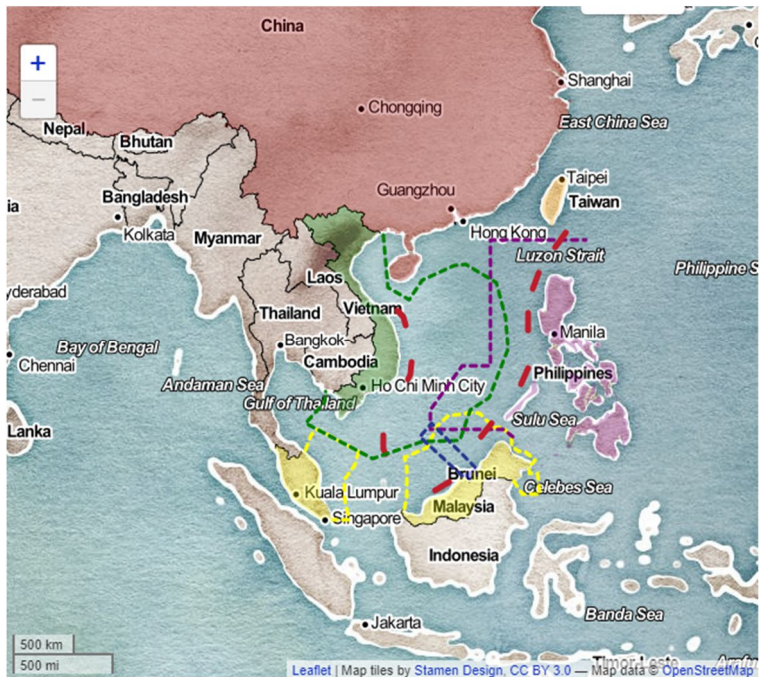# CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background

As with most other developing countries, the issue of security among ASEAN countries has always been an interesting phenomenon with many aspects characterized by the complex interdependence between domestic and foreign affairs. During the Cold War era, ASEAN, which has one of the goals to create an independent regional order, which defines its independence as an effort not to engage in conflicts with other countries, especially the superpower ones. However, after the end of the Cold War, the desired regional order of ASEAN, and ASEAN's relations with major countries from outside the region would need to be redone. The new strategic environment prompted ASEAN to take new policies on political and security issues. ASEAN can no longer only pay attention to bilateral problems and cooperation. The recent change in political constellation in Asia Pacific has encouraged countries in the region, not to mention members of ASEAN to pay more attention to its regional security issues. In particular, increasing disagreements over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea region involving ASEAN member countries such as Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam disputes arising from the South China Sea conflict have sparked bilateral conflicts and inter-state disputes have raised fears of possible outbreaks of military conflicts, in which several ASEAN member countries are involved. This is what prompted ASEAN countries to include regional security issues into the official agenda of ASEAN.

The South China Sea dispute conflict is a regional conflict involving several countries in Southeast Asia which are the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations* (ASEAN) which are Malaysia and Philippine with Taiwan and China as the claiming

most of the region. In the South China Sea dispute also involves hegemonic state of great power such as the United States, and other non-hegemonic countries such as Japan, South Korea, and others. Conflicts of territory in the form of disputes in the waters of the South China Sea that began to heat up since the beginning of the 21st century in 1992 until this year has disrupted the political stability in Southeast Asia.

Picture 1.1 The map of conflicted claims in South China Sea

Source : https://projects.voanews.com/south-china-sea/indonesian/

The main problem that arises in the South China Sea conflict is the overlapping claims involving six parties: China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia based on both historical records and UNCLOS

(United Nations on the Law of the Sea) 1982. The majority of countries in the world have ratified the Convention on the Law of the Sea established by the United Nations, known as UNCLOS 1982, which regulates the boundaries of each country's maritime territory. ASEAN countries also refer to this Sea Law Convention in determining the outer boundary of the state marine territory. If not addressed properly these overlapping claims will lead to an open conflict in the region. Meanwhile, disputants who are largely members of the Association of ASEAN for years are unwilling to utilize the ASEAN mechanism in solving the problem on the grounds of national sovereignty. If the countries involved in the territorial conflicts in the South China Sea still insist on attempts to seize the territory on the basic of sovereignty and boundaries claimed in the territory, it is certain that they are building a map to a roadmap to deadlock with the unavoidable consequences of military conflict in the South China Sea.

The dispute started when China claimed the territory of *nine dash lines* including the Spratly and Paracel Islands since the end of World War II, at which time the Japanese surrendered and the two islands were incorporated into China's Guandong province. (James W. Morly, 1997) China's claim to this region was based on factors -the historical factor of China, where Chinese fishermen since 200 BCE has used these waters as areas for livelihood, especially in the Paracel archipelago. (Larry M. Wortzel, 1999) China claims the South China Sea region uses *nine dash lines* or can be interpreted as nine point lines covering the entire South China Sea region. China's claim to the South China Sea region *unilaterally* was rejected by several countries such as Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Vietnam also the Philippines due to overlap with the ZEE region (Exclusive Economic Zone) of each country, especially Vietnam and the Philippines are mutually scrambling with China over ownership of the Spratly and Paracel archipelago.

The South China Sea is an area that has a lively trade line. Because of its strategic geographical location, the South China Sea is very important for the economies of the countries of the world. Large countries like China, which is one of the countries that claim the region desperately needs the resources contained in it. As a large country, China occupies the first position in the world's largest energy use. (Global Energy Statistical Yearbook 2018, n.d.)The amount of energy consumption used to drive the Chinese economy is not accompanied by the production of fuel derived from oil or natural gas. Thus, it encourages China, which has been importing fuel in the form of oil and gas, claimed the South China Sea region that has a large oil and gas content. In addition, the South China Sea is an area passed by various countries to transport its energy materials.

According to data from the US-based *Energy Information Administration* (EIA), the South China Sea is estimated to contain 11 billion barrels of oil, as well as 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. The estimate is very close to the original estimated total. (South China Sea, 2013) The use of oil and natural gas in various countries of the world is of paramount importance, since both can stimulate the economy of the country. The territorial disputes occurring in the South China Sea region have made it difficult to know exactly how many of the two natural resources contain.

South China Sea region as mentioned earlier has a very strategic geography. Thus, a country that can control the region has an advantage in terms of geopolitics. The excellence of the region, which makes it such a strategic area, is that the area is a major source of energy trade for the world's major economies, especially in Asia. More than 90% of international trade in the world takes place through commercial shipments and as much as 45% passes unregulated waters in the South China Sea. Interestingly, the Malacca Strait lies on one end of the South China Sea, which is the second busiest international line in the world after the Strait of Hormuz. (Rowan, 2005)

Due to the crowded shipping lanes, the South China Sea area is often bypassed by military ships. Military ships come from countries adjacent to the South China Sea region. The presence of military ships also aims to uphold the sovereignty of each country's territory, and also to prevent the occurrence of pirate activity that often occurs in the region, although cooperation to fight the pirate activities should be done with rival countries that are equally claimed the region. (Scott, 2012)

As one of the member of ASEAN countries and as an archipelagic country, Indonesia within the framework of ASEAN is concerned with the stability of the region, since 1992 the government of Indonesia has initiated a workshop in the South China Sea by way of its preventive diplomacy. It is a workshop which is a non-formal meeting with the topic of Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea involving countries in the region. (Abdul Rivai Ras, 201) The workshop is not aimed at resolving disputes but reducing the level of conflict with the identification of opportunities for cooperation. Any form of conflict in the South China Sea region will threaten the stability of the security of the Asian region as well as internationally. (Hong, 2012) Because of this importance, this research has the purpose of analyzing the development of the South China Sea conflict within the framework of ASEAN and the role of ASEAN in the effort to encourage the transformation of conflict in the South China Sea.

B. Research Question

Based on the background explains above, the question as serves the main point of the analysis is:

"How is the role of ASEAN in the effort of reducing South China Sea conflict?"

C. Theoretical Framework

To explain the answers to the questions in the research question, then the researcher uses the theoretical framework that is based on conflict transformation approach. The conflict transformation approach in international relations to explain the situation occurring in the South China Sea today as follows:

Conflict Transformation Approach

The concept of conflict transformation was conceived and popularized by John Paul Lederach. Lederach has used conflict transformation terminology since the 1980s after an intensive event while in Central America. This concept emerged from various previous concepts that he thought cannot answer the problem paradigmatically.

According to Lederach, things that can extend the conflict and result in damage must be turned into something constructive. The purpose of constructive change is to change the perspective of conflict to be positive by seeing that conflict is beneficial for a relationship. This constructive change process is called conflict transformation. The conflict transformation is more than just specific techniques. It is a way to see the conflict as a whole. In the conflict resolution approach, according to him, sometimes the researchers are more likely to see in detail focused on the cases that occur, thus blocking the thought of seeing the context of the conflict as a whole. For that we need a different perspective. What Lederach meant by seeing the conflict in its entirety was to see the conflict not only in cases of conflict that occurred on the surface but also at the roots of the conflict that became a sustainable pattern, where if the conflict was not resolved, it would happen again. (Lederach, The Little Book of Conflict Transformation, 2003)

Conflict can be used as an opportunity for the entire change process to occur (constructively). Changes that occur first must eliminate violence. Second, bring the value of justice in direct

interaction between communities, especially those in conflict. Third, using conflict to build a more tolerant character.

Conflict transformation provides an interesting analogy that conflict transformation is the same as the journey of life into a human who uses 3H 1L (Head, Heart, Hand and Legs) to achieve goals:

1. Head: is our way of thinking about how to view conflict. This perspective is very influential on how we treat or react to the conflict. Conflict is not static. It is like a part of the earth where there are mountains, valleys, rivers and trees to be an element of beauty of the earth itself. In the conflict, of course, a harmonious period, a period of conflict, a period of conflict, a period of killing, cooling down and even a ceasefire. Understanding conflict as part of the dynamics of human life forces to think about innovative ways that can lead people to the process of conflict transformation. This is transformational perspective which is a change-oriented perspective. In carrying out this, a capacity for thinking is needed which views conflict as a natural phenomenon and dares to use that capacity in peace building works.

2. Heart: is the center of life from the body. Someone finds emotion, intuition and spiritual life in his heart. From the heart he establishes relationships with others and also nature. From the heart he feels hurt and then breaks the relationship with others. The heart is the center where he feels a shift in feeling in response to an invitation to conflict or vice versa.

3. Hand: hand symbolizes work. The meaning contained is that peace must be made, action needs. This is the realization of the head and heart in a real action. Transformation is a social process of changing relationships. This is a long job because it is closely related to the dynamics of human feelings

4. Legs and feet, or legs. The foot can be interpreted as a footing or ground on a footing. Just like hands, feet will ground one's ideas and alignments to build peace in a real form. An important target in a process of conflict transformation is to reduce violence and embrace justice for anyone. This can be started when the relationship with yourself and with others is built equally, open and dignified. Therefore conflict transformation will occur if there is a change in self, family, society and structure in society.

Another interesting thing from what Lederach put forward is his view of change and conflict. Conflict is normal and always exists in human social relations. In this regard, social relations are not static, but they will always be dynamic and adaptive. Thus the conflict will impact the situation and can change something into something else in sharing forms and in different ways. Furthermore, according to him, change is not only what happens as a result or the impact of a conflict but change is also a projection of the conditions that we want in the future. In understanding change, conflict transformation is not an analytical tool that only analyzes changes that have been and are occurring due to conflict but it provides a framework of change that we want in the future. In view of the transformation of the conflict, Lederach offers to see and analyze these changes in 4 different level dimensions along with projected changes through conflict transformation in each of these dimensions as follows:

1. Personal: In this dimension changes occur in the cognitive, emotional, perceptual, behavioral, spiritual and mental aspects due to conflict experiences. Conflict transformation is needed to free individuals from the destructive effects of the conflict, both intellectually, mentally and spiritually. On the contrary, transformation maximizes the developing potential at the individual level to be better; both physically, emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually.

2. Relational. In this dimension, conflict affects social relations in which there is a relationship between elements of power, strength, and interdependence. Transformation is needed to restore the patterns of communication and interaction in a conflicting relationship by trying to unravel, improve, and strengthen the lines of communication between individuals and groups that had been stopped or not yet running well, so that a good and true understanding of other individuals appears; try to build interpersonal relationships without excessive fear and prejudice, which is based on the relationship of mutual needs (interdependence) and bringing mutual hope to one another.
3. Structural. This dimension relates to social structures or rules that govern relationships between individuals in society. Conflict transformation seeks to understand the roots of conflict; which will have a lot to do with economic, political and social structures; promoting conflict resolution mechanisms that affect social conditions with the principle of non-violence (non-violence), sustainable, and participatory; develop a structure that is in line with human needs for justice and maximizes community participation in decision making that has an impact on their lives (procedural justice).
4. Culture (Culture). At this level conflict is seen as influencing cultural values that exist in society. Conflict transformation at this level means identifying and understanding cultural patterns in society that can trigger violence as an expression of conflict; besides it also identifies cultural values that can handle conflict constructively; recognize and develop resources and mechanisms for peacebuilding in resolving conflict problems that are in it a cultural basis for constructively responding and dealing with conflict. The four

dimensions in the transformation approach above relate to one another.

The South China Sea conflict resolution can adopt the concept of conflict transformation that focuses on relationships between the parties. According to John Paul Lederach, the trans formation approach begins with two pro-active bases: (1) a positive orientation about conflict, (2) a desire to engage in conflict as an effort to produce change or constructive growth. Both of these bases refer to the core of transformation as an ability to understand and analyze that conflict has constructive potential for change. This is very different from the approach that believes that conflict will usually result in a cycle of hurt and destructive things that are long-term (Lederach, 2003). These two pro-active based is used by the ASEAN in reducing the South China Sea conflict, ASEAN sees the conflict as positive orientation to build cooperation among the countries. ASEAN also engage the conflict for the potential change to make the multilateral cooperation with China also make the growth of conflict resolution from the military forces to become soft diplomacy.

The conflict transformation approach does not analyze conflict as something isolated, but rather seeks and understands the parts of the conflict that are connected with a broader pattern of relationships and interactions between people. Then, the conflict transformation approach views conflict as a valuable opportunity to grow and improve understanding of oneself and others. Through this approach, conflict can be understood as a driver of change that maintains dynamic relationships and social structures in response to human needs. (Lederach, 2003) ASEAN wants to make this conflict between China and ASEAN as a chance to build and improve the mutual understanding toward each other through the cooperation by confident building measures and preventive diplomacy.

In the context of the South China Sea, the approach to conflict transformation becomes more relevant because:

1) The point of view of the conflicting actors (claimant states): differences in understanding the root of the problem, while the root of the problem includes political sovereignty (including claim history), state / jurisdictional boundaries, natural resource management issues, and maritime security issues.
2) Facilitator's point of view (non-claimant state): ASEAN (Indonesia) has facilitated workshop forums to maintain relations between the conflicting parties, and to prevent the occurrence of armed conflict in the South China Sea. The forum initiated by Indonesia seeks to link the problem of claims to the South China Sea region with the objectives and interests of each actor.
3) There is a choice of strategies to prevent open conflict in the South China Sea in the form of cooperation that does not raise the sensitivity of the parties, especially in the field of research and development, including building the connectivity needed by each country.
4) ASEAN as the oldest regional organization in Southeast Asia has a great opportunity to offer and develop peaceful conflict resolution strategies in accordance with the Blueprint of the ASEAN Security Political Community to create a safe, peaceful and stable region. In addition, to maintain the centrality of ASEAN, the conflict transformation approach in the South China Sea is intended to transform the potential of conflict into mutually beneficial cooperation, where ASEAN can play a role in encouraging this kind of cooperation.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical framework mentioned above, the hypothesis for the research would be as follows:

The role of ASEAN in reducing South China Sea conflict is going through some ways:

a. ASEAN creates multilateral settlement effort through forum and agreements to persuade China that once wanted bilateral settlement for the South China Sea conflict.
b. ASEAN transforms the use of military forces to solve the problem between ASEAN member countries and China to become using the way of preventive diplomacy.
c. ASEAN changes the issue of the conflict that was once is a *zero sum game* issues to become *non-zero sum game* issues by creating cooperation between ASEAN and China in the South China sea region.

E. Purpose of Writing

This research aims at understanding the role of ASEAN cooperation in the effort of reducing South China Sea conflict.

F. Methodology of Research

Methodology of research is the procedure how a research will be executed. It discusses the method of conducting the research, while the research procedure discusses the tools used in measuring or collecting research data. Thus, the research method includes research procedures and research techniques. (Arikunto, 1992)

Type of Research

Research methods are procedures or steps in obtaining scientific knowledge or in other words is a systematic way to compile science. While research technique is way to carry out research method. This research method usually refers to some form of research, one of them is descriptive research. And this research is using the descriptive research which is a study that attempts to describe a phenomenon, events, events that occur today. Descriptive research focuses on actual issues as they are at the time of the study. Through descriptive research, researchers try to describe the events and events that became the center of attention without giving special treatment to the event. The variables studied can be single (one variable) can also more and one variable. So that in this research the author wants to describe the effort and cooperation done by ASEAN regarding the South China Sea conflicts.

Type of Data

Based on the underlying approach, in general can be distinguished two kinds of research that is quantitative and qualitative research. Both approaches have assumptions, goals, characteristics, and different procedures.

The quantitative approach is one of the scientific inquiry based on logical positivism that operates with strict rules of logic, truth, laws and prediction. The focus of quantitative research is identified as a concise, limited work process and sorting through problems into measurable or expressed parts in numbers. (Danim, 2002)

Meanwhile, this research is using the qualitative type of data. Qualitative research is aimed at understanding social phenomena from the point of view of participants. Thus qualitative research is a research used to examine the condition of natural objects in which the researcher is a key instrument. (Sugiyono, 2005)

Qualitative research is descriptive analytic. Data obtained such as observations, interviews, document analysis, field notes, prepared by researchers at the study sites, not poured in form and numbers. Researchers immediately perform data analysis by enriching information, finding relationships, comparing, and finding patterns on the basis of the original data. The results of data analysis in the form of exposure on the situation under study presented in the form of narrative descriptions. The nature of data exposure generally answers the questions of why and how a phenomenon occurs. So that in this research, the author will provide the qualitative data about the role and effort of ASEAN in the South China Sea conflicts.

Data Resources

Data resources is referred to as the source of data in the study is the subject from which data can be obtained. (Arikunto S. , 1992)

Primary Data and Secondary Data are sources of information data collected to be the basis of the conclusions of a study. Although in essence both are both a source of data, but different ways to get it. For that the method of data collection must be in accordance with the research being done, whether using primary or secondary data.

Secondary data is the source of research data obtained through intermediate media or indirectly in the form of books, records, existing evidence, or archives both published and unpublished in general. In other words, researchers need data collection by visiting libraries, study centers, archival centers or reading many books related to the research. And this research is using the secondary data to find and gather data about the role done by ASEAN in the effort to reduce the South China Sea conflicts.

G. Scope of Research

To restrict the analysis, the researcher limiting the period of time from all the sources, review in the research conducted since the year 2011 until 2017, where at that time the beginning of the cooperation between ASEAN and China are conducting the multilateral cooperation. The researcher observes how is the role of ASEAN in reducing South China Sea conflicts through several sources, such as web site. The researcher also will compare the influence before and after the cooperation are signed both of countries.

H. Organization of Writing

This research consists of 5 chapters which provides analysis in systematic order. Every single chapter is a coherent body of analysis in order to answer the question that generated before. The chapters will contain as follows:

Chapter I

The first chapter consists of introduction with some parts, such as: background, research question, theoretical framework, methodology research, hypothesis, scope of research and outline.

Chapter II

The second chapter will elaborate about the ASEAN in the context of conflict settlement in the South China Sea conflict.

Chapter III

The third chapters consist about the history of conflict South China Sea and the claimant, non-claimant states in the South China Sea.

Chapter IV

The fourth chapter consist of the explanation of the role and effort that made by ASEAN in reducing South China Sea conflict.

Chapter V

The last chapter of this thesis is about conclusion. There will be a brief explanation about all the chapters above then conclude all the explanation into one conclusion in this chapter.