

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

One of the remarkable events of the international solidarity after the WW II was the International Campaign to Save the Monument of Nubia in 1960. The campaign was initiated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The campaign was launched after the government of Egypt and Sudan requested UNESCO to assist them to protect and to rescue the temple complex of Abu Simbel and Philae. The temple complex was an important site of ancient Egypt and ancient Nubia in Nile valley. It was threatened due to the plan of the government of Egypt to build a dam over the valley. It was said to be a vital project to control floods, provide water for irrigation and generate hydroelectricity.

The campaign that lasted for twenty years accelerated archeological research and resulted in the excavation and relocation of the temple complex of Abu Simbel and Phile. The safeguard campaign cost about US\$80 million, half of which was the contributions from 50 countries. (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008). This action shows that the site is highly important not only for the Egyptian but also for the international

community. The success of the campaign lead to other safeguard campaign of other important site. One of those was the restoration of Borobudur Temple in 1973-1983.

This event incited the discourse to conserve important landscapes and sites not only in the event of armed conflict but also in the peacetime. In 1965 the United States of America held a White House Conference on International Cooperation. In its report, one of the working committees called attention to the threats to “scenic, historic and natural resources [that were] part of man’s heritage” (White House Conference on International Cooperation, 1965).

The working committee recommended the creation of *A Trust for the World Heritage* to stimulate “international cooperative efforts to identify, establish, develop and manage the world’s superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry.” (White House Conference on International Cooperation, 1965)

Ultimately, the General Conference of the UNESCO on its seventieth session has adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of The World Cultural and Natural Heritage on 16 November 1972 (hereinafter referred to as the 1972 Convention). It created a set of obligations to protect the past for the future generations, an aspiration for a shared sense of belongings and a global solidarity (Choay, 2001). The 1972 Convention

entered to force on 17 December 1975 after Switzerland became the 20th State Party to ratify the convention three months earlier.

The 1972 Convention mandated the State Parties to identify, protect and conserve the world's heritage site. It also commanded the State Parties to establish an intergovernmental committee for the protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Value within UNESCO. The committee called "the World Heritage Committee", hereafter referred to as the Committee.

In the earlier years, after declaring itself independent on August 17, 1945, Indonesia committed to "advance the intellectual live of the people" and "to participate towards the establishment of a world order" which are explicitly written in Indonesia's constitution (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1945). Alongside the struggle to defend the sovereignty from inside and outside obstacles, Indonesia was in search of its identity. The ancient Indonesia became the starting point to determine the characteristic of the nation and to reminisce the glorious past and sharpening the Indonesian identity.

A serious attention was given to one of heritage in Indonesia, Borobudur Temple. In 1948, the government of Indonesia reported that the future of the great Buddhist temple was at a stake. Though their voice was heard by the international community, particularly UNESCO, there was no immediate response (UNESCO, 2005).

When Indonesia finally became a State member of UNESCO on May 20, 1950, the government of Indonesia took this opportunity to gain more international recognition. As soon as the political climate permitted, a second request for Borobudur restoration was made in 1967. It was supported by the appeal from the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, for UNESCO to pay special attention to the fate of Borobudur Temple. The restoration of Borobudur Temple started in 1973 and continued for the next ten years and spent approximately US\$ 7.75 million and restored the temple from imminent destruction from disintegration of the building stones and the doubtful stability of certain structural components (UNESCO, 2005).

Indonesia saw the advantages to protect and conserve its cultural and natural heritage. It is important to show the world that as a civilized country, Indonesia takes care of their heritage. On July 6, 1989, Indonesia ratified the 1972 Convention.

Its ratification makes Indonesia eligible to vote and to be a candidate of the World Heritage Committee Member. The Seventh General Assembly of State Parties to the Convention, which was held on 9 and 13 November 1989, gave Indonesia opportunity to submit its candidature for the rotation of members on the Committee. On the last ballot, the fourth ballot, Indonesia finally got the mandate from 1989-1995 to be members of the Committee.

In the same year, Indonesia nominated Borobudur Temple, Prambanan Temple, Komodo National Park and Ujung Kulon National Park to be listed in the World Heritage List. Considering the recommendations of the Advisory Bodies (ABs); the International Union for Conservations of Nature (ICUN), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Properties (ICCROM), these four properties were inscribed to the World Heritage List by the Committee on its 15th Session, 1991. Following these four properties to be inscribed to the World Heritage List are Sangiran Early Man Site (1996), Lorenc National Park (1999), Tropical Rain Forest Heritage of Sumatra (2004), Cultural Landscape of Bali Province and the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy (2012).

After more than twenty five years later, Indonesia was re-elected as one of the Committee members by the General Assembly of State Parties to the 1972 Convention. The 20th General Assembly met from 18 to 20 November 2015 at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris and elected nine State Parties; Angola, Azerbaijan, Burkina Faso, Cuba, Indonesia, Kuwait, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. These newly elected members will serve for four years until 2019 joining twelve other State Parties which are still in mandate.

B. Research Question and Scope Limit

From the background above, it can be formulated that the research question is as follow: “how the diplomacy of Indonesia in the World Heritage Committee?” The research is limited from 2015 to 2017 where Indonesia elected as the Committee member for the second time until the finishing of this thesis.

C. Research Purpose

This study aims to identify the diplomatic efforts of the government of Indonesia in the World Heritage Committee 2015 – 2017.

D. Theoretical Perspectives

The World Heritage Committee is an intra-government organization which attended by the official representatives of the State member. The State is the main actor in this organization. Thus, I put to use the theory of international interest and diplomacy, along with its branch Track One diplomacy in order to identify the diplomatic efforts of Indonesia in the World Heritage Committee.

1. National interest

National interest is a key concept in International Relations although the term is always in debate. All the nations are always engage in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nations is formulated on the basis of its national

interest and it always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each State to secure its interests.

Morgenthau (Morgenthau, 1951) argued that national interest means survival, "...the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-State". According to Nuechterlein (Nuechterlein, 1976), there are four basic national interests; defense, economic, world order and ideological interest. Further on ideological interest, Nuechterlein explains the importance of protection and furtherance of values which the people of a nation-State share and believe to be universally good. One of the most popular way to pursue national interest is through diplomacy.

2. *Diplomacy*

Diplomacy is accepted as the important process or relations among nations. Diplomatic relations between two nations mark the beginning of the two relations and recognition of one another.

Satow defined diplomacy as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent States (Satow, 1932) In the Diplomat's Dictionary, Freeman, Jr. gathered some definitions of diplomacy from practitioners. "Diplomacy is the art of resolving international difficulties peacefully. It is also the technique which

reigns over the development, in a harmonious manner, of international relations” (Chas. W. Freeman, 2010).

Diplomacy is seen as popular means to address, express, force, or promote one sovereign country’s national interest toward other independent country(s). In post-war event, diplomacy takes an important role more than ever. In order to rebuild trust among opposing parties and to make up the relation, more instruments on diplomacy are introduced.

For Morgenthau, as Noonan on his article (Noonan, 2014) mentioned diplomacy must:

... determine its objectives in light of the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives; assess the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives; determine to what extent these different objectives are compatible with each other; and employ the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives.

Morgenthau cautions that, “Failure in any of these tasks may jeopardize the success of foreign policy and with it the peace of the world.”

Furthermore, Noonan explains Morgenthau’s the nine rules for diplomacy.

They are:

- 1) diplomacy must be divested of the crusading spirit (i.e., don’t get dogmatic);
- 2) the objectives of foreign policy must be defined in terms of the national interest and must be supported with adequate power (his national interest for “a peace-loving nation” is its national

- security defined by the integrity of its national territory and its institutions);
- 3) diplomacy must look at the political scene from the point of view of other nations (defined in terms of their national security); and
 - 4) nations must be willing to compromise on all issues that are not vital to them.

These first four rules are fundamental. The next five rules are relating to compromise:

- 5) Give up the shadow of worthless rights for the substance of real advantage” [i.e., don’t be too legalistic or ideological].
- 6) Never put yourself in a position from which you cannot retreat without losing face and from which you cannot advance without grave risks.
- 7) Never allow a weak ally to make decisions for you.
- 8) The armed forces are the instrument of foreign policy, not its master; and
- 9) The government is the leader of public opinion, not its slave.

Kautilya, as Chakraborti mention on his article, offered four instruments of diplomacy. They are Sama, Dana, Bheda, and Danda. *Sama* means a general attitude of friendliness and gullible persuasion, the way of polite argument, an approach based on reason and interest. *Dana*, means concession. In the rule of diplomacy, one must prepared to sacrifice something in gaining more important objective. This was especially when the opposing state was stronger than the home state. *Bheda* was used when neither did work. It signifies the usage of logic or trickery to influence the mind of opposing state. The last instrument option was *danda*, means the use of force to punish other state. Force here does not necessarily mean war.

Danda regarded as a diplomatic war, the last alternative before the definite commencement of fighting. There are three types of Danda; sanction, blockades, and refusal of right of passage or boycott. (Chakraborti, 2016)

a. Track One diplomacy

Track One Diplomacy, commonly indicated as Government to Government (G to G) diplomacy. Diplomacy is an official communication. It is where official representatives from concern counties discuss and negotiate treaties, trade policies, and other international agreements.

In Track One diplomacy, the role of ambassadors or official representatives occupy a very important place. Kautilya, as analyzed by Chakraborti, classified three categories of *duta* or ambassadors. They are **Nisristartha**, means one who possess ministerial qualification and has the full powers of negotiations. **Parimitartha**, means one who possess same qualification but has less power of negotiations and has been entrusted only for definite mission. **Sasanaharah**, means one who has role simply to convey the royal message and take back the reply. (Chakraborti, 2016)

The purpose and intentions of track-one diplomatic efforts may vary greatly. It may be used coercively and may involve sanctions, ultimatums, and psychological intimidation. It may be used persuasively and involve argumentation and/or compromise. It may be used as a means of adjusting the States' relationship to and views of one another. And it may be a tool for

reaching mutual agreements---which may themselves reflect elements of persuasion or coercion. (Said & Lerche, 1995)

Diamond & McDonald explained that because Track One Diplomacy refers to governmental action, it shows the group norm (the nation) and not about the individual (the official representative). Its language is formal, filled with acronyms and bureaucratic jargon. Formal representatives of the government do not speak for themselves; they speak for the government and they follow the official line. (Diamond & McDonald, 2013)

There are four most widely cited strengths of Track One diplomacy (Böhmelt, 2010). First, Track One Diplomacy has the ability to use political power to influence the direction of negotiations and outcomes (Sanders, 1991). Second, it has the capacity to access material and financial resources that give high leverage and flexibility in the negotiations (Bercovitch & Houston, 2000). Third, it can employ in-depth knowledge about the parties' interest because of various intelligence sources (Stain & Lewis, 1996). Fourth, Track One mediators have the competence to use board knowledge of their States' foreign policies, and also the foreign policies of the conflicting parties.

E. Methodological Framework

The methods that stands out as an adequate strategy for answering the research question are library research and document analysis. It means, qualitative approach will be used to describe the phenomenon deeply. The data presented in this research is secondary data which is obtained from various literature sources that are relevant to the discussion, such as books, journals, reports, papers, newspapers, and related official documents.

The collected data then will be processed and will be transformed into report using data analysis technique. Husono Usman & Purnomo S. Akbar describe data analysis as “... *proses pengkategorian data sehingga dapat ditemukan pola hubungan, tema, menaksir apa yang bermakna, serta menyampaikan dan melaporkannya pada orang yang berminat.*” (Usman & Akbar, 2008).

In this study, descriptive analysis technique is used in which the facts are present and analyze in a systematical way to make it easier to understand and summarize.

F. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of four chapters, as follow:

Chapter I, is an introduction chapter, aims to guide to the research topic and discuss the research method. This chapter contains background,

research question and scope limitations, research purpose, theoretical perspectives, methodological framework and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter II, provides the necessary empirical background of UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention, its Committee and institutional framework. The chapter also provides the background of Indonesia in the World Heritage Committee. This chapter aims to build the basic knowledge of the variables discussed in this study.

Chapter III, is the main chapter where the data found during the data collection will be analyzed and discussed. It explains Indonesia's diplomacy in the World Heritage Committee, which can be classified into four sub-chapter. They are: the diplomacy to become the World Heritage Committee member; to promote the issues regarding Agenda 2030 for sustainable development in the World Heritage Committee's work; to promote a more credible World Heritage Committee; and to promote regional issues.

Chapter IV, is the last chapter. It deducts what has been analyzed in the previous chapter. It also contains suggestions and recommendations.