

Paradiplomacy in Preparation for the Nation's Capital in East Kalimantan

Enny Fathurachmi¹, Burhanuddin², Andi Purnawarman³

^{1,2,3}Universitas Mulawarman, Indonesia

enny_fathurachmi@unmul.ac.id, burhanuddin@fisip.unmul.ac.id, andipurmulawarman@gmail.com

Abstract

The selection of East Kalimantan to be the candidate for the Capital of the New State of Indonesia, provides an opportunity for the region to be more open to open international cooperation with local governments and cities from other countries. Paradiplomasi becomes a vehicle for local governments to be able to cooperate with foreign parties. This paper intends to expose the reality of foreign cooperation that is still minimally carried out by the East Kalimantan Regional Government. The idea of this paper departs from the many initiations of cooperation carried out by local governments but many only stop at the level of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) without follow-up to the realization of the implementation of cooperation agreements. Departing from the reality of this paper offers ideas by taking the momentum of the National Capital in East Kalimantan to prepare by collaborating with various parties to encourage the East Kalimantan government to be more active in realizing foreign cooperation to encourage development in East Kalimantan on a global scale.

Keywords

East Kalimantan;
paradiplomasi; capital of new
country; foreign cooperation



I. Introduction

In its development diplomacy undergoes many changes both from actors who play a role in diplomacy and the scope of its activities. One form of diplomacy that is experiencing development is Paradiplomasi. Paradiplomasi itself refers to the behavior and capacity to conduct external relations with foreign parties conducted by sub-state entities or regional governments, in the framework of their specific interests. The development of diplomacy itself was triggered by the development of issues of transnationalism and globalization, especially post-Cold War. Issues of transnationalism and globalism are more towards low-political issues such as the human right, economy, culture, health, environment and so on. The development of this international issue should be responded by the local government to carry out regional development and development by adopting or working with other parties abroad. In other words, Paradiplomasi in the context of Indonesia is foreign cooperation carried out by local governments be it provinces, districts, or cities. This is strengthened by regulations and laws in Indonesia through Law No. 32 of 2004 on Local Government. In this Law is regulated regarding the division of government affairs including foreign affairs. This rule provides space for local governments in Indonesia to cooperate with foreign countries including East Kalimantan.

As a candidate for the Capital of the New Country of Indonesia after being determined by the Government of Joko Widodo the opportunity of East Kalimantan to be known in the international world will be more open. Of course, this will provide an opportunity for East Kalimantan to do a lot of international cooperation with other countries through paradiplomasi. Although so far there has been a lot of foreign cooperation initiated through the MoU, but many have not been realized in other words

just stop at the MoU only. Even until now there has not been a single sistercity cooperation realized in East Kalimantan.

There is a lot of potential for East Kalimantan that can be developed into cooperation with abroad, but some internal constraints, especially as a barrier for East Kalimantan in conducting cooperation such as sister city. For that, it needs several things prepared by East Kalimantan to paradiplomasi with various scopes of cooperation by utilizing the potential possessed by Kaltim.

II. Review of Literature

Understand Paradiplomasi and Its Scope

The term paradiplomasi itself began to appear in the 1980s which is an amalgamation of the term parallel diplomacy which refers to the meaning of "the foreign policy of non-central government". Stefan Wolff in his journal *Paradiplomacy: Scope, Opportunities and Challenges* explains that paradiplomasi is a new phenomenon and subject in the science of international relations and refers to the foreign policy capacity undertaken by sub-state actors where participation regardless of state actors and in the international arena is aimed at pursuing their interests, not in the national interest.

Alexander S. Kuznetsov in his book *Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy: Subnational Government in International Affairs* defines paradiplomasi as a form of political communication to achieve economic, cultural, political, or other types of benefits essentially consisting of the independent actions of local governments and foreign government and non-governmental actors.

There are many meanings about paradiplomasi which is also a debate in the academic world. As thrown by Brian Hocking who gave the distinction between the central government and the local government which of course this distinction will encourage a sharp conflict between the central government and the local government. This condition is certainly very contrary to the Westphalia system which has been the reference of all countries in carrying out their system where they put full sovereignty on the central government. With the emergence of the concept of Paradiplomasi this means that the central government must be willing to share authority in its international activities that have been the domain of the central government. However, in the context of Indonesia, central and regional relations about foreign relations are regulated in Law No. 24 of 2000 on International Agreements. In the law, what is the authority of the central government and what is the authority of the local government. Local governments are permitted to conduct foreign cooperation except matters relating to monetary, defence and security, foreign policy.

The forms of self-exploration in Indonesia there are 3, namely (Fitriah: 2021)

1. Paradiplomasi forwarding is the result of forwarding cooperation carried out by the central government with local governments abroad which is then given to local governments appointed by the central government. In other words, the local government gets recommendations from the central government to cooperate with cities or local governments abroad.
2. Sister City/Sister Province is a twin city partnership. One of the characteristics of this cooperation is usually carried out by each local government that cooperates without the intervention of the central government.
3. Paradiplomasi with NGOs, where this cooperation is carried out by local governments with international institutions.

The scope of paradiplomasi cooperation includes:

1. Economics
2. Social
3. Culture
4. Education
5. Tourism
6. Milieu
7. Health
8. Sport

According to Andre Lecours, paradiplomasi's agenda divides into three layers:

1. Economic cooperation or economic cooperation that aims to reap absolute profits through trade in the exchange of products.
2. Exchange of Knowledge or exchange of knowledge and training. This agenda aims to exchange the experience and expertise of working parties.
3. Political consideration or political consideration whose purpose is to use paradiplomasi as a container or tool to fight for political identity. In its development the scope of paradiplomasi activities is increasingly widespread In paradiplomasi in its development not only experiencing the addition of scope but also activities carried out such as:
 - a) Sister city
 - b) FDI (Foreign Direct Investment)
 - c) Establishment of a joint project
 - d) Sending delegates both sports, education, and arts / culture.

Based on the paradiplomasi activities of Andre Lecours in his paper Political Issues of Paradiplomacy: Lesson from the development world introduces a concept of layers of paradiplomacy that divide into three layers that we can use to distinguish paradiplomasi one from another. The first is the relationship and cooperation of regional or sub-state governments that are oriented only to economic purposes such as market expansion, development of foreign investment and mutual investment. This relationship in no way involves complex motives such as politics and culture. Meanwhile, for the second layer is wider and multideimensi because it is not only focused on economic benefits but paradiplomasi involving various fields in cooperation or multipurposes between economics, culture, education, health, and technology transfer. This concept of relations refers to the model of decentralized foreign cooperation. As for the third layer is cumulative because almost all paradigms in developed countries have an economic component. Then many local governments add elements of cooperation and start to enter the second layer, namely starting to make broader cooperation and there are some that are chosen by politics or enter the third layer. The economic condition of the population is a condition that describes human life that has economic score (Shah et al, 2020). Economic growth is still an important goal in a country's economy, especially for developing countries like Indonesia (Magdalena and Suhatman, 2020).

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 East Kalimantan in Its Preparation as the Capital of the New Country

The election of East Kalimantan as the capital of the country by the Government of Joko Widodo on August 26, 2019, provides fresh air and great hope for East Kalimantan in particular. The discourse of capital displacement is actually triggered by the complexity of the problems that occurred in the capital city of Jakarta even since the dutch east indies when Governor General JP Graaf Van Limburg Strirum in 1916-1921 who planned to

move the capital from Batavia to Bandung on the grounds of the condition of the area on the north coast of Java that is not healthy to be used as a government office, commerce and industry and industry to education. President Sukarno also had the idea of dividing the burden on Jakarta. Meanwhile, flood conditions in 2010 further strengthened the discourse of capital displacement during the administration of President SBY in addition to the condition of DKI Jakarta which has been involved with transportation, settlement, and regional spatial issues.

East Kalimantan was chosen as the location of the capital of the new country with various studies and considerations including its strategic value. With Indonesia's geographical location consisting of large and small islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke, the position of East Kalimantan is in the middle. There are at least five reasons to place East Kalimantan as the location of the new capital city, namely first, the risk of disaster is minimal both banir disaster, earthquake, tsunami, forest fire and landslide. Second, the location is strategic if pulled coordinates location is in the middle of Indonesia. Third, the planned location of IKN is between two districts in East Kalimantan, namely Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) and Kutai Kartanegara district. The selection of the location is considered appropriate because it is near the city that has first developed, namely the city of Balikpapan and the city of Samarinda. Fourth, it already has a relatively complete infrastructure and fifth, only in that location there is government land covering an area of 180,000 hectares.

Not only divide the burden of the current capital city, but East Kalimantan also has several geopolitical and geostrategic potentials that are certainly a consideration to be used as the capital of the country. First, East Kalimantan is in the middle position in the geographical in Indonesia. This is important to consider that all administrative affairs are centered in DKI Jakarta which is located quite far from eastern Indonesia. To go to Jakarta from Papua the distance is 3,777km. To reach the Jakarta area from Papua can only be reached by air and sea transportation. For example, if the journey is done from Jakarta to Papua with a flight speed of 500 km / h then the flight travel time is 7 hours 33 minutes. Second, East Kalimantan consists of multiethnic which means that the region is heterogeneous. Although the indigenous tribes in East Kalimantan are Dayak and Kutai but the largest ethnicities that inhabit the areas in East Kalimantan are Ethnic Javanese and Bugis. However, there has never been a major ethnic conflict in East Kalimantan. Third, East Kalimantan is rich in natural resources and is the third largest foreign exchange contributor in Indonesia from exports of US \$ 5.7 billion after West Java and East Java. This means that Kaltim has a contribution of 10.58 percent of Indonesia's total foreign exchange obtained from exports. Exports mostly carried out by Kaltim are from the oil and gas and coal sectors. Fourth, East Kalimantan is relatively safe, especially natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanoes. Although there has been an earthquake event in East Kalimantan, the intensity is very rare and small scale and does not cause major damage.

In addition to these considerations with an area of 127,347.92 km² and a population of 3,793,152 iiwa, this area still has a large land to develop. As no less important Kaltim ranks third with a score of 74.59 for the Human Development Index which means for the regional scale in Indonesia, Kaltim succeeded in building the quality of human life in obtaining income, health, and education. In addition, the happiness index in Kaltim ranks fourth with a score of 73.57 in Indonesia which means the level of life satisfaction by looking at the dimensions of feelings and meaning of life is relatively good. This Happiness Index also has a strong association with the economic index in other words the happiness index is influenced by the economic index. With these indicators, it is said that East Kalimantan has strong potential to be able to conduct foreign cooperation.

3.2 Paradiplomasi Reality in East Kalimantan

As a candidate for the Capital of the New Country for Indonesia, the opportunity of East Kalimantan is large enough to be known in the international world. The opportunity is in the form of cooperation that can be done with local / city governments abroad with wider fields. During this time Kaltim has also conducted foreign cooperation but with a limited scope. The Kaltim government had conducted foreign cooperation with Russia in 2012 as outlined in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by the Kaltim Government with Russian railway company Russian Railway as a foreign investor. There is also cooperation in the form of forwarding carried out by the Central Government in importing cattle from Australia. The import of this cow is then forwarded to the East Kalimantan regional government by using state budget funds in bringing cows from Australia to be developed in East Kalimantan.

Although much foreign cooperation was initiated, most of it is still in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding and not much has been realized into cooperation agreements. Even until now the Kaltim government has not had sister city cooperation with outside parties. Though there are several benefits that can be obtained from sister city cooperation including:

1. The opportunity to exchange knowledge and experience in the management of the development of the fields that are cooperated.
2. Encourage the growth of initiatives and active roles of local, municipal, community and private governments.
3. Strengthen the friendship of the government and the people of both parties.
4. The opportunity to exchange cultures to enrich regional culture.

Some examples of local governments in Indonesia are quite successful in carrying out paradiplomasi through Sister City such as Surabaya, Bandung, and Makassar. Surabaya has collaborated with Kitakyushu Prefect in Japan and Busan City of South Korea. Bandung city government cooperates with the city of Braunschweig Germany and the City of Namur Belgium, especially for cooperation on planning the city of Bandung as a tourist destination and pilot city. Slightly different from the city of Makassar which cooperates with microsoft organizations to create smartcities.

There are several obstacles that some blood governments face to paradiplomasi. The inhibiting factors of the spread of paradiplomasi in Indonesia are mostly due to:

1. Lack of human resources
2. Lack of knowledge of the potential of the area
3. Inadequate infrastructure
4. Complexity of licensing paradiplomasi activities
5. Ignorance of local governments about the potential of paradiplomasi alternatives.

This condition also seems to be an obstacle for East Kalimantan. If referring to these conditions, then the obstacles faced by East Kalimantan are more likely to lack knowledge of the potential of the region and ignorance of local governments about the potential of alternative paradiplomasi. For this reason, it requires preparation.

3.3 Preparation of Paradiplomasi Can Be Done

This paper offers points of thought on the preparations made by East Kalimantan in the framework of paradiplomasi in the preparation of the National Capital. First, the reinforcement of data and information. This is related to the exploration of the potentials that can be cooperated in East Kalimantan for example in the field of tourism. East Kalimantan which has been identical as a mining producing area has to start thinking towards Kaltim after mining. One that quite has great potential in Kalimantan Timur is

tourism. There is a difference in East Kalimantan tourism with areas that have been famous for their tourism icons such as Bali and Yogyakarta. Nature Forest with all its environment has strong potential to be developed into educational forest tourism. Cities that bear similarities to for example in the city of Yasuni Ecuador. In the city of Yasuni there is a National Park with characteristics of tropical rainforests that are also owned in several places such as kutai Kertanegara regency, Mahulu regency, Malinau regency. Similarities in the handling of national parks can be cooperated through paradiplomasi. Other potential that can be developed for example the city of Samarinda which has a wide river is Mahakam can establish cooperation in the management of water tourism such as with the city of Bangkok which has Chao Praya River tourism. Even the Karang Mumus tributary in samarinda city through sister city cooperation can also cooperate with the city of Malacca in Malaysia which has tours of the Malacca River.

Second, it takes synergy with various parties with the pentahelix model. The model is a collaboration consisting of government, society, academia, business actors and the media described as follows:



In paradiplomasi the government can involve academics to explore the potentials possessed by the region and similarities that can be cooperated with foreign countries. Business actors become an important part of the object that will be worked together to support the government's performance. The role of society in paradiplomasi also cannot be ignored where the community can also be a perpetrator to encourage the acceleration of cooperation in the framework of the paradiplomasi. The media encourages the acceleration of information and publication in the paradiplomasi process carried out by local governments.

Third, coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is often ignored by local governments in cooperating with foreign countries. The local government in acting in an agreement with a foreign party must pocket a full power from the Minister of Foreign Affairs because in this context the local government cannot overstep its authority owned by the central government in the issue of regulation and implementation of Indonesian foreign policy and policy. Article 7 paragraph 1 of Law No. 24 of 2000 states that a person representing the government of the Republic of Indonesia with the aim of receiving or signing the text of a treaty or binding on an international treaty requires a Power of Attorney. This coordination is important to be done to anticipate local governments missteps in cooperating with other parties outside. This needs to be emphasized considering that not all institutions or organizations can officially cooperate with the Indonesian government.

IV. Conclusion

The establishment of the National Capital in East Kalimantan became an important point in the journey of East Kalimantan to engage more in global activities. Paradiplomasi can be a vehicle for local governments to increasingly engage in international cooperation to encourage further kaltim development. It takes collaboration with the pentahelix model for acceleration in the paradiplomasi process with various forms that have not been widely done in East Kalimantan because the Appointment of the State Capital is not enough for East Kalimantan to be only oriented to inward looking but must do development orientation in outward looking.

References

- Mukti, A. Takdir. (2020). *“Politik Paradiplomasi dan Isu Kedaulatan di Indonesia”*. The Phinisi: Yogyakarta
- Wolff. S. (2007). Paradiplomacy: Scope, Opportunities and Challenges. *The SAIS Europe Journal of Global Affairs*
- Fitriah. N., & Melina. (2021), *“Mengapa Tidak Semua Wilayah di Indonesia Dapat melakukan Paradiplomasi”*, Kabar Warta dotID (<https://kabarwarta.id/detailpost/mengapa-tidak-semua-eilayah-di-indonesia-dapat-melakukan-paradiplomasi>)
- Kuznetsov. A. (2015). *“Theory and Practice of Paradiplomacy; Subnational Governments in International Affairs”*. Routledge; Taylor & Francis Group
- Magdalena, S., Suhatman, R. (2020). The Effect of Government Expenditures, Domestic Investment, Foreign Investment to the Economic Growth of Primary Sector in Central Kalimantan. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*. Volume 3, No 3, Page: 1692-1703.
- Shah, M. M., et al. (2020). The Development Impact of PT. Medco E & P Malaka on Economic Aspects in East Aceh Regency. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*. Volume 3, No 1, Page: 276-286