

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background of the Study

Republik of Indonesia (RI) has a border with the others nations, including the borders from the sea, the land and the air. As written in the Constitution of Republik Indonesia Number. 43. year 2008 about state territory, said *“The arrangement about state territory include the land region, the deep waters, the waters island, the territorial sea, the botton of the sea, and the land under the water, and also the air above it, including all of the wealth resources.”*<sup>1</sup>

Article 1 Constitution No. 43 year 2008 also mentions about the jurisdiction area<sup>2</sup>, that is territory outside the region of the country consisting of exclusive economic zone, the continental shelf, and the additional zone where countries have sovereign rights and authorities stipulated in the legislation and international law.<sup>3</sup> Jurisdiction area is a line extension of a country sea bounding that limits territorial waters from other countries or ocean. Thus, every country has the sovereign rights over marine boundary line in accordance with exclusive economic zone (EEZ), the continental shelf, and the state’s additional zone waters.

Land and sea border region are very vulnerable to the occurrence of the conflict. Location of Indonesia is very strategic, which is flanked by the two continents of Asia and Australia, and two ocean Indian and Pacific,

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<sup>1</sup> *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 43 Tahun 2008, Tentang Wilayah Negara.*

<sup>2</sup> The limits of jurisdiction of the Region is a boundary line which is the sovereign rights and the obligation of dividing certain, owned by the countries that are based on the provisions of laws, regulation and international law.

<sup>3</sup> *BAB I Ketentuan Umum, Pasal I, ayat 3, Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 43 Tahun 2008, Tentang Wilayah Negara.*

causing Indonesia borders with the neighbouring state border in land and sea. And the territory borders directing with Indonesia are Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and East Timor, while the sea areas bordered by the waters of the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, India, Vietnam, Malaysia, Timor Leste, and Australia.

The large number of Indonesia's border areas with the other countries, will certainly peak border dispute that appears in the border region. One of the border regions that is currently feared can harm the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) is Natuna territory in the South China Sea area. SCS area bordering the waters of Natuna in Riau Province and is a very vulnerable area to occurrence of border conflict.

South China Sea (SCS) is one of the international waters territories which is surrounded by some countries of East Asia and Southeast Asia and 2.5% of the vast ocean of the world as a whole. South China Sea is expected to reach 4 million square kilometers with four large islands, namely: Spratly, Pratas, Paracel, and Macclesfield. <sup>4</sup> SCS is stretching from the Strait of Malacca up to Taiwan Strait. The North border on the Republic of China and Taiwan, the West borders on Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand, the South borders on Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia and Singapore, and East borders with the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

The state conflicts in the South China Sea occurred because mutual ownership claims (*claimant states*) over the Islands, which have appeared in 1970 and returned back nowadays. Territorial sovereignty or ownership dispute in the SCS in fact refers to the area of sea and land on the two

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<sup>4</sup> Fatkurrohman. *Peran Strategis Indonesia Dalam Krisis Laut China Selatan*. Pusat Studi Sosial Asia Tenggara Universitas Gajah Mada. Oktober 2016. <http://pssat.ugm.ac.id/id/2016/10/11/peran-strategis-indonesia-dalam-krisis-laut-china-selatan/> (accessed on December 24, 2017, at 06.16 WIB).

<sup>5</sup> Akmal. *Strategi Indonesia Menjaga Keamanan Wilayah Perbatasan Terkait Konflik Laut China Selatan Pada Tahun 2009-2014*. Jurnal Fisip Universitas Riau, Volume 2, No. 2 Oktober 2015.

islands of the Spratly and Paracel cluster. People's Republic of China (PRC) claims that the Islands belong to their country since 2000 years ago, when the area was part of the Chinese nation. In 1947, the PRC Government issued a map detailing the PRC sovereignty claims over the South China Sea region. However, that description was contradicted by Vietnam, saying that the PRC Government never claimed sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel Islands until the decade of 1940s. The Government of Vietnam later stated that the two islands are entering their territory and not PRC territory since the 17th century. The Philippines also claims the area goes into its sovereignty because of geographical proximity to correspond to the Spratly Islands. Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam also have a claim against a portion of the SCS. The two countries say that most waters of the SCS are still in the exclusive economic zone (EEZ), as defined by the UN Convention on the law of the Sea 1982 year.<sup>6</sup>

The confrontation in the South China Sea had occurred in the year 1988, the conflict occurred in Spratly island between China with Vietnam. At that time, Vietnam loses 70 military personnel when conflict with China in the scramble of SCS area.<sup>7</sup> The scramble of SCS area also occur between the Philippines and China. China claimed 90 percent of territorial waters in the South China Sea, although of the zone China's claims has entered in EEZ region of Pilippina, namely the West Philippine Sea. Finally the Philippines is suing China's claims to the Court of arbitration in the Den Haag, Netherlands on Tuesday, July 12, 2016. International Arbitration Court finally won over the Philippines claims against China.<sup>8</sup> However, China does not accept the International Arbitration Court's decision, they

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<sup>6</sup> Rizki Roza, Poltak Partogi Nainggolan dan Simela Victor Muhamad.. (2013). *Konflik Laut China Selatan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kawasan*. Pusat Pengkajian, Pengolahan Data dan Informasi (P3DI). Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI. Jakarta

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Rizki. p. IX.

<sup>8</sup> Admin. *Ini Keputusan Arbitrase Internasional Atas Laut Cina Selatan*. 13 Juli 2016. <http://nationalgeographic.co.id/berita/2016/07/ini-putusan-mahkamah-arbitrase-internasional-atas-laut-cina-selatan> (accessed on July 13, 2016, at 15.32 WIB).

insist upon ownership in the SCS.

South China Sea conflict occurred because, *first*, the SCS is the waters territory area that has very large potential natural resource, particularly oil and other energy sources, located in the cluster of island in SCS. In 1968 found petroleum reserves and very potential in the Paracel and Spratly Islands is an estimated at 105 billion barrels and estimated there were 213 billion barrels in the whole of South China Sea. According to the United States Geological Survey (USGS) 60-70% of hydrocarbons in the SCS area is natural gas. The U.S. Energy Information Agency also estimates that natural gas and oil reserves there, is the seventh largest in the world. SCS has an estimated 190 trillion feet of natural gas and 11 billion barrels of oil.<sup>9</sup>

*Second*, South China Sea located in the strategic area which are in the path of international crossing ships passing the Malacca Strait, and was a commercial liaison line from Europe to Asia and the Americas to Asia and vice versa. There are three important areas of Southeast Asia, East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region flanking the SCS become a liaison for international commerce.<sup>10</sup> The SCS area are always passed by various kind of ships with brings the energy sources, oil, coal or natural gas, including 70 percent of Japan's energy needs, and 65 percent of China's energy needs.<sup>11</sup>

*Third*: in recent years, economic growth in Asian countries are growing rapidly, especially China, and instead the growth of economy of Europe and Americas are declined. China's economy increased 6.9 percent in the quarter II 2017, as for other economic growth data the results of factory in China reached 7.6 percent and investment assets increased 8.6 percent in

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<sup>9</sup> *Op Cit*, Akmal. p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Op cit*, Rizki. p. X

<sup>11</sup> Simela Victor Muhamad (2014). *Tiongkok dan Sengketa Teritorial di Laut China Selatan*. Pusat Pengkajian, Pengolahan Data dan Informasi (P3DI), Sekretaris Jenderal DPR RI. Info singkat hubungan internasional. Kajian Singkat Terhadap Isu-isu Terkini. Vol. VI, No. 11/I/P3DI/Juni/2014.

2017.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, it makes many countries attempted to gain control and scramble of strategic waters and dynamic area like SCS. Currently, China and the United States attempt to take influence on the SCS in the interest of their respective countries by using the (*energy security*) as a reason for control of the territorial waters.<sup>13</sup>

In fact, Indonesia is not included into the countries that are in conflict of South China Sea. However, due to the occurrence of several confrontations, a unilateral military exercises or joint (bilateral) were performed in the SCS territorial waters in the middle of the tensions sparked escalation of region conflicts, such as: the American Navy and Japan joint military exercises are doing in SCS on 02 of August 2017.<sup>14</sup> China and Russia also conducted joint military exercises in the SCS on September 12, 2016.<sup>15</sup>

The conflict of South China Sea increased when China also issued a map "U" or known as *Nine Dash Line*<sup>16</sup> in 1993. In 2009 China issued a new map about its claim in the SCS by entering Natuna waters into their

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<sup>12</sup> Agustina Melani. *Ekonomi China tumbuh 6,9 Persen pada Kuartal II*. 17 Juli 2017. <http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/3025057/ekonomi-china-tumbuh-69-persen-pada-kuartal-ii> (accessed on November 11, 2017, at 15.35 WIB).

<sup>13</sup> *Op Cit.* Rizki. p. XI.

<sup>14</sup> Hanna Azarya Samosir. *Personel Militer AS Hilang saat Latihan di Laut China Selatan*. Rabu, 02 Agustus 2017. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20170802175002-113-232004/personel-militer-as-hilang-saat-latihan-di-laut-china-selatan/> (accessed November 05, 2017, at 15.40 WIB).

<sup>15</sup> Ervan Hardoko. *Besok, China dan Rusia Gelar Latihan Bersama di Laut China Selatan*. 11 September 2016. [https://www.google.com/url?q=http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/11/16023001/besok.china.dan.rusia.gelar.latihan.militer.bersama.di.laut.china.selatan&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwjxtJGjtKbXAhXMtI8KHYYUuCdUQFggFMAA&client=internal-uds\\_cse&cx=012684331380167808104:oe5oj--md1a&usq=AOvVaw3oot\\_L28Yt-7gsHtka2qvY](https://www.google.com/url?q=http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/11/16023001/besok.china.dan.rusia.gelar.latihan.militer.bersama.di.laut.china.selatan&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwjxtJGjtKbXAhXMtI8KHYYUuCdUQFggFMAA&client=internal-uds_cse&cx=012684331380167808104:oe5oj--md1a&usq=AOvVaw3oot_L28Yt-7gsHtka2qvY) (accessed November 05, 2017, at 13.40 WIB).

<sup>16</sup> Nine Dash Line is the demarcation line or the dividing boundary line used by the Government of people's Republic of China to claim most of the South China Sea are dispute some of countries in Asia. Open Anggi Kusumadewi. *Manuver TNI Bentengi Natuna di Tepi Laut Sengketa*. Monday, Oktober 05, 2015 09:10. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20151004161227-20-82688/manuver-tni-bentengi-natuna-di-tepi-laut-sengketa/> (accessed on Oktober 23, 2017, at 14.50 WIB)

map.<sup>17</sup> The problems of the border region are not only occurred in the Spratly and Paracel Islands, but imposes Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ) of Indonesia with disruption of the North Natuna Islands related South China Sea dispute. It will have an impact against to the security and economic stability. It will be dangerous because in the EEZ of Natuna area there are a mining exploration oil and gas passed by Indonesia.

The conflict in the South China Sea can be incorporated to Indonesia and will harm the nation there is immediate anticipation. Statement of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2009-2014), affirmed, Indonesia must be aware of the security situation around the South China Sea dispute is often the case. He says:

*"Between ten until twenty last years is indeed a relatively stable, but that region is one of the sources of conflict. The conflict in the region will affect the security and economic conditions because that it is one of the international economic traffic lanes. Specifically, Indonesia will also be interrupted if turmoil happen in the region, because Indonesia import and export activity often pass through those lines. That area is closer to our Exclusive economic zone"*<sup>18</sup>

President Joko Widodo also provide statements against nine dash line applied by Chinese Government in the area of the South China Sea. He said *"nine dash line that China applies do not have any foundation in international law"*.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Op Cit.* Akmal. p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> The words of the President of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2009-2014) at Cabinet meeting. Aditia Maruli. Presiden: Indonesia Waspadai Situasi Laut China Selatan. Kamis, 22 Juli 2010 12:16 WIB <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/212862/presiden-indonesia-waspadai-situasi-laut-china-selatan> (accessed on Oktober 16, 2017, at 20.03 WIB)

<sup>19</sup> The words of the President Joko Widodo quoted in Japan's Daily Yomiuri Shimbun published before of his official visit in ' Sakura Country ', from Sunday (22/03) until Wednesday (25/03). Presiden Jokowi tepis klaim Cina soal sembilan garis. 23 Maret 2015. [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2015/03/150323\\_jokowi\\_laut\\_cina](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2015/03/150323_jokowi_laut_cina) (accessed Oktober 16, 2017, at 20.05 WIB)

## **B. Question Research**

Based on the above background, this study discusses the past issue that happened in 2014-2017. This research explains what the efforts of Indonesia to keep the border area, especially in Natuna waters of the South China Sea dispute. Based on the above matter, the formulation of the research problem is: How does the Government of the Republic Indonesia's efforts in protecting the territorial waters of Natuna in the South China Sea Conflict Zone?

## **C. Objective of the Study**

The goal of this research is trying to explain what the Indonesia Government effort has done to protect the Natuna area in the South China Sea conflict zone. This research was conducted to find out how big is Indonesia's efforts in protecting the territory area, especially in the border region. Hopefully, the territory of Indonesia sovereignty is maintained and not disturb by foreign countries such as the case of Sipadan and Ligitan in Borneo.

## **D. The Significance of the Study**

Research on Indonesia's efforts in keeping the border region, especially in the South China Sea conflict area has several uses. It includes the academic and practical usability, as follows:

### **1. For Academic**

- A. Academically, is expected to deliver benefits for researchers and as a science that can be used as a reference in the fields of international relations.
- B. This research is expected to provide the information and the subject of study for academics who want to find the data of the border region who were in the zone of conflict.

## 2. For Practitioners

- A. This paper is expected to also can be used by the Government of Indonesia to take the policy.
- B. This research also can help the practitioners to keep Indonesia borders territory.

## E. Literature Review

### 1. Review of Related Literature

*The first* Akmal, in the political science Journal Volume 2 No.2 October 2015, write about *Indonesia strategy to maintain the security of the border region related to the conflict in the South China Sea 2009-2014*."His writing explores the history of the first Chinese claims over the South China sea areas in the year 1947 by reason of historical discovery and occupation that had once carried out by their country. This research explains that the claims overlap of SCS area has become a debate between some countries in the ASEAN region. His writings expos there are two things that become a source of conflict of the SCS. *First*, is the international law of the sea, UNCLOS 1982 which has been signed by several countries around the waters of the SCS. On the fact UNCLOS has set about the internal waters, territorial waters, waters of the Islands, additional zones, exclusive economic zone, the continental shelf and the sea. Based on UNCLOS, the claimant state use a rules of the Convention to extend of the jurisdiction of the sovereignty unilaterally and justify their claims in the SCS. Finally, the countries such as Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and the Philippines use the UNCLOS as a maritime territorial claims in the South China Sea. Claims states between China, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and the Philippines which became one of the causes of the South China Sea conflict.



This paper also describes Indonesia military capabilities through MEF (Minimum Essential Force) and security in Natuna. This research also adds about the preventive diplomacy with claimant states to dampen conflict in SCS, as well as the improve of the border management and activities in the Natuna waters by the oil exploration in the Natuna Sea.<sup>20</sup>

*The second* literature review is written by Rahadian Mada Kertoyoso, this thesis write about *Indonesia strategy on addressing China's Claims over the Natuna in the South China Sea area.*" This research began with explaining Indonesia's point of view about maritime insight. Rahadian explained that before its independence, Indonesia has been known as a nation that has civilization advanced maritime, even experienced a golden age in the early 9th century. The sailors of Indonesia sailed to the North, and then West to cut the Indian Ocean to Madagascar and continues to East to Easter Island.

Rahadian describes the kingdoms in Nusantara with maritime style, such as Srivijaya, Majapahit and Demak. Added with the toughness of the maritime Kingdom of Singasari under orders Kings Kartanegara in the 13th century who managed to send a maritime expedition to Champa and Malay kingdoms to establish friendships with purpose together could hinder the attack of Mongol Kingdom of Southeast Asia. He added that the high glory of Nusantara maritime on the Majapahit Empire era (1293-1478), under the leadership of Raden Wijaya, Hayam Wuruk and Mahapatih Gajah Mada, Majapahit Empire succeeded in mastering and unifying Nusantara. Even the influence of the Majapahit Kingdom up to Ayuthia, Siam, Champa, Langkor, Anam,

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<sup>20</sup> Akmal (2015). *Strategi Indonesia Menjaga Keamanan Wilayah Perbatasan Terkait Konflik Laut China Selatan Pada Tahun 2009-2014*. Jurnal Fisip, Volume 2, No. Oktober 2, 2015.

India, the Philippines and China.<sup>21</sup>

After discussing about the maritime, Rahadian explains the issue of Natuna in Indonesia's relationship with China. The entry of Natuna sea into nine dash line or area with an imaginary line in the dotted line becomes ownership of China. Rahadian paper also discussing about illegal fishing occurred in Indonesia which expected to reach 6,167,940 tonnes every years. It happened in Arafuru Sea, Natuna Sea, North of North Sulawesi (Pacific Ocean), the Makassar Strait, and West Sumatra (Indian Ocean).

*The third* is Rigo paper He wrote his thesis on the title *the influence of the South China Sea Conflict against the defence policy of Republic of Indonesia.*" In his writing he describes about Indonesia general policy Defense 2010-2014 years under Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 41, 2010. There are at least three basic policies of organizing the defense of the country which is related to the security stable of the territory. First, Construction defense posture of Indonesia directed until reach the Minimum Essential Force (MEF), which was initiated by the Ministry of defence of Indonesia in the strategic plan (Restra) defense RI 2010-2029. The strategic plan as a means to the attainment of a minimum reliable power in the care of national security. MEF is indispensable to cope with security threats (internal and external) that are urgent.

Second, deployment policy of military defense force. SCS dynamics conflict caused to the Government of Indonesia to put military forces on the outermost points of Indonesia closer to the conflict. Thirdly, international cooperation in the field of Defense. This policy is directed towards the neighboring countries bordering directly

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<sup>21</sup> Rahadian Mada Kertoyoso. *Strategi Indonesia Dalam Menyikapi Klaim china Atas Natuna di Kawasan Laut China Selatan.* (2016) Thesis, students of international relations, Faculty of social and political sciences of the University of Pasundan

with foreign countries on the development of capabilities (capacity building), in order to realize the ASEAN security Community and also an active role in the Peacekeeping Operation (PKO).<sup>22</sup>

*The fourth* is Natalie Clients, published by International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law, entitled “The Limitations of UNCLOS Part XV Dispute Settlement in Resolving South China Sea Disputes: The South China Sea – An International Law Perspective Conference”.<sup>23</sup> Natalie discusses the arbitration between the Philippines and China conflict with field report of the South China Sea region, based on UNCLOS XV which discusses on the issue of the border of a country's ownership of the sea in the international waters territory.

Natalie's writing discussess three things, first the background of the conflict in the South China Sea, Philippine criticism against China's claim in the waters of SCS with brings up a map of *nine-dash-line*<sup>24</sup> contrary with UNCLOS governing the border sea of country, and ZEE. Second, a description of the boundary conflict on the ownership of the sea according to UNCLOS, and negotiation Vis a Vis which is the compulsory procedure and very necessary that serve as a binding decision so that China is not arbitrary and obey UNCLOS. Third, discuss the things required in jurisdictions with obeying to the laws of

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<sup>22</sup> Sempati Rigo. *Pengaruh Konflik Laut China Selatan Terhadap Kebijakan Pertahanan Republik Indonesia*. (2017). Thesis students of international relations, Faculty of social and political science, the University of Andalas.

<sup>23</sup> Natalie Klein. *The Limitations of UNCLOS Part XV Dispute Settlement in Resolving South China Sea Disputes: The South China Sea – An International Law Perspective Conference*. International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law, June 2016. Macquarie University-Macquarie Law School.

<sup>24</sup> The United States assessed the nine-dash line on three bases: first, as a claim to sovereignty over the islands within the line; second, as a national boundary and third, as based on historic rights. If the nine-dash line reflects an ambit sovereignty claim then it would fall outside of jurisdiction for the present arbitration. In relation to the second two bases, a unilateral delimitation may be assessed by the tribunal consistently with the UNCLOS rules on the establishmen of maritime zones

international sea (UNCLOS) in the International Court.

*The fifth* of literature review is Estu Prabowo writings in the Journal national security, XIX (3), December 2013, entitled *Indonesia's defense policy and strategy (case of study; conflicts in the South China Sea)*.<sup>25</sup> His writings describes about SCS dynamics conflict involving six countries namely Brunei Darussalam, Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan and China. That the six countries feel entitled to claim SCS as his country's territory ownership. it is interpreted agains international law (UNCLOS) 1982.

Estu added as time goes by, the issue of SCS conflict was officially entered into the permanent agenda of ASEAN. Each of the regular meetings of the ASEAN, as ASEAN SUMMIT, ASEAN Minister put Meeting, ASEAN Post Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting, ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN-China Summit, e.tc. SCS conflict is one issue that always discussed.

In addition to discussing conflict dynamics and the entered conflict of SCS into ASEAN Estu attract these problems to the interests and policies of the Government of Indonesia, especially in the field of Defense. He describes the construction of a defense force directed to satisfy the MEF, as the draft of defense strength in especially TNI, have the ability of minimum counteract. There are several flash point of MEF set by Kemhan, namely: (1) in the region of ALKI I up to ALKI II, (2) at the State border in the West up to ALKI i. (3) the region of ALKI II up to ALKI III and (4) the region of ALKI III up to the State border in the East and South. In the MEF, it can be analyzed that the South China Sea is classed as a flash point for consideration as a border region of Indonesia and the South China Sea's position as the region's strategic energy resources.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Estu Prabowo. *Kebijakan Dan Strategi Pertahanan Indonesia (Studi Kasus Konflik Di Laut China Selatan)*. (2013) The Journal Of The National Security. Number XIX

The different of this research and the previous is the theory and limitation of scope. This research use Rational Choice Theory and Foreign Policy theory and limit the year of this study from 2014 to October 2017. Akmal research used the theory of security and understood as the ability to self defend (survival) in the face of a real threat (existential threat). His research used realist paradigm that makes a State as the primary actor in international relations. Rahadian research describes about the civilization marine of Indonesia and the kingdoms in Nusantara such as Sriwijaya, Majapahit and Demak. Rigo paper describes about Indonesia general policy defense 2010-2014 years under Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 41 Year 2010. Natalie just focuses on the Philippine criticism against China and Estu describes the construction of defence force directed to satisfy the Minimum Essential Force (MEF).

## **F. Theoretical Framework**

Based on the above background, to discuss this research the author uses three concepts, namely Rational Choice Theory (RCT), Foreign Policy and Islamic worldview.

### **1. Rational Choice Theory**

Rational Choice Theory, entered into the field of international relations was first formed in the early 1960's. Rational choice theory in practice is the instrument that has choices and goals guided by an actor.<sup>26</sup> Rational choice theory is trying to be the alternative choice of a country in order to maximize the benefit and minimize the cost. This theory is used to answer about the best decision to achieve the national interests of actors used in the international environment.

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(3). December 2013. p. 118-129.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Jackson & Geor Sorensen, 2009, *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*, Yogyakarta. Pustaka Belajar. p.297.

Stephen m. Waltz in Rigor or Rigor Mortis journal? Rational Choice and Security Studies are explained in more detail about rational choice theory, Waltz stated that:

1. Rational choice theory is individualistic: social and political outcomes are viewed as the collective product of individual choices (or as the product of choices made by unitary actors).
2. Rational choice theory assumes that each actor seeks to maximize its “subjective expected utility.” Given a particular set of preferences and a fixed array of possible choices, actors will select the outcome that brings the greatest expected benefits.
3. The specification of actors’ preferences is subject to certain constraints: (a) an actor’s preferences must be complete (meaning we can rank order their preference for different outcomes); and (b) preferences must be transitive (if A is preferred to B and B to C, then A is preferred to C).
4. Constructing a formal theory requires the analyst to specify the structure of the game. This typically means identifying the set of players, the likelihoods of each player’s pattern of preferences, each player’s information at every choice point, and how they see their moves as connected to the possible outcomes.
5. Once the game is fully specific, the analyst usually looks for its equilibrium. An equilibrium is an assignment of strategies to the players, Each player’s strategy maximizes his or her expected utility, given that the others use their assigned strategies. Thus an equilibrium is a strategy from which a rational actor would have no incentive to deviate unilaterally.<sup>27</sup>

Waltz explains rational choice theory above has some point, namely: *first*, the theory of rational choice are individuals, based on

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<sup>27</sup> Stephen M Waltz. (1999). “*Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies*”. MIT Press Journals, Spring

the results of the social and political which was seen as the collective product or individual choice (it as the result of the choice made by the actors Union). The actors Union intended by Waltz is a country that has a rational choice for its own interests. *Second*, Waltz assumes that the actors use the rational choice theory will always try to maximize its importance. It is performed by an actor with taking an option that will bring the results to maximum possibility of the achievement.

*Third*, rational choice theory, specifies the preference of certain constraints of some actors, such as the actor has several options (it mean researchers can establish order in ranking of preferences for different results). On the other hand, the choice must be transitive (if option A assessed is more important compared with the other options B and C, then the actor will select A). *Fourth*, the rational choice theory requires an analysis to determine the structure of the game. This means, the theory identifies each player, see the movement, manage the information at every point to be the master of the game. Fifth, rational choice theory are looking for balance after the play. So the decisions resulting from these games can benefit for the actor (country). Waltz describes the essence of rational choice theory is a great tool to make logical conclusions about how humans (or country) made the decision.<sup>28</sup>

James Coleman is the most influential figure in the Rational Choice Theory (RCT), he wrote a book with the title the Foundations of Social Theory (1990). In his book explains that *The purpose of rational choice theory is to explain social phenomena by assuming rational choice at the actor's level.*"<sup>29</sup>

Rational Choice theory has a special understanding. The word "rational" is not meant as a "wisdom", "thinking in healthy brain" or

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Yoshimichi Sato. *Rational Choice Theory*. (2013) Sociopedia.isa. Tohoku University, Japan.

"knowing and doing what is useful in the long term" or as an everyday sense as well as in philosophy. While the RCT has a special meaning and narrow toward the word "rational", i.e. individual actions seen as though as equalization fee (cost) and the advantages (benefits), so the action is solely intended to maximize personal gain. Thereby, the RCT formulates that all actions based on cost-benefit; while the loss of profit is based on the information. The information coming into the brain determined by the choices. Finally a mechanism or considerations of the profit and the loss makes the RCT is dominant in its application. RCT said to be rational in the interests of the actors the subjective and rational will accommodate or not. When his interests including accommodation, then it is rational. But otherwise, if his interests not including accommodation, it is considered and accused is rational.

## 2. Foreign Policy

The concept of foreign policy is "action theory", or the wisdom of a country directed to the other countries to achieve specific interests. In the general sense, foreign policy is formula, values, attitude, direction and objectives for maintaining, securing, and advance the national interests in the international scene. Foreign policy is a basic strategy to achieve good purpose in the domestik or foreign context and determine involvement of a country in the international issues and surroundings environment.<sup>30</sup>

Foreign policy is the complex study of International Relations because it does not only involve external aspects but also internal aspects of a country. In the studies, foreign policy is a system, environment stimulation of external and domestic inputs that affect foreign policy of country in the perception of decision makers in a

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<sup>30</sup> Yanyan Mochamad Yani, Drs. MAIR., Ph.D. *Politik Luar Negeri*. Pdf. Senior Lecturer in international relations, school of social and political sciences, University of Padjadjaran (UNPAD).



process of the Convention and become the output. Finally, the State as an actor who did the foreign policy, is still the main unit in the international relations system. Foreign policy is a strategy or action plan made by the Government to agreement with the other Nations or other international political unit, which aims to achieve the national interests of the State and surroundings environment.<sup>31</sup>

*First*, foreign policy according to Kautiliya is the act performed by each nation in the fields of politics, economy and military in accordance with the national interests of their country.<sup>32</sup> The concept of foreign policy is a system which carried a nation to change the behavior of other countries in an international system.<sup>33</sup> The foreign policy is the formulation and implementation in the behaviour of the country when negotiating with the other countries to protect the national interests of his country. The objectives of a nation's foreign policy are: (1) maintaining the integrity of the state, (2) promoting economic interests, (3) providing national security, (4) protecting national prestige and developing national power, and (5) maintaining world order.<sup>34</sup>

Indonesia's foreign policy in the South China Sea Conflict took an important role to maintain sovereignty and stability of territory. Indonesia has been trying to keep the national interests in Natuna territory directly nearby to South China Sea. Based on the concept of foreign policy that has five goals, not all concepts of foreign policy can be applied in maintaining Indonesia's sovereignty. In this case, there are four concepts which can be done by Indonesia to maintain Natuna territory in the SCS conflict zone, it can be described as follows:

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2-4.

<sup>32</sup> Boesche, Roger dan Athur G. Coons. "*Katuliya's Arthasastra on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India*". (2003). <http://www.defencejournal.com/2003/mar/kautiliya.htm> (accessed on November 01, 2017, at 20.20 WIB)

<sup>33</sup> George Modelski. *The Theory of Foreign Policy*, London, 1962, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3.

## 1. Maintaining the integrity of the state,

Integrity is the existence of the wholeness principle and morals of a nation in the state living, it shows the unity of the whole until has the potential and ability of the exudes authority of a nation. If SCS conflicts is allowed to happen, then it would harm the national interests of Indonesia especially in the Natuna waters region which borders directly with South China Sea.

It is very important for Indonesia to maintain the integrity of the countries in the SCS area, otherwise the region of Indonesia will be claimed by China policy by issuing a nine-dash line which, will annexes Natuna waters region. President Joko Widodo ever deploying the meeting on the battleship in Natuna waters and warned that *It is the obligation of Indonesia national army to keep the border region*". *The obligation of Indonesian Nations Armed Forces (TNI) is to keep the border homeland*.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the Government of Indonesia changed the name of the South China Sea become the North Natuna Sea in SCS territory, the name change is a form of Indonesia integrity to protect the national interests.

## 2. Providing national security

National security can be understood as a condition of the country to physically protects from the external threats, in which the national security also talked about the threats that originate from internal States. On the other hand, security is also understood as the country's efforts to prevent a war, especially through the strategy in building the power of the armed forces who have a deterrent capability.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Fathiyah Wardah. *Indonesia Minta Semua Negara Jaga Stabilitas di Laut China Selatan*. 14 of July 2017. <http://www.voaindonesia.com/a/indonesia-minta-semua-negara-jaga-stabilitas-di-laut-china-selatan/3417885.html> (accessed on November 05, 2017, at 20.30 WIB).

<sup>36</sup> Angga Nurdin Rachmat. *Keamanan Global, Transformasi Isu Keamanan Pasca Perang Dingin*. (2015). Alfabeta. Bandung.

If South China Sea conflict is grown up, it will be very dangerous to Indonesia, especially in the Natuna Island territory which is the border between Indonesia regions with South China Sea. To anticipate it, Indonesia has to increase military strength in Natuna area, increase the alusista of Indonesia National Army and issue the defense policy strategy to protect sovereignty and security of Indonesia in Natuna territory.

### 3. Protecting national prestige and developing national power

Since 1945 until nowadays, Indonesia is still respected by many countries in the regional of ASEAN as well as around the world. The influence of Indonesia is very large when hosted the first Asian-African Conference that successfully make many countries become independen. When the world was split between the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc, Indonesia rose and pioneered the Non-Aligned Movement, whose members refuse to be part of the Western Bloc used to America and the Eastern bloc used to the Soviet Union. Since that time, the voice of Indonesia in the international world has been more heard. The power of Indonesia increase in United Nations (UN) forums so that Indonesia has the authority and seen honored by other countries.<sup>37</sup>

If the Natuna Islands regardless from Indonesia due to South China Sea conflict, then the authority of Indonesia in the world gradually will fade and all countries will look lightly at Indonesia. Then, increasing the power of the military, conducting cooperation to maintain the authority and dignity of the nation is very necessary. The addition of military strength in the Natuna territory is one step in an alternative Government in maintaining the authority of Indonesia and keep to the region stability, so the neighbors states do not dare to

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<sup>37</sup> Agung Pribadi. *Gara-Gara Indonesia, Dari Sejarah Kita Belajar Untuk Masa Depan*. (2014) Cetakan ke-4, Asmanadia. Depok.

capture, steal Indonesia waters territory in the border of the SCS.

Regional cooperation with ASEAN countries and countries bordering with SCS its also one form of increasing national strength and safeguarding the authority of the nation in the eyes of the world, thus the other countries will think twice if they want to attract Indonesia into the SCS conflict zone and will make China afraid to realize the policy of nine-dash line that claims a part of Natuna waters into their territory belonging.

#### 4. Maintaining world order

Indonesia should be the mediator in the SCS conflict, It should be done because it is the mandate of the opening of the Constitution 1945 (UUD 1945) to join and implement the world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore protecting Indonesia border region from the South China Sea conflict zones can use the rational choice theory and foreign policy. The application of Rational Choice Theory is used to examine Indonesia's efforts in keeping the Natuna Islands in the South China Sea conflict zones it can be described as follows:

1. Indonesia's interests in the South China Sea are to protect the territorial waters of Natuna in order not to be claimed by China and avoid Indonesia to not enter ithe South China Sea conflict zone.
2. Natuna is the outermost region of Indonesia that borders directly with the South China Sea, this region has abundant natural resources, such as oil, gas and fish.
3. On the other side Indonesia needs China to help the economy and infrastructure of Indonesia. It is proven buy

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<sup>38</sup> *The preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 (UUD 1945).*

the increasing debts of Indonesia to China in the year 2017 and the amount of infrastructure work done by China.

4. Indonesia should also maintain cooperation with ASEAN countries so that the interests of Indonesia are protected and brotherhood with the ASEAN countries remain good.

Seen from the above conditions, then Rational Choice of Indonesia and all of Indonesia interests can be realized, Natuna waters not been claim by China, Indonesia is not included into the South China Sea conflict zone, Indonesia relationship with China and ASEAN countries remain good either. Then, the RCT of Indonesia is using the concept of Foreign Policy as an alternative for Indonesia to gett the little cost but get the big benefit (advantages) in the SCS conflict zones.

### 3. Islamic Worldview

Islamic Worldview is a way of thinking or thinking that is based on Islam, it presents Islam in all lines of life in politics, economy, education, science and other sectors. Because Islam is sourced from the Qur'an, it discusses universally about politics, the order of government, and Islam also organize a good life to make the Islamic region's sovereign and the people can be prosperous.<sup>39</sup> According to Dr. Hamid Fahmi Zarkasyi, M.A. Islamic civilization is the civilization built by Islamic science resulting from the view of life of Islam. Means that the development of Islamic science based on the Islamic perspective should be a priority for all Islamic movements.

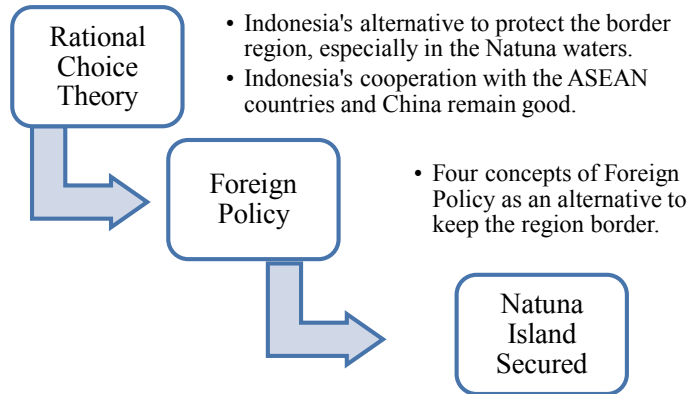
Worldview Islam in this study explains the attempt of Indonesian government by using Rational Choice Theory and Foreign Policy which produced three strategies to protect the territory of Indonesia in

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<sup>39</sup> Fakhurrazi. (2017). Islamic Worldview dan Peradaban Islam. Tsaqofah. Saturday, March 25, 2017. [https://www.hidayatullah.com/artikel/tsaqafah/read/2017/03/25/113812/islamic-worl dview-dan-peradaban-islam.html](https://www.hidayatullah.com/artikel/tsaqafah/read/2017/03/25/113812/islamic-worl%20dview-dan-peradaban-islam.html) (Accessed on 5 of May, 2018. At 06.51 WIB).

Natuna is true and in accordance with Islamic worldview.

From the above discussion, it can be described as follows:



**Table 1.1** The Concept of Foreign Policy

<b>Concept</b>	<b>The Derivative Concept</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<b>Foreign Policy Concept</b>	1. Maintaining the integrity of the state	Change the name of the South China Sea become the North Natuna Sea
	2. Providing a national security	Add military strength, increase the number of alutsista, and issue a policy strategy of Defense to safeguard national security.
	3. Protecting national prestige and developing national power	Keep the stability area by doing negotiation and regional cooperation with ASEAN and the countries bordering with SCS would increase the authority of Indonesia in the eyes of the world. The addition of military capabilities in the South China Sea region will also increase the Indonesia national power.

## G. Hypothesis

Based on the formulation of the problem and various explanations that have been described above, then the hypotheses of this research are as follow:

1. Change the name of the South China Sea become the North Natuna Sea
2. Add a military power to keep the border region
3. Cooperate with ASEAN countries and countries bordering with South China Sea.
4. Three strategy above suitable with Islamic worldview in obligation to maintain state sovereignty.

## H. Research Methodology

Methodology is a way, process, principles and procedures used by international relations researchers to gain a knowledge about a phenomenon that occurs in international relations.

### 1. Research Method

To know the efforts of the Indonesian government to protect the border areas, especially in Natuna waters related to the conflict in the South China Sea, the author tries to analyze using qualitative methods.<sup>40</sup> Qualitative research that is holistic and more emphasis on process. Hence, qualitative research in seeing the relationship between variables in object studied is more interactive that influences each other (reciprocal / interactive). Qualitative research in conducting data

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<sup>40</sup> The qualitative method of research is named as the new method, because of its popularity not long ago, is called postpositivistic method because it is based on postpositivism philosophy. This research is used to examine the condition of a natural object, (as opposed to experimenting) where the researcher is as the key instrument, data collection technique is done by triangulation, the data analysis is inductive / qualitative, and the result of qualitative research more emphasize the meaning of generalization. Open Prof. Dr. Sugiyono. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D*. (2012). Alfabeta, Bandung.

collection, interacted between researchers data with data sources. In this interaction both researchers and data have different backgrounds, views, beliefs, values, interests, and perceptions. This in my data collection, analysis, and report generation will be bounded by their respective values.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. Research Setting

To complete the research about South China Sea dispute, it takes less than 8 months from the time of the filing title of the thesis, then start to search, collect the data, analyze and write all of the data up until the last chapter of this research. This research was started in April 2017 and completed in January 2018.

## 3. Technique of Data Collection

To collect reliable and accountable data in this paper, the researcher uses literature study in the method of collecting data from sources in the form of literature academic, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, news, website, and official documents from the Indonesian government.

## 4. Technique of Data Analysis

Technique of data analysis is used to find and retrieve information from the various data that has been collected. In this study, the analysis focus on Indonesia's foreign policy with the help of the concept of rational choice theory considering of losses (cost) and the advantages (benefits) of each policy taken by the government of Indonesia. There are five formulation of rational choice theory that will be used to analyze which policies fit to keep the border region from the South China Sea dispute. Moreover, after using the rational choice theory,

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<sup>41</sup> Prof. Dr. Sugiyono. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif dan R&D*. Alfabeta, Bandung.



the researcher proceeds with analysis using four concepts of foreign policy as a response to the threat in the border region. Finally, the foreign policy theory can accommodate all the interests of Indonesia to safeguard Natuna waters of the South China Sea conflict dispute

#### 5. Scope and Limitation

The prolonged conflict in the South China Sea region that scramble ownership of the islands in the region is heating up, coupled with China's claim that unilaterally entering the North Natuna waters into the *nine-dash line* in the maps of their countries the more compelling Indonesia to intervention in this conflict to keep the border region of Indonesia especially in the Natuna waters. To get a focused and consistent research then the authors finally determine the boundary problem in writing this research. This research will focus on the efforts made by the Indonesian government to secure the Natuna waters area, strengthen the defense there to protect Indonesia's national interest in the SCS. This study limit the year of this study from 2014 to October 2017.

## **I. Systematic of Writing**

### CHAPTER I

In chapter I the authors write about the introduction, the background of the study. The benefit of the study, literature review, a framework of thinking, hypothesis, research methods, approaches and types of research, data collection techniques, and the limitations of the research.

### CHAPTER II

In This chapter the author tried to expose about the dynamics of the borders region of Indonesia and the Government's efforts in keeping the border region.

### CHAPTER III

In this chapter, the author exposes the condition of the South China Sea conflict constested by six countries bordering the SCS. Then the author will exposes the source of the conflict and the inclusion of Indonesia into South China Sea conflict.

### CHAPTER IV

This chapter describes the author's analysis of what the government efforts has done to keep the Indonesia border region, especially in the Natuna waters related with South China Sea conflict.

### CHAPTER V

Conclusions and suggestions.