

**THE DEPLOYMENT OF TRACK TWO DIPLOMACY IN
INDONESIAN LED WORKSHOP ON MANAGING CONFLICT
IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA, 1990 – 2002**

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ABSTRACT

Conflict in the South China Sea became a flashpoint in Southeast Asia in the 1970s. Located in a strategic area which has important sea lanes and rich in living and non-living resources, the South China Sea is claimed by six states namely China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei. However, in that period, there was no formal forum like the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) through which the conflict could be handled and as a result, Track Two Diplomacy was applied to manage the conflict through a series of meetings entitled “Workshop on Managing Potential Conflict in the South China Sea” led by Indonesia from 1990 to 2002. The statement of the problem of the thesis is why Track Two Diplomacy was chosen as a suitable mechanism to manage the conflict and to what extent was this experiment successful and effective. The objectives of the study are as follows: firstly, to examine the reasons for the deployment of Track Two Diplomacy as a mechanism of conflict management and Indonesian support for the workshop; secondly, to investigate the process, outcomes and effectiveness of the workshop. This research employs the qualitative method whereby a case study of the workshop is undertaken. Both primary and secondary data are analyzed. Theories used in this research are Constructivism which provides understanding on how socialization, identity and norms guide behaviour of states and Functionalism which stresses on promoting cooperation to enhance peace. The significance of this study is to suggest ways in which Track Two Diplomacy can be usefully deployed in managing conflicts in the South China Sea and elsewhere. The findings of this study are as follows: firstly, the interactive process of dialogue developed by the workshop has been able to create a sense of community and norms building. Secondly, the workshop succeeded to establish functional cooperation in less sensitive issues. Thirdly, the workshop further enhanced the concept of Track Two Diplomacy. Finally, the workshop was able to maintain peace in the region as indicated by absence of major military conflict since 1990.

Key words: Constructivism; Functionalism; Indonesia; South China Sea; Track Two Diplomacy.

ABSTRAK

Kawasan Laut China Selatan telah menjadi zon konflik di rantau Asia Tenggara pada tahun 1970-an. Kawasan ini sangat strategik dalam aspek laluan laut antara bangsa dan juga kaya dengan sumber hidup dan bukan hidup. Sejak tahun 1970-an, kawasan ini dituntut oleh enam buah negara iaitu China, Taiwan, Filipina, Vietnam, Malaysia dan Brunei. Namun, tidak wujud satu forum rasmi pada masa itu, seperti ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) bagi membolehkan konflik ditangani. Oleh itu, Diplomasi Laluan Kedua telah diguna pakai untuk menguruskan konflik melalui satu siri pertemuan yang bertajuk “Bengkel Pengurusan Konflik di Laut China Selatan” yang disokong oleh Indonesia dari tahun 1990 hingga 2002. Permasalahan kajian dalam tesis ini tertumpu kepada persoalan sebab utama Diplomasi Laluan Kedua dipilih sebagai mekanisme yang sesuai untuk menguruskan konflik dan sejauh manakah kejayaan dan keberkesanannya. Objektif kajian ini ialah untuk meneliti sebab Diplomasi Laluan Kedua digunakan sebagai mekanisme pengurusan konflik dan sokongan Indonesia terhadap bengkel berkenaan. Seterusnya, objektif kajian ialah untuk mengkaji proses, hasil dan keberkesanan bengkel yang dilaksanakan. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah kualitatif dan kajian kes terhadap bengkel yang dilaksanakan. Kedua-dua data primer dan sekunder akan dianalisa. Teori yang digunakan dalam kajian ini merupakan teori Konstruktivisme yang memberikan pemahaman tentang cara sosialisasi, identiti dan norma yang membimbing tingkah laku sesebuah negara dan teori Fungsionalisme yang menekankan kerjasama untuk meningkatkan kedamaian. Kepentingan kajian ini adalah untuk mencadangkan cara pelaksanaan Diplomasi Laluan Kedua yang bermanfaat dalam menangani konflik di Laut China Selatan dan di tempat lain. Hasil kajian ini antara lain menunjukkan proses dialog interaktif yang dibangunkan daripada bengkel ini yang dapat mewujudkan semangat komuniti dan pembangunan norma. Kedua, bengkel yang dilaksanakan telah berjaya mewujudkan fungsi kerjasama dalam isu yang kurang sensitif. Ketiga, bengkel tersebut berjaya meningkatkan konsep Diplomasi Laluan Kedua. Akhir sekali, pelaksanaan bengkel juga dapat mengekalkan keamanan di rantau ini yang terbukti melalui ketiadaan konflik ketenteraan semenjak tahun 1990.

Kata kunci: Konstruktivisme; Fungsionalisme; Indonesia; Laut China Selatan; Diplomasi Laluan Kedua.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AICOHR	ASEAN-ISIS Colloquium on Human Rights
AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
APR	Asia Pacific Roundtable
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN-ISIS	ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies
Bakosurtanal	<i>Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional</i> (National Coordinating Agency for Surveys and Mapping)
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
CBP	Confidence Building Process
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CoC	Code of Conduct
CONEFO	Conference of New Emerging Forces
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
DoC	Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAS/RCU	East Asian Sea Regional Coordination Unit
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EL	Environmental Legislation
ELS	Exercise Luzon Sea
ETM	Education and Training of Mariners
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GEM	Group of Experts Meeting
HDI	Hydrographic Data and Information Exchange
ICR	Interactive Conflict Resolution
IGGI	International Governmental Group on Indonesia

IMO	International Maritime Organization
IPS	Interactive Problem Solving
ISDS	Institute for Strategic and Development Studies
JOMSRE	Joint Oceanographic Marine Scientific Research Expedition
LM	Legal Matters
MEP	Marine Environmental Protection
MSR	Marine Scientific Research
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NEFOS	New Emerging Forces
NHM	Non-living, Non-hydrocarbon Mineral Resources
NIC	Newly Industrialized Country
OLDEFOS	Old Emerging Forces
OPEC	Organization Petroleum Exporting Countries
PKI	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Communist Party)
PLAN	People's Liberation Army – Navy
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSW	Problem Solving Workshop
RAWD	Resource Assessment and Ways of Development
RCSS	Regional Centre for Strategic Studies
<i>REPELITA</i>	<i>Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun</i> (Five Year Development Plan)
ROC	Republic of China
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAP	Strategic Acting Programme
SAR	Save and Rescue
SCS	South China Sea
SG	Study Group
SIIA	Singapore Institute for International Affairs
SLOC	Sea-Lanes of Communication
SNSC	Safety of Navigation, Shipping and Communication
SRA	Supporting Regional Authority
SRIAS	Search and Rescue and Illegal Acts at Sea

TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia
TWG	Technical Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
US	United States of America
ZOC	Zones of Co-operation
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Conflict is inevitable in inter-state relations, but there is always an opportunity for cooperation among the conflicting parties to build everlasting peace. Many parties, including states, have made efforts to solve their conflict. However, some of these efforts have succeeded and others were stuck in deadlock, especially on the complicated conflict. In essence, a complicated conflict is a complex and acute conflict in which the parties involved resist to de-escalate or resolve the conflict (Coleman, 2000). It is triggered by interlinked factors such as economy, politics, ethnicity, sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction. States are reluctant to enter into official negotiations (Track One Diplomacy) in such conflict fearing the possibility of losing their sovereignty or autonomy (Kemper, 2007). Therefore, unofficial negotiation (Track Two Diplomacy) is needed to aid the process of finding a solution to the conflict as well as transforming it into policy via Track One Diplomacy. Furthermore, Track Two Diplomacy enables the conflicting parties to socialize new perspective ideas; to provide alternative norms and to shape common identity as well as to propose cooperation actions (Kaye, 2005).

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