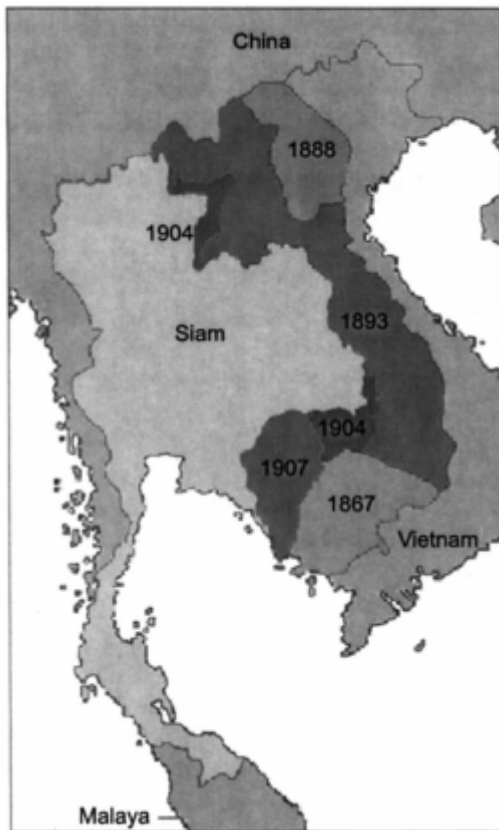
2. Literature Review / Tinjauan Pustaka

Dalam bagian ini penulis hendak memberikan gambaran terkait studi-studi terdahulu terkait topik yang dibahas, guna memberikan gambaran singkat mengenai isu yang dibahas pada tulisan ini.

2.1 Kuil Preah Vihear sebagai Simbol

Shane Strate dalam tulisannya yang berjudul *A pile of stones? Preah Vihear as a Thai symbol of National Humiliation* mengatakan bahwa Kuil Preah Vihear dilihat

sebagai simbol penghinaan, karena wilayah tersebut merupakan bentuk dari ‘penjajahan’ barat secara tidak langsung. Shane Strate berpendapat bahwa kejatuhan Preah Vihear ke tangan Prancis pada tahun 1904 (sejak



Gambar 2: Wilayah yang hilang dari Siam
Sumber: Jurnal *Southeast Asia Researcher*

dibuatnya peta *annex 1* oleh Prancis yang pada saat itu menguasai wilayah Vietnam, Kamboja, dan Laos) merupakan puncak dari kejatuhan Kerajaan Siam yang berturut-turut selama beberapa dekade sebelumnya kehilangan wilayah bagian utara akibat okupansi dari Tiongkok dan Prancis dari tahun 1888-1907. Selain itu, Shane juga menambahkan bahwa kekalahan kerajaan Siam sampai saat ini masih menjadi momok bagi kalangan *Royalist-Nasionalist* di Thailand (Strate, 2013).

Begitu juga dengan pihak dari Kamboja. Dalam tulisan berjudul *Request for*

Interpretation of the Judgment of 15 June 1962 in the Case Concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand) dalam jurnal *The American Journal of International Law* John D. Ciorciari melihat bahwa klaim dasar Kamboja dalam permintaan interpretasi makna dari putusan ICJ 1962 pada tahun 2011 silam memberikan penekanan mendasar bahwa masyarakat dan pemerintah Kamboja melihat kuil Preah Vihear sebagai simbol dari keberadaan masyarakat Kamboja sejak seribu tahun lalu. John D. Ciorciari melihat bahwa kuil tersebut sering dilihat sebagai simbol kekalahan kekaisaran Khmer, tetapi pada masa kini keberadaan kuil lebih dilihat sebagai identitas masyarakat Kamboja. Atas dasar gugatan inilah Kamboja berhasil menang karena klaim dinilai lebih kuat dari pada pihak Thailand (Ciorciari, 2014). Sedikit penekanan dari sudut pandang lain diberikan oleh Sandip Khumar Mishra dalam tulisannya yang berjudul *The Colonial Origins of Territorial Disputes in South Asia* dalam jurnal *The Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 yang menyatakan bahwa simbol-simbol tersebut menjadi sengketa tak berujung diakibatkan dari interpretasi post-kolonialisme barat (Mishra, 2016), sehingga Sandip Khumar Mishra menilai bahwa negara-negara korban di kawasan Asia Selatan dan Asia Tenggara harus menilai simbol-simbol tersebut dengan upaya-upaya nir-kekerasan.

2.2 Permasalahan Lanjutan dalam Sengketa

Panchali Saika dalam jurnal laporan *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies* dan tulisannya yang berjudul *The Dispute over Preah Vihear: Seen Problems, Unseen Stakes* mengatakan bahwa sengketa yang terjadi bukan hanya soal wilayah dan sumber daya seperti kebanyakan sengketa di dunia (Saikia, 2012). Justru dalam dinamika sengketa selama 60 tahun, kedua pemerintahan terlihat

memanfaatkan momentum tertentu untuk tujuan tertentu. Mendukung pernyataan tersebut Sang Kook Lee dalam jurnal berjudul *Siam mismapped: Revisiting the territorial dispute over the Preah Vihear temple* menyimpulkan bahwa permasalahan utama dari konflik yang terjadi adalah bukan hanya sekedar memberikan jawaban dari sengketa wilayah tetapi menjawab permasalahan krisis identitas dari kedua belah pihak akibat konflik yang terjadi selama 60 tahun ini (Lee, 2014).

Brendan Borell dalam jurnal berjudul *The Battle Over Preah Vihear A territorial dispute involving a 1,100-year-old Khmer temple on the Thai-Cambodian border turns violent* mengatakan bahwa konflik perebutan wilayah ini sudah terjadi lebih dari satu abad, dan hal ini menandakan bahwa sengketa tersebut lebih tua/melebihi pemahaman dan keyakinan resolusi konflik modern sehingga tidak mungkin jawaban dari sengketa kuil yang berusia 1100 tahun tersebut dapat diputuskan dengan mudah bahkan oleh ICJ sekalipun (Borrell, 2013), mengingat hal ini sudah menjadi identitas dari kedua pihak.

2.3 Pendekatan dalam Menyelesaikan Sengketa Wilayah

Jawaban dari permasalahan sengketa kuil Preah Vihear banyak dijawab dengan pendekatan antar negara. Hal ini terbukti dengan adanya aktor-aktor internasional yang berperan penting dalam upaya menemukan jalan tengah untuk kedua pihak, dan sampai akhirnya berlabuh di ICJ. Pendekatan top-down dianggap sangat tepat untuk menjawab permasalahan antar negara. Carrie Menkel-Meadow dalam tulisannya yang berjudul *The Historical Contingencies of Conflict Resolution* mengatakan bahwa banyak sekali kasus sengketa dan konflik internasional yang sampai saat ini masih bersifat kontijensi (Menkel-Meadow, 2013), sehingga Carrie Menkel-Meadow berpendapat bahwa salah

satu upaya memberikan kepastian hukum pada konflik internasional adalah dengan memberikan kewenangan penuh pada negara untuk menyelesaikan permasalahan tersebut.

Sedikit berlawanan dengan Carrie. Jay Rothman dalam tulisannya yang berjudul *Correlation of Theory and Practice in Conflict Engagement* mengatakan bahwa pendekatan dalam permasalahan sengketa wilayah harus dilakukan menggunakan pendekatan top – down dan bottom – up. Menurut pengalamannya dalam konflik perebutan wilayah Israel-Palestina kombinasi dari dua pendekatan dianggap sebagai jalan terbaik (Jay Rotman, dkk., 2014). Selaras dengan Jay Rothman Peter Wallenstein dalam bukunya yang berjudul *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace, and the Global System* mengatakan bahwa setelah berakhirnya perang dunia dan perang dingin ada banyak pakta perdamaian yang dibuat sebagai tindakan lanjutan dari upaya negara-negara yang terlibat bersengketa. Tentunya pakta tersebut dibuat di bawah pengawasan bersama dan dengan memperhatikan kepentingan dari kedua pihak yang bersengketa (Wallenstein, 2002).

3. Research Method / Metode Penelitian

Pada tulisan ini penulis menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif karena pendekatan tersebut memungkinkan penulis untuk memberikan interpretasi lebih mendalam terhadap suatu fenomena atau satu isu tertentu. Selain dari pada pendalaman interpretasi kemudahan jenis data dalam pendekatan kualitatif yang dapat dengan mudah diakses melalui berbagai sumber membuat penulis memilih pendekatan tersebut. Keterbatasan penulis membuat penulis harus memilih alternatif pendekatan yang memungkinkan untuk mengakses data dengan mudah (contoh: studi-studi kepustakaan, dll.) guna menjaga obyektivitas dan kedalaman dalam analisis.

“Data in IR is widely available and rapidly growing. In relation to secondary sources alone, there are an increasing number of online traditional and nontraditional media resources, electronic databases, and libraries that are all easily accessible to the researcher. As such, knowing where to begin data collection is as important as knowing what techniques are available, through which data can be interpreted” (Lamont, 2015). Penulis dapat memberikan interpretasi mendalam dan sesuai dengan kerangka berpikir dan narasi yang hendak dibangun berdasarkan pertanyaan penelitian. Selanjutnya data yang diperoleh akan diolah dan disajikan dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif-eksplanatif, guna menjaga konsistensi penggunaan studi-studi pustaka sebagai sumber utama.

4. Results and Discussion / Hasil dan Analisis

4.1 Timeline Sengketa

Tahun 1954, setelah Kamboja merdeka dari Prancis pada tanggal 9 November 1953. Thailand mengajukan gugatan wilayah perbatasan termasuk kuil Preah Vihear dan langsung mendirikan pos jaga perbatasan di sekitar wilayah kuil (Tun, 2011). Sejak saat itu bentrokan bersenjata antara pasukan penjaga perbatasan Thailand dan Kamboja sering terjadi. Setelah beberapa bentrokan di area perbatasan, Pemerintah Kamboja mengajukan gugatan ke *International Court of Justice* (ICJ).

Pada tahun 1962, berdasarkan gugatan dan data yang diserahkan oleh pemerintah Kamboja dan Thailand. ICJ menemukan bahwa Kuil Phear Vihear berada di bawah kedaulatan Kamboja. Oleh sebab itu, ICJ mengeluarkan pernyataan bahwa pemerintah Thailand harus menarik pasukan militer, alutsista, polisi, dan penjaga area perbatasan serta pos penjagaan di sekitar wilayah sengketa karena menurut putusan

ICJ wilayah tersebut merupakan milik Kamboja. Setelah putusan tersebut konflik sempat mereda selama beberapa tahun (tidak ada konflik besar), namun masih terdapat beberapa konflik kecil, seperti misalnya masih adanya petugas patroli Thailand yang dianggap masuk ke teritori kawasan Kamboja. Hal tersebut berlangsung selama beberapa puluh tahun. Hingga pada tahun 2000 dibuatnya nota kesepahaman.

Pada tahun 2008-2011, terjadi eskalasi besar terhadap konflik tersebut. Hal ini disebabkan karena pemerintah Thailand dianggap tidak mematuhi aturan ICJ (akibat dari masih adanya tentara/petugas patroli perbatasan yang masuk hingga ke daerah kuil, dan kuil masih digunakan oleh para penduduk Thailand di sekitar perbatasan). Menurut interpretasi Thailand putusan ICJ pada tahun 1962 tidak meliputi kuil Preah Vihear, putusan hanya berlaku untuk wilayah di sekitar kuil. Kemudian kedua negara mengajukan gugatan, Thailand menggugat wilayah di sekitar kuil. Sedangkan Kamboja menggugat ‘interpretasi yang sebenarnya’ dari putusan 1962 guna menegaskan kepada Thailand terkait permasalahan tersebut. Perubahan sikap Thailand terlihat dari perubahan arah politik mantan Perdana Menteri Thailand Thaksin Shinawatra yang mengingkari nota kesepahaman tahun 2000 silam. Memanasnya area perbatasan sampai menjadi *military zone* diakibatkan karena adanya ketegangan dalam negeri Thailand (polarisasi kekuatan politik antara pendukung Thaksin (baju merah) dan pihak oposisi (baju kuning, demokrat, militer, dan istana). Hal tersebut menyudutkan Thaksin dan membuat Thaksin harus mengambil manuver ke arah kebijakan ‘konservatif’ dengan membiarkan ketegangan di perbatasan, dan pada akhirnya menyulut konflik bersenjata selama 2 bulan di perbatasan.

Pada 2011, ICJ memberikan putusan final dan interpretasi menyeluruh terhadap

putusan sebelumnya (re: keputusan 1962). Bahwa kuil dan wilayah di sekitarnya adalah milik Kamboja dan berada di bawah kedaulatan pemerintah Kamboja. Akhirnya Thailand sekali lagi dituntut untuk menarik pasukannya dari area perbatasan. Namun, sampai saat ini masih banyak harapan dari kalangan konservatif terhadap pemerintah supaya kuil Preah Vihear bisa berada di bawah kekuasaan Thailand (Ngoun, 2012).

4.2 Peran Aktor dalam Konflik

Ada dua aktor negara Thailand dan Kamboja, serta satu aktor internasional ICJ (International Court of Justice) dan Thai-Cambodia Joint Commission. Pada bagian ini penulis akan membahas mengenai aktor terlibat serta perannya, dan kepentingan serta relasi antar aktor. Pertama adalah Kamboja, dalam sejarah pembangunan kuil Khmer Empire (kerajaan yang bertransformasi menjadi Kamboja saat ini) pada abad ke-11. Tetapi dalam perjalanannya di abad ke-15 Khmer Empire mengalami kejatuhan, dan terpaksa menyerahkan hak teritorialnya kepada kerajaan Siam (dikenal sebagai Thailand saat ini). Penyerahan hak teritorial yang dimaksud, termasuk dengan kuil Preah Vihear di dalamnya. Meskipun selanjutnya ‘kepemilikan’ hak atas kuil tersebut berpindah-pindah akibat dari penjajahan Prancis, Kamboja melihat Preah Vihear memiliki nilai sejarah (peninggalan Khmer Empire). Selain dari pada peninggalan sejarah, kuil ini juga merupakan simbol ‘hinaan’ bagi Kamboja. Mengingat Khmer Empire yang besar dan berjaya pada masa itu, harus tunduk dan dikalahkan oleh kerajaan Siam (Thailand). Sehingga tidak heran bahwa Pemerintah Kamboja berniat untuk mengembalikan kuil tersebut kepada masyarakat Kamboja selama kurang lebih 50 tahun masa sengketa.

Thailand dalam sengketa Preah Vihear memulai klaim pada kuil tersebut

karena melihat bahwa perampasan atas teritorial tersebut, dilakukan bukan oleh Kamboja atau Khmer Empire (di masa lalu), melainkan oleh Prancis dengan garis demarkasi yang dibuat ‘sepihak’. Penulis melihat keberatan paling utama dari Thailand dalam proses penyelesaian adjudikasi internasional melalui ICJ, diakibatkan karena ICJ membuat keputusan berdasarkan annex 1 (peta yang dibuat oleh Prancis pada masa perang dunia ke dua, untuk membatasi perbatasan di antara wilayah jajahan Prancis dan kerajaan Siam), mengakibatkan sikap Thailand yang sepertinya terlihat plinplan selama 50 tahun sengketa berjalan. Melihat dari perspektif ini, penulis menemukan hal menarik yaitu setelah kerajaan Siam merebut kuil Preah Vihear dari Khmer Empire, hak kepemilikan teritorial atas kuil tersebut ditentukan oleh Prancis karena berhasil menguasai Kamboja, dan Jepang yang mana pada perang dunia ke dua sempat menang melawan Prancis di Asia Tenggara (karena Jerman berhasil menguasai Prancis, dan kekuatan *Axis* mendominasi dunia pada waktu itu), kemudian Jepang memberikan kembali kewenangan teritorial kuil tersebut kepada sekutunya, Siam.

Berikutnya adalah peran ICJ sebagai adjudikator dari permasalahan sengketa kuil Preah Vihear antara Thailand dan Kamboja. ICJ mencoba menelusuri pendapat dari kedua pihak, dan melihatnya secara historis. Beberapa temuan ICJ justru memberatkan Thailand, salah satunya peta “annex 1” yang dibuat oleh Prancis pada tahun 1907, sebagai ganti dari kedaulatan kerajaan (re: Kerajaan Siam tidak dijajah oleh Prancis/tetap merdeka), Siam harus merelakan hak teritorialnya diambil oleh Prancis (termasuk kuil Preah Vihear). Map tersebut menjadi salah satu bukti kuat, karena Thailand/kerajaan Siam pada waktu itu, tidak pernah mengajukan keberatan sampai dengan tahun 1953. ICJ membuat keputusan akhir

dengan mempertimbangkan bahwa kuil tersebut dibuat oleh Khmer Empire (Kamboja saat ini) dan Siam 'mengakui' kedaulatan tersebut (dengan tidak mengajukan keberatan atas "annex 1"), artinya Thailand melepas hak teritorialnya atas kuil tersebut. Oleh karena itu, ICJ membuat keputusan final yaitu kepemilikan kuil Preah Vihear diberikan ke Kamboja.

4.3 Temuan Penulis (Dinamika dan Masukan)

Penyelesaian sengketa kuil Preah Vihear melalui adjudikasi internasional masih menyisakan masalah. Permasalahan ini pada dasarnya bukan hanya merupakan masalah perbatasan wilayah, atau konflik 'perebutan cagar budaya', sebaliknya penulis menemukan bahwa etnis atau masyarakat yang tinggal di sekitar kawasan kuil berasal dari suku Kui, kelompok RAS minoritas bagi Kamboja dan Thailand, sehingga jelas bahwa konflik yang terjadi bukan soal identitas (budaya). Penulis melihat bahwa konflik tersebut terjadi karena adanya upaya atau semangat balas dendam di antara Thailand dan Kamboja, mengingat bahwa kedua negara dari awal melihat kuil tersebut sebagai simbol 'kekalahan' (Strate, 2013). Masyarakat Kamboja melihatnya sebagai kejatuhan masa ke-emas-an *Khmer Empire* dan dipaksa tunduk kepada kerajaan Siam (Thailand). Begitu juga bagi masyarakat Thailand, kuil Preah Vihear merupakan simbol kejayaan kerajaan Siam, sebelum akhirnya ditekan oleh pihak barat. Penulis menyimpulkan bahwa penguasaan terhadap kuil merupakan simbol kemenangan bagi masing-masing negara.

Dalam penyelesaian masalah tersebut Kamboja berusaha membawanya dalam adjudikasi internasional melalui ICJ, dan seperti yang sudah penulis katakan sebelumnya, Kamboja menjadi pemenang atas kasus tersebut. Thailand terpaksa

menghormati keputusan ICJ, karena memerlukan dukungan dari dunia barat pada masa itu (konteks perang dingin). Tetapi kemudian pada tahun 1990an setelah perang dingin berakhir, dan pasukan Vietnam menarik diri dari Kamboja isu mengenai kepemilikan Preah Vihear kembali menguat. Di bawah kepemimpinan perdana menteri Samak Sundaravej, Thailand menjaga perdamaian yang terjadi di kawasan sengketa tersebut dan menghormati keputusan ICJ. Akan tetapi keputusan tersebut mendapat perlawanan keras dari fraksi nasionalis Thailand (konservatif), dan meminta revisi. Hal tersebut memperkuat argumen penulis bahwa konflik tersebut bukan hanya soal budaya, tetapi juga harga diri bangsa. Kaum konservatif setelah 50 tahun bersengketa, mulai dari masyarakat sampai kepada politikus partai sepakat untuk mengangkat isu tersebut kembali. Hal ini menyebabkan adanya eskalasi, meningkatkan ketegangan kedua pihak sampai benturan pasukan bersenjata di antara tahun 2009 sampai tahun 2011, mengakibatkan kematian 34 petugas bersenjata dan 30.000 orang diungsikan dari daerah sekitar konflik.

Pada 28 April 2011, Kamboja mengajukan kembali sengketa ke ICJ untuk memastikan interpretasi dari keputusan ICJ mengenai kuil Preah Vihear sebelumnya pada tahun 1962. Setelahnya dua setengah tahun kemudian ICJ menginterpretasikan keputusan 1962, yaitu Kamboja memiliki kedaulatan penuh terhadap kuil, serta lahan di sekitarnya. Sehingga Thailand harus menarik pasukan bersenjata yang selama ini bertugas menjaga perbatasan sekitar. Fakta bahwa pemerintah Thailand masih terus berusaha bahkan selama bertahun-tahun berjaga-jaga di sekitar kuil, merupakan bentuk nyata dari niat pemerintah untuk melindungi kuil, dan 'menjaga apa yang seharusnya menjadi milik negara dan yang merupakan simbol kejayaan bagi masyarakat'.

Ada dua hal yang penulis nilai sangat penting untuk diperhatikan, yang pertama adalah fakta bahwa ICJ mengeluarkan dekret dan interpretasi terkait putusan mengenai sengketa kuil Preah Vihear, merupakan bentuk kekalahan Thailand terhadap kasus tersebut (kemenangan Kamboja dan pembalasan Khmer Empire terhadap Siam (terkait harga diri bangsa)). Sementara tuntutan utama Thailand pada tahun 2011 silam adalah menjadikan kawasan di sekitar kuil, untuk masuk ke dalam bagian teritorial negara. Penulis melihat bahwa Thailand berusaha menemukan titik temu dalam permasalahan pelik tersebut. Tetapi ada beberapa kegagalan, seperti tidak adanya ketentuan yang diajukan Thailand terkait bagaimana detail pembagian wilayah di sekitar kuil, penulis melihat penawaran Thailand bersifat ambigu dan berpotensi berisikan kepentingan.

Garis demarkasi yang akan dibangun dan bagaimana ketentuannya harus didasarkan pada dua kepentingan. Serta merupakan hasil diskusi serta kesepakatan bersama antara Thailand dan Kamboja. Di bawah perdana menteri Yingluck Shinawata, pemerintah Thailand menawarkan hal tersebut. Akan tetapi di tahun 2014, ketika hal ini menjadi perbincangan nasional. Kalangan nasionalis Thailand Yingluck Sinawarta justru mengatakan bahwa pemerintahannya tidak pernah menawarkan hal tersebut, atau bahkan setuju untuk melepas kawasan tersebut sepenuhnya untuk Kamboja. Perubahan-perubahan tersebut mengindikasikan bahwa upaya 'perdamaian' yang telah dilakukan selama ini rentan dimanfaatkan untuk kepentingan politik, karena kesempatan itu digunakan oleh Yingluck untuk mendulang suara menjelang pemilihan (populis).

5. Conclusion / Kesimpulan

Penulis menyimpulkan beberapa hal terkait proses penyelesaian sengketa kuil Preah Vihear. Pertama, penyelesaian adjudikasi internasional tidak cukup untuk menyelesaikan masalah laten yang ada di antara Kamboja dan Thailand. Karena sebenarnya bukan hanya soal identitas, atau sejarah, tetapi hal ini secara perlahan masuk kepada pikiran dan hati masing-masing orang. Masyarakat Thailand (konservatif) melihat kuil tersebut sebagai harga diri bangsa, dan titik bersejarah. Sehingga ada luka dari masa lalu yang tidak akan pernah bisa diobati, apabila kuil tersebut jatuh ke tangan bangsa lain. Begitu juga sebaliknya dari perspektif Kamboja, apabila kuil tersebut jatuh ke tangan Thailand. Hal tersebut dianggap penghinaan bagi masyarakat Kamboja, karena sebenarnya kuil Preah Vihear dibangun oleh bangsa mereka. Dalam menyelesaikan masalah seperti ini, tidak cukup hanya dengan dekret atau keputusan internasional. Keputusan sepihak dari level negara atau bahkan keputusan dari tingkat internasional sekalipun, tidak akan mampu untuk membendung dan menyelesaikan permasalahan laten tersebut.

Kedua, tidak adanya pendekatan yang tepat kepada masyarakat, tentang 'harga diri' bangsa, dan nilai-nilai sejarah sehingga kedua bangsa terus bersitegang akibat memperebutkan kuil tersebut demi 'harga diri' bangsa dan negara. Karena tidak adanya pendidikan/edukasi, penyuluhan, dan pemaparan yang jelas dari pemerintah untuk setidaknya-tidaknya mengurangi rasa kebencian masyarakat, serta 'harga diri bangsa' yang salah, menyebabkan isu-isu seperti ini bisa digunakan oleh para aristokrat atau politikus untuk mendulang dukungan/opini publik dengan cepat dan efektif. Populisme yang tengah berkembang di masa kini bisa menjadi suatu masalah baru, mengingat bahwa tensi konflik kuil Preah Vihear selalu naik turun

tergantung pada siapa pemimpin pemerintahan, serta kepentingan negara saat itu. Niscaya dengan pendekatan yang tepat tidak perlu lagi ada yang harus dirugikan karena klaim 'objek/symbol kebanggaan bangsa' tersebut. Harus ada pendekatan yang bersifat bottom → up, pertimbangannya karena pendekatan top → down pemerintah selama 50 tahun tidak membuahkan hasil apa pun terutama bagi Thailand, mengingat sentimen dalam negeri dari golongan konservatif sangat tinggi. Pendekatan atau gerakan-gerakan yang dimaksud oleh penulis adalah seperti pendidikan publik, dan pendidikan resolusi konflik sejak dini.

Pendekatan dan gerakan seperti pendidikan publik dan resolusi konflik yang dimaksud oleh penulis adalah pendidikan perdamaian, yakni setelah posisi damai sudah dicapai kedua belah pihak harus berusaha supaya tidak ada lagi eskalasi berikutnya, supaya konflik ini tidak menjadi lebih panjang. Harus ada peace building terkait *potential peace dynamic* supaya perdamaian yang sudah dicapai bisa berlangsung lebih lama. Misalnya saja penulis mengambil

contoh gerakan masyarakat Amerika Serikat pada waktu perang dingin, gerakan-gerakan akar rumput yang berusaha mendorong perubahan sikap pemerintah pada waktu perang Vietnam membuahkan hasil penarikan pasukan Amerika Serikat dari daratan Vietnam. Hal ini jelas memberikan kesadaran baru bagi para akademisi studi perdamaian bahwa pendekatan bottom→ up merupakan gerakan terkuat dalam negara-negara modern di mana *social environment* menjadi salah satu kunci utama (Jeong, 2000). Pemerintah dari kedua negara tidak bisa mengabaikan lagi hal-hal detail seperti ini, meskipun terlihat minor, tetapi cara tersebut merupakan cara paling ampuh untuk menyelesaikan masalah laten dalam sebuah konflik. Dengan cara demikian penulis mengharapkan perdamaian yang sudah dan yang hendak dituju dapat tercapai. Hubungan bilateral Thailand dan Kamboja bisa terus terjalin serta mengurangi dan dapat memberikan masukan terhadap konflik-konflik wilayah serupa yang masih banyak terjadi di seluruh dunia sampai saat ini.

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COVID-19 & UNESCO GLOBAL GEOPARK KALDERA TOBA: PELUANG DAN TANTANGAN PENGEMBANGAN PARIWISATA BERKELANJUTAN DI KAWASAN DANAU TOBA

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ABSTRACT

In the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, Toba Caldera was designated as a member of the UNESCO Global Geopark (UGG), in July 2020. This status becomes a very important opportunity and challenge in encouraging the development of sustainable tourism in the super-priority tourism destination of Lake Toba. This is following the demands of the new normal adaptation in the era of Covid-19. Thus, this paper aims to study and analyze how the status of Toba Caldera UGG amid the Covid-19 pandemic can be used as a strategy to strengthen the implementation of sustainable tourism development based on environmental, cultural and biological conservation. The research method was carried out with a descriptive qualitative approach, by conducting a literature study and interviews. In this study, it was found that the new normal of tourism in the Covid-19 pandemic era was in line with the spirit of conservation, restoration and revitalization of the Toba Caldera UGG geo-sites and thus strengthening the implementation of sustainable tourism in the Lake Toba region. In welcoming a better new normal era, the Government should not hesitate to take policies that prioritize environmental sustainability and discontinue the obsolete pattern of being greedy that harms the environment.

Keywords: Covid-19, Toba Caldera UGG, Sustainable Tourism, Lake Toba Region

ABSTRAK

Di tengah pandemi Covid-19, Geopark Kaldera Toba ditetapkan menjadi anggota *UNESCO Global Geopark* (UGG), Juli 2020 yang lalu. Status ini menjadi peluang dan tantangan sangat penting dalam mendorong pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan di destinasi superprioritas Kawasan wisata Danau Toba. Hal ini bersesuaian dengan tuntutan adaptasi *new normal* dalam era pandemi Covid-19. Paper ini dengan demikian bertujuan untuk melakukan studi dan analisis bagaimana status UGG Kaldera Toba di tengah pandemi Covid-19 dapat menjadi siasat memperkuat implementasi pembangunan pariwisata berkelanjutan yang berbasis konservasi lingkungan, budaya dan hayati. Metode penelitian dilakukan dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif, dengan melakukan studi literature dan wawancara. Dalam penelitian ini ditemukan bahwa *new normal* pariwisata era pandemi Covid-19 sejalan dengan semangat konservasi, restorasi dan revitalisasi situs-situs UGG Kaldera Toba dan dengan demikian dapat memperkuat implementasi pariwisata berkelanjutan di Kawasan Danau Toba. Dalam menyongsong era *new normal* yang lebih baik, agar Pemerintah tidak perlu ragu mengambil kebijakan yang mendahulukan kelestarian lingkungan dan menghentikan pola lama yang serakah pada lingkungan.

Kata Kunci: Covid-19, UGG Kaldera Toba, Pariwisata Berkelanjutan, Kawasan Danau Toba.

1. Introduction / Pendahuluan

“Secara historis, pandemi telah memaksa manusia untuk memutuskan masa lalu dan membayangkan dunia mereka yang lebih baik. Kali ini juga tidak berbeda. Ini adalah sebuah portal, gerbang antara satu

dunia dan yang berikutnya. Kita dapat memilih untuk berjalan melaluinya, menyeret bangkai prasangka dan kebencian kita, ketamakan kita, bank data kita, ide-ide mati, sungai-sungai mati kita serta langit berasap di belakang kita. Atau kita bisa berjalan ringan,

dengan sedikit barang bawaan, siap membayangkan dunia lain. Dan siap berjuang untuk itu," Roy, (*Ft.com*, 4/4/2020).

Pandemi *Corona Virus Disease* 2019 (Covid-19) telah mengubah tatanan kehidupan global. Dampak Covid-19 mempengaruhi kehidupan sosial, ekonomi dan kesejahteraan umat manusia di semua negara. Di tengah bayang-bayang berbagai krisis global, dan disrupsi global, ancaman krisis ekonomi dan kesehatan adalah dua isu yang fundamental yang tengah dihadapi. Protokol kesehatan seperti; jaga jarak, pake masker dan cuci tangan adalah sebuah kewajiban baru dalam melakukan segala aktivitas sehari-hari. Pergerakan manusia benar-benar sangat terbatas bahkan negara-negara menutup akses dari dan keluar negaranya. Oleh karena itu, sektor ekonomi pariwisata menjadi salah satu yang paling terdampak parah akibat Covid-19.

Menurut UNWTO (UN World Tourism Organization) semester 1, 2020, kedatangan turis internasional turun hingga 65% dibandingkan dengan periode yang sama tahun lalu, dengan kedatangan di bulan Juni 2020 turun 93%, menurut laporan dari sejumlah destinasi di dunia. Sedangkan di Indonesia 13 juta pekerja sektor pariwisata terancam kehilangan pekerjaan (*Tribunnews.com*, 12/9/2020). Dengan demikian, jika ingin bertahan, berbagai usaha dan strategi perlu dilakukan dalam rangka menyesuaikan tuntutan pola normal yang lebih baik khususnya di sektor pariwisata dengan menjadikan aspek kesehatan dan higienis lingkungan menjadi pintu utama.

Strategi kenormalan yang lebih baik dalam sektor pariwisata itu dapat dicapai dengan mengembangkan pariwisata berkelanjutan (*sustainable tourism*). UNWTO secara sederhana mendefinisikan, pariwisata berkelanjutan adalah pariwisata yang memperhitungkan sepenuhnya dampak ekonomi, sosial, lingkungan saat ini dan di

masa depan, memenuhi kebutuhan pengunjung, industri, lingkungan dan masyarakat tuan rumah. Pariwisata berkelanjutan, dengan kata lain adalah keseluruhan praktek kegiatan pariwisata yang tidak merusak kehidupan hari esok.

Jika kita tarik ke belakang, munculnya Covid-19 diyakini banyak pihak merupakan fakta dari reaksi alam akibat ketidakseimbangan ekologi global. Alam bereaksi negatif untuk memulihkan diri sendiri, akibat kecongkakan manusia yang sudah terlalu lama mengabaikan keseimbangan lingkungan dan mengeksploitasi lingkungan secara berlebihan. Alam akhirnya mengirim peringatan lewat kemunculan penyakit dan virus baru (*Investor.id*, 13/4/2020).

Itu sebabnya, pandemi Covid-19 dapat kita terjemahkan sebagai momentum mengakhiri keserakahan kepada bumi. Aktivitas ekonomi dan bisnis harus berpadanan dengan merawat kelestarian dan kelangsungan lingkungan hidup.

Dalam riset ini, peneliti akan menjelaskan bahwa pandemi Covid-19 justru memberi peluang dan tantangan bagi pemangku kepentingan (*stakeholder*) memperkuat implementasi pariwisata berkelanjutan, secara khusus dialamatkan pada destinasi superprioritas Kawasan Danau Toba. Hal ini juga berkesesuaian dengan status Danau Toba yang kini sudah diakui sebagai anggota *UNESCO Global Geopark*.

Sebagaimana uraian latar belakang di atas, penulis merumuskan masalah penelitian ini adalah bagaimana peluang dan tantangan pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan di Kawasan Danau Toba dalam era pandemi Covid-19, dan seiring dengan status Danau Toba sebagai *UNESCO Global Geopark*?

Adapun tujuan penelitian adalah untuk melakukan studi dan analisis bagaimana pandemi Covid-19 dan pencapaian status *UNESCO Global Geopark*

Kaldera Toba dapat menjadi siasat memperkuat perwujudan pembangunan pariwisata berkelanjutan yang berbasis konservasi lingkungan, budaya dan hayati.

Selain itu, hasil penelitian ini juga diharapkan menjadi rujukan akademis dalam upaya implementasi praktek-praktek pembangunan pariwisata berkelanjutan di Kawasan Geopark Global Kaldera Toba dengan kerjasama yang baik para stakeholder (aktor negara dan non-negara).

2. Literature Review / Tinjauan Pustaka

2.1 Pariwisata Berkelanjutan

Sebagaimana disebutkan dalam latar belakang, pariwisata berkelanjutan, secara sederhana, menurut defenisi UNWTO adalah pariwisata yang memperhitungkan sepenuhnya dampak ekonomi, sosial, lingkungan saat ini dan di masa depan, memenuhi kebutuhan pengunjung, industri, lingkungan dan masyarakat tuan rumah. Konsep pariwisata berkelanjutan sebetulnya bukan sesuatu yang baru dalam pariwisata, namun prakteknya tidak berjalan efektif.

Dalam buku Kepariwisataan Berkelanjutan (I Gede Ardika, 2018:60) dijelaskan kepariwisataan menjadi salah satu instrumen strategis dalam pencapaian Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan (*Sustainable Developments Goals*) atau SDGs. Dengan bertumpu pada konsep hidup berkeeseimbangan (lingkungan, sosial budaya dan ekonomi). UNWTO menggarisbawahi tiga tujuan dalam SDGs yang menjadi peranan kepariwisataan berkelanjutan, yakni tujuan ke-8 (*decent work and economic growth*), pariwisata mempromosikan ekonomi inklusif dan akses kerja bagi semua orang; ke-12 (*responsible for consumption and production*), memonitor dampak pembangunan terhadap pariwisata berkelanjutan; dan ke-14 (*life below water*), menekankan upaya konservasi dan pelestarian sumber daya bahari atau perairan. Dengan demikian konsep ini juga sejalan dengan pencapaian kawasan geopark global dalam suatu wilayah sebagai daerah konservasi berdasarkan makna geologis.

Diagram 1: Konsep Pembangunan Kepariwisataan Berkelanjutan di Indonesia



Sumber: I Gede Ardika (2018:61)

Menurut Frans Teguh (2020), Deputi SDM dan Kelembagaan Kementerian Pariwisata, pariwisata era *new normal* sudah seharusnya didasarkan pada pariwisata berkelanjutan yang berpusat pada manusia (*people-centered tourism* atau *community-based tourism*), karena pariwisata itu pada dasarnya berbicara tentang manusia. Ada atau tidak ada pariwisata itu ditentukan oleh manusia, karena yang melakukan perjalanan itu adalah kembali ke manusianya.

Semua berkepentingan terhadap pariwisata. Oleh karena itu, pandemi Covid-19 sesungguhnya juga diartikan untuk melakukan koreksi ekologis dengan melakukan penataan kembali destinasi-destinasi kita dengan memperhatikan prinsip-prinsip keseimbangan. Kegiatan ekonomi terutama di kawasan pariwisata yang berpotensi mengganggu keseimbangan ekologis, seperti mencemari perairan danau dan deforestasi, sudah seharusnya dihentikan. Kesehatan menjadi kunci utama.

Sebagaimana halnya dalam esensi konsep geopark, yakni konservasi kawasan. Dengan kata lain, konsep geopark dapat menjadi alat untuk implementasi pembangunan berkelanjutan ataupun pariwisata berkelanjutan. Implementasi pariwisata berkelanjutan dilakukan dengan metode partisipatif dan keterlibatan dari semua stakeholder; mulai dari masyarakat lokal, NGO lokal dan internasional, pelaku usaha, dan tentunya pemerintah.

2.2 Geopark Global Kaldera Toba

UNESCO Global Geopark (UGG) merupakan wilayah geografis, tunggal dan terpadu dimana situs dan lanskap geologi yang memiliki signifikansi internasional dikelola dengan konsep holistik meliputi perlindungan, pendidikan dan pembangunan berkelanjutan (Suwardi, Sofyan, dkk, 2016). Jaringan keanggotaan UGG itu bersifat dinamis, yang mana setiap anggota memiliki komitmen untuk bekerja sama dan bertukar

pikiran bagaimana praktek-praktek terbaik mengelola sebuah kawasan geopark. Kerjasama terwujud melalui serangkaian kegiatan proyek-proyek umum yang bertujuan meningkatkan standar kualitas masing-masing produk dan kegiatan penyelenggara geopark global itu sendiri.

Geopark Kaldera Toba (GKT) resmi menyandang status sebagai *UNESCO Global Geopark* Kaldera Toba adalah setelah diputuskan dalam sidang ke-209 Dewan Eksekutif UNESCO di Paris, Perancis, 7 Juli 2020. Hal ini merupakan sebuah penantian panjang, karena GKT telah diusulkan ke UGG sejak Tahun 2014. Persiapannya dimulai sejak 2011. Setelah dinyatakan belum matang sebagai anggota UGG pada Tahun 2015, GKT kembali didaftarkan ke UGG pada akhir Tahun 2017. Perwakilan UGG kemudian melakukan penilaian lapangan terhadap Kawasan GKT pada Tahun 2018, dan hasilnya mendapat penangguhan dari UGG pada bulan April 2019, sebab masih ada kekurangan beberapa dokumen seperti finalisasi master plan.

Badan Pengelola Geopark Kaldera Toba (BPGKT) sebagai institusi yang mendapat mandat dari Pemerintah Provinsi Sumatera Utara (sesuai Peraturan Gubernur Sumut, No.88 Tahun 2017, tentang Badan Pengelola Geopark Kaldera Toba) kemudian melengkapi persyaratan dokumen yang masih kurang lengkap dalam tempo yang cepat. Sehingga dalam Simposium ke-6 Jaringan Geopark Global Asia Pasifik yang diadakan di Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia, September 2019, diketahui GKT telah masuk daftar menjadi UGG berikutnya.

Saat ini, terdapat 161 Anggota UGG di dunia yakni di 44 Negara dan 5 Benua. Indonesia sendiri kini telah memiliki 5 UGG; dimulai dari Gunung Batur, kemudian Gunung Sewu, Ciletuh, Gunung Rinjani hingga yang paling baru adalah Kaldera Toba. Duta besar Indonesia untuk Prancis sekaligus delegasi tetap Indonesia untuk

UNESCO, Arrmanatha Christiawan Nasir, dalam sebuah Webinar mengatakan, status geopark global pada prinsipnya diberikan untuk memastikan adanya pelestarian dan perlindungan kawasan bagi generasi berikut.

2.3 Karakteristik Wilayah UGG Kaldera Toba

Kawasan UGG Kaldera Toba merupakan sebuah kesatuan ekosistem geologi, budaya dan hayati. Terletak di sisi timur rangkaian Bukit Barisan, Provinsi Sumatera Utara. Kawasan ini terbentuk akibat letusan Gunung Toba 74.000 tahun lampau yang menghasilkan kaldera (kawah besar). Kemudian kawah terisi air, lalu menjadi Danau Toba. Letusan Gunung Toba tercatat merupakan yang terkuat dalam 2 juta

tahun terakhir (Craig A. Chesner, 2011). Namun tidak bisa dipungkiri, kawasan ini telah mengalami degradasi lingkungan dalam tiga setengah dekade terakhir akibat pola pembangunan bersifat eksploitatif terhadap alam. Oleh karena itu upaya konservasi dan pelestarian lingkungan terus dilakukan salah satunya dengan dijadikan sebagai UGG.

Kawasan UGG Kaldera Toba meliputi area dengan luas 3.658 Km², yang mencakup 7 Kabupaten secara administratif, yakni Kabupaten; Tapanuli Utara, Toba, Humbang Hasundutan, Samosir, Dairi, Simalungun dan Karo. Terdapat 16 *geosite* (situs-situs) utama GKT yang tersebar di masing-masing 7 Kabupaten tersebut.

Tabel 1. Nama dan Lokasi Geosite GKT

No.	Nama Geosite	Kabupaten
1.	Geosite Sipiso-piso – Tongging (<i>geological heritage</i>)	Karo
2.	Geosite Silahi-Sabungan (<i>geological, biological, cultural heritage</i>)	Dairi
3.	Geosite Haranggaol (<i>geological heritage</i>)	Simalungun
4.	Geosite Sibaganding (<i>geological, biological heritage</i>)	
5.	Geosite Taman Eden (<i>geological, biological heritage</i>)	Toba
6.	Geosite Balige-Liang Sipege (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	
7.	Geosite Air Terjun Situmurun (<i>geological heritage</i>)	
8.	Geosite Hutaginjang (<i>geological heritage</i>)	Tapanuli Utara
9.	Geosite Muara-Sibandang (<i>geological heritage</i>)	
10.	Geosite Sipinsur (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	Humbang Hasundutan
11.	Geosite Bakara-Tipang (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	
12.	Geosite Pusuk Buhit (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	Samosir
13.	Geosite Tele (<i>geological heritage</i>)	
14.	Geosite Huta Tinggi-Sidihoni (<i>geological heritage</i>)	
15.	Geosite Simanindo-Batu Hoda (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	
16.	Geosite Ambarita-Tuktuk-Tomok (<i>geological, cultural heritage</i>)	

Sumber: *Dossier* (dokumen usulan) GKT

3. Research Method / Metode Penelitian

Metode penelitian dilakukan dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif, dengan melakukan studi literatur dan wawancara mendalam. Peneliti bertindak sebagai *participant-observer*. Peneliti pernah terlibat dalam Tim Percepatan Pengajuan GKT ke UNESCO, 2013 dan sebagai Sekretaris BPGKT Tahun 2016-2017. Oleh karena itu, sebagian data sudah terkumpul sebagai dokumen pribadi.

Data dikumpulkan melalui studi literatur dari buku, dokumen, jurnal dan media massa. Lalu, melakukan wawancara mendalam tidak berstruktur kepada institusi BPGKT, Badan Otorita Pariwisata Danau Toba, Manager *Geosite* UGG Kaldera Toba, AMAN Tano Batak, Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia (HPI) – Sumatera Utara, Perhimpunan Jendela Toba, dan perwakilan masyarakat sekitar Danau Toba. Data-data yang terkumpul kemudian dikompilasi dan dianalisis secara interpretatif.

4. Pembahasan

4.1 Covid-19 dan Pariwisata Berkelanjutan

Tuntutan protokol kesehatan dalam era pandemi Covid-19 sangat relevan dengan semangat kehidupan berkeadilan. Sebagaimana disebutkan di awal, munculnya Covid-19 merupakan reaksi dari alam akibat ketidakseimbangan ekologi global. Oleh karena itu aspek kesehatan, kelestarian lingkungan merupakan aspek paling utama. Virus tidak akan muncul jika lingkungan alam dipelihara dengan baik. Mantan Sekjen PBB, Ban Ki Moon mengatakan, seharusnya pandemi Covid-19 bisa dihindari jika saja dunia bertindak lebih cepat untuk melindungi alam dan mencegah perubahan iklim, (Kompas, 26/1/2021).

Demikian juga halnya di KDT, seharusnya keberlangsungan aktivitas wisata di masa pandemi sekalipun tidak akan terganggu, jika kelestarian alam dijaga, sebab

karakter wisata KDT itu adalah menonjolkan bentang alam. Hal itu kemudian diikuti dengan manajemen penanganan Covid-19 yang khusus dan terintegrasi melalui pintu-pintu masuk ke KDT. Setiap orang yang masuk diawasi dan dikontrol dengan pemeriksaan medis yang ketat.

“Seandainya pun Covid ini terus berkepanjangan, dalam konteks pariwisata destinasi Toba itu tidak terlalu *problem*, karena yang ditawarkan di sini adalah area destinasi wisata alam, dengan penanganan khusus dan spesifik, yaitu manajemen pariwisata yang terintegrasi. Kemudian harus paralel menjaga kelestarian ekosistemnya dan mengembalikan keseimbangan alam. Dan itu sangat berkaitan dengan konsep pengembangan pariwisata Danau Toba yang berbasis *geopark*,” kata Mangaliat Simarmata, Ketua Perhimpunan Jendela Toba.

Menteri Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif (Menparekraf), Sandiaga Uno menjelaskan bahwa Danau Toba harus dikembangkan dengan pariwisata berbasis budaya dan alam. Sandiaga berharap pariwisata Danau Toba bisa kembali bangkit lebih cepat pasca pandemi dengan menekankan pada inovasi, adaptasi dan kolaborasi dengan stakeholder pariwisata (Bisnis.tempo.co, 30/12/2020). Produk wisata inovatif misalnya *sport tourism* dan pariwisata bahari yang berkelanjutan. Selain itu Sandiaga mendorong kedisiplinan menerapkan protokol Kesehatan 4K, yaitu Kebersihan, Kesehatan, Keamanan dan Kelestarian Lingkungan atau CHSE (*Cleanliness, Health, Safety and Environment Sustainability*). Hal itu disampaikan ketika melakukan kunjungan perdana ke Danau Toba pasca ditunjuk menjadi Menparekraf, (30/12/2020).

Namun demikian, mayoritas hotel dan restoran di KDT hingga saat ini masih belum memiliki sertifikat CHSE dari Menparekraf (Sumatra.bisnis.com,

17/2/2021). Data Bulan Juni 2021, dari 368 Hotel di KDT baru 12 Hotel yang telah mendapat sertifikat CHSE (Travel.kompas.com, 14/6/2021). Adapun restoran belum tampak mendapat sertifikat CHSE terlebih lagi *homestay* yang dikelola oleh masyarakat lokal. Padahal menurut Corry Panjaitan, warga Kota Parapat, Simalungun, saat ini wisatawan lebih tertarik dengan suasana alam sehingga lebih memilih *homestay* untuk menginap. Penerapan CHSE dapat menjadi peluang dalam rangka mensertifikasi usaha wisata memenuhi prasyarat wisata aman, sehat dan lingkungan lestari di era pandemi Covid-19, sekaligus menjadi tantangan tersendiri bagi usaha wisata dalam penerapannya. Dalam hal ini kolaborasi pemerintah dan instansi terkait sangat penting bagaimana pelaku usaha dapat memenuhi kelayakan sertifikasi CHSE.

Pada sisi lain, Ketua Aliansi Masyarakat Adat (AMAN) Tano Batak, Roganda Simanjuntak melihat bahwa Covid-19 merupakan momen yang tepat menyuarakan pengembalian kelestarian alam KDT yang telah rusak parah kurun waktu 30 tahun terakhir. “Dalam konteks Covid-19 pemerintah seharusnya menyadari bahwa penanganan Covid-19 tidak cukup hanya dengan menjalankan protokol kesehatan, namun harus melihat ke akar persoalan kenapa virus muncul, dihubungkan dengan kondisi Danau Toba dengan pariwisata,” kata Roganda. Lebih lanjut Roganda menjelaskan meskipun banyak pihak sudah mengetahui Danau Toba telah rusak, hancur, namun masih diperparah juga dengan munculnya kebijakan-kebijakan baru yang justru memperparah kelestarian Danau Toba.

Adapun Direktur Destinasi Badan Pelaksana Otorita Danau Toba (BPODT), Tata Syafaat Ridwanullah berpandangan terkait Covid-19 yang paling penting dibenahi adalah kebersihan yang berstandar internasional di lokasi wisata. “Jangan sampai status UGG Kaldera Toba ini tidak

dibarengi dengan kualitas lingkungan yang memadai dan diperkenalkan pada dunia, misalnya kebersihan toilet,” katanya. Tata menjelaskan, BPODT hanya fokus pada pembangunan kawasan wisata terpadu di lokasi yang diberikan pemerintah untuk dikelola yakni 386,72 Ha yang sudah dilepaskan oleh Kementerian Kehutanan. Sedangkan untuk kawasan lainnya di 7 Kabupaten sekitar Danau Toba hanya bersifat kordinasi dengan pemerintah daerah terkait. BPODT juga tidak punya kewenangan untuk mengambil kebijakan diluar lahan otorita.

Sementara itu, *geolog* Gagarin Sembiring (Wakil General Manager BPGKT 2018-2020) menjelaskan bahwa pengakuan Dewan *UNESCO Global Geopark* terhadap GKT itu adalah *outstanding value* atau signifikansi nilai secara internasional. KDT memiliki *geoheritage* (warisan geologi) yang tidak ada duanya di planet ini dengan tema *supervolcano*. “Tugas kita bagaimana mengkonservasi yang bernilai tinggi itu saja. Kita bisa memanfaatkan potensi keanekaragaman geologi dan biologi itu baik itu secara ekonomi maupun secara kesejahteraan. Dalam konteks Covid-19, potensi *biodiversity* itu seperti tanaman pangan sangat penting dikembangkan seperti konsep lumbung pangan demi menjamin keamanan pangan nasional,” kata Gagarin.

Pelaksana tugas (Plt.) Kepala Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Sumatera Utara (Disbudparsu), Ria Telaumbanua berkata salah satu fokus pembangunan Provinsi Sumatera Utara 2021 adalah peningkatan nilai tambah sektor agraris dan pariwisata berkelanjutan. Menurut Ria, perencanaan program di bidang pariwisata tahun anggaran 2021 diutamakan dan diprioritaskan untuk pengembangan GKT. “Semua bidang-bidang di Disbudparsu membuat program yang berhubungan dengan GKT. Itu mulai dari promosi, peningkatan amenitas, kualitas lingkungan hidup, SDM pariwisata, fasilitas dan budaya,” papar Ria. Hal ini berarti bahwa

pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan untuk destinasi Danau Toba dilakukan melalui pembenahan GKT.

4.2 Peluang dan Tantangan

Berdasarkan observasi dan wawancara yang dilakukan penulis terhadap pemangku kepentingan KDT (Masyarakat

lokal, BPODT, BPGKT, Manager *Geosite* UGG Kaldera Toba, HPI Sumut, AMAN Tano Batak dan Jendela Toba), berikut ini dapat dirangkum peluang dan tantangan pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan di KDT dalam era pandemi Covid-19 dan status UGG Kaldera Toba.

Tabel 2: Peluang dan Tantangan Pengembangan Pariwisata Berkelanjutan di KDT era Covid-19

No.	Peluang	Tantangan
1.	Covid-19 merupakan momentum yang tepat menyuarakan pengembalian kelestarian alam KDT.	Ancaman kerusakan ekologi KDT yang masih terus terjadi, baik perairan dan hutan penyangga Danau Toba. Jika tidak dihentikan dikuatirkan memunculkan berbagai penyakit atau virus baru di masa depan.
2.	Keberadaan situs-situs UGG Kaldera Toba yang sudah mendunia, bertujuan untuk konservasi KDT mulai dari aspek geologi, hayati dan budaya yang ada di dalamnya.	Koreksi ekologis praktek pembangunan dan pengembangan pariwisata selama ini: aspek kesehatan dan kelestarian lingkungan harus paling utama.
3.	Kesadaran global bahwa melestarikan ekologi berarti mencegah munculnya virus-virus baru termasuk di KDT.	Sinergitas dan kolaborasi para pihak kurang efektif, lebih bersifat seremonial dan orientasi proyek, sehingga belum menjadi gerakan pelestarian lingkungan.
4.	Kebutuhan dunia pariwisata yang aman, sehat dan <i>environment-friendly</i> . Kesempatan untuk membenahi fisik dan non-fisik destinasi wisata KDT.	Masih sedikitnya usaha perhotelan, restoran di KDT yang mendapat sertifikasi CHSE, terutama <i>homestay</i> . Kemudian masalah kebersihan lokasi wisata serta fasilitasnya yang harus memenuhi standar internasional.
5.	Inovasi praktek-praktek <i>green tourism</i> dan pariwisata berkelanjutan, yang menerapkan CHSE (bersih, sehat, aman dan lingkungan lestari).	Kebijakan pemerintah yang belum sepenuhnya mendukung pelestarian lingkungan KDT, bahkan pegiat lingkungan justru mendapat kriminalisasi.
6.	Pengembangan <i>biodiversity</i> Toba sebagai keamanan pangan, seperti yang sudah dilakukan dengan konsep <i>food estate</i> di 3 Kabupaten KDT.	Pelibatan masyarakat lokal dalam pelestarian KDT yang masih minim, padahal masyarakat lokal adalah unsur kunci pelestarian. Selain itu, masyarakat perlu diedukasi untuk pelestarian lingkungan.
7.	Gerakan aliansi masyarakat sipil dalam platform digital dalam <i>campaign</i> kelestarian Danau Toba yang makin intensif.	Ego sektoral lintas sektoral yang masih tebal sehingga menyulitkan kordinasi.

Sumber: analisis data wawancara.

Pada Tabel 2. di atas memperlihatkan bagaimana pandemi Covid-19 dan status UGG Kaldera Toba menjadi peluang sekaligus tantangan dalam memperkuat implementasi pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan di KDT.

Dari tabel tersebut dapat direfleksikan bahwa dari segi teori pemecahan perlindungan lingkungan, kerjasama dan kolaborasi lintas sektor (aktor negara dan non-negara), itu merupakan kunci utama sehingga mutlak dibutuhkan. Menurut Gagarin Sembiring, harus ada titik temu antar aktor, tidak boleh ada yang dominan dan menonjolkan ego sektoral, tetapi mampu bekerjasama dan bergandengan tangan membangun kesadaran bersama. Oleh karenanya, sinergitas multipihak yang kini masih lemah sangat perlu digerakkan menjadi gerakan bersama perlindungan lingkungan dan pengembangan ekonomi lokal berkelanjutan dengan Pemerintah sebagai *leading sector*.

Status UGG Kaldera Toba dapat dimanfaatkan sebagai jendela untuk dunia, kolaborasi dengan UGG lainnya bagaimana praktek-praktek terbaik mengelola dan melindungi kawasan geopark, dengan tidak menghilangkan identitas kelokalan Toba tersebut. Implementasi aktivitas konservasi terhadap lingkungan geologi, hayati dan budaya UGG Kaldera Toba ini juga akan menjadi fondasi penting dalam kaitanya terhadap revalidasi status UGG Kaldera Toba dari Dewan Eksekutif UNESCO yang akan berlangsung Tahun 2023-2024 mendatang.

5. Conclusion / Kesimpulan

Covid-19 diyakini muncul sebagai reaksi dari alam akibat kerusakan ekologi secara global. Dalam konteks KDT, kerusakan ekologi yang sama juga sudah cukup parah dalam tiga setengah dekade terakhir akibat deforestasi dan pencemaran perairan Danau Toba. Oleh karena itu, Covid-19 menjadi momentum yang tepat

mengembalikan keseimbangan alam dengan model praktek-praktek pariwisata yang melestarikan lingkungan. Pembenahan dan pembangunan KDT sebagai destinasi superprioritas berkelas internasional yang berlangsung saat ini harus berakar dari semangat konservasi yakni pemulihan dan perlindungan. Jika tindakan yang dilakukan lain dari pada itu, berarti menuju kehancuran ekologis di masa mendatang.

Penanganan Covid-19 di KDT saat ini tidak cukup dengan menjalankan protokol kesehatan 3 M (memakai masker, menjaga jarak, mencuci tangan), dan sertifikasi CHSE pada usaha wisata, namun lebih jauh harus dilakukan perubahan paradigma dan kebijakan dengan menomorsatukan aspek kelestarian lingkungan daripada ekonomi pariwisata semata. *Master plan* pengembangan KDT saat ini harus mengadopsi tuntutan Covid-19. Demikian juga kerja sama dan sinergitas multipihak yang masih kurang efektif dan lebih bersifat seremonial harus diintensifkan dan dijadikan gerakan sosial bersama penyelamatan lingkungan secara berkelanjutan.

New normal pariwisata pada destinasi superprioritas Danau Toba dapat diartikan sebagai koreksi terhadap kerusakan ekologi. Pariwisata yang bertumpu pada konservasi. *New normal* era pandemi Covid-19 *in line* dengan semangat konservasi, restorasi dan revitalisasi situs-situs geologi, hayati dan budaya UGG Kaldera Toba dan dengan demikian memperkuat implementasi pariwisata berkelanjutan di KDT.

Dalam menyongsong era kenormalan yang lebih baik, sekali lagi, agar Pemerintah tidak perlu ragu mengambil kebijakan yang mendahulukan kelestarian lingkungan dan menghentikan pola lama yang serakah pada lingkungan. Dengan demikian, tuntutan kenormalan yang lebih baik menjadi jalan baru, melestarikan kehidupan yang harmoni dengan alam Danau Toba sekitarnya, disertai bangkitnya kembali pariwisata hijau.

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ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF INDO-PACIFIC TOWARDS SEA PIRACY

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays, Indo-Pacific becomes one prominent area that has been talked about in the international world. Indo-Pacific has the potential to be a huge regional power. Furthermore, Indo-Pacific has an advantage in terms of strategic maritime zones spreading along the projected area because these zones are the main transit ways of international trade. Being as an international trade route makes Indo-Pacific vulnerable to irresponsible crimes such as sea piracy. Sea piracy cases are rising continuously up to 2.600 cases in the world. Therefore, this issues are very important to discuss and this research comes up with two main questions. First, how will Indo-Pacific behave to face the growing problems of sea piracy? Second, what are the actions that have been and will be implemented by the Indo-Pacific as the result of their attitudes towards sea piracy? To answer those questions, the writers use Neo-Realism theory and two key concepts namely anarchy and balance of power. This research is using qualitative method as the main methodology and focus in study case. The results of this research are there are three points regarding the attitudes and four points regarding the actions of the Indo-Pacific towards sea piracy. There is an unlimited range of options that Indo-Pacific can conduct in terms of sea piracy. Also, there should be an agreement in the international world that sea piracy is a global threat, including the Indo-Pacific

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, Sea Piracy, International Trade Route, Great Powers.

1. Introduction

The development of the international world has seen a lot of dynamics over the last centuries. The international world has witnessed all kinds of war from the seventeenth century until the middle of the twentieth century when World War II had finished in 1945. Since then, the number of wars around the world continues to decrease at a rapid phase. The most famous war that happened after World War II would be the Cold War. Since 1945, the amount of war that happened has been replaced by the new trend, which is international cooperation. The world thinks that war could not bring any advantages eventhough if they win because there would be too many casualties. Therefore, they moved on from war into the phase of international cooperation. In short amount of time, international cooperation have been grown rapidly. It comes at different levels, such as bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation. Currently, in the

twenty first century, there is new-comers in regional cooperation which also been very popular since the very beginning of its emergence which called Indo-Pacific.

The discussion of the Indo-Pacific started in the nineteenth century. Back then, Indo-Pacific emerges as a concept of the importance of sea power around the international world (Yadav, 2018). Since then, it seems like Indo-Pacific has lost its popularity. After its declining trend, at the beginning of the twenty first century, Indo-Pacific has started to regain its popularity. Its popularity has been increased even further in the international world. Now, Indo-Pacific is better known as a concept which focusing on the economic, political, and military dimensions of regional cooperation. Then it is safe to say that right now Indo-Pacific is one of the regional cooperation that can be found in the discussion of international relations. As regional cooperation, Indo-Pacific surely has their range of area which is spread from

the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. It is a large area for regional cooperation because it accommodates half of the biggest oceans in the world. Therefore, Indo-Pacific became one of the most important area because the strategic location for the international trade.

Indo-Pacific is located at the heart of the world trade route. Almost every transaction of the world trade needs to pass the route located in the area of Indo-Pacific especially through the sea. Water or sea became the most effective way of the world trade system back then when people had lack of access to the transportation and land transportation consumes a lot of time. Until now, maritime transportation has a big contribution to the world, especially for the economic factors. Blue Economy is one of the terms used in Indo-Pacific and also in the world overall to describe the activities that happen at the sea. Every country in the world, especially in the Indo-Pacific region has an important role in this Blue Economy (Sakhuja, 2015).

Indo-Pacific has a huge potential for development and involvement in the international world, especially in international trade. Moreover, in terms of the importance, the area of Indo-Pacific is also surrounded by countries with such as natural resources and technologies. Some important and key countries around the international world have decided to involve and work together for the Indo-Pacific. Led by the United States, countries like India, Japan, Australia, France, and others will increase the potential development of the Indo-Pacific. Therefore, Indo-Pacific could fulfill its potential as regional cooperation.

With so many advantages that Indo-Pacific have, unfortunately, the international trade route brings up some issues. One of them is sea piracy. Indo-Pacific forces to deal with that issues because of the uneven development in the coastal areas that forced the people to do the piracy to help their families. Yet, this issue often underestimated by a lot of people. The

writers believe that sea piracy is one of the most important problems for the Indo-Pacific that needs to deal with more comprehensive strategy, Indo-Pacific needs strong attitudes and clear actions to combat this crime. Thus, this paper will be focusing on how the Indo-Pacific behaves and acts towards the effort to tackle and eradicate sea piracy.

There is some objects that will become the key(s) of this paper. First is Indo-Pacific, which will become the main concept of this paper. Second is sea piracy, which becomes the main issues that will be discussed throughout this paper. In this paper, state will become the main actor which includes several key countries such as the United States, India, Japan, Australia, and France which also be mentioned frequently in this paper as their role and actions are highly important to tackle some regional issues in Indo-Pacific.

1.1 Research Questions

Indo-Pacific has become one of the most intriguing regional cooperation in the twenty first century. Indo-Pacific has the potential to make huge changes to the structure of the international world that have been lasted for a long time. As the needs for international cooperation on all levels have never been so high before, Indo-Pacific turns out to be one of the most sought-after cooperation for some countries, especially the one that located around the Indo-Pacific designated area. The involvement of some developed countries (like the United States, France, and Japan) and developing countries who are trying to increase their status (like Australia, India, and Indonesia) further increase the value of Indo-Pacific in the international system. Besides, Indo-Pacific is also located in a promising and important area geographically.

Unfortunately, like any other promising international cooperation around the world, there are a lot of problems surrounding the Indo-Pacific, even though

Indo-Pacific is still not officially launched and established like some kind of international organization. Along with those problems, sea piracy appears to be one of the most dangerous threats for the Indo-Pacific because of the large area of waters that the Indo-Pacific possesses. Despite the fluctuated trend of sea piracy cases around the world since the start of the twenty first century, nobody could underestimate the potential danger of sea piracy, with no exception to Indo-Pacific. In regards to the explanation above, this paper has two research questions that will be answered, namely:

1. How will Indo-Pacific behave to face the growing problems of sea piracy?
2. What are the actions that have been and will be implemented by Indo-Pacific as the results of their attitudes and behaviors towards sea piracy?

1.2 Research Purposes and Objectives

Following the research questions above, this paper also has two research purposes. The first research purpose of this paper is to analyze and understand the attitudes and behaviors of the Indo-Pacific regarding the growing problems of sea piracy around the world. The second research purpose of this paper is to explain and figure out the actions that have been and will be implemented by Indo-Pacific as the results of their attitudes and behaviors towards sea piracy. These purposes are based on the research questions.

After stating the research questions and purposes, this paper also has some research objectives that want to be reached. The writers believe that this paper will be beneficial and contributive for everybody who read this paper. Based on the people who read this paper and their purpose regarding this paper, there are two kinds of research objectives in this paper, that is practical and theoretical objectives.

Practical objectives will be focused on everyone who reads this paper with no exception. The first practical objective of

this paper is to give some new information for all of the readers regarding the Indo-Pacific related to sea piracy and other related issues. The writers also wish to give additional information about Indo-Pacific in general because the discussion about Indo-Pacific still needs more information in the future. So, the writers are hopeful that this paper can contribute positively to the discussion and other related issues.

Theoretical objectives will be focused especially for everyone who wants to continue the research with similar topics or issues with this paper. The writers are also hopeful that this paper will be a useful foundation for them to start their research or paper. The next theoretical objective of this paper is to give positive evaluations and recommendations for the important stakeholders related to this paper. This objective sounds ambitious, but we believe that every paper regarding Indo-Pacific is useful and contributive for the development of Indo-Pacific as an uprising regional cooperation in the international world.

1.3 Research Structure

Overall, this paper consists of five important parts, namely the introduction, literature review and theoretical framework, research methodology, result and analysis, and conclusion. The introduction part describes brief explanations of the topic overall, especially the Indo-Pacific and its relations to the sea piracy as a threat. Besides, this part displays the research questions and research purposes that will guide the direction of this paper. This part concluded with the research objectives and research structure as additional information for this paper.

The next part of this paper is the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review is one of the most important parts of this paper because it contains previous researches in the past that are related and contributive to the development of this paper. Even though it is not easy to find a lot of previous

researches about the Indo-Pacific, the writers believe that it is an important part of this paper. The theoretical framework has the same importance as the literature review because this paper is an international relations paper. Theories of international relations hold an essential part in every international relations paper. This part consists of the discussion of the selected theory for this paper and some key concepts of the selected theory concerning the development of this paper.

The next part of this paper is the research methodology. This part consists of a brief explanation of the scope of this paper. Also, the most important part of this part is the research approaches and research methods. These are also important sections of this paper because they help determine the overall process of this paper. Moreover, this part also consists of short explanations regarding the technique for the data collection, data processing, data analysis, and data presentation.

The next part of this paper is the result and analysis. This is the most important part of this paper as it consists of all the result of this paper and also the analysis in regards to every result that have been collected for this paper. The explanation in this part will be based on the research questions previously stated in the introduction part. Mainly, this part will explain the information about Indo-Pacific, attitudes, and behaviors of Indo-Pacific towards the sea piracy, and also the actions that have been and will be taken and implemented towards the Indo-Pacific. All of the explanations in this part have the theoretical framework stated previously as the basic foundation of the analysis.

Last but not least, this paper will be finished with the conclusion part. This part consists of the necessary ending that summarizes all of the research based on the research questions and all of the results and analysis. Besides, this part also consists of the recommendations that the writers

provide in terms of this paper and the next research based on this paper.

2. Literature Review

The writers are trying to collect previous literature and writings that are related to this paper. Then, the writers are making the reviews according to the related pieces of literature and writings. By doing this step, the writers are gaining two benefits. First, the writers can gain the pattern of thinking from the previous kinds of literature and writings that are necessary for this paper. Second, the writers can know and understand the development of the study related to the focus of this paper.

2.1 Indo-Pacific

One of the earliest things to do to understand Indo-Pacific as a concept is how people recognize or assume “Indo-Pacific”. Writing from Wada Haruko refers to Indo-Pacific as a new geographical term that is starting to gain recognition from around the world. The increasing amount of discussion in the last 24 months surrounding the United States, Australia, Japan, India, France, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, and ASEAN regarding the Indo-Pacific is moving into the direction of geographical term based on the symbol of their regional agreement. To fulfill the understanding of the Indo-Pacific as a geographical term, those countries have to make the geographical adjustment (Haruko, 2020).

The other Indo-Pacific recognition and assumption are to look at it as a strategy and a vision, just like the idea from the writing of Yoshihide Suga. At one point, Indo-Pacific has been looked at as a political and security strategy initiated by Japan, the United States, India, and Australia to counterbalance the domination of China with their Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) strategy. As time goes on, Japan and their government started to change the status of the Indo-Pacific into a vision. Within this vision, Japan inserted three main principles that are focusing on the rule

of law, freedom of navigation, free trade, economic prosperity, and commitment to peace and stability along the region of Indo-Pacific (Soeya, 2019).

As new regional cooperation with huge potential of development and also problems in the future, Indo-Pacific needs to be strong and compact. Writing from Caitlin Byrne stated that to be strong and compact, Indo-Pacific needs the “rules-based order”. The rules-based order is important for Indo-Pacific because Indo-Pacific has not reached the same level as a strong international organization like the United Nations. Indo-Pacific does not have a “leader” who can determine the way of every Indo-Pacific members yet. Indo-Pacific has to come together and produce necessary rules to support rules-based order as a strategic narrative. Byrne predicts that rules-based order will help Indo-Pacific in the future (Byrne, 2020).

2.2 Sea Piracy

The second concept that needs some reviewing process from previous works of literature and writings is sea piracy as one of the problems, not only for the Indo-Pacific but also for the rest of the international waters. Writing from Farhad Malekian stated that as a crime, sea piracy has been considered as one of the most dangerous and notorious international crimes under the law of the sea. Sea piracy does not know geographical limit as everybody knows from the map as the geographical landscape of international waters is different and harder to recognize. Besides, sea piracy is also getting attention from the system of international criminal law and also various international conventions (Malekian, 2011:299).

In terms of definition, there are some definitions stated by some related stakeholders. An annual report from the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) stated the definition of sea piracy as:

“An act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the apparent intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the apparent intent or capability to use force in the furtherance of the act” (ICC IMB, 2003).

The one who commits all of the crime in terms of sea piracy is called the pirates. The definition of the sea piracy can be upgraded even more with the explanation of what the pirates do in terms of the crime. Pirates did everything that is against the humanity cruelly on the sea, such as robbery, murder, rape, plunder, and others (Keyuan, 2005). It is also recognized that the existing definitions about sea piracy is inadequate and not enough to support the policies and the actions devised by the government and policymakers everywhere in the world. It is important to revise the definitions based on the categories of crimes committed and other supporting factors (Dillon, 2005).

Sea piracy continues to evolve and develop while keep trying to pose the threat to the life above water. Writing from Abdul Haseeb Ansari and friends stated that sea piracy has been moving through the era of classical piracy into the modern era of sea piracy using the advancement of technology. So, it is a little bit of irony where technology can be the way to tackle sea piracy but at the same time can be the way to develop sea piracy itself. With the help of technology, sea piracy in the modern era involves not only robbery, but also kidnapping crews and hijacking vessels (Ansari, Win, and Hamid, 2014).

The dangers of sea piracy goes beyond the various kinds of sea piracy itself. Writing from Peter Chalk stated that sea piracy has direct implications for human life and the security aspect of politics, economy, and environment. Most of the sea piracy incidents are involving

physical assault, resulting in physical injury and loss of human life. Sea piracy could affect the economic aspect through fraud, delayed trips, stolen and problematic cargos, and others. Sea piracy could also affect the political aspect by weakening one government's regime. Sea piracy could also be the main reason for some environmental disasters (Chalk, 2008: 14-17).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The writers are trying to build a strong foundation for this paper by providing the selected theory of international relations that is suitable for the progress of this paper. To support the selected theory, the writers also provide some key concepts related to the theory itself to further strengthen the theoretical framework and foundation of this paper.

2.3.1 Neo-Realism or Structural Realism

The writers believe that Neo-Realism is the most relevant international relations theory to analyse the issues. If Neo-Realism sounds a little bit unfamiliar, then can also be called Structural Realism. The one who started the idea of Neo-Realism is Kenneth Waltz in 1975 and 1979. To further explain his brilliant idea, Kenneth Waltz wrote his book called *Theory of International Politics* in 1979. The easiest and most simple understanding of Neo-Realism as a theory is that Neo-Realism is the development of Classical Realism is a traditional theory of international relations. That is why there is a "Neo" inside the Neo-Realism, to show that Neo-Realism is the newer version of Classical Realism.

Just like any other international relations theory, Neo-Realism also has some important concepts to support the main idea of the theory itself. One of the interesting concepts of Neo-Realism is about power. Classical Realism puts maximum power as the most important thing that states need to look for. In terms

of Neo-Realism, power is still an important thing to look for. Yet, Kenneth Waltz stated the kind of power all states need to chase, namely "appropriate amount of power" (Waltz, 1979: 40). The writers believe and pick two other concepts that are related to the overall content of this paper. First, the importance of anarchy and balance of power. Second, the dominant role of great powers in the international system.

2.3.2 The Importance of Anarchy and Balance of Power

This is the first Neo-Realism concept that is related to this paper. In terms of anarchy, there is less difference between Classical Realism and Neo-Realism. Both theories put anarchy as their primary focus to look at the international world. However, in Neo-Realism, it is important for states to react to the anarchic world by using strategy of balancing with another states, especially with the poor and weak countries (Donnelly, 2013: 38). When those poor and weak countries did not try to balance their power, yet decided to use the bandwagoning strategy instead, those countries will face much more risk in terms of being taken benefit of and controlled by the bigger and stronger countries. So, Neo-Realism sees the importance of the relations between anarchy and the balance of power.

Concerning this paper, the presence of Indo-Pacific is the result of the rivalry in the region between the United States and China. That rivalry is one of the better implementations of the anarchic international world nowadays according to Neo-Realism. Indo-Pacific is also one of the better ways to do the balance of power. Key countries in Indo-Pacific are threatened by the increasing influence of China. As a result, those countries decided to join the United States and form strong cooperation through the Indo-Pacific. The writers believe that Indo-Pacific is a good implementation of balance of power because key countries and other weaker countries inside Indo-Pacific are

contributing something of their own to support the United States and to strengthen Indo-Pacific itself. They are not just bandwagoning the United States.

2.3.3 The Dominant Role of Great Powers in International System and Structure

The second Neo-Realism concept that is related to this paper is a combination of the other two important aspects of Neo-Realism, namely power and anarchy. In terms of power, Neo-Realism believes that there are countries categorized as great powers or polarity. John J. Mearsheimer stated that there is a debate of polarity in terms of the ability to cause a war between bipolarity and multipolarity (Mearsheimer, 2013: 84). People are saying that bipolarity is less war-prone than multipolarity. But, at the same time, people are saying that multipolarity is less war-prone than bipolarity. Either way, both of them have a tiny chance to cause war in today's international world. Yet, bipolarity and multipolarity will always be an interesting debate in terms of competition of power.

The other important Neo-Realism concept is the presence of an international system. People who study and follow Neo-Realism are trying to describe the international world as a system. Writing from Stanley Hoffmann stated that the international system is a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, in which the pattern is largely determined by the structure of the world (Hoffmann, 1961: 90). The writers believe that state or country is one of the basic units inside world politics. The writers also believe that Indo-Pacific counts as one kind of international system that consists of a pattern of relations among the member states. Inside the international system full of anarchy, the dominant role of great powers or countries is important. Without it, the international system cannot operate properly. Therefore, great powers have

important roles in terms of operating the international system.

3. Research Method

In this part of research will discuss about the main structure of the research, theoretical framework which contain the theory and concept of this paper, and lastly, the research methodology. This part is important to understand the fundametal and foundation of this paper.

This part is talking about the scope of the research, research approach, research method, technique for collecting data, and technique for analyzing, processing, and presenting data that have been collected. However, before discussing any further, this research discusses the attitudes and actions of the Indo-Pacific in handling sea piracy cases. In a deeper discussion, there are two variables used in this study, namely independent and dependent variables. Sea piracy and Indo-Pacific are the independent variables while the attitudes and actions are the dependent variables.

In general, the approach applied in this research is the qualitative approach. The qualitative approach describes more about research that is narrative and also descriptive. In this study, it requires more descriptive and narrative discussion than quantitative data. Only a few elements of quantitative research used in this research, namely numerical elements that are only used as supporting aspects to strengthen the data. Then, this research tries to give considerable attention and research on the case of handling sea piracy in the Indo-Pacific. Besides, the writers are also trying to intensively explain sea piracy cases that occur and how important the cases will impact the dynamics of relations established in the Indo-Pacific so that there needs to be special attention in handling this case. This paper also tried to describe details about the efforts that have been made and plans that will be made by countries within the Indo-Pacific to follow up on these cases of sea piracy. Some cases

are specifically studied deep enough that it can be said that this research uses the case study method as its main method.

Not only in-depth research and discussing the case, but it was also explained in the background that these cases of sea piracy are not the first case to occur in the Indo-Pacific region. Almost most countries in the region have experienced or at least related to the problem of sea piracy since some time ago. From here, it can be understood that this research does not only discusses a particular in-depth case but also dissects the events behind it and the efforts made in the past about the present. All of these studies, both present and past, are all done to find relevant conclusions that can be applied in the future. As Joel Quirk (2008: 518) says that in social research, especially International Relations, events that occurred in the past do not mean to stop contributing to current events because in reality a lot of meaning is given by past events for the future (Quirk, 2008: 518). By researching things in the past, or in other words using historical methods, Mark Trachtenberg in his research revealed that such past events will be able to help to provide additional meaning so that today's research can speak more if used appropriately and comprehensively (Trachtenberg, 2006: 1).

Furthermore, this section will also discuss how to collect the data. This research mostly uses secondary data sources collected from newspapers, books, journals, and other print media both in the present and in the past that are used to support the discussion of this research. This secondary data source is also used in the form of literature research, or in other words researching by reading detailed library documents that can contribute to the research. All data obtained will be processed using data reduction techniques where after the data is obtained the writers will directly group the data to match the equation of the theme or concept according

to the desired research objectives. After that, the writers will process the data by interpreting the results of the data that has been collected until all appropriate results are obtained. In the end, the writers will display the data into a written narrative description that is supported by the display of images, figures, tables, and other supporting data as needed. The description will be in the form of a paragraph according to the category of available information.

4. Results and Discussions

This is the fourth part of this paper. This part consists of all the results in relation to this paper. In addition, all the necessary analysis regarding the results are provided in this part.

4.1 The Blue Economy

The term "Blue Economy" actually has been used in many different ways and in this paper Blue Economy talks about oceanic resources and sustainable development in economic sectors. In fact, from an international relations perspective, the security aspect has always been related to economic factors that make these two terms related to one another. That is the reason why it is important to understand how the perspective of the Blue Economy will affect the security aspect of Indo-Pacific. The World Bank (2017) gives a definition of the Blue Economy which is a concept with the main focus is to promote economic growth and the improvement of livelihoods while this concept also tries to ensure the environmental sustainability of the oceans. From this perspective, the Blue Economy has various components including established traditional ocean industries such as tourism, fisheries, marine, climate change. From this perspective, it can be seen that all of these activities are made to improve the effectiveness of the utilization and management of marine resources, especially in the Indo-Pacific region.

In line with the Blue Economy perspective defined by the World Bank, the Indo-Pacific, based on the agreement of the countries in the region, mentions another name for this region, namely the Blue Pacific, because it has an identity united by the sea. In the discussion and the main focus of the countries in it as the Blue Pacific, namely to deal with the issue of climate change which is currently a hot topic of discussion in the international system (Morgan, 2020). This is in line with the principle of the Blue Economy, which also discusses sustainable development and handling climate change. Activities that are mostly carried out in the sea will further increase the value of the waters of the Indo-Pacific region so that it cannot be denied that it will bring several new issues to the surface. Previously, it was explained that the Indo-Pacific territorial waters became a very important area for world trade routes, if added with the Blue Economy program, it would increase the activities and benefits that could be taken from the region. This is likely to raise new issues, namely regarding security issues, one of which is sea piracy. The possibility is that sea piracy will interfere with regional security and community activities and relations between countries. This is the main reason for the interrelation between the Blue Economy with the sea piracy.

4.2 Indo-Pacific in the Eye of the Key Countries

As time goes on, Indo-Pacific continues to develop on its way to becoming one of the most successful and important regional cooperation in the world nowadays. But, the key to the development of the Indo-Pacific lies in the hand of the key countries inside this regional cooperation. As previously mentioned, countries like the United States, Japan, India, Australia, and France can be counted as the key countries in Indo-Pacific. Even though it is not officially recognized, the writers believe that those countries can be

called the founding fathers of Indo-Pacific, especially in terms of their emergence in the twenty first century. So, it is important to understand the point of view of those countries regarding the Indo-Pacific itself.

Among those key countries, Japan is one of the most enthusiastic ones in terms of the Indo-Pacific. Japan is actively pursuing the leadership role in Indo-Pacific because they believe that Indo-Pacific is multipolar regional cooperation. For Japan, Indo-Pacific will have no problem accommodating more than one leader, unlike other regional cooperation. Also, writing from Hiroyuki Suzuki stated that Japan and other key countries classified as middle power countries like India, Australia, and Indonesia should be able to play a more active role in Indo-Pacific to ensure stability and cooperation. With the emergence of China's BRI, the existence of Indo-Pacific has the high possibility of being misused by the United States to rival China and its influence in the region (Suzuki, 2020). So, Japan thinks that they have to take the leadership role, along with other middle-power countries, to support the United States and to guarantee the strength and stability of the Indo-Pacific as regional cooperation.

The other key country inside Indo-Pacific is Australia. Even though Australia has not been categorized as a developed country in terms of international relations, Australia holds an important role in the development of the Indo-Pacific, especially around the Pacific Ocean. Moreover, writing from Rory Medcalf stated that Australia has been the most active proponent of the concept Indo-Pacific. One of the most strategic steps of Australia regarding the Indo-Pacific itself has been the elaboration process of Indo-Pacific as their strategic environment in 2013 into the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, the specific national document to explain the vision of Australia's international relations (Medcalf, 2019). Australia also believes that while some people said that Indo-

Pacific is a concept born in the United States, there are some Australian originality and authenticity inside the concept itself. So, Australia has been one of the countries actively pursuing the immense possibility of Indo-Pacific in the future.

Moving a little bit to the northern side of the world, France is also one of the key countries inside the Indo-Pacific. The presence of France is important because France is also the essential representative of the European Union in the Indo-Pacific. Developed regional cooperation like European Union will contribute to the development of the Indo-Pacific. In terms of geographical aspect, France is well-represented in the two main areas of Indo-Pacific thanks to its overseas territories and possessions. Writing from Andrea Gilli stated that France has increased its involvement in Indo-Pacific since the 2010s, and its *raison d'être* are the aspects of the economy (markets and investments) and the potential of political and security cooperation (Gilli, 2019). France also has its own political and diplomatic role in the Indo-Pacific in the form of three themes, namely nuclear non-proliferation, defending the rules-based international order, and dealing with non-traditional security and non-state actor issues.

In terms of the amount of population inside a country, then India is the most populous country in regards to the key countries of the Indo-Pacific discussion. The rapid-growing population that has not to show any sign of slowing down in India makes India become the second country to ever reach one billion population after China. Also, India has a long-term plan and role for its contribution of Indo-Pacific's stability as regional cooperation in the future. Writing from Vinay Kaura stated that India has some dynamism in terms of economic and demographic aspect that significantly affects the development of Indo-Pacific. Besides, India is also located strategically geographically. India has some sea lanes that are highly essential to

the process of global trade and energy flows (Kaura, 2018). These advantages will be beneficial for India and also for Indo-Pacific. While India is trying to help Indo-Pacific with its engagement in various aspects, India believes that it will reap a huge number of benefits if Indo-Pacific turns out to be successful regional cooperation in the future.

Furthermore, it is a difficult task to argue that one of the key countries in the Indo-Pacific that are located in the most strategic location geographically is Indonesia. Just like Australia, Indonesia is still categorized as a developing country that is aiming to be a developed country in the future. One of the ways to improve its status is to increase its involvement in the international world. So, it is just rational for Indonesia to involve in the development of the Indo-Pacific. Writing from Hendra Manurung and Arry Bainus stated that Indonesia has a chance to be one of the upcoming great powers in the international world through Indo-Pacific by improving the Free and Active (*Bebas-Aktif*) foreign policy that Indonesia has been implementing until today. Also, Indonesia could use its involvement and leadership in ASEAN to further improve its role in Indo-Pacific. ASEAN itself already has ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP). With AOIP and also the improvement of *Bebas-Aktif* foreign policy, Indonesia will have a great chance to take a leadership role in Indo-Pacific (Manurung and Bainus, 2019).

The United States will play the biggest and most important role in terms of the development of the Indo-Pacific. The rivalries in the region between the United States and China are one of the most essential reasons for all of the key countries to support the United States in improving Indo-Pacific, competing against China's BRI, its initiative to rule the region. Even though the United States has its hegemonic status in the international world, the writers believe that the United States needs the involvement of these key countries to

enhance the development of the Indo-Pacific. Right now, China is developing into the hegemonic status at a rapid, rapid, pace. China is counting on its economic supremacy to try dethroning the United States. China's economic power alone can overcome many countries' economic power combined. So, in terms of their regional battle through Indo-Pacific, United States needs those key countries.

4.3 The Development of Sea Piracy in International World

Some people might say that the world right now is a better place for human to live their life, especially after the end of some of the biggest wars in history, namely World War I, World War II, Cold War, and others. Countries are making a lot of effort to cooperate more frequently than ever. But, it is impossible to have a world without issues and problems. Even though the war is not happening in the world currently, there are so many problems that the world is facing right now. Issues like global warming, poverty, terrorism, migration, or even the biggest issues in the world like now, the Covid-19 pandemic, needs to be solved by the international world. Moving the focus a little bit to life on waters, one of the most dangerous problems right now is sea piracy. Not only threatening international waters overall, but sea piracy is also threatening regional cooperations that heavily rely on waters, just like Indo-Pacific. So, Indo-Pacific needs to understand the development of sea piracy to know how to tackle sea piracy as a threat.

Before looking at the overall development of sea piracy, it is also important to look at factors or reasons that contribute to the presence or emergence of sea piracy, especially since the beginning of the twenty first century. Writing from Peter Chalk stated that there are at least seven factors behind sea piracy in the global era. First, there has been a huge increase in maritime traffic, especially commercial ones. Second, there has been a high amount

of usage by seaborne commercial traffic of maritime checkpoints near the areas of non-state or maritime criminal activity. Locations such as Malacca Straits, the Suez Canal, and much more ultimately ended up being one of the main targets of sea piracy. Third, there has been the tarriance effect of the Asian financial crisis that started to "attack" Southeast Asia, especially, in 1997. This factor can be counted as a pull factor of sea piracy around the world (Chalk, 2008: 10-11).

Fourth, the difficult task for everybody regarding the level of actions towards maritime surveillance. This issue nowadays has been escalated after the horrifying events of September 11, 2001 (famously known as 9/11). Fifth, concerning the fourth factor, port-side security and lax coastal contribute significantly in terms of low-level piratical activity on the harbors and seas. This kind of low-level piratical activities are often underestimated but could be important to the overall development of sea piracy. Sixth, the system of national criminal justice has been corrupted and dysfunctional. This factor has been directly contributed to the phantom ship phenomenon in some countries. Finally, a global effort of small arms proliferation. Ironically, this factor indirectly motivates pirates (and other criminal elements) to enhance their means of operation to a more destructive and dangerous level (Chalk, 2008: 12-14).

According to a document from United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), sea piracy can be counted as a violent, acquisitive, transnational, and organized crime. Sea piracy is a transnational crime because a ship with a flag is a sign of the national sovereignty of those flags. Sea piracy is an organized crime because there is some commandeering process in the action of sea piracy (UNODC, 2010). Sea piracy has seen a lot of popularity since the beginning of the twenty first century. But, the amount

of reported sea piracy attacks since then have fluctuated every year. The most affected area of sea piracy attacks around the world is on the Coast of Somalia, especially around the year 2008 and 2009. In 2008, sea piracy attacks in Somalia contributed 38% of overall sea piracy attacks around the world (ICC IMB, 2009). In 2009, there had been a huge amount of increase in overall sea piracy attacks around the world thanks to sea piracy attacks in Somalia, which contributed 53% of it (ICC IMB, 2009).

In terms of the Indo-Pacific, one of the most important waters is the Asian waters. According to the ICC IMB annual report, since 2010, the number of sea piracy incidents in Asian waters and also the Gulf of Guinea have increased significantly. As a comparison, in 2012 there are 55 sea piracy incidents in the Gulf of Guinea and 26 sea piracy incidents in East Africa. Those numbers are significantly lower than 130 sea piracy incidents in Asia (UNCTAD, 2014). Additional information from ReCAAP ISC stated that sea piracy and armed robbery against ships in Asian waters in 2020 are reaching the highest number recorded since the early period of 2015. The main area of sea piracy attacks in Asian waters within this period is the Singapore Strait and South China Sea (ReCAAP ISC, 2020). So, sea piracy is a real threat to Indo-Pacific, especially around Asian waters. The next part of this paper will be focusing on how the Indo-Pacific behaves and act towards sea piracy.

4.4 Attitudes of Indo-Pacific towards Sea Piracy

After discussing the general information about Indo-Pacific, specifically in the eye of the key countries, and the overall development of sea piracy in the international world, this paper continues with how Indo-Pacific is trying to face, solve, tackle, and eradicate the issues of sea piracy, especially that are happening inside the area of Indo-Pacific itself. The first

thing is to understand the attitudes of the Indo-Pacific towards sea piracy. The writers believe that Indo-Pacific is behaving normatively towards sea piracy, meaning that Indo-Pacific is not behaving differently than any other countries or cooperation trying to solve sea piracy issues. The writers are summarizing Indo-Pacific's attitudes or behaviors towards sea piracy in three points. First, Indo-Pacific understands the threat of sea piracy. Second, Indo-Pacific realizes that sea piracy is a major challenge. Third, Indo-Pacific, specifically the key countries, believes that a strong and firm attitude concerning eradicating sea piracy will give important steps towards the future of Indo-Pacific, especially on their continuous effort to rival China's BRI.

The first and foremost attitude of Indo-Pacific towards sea piracy is that Indo-Pacific understands the dangerous threat of sea piracy. Along with illegal fishing, sea piracy is undermining Indo-Pacific's maritime security. Therefore, it is easy to move on to the second attitude, namely realization of Indo-Pacific that acknowledge sea piracy as a major challenge. A realization of sea piracy as a major challenge means that Indo-Pacific is serious about sea piracy. Indo-Pacific is trying their best to find the necessary solutions and actions to solve the issues of sea piracy, which will be discussed further in the next part of this paper. So, the writers believe that the understanding and realization from Indo-Pacific are small steps. But, those small steps are important to continue to the bigger steps of fighting sea piracy.

The third, and maybe the most interesting, attitude according to the writers is that Indo-Pacific believes that a strong and firm attitude to solve and tackle sea piracy is huge for the future development of the Indo-Pacific itself. This attitude is the result of the idea from the key countries inside the Indo-Pacific. One of the most important future development of Indo-

Pacific is related to its effort to compete with China's BRI. The writers believe that Indo-Pacific and BRI are putting the same focus towards the importance of their water area. So, if both countries can "master the art" of eradicating sea piracy, it will be a major boost because one of them could have a better control of their water area. The writers believe that Indo-Pacific must have a strong and firm attitude towards sea piracy. From that point, Indo-Pacific can put its focus on arranging and planning its real and concrete necessary actions.

4.5 Actions of Indo-Pacific towards Sea Piracy

Attitudes and behaviors will never be enough for Indo-Pacific to eradicate issues like sea piracy. It also needs to take necessary and suitable actions. Since Indo-Pacific is heavily relying on the importance of its key countries, the writers are trying to collect the list of actions from the key countries' point of view. The smaller countries inside Indo-Pacific are having a huge amount of difficulties in dealing with sea piracy on their own. In summary, there are four main points of actions of Indo-Pacific towards sea piracy. First, the importance of strong enforcement of maritime or international Law. Second, provision and training of coast guard vessels from key countries to smaller countries inside Indo-Pacific. Third, the development of a monitoring system across the waters. Fourth, increase the number of international cooperation, not only in between Indo-Pacific member states but also with countries outside Indo-Pacific.

The first action has to be related to law. As previously mentioned, sea piracy has been considered an international crime. Therefore, sea piracy is heavily related to at least two kinds of law, international law and maritime law. An international crime as dangerous as sea piracy needs upgraded and strong enforcement of the law. Indo-Pacific should be able to contribute more to this action. The next action is about the

provision and training of coast guard vessels. Smaller countries inside Indo-Pacific are in desperate need of adequate coast guard vessels. The key country like Japan has started to do this action, and other key countries have to follow Japan's footsteps (Prime Minister's Office of Japan, 2018). If coast guard vessels are available and ready, strengthened by every possible training, all around the region of Indo-Pacific, sea piracy in Indo-Pacific will be handled better in the future.

The third action is a follow-up from the second action, namely the development of monitoring systems around and across the waters. Coast guard vessels cannot do their job alone. They need adequate, top-level, high-quality monitoring systems to help them. With the advancement of technology nowadays, the monitoring systems have endless possibilities to develop and directly support the work of coast guard vessels. The fourth action, which the writers believe can be the most important action, is to increase the number of international cooperation. The world agrees that sea piracy is an international-level problem. Regional cooperation like Indo-Pacific cannot and will never be able to eradicate sea piracy by itself. Indo-Pacific needs to increase international cooperation. The writers believe that there will be no country that rejects the offer to work together and eradicate sea piracy. Besides, Indo-Pacific should also be able to look outside the box and work together with countries all over the world. International cooperation will be the key action for Indo-Pacific to face, solve, tackle, and eradicate sea piracy out of its region.

5. Conclusion

As the conclusion of this paper, the writers are emphasizing four main points. First, sea piracy has become one of the most troublesome problems in the international world, especially since the beginning of the twenty first century. Even though the number of cases and the dynamics have

fluctuated, sea piracy is still giving a scare to the international world. Second, which is still related to the first point, there should be an agreement in the international world that sea piracy is a global threat, and there should be no exception to Indo-Pacific. With this agreement, Indo-Pacific as regional cooperation that puts some amount of focus on the importance of waters will try its best to fight and eradicate sea piracy.

Third, which is the continuation of the second point, eradicating sea piracy has to be one of the primary goals of the Indo-Pacific moving forward. It is an important step because Indo-Pacific realizes its unlimited maritime potential on its waters. Fourth, there are three points regarding the attitudes and four points regarding the actions of the Indo-Pacific towards sea piracy. Those points are just small parts of an unlimited range of options that Indo-Pacific can conduct. The writers believe that the last point of those actions, which is to increase the number of international cooperation, is the most important strategy to conduct. Indo-Pacific will never be able to eradicate sea piracy by its power, even though there are some countries combining

power and effort. The most important thing to remember is that sea piracy is an international-level problem. Cooperations on every possible level are necessary.

In terms of recommendation, the writers are dividing the points into two categories based on the recipients of the recommendation, namely for the topic of this paper and for the people who will continue the research of this paper. For the topic of this paper, the writers would like to recommend to every member state of the Indo-Pacific to actively communicate to each other concerning the eradication effort of sea piracy. Smaller countries who need help should open themselves so bigger countries can take necessary actions to help. If this process cannot be done smoothly, then it will affect the development of the Indo-Pacific as well. For the people who will continue the research of this paper, the writers would like to encourage every possible continuation of this research since the writers feel that there is a lot of room for improvement in this research. The writers believe that Indo-Pacific will be developed even further in the future. So, the writers are open to future research based on this paper.

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