

# The Role Of Paradiplomacy And The Potential Proto-Diplomacy In The Unitary State

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## **Abstract**

This article aims to explain the study of paradiplomacy in the unitary state. With the case study of Indonesia, the author explains the role of paradiplomacy and the potential of proto-diplomacy in a unitary state like Indonesia. This article uses a qualitative method with a case study method with research data sources, journal articles, books, reports and other relevant sources. The results found that the role of paradiplomacy in Indonesia is still conservative because it still follows the boundaries that have been set. Post-reform the role of paradiplomacy is very stretched, especially in big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, which already have strategic partners abroad. This role opens up opportunities for cooperation in economic, social, cultural, educational and other fields that are needed by paradiplomacy. The role of paradiplomacy has been stated in various regulations as the basic foundation for moving in search of strategic partners abroad. Although it has a positive impact, it turns out that there is potential for proto-diplomacy in Indonesia. This is especially the case for areas that have a history of popular movement for regional independence. This movement has the potential to lead to disintegration. However, it can be muted if each party can reduce ego and commitment to build together.

**Keywords:** *Paradiplomacy, cooperation, conflict, proto diplomacy*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Foreign policy is inseparable from diplomacy. This is in accordance with Ricard Hamilton and

Langhorna who argue that basically every country pursues its national interests through diplomacy. Diplomacy is a foreign policy tool

used to achieve these interests peacefully through governments on behalf of other countries. Hamilton (1995) further said that the development of diplomacy will always change based on four factors, namely a) changes in the international order, b) changes in the threat and prevalence of war, c) changes in the role of the state and d.) integration of information technology (Carlnaes, 2013).

In addition, the change in the direction of diplomacy is due to a) changes in the political, social and economic environment in which diplomacy is carried out (for example changes in the nature and distribution of power, conflicts of a new type, sovereignty and interdependence) and b ) policy problems that arise. Emerging issues in foreign policy such as cybersecurity, privacy, data governance, e-commerce, and cybercrime; c) the use of digital tools in diplomatic practices such as social media, online meetings, and big data analytics (diplomacy.edu,2021). In connection with the above opinion, it shows that there is a change in the international system which has implications for the revolution of the role of the state. This change is increasingly complex due to the increasing complexity

of national needs and interests. So that the country can no longer play as the dominant actor. The state must collaborate with other actors including with local governments or substate. (Hone, 2021)

The changes in traditional diplomacy played out by the state are very significant including the actors involved no longer especially in the Central Government. Currently, local governments, whether city or district governments, are already involved in foreign relations. Since the turn of the century, Cities or districts that network as actors of Global Politics and there has been a shift that foreign relations from the center to the city to engage in discourse and international policy processes theorize about urban diplomacy are "paradiplomation" but the prefix "para-", which means parallel to, is misleading in the context of current international relations. As has been pointed out by , the idea that city actors operate in diplomatic spaces in parallel separate from the central space dominated by the nation-state is a simplification of post-Westphalia reality. In contrast, city and state actors operate in diplomatic environments that "do not recognize exclusive domestic and international territories. This means that there is a rivalry between

the Centre and the regions in the exclusiveness of foreign relations and the involvement of sub-national Governments is evidence of the post-wesphalia system.(Curtis, 2014) (Klaus, 2018)(Soldatos, 1990) (Van der Pluijm, 2007)

The paradigm of paradiplomacy is a hot topic in the study of international relations (SHI). This is inseparable from the changing issues of time and shifts in diplomatic actors. Advances in information technology require diplomatic actors who have the opportunity to realize national interests. The paradigm of paradiplomation is part of this change, so the study of diplomacy is more interesting

In line with Melison's view that urban diplomacy is to show a change in the actor of diplomacy called paradiplomacy . Melisen said that paradiplomacy is the plural form of diplomatic activity. This means that the actors involved very much refer to the word 'Para'. Correspondingly, Soldatos (1990) states that the word 'para' comes from the Greek word meaning close. Side, assistant. Paradiplomacy is defined by international diplomatic activities carried out by sub-national actors to complement, duplicate, support, improve along with other nation states. Furthermore, Duchacek

(1990) explained that paradiplomacy is the activity of external relations and the actions of non-central governments (Cities, Provinces, Federations, Civic Organizations, etc.) in their involvement at the international level. (Tavares, 2016) See more (Aldecoa, 2013)

Basically, the involvement of paradiplomacy (Local Government) in its external relations is a) an economic orientation in which the regions take advantage of the widely open global market of the economy. So that the regions can be directly involved in promoting their products abroad, b) cultural motives in this section local governments are involved as an effort to form communities, especially for multilingual and ethnic areas and c) political motiv where with the division of regional autonomous areas will have wider political power for the effectiveness of domestic services and their external interests. In fact, according to hyperglobalis thinkers, they say that regions that have resource capabilities, capital flows and technology should be able to compete with the nation state. Regions can widen their reach by utilizing sub-national actors such as NGOs to achieve regional interests in international targets. (Kuznetsov, 2013)

The involvement of paradiplomacy at the international level as an effort to utilize services for its citizens and promote decentralization as a form of releasing policy isolationism. This means that the purpose of paradiplomacy is the welfare of its inhabitants. Paradiplomacy in carrying out its external relationships must have 5 factors, namely a) goals and motivations, b) level of involvement, c) structure and resources, d) level of participation and e) strategy (Aldecoa, 2013)

Why this is important is because of the changing international system in which international relations actors are increasingly complex. This is in line with Keohane's theory of complex interdependence which requires state actors as actors. Solдатос (1990) said that paradiplomacy involvement must be able to utilize four segmentations, namely objective segmentation regarding cultural characteristics, religious and geographical language, perception segmentation regarding loyalty, perception, conception, attitude, policy segmentation regarding external relations strategies and segmentation of actors regarding collaboration and communication. Furthermore, Keating said that in the formulation

of the relationship between the center and the regions, there are at least three patterns, namely *top down* where the implementation strategy is initiated by the center and assisted by the regions, *bottom up* where initiation comes from the regions in the form of demands for international action and collaboration both become strategies and actions are collaborated. In the traditional approach related to the program, there are five components that must be considered, namely (1) initiation; (2) planning and design; (3) implementation and construction; (4) monitoring and control systems; and (5) done. (Aldecoa, 2013) (Aldecoa, 2013). So, this paper will explain to what is the role of paradiplomacy and the potential proto-diplomacy in a unitary state

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

### The Concept of Paradiplomacy

The presence of paradiplomacy as part of international relations actors in global politics does not only have the potential for a positive impact. However, it also has the potential to have a negative impact or limitation of this study for a unitary state. The limitations

of paradiplomational studies on enormous practical issues have arisen in efforts to secure collaboration and cooperation between regions, including the reality of territorial competition, differences in constitutional and legal provisions, and the resistance of politicians and officials who continue to have a hand in the existence of borders and control centers.

The rivalry between the Central and Local Governments largely does not represent an important dimension of each other's interests. The dimension of such importance when brought at the level of regionalism and international relations. Then the issue of the involvement or limitations of each actor in between domestic and international affairs and between national and regional issues. In essence, there is a potential for relationships between the Central Government and Regional Governments with a cooperation pattern or competitive pattern (Kuznetsov, 2013)

Mukti (2013) explained that there are four components in the relationship between the Central Government and Regional Governments that have a consequence on being cooperative or

competitive, namely a) differences in political understanding between the Central and Regional Governments. This relates to the ruling party, vision and mission and achieves a political image and reputation, b) the existence of a social movement in society, namely a movement that makes the instability of central and regional relations that makes the two tense. The implication is that the relationship between them has the potential to create injustice of socio-political approaches, c) the economic strength in the regions is better than the national. Good economic potential makes the potential of the region a good economic resource. The implication is to make regions able to stand alone in dealing with their autonomous regions. This means that separating from the National Government is not a meaningful thing because the economic ability can support the needs of the people. And d) a bureaucracy that deals with foreign relations both formally and informally. This is because it relates to who is responsible for dealing with the external relations of the region and what its boundaries are like. Bureaucracy as a coordination function will be needed both actors in the regions and at the center (Mukti, 2013).

In addition, according to the author, there are several more points that can make the rivalry between the center and the regions, namely **first** the adaptability of technology and the availability of technological infrastructure in the regions. Differences in the development of this field will have the potential to be conflictual, especially in today's digital era. The pattern when information is important content in a democracy, the impact that is the result is a) there is a gap between areas that have internet access and good infrastructure and minimal areas. The impact is obviously on the regions will be minus information, b) the possibility of privacy violations because if it has been connected to connections, the world no longer has a private space, c) there is a change in the pattern of a digitalization-based cooperation economy, the impact is that people are still dominant in conventional economies whose basis is *cash money*, and d) information technology makes the development of crime more flexible, more modern with all its models. Therefore, it must be interpreted that what happens in the era of digital democracy is a method of meaning adversarial political conditions, (losing wins with risk), reflective (negotiation)

or integrated (*balancing of power*).. (Aziz, 2018)

**Secondly**, knowledge and quality in diplomatic relations. This point is important because some are areas that focus on foreign relations and sometimes become coordinators in foreign relations because of the quality of diplomatic knowledge. This creates a central and regional rivalry regarding tasks in foreign relations. In line with what Acuto conveyed that the involvement of city or district governments in the international network of global politics is increasingly massive. Although nation-states retain their strength and resources to shape the global agenda, cities are increasingly standing out on the world stage as powerful new actors. Even because the regional powers in diplomatic relations became real competitors for the central government. (Acuto, 2013)

**Third**, there is a proto-diplomacy movement, which is an activity that refers to international relations carried out by subnational, regional, and local institutions, for their benefit. Proto-diplomacy is a political movement that seeks to secede from its parent country. This factor of the movement can be due to its political, economic, social, cultural and jam factors. Proto-

diplomacy is an activity to carry out independence from the autonomous region it controls into a unified state. Since the region it is a region as a meta entity like Asia, America. Regions as historical, cultural, economic forms, Central Asia, the Middle East, Central Europe, territories as territorial units such as countries. The region is spatial and the region is the boundary of identity. Therefore many regions especially in the unitary state are carrying out proto-diplomatic movements after they are granted the right of regional autonomy. One example is Indonesia.

Indonesia is an independent country in the form of a unity. Unity which means that the area stretches from Sabang to Merauke. The territory of Indonesia consists of 34 provinces divided into districts and cities. Responding to autonomous or decentralized regions as part of the political and government system in Indonesia, in the past Indonesia was also in the form of a Federated State or a United States state. Unlike the current one in the form of Unity, where autonomous regions in the form of provinces consisting of regencies and cities are not given too much flexibility regarding the dimensions of domestic politics and foreign policy. In contrast to union

states that have more autonomous powers than unitary states with a decentralized political system.

Thus, the practice of para-diplomacy has the potential to disrupt Indonesia's stability if the political power of regional leaders is not properly limited. The implication would be that it would potentially be a proto-diplomacy which is a political movement to gain independence. It is in this dimension that paradiplomacy studies must be able to provide solutions so that movements like this do not repeat themselves. Because Indonesia is independent with the status of a Unitary State not a Federation. For this reason, Indonesia must create an accommodating rule of law that does not close the gap in international cooperation in foreign relations and also does not open opportunities for proto-diplomacy and identity paradiplomacy.

### **Paradiplomacy Studies in Indonesia**

After the reform, there was a change in the political and government system in Indonesia from a centralization-based government to decentralization. This change is inseparable from the challenges and opportunities to build a new paradigm in sustainable

development. Before the reform era, development and governance were only concentrated in the central regions so that there was no equitable distribution of development in various parts of Indonesia. Indonesia, which stretches from Sabang to Merauke, has development inequality that is too concentrated in western Indonesia. Thus, the change in the political system towards decentralization opens up opportunities for regions to be able to develop the potential of their respective regions.

This fact was seen before the many divisions that occurred in Indonesia before the reforms could be counted as a result of a centralized system. At that time, Indonesia was divided into 27 provinces from Sabang to Merauke. However, after the reform, it has opened up the expansion of autonomous regions in various regions, both provinces, districts and cities. This expansion began when in 1999 the Local Government Law Number 25 of 2000. Not long after, the Regional Autonomy Department was formed which was also initiated by M. Ryas Rasyid as the first minister. The acceleration of local government in Indonesia continued to develop until the birth of Law no. 32 of 2004

which was an improvement of the legitimacy of local governments.

The improvement of policies and laws and regulations has made local governments in Indonesia continue to develop until now. Even today there are 34 provinces in Indonesia consisting of around 571 districts and cities. A province is a fiefdom headed by a governor and a municipal county headed by a regent or mayor. This governance resulted in the change of the Regional Autonomy Law to Law No. 23 of 2014 which is still in force today. And from the existence of a number of regulations, it has the potential to increase the number of provinces, regencies and cities in Indonesia. Furthermore, after the issuance of Law no. 37 of 1999 and Law No. 20 of 2000, it added to the lively role of wider local governments.

The implications of the existence of this law also change the pattern of academic studies in Indonesia, which makes research directed at the role of regions in developing their own regions. Autonomy is considered as a region capable of seeing, developing and expanding the scope of regional power to achieve its interests in line with national interests. However, most studies still lead to domestic studies to see the role of regions

in developing their respective regions. After the study was raised by Fate Ali Mukti as the first author of paradiplomacy, it became the beginning of the paradiplomacy study in Indonesia in 2013. This book became an early reference in the study of paradiplomacy even though the role of the region in the context of international cooperation was initiated by the City of Bandung in the 1960s. It is this inspiration that makes the reviewers of the Study of International Relations even more eager to research the strategies of paradiplomacy or local governments in foreign relations.

Foreign relations in the framework of regional autonomy prevailing in Indonesia are not as extensive as a number of other countries in various parts of the world such as America, Canada, Spain, Germany, Australia and a number of other regions. Foreign relations in Indonesia are not rigid but also not very broad. The meaning is still conservative. Because Indonesia is a unitary state. The implication is that although regions are granted the widest possible autonomy in foreign relations, the central government remains a catalyst, facilitator, and protector in foreign relations. This makes local governments have to go through a

one-stop system in the context of foreign relations. And some things that can't be done such as religious affairs, finance, military, monetary and foreign policy. The Centre took over a number of crucial issues and made local governments partners.

The pattern of paradiplomacy relations to achieve its interests is limited, so Soldatos (1990) proposed four formulas, namely *Cooperative join Coordinator* where the Central Government is the dominant actor in foreign relations, *cooperative join formula*, *parallel harmony* and *parallel disharmony*. Paradiplomacy as an international relations actor has several types of involvement including trans border regional paradiplomacy, transregional paradiplomacy and global paradiplomacy. To become a paradiplomacy or a competitive paradiplomacy region, it must pay attention to several factors including globalization, regionalism, democratization, domesticization of foreign policy and internationalization of domestic interests, federalization and decentralization, the process of nation building, the role of the central government which is not good in external relations, the role of border areas, external stimulus, central and regional relations and

the role of quality local governments. (Kuznetsov, 2013)

It is therefore important that pay attention to these factors before creating a program: (1) alignment with the priorities of the government as a whole; (2) expected gains for the government and other impacts; (3) existing resources to pursue the project (including financial resources, human resources, and political will); (4) the legal component (is there sufficient juridical basis for processing; (5)

internal performance legacy (what is the performance track record of government agencies that will be involved; and (6) external performance inheritance (what is *the performance track record* and motivation of foreign partners to be involved. Thus the role of paradiplomacy in foreign relations is essential to accelerate international activities. The following are the types of paradiplomacy in practice in Indonesia: (Tavares, 2016)

**Tabel 1 Type of Paradiplomacy**

No.	Types/Indicators	Isolative	Conservative	Progressive
1	Foreign Policy	is at the central level	is at the central level	is at the central level
2	Diplomatic role	No foreign cooperation initiative authority but assignment from the center	There are foreign cooperation initiatives but they are controlled by the center	There is a foreign cooperation initiative authority that can be implemented by paradiplomationists
3	Overseas representative offices	Only in the representative offices of the central government	There are only representative offices of the central government	Local governments with certain criteria may open representative offices
4	Creation of cooperation documents with foreign parties	Through the mandate of the <i>Full power</i> center	Through the mandate of the <i>Full power</i> center	It does not need a mandate but is coordinate

## RESULT AND EXPLANATION

### a. **The Role of Paradiplomacy in the Framework of Foreign Relations**

Indonesia as an independent country must be able to adapt and innovate in formulating foreign policy and diplomacy. Because according to the author there are four important things that make this happen, namely a) situations and conditions that change very quickly b) motivations and national interests of the state c) internal, electronic and individual elements and d) integration of information technology. These four factors will contribute to the Act and the behavior of the state in carrying out its actions abroad. This means that the state must be able to carefully consider every variable that can affect foreign policy. Because foreign policy is a representation of action and reaction to domestic and international institutions. Foreign policy is a concrete action of the state to be able to reflect changes quickly and precisely.

And one of the actors involved in foreign relations is the Local Government or paradiplomacy.

Furthermore, it relates to the contribution of the role of local governments or paradyplomation in

regulations in Indonesia contained in Law / 23 of 2014. In the Law, it is explained that the Daerah Government is an autonomous region that has the right and authority to regurgitate its own territory as a form of decentralized power model. So that regions need to form and collaborate in the Regional Government Coordination Forum which is currently called the Indonesian City Government Association. The existence of this organization has the opportunity for local governments to coordinate together to carry out foreign cooperation. In addition, it must be understood that the Act also explains that the duties of the Government consist of absolute duties and concurrent duties. Absolute duties remain the business of the central government while concurrent ones are the responsibility of autonomously decentralized local governments. Therefore, the local government has the task of carrying out the role of basic services such as education, health, peace, social and jamnya. In addition, the duties of affairs are mandatory but not basic services such as labor, food, nutrition, agriculture, protection of women and other fields. This means that these two affairs have the potential to be part of the external

relations of local governments to be developed in the form of foreign cooperation.

Local Government is the representation of power based on their respective autonomous regions. Even though it has a number of important tasks above, Local Government is still bound by the rules of the Unitary State, which means that there are absolute elements that are not the responsibility of the Local Government. This is stated in article 10 of Law/23/2014 which concerns a. foreign policy; b. defense; c. security; d. judiciary; e. national monetary and fiscal; and f. religion. This division of power is an effort to create a leadership transformation that is efficient, stable and in accordance with the strategic priorities of the national interest. Such is the case in the division of powers of the affairs of the Central Government and Daerah contained in article 13 which concerns the following criteria: a. Government Affairs whose location is cross-provincial or cross-country; b. Government Affairs whose users are cross-provincial or cross-border; c. Government affairs whose benefits or negative impacts are cross-provincial or cross-border; d. Government affairs whose

use of resources is more efficient when carried out by the Central Government; and/or e. Government Affairs whose strategic role is in the national interest. This basis is an opportunity for local governments to conduct foreign relations as long as they are in accordance with the direction of Indonesia's national interests and do not conflict with the constitution.

Furthermore, within the framework of foreign relations, there is Government Regulation No. 28 of 2018 which regulates the tentag of foreign cooperation between local governments. As for the meaning of this rule, it reads:

Regional Cooperation is a joint effort between regions and other regions, between regions and third parties, and/or between regions and institutions or local governments abroad that is based on considerations of the efficiency and effectiveness of public services and mutual benefit." (PP 28/2018 on Regional Cooperation) (PP/28/2018).

The role of local governments in carrying out foreign cooperation in the regulation is divided into three forms, namely: Form 1. Cooperation with Other Regions ( KSDD) such as Sister city, Form 2 Cooperation With Third Parties ( KSDPK) such as

JICA-Japan and Form 3 Cooperation With Outside Pihal or External Institutions (KSDPL / LL) Such as cooperation with organizations such as ASEAN, UNDP, UNEP and jamnya. In addressing employment opportunities between these regions, local governments must understand the rules as a basis for action. Regional cooperation is carried out with the aim of overcoming emergencies, in accordance with the national interest strategy or being the task of the government represented. This must be in line with national interests, not contrary to public order and disrupt the stability of the country. This cooperation between regions must then be carried out as well as possible by forming a Regional Cooperation Secretariat which regulates these activities so that they are continuous, have a positive impact and build community welfare and trust in the public interest.

In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued Permenlu No. 3 of 2019 which became a Guide for Local Governments in conducting State Lur Relations. In the regulation, it is said that the Local Government is active in conducting foreign relations to achieve regional interests that are in line with national interests.

The purpose of establishing such guidelines is as a guide and direction for local governments to conduct foreign relations. With the scope of coordination and consultation with the Government, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Home Affairs and related ministries or institutions. With the creation of these guidelines, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has become a coordinator, initiator, infomator, mediator, promoter, facilitator, protector and supervisor. The implementation of foreign relations by local governments is carried out based on applicable turan guidelines and is in line with Indonesia's national interests.

The Guidelines for Procedures for Foreign Relations also write down the conditions for how local governments can conduct foreign relations, namely a) cooperation partners are to have diplomatic relations with Indonesia, b) are regional interests, c) Local Governments do not open Diplomatic Kanto, d) do not interfere with each other in domestic affairs, e) in accordance with national policy plans f) equality of territorial administration relations, g) complement each other and improve relations between communities. The forms of cooperation that

can be carried out with a) local governments abroad and or institutions abroad, b) provincial or twin district cooperation and c) other cooperation that changes the needs of each city or district and province. Local Governments can carry out foreign cooperation in the fields of science and technology, cultural exchanges, technical management, promotion of potential and or other fields that are in accordance with applicable regulations. Therefore, in carrying out foreign cooperation, local governments must have a subject of cooperation, background, intentions, purposes of targeting, objects and scope of cooperation and cooperation arrangements. For example, the involvement of Local Governments in Sub-Regional Economic Cooperation.

Then the Ministry of Home Affairs made Permendagri No. 25 of 2020 as a reference for local governments in conducting foreign relations. The regulation states that foreign cooperation is carried out on the principle of effectiveness and mutually beneficial public interests. The cooperation can take the form of Regional Cooperation with Institutions Abroad or KSDLL and Regional Cooperation with Local Governments Abroad or KSDPL. The implementation of

the cooperation in accordance with article 7 b is through the stages of: a. initiative; b. exploration; c. Statement of Will of Cooperation; d. preparation of a Cooperation Plan; e. approval of the DPRD; f. verification; g. preparation of the draft Cooperation Manuscript; h. discussion of the Cooperation Manuscript; i. ministerial approval; j. signing of the Cooperation Manuscript; and k. implementation. Thus, the existence of a number of these rules opens up opportunities as well as challenges to be able to carry out foreign relations to advance public interests that are in line with national interests. This means that the variables of governance, leadership, technological, financial, organizational and economic capabilities, the rule of law will be important if local governments are to be involved in foreign cooperation.

### **The Potential of Proto Diplomacy in the Unitary State**

Paradiplomacy is any kind of non-governmental International activity of non-state actors, including transnational corporations, international labor organizations, religious communities, NGOs, international lobbying, the mass media industry, transcultural artistic movements, scientific associations and extraordinary individuals The

term paradiplomacy is found in the academic literature regarding ncg (Non Central Government) involvement and postmodern analysis of diplomacy. So to deal with the intelligentsia in the academic literature must be appropriate, starting from analyzing and then avoiding the semiological approach. Paradiplomacy has an involvement with the federated state that corresponds to their text, economy, politics, ideology, and conditions.

The paradiplomacy debate between Duchacek and Soldatos focused on the federal state in particular in the relationship between the federal government and the federated state in foreign policy. A theoretical framework is needed to interpret and analyze the international involvement of the federated state in order to be able to find a transnational and dependent approach. Cross-Border Regional microdiplomacy and transregional microdiplomacy. Continue to correlate with working on national and international system crises. Global paradiplomation and protodiplomation. The term to describe the parties who take the initiative for the activities of non-central governments (Non Central Government) abroad on economic relations, social affairs, etc.

Soldatos in his study explained the framework of the study of the federated states as foreign actors who developed some insights into the involvement of foreign NCGs in the federal state and focused on the rationalization process. The foreign policy activities of the federated states involving the entire 'hard core' presented in the rubric of some taxonomy. The purpose of conceptualization is to allow more precision the definition of dependent variables. Regional microdiplomacy generates minimal controversy whereas regional macrodiplomacy involves actors from regional systems. Federalism and diplomatic consequences such as fragmentation or segmentation of central diplomacy eventually made the federal state a political system.

Indonesia's experience as a United States has occurred since pre-independence times. At that time, Indonesia consisted of several states such as the State of Eastern Indonesia, the State of the Republic of Indonesia, the State of East Sumatra, the State of Madura, the State of Pasundan, the State of South Sumatra, the State of East Java. In national history, the division of the territory was because the Dutch East Indies did not approve of Indonesia in the form of a Unity. Until the

Linggar Jati agreement in 1947, the Renville agreement in 1948, the Roem Royen agreement in 1949 and ended at the Round Table conference even though the Dutch East Indies still wanted to recognize Indonesian independence.

The history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation is proof that the formation of an autonomous region was part of Indonesia's way of covering the Dutch as colonizers. And until finally the state disbanded after the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945 led by Soekarno and Hatta. Even though it has become independent as a state, the challenge of Indonesia as a unitary state cannot be separated from the movements of national disintegration. These movements are political movements in Madiun led by Muso or the Indonesian Communias Party movement that was repeated in 1965 led by DN Aidit. Another movement was also carried out in West Java led by Kartosuwiryo who founded the Islamic State of Indonesia with the support of tantara such as Hisbuloh. Then another uprising was led by Westerling who committed human rights violations at the time. This rebellion made Westerling flee to Singapore and eventually docked to

the Netherlands and did not have time to go to trial. Then Andi Aziz's rebellion in Makassar which sought to maintain the state of eastern Indonesia. In addition, the rebellion of the Republic of South Maluku occurred in the Maluku region. This rebellion only occurred in the South Maluku part because other regions chose to join Indonesia. Meanwhile, the southern part still has connections and relations with the Andi Aziz government in Makassar.

In the contemporary era of rebellions on behalf of regional movements in Indonesia also occurred in Aceh under the name of the Free Aceh Movement led by Hasan Tiro. This movement focuses more on economic equality and political justice because of different identities. Although it ended with the Helsinki agreement. In addition, there are still seeds of the South Moluccan Republic movement which became the forerunner of the political movement to secede. And the movement that is still ongoing today is the Armed Criminal Group in Papua. This movement has been very long that demanded Papua independence from Indonesia. The reason for this movement is economic and political. Even the political movement led by Beni

Wenda made a speech at the UN general siding to seek support for Papuan independence. In addition, it also joined the Milenesian Spread Group to seek the support of South Pacific countries. These movements must be overcome properly because otherwise they have the potential to disrupt the stability of the banagsa and the state.

According to the author, there are several important points to overcome the proto-diplomacy movement in Indonesia in the form of a Unitary State, namely **first** socialization. Socialization is a strategy to explain based on communication and argumentation. Socialization as a medium to spread knowledge and policies in order to become a basis for deciding actions. The socialization referred to here is the dissemination of knowledge to local governments (paradiplomacy) related to a number of existing regulations such as Law / 23/2014. Law / 24 / 2000 / Government, Regulation No. 28/2018, Permenlu No.3/2019 and Permendagri No. 25/2020. The author believes that a number of these rules are only limited to the rules that are widely disseminated but there has been no concrete socialization to a number of regions to find out the meaning of the law. The implication is that Local

Governments (Paradiplomcy) are not able to translate well regarding their role and function in foreign relations. The Local Government still considers the issue of foreign relations to be the responsibility of the Central Government to deal with Foreign Policy. In fact, conceptually and terosi and practice in various countries the role of paradiplomacy has become increasingly massive.

The author believes that all these rules have been accepted by local governments in Indonesia. It is a matter of whether a number of these rules can be translated in the form of local government policies and actions. This lack of knowledge cannot be separated from the following points, namely a) lack of diplomatic knowledge of local governments b) ineffective governance, c) the absence of a vision of the country of local governments and d) the non-optimal role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs and related agencies to provide foreign relations training to local governments (paradiplomacy) and e) financial.

The author concludes that from the governance of foreign relations in Indonesia, it is divided into four clusters, namely: 1) the Diplomat Region cluster, in this section the

regions involved in it are areas that are active and progressive in carrying out foreign relations even though they are still conservative. This means that in terms of governance, this cluster is very ready to carry out foreign relations from various cooperation carried out as well as in terms of leadership and institutions. Examples are DKI Jakarta, West Java, Surabaya, Yogyakarta. Most of the areas are already classified as metropolitan and megapolitan cities. Then cluster 2) Temporary Diplomat, in this section the Local Governments related to it are Local Governments that have conducted foreign relations but do not have special institutions related to foreign relations. Thus, foreign relations activities are only temporary. For example, Makassar City has a vision of a World City but until now there is no division in the field of foreign relations. Likewise with South Tangerang City which also has a global vision but does not have a foreign relations institution. And there are many more regions that have such a governance model.

yes like this [?] . And cluster 3) event diplomats , in this section the regions involved are not too concerned with the issue of foreign relations. Foreign relations are just event activities that are not a

priority. This cluster is specifically conducting foreign relations but it is not routine and only a certain agenda. In this case, this cluster is governanceally, institutionally not optimal. Then the 4th) the Non Diplomat cluster, in this kalster foreign relations is not at all on the regional agenda because it still prioritizes the domestic agenda only. This means that foreign relations are the duty of the Central Government.

**Second,** commitment. At this point, snagat is important because although there is a rivalry relationship between the center and the regions, loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia is a dead price. This means that every Local Government must be able to prove its promises when taking the oath of office. The oath of office is a commitment of the Regional Government not to deflect from the Republic of Indonesia even though the quality of institutions, leadership and technology in the regions is very well established. This commitment must be evaluated for strict sanctions because many regions of the world are conducting referendums due to central and regional rivalries. The rivalry is good because of the contestation of leadership, the quality of resources, political movements in the regions. The implication is that they intend

to separate themselves from the territory of the Republic of Indonesia due to injustice. Currently, there is still identity paradiplomacy occurring in Papua led by Beni Wenda and South Maluku by John Matelete. From here the Central Government must be able to control politics in the regions lest there be political figures who become agents who make the disintegration of the nation. This commitment must enter into the heartstrings of the Regional Leaders. Because their task in domestic politics and international politics is to enrich and achieve national interests not to gain international support. With the commitment of the author, he believes that local governments can manage their respective regions. Including the expansion of domestic areas, it must be well controlled. Because many regional expansions occur only as a tool to gain power and actually burden the state for budget management. This means that both domestic and external relations must be based on scientific reasoning and academic studies so that it does not become a big problem in the future.

Thirdly reward and punishment,. On the point it is very important because of the form of implementation of the commitment.

Reward is a reward or incentive given to local governments that are able and maximum in managing foreign relations efficiently. Why is this important, because good management of foreign relations is also part of the way the state implements its national interests. Because the Central and Regional Governments are harmonious in coordinating and collaborating to find strategic partners abroad. This means that incentives are in the form of awards, giving financial prizes, as a sign of commitment that the regions are not only serving at the domestic level. In addition, it is also a form of commitment to be an indicator and example for other local governments to do the same. The success of regions capable of carrying out foreign relations activities must be measured by the number of programs launched and measured by how effective their implementation is.

In addition to rewards, there must also be punishment. Why is this important because as a Local Government Boundary that makes the opportunity for foreign cooperation a strategy to establish independence or secede. This is true of Papua, the Republic of South Maluku and the Free Aceh Movement. They took advantage

of the moment of foreign work to seek international support to gain recognition as an independent country. This is what the Central Government must control so as not to become fatal. The role of provocateurs in seeking support and wanting to gain power is a negative implication of the opportunity for foreign cooperation by local governments. Therefore, with this paradiplomacy study, it becomes a provision of knowledge for the Central and Regional Governments to make foreign relations activities a way to strengthen national interests so that they can be achieved efficiently. Because only expecting that the central government will find it difficult to become a monopolistic actor while in the era of globalization and interdependence it has been integrated with each other. Collaboration and collaboration between actors are very important to be able to smooth the achievement of the implementation of domestic politics in the field of low politics.

## CONCLUSION

Paradiplomay studies today are increasingly interesting in the study of international relations. Because paradiplom provides a different pattern of analysis and level of study

compared to a number of other studies.

Paradiplom studies are gaining global attention because Some countries in the world have different types of government. The implication is that there is collaboration and competition between the center and the regions in foreign relations.

Paradiplomacy studies in Indonesia have also become increasingly interesting due to the existence of the Local Government Law No. 23/2014 and a number of other technical rules. Because of this technical rule, communication between stakeholders is more dynamic.

The freedom of local government or paradiplomacy enlivens the competition of foreign relations. Which is an obstacle in foreign relations played by paradiplomacy. The negative implication is the potential for proto-diplomacy that makes the country in the form of a unity divided. This means that there is a potential for disitegaration of the nation which is a threat to the state.

Because tu needs rules, the same vision, suppressing the ego in order to remain a whole whole.

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