

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the background of the issue, and the research question. The objective of the research is to address China Panda Diplomacy towards Indonesia in 2017. The research will respond to the research question by formulating a hypothesis based on theoretical frameworks selected. This proposal also includes the method of research applied and the research outline.

A. Background

Diplomacy has become a new trend in this current modern era on how a country achieves its national interest. Diplomacy is the methods by which States all through the world lead their issues in approaches to guarantee peaceful relation. This involves as much the promotion of political, economic, cultural or a scientific relation as it does worldwide pledge to safeguard human rights or the peaceful settlement of disputes (Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2008). In the other hand, diplomacy's activities are relying on the mutual approval of the states. It mentioned in article two of the Vienna Convention (1961) that "*The establishment of diplomatic relations between States, and permanent diplomatic missions, takes place by mutual consent*". Normally, diplomacy's activities are conducted by sending a diplomatic agent to the cooperating country(Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, t.t.).

In this twenty-century, most of the countries are tending to leave the hard power in order to achieve their national interest. Not forget to mention that China is one of the new members which are into the soft-power in this century. The term of soft-power is leading to negotiation and diplomacy. Yet in its development, China has been made a lot of transformation in term of diplomacy and political practice in the International

level. To understand its transformation, Mark Voigts and CaiShouqiu (1993) divided it into three phases. The first phase was lasting from 1949 to 1972. The second phase is from 1972 to 1979. The last phase is during the 1980s until this project is made (Mark Voigts, Cai Shouqiu, 1993).

During the first phase, we will see that China is one of the introvert countries. After independence, China has isolated from the international community. It had some contact with the Soviet bloc, however even that stopped by the mid to late 1950s. During this phase, China was neither a member of the United Nations nor of any of its advisory groups. At that point, China was not associated with any sort of international diplomacy. This first phase was a long way of China international isolation due to reforming its internal politics (Mark Voigts, Cai Shouqiu, 1993).

During the second phase of transformation from 1972 to 1979, China tried to be more open towards international activity. China involves to the United Nations in 1971. One of the concerns during this period is the improvement of the protection of the environment. In this stage, the Stockholm Conference held by the United Nations (UN) in 1972 remind as the gate where's China has an opportunity to participate actively in international diplomacy (Hu, 2013).

The final phase began with Deng Xiaoping's administration. This category of phase is started in 1979 until the recent day. His contributions not merely stabilize the government, but also accelerate the economic reformation. Deng Xiaoping made China recognize by the world towards its economic stability. His concerned towards the environmental issue, made China signed an agreement with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to set up a research center and conservation to secure the Giant Panda in 1979 at Sichuan province, Southwest of China (Mark Voigts, Cai Shouqiu, 1993). Deng Xiaoping brought huge changing in securing a fauna that only belongs to China, the Giant Panda, *Ailuropoda melanoleuca* (Fuwen Wei, Zuoijan Feng, Zuwang Wang, Jinchu Hu, 2000). Deng Xiaoping made this giant panda as the

China official ambassador or well-known as Panda Diplomacy. In the very beginning, Panda was given only to China's partner as a gift. Over time, the Panda Diplomacy means as a loan of Giant Panda to China's partner. This Panda Diplomacy made China has its own unique way to conduct diplomatic activity towards other countries. Practically, Panda Diplomacy experienced some changes. It depends on the political situation and when the bilateral relations conducted (Wirawan, 2017).

Stage one during the Mao Zedong era (in the 1950s and 1970s) appeared as China gifting pandas to build a good friendship. Mao Zedong declared the People Republic of China in 1949, but at that time the panda was gifted exclusively to allied Socialist states. The practice starts from 1957 and 1959 when China sent panda as a state gift to the former Soviet Union. Yet during 1960s panda's diplomatic careers start. It followed by sent a pair of Panda to North Korea in 1965. In the meantime, Panda Diplomacy has a role to build the strategic Alliances. Particularly, during the United State (US) president - Richard Nixon - and Chinese president - Mao Zedong - met each other (Hinderson, 2017, p. 9). In 1972, China sent a pair of Panda both to the US and Japan.

Stage two took after Deng Xiaoping's rise to power in 1978 when gift turned into loans program in a short time particularly for zoo tour. However, it was condemned by the environmental NGOs, then in 1982, the panda gift was stopped because the panda becomes endangered. From 1957-1981 there are 23 of the panda in total that used as a gift.

In the developing stage three, starts from the 1990s until now. During this phase, the panda will be sending to receiving countries in term of cooperative research and loan. China Wildlife Conservation Association (CWCA) and China Zoological Association reached an agreement with the International Wildlife Conservation Agency to loan giant panda for cooperative research. Panda loans are associated with countries that provides China with profitable assets and technology and symbolize China's eagerness to build *guanxi*

or deep relations, profound trade connections characterized by loyalty, correspondence, trust to maintaining the bilateral relations involving the national treasure exchange and long-lasting (Kathleen Carmel Buckingham, Jonathan Neil William David, Paul Jespon, 2013). Panda's now going abroad for fees, which vary according to the country. Normally, the breeding loan's fee is US\$ 1.000.000 each year.

As China's iconic animal, Panda has a big role in how China builds its bilateral strategic alliances and maintaining the relations within other countries. Through the cuteness of the Panda, it's easy to takeover and wins the hearts of the people. Recognizing its ability for being the world's superstar, China keeps looking this valuable diplomacy until the recent day. In the other side, panda gives the country a softer image representing China. The old Panda Diplomacy has been practiced since the Tang Dynasty (624-705) where two pandas were given to the Japanese (Kathleen Carmel Buckingham, Jonathan Neil William David, Paul Jespon, 2013, p. 2). Furthermore the modern of Panda Diplomacy start in the late 1950s or in the Mao Zedong administration.

The pandas that been deployed by China government to another country served as the primary means of expressing inter-state sentiment. At the same time, not all countries can receive a panda, and the countries which do are a small and very specifically chosen group which adds to the question of what the purpose of panda diplomacy actually is (Hinderson, 2017). Diplomacy Panda is expanding and entering the realm of Southeast Asia. Indonesia is one of the Southeast Asia countries who got the panda loan from China.

China as one of the powerful actors in global integration becomes a part of any cooperation (Umagapi, 2017). China's bilateral relationship are guided by a principle that informs how Chinese leaders rank and value them. Chinese officials and scholars cite the following principle: "Major power relations are *critical (or key)*; relations with neighboring countries are *primary (or the priority)*; and relations with neighboring countries are the *foundation (or*

base)” (*da guo shi guanjian, zhoubian shi shouyao, fazhanzhong guojia shi jichu*)(Medeiros, 2009).Reported from the official website of the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia, the foreign trade and economic cooperation being the major core of China-Indonesia’s bilateral in the very beginning. It proved by the Chinese embassy in Indonesia that stated in 1990 both bilateral trade volume has risen from 1.18 billion US\$ to 7.464 billion in 2001. By this huge number of trade’s volume, China-Indonesia tightened their bilateral ties. According to table 1.1, China is the top number of Indonesia trading partner in the world that spent 13.7% of total Indonesian export. Meanwhile table 1.2 shows that Indonesia becomes the top 20th, particularly number 16th, of China trading partners.

Table1.1 Indonesia’s Top Trading Partners during 2017

No	Country	The value in US\$	% of total Indonesian Export
1	China	23 billion	13.7
2	USA	17.8 billion	10.6
3	Japan	17.8 billion	10.5
4	India	14.1 billion	8.3
5	Singapore	12.8 billion	7.6
6	Malaysia	8.5 billion	5
7	South Korea	8.2 billion	4.8
8	Philippines	6.6 billion	3.9
9	Thailand	6.5 billion	3.8
10	Taiwan	4.2 billion	2.5

Source: (Workman, 2019)

Table1.2 China's Top Trading Partners during 2017

No	Country	Value in US\$
1	USA	430.33 billion
2	Hong Kong	279.21 billion
3	Japan	137.26 billion
4	South Korea	102.70 billion
5	Vietnam	71.62 billion
6	Germany	71.13 billion
7	India	68.04 billion
8	Netherlands	67.13 billion
9	UK	56.71 billion
10	Singapore	45.02 billion
11	Russia	42.83 billion
12	Malaysia	41.71 billion
13	Australia	41.44 billion
14	Thailand	38.54 billion
15	Mexico	35.91 billion
16	Indonesia	34.76 billion

Source: (Trading Economics, 2019)

In 1991, both China South Airlines and Garuda airlines are opened direct flights. Meanwhile, in 1992, both countries have signed an agreement for information cooperation. Moreover, the student exchange in both countries starts in 1994. By the end of 2001, agriculture, energy, exploration of resources and infrastructure construction had become the major parts of their economic and trade cooperation. Due to high profits that both countries gained, the scope of bilateral not only talking about economic, trade relations and technological cooperation, but widens into other issues such as exchanges and cooperation in culture, scientific, and military fields. Cooperation between local governments or known as Para diplomacy came to be another example of how tight the bilateral of China-Indonesia. Beijing built up ties of friendship cities with Jakarta, East Java and Shanghai,

Guangdong Province and North Sumatra, Fujian Province with Central Java, and Hunan Province with West Nusa Tenggara (Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Indonesia, 2004).

Panda diplomacy sets a new stage in China-Indonesia ties. A female giant panda -Hu Chun- and male one -Cai Tao- who weighs 113 kilograms, arrived at Soekarno-Hatta airport in Jakarta on September 28th, 2017 on loan for 10 years from China. This agreement was initiated between China and Indonesia in 2010.

Hu Chun and Cai Tao were delivered through Garuda airline, flight number GA 887 Chengdu-Jakarta. The Panda has been ready for the public in Taman Safari, a Zoo in Bogor. The Zoo has built 1,300 meters squared as its home (South China Morning Post, 2017). It was noted that Indonesia became the fourth official country in Southeast Asia and the 17th country in the world that get a breeding loan from Giant Pandas from China (Muzakki, 2017).

B. Research Question

Based on the background of the research, the thesis is going to focus on addressing the research question as follow:

“How Panda Diplomacy plays a role in the development of China’s relations with Indonesia?”

C. Theoretical Framework

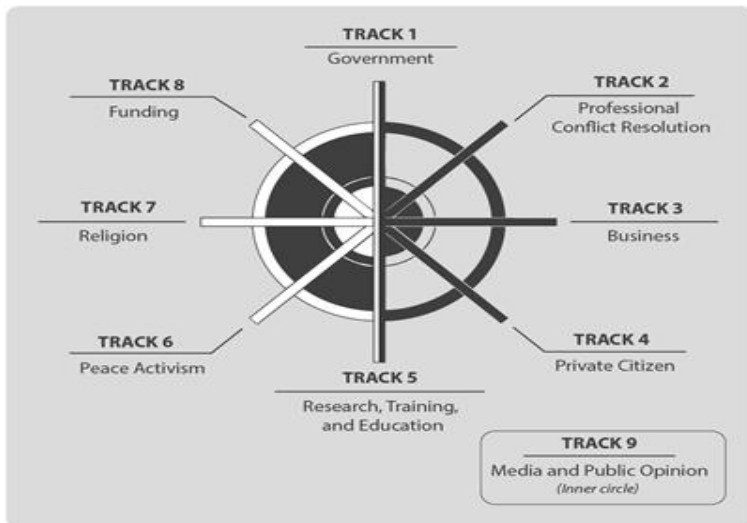
In regards to the thesis, the researcher has selected the theory to help address the research question proposed:

Multi-track Diplomacy

Multi-track diplomacy is a system approach to peace-building (The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 2011). It’s introduced by Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador McDonald in 1991. They said that multi-track diplomacy is an

expansion of the “Track One, Track Two”. Track one is diplomacy whereby the communication only conduct by the official government to vice versa. Meanwhile “Track Two” is diplomacy that conducts by the non-governmental actors. In its development, the multi-track diplomacy consists of nine elements. As illustrated in the figure 1.1 the elements of multi-track diplomacy consist of government; professional conflict resolutions; business; private citizen; research, training and education; peace activism; religion; funding; and the mass media. There’s no such term of that government is less important than the non-governmental actor in the multi-track diplomacy, because the existence of the other elements are to stimulate the work of the government in conducting the diplomacy (The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 2011).

Figure 1.1 Multi-Track Diplomacy



I · M · T · D *Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy*

Source: Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 2019

The writer will use the multi-track diplomacy to analyze this research. There are three tracks use by the researcher that consist of track one or the government, the world of official diplomacy, policymaking, and peace building as expressed through formal aspects of the governmental process. Track two or the track of the realm of professional non-governmental action attempting to analyze, prevent, resolve, and manage international conflicts by non-state actors. Track five which is includes three related worlds: research, as it connected to university program, think tanks, and specialist-interest research centers; training programs that seek to provide training practitioner skills such as negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution, and third-party facilitation; and education , including kindergarten through PhD programs that cover various aspects of global or cross-cultural studies, peace and world order studies, and conflict analysis, management and resolutions.

In the application, these actors that involves in the process of panda diplomacy will use “Public Diplomacy” as a tool in conducting the diplomacy while putting some goals in. In other words, this Panda Diplomacy is actually representing China’s public diplomacy. Public diplomacy emerged during the cold war(Gilboa, 2008).

In the words of Joseph S. Nye, “***Public diplomacy is an instrument that governments use to mobilize the resources to communicate with and attract the public of other countries, rather than merely their governments.***”(Joseph S. Nye, 2008).Meanwhile, according to Edward Murrow (1963) defines Public diplomacy as where the diplomacy action involving the different actor out of the government with the various background and broader group of people.

Mark Leonard stated that public diplomacy should be conducted and concerned on the countries which have the same or at least most relevant to a country interest, not those which are easiest to influence. In the world of Mark Leonard stated that public diplomacy concerns about the building relationship; understanding of other country's needs; communicating the perspective; correcting misunderstanding or misperception; and seeking for the area that we can find a common goal (Leonard, 2002, p. 9). One of public diplomacy activity is by building a long-term relationship with population abroad to gain the legitimating of a country's values and assets and to learn from them.

According to Joseph Nye (2008), the effectiveness of public diplomacy is measured by minds changed, not dollars spent or slick production package. In the other side, public diplomacy will involve the long-term building relationship. Developing long-term relationships is not always gaining a benefit in the short-time, because thus who leaving it may lead to the underinvestment in the market.

In the famous book of Mark Leonard entailed *Public Diplomacy* in 2002, mentioned that there is 4 (four) hierarchy of impacts that public diplomacy can accomplish (Leonard, 2002):

1. Increasing people's familiarity with one's country (making them consider it, refreshing their pictures, turning around unfavorable opinions);
2. Increasing people's appreciation of one's country (making positive recognition, inspiring others to see issues of global significance from a similar point of view);
3. Engaging people with one country (strengthening ties from education reform to scientific co-operation; empowering people to consider us as

an attraction for the travel industry, study, distance learning; motivating them to purchase our item; getting comprehend or understand and subscribes our values);

4. Influencing people (motivating companies to invest, public to back our positions or government officials to swing to us as a favored partner).

As a sovereign country, China needs public diplomacy as is suspected for many reasons in many parts of the world. For instance, Asia worries about the rise of China's economic and political; China's violation of human rights in the Europe perspective; meanwhile the United State of America worries about both (Melissen, 2005). In the early 1970s, as China's desire to end China's international isolation, they started to use *ping-pong diplomacy and panda* as a way to create China's new image of more welcome to the international.

In the case of China, is able to pursue some goals through panda diplomacy in Indonesia. In some extents, the book of Jan Melissen entailed *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* in 2005 explained some major goals of China that can be distinguished through public diplomacy. **First**, China wants to be respected as an ancient culture with a long history; **Second**, China wants to be seen as a stable, trustworthy and responsible economic partner, a rising economic power that does not have to be feared; **Third**, China's leader want China to be seen as a trustworthy and responsible member of the international community, capable of and willing to contribute actively to world peace; and **last but not least**, China wants to be seen as a country that works hard to give its people a better future and seeks understanding for its political system. The existence of the panda in Taman Safari Indonesia

will lead the visitor to learn more about China's iconic animal. Taman Safari Indonesia installed the education kits including the hospital and research's set miniature (Huaxia, 2018).

D. Hypothesis

In addressing the research question, based on the background and the theoretical framework expounded, the roles of Panda diplomacy in the development of China's relations with Indonesia are:

1. Strengthens the cooperation and exchange between two countries in the area of wildlife conservation, especially the endangered species;
2. Engaging the non-state actors, China Wildlife Conservation Association (CWCA) and Taman Safari Indonesia, as partners in managing the cooperative research about giant panda loan breeding in Indonesia.

E. Research Objectives

The objective of this research is explaining the role of Panda Diplomacy in the development of China's relations with Indonesia. However, it is possible for the researcher in mentioning some significant facts after this diplomacy conducted in 2017 in order to strengthen the related facts in this context.

F. Research Methodology

This research uses qualitative method analysis with secondary data. Those data will be analyzed by one theory which is determined previously. The writer believes this method is the most efficient way to support the arguments of the researcher.

1. Type of Research

This research uses a qualitative research method which observes and analyzes the role of panda diplomacy in the development of China's relation with Indonesia.

2. Type of Data

This research uses both primary and secondary sources. These sources are all of the information related to the role of Panda Diplomacy in the development of China's relations with Indonesia. The data come from academic literature, official government reports, journal, articles, and credible news report.

3. Data Collecting Method

The data collecting method for this research is using library research method. This thesis is based on academic literature, official government reports, journal, credible news report, articles, and other electronic data that are relevant. Those valid Data could be accessed through libraries, the website from International media, the official website of the state embassy, and the official website of the government.

G. Thesis Outline

The structure of the thesis is arranged as follows:

Chapter 1

This chapter consists of the background of the issue, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research objectives, research method, and research outline.

Chapter II

Chapter two discusses the development of China Panda Diplomacy. The researcher will explain the symbolism of Panda. In the other hand, the researcher will explore the stages of Panda Diplomacy. Last but not least, the writer will mention the panda exchange worldwide from each stage.

Chapter III

The third chapter discusses China and Indonesia government in Panda Diplomacy. In this part of the research, the explanation divided into three parts. The first part explains the general guideline principle of China in conducting panda diplomacy. The second part discusses China Panda Diplomacy towards Indonesia. The last part talks about the use of Panda in strengthening bilateral relations.

Chapter IV

This chapter will specifically analyze the non-state actors in the China Panda Diplomacy towards Indonesia beside the government.

Chapter V

This chapter will summarize and provide conclusions of the entire discussion within the thesis.