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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The wealth of natural resources owned by the South China Sea makes it an area that attracts the attention of many countries. The issue of the South China Sea area is still hot and is still a debate in the international community. By maintaining stability in the South China Sea, ASEAN countries then issued another new declaration that had previously been signed on July 22, 1992, in Manila. The new declaration was followed by China's Declaration on Conduct of Parties (DOC) which was signed on November 4, 2002, in Cambodia (Buszynski, 2003). But this DoC declaration is an agreement that is not entirely binding for the parties who have signed, so the realization of a new agreement changes the status of the DoC into a binding agreement as a Code of Conduct (CoC.). The purpose of this declaration is of course for the development of confidence-building measures from the strong trust, there will be strong cooperation (Wahyudi, 2018).

Some countries located not in the South China Sea area also have an interest in entering into conflicts in the South China Sea region, such as the U.S, India, and Japan. Although the U.S. is known geographically not to be around the South China Sea area, the United States itself has an interest that then leads to national interests, by encouraging the mobility of its military forces, having a

connection to conduct trade cooperation with countries in the South China Sea area. Because the waters of the South China Sea are international waters, the U.S. considers that these waters need to be maintained security stability (Bidara, Mamentu, & Tulung, 2018).

The emergence of the U.S. is then seen when the issue of ownership of the Spratly islands, which dispute the Spratly islands is feared by the U.S. because China dominates claims and provocative actions. Terms of historical territorial claims carried out by China are evident from the historical facts that exist. With China's increasing diplomatic, economic, and military power, the U.S. has made the Asia-Pacific region-the center of attention, especially in the South China Sea. The U.S. then feels it can be actively involved, otherwise, its influence in the world will be lost. The power and policies of the U.S. are an effort to maintain the military, economic, and diplomatic power that it has. One of the reasons the U.S. is embroiled in this conflict is its concern over China's military might and the U.S. reliance on international shipping lanes with other continents. That's why the U.S. has always dominated, felt the need to maintain peace, cover the risk of disputes in the South China Sea, and maintain freedom of navigation of ships in international waters (Bidara, Mamentu, & Tulung, 2018).

More attention is being held by the U.S. to the disputed area because of China's threats to U.S.-owned oil companies operating in the sea off the coast of Vietnam, with China's threats signaling a direct U.S.-owned commercial and

corporate interest. (Ravindran, 2012). The U.S. has essentially two main interests: shipping access and political-security stability of the South China Sea. For the U.S., it is very important to be able to freely use access to the South China Sea shipping. In addition, maintaining the stability of the South China Sea means also maintaining the stability of Southeast Asia which is very important to the U.S (Fravel, 2012).

In addition, the chaos that occurred in the South China Sea is because of the Nine-Dash Line that China uses for exploration in the South China Sea area, exploring natural resources, and also implementing the String of Pearls which is part of its military start-up (Kembaren, 2021). China has shown the nine-dash line, which has led to disputes between ASEAN countries over sovereignty and territory in the South China Sea. Here are some ASEAN countries involved in the South China Sea dispute, each of which has a different view on their claims.

(1) Malaysia has several strands, namely: The expansion of the continental runway to the South China Sea, as far as 12 nautical miles, and including the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). (Roach, 2014). As a result, Malaysia was then involved in a dispute with neighboring countries related to the annexation of some of these regions. Like Batu Puteh Island with Singapore, Sipadan-Ligitan Island with Indonesia. Philippines, China, Taiwan, and Vietnam hit Spartly in the South China Sea. And Limbang, Canal, Louisa Reef with Brunei, Oldas, and Rangau (Salleh, Razali, & Jusoff, 2009).

(2) Brunei Darussalam, one of the countries that claim the Louisa Reef area where part of the Spratly Islands, is of course opposed by China, Malaysia, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Vietnam (U.S Energy Information Administration, 2019). (3) The Philippines is arguably the first country to undertake a strategic activity in the South China Sea by embarking on an exploration of the Reed Bank area in the Spratly Islands. With this exploration generating gas sources, but unfortunately, China is pressing to stop what the Philippines is doing (U.S Energy Information Administration, 2019). (4) Vietnam is a country that conducts a claim based on the history of colonization by France. At that time, France conducted an expedition including the Spratly Islands as well as the Paracels. But after the Cold War, Vietnam and China competed to enter ASEAN countries. To reduce increasingly difficult problems and to gain support for claims in the South China Sea (Tonnesson, 2001).

(5) Taiwan has almost the same position as China because China assumes that Taiwan is part of China itself. The forerunner of Taiwan's claims since its secession from China, since then Taiwan has claimed the largest island in the Spratly Islands called The Aba Island (Boston Global Forum, 2015). Naturally, there are consequences of that, the EEZ line owned by Taiwan is expanding to the islands around the South China Sea. all at once for example Natuna island, which is known that this be part of Indonesia's territory, but China and Taiwan together claim that part of them (Maksum, 2017).

And lastly, Indonesia is essentially not involved with the conflict of the region. However, the actions that Taiwan and China took by claiming Natuna Island later became a special concern for Indonesia. With all efforts, of course, Indonesia does not want its territory to be claimed just like that. For example, in 2016 a Chinese fishing boat that entered the Natuna region was found by the TNI-AL then burned and sank the ship. (Maksum, 2017). From the above explanation, it has been seen that, with this the author is interested in researching a U.S. military policy on the South China Sea under the Donald Trump administration, which will later result in the impact of the policies taken by Donald Trump, therefore the researchers raised this title: **The Impact of U.S Military Policy Under Donald Trump's Administration On The South China Sea Conflict.**

1.2. Limitation and Research Questions

Judging from the discussion that the author has described above on the background of the problem, therefore the author limits the problem of her research. The research questions of this study is:

1. How are the foreign policy options of Donald Trump in the South China Sea?
2. How has the impact of U.S. Military Policy changes in the South China Sea under Donald Trump's administration?

1.3. Aim and Uses of the Research

1) Aim of Research

To know and explain the Foreign Policy of Donald Trump and the Impact of Donald Trump Military Policy on the South China Sea.

2) Uses of Research

The author hopes this paper can provide benefits for all parties and people who have interests and who are interested in the problems written by the author so that this writing can be used as a reference. Which in particular this paper is expected to be useful as follows:

i. Practical Benefits

The practical benefits of this research are to provide and increase knowledge and insight for International Relations researchers and it can be used by students, lecturers, and society in general.

ii. Theoretical Benefit

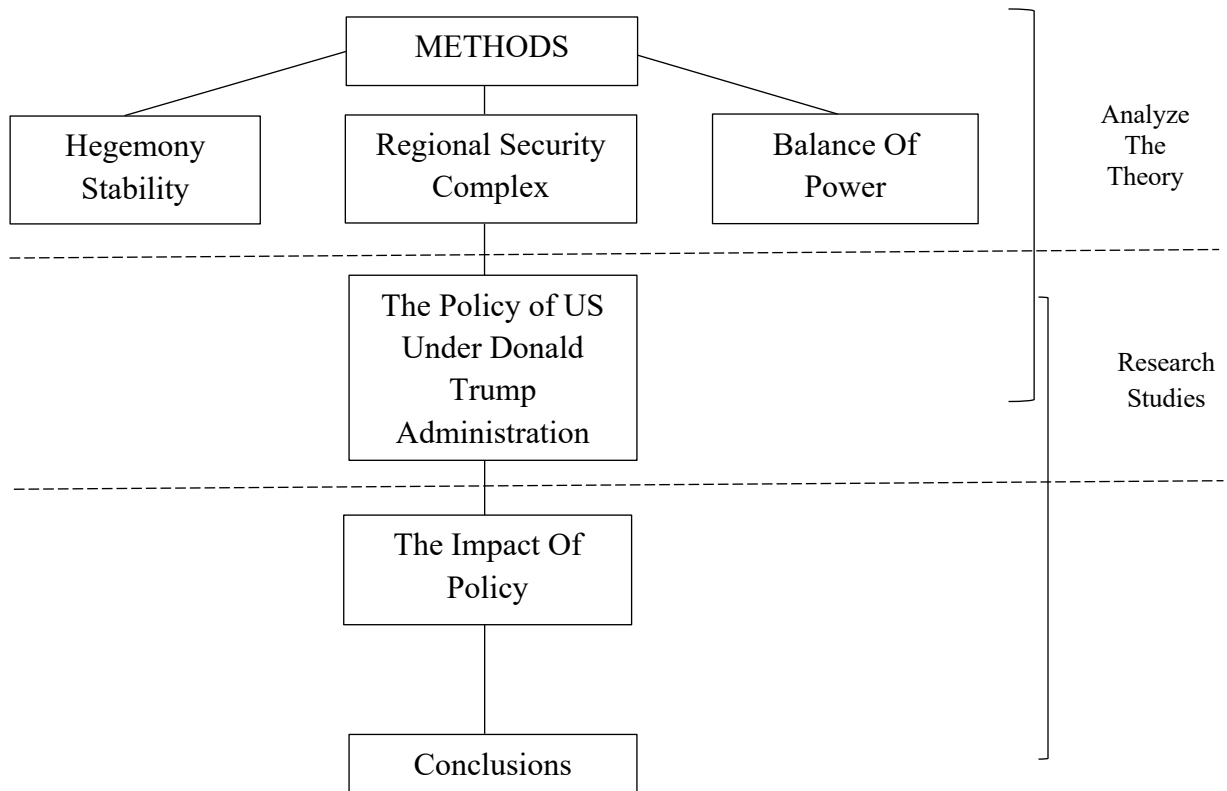
The author hopes the results of this study can be a contribution of thought and information for students of International Relations Science related to policymaking in the field of the military.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

In this research, the authors used three methods that are The Stability Hegemony, The Regional Security Complex, and The Balance Of Power These

methods are used as a reference to analyze data that will later answer the problem that has been formulated.

THE IMPACT OF U.S MILITARY POLICY UNDER DONALD TRUMP'S ADMINISTRATION ON THE SOUTH CHINA SEA CONFLICT



1) Hegemonic Stability

Hegemony is a theory that attaches importance to the role of a great state into a hegemon power that determines stability, order, and also world peace. In the classical view, this theory of hegemony stability is defined as the stability of a region to be determined or guaranteed by a great power that surrounds hegemonic. Therefore, only a country that has great power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability of influence over weaker countries. This is where the main position of security from what *major power* says. Kenneth Waltz, a well-known neorealist, thinks a hegemon power will play a role in the formation and defense of norms, regulations, and values that are universal (Alkatiri, 2019).

Without a hegemon state, the liberal world economy cannot develop optimally. A country that can be said to be a hegemon country is a country that if has successfully implemented values that have been followed by many other countries (Alkatiri, 2019). Then, according to Robert Gilpin who is a neorealist who simplifies this theory, said that the existence of this hegemon in a chaotic international system creates an international economy that can be more open and sustaining because of a dominant unity that organizes. And according to Gilpin, the stability of the world will be created if there is a hegemonic influence that has military and economic power that cannot be balanced with any country (Gilpin, 1987). This theory is used by the author as an attempt to better

understand the role of hegemony to maintain hegemony in a region. It is the same with the U.S. which wants to maintain its hegemony for the position and threats obtained from China in meeting interests and maintaining stability in the South China Sea.

2) Regional Security Complex

Then the authors see the need for research in exploring, using the theory of the Regional Security Complex. This theory is defined as a group of units that are important security processes and vice versa that make tight and tighten so that one of them cannot by itself handle security. If briefly explained, security depends on what the actor does. Thus dividing various Regional Security Complexes into various complexes, such as the European, North American, and Post-Soviet Regional Security Complex, East Asia, middle east, Primary West Africa, Super Asia which was formed by South Asia, and various other Regional Security Complexes. The Regional Security Complex has basic elements of which there are 4 (Li S. , 2019).

First of all, with the Regional Security Complex to ensure the basic concepts of the Regional Security Complex, namely geographical boundaries, unit roles, polarities, and anarchy structures. Second, in order to ascertain this type of theory, standardization in the absence of great powers but leading a large intra-area power, the Regional Security Centric Complex, Pre-Regional, Great Power, Proto, and Super Regional. Third, to ensure an isolator between the

theory of the Regional Security Complex and the region where whether it will be penetrated by a major power, or unstructured. And finally, to look at the possibilities of the change and development of this theory and to understand the existing security order in the South China Sea region through four domestic levels, regional level, global level, and inter-regional level. From the Complex Theory of Regional Security to the definition of overlay, penetration, or type that serves to establish a theoretical framework for the analysis of existing security issues in the South China Sea (Li S. , 2019).

3) Balance of Power

Then the author saw that it was still necessary to add one more theory to perfect the research, using the Balance of Power theory. Balance of Power is the natural logic behind the behavior of the state and its existence. This theory tends to question whether all countries aim to dominate universally or aim to maintain balance, or also aim to build on each other. Balance of Power is one of the determinants of relations between countries. To balance this Theory of Balance of Power, the great powers are game makers in the international political sphere. The balance of power is the dynamic balance of two behaviors: aggressive behavior and stronger and weaker resistance to circumstances. While the U.S. was the only major power after the cold war ended, liberalism was the dominant theory with the increased role of the World Trade

Organization (WTO), the international monetary fund (IMF), the World Bank (WTO), and other multilateral financial institutions (Giri, 2020).

In this case, the theory of balance of power will be dissected into three theories. One, this theory assumes that balance can be distributed with ideal power; the second balance of power is the goal of foreign policy according to the policy maker this can be pursued; Third, the balance of power is a result of the development of this multistate system (Wolfers, 1959). From this, it can be seen that this theory of balance of power can be used to dissect the problems that the author raised and both theories that the author has discussed above.

1.5. Method of the Research

1) Type of Research

The research used descriptive methods aimed at describing a fact about the effectiveness of The Impact of US Military Policy under Donald Trump Administration on the South China Sea Conflict

2) Type of Data

The type of data used by the author is data obtained from a secondary source. The author choose data from various library sources in this case books, collections of articles, journals, or scientific works, as well as accurate news on the internet related to the issues to be discussed.

3) Data Collection Technique

The data collection technique used by the author is Library Research. Library Research is a method of collecting related data derived from books, journals, documents, reports, articles, or newspapers obtained through online and offline media.

4) Analytical Method

Data analysis techniques used by the author, namely data analysis Qualitative. The problems that have been presented earlier will be further analyzed by means of a description of the problem analyzed with the data that has been obtained and then processed so that produce an appropriate argument.

5) Writing Method

The author uses a deductive writing method, i.e. the author describes the problem in general and then draws conclusions specifically in analyzing the data.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Hegemony Stability

Hegemonic Stability Theory today for most people in International Relations is certainly no stranger to this *hegemonic stability theory*. The notion of Hegemonic Stability, which was coined by Charles Kindleberger who is an expert in the liberalist perspective, first examined this theory in 1973 after examining the history of the Great Depression. Assuming that a country is an actor who has a very rational and selfish nature to achieve its own national interest. In an anarchic system, a country is considered to aim to fulfill its own personal interests, with that which will affect other countries. Countries that become leaders must provide public goods in order to maintain stability in the international area. With the maintenance of a liberal international economic order that requires support which can be said will not happen again and the power must be possessed with capabilities such as politics, economics, and the military to control international economic and political arrangements and norms (Liu & Te, 2011).

Hegemony is a theory that attaches importance to the role of a great state as a hegemon power that determines stability, order, and also world peace. In the classical view, this theory of hegemony stability is defined as the stability

of a region to be determined or guaranteed by a great power that surrounds hegemonic. Therefore, only a country that has great power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability of influence over weaker countries. This is where the main position of security from what *major power* says. Kenneth Waltz, a well-known neorealist, thinks a hegemon power will play a role in the formation and defense of norms, regulations, and values that are universal (Alkatiri, 2019).

Without a hegemon state, the liberal world economy cannot develop optimally. A country that can be said to be a hegemon country is a country that has successfully implemented values that have been followed by many other countries (Alkatiri, 2019). Then, Robert Gilpin who is a neorealist simplifies this theory, and said that the existence of this hegemon in a chaotic international system creates an international economy that can be more open and sustaining because of a dominant unity that organizes. And according to Gilpin, the stability of the world will be created if there is a hegemonic influence that has military and economic power that cannot be balanced with any country (Gilpin, 1987).

According to the classical view, this theory is the stability of an area that is determined or guaranteed by a large power that surrounds it hegemonically. From there, only a country that has great power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability to influence countries that are

weaker in nature (Alkatiri, 2019). Basically, this theory plays an important role in understanding the stability and instability of an international political-economic system. If there is no coherent power, international stability will not exist (Yazid, 2015). Various arguments regarding this theory according to Kindleberger, namely the sole force in the international system to ensure international political and economic stability, the hegemonic power that can control an existing international system, with the existence of this hegemonic power can be said to be a stabilizer, which means the power of hegemony is the strongest power among the existing states, a country that has the power of hegemony must have an incentive to provide public facilities or "public goods". With this hegemonic power, they can have a strong position in the military, political, and economic fields. Then with the power of this hegemony, it can further encourage an international cooperation (Kindleberger, 1981).

According to Kindleberger, there are various hegemonic activities that can show efforts to establish hegemonic stability, namely:

1. Encouraging international cooperation and an open international economic system in order to establish a wider range of trade regulations, increase capital and investment markets, and of course increase free trade. These two activities aim to be an encouragement from the existence of a dominant hegemonic force capable of being involved and encouraging the course of international economic cooperation and the international economic system.

2. Providing public goods which are goods and services. In the international system of public goods, this can be in the form of foreign assistance such as facilities, security, infrastructure, finance, and others. With the power of hegemony possessed by a country, of course, it will provide this to countries that can be considered small in order to maintain the power of hegemony of a country from there, stability of hegemony will be created. In the end, this theory places more emphasis on soft hegemonic behavior because it acts as a provider and at the same time a stabilizer for the international system.

Then Robert Keohane developed a theory from Kindleberger explaining the relationship between the economy of a hegemonic country and an international trading system with the theory of hegemonic stability. Countries that have hegemonic power than with the power they have can cancel a rule and can also prevent any rules that conflict with the country, but by playing a dominant role in building a new rule. Keohane said that a hegemonic power structure, dominated by a single state, is most conducive to the development of a strong international regime whose rule is more precise and that is respected (Liu & Te, 2011).

According to Keohane, there are various strengths so that a country can be said to be a hegemonic state, namely:

1. A country can be able to create a capital market and an international credit

2. A country can be able to control the production system of global goods and services
3. A country can be able to provide direction in terms of the development and transfer of knowledge in other countries
4. A country can be able to provide threats and protect the security of other countries with weapons (Strange, 1987)

In that way, it can be seen that a hegemonic state is the main pillar of the international order, whether it's in the international economy or the military field (Liu & Te, 2011).

From a liberal perspective, according to Keohane, a hegemon is seen from how a country becomes a guarantor for international cooperation that can solve problems with other countries acting to take a decision or policy that collectively no party feels aggrieved. Hegemons must understand the common interest of other countries, adjust their bargaining position, and of course provide more resources for an international institution. According to Robert W. Cox that a hegemonic state can provide various existing values such as cultural, political, and moral values to small communities and society with the institutions of the social community. Joseph S. Nye also explained that the source of hegemonic power is obtained from various factors, namely: soft power, leadership in technology, leadership in diplomacy in the international community, supremacy in the military, or hard power (Kohout, 2003).

Robert Gilpin uses the perspective of neorealism by viewing that the existence of a hegemonic state in an anarchic international system will then create an international economy that is more conducive and of course more open because of the dominant hegemonic power that regulates it. World stability will be created if there is a hegemonic power that has military and economic power that no other country can afford to share (Gilpin, 1987). In this research, the Hegemonic Stability theory is one of the theories to dissect the author's research. The purpose of using this theory is that the author sees that using this theory can see how the international system, how a hegemon affects each other, and how behavior and also a policy taken by the hegemon state. This theory is widely used to explain a dynamic that exists as well as interactions in a system such as trade cooperation, war, and also international stability.

2.2. Regional Security Complex

The Regional Security Complex Theory was originally popularized by Buzan and Weaver, this theory is a theory that clearly places emphasis on understanding the dynamics of international security. Buzan said that the regional security complex theory is a group of countries that have one thing after another and then have closeness so that it makes primary security which is the main security for the countries that are included in the group of countries that cannot then be separated. The region referred to in this theory is not only

in terms of state or geographical territory, but in a collection of units that share a process of securitization, desecuritization, or possibly both, and therefore causes a state-security problem that cannot be analyzed analytically separated (Pratama, 2014).

Analyzing the regional security complex theory which plays an important role at the regional level, there is an interplay between global security and national security. At the regional level, there is security interdependence built by many factors, such as geographical, historical, economic, political, and cultural factors. This theory is colored by a pattern known as *amity* (cooperation) and *enmity* (competition) with the countries in the region. Similarly using these two patterns to analyze by involving a domestic and global factors. An important element in the formation of this theory is because of the interdependence and a relationship of security cooperation between countries in the region. However, it cannot be denied that it will not always run smoothly, the possibility of competition, various forms of alliances, and balance of power to the entry into the external sphere of a regional security complex. (Pratama, 2014).

According to Buzan and Weaver, security issues greatly affect the process of securitization and desecuritization in an area based on factors from its geographical approach. Basically, this theory is a theory that analyzes the dynamics of world security by using regional security as the main analytical

tool. This theory views that the focus on conflict and cooperation at the regional level is an important value, and also because this theory is part of a regionalist perspective. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of international security is studied by considering a regional security dynamic (Buzan & Waever, 2003).

In this theory, there are three categories of world power by looking at how power is influential in various securitization and desecuritization discourses at the global and regional levels, such as *great power*, *regional power*, and *superpower*. First, this great power actor is certainly not foreign to say that the country's actor has military, economic, and political power which is considered that this actor has the potential to compete with superpower actors in the future. Great power actors may not necessarily be able to merge in every existing area, the capabilities possessed by a great power are considered in several different areas of the course (Buzan & Waever, 2003).

There are 4 great powers that are very influential in the world today, namely Germany/UK/France in the European Union, Russia, China, and Japan (Buzan & Waever, 2003). Second, regional power from this theory assumes that this is a world power because to reach that point a country must have entity power where the entity can be calculated in the area where the entity is located (Buzan & Waever, 2003).

Third, *superpowers* are those that have an influence on many capabilities such as the economy, military, and politics are very broad. The power possessed by this superpower exists in all regions in all parts of the world in a discourse of securitization and desecuritization. The country that became the superpower is the US (Satria, 2018).

The descriptive Regional Security Complex has one function, namely identifying and analyzing changes that occur at the regional level, the main structure consisting of 4 variables:

1. **Boundary**, is a limiting variable that later distinguishes this theory from its neighbors
2. **Anarchic Structure** which means that this theory is required to be composed of more than the world of autonomous units
3. **Polarity** is a variable that includes various power distributions from among existing units
4. **Social Construction** is a variable that uses the amity-enmity pattern of other units.

Buzan said that this RSCT can be used both descriptively and predictively. Using it descriptively can serve to systematize an empirical study, which is used to organize the *field* systematically, and can provide an understanding of a security complex that has been formed holistically and

systematically. Predictively, in order to be able to learn the changes that can occur from the security complex that has been formed (Satria, 2018).

Each theory certainly has all possibilities for change, the same thing as the complex theory of regional security can face 3 scenarios, namely:

1. Persistence of status: the absence of such a significant change in all the essential structures of this theory
2. Internal transformation: there is a change in this theory, but the change can be said to be within a reasonable limit because it is still within the context of regional borders
3. External transformation: there is a wider and shrunken area coverage, therefore there is a change in the essential structure (Satria, 2018).

It can be seen that the internal transformation potential considers the material condition of a possible change in polarity and a discursive condition with a possible change in the *amity/enmity* pattern. It can be concluded that, when the intensity of the interaction of interregional security is low, then the external transformation will tend not to occur. However, when the dynamics of regional security occur very sensitively, it increases, then this transformation can occur (Putra, 2021).

2.3. Balance of Power

Balance of Power theory is a theory that developed at the time of World War II, where at the time of the world war there had been the emergence of many great powers at that time war became a crucial tool of the balance of power. At that time, the theory of balance of power was very useful to balance the power between countries that had the potential to go to war. It would be very dangerous if adherence to this theory and the existence of great powers occurred in the nuclear world. According to Joseph Nye, “*the most interesting use of the term balance of power is as a reader of the policy directions of a country to take any actions, whether they will prevent states from developing powers that will threaten their interdependence or not*” (Nye, 2002).

Morgenthau defines the theory of balance of power as a balance that refers to the distribution of power among various countries so that they can get equal power (Sheehan, 2000). Balance of power is a derivative of traditional International Relations theory related to realism, where one of the power factors becomes an important point in a relationship with other countries by having four basic principles. First, the sovereign state is the main key to the international system. Second, a foreign policy can be influenced by domestic political conditions or domestic conditions. Third, international politics becomes a struggle to gain power in this anarchic international sphere. Fourth,

each country is obliged by law to have different abilities to achieve goals and defend their respective interests (Sheehan, 2000).

According to Mohtar Mas'oeed in his book "International Relations; Discipline and Methodology", said that balance of power has many different meanings, as follows:

1. *Balance of Power* as Distribution

This concept is used to refer to the distribution of power. Some say that the pattern of distribution of resources in the international system is changing, where the current balance of power is detrimental to the US because the US has less influence than before.

2. *Balance of Power* as National Policy

Balance of power is also used to describe a national policy which is to form an alliance that is defensive in nature to prevent coalitions from gaining a dominant position. In this case, not only one country must act as a *balancer*.

3. *Balance of Power* as Prescription

The balance of power referred to here is an assumption that this "*balance*" should be maintained, in order for peace and stability (Mas'oeed, 1990). A region can be governed by a hegemonic power and a hegemonic state is a state that has great power and long-term interests. However, in

this theory, hegemony which has a different internal nature from hegemons, political institutions, culture, history, etc., will shape the way in which hegemons form a political order.

4. *Balance of Power* as Equilibrium

Equilibrium is seen as the relationship between variables such as the distribution of resources and national policies. If there is a change in one variable, there will be changes in other variables as well. Equilibrium is maintained if the occurrence of changes in these variables is not too much and fast. However, as long as there is a balanced distribution of resources among 3 or more actors, a policy will remain moderate (Ramadhan, 2019).

In order for a balance of power to be realized, of course, there must be an international system, namely a community of various countries that are in regular contact with each other. The states that have certain policy goals, some of which of course there will be countries that are contrary to the policies of other states. However, the most important goal of every country is the sustainability and independence of each country itself. In order to maintain their independence, countries will of course rely on diplomacy supported by military power, especially on the country's own property, but if needed additional strength will be added with allied forces. When each country acts to match its competitors, a balance of power emerges that underpins an essentially stable

system. From the explanation above, it can be seen that this theory is a bridge to dissect the problems that the author raises.

2.4. Previous Research

The research conducted by the current researcher is one of the original ideas and certainly has never been studied by other researchers, to be able to prove the truth, of course, previous research is needed. The existence of previous research is one of the benchmarks for the current author to be used as a guide or basis in working on the thesis so that it can facilitate the author's research process. The previous research that is considered relevant to this research, namely the research conducted by Su Xiaohui entitled "*Dynamics of the Trump Administration's Policy on the South China Sea*", Victor Alexandre Goncalves Teiceira "*United States' Policy Strategy in South China Sea*", Danah Ali Alenezi "*US Rebalance Strategy to Asia and US-China Rivalry in South China Sea From The Perspective of the Offensive Realism*", and "*The Changing Balance of Military Power in the Indo-Pacific Region*".

In previous research conducted by Su Xiaohui in 2018 with the title "*Dynamics of the Trump Administration's Policy on the South China Sea*" researched the issue of the South China Sea which is a difficult factor to solve in US-China relations. Researchers, seeing that under the Trump administration, can conclude that the US will continue to interfere in the South China Sea disputes. Although the risk of policy miscalculation does exist,

Trump's South China Sea policy can maintain its stability and rationality as a whole. Therefore, China will stick with its basic thinking in dealing with Trump's policies. On the other hand, actively communicate with ASEAN and other regional powers, promote maritime cooperation, build mutual trust and strive to achieve a favorable South China Sea situation. The difference between this study and the author's research is that this study focuses on the dynamics faced by the Trump administration in the South China Sea, and how the US attempts to remain involved in the South China Sea conflict, where conflict has significant risks as well as great benefits.

Previous research conducted by Victor Alexandre Goncalves Teiceira 2018 under the title "United States' Policy Strategy in the South China Sea" focused on the US strategy in the South China Sea Region where the main reason for the US was the growth of China's military and economic power. The difference between this research and the author's research can be seen from how the policymakers within the pentagon come up with policies intended to promote American interests in the South China Sea and in particular contain the surge in Chinese power that threatens the US position in existing global affairs. The existence of the US, which needs to rebalance its power around the world including in the Region, will undoubtedly have its validity. Viewed Trump's trip to Asia is a push to change the terms of America's long-distance approach to the importance of the Region. The researcher sees that apart from

the US-China competition, the second cooperation will benefit both countries in various fields. Examples in the fields of trade, energy security, climate change, financial stability, and pandemics. The essence of the South China Sea dispute is not oriented to natural resources but also to China's growing power as a risk to the US status quo position as a world leader.

Then seeing the need for previous research, the next research conducted by Danah Ali Alenezi in 2019 with the title "US Rebalance Strategy to Asia and US-China Rivalry in South China Sea From The Perspective of the Offensive Realism" examined the relationship between the US rebalance strategy to Asia and China's strategy in the South China Sea from the perspective of offensive realism where the researcher sees that the theory of offensive realism is a shift in the balance of power in the international system which aims to create fierce competition between dominant and revisionist powers. The difference between this research and the author's research is that in this study, the researcher focuses on using the perspective of global hegemony which is part of offensive realism itself. Then in the research, the author uses hegemony stability to examine the problems in the author's research. The shift in the balance of power has become a competition between the US and China for global hegemony. Through this study, the authors assume that the South China Sea analysis is a US-China competition for global hegemony. Offensive realism holds that great powers are rational actors when

developing offensive strategies. This shows that the South China Sea is very important in determining the balance of power between the United States and China and the possibility of military confrontation over the South China Sea is taken into account.

In the last previous research, the research of Phillip C. Sauders and Kevin McGuinness in 2020 entitled "*The Changing Balance of Military Power in the Indo-Pacific Region*" where in this study, the researcher used the concept of *balance of power* focusing on the balance of power military. The author sees that this research discusses the issue of the US-China strategic competition in the Indo-Pacific where the US-China "race" to increase a military power in the Indo-Pacific. The authors see that the US's superior military hardware, ability to project power globally, as well as its proven ability to conduct effective joint combat operations are partly offset by China's geographical advantage. The difference between this study and the author's research is in the use of the concept in which this study uses the concept of a military balance, but in this study, the author uses a balance of power and focuses on discussing the Indo-Pacific region. In this study, the author focuses on discussing the South China Sea area. The author sees that previous research has been fulfilled in order to support the sustainability of the author's research.

CHAPTER III

DYNAMIC OF SOUTH CHINA SEA AND THE MAJOR POWERS

3.1. Contemporary Dynamic of South China Sea

The South China Sea area geographically has a very strategic location, when viewed in terms of shipping traffic lanes, political, security, and defense aspects. This area is also an aspect of natural resources that has a continental shelf, and contains natural resources such as gas and oil. Thus, several exploration activities have proven a large amount of oil and gas through underwater pipes and cables (Priangani & Hattu, 2020). Therefore, this area is the four centers of accumulation of oil and gas accumulation of oil, the main offshore gas in the world, and the free sea that connects international trade routes between countries such as Asia to Europe. The South China Sea is part of the Pacific Ocean, geographically located between six regions, namely: located on the southern plains of China, the western Philippines, northern Indonesia, northeastern Malaysia and Singapore, northwest Malaysia (Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak), and Eastern part of Vietnam (Sudirman, 2017).

The issue of the South China Sea region has become a very sensitive issue for many years, especially in the last 5 years. it is possible that this is one of the shipping lanes that connects the Indian Ocean with East Asia and the Pacific Ocean. In the political field, the South China Sea is an object of strategic

policy that can influence regional dynamics. With a strategic location, this area is dominated by state actors (state). Countries that are geographically located around the South China Sea dispute the territory in this region (Fajri, 2020).

The dynamics of contemporary the South China Sea over time continue to change because this area is a struggle for existence that raises many issues that affect the national interests of each country. The strategic environment is a condition in which the state's perspective in seeing a developing problem or issue that affects the strategic policy of a country. An area with strategic potential requires strategic policies as well. The strategic environmental conditions that are developing in the region include economic interdependence between ASEAN countries and China. As is known, that China is one of the countries that take advantage of this condition to make it more flexible to carry out various activities in this region. China is building and expanding its military bases in the Spratly and Paracel Islands where China seems so free to build these bases which should not be allowed because the disputed islands are still the status quo (Fajri, 2020).

The increasing number of countries that are geographically located in the South China Sea region has increased exploration investment in the South China Sea, and with that, these countries obtain large amounts of oil and gas. Offshore oil and gas exploration is a large field with high investment and high risk. Each level of exploration and the wealth of data is far behind the

exploration of the continent and each exploration data in each area is very valuable. In this chapter, we will analyze the various exploration situations of countries geographically located in the South China Sea region, in an attempt to shed light on the new understanding of oil and gas exploration in this region in the last 5 years. The South China Sea area certainly does not need to be doubted with its abundant oil and gas exploration potential. Thus, there are around 111 oil and gas fields that have been discovered with proven oil reserves and can be obtained cumulatively from $1,02 \times 10^8$ tons and natural gas reserves that can also be obtained are 8893×10^8 m³. Oil and gas reservoirs are mainly distributed in the Pearl River Mouth Valley, Yinggehai Basin, and Qiongdongnan Basin in the northern part of the South China Sea, and Wan'an Basin, Brunei-Sabah Basin, Meigong Basin, Zengmu Basin in the south-central part of the South China Sea. Oil and gas which is enriched in Pliocene, Upper Miocene, and Middle Miocene reservoirs (Qiang, Fuliang, & Xiaosu, 2018).

Deepwater areas have become the main field of exploration and subsequent reserve areas. Lithological reservoirs are the result of which have accumulated in deepwater sediment bodies and also on organic reefs which have become the main contributors to new reserves in the South China Sea region. Miocene-aged organic reefs are the most realistic exploration targets in the south-central basin. Apart from that, the buried Pre-Paleogene hill reservoir is an important target of potential exploration in the northwestern South China

Sea. Lithological bodies are formed by differential compaction and also serve as major traps for interlocking reservoirs with deep water sediments on continental slopes (Qiang, Fuliang, & Xiaosu, 2018).

In 2020, countries with common interests are maneuvering and war is open to the public. Even if it is seen that the scale of conflict in this area is low (low conflict intensity), it is unlikely that this area will become a high-scale conflict (high-intensity conflict) if this incident is not handled properly. However, the de jure rules are very clear in International law on the South China Sea. There are several important notes that have become the dynamics of this open conflict in the South China Sea. First, China considers Taiwan part of China. Historically, this allied country has had sharper conflicts, this is also followed by the strengthening of Taiwan's military to reinforce its sovereignty in this region (Arbar, 2020). Second, China sank a Vietnamese fishing boat. Third, USAF (United States Air Force) flies drones in the South China Sea to prove America's interest or intervention in the region. Fourth, the Foreign Minister openly challenged China by cooperating with India, which was then followed up by discussing with the US regarding the security law in Hong Kong. Fifth, the US Navy conducted joint exercises with Japan in the South China Sea region (Fajriana, Roziqin, & Sihidi, 2020).

Then, in June 2020, the US was observed to make movements by deploying three warships in its possession to make weapons of threat to China

in the South China Sea and the Xisha Islands as well as the Spratly and Parcel Islands. With this, it is considered that the US is a political hegemony (Merdeka, 2020). A National Institute of South China Sea study reports that the US has directed about 375,000 troops and 60% of its warships in the Indo-Pacific region (Sebayang, 2020). And this, the US only gives an excuse that the operational steps taken are aimed at freedom of navigation for regional freedom and freedom of navigation. The issue of the South China Sea area has become a topic of discussion in various countries such as Australia, Hong Kong, India, the US, and Taiwan. As happened with Taiwan being the third party in China's dispute with the Philippines, which then this will determine the political implications for Taiwan (Hsiao, 2017).

However, since March 2021, the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, tensions in the South China Sea have been increasing. This level occurs because of China's assertiveness which is compounded by the sharp deterioration of relations with the US in the region. China's actions by asserting its claim of jurisdiction, and by demonstrating that the existence of this pandemic has not diminished its political resolve or the operational readiness of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Then, the US responded to this jointly with its allies such as Australia, India, and Japan by increasing its military presence in the region. With the prospect of arms races (arm races) navies in Southeast Asia are increasing. Countries in the South China Sea area have also carried out

various military expenditures on a large scale to increase their naval power, including maritime power, airpower, and anti-submarine and surface missile systems (Mulyadi, 2021).

3.2. Major Power Interest in South China Sea

If a country or region has so much wealth of natural resources in it, then it becomes an attraction for various countries, both countries that are geographically located close to this region to countries that are located very far from this region. This will backfire because many countries want to control the area which is rich in natural resources, and it will become a debate that ends in inter-regional claims. It can be seen that the South China Sea is an area which has an area of about 3,500,000 km², has enormous natural resources, 7,500 km³ of natural gas reserves, accounts for a third of marine ecosystems worldwide, and has potential oil reserves of 213 billion barrels of reserves oil (Sudirman, 2017).

Every country that enters this regional conflict has a major power interest of each country. The Spratly and Paracel Islands are part of the South China Sea. The Spratly Islands are a group of islands consisting of 100 islands, 160,000 km² of the sand pit, the largest of which is Aba with 600 hectares, coral reefs, atolls, and shoals, this makes the Spratlys the most contested archipelago in the South China Sea region (Valencia, 2007). With such an area and nature, it is possible for no country to be able to settle permanently. However, this is

what encourages claims and counterclaims to be made. There are six countries that can be said to claim direct ownership of the islands in this region, namely: Vietnam, the Philippines, China, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam, these countries claim almost all of the islands (Hassan, 2002).

On the topic of this discussion, the author focuses on the major power's interests of the big countries which include ASEAN, Russia, Japan, China, Australia, and the US but the US will not be explained in this sub-chapter and will be discussed in the next sub-chapter. Competition for great powers has been central to Southeast Asia since the end of the Second World War. The Spratlys Islands, during the Cold War period, have been of particular interest because they were the point of the Great Power competition involving China and Vietnam. However, after the Cold War China then filled the power vacuum by turning itself into a major power in the region. This, led to a dispute over the Spratlys in order to show the other major powers the use of force against their claimants. It is known that all major powers depend on access from sea lanes for military and commercial transit. The Spratlys, which is the route that connects the east and west, in case of any conflict it will not be accepted by them as this will affect the safe passage (Hassan, 2002).

In addition to the existence of Vietnam and the Philippines from the dispute over ownership of the South China Sea which also involves two other ASEAN countries, namely Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. It can be said that

the two countries can be said to show a calmer response when compared to Vietnam and the Philippines in responding to the South China Sea conflict, especially when faced with aggressive behavior from China, but this does not mean that the two countries can accept that only from China's claims in the South China Sea. Malaysia, which claims this area by claiming the continental shelf that stretches for more than 200 nautical miles, has openly stated that it is willing to anticipate the bad things that can happen. However, the fact is that over the last few years Malaysia has paid attention to increasing its military strength. It is noted that in 2019 Malaysia has budgeted 5.02% or Rp. 50 trillion of its state spending is used for the defense sector, while Brunei Darussalam has also budgeted 8.55% or Rp 5 trillion (Boby, 2019).

Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia which is actually not in a position as a disputed state in the South China Sea (non-claimant state) and this country's position has been considered neutral for many years by trying to put its position as a party that has the initiative to seek dispute resolution. However, there have been several incidents between Indonesia and ships from China in the waters of North Natuna due to fishing by Chinese fishing vessels which were then followed up by diplomatic means and the deployment of military forces from Indonesia. Which then made Indonesia send a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations which contained a statement regarding the Indonesian government supporting the PCA decision in 2016 and

considering that the "*nine-dash line*" map made by China did not have an international legal basis and was contrary to the 1982 UNCLOS then make Indonesia have a change of attitude on this regional dispute. This is because the years of tension that have occurred in the South China Sea have also increased with the presence of various major powers from other countries that had not previously entered this area, such as the US, which is known to have entered into regional disputes for quite a long time, unlike South Korea and Japan. The Southeast Asia region is an area that is said to be very strategic, both from the political and economic, and security aspects (Bangun, 2021).

Southeast Asia is economically part of a high volume of trade from neighboring countries such as China, Korea, Japan, and Australia, including oil imports and transit Sea-lanes of Communications (SLOCs). At the end of 2019, the Covid 19 pandemic outbreak hit the world, and tensions in the South China Sea even increased. However, at that time, China was increasingly showing an aggressive attitude towards the South China Sea (Bangun, 2021).

Like the United States, Russia uses the South China Sea area for naval and commercial purposes. Russia's interest in the South China Sea has increased since the 1970s because by that time it had gained access to the Cam Ranh Naval Base which was important because of Russia's strategy to provide an opportunity to project its military power. Although Russia is eager to avoid confrontation with China in a dispute, it is Russia that does not tolerate China's

behavior if China's attack on Cam Ranh blocks the Soviet Maritime Communications Line or Camp Ranh. Long ago, in 1989 Moscow notified Hanoi of removing most of its navy and air force in order to reduce military aid in the future. However, this underwent a change due to the formulation of a new foreign policy in relation to the Asia Pacific region by Moscow in 1992. As Tim Huxley in 1992 put it:

“While it is clear that Moscow is eager not to get involved in the complex South China Sea dispute, Hanoi may see that Russia's continued presence in this sense complicates the regional security equation from a “Beijing” point of view” (Baginda, 1989).

From this point of view, Hanoi allows for a continued Russian military presence in exchange for supplies of weapons and spare parts from its former allies. Even in the past, Russia, who thought in the early 1990s that China's military equipment, which could be said to be outdated, then became very modern and sophisticated in the 21st century (Hassan, 2002). Russia has two modes of great power behavior: system-level balancing and regional hedging. Both modes are present in Russian behavior. At a systematic level, the basis of Russian policy is characterized by a strong anti-unipolar pursuit that influences Russia's interactions with China and other regional players. Thus, at the regional level, Russia uses complex hedging in order to avoid a potentially unwanted regional confrontation scenario that could later undermine Russia's

plans to diversify from its economic development and economic integration into the Asia-Pacific region (Korolev, 2018).

As a phenomenon of different levels, then there is the assumption that the situation in the South China Sea has not changed, Russia-Vietnam relations have grown and developed without challenging Russia-China relations. Then, on the other hand, if the global politics of Russia-China alignment does not need a regional hedging logic of Russia-Vietnam relations. However, in fact at the global level involving the US and the global US-China competition pushes causal forces at a systemic level and attacks the counter-unipolarity that determines Russia's behavior. The main implication of a two-tier configuration is that for Russia the essence of the South China Sea conflict and Russia's response is variable rather than constant. If the further the South China Sea dispute deviates from the issue of regional sovereignty or the dispute into the area of the US-China strategic competition, the more likely it is that Russia's policies in this region will bring about varying degrees of counterbalancing elements of the anti-AS system (Korolev, 2018).

On the other hand, the less the US gets involved and the more disputes that exist in the South China Sea remain a regional issue, the more likely response from Russia's policies in the region is likely to be. The more South China Sea issues are related to US-China relations compared to ASEAN-China or Vietnam-China relations, the more likely support China and Russia will get.

On the other hand, there will be more and more South China Sea disputes over China and small countries in the region (Korolev, 2018).

The next country is Japan, which is Japan's major power in Southeast Asia, especially in the South China Sea area regarding sea lanes which leads to dependence on the country's economic security. Since Japan's economic expansion in the 1960s, the government has invested considerable resources in enhancing the safety and security of regional SLOCs. At the height of tension in the South China Sea over disputed territorial and maritime boundary claims. While it can be argued that Japan is not a claimant and does not take a position on territorial claims, Japan has been annoyed by China's more assertive behavior and could potentially be a nuisance to vital SLOCs. In addition, Japan is concerned that if China succeeds in its disputes with Southeast Asian countries, international legal norms will be undermined, and the national interests of countries in the South China Sea will be harmed. To maintain the status quo, Japan pursued several strategies simultaneously: internationalization of disputes in multilateral forums; providing capacity-building support to claimant countries, in particular, the Philippines; promoting ASEAN unity and coordinate its position with the US. Basically, Japan is not like a claimant country that relies heavily on the region (Storey, 2013).

The following is the next major power, namely, China which is the country directly involved in the dispute which is known to have occurred from

2,100 years ago in the Spratly dispute, with the support of historical records, including maps and evidence of early Chinese settlement (Guoxing, 1992). Since 1977, China has started to come up with the idea of sea power in China's strategic thinking, with this being associated with various reasons. First, China has a coastline of 18,000 km to defend. Second, with the rapid growth of international trade between China and the rest of the world, then China felt the need to protect its shipping lanes. If seen, significantly China's foreign trade increased substantially year on year. As it is known that China has a goal to become the largest navy in the world, therefore China is building a strong navy in the South China Sea (Hassan, 2002).

Basically, there are three main points for claiming ownership of this area, namely economic progress, politics, and the need for security and defense. From a political perspective, this claim is in line with China's foreign policy strategy toward Southeast Asian countries. China considers the South China Sea area as a territory in order to project an actual strategic role. The end of the conflict that occurred in Cambodia then changed the role of Beijing, which used to use the issue to attract non-communist countries into its influence. The resolution of the Cambodian conflict then had an impact on China's foreign policy towards Southeast Asian countries, especially ASEAN members (Harini, 2011).

In the field of defense and security. First, is the weakness of the sea power around China which is an opportunity that can facilitate the penetration of Western imperialism which then results in the division of China's territory under the control of foreign powers. Clearly, the purpose of this Naval Exercise is to strengthen the Navy's medium and long-range capabilities and to gain an advantage over its allies (Harini, 2011). Subsequently, China proclaimed Hainan Island as another administrative province in October 1987 and promoted it as a "Special Economic Zone" (SEZ). The Spratly are under the Hainan government. As the Spratly Islands are known to have a lot of marine resources and are rich in minerals, it is important for China to boost its economy (Hassan, 2002).

China's strategy in the dispute over the South China Sea is an attempt to maintain territorial integrity. If China succeeds in achieving its goals by controlling and controlling the traffic of ships crossing the South China Sea, then China is able to maintain the integrity of Taiwan as part of its territory which in its motto "*One China*" (Harini, 2011).

In the discussion of the last country, Australia, this country is in the southern part of the South China Sea and does not intersect, which then causes Australia not to be directly affected by the struggle for claims to the area. However, stability and security in the region is something that Australia considers, because this region is a very profitable trade route which accounts

for almost a third of the trade value across this region. Australia is also, the main route for maritime trade traffic between countries in the East Asia region. Australia has a main interest, namely maintaining the South China Sea area by having high-security stability by remaining in an area that is free for trade routes, shipping, and crossings from warships that will secure commercial ships from Australia, or other countries, so that Australia can keep its national interests from being disturbed because of this (Mulyadi, 2021).

In essence, there are 3 main reasons why the countries involved in the South China Sea dispute each have great power. First, the sea area and a group of islands in the South China Sea contain various sources of enormous natural wealth, namely natural gas, oil, and other marine resources. Second, the waters of the South China Sea are the waters of the shipping lanes for international shipping activities, where this cross-sea trade route connects the Asian, European, and American trade routes. And lastly, economic growth can be said to be quite fast in Asia, which is considered very strategic and can bring many benefits to the economy of a country (Junef, 2018).

3.3. U.S. Foreign Policy in South China Sea

The emergence of the US in Asia since the end of the Cold War. In the 20th century, the United States became one of the powers with capitalism that brought liberalism at the forefront. The US issued a *containment policy*, while at that time the Soviet Union also had a *Warm Water Policy* with this trying to influence other countries. The *Containment Policy* was a strategy of US foreign policy in the late 1940s to early 1950s which had the aim of stopping the spread of communism in order to prevent the birth of a domino effect (Fahira, 2020). This policy was actually a strategy of the Western Bloc in the Cold War to contain the political expansion of the Eastern Bloc. With this, then the status quo line cannot be crossed. By carrying out this policy based on the assumption that the Soviet Union was its main enemy, by pursuing an expansive foreign policy, building power along these lines. If then the Soviet Union tried to break through that line, the US would also retaliate for this act in a realistic way (Purmintasari, 2013).

One of the first defense pacts in Southeast Asia which were formed on September 8, 1954, was a step from the US to embrace the region in Southeast Asia, namely the SEATO (*South East Asia Treaty Organization*) which consisted of the US, Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Philippines, Pakistan, and Mungthai. When viewed from its membership, there are only two countries in the Southeast Asia region that participate in this organization so

automatically its credibility is very weak (Hussein, 2013). The formation of this organization was based on the US and its allies which aimed to stem the communist development that was developing in Southeast Asia at that time (Fahira, 2020).

US involvement in the South China Sea area at that time the US first articulated its policies in this region when tensions arose as a result of China's occupation of Mischief Reef. Then in May 1995, a spokesman from the United States Department of State underlined the five most important points in US policy in the South China Sea, namely: maintaining regional peace and stability, maintaining freedom of navigation, resolving disputes peacefully, respecting the international principles of UNCLOS which had been established in 1982, and neutrality in the dispute (Fahira, 2020).

Then the US in this region can be said to have not been so long when compared to China's ambition to dominate the South China Sea. The intense start of the US to engage in the Asian region, especially in this region, shows that strategically, economically, and politically, the US can no longer separate itself from Asia. Under the Obama administration, we see high economic growth in the next twenty years, and that could be a challenge for the US as well. There are two principles of US interest in this conflict, namely stability and access. First, the US has an interest in creating stability and security in the Southeast Asian region. With freedom of navigation, stability, and security will

also become the main pillars of the prosperity of both the US and Asia. Second, the US has an interest in maintaining shipping access, especially on international shipping without any obstacles in the waters of the South China Sea area (Fahira, 2020).

The US has a policy in Asia called Pivot to Asia. Asia Pivot is a policy issued by Barack Obama, the President of the United States during his administration, which was declared by Hillary Clinton as US Secretary of State through an article on a foreign policy website entitled "Americas Pacific Century" in October 2011. In his article that "the political future will be decided in Asia, not Afghanistan or Iraq, and the US will be at the center of the action." (Clinton, 2011). With, Clinton's statement explained that this policy is an important task for the US government for decades to come in order to increase investment such as economic, diplomatic, and strategy in the Asia Pacific region. The Asia Pivot policy was later strengthened by Obama's speech during his visit to Asia. Where, there are several reasons, namely:

1. The US will play a big role by participating in development in the Asia Pacific region in the long term;
2. Asia Pivot is a form of introducing US policy in Asia Pacific;
3. The US also wants to participate in contributing to the formation of norms in the Asia Pacific region;

4. The US wants to ensure that Asia Pacific complies with international law;
5. No barriers to trade and navigation that the US can ensure, and;
6. The US will not lose its influence as new powers emerge.

Asia Pivot policy with the word pivot has meaning regarding the size of strategy and military, (*military and strategic dimensions of the “the pivot”*), economic aspects (*economic aspects of the “pivot”*), and aspects of diplomacy (*diplomatic dimensions of the “pivot”*). The military strategy for this pivot is an attempt to rebalance by adding and strengthening the US defense presence in the Asia Pacific region. With the deployment of troops to achieve this goal, the deployment of troops in the southern region was considered more flexible, with the development of troops on the island of Guam. The next approach is to increase partnerships, where the official alliances are South Korea, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, and the new Singapore, Indonesia, and Vietnam for more intensive training (Manyin, 2012).

On the economic aspect of the *pivot* is that both the market and the economy are both tools and reasons for the *pivot* in the Asia Pacific region. Because Asia Pacific is a region that is considered at the economic level, especially in the global and free markets, which then makes this region a vital area in the global market and the influence on the US economy is quite large. If seen from the increasing volume of US exports and imports followed by income

and expenditure in the Asia Pacific region, this makes it crucial for the US to be able to maintain its freedom of navigation from the Arabian Sea by crossing the eastern edge of the Pacific Ocean. With this, it is the basis of the interest in the US participation in mediating a peaceful resolution in the South China Sea region (Manyin, 2012).

The diplomatic aspect of this *pivot* is an effort to strengthen the relationship between the United States and alliance countries and increase and deepen cooperation with new partners. The Asia Pacific and made success in managing relations between the US and China. The intended multilateral diplomacy is the participation of the US in international forums, the East Asia Summit, and the ASEAN Regional Forum. The US prefers to further deepen cooperation with regional organizations, namely with ASEAN. The relationship between China and the US in the diplomatic aspect emphasized that they would both accept and cooperate in creating stability and prosperity in the region as well as in the world. Therefore, the US is involved in the South China Sea regional conflict on the basis of interests in US foreign policy in Asia related to the country's *Pivot to Asia Policy* (Fahira, 2020).

Moreover, The Trump administration rolled out a new “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” concept in late 2017. Despite dramatic shifts in many aspects of U.S. foreign policy after the 2016 election, there are notable areas of continuity between the Trump administration’s Indo-Pacific concept and the Asia policies

of previous administrations (Asia Pivot). The most obvious area of consistency is its stated aim: “a free and open Indo-Pacific, where sovereign and independent nations, with diverse cultures and many different dreams, can all prosper side-by-side, and thrive in freedom and in peace.” (Ford, 2020).

Beyond this aspirational goal, the Trump administration’s Indo-Pacific concept endorses the conventional building blocks of U.S. engagement in the Indo-Pacific region: building collective security through a network of regional allies and partners, promoting economic prosperity, and encouraging good governance and shared principles. The administration has rolled out a number of initiatives, including increased engagement in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Islands region, regional transparency and anti-corruption plans, and digital infrastructure and energy cooperation programs, which support these goals. The administration’s Indo-Pacific concept also rightly acknowledges the need to respond more forcefully to Beijing’s destabilizing behavior and coercion of regional allies, which has undermined both U.S. interests and the sovereignty of Indo-Pacific partners (Ford, 2020).

Despite early concerns that the Trump administration might walk away from the U.S. pivot to Asia, there are elements of consistency in its Indo-Pacific strategy that confirm Asia’s important place in American foreign policy. These consistent themes provide ample room for a strong trilateral agenda with close

regional partners including Australia and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member states (Ford, 2020).

The surprise election of Donald Trump in 2016 raised significant questions about the future of U.S. engagement in the Indo-Pacific region. The Obama administration's "rebalance to Asia" was viewed in many quarters as an unfulfilled promise and there was little, if any, certainty about President Trump's own foreign policy priorities. The Trump administration moved quickly to roll out a new "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" (FOIP) strategy in advance of President Trump's first visit to the region (Ford, 2020). At first glance, the basic building blocks of the Trump administration's Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy appear conventional. They are consistent with longstanding principles of U.S. engagement in the Pacific — building collective security through a network of regional allies and partners, promoting economic prosperity, and encouraging good governance and shared principles (Ford, 2020).

The administration has attempted to reconcile this misalignment by orienting both its Indo-Pacific strategy and the America First message around the idea of competition. Pursuing a more competitive strategy need not be incompatible with traditional tenets of U.S. leadership. In fact, China's aggressive behavior towards its neighbors creates new opportunities, and a greater need, to defend these long-standing principles. The Trump

administration's pointed move to embrace an "Indo-Pacific" construct builds on this trend, reflecting not only American efforts to more fully incorporate India into the East Asian strategic environment, but also to recognize the connectivity between the Indian and Pacific oceans and rally a stronger collective response to Beijing's destabilizing behavior (Ford, 2020).

Discussing the Indo-Pacific region, one of the Asia-pacific regions that are experiencing international attention is the South China Sea issue. This happened after the actions of the People's Republic of China (PRC) by accelerating the construction and development of various infrastructures as well as installing advanced technology in the region that is still in dispute status. Definitely, this has received criticism from various parties, especially countries in dispute with China, namely the Philippines, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam (Noor, 2015). Finally, efforts to accommodate all the wishes of the parties to the dispute were realized with the involvement of ASEAN. In order to attract the interest and direct involvement of each dispute country in efforts to resolve conflicts in the South China Sea, ASEAN and China conducted long negotiations that went through several years and resulted in a Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) ratified in November 2002 in Cambodia (Li M. , 2016) .

However, this DOC still has complex shortcomings to resolve conflicts in the South China Sea until the preparation of the Code of Conduct (COC) as

part of the purpose of forming the DOC. The preparation of the COC currently seeks to cover all the shortcomings contained in the implementation of the DOC and is expected to be able to resolve conflicts in the region. However, this is recognized together, it is not an easy dream because the presence of the COC is expected to be able to legally bind all member states that agree on the preparation of the COC. America itself has had several direct conflicts with China in the South China Sea such as the launch of Chinese fighter jet J8II with United States Navy intelligence aircraft (2001) or China's expulsion of a United States Boeing P-8 reconnaissance aircraft in the South China Sea area (Bahri, 2016).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1. Donald Trump's Policies In The South China Sea

The South China Sea area geographically has a very strategic location, when viewed in terms of shipping traffic lanes, political, security, and defense aspects. This area is also an aspect of natural resources that has a continental shelf, contains natural resources such as gas and oil. Thus, several exploration activities have proven the large amount of oil and gas through underwater pipes and cables (Priangani & Hattu, 2020). Moreover, South China Sea is part of the Pacific Ocean too, geographically located between six regions, namely located on the southern plains of China, the western Philippines, northern Indonesia, northeastern Malaysia and Singapore, northwest Malaysia (Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak), and Eastern part of Vietnam (Sudirman, 2017). The dynamics of contemporary the South China Sea over time continue to change because this area is a struggle for existence that raises many issues that affect the national interests of each country.

On the other hand, the United States already has ties to the Asian region. Where The US has a policy in Asia called Pivot to Asia. Asia Pivot is a policy issued by Barack Obama, the President of the United States during his administration, which was declared by Hillary Clinton as US Secretary of State

through an article on a foreign policy website entitled "America's Pacific Century" in October 2011 where In his article that " the political future will be decided in Asia, not Afghanistan or Iraq, and the US will be at the center of the action." (Clinton, 2011). With, Clinton's statement explained that this policy is an important task for the US government for decades to come in order to increase investment such as economic, diplomatic, and strategic in the Asia Pacific region. Asia Pivot policy with the word pivot has a meaning regarding the size of strategy and military, (*military and strategic dimensions of the "the pivot"*), economic aspects (*economic aspects of the "pivot"*), and aspects of diplomacy (*diplomatic dimensions of the "pivot"*). In addition, the policy also covers the South China Sea as part of the Asian region.

America itself has several times had direct conflicts with China in the South China Sea. Efforts to resolve the South China Sea dispute that have not yet received a proper solution and have passed for a long time have resulted in various political interests being involved in it. Even actors who did not participate in disputes in the region also responded to various events that occurred in the region. This is well aware of the strategic position of the South China Sea which will affect the global economy and politics. On the other hand, various parties seek their national interests in the contests in the region, and the United States is no exception. The involvement of the United States in the South China Sea conflict has a purpose that greatly affects the existence of the United

States. This is based on the geostrategic nature of the region where the United States is strongly supported in establishing global interactions. Therefore, the United States will maintain the status of the region that is beneficial to it in facilitating various cross-border cooperation and even its hegemony.

In formulating effective and efficient policies that are of course in accordance with existing conditions, it is necessary to first identify external and internal factors in the existing conflict. This is in line with Regional Security Complex Theory that originally popularized by Buzan and Weaver, this theory is a theory that clearly places emphasis on understanding the dynamics of international security. Buzan said that the regional security complex theory is a group of countries that have one thing after another and then have closeness so that it makes primary security which is the main security for the countries that are included in the group of countries that cannot then be separated. The region referred to in this theory is not only in terms of state or geographical territory, but in a collection of units that share a process of securitization, desecuritization, possibly both, and therefore causes a state-security problem that cannot be analyzed analytically separated (Pratama, 2014).

As we know that the South China Sea area geographically has a very strategic location, when viewed in terms of shipping traffic lanes, political, security, and defense aspects, and then the dynamics of contemporary the South China Sea over time continue to change because this area is a struggle for

existence that raises many issues that affect the national interests of each country. The strategic environment is a condition in which the state's perspective in seeing a developing problem or issue that affects the strategic policy of a country. As is known, that China is one of the countries that take advantage of this condition to make it more flexible to carry out various activities in this region. China's actions in the South China Sea region have also affected the dynamics of international security in the region. The dynamics that occur in the South China Sea also affect several surrounding countries which of course could potentially become a serious security threat in the future. Where geographically located between six regions, namely located on the southern plains of China, the western Philippines, northern Indonesia, northeastern Malaysia and Singapore, northwest Malaysia (Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak), and Eastern part of Vietnam (Sudirman, 2017).

Analyzing the regional security complex theory which plays an important role at the regional level, there is an interplay between global security and national security. At the regional level, there is security interdependence built by many factors, such as geographical, historical, economic, political, and cultural factors and then classified and colored by a pattern known as *amity* (cooperation) and *enmity* (competition) with the countries in the region. However, it cannot be denied that it will not always run smoothly, the possibility of competition, various forms of alliances, and balance of power to

the entry into the external sphere of a regional security complex. (Pratama, 2014).

In this theory, there are three categories of world power by looking at how power is influential in various securitization and desecuritization discourses at the global and regional levels, such as *great power*, *regional power*, and *superpower*. In this context, great powers it means Australia, China and Japan, regional power from this theory assumes that this is a world power because to reach that point a country must have entity power where the entity can be calculated in the area where the entity is located, it known as ASEAN country and then *superpowers* are those that have influence in many capabilities such as the economy, military, and politics are very broad. The country that became the superpower is the US and Russia. However, with China's rapidly growing development in terms of its international capabilities, it can be said that China can be included in the superpower category.

The descriptive Regional Security Complex has one function, namely identifying and analyzing changes that occur at the regional level, the main structure consisting of 4 variables; **Boundary** (limiting variable that later distinguishes this theory from its neighbors); **Anarchic Structure** (required to be composed of more than the world of autonomous units); **Polarity** (variable that includes various power distributions from among existing units); and

Social Construction (variable that uses the amity-enmity pattern of other units).

Moreover, the emergence of the US in Asia since the end of the Cold War. The US issued a *containment policy*, which is a strategy of US foreign policy in the late 1940s to early 1950s which had the aim of stopping the spread of communism in order to prevent the birth of a domino effect (Fahira, 2020). One of the first defense pacts in Southeast Asia which was formed on September 8, 1954 was a step from the US to embrace the region in Southeast Asia, namely the SEATO (*South East Asian Treaty Organization*). The formation of this organization was based on the US and its allies which aimed to stem the communist development that was developing in Southeast Asia at that time (Fahira, 2020). Then the US in this region can be said to have not been so long when compared to China's ambition to dominate the South China Sea. With the intense start of the US to engage from the Asian region, especially in this region, it shows that strategically, economically, and politically, the US can no longer separate itself from Asia.

For now, The US has a policy in Asia called Pivot to Asia which is a policy issued by Barack Obama, the President of the United States during his administration, which was declared by Hillary Clinton as US Secretary of State. With, Clinton's statement explained that this policy is an important task for the US government for decades to come in order to increase investment such as

economic, diplomatic, and strategic in the Asia Pacific region. Asia Pivot policy with the word pivot has a meaning regarding the size of strategy and military, (*military and strategic dimensions of the “the pivot”*), economic aspects (*economic aspects of the “pivot”*), and aspects of diplomacy (*diplomatic dimensions of the “pivot”*). In addition, the policy also covers the South China Sea as part of the Asian region.

This is in line with the notion of Hegemonic Stability, which was coined by Charles Kindleberger. Assuming that a country is an actor who has a very rational and selfish nature to achieve its own national interest. According to the classical view, this theory is the stability of an area that is determined or guaranteed by a large power that surrounds it hegemonically. From there, only a country that has great power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability of influence over countries that are weaker in nature (Alkatiri, 2019). Various arguments regarding this theory according to Kindleberger, namely the sole force in the international system to ensure international political and economic stability, the hegemonic power that can control an existing international system, with the existence of this hegemonic power can be said to be a stabilizer, which means the power of hegemony is the strongest power among the existing states, a country that has the power of hegemony must have an incentive to provide public facilities or "public goods". With this hegemonic power, they can have a strong position in the military, political, and economic

fields. Then with the power of this hegemony, it can further encourage an international cooperation (Kindleberger, 1981).

According to Kindleberger, there are various hegemonic activities that can show efforts to establish hegemonic stability, namely:

1. Encouraging international cooperation and an open international economic system in order to establish a wider range of trade regulations, increase capital and investment markets, and of course increase free trade. These two activities aim to be an encouragement from the existence of a dominant hegemonic force capable of being involved and encouraging the course of international economic cooperation and the international economic system.
2. Providing public goods which are goods and services. In the international system of public goods, this can be in the form of foreign assistance such as facilities, security, infrastructure, finance, and others. With the power of hegemony possessed by a country, of course, it will provide this to countries that can be considered small in order to maintain the power of hegemony of a country from there, stability of hegemony will be created.

According to Keohane, there are various strengths so that a country can be said to be a hegemonic state, namely:

1. A country can be able to create a capital market and an international credit

2. A country can be able to control the production system of global goods and services
3. A country can be able to provide direction in terms of the development and transfer of knowledge in other countries
4. A country can be able to provide threats and protect the security of other countries with weapons (Strange, 1987)

In that way, it can be seen that a hegemonic state is the main pillar of the international order, whether it's in the international economy or the military field (Liu & Te, 2011). Which is in this context, hegemonic state is classified as United States of America.

Under the Obama administration, there are two principles of US interest in this conflict, namely stability and access. First, the US has an interest in creating stability and security in the Southeast Asian region. With freedom of navigation, stability, and security will also become the main pillars of the prosperity of both the US and Asia. Second, the US has an interest in maintaining shipping access, especially on international shipping without any obstacles in the waters of the South China Sea area (Fahira, 2020). In Donald Trump's administration, the policy is still working but adjusting to the Trump administration. The policies of Donald Trump that ran during his leadership are as follows.

- 1. Freedom on Navigation Policy**

As is known that the South China Sea region is one of the region that is still a disputed territory. In addition, the South China Sea region is also included in the open sea so that the area can be used as an international sea route that cannot be claimed by other countries. FONOP's (*Freedom of navigation*) or freedom of navigation is a concept in the order of the international community with relation to establishing foreign relations, where the territory is an area that can be crossed by any country (without permission) to achieve its national interests (Bahri, 2016).

The Policy of Freedom on Navigation itself is closely related to America's national interests by using sea shipping lanes. In its implementation, it is noted that the Freedom on Navigation policy is intended for water areas that are included in the Exclusive Economic Zone to the Territorial Sea of a country. His background ranges from excessive boundary withdrawals, unsubstantiated claims to feuds over warships shipping entry permits. For the US government, such freedom also includes that for the warships of the US navy. As such, the geography of the SCS area means that its legal ownership and the right to use it are open for contention by countries other than those that directly border the water areas. The US holds that China's excessive maritime claims in the SCS are adversely affecting Freedom of

Navigation and regional stability in Southeast Asia, while China argues that freedom of navigation is never a problem in that region. The Freedom of Navigation policy itself is closely related to the implementation of UNCLOS as a responsible regime in the sea area.

The US in 1979 initiated the Freedom of Navigation Program. It consists of bilateral and multilateral consultations, diplomatic representations, and operational assertions by government vessels and aircraft directed at perceived excessive claims by individual coastal states – allies and rivals alike. Under President Obama, the US labelled one naval operation in 2013, two in 2015, and three in 2016 as South China Sea FONOP's (*Freedom of Navigation Operations*). Under President Donald Trump, meanwhile, the US Navy conducted six FONOP's there in 2017, five in 2018, seven in 2019, and five in 2020 as of the time of writing in August of that year. In addition, surveillance aircraft and long-range bombers have been asserting the freedom of overflight.

Since January 2017, the US Navy has conducted eight Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPs) in the South China, half of them in 2018. Pence called his flight from Japan to Singapore- which passed close to China's manmade islands - a "freedom of navigation mission" and in his APEC speech he reiterated America's commitment to

upholding freedom of navigation in the South China Sea and that Chinese “harassment” a reference to the Decatur incident in September 2018 when a PLA-Navy vessel almost collided with a US Navy destroyer “will only strengthen our resolve” (Cook, 2018).

The *Freedom on Navigation* policy is a form of hegemonic stability of the United States towards China. This is due to the many efforts that have been made by China in maintaining its dominance. Even more than that, China has also resumed its operations in Africa, Libya, Hawaii, and Indonesia in various activities such as military exercises, naval operations, submarine patrols and surveillance activities on various disputed islands. In addition, China has also equipped its military devices in the South China Sea with Missiles. This is what Taiwan’s Ministry of National defense expressed by stating that it "grasped that Communist China had deployed", by installing a missile system on Woody Island of the Paracel Islands which signals that China's increasing ambitions of control over the region. However, the United States continues to level its efforts to get involved and account for China's influence over the region in various ways, one of which is with this Freedom on Navigation.

According to Keohane, there are various strengths so that a country can be said to be a hegemonic state, namely:

1. A country can be able to create a capital market and an international credit
2. A country can be able to control the production system of global goods and services
3. A country can be able to provide direction in terms of the development and transfer of knowledge in other countries
4. A country can be able to provide threats and protect the security of other countries with weapons (Strange, 1987)

In this context, the state can be said to be hegemonic if it meets the characteristics mentioned by Keohane, and one of them is a country can be able to provide threats and protect the security of other countries with weapons. This can be represented in China's militarization of the South China Sea and this is balanced by the capabilities of the United States with its operations. Under President Donald Trump, the US Navy conducted six FONOPs there in 2017, five in 2018, seven in 2019, and five in 2020 as of the time of writing in August of that year.

2. Indo-Pacific Free and Open Policy

In the Trump administration, there was a new concept that he introduced regarding "a free and open Indo-Pacific" at the end of 2017. Then it was implemented in various fields related to the concept and as a result, after the 2016 election, various fields related to the concept of

Indo - The Trump administration's Pacific with the previous administration's Asian policies have sprung up. (Ford, 2020).

In the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific concept, the focus is on supporting the conventional building blocks of U.S. engagement in the Indo-Pacific region, namely by building collective/shared security through a network of regional allies and partners, promoting economic prosperity, and promoting good governance and shared principles. The government has launched a number of initiatives, including increased engagement in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Islands region, regional transparency and anti-corruption plans, and digital energy and infrastructure cooperation programs, which support this goal. In implementing this concept, the US first responds and acts on China's influence, which has the potential to damage US interests. and sovereignty of US partners in the Indo-Pacific (Ford, 2020).

Previously in the Obama administration regarding his Asia policy, many things were not fulfilled so that in the Trump Administration he moved quickly to launch a new strategy namely "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" (FOIP) which was later proven where before President Trump's first visit to the region, the implementation of the concept of a free and open Pacific is underway.

In relation to the US focus in the Asian region, China has also made various efforts to increase its influence, including coercing countries and limiting US influence in the Asian region, including the South China Sea region. China uses a variety of tools, including military operations in the East and South China Seas, domestic political influence campaigns, and the growing threat of economic boycotts since Xi Jinping's reign in China. Tensions between Washington and Beijing became clearer during President Obama's second term. Even as the Obama administration worked, the administration sought to reach new diplomatic agreements to manage areas where it sometimes disagreed, such as pressuring China on cyber espionage, the U.S. Freedom of Navigation operation. in the South China Sea, as well as the decline in bilateral relations (Ford, 2020).

In the Trump administration itself, he continued various policies that had been carried out by the previous administration, namely promoting stronger multilateral relations between US partners; Raising shared concerns about China's influence; Facilitate joint naval operations in the South China Sea, collaboration on debt transparency and infrastructure standard-setting, and digital connectivity initiatives. In practice, however, US allies and partners often cooperate with China in areas such as Japan's willingness to cooperate on China's Belt and

Road Initiative (BRI), or Singapore's willingness to sign a Singapore-China bilateral defense agreement. With the dynamics of the relationship, this often becomes an obstacle for US partners and allies in supporting security initiatives that can trigger friction with China (Ford, 2020).

Trump's Indo-Pacific strategy emphasizes the importance of certain principles in inter-state relations, including respect for state sovereignty and independence; free and fair trade; peaceful settlement of disputes; and respect for international rules, including freedom of navigation and overflight. This can be identified as US efforts to expand its influence in the Indo-Pacific region such as expanding US Freedom of Navigation operations in the South China Sea, increasing maritime capacity support for Southeast Asian and Pacific Island region countries, promoting various principles for quality infrastructure, and announcing Indo-Pacific Transparency Initiative (Ford, 2020).

The efforts made by the Trump administration itself are in line with the concept of hegemony stability according to Kindleberger the Regional Security Complex according to Buzan and Weaver. In the concept of hegemony stability, according to Kindleberger that hegemony stability determined or guaranteed by a large power that surrounds it hegemonically. From there, only a country that has great

power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability of influence over countries that are weaker in nature. America's efforts are certainly in line with its ambitions for the South China Sea region.

According to Kindlerber, there are various hegemonic activities that can show efforts to establish hegemonic stability namely; Encouraging international cooperation and an open international economic system in order and providing public goods which are goods and services. In the international system of public goods, this can be in the form of foreign assistance such as facilities, security, infrastructure, finance, and others. The control and utilization of the South China Sea area as public goods will certainly be the ideal of the stability hegemony desired by the United States in the region.

4.2. The Impact of Donald Trump's U.S Foreign Policy in the South China Sea

As is known that America has a policy oriented towards the Asia Pacific region where one of the regions is the South China Sea. Under Donald Trump, there are several policies that are implemented, namely "Freedom on Navigation Policy" and "Indo-Pacific Free and Open Policy". In analyzing the impact of U.S. foreign policy under Donald Trump's leadership in the South China Sea, then this can be attributed to hegemonic stability and balance of power theory. The notion of Hegemonic Stability, which was coined by Charles Kindleber.

He assuming that a country is an actor who has a very rational and selfish nature to achieve its own national interest. In an anarchic system, a country is considered to aim to fulfill its own personal interests, with that which will affect other countries. From there, only a country that has great power can bear the stability of a region because of the capability of influence over countries that are weaker in nature (Alkatiri, 2019). Various arguments regarding this theory according to Kindleberger, the hegemonic power that can control an existing international system, with the existence of this hegemonic power can be said to be a stabilizer. With this hegemonic power, they can have a strong position in the military, political, and economic fields. Then with the power of this hegemony, it can further encourage an international cooperation (Kindleberger, 1981).

In the context of the resulting impact of Donald Trump's policies in the South China Sea, it can be identified that America is a country that can account for influence and unilateral action from China over its claims in the South China Sea region. It can be identified that the United States can be seen as a superpower country that has capabilities such as the economy, military, and politics are very broad. The power possessed by this capabilities exists in all regions in all parts of the world in a discourse of securitization and desecuritization. As a result, this can have an impact on the existence of alliance relations between the United States and the countries involved in the South China Sea, especially ASEAN countries that are directly adjacent to the South China Sea. This can also be used as a balance of power from America and its allies in calculating China's efforts in the South China Sea.

It is line to Kindlerber, which is there are various hegemonic activities that can show efforts to establish hegemonic stability, namely:

1. Encouraging international cooperation and an open international economic system in order to establish a wider range of trade regulations, increase capital and investment markets, and of course increase free trade. These two activities aim to be an encouragement from the existence of a dominant hegemonic force capable of being involved and encouraging the course of international economic cooperation and the international economic system.

2. Providing public goods which are goods and services. In the international system of public goods, this can be in the form of foreign assistance such as facilities, security, infrastructure, finance, and others. With the power of hegemony possessed by a country, of course, it will provide this to countries that can be considered small in order to maintain the power of hegemony of a country from there, stability of hegemony will be created. In the end, this theory places more emphasis on soft hegemonic behavior because it acts as a provider and at the same time a stabilizer for the international system.

According to Kindlerber argument before, it describes that America can be known as hegemonic stability state which is the existence of America in the region can be balance of power and countering China's effort. The balance of power can be seen where America increase his partnerships, where the official alliances are South Korea, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, and the new Singapore, Indonesia, and Vietnam for more intensive training (Manyin, 2012). The process of it can be success where South China Sea conflict can be resolved.

Balance of Power theory is a theory that developed at the time of World War II, where at the time of the world war there had been the emergence of many great powers which at that time war became a crucial tool of the balance of power. At that time, the theory of balance of power was very useful to balance the power between countries that had the potential to go to war.

Morgenthau defines the theory of balance of power as a balance that refers to the distribution of power among various countries so that they can get equal power (Sheehan, 2000). The cooperation and interaction of America in South China Sea Region, especially ASEAN countries can be symbolized as balance of power in South China Sea with China.

According to Mochtar Mas'oe'd in his book "International Relations; Discipline and Methodology", said that balance of power has many different meanings, as follows:

1. *Balance of Power* as Distribution

This concept is used to refer to the distribution of power. Some say that the pattern of distribution of resources in the international system is changing, where the current balance of power is detrimental to the US because the US has less influence than before.

2. *Balance of Power* as National Policy

Balance of power is also used to describe a national policy which is to form an alliance that is defensive in nature to prevent coalitions from gaining a dominant position. In this case, not only one country must act as a *balancer*.

3. *Balance of Power* as Prescription

The balance of power referred to here is an assumption that this "*balance*" should be maintained, in order for peace and stability (Mas'oe'd,

1990). A region can be governed by a hegemonic power and a hegemonic state is a state that has great power and long-term interests. However, in this theory, hegemony which has a different internal nature of hegemons, political institutions, culture, history, etc., will shape the way in which hegemons form a political order.

4. *Balance of Power* as Equilibrium

Equilibrium is seen as the relationship between variables such as the distribution of resources and national policies. If there is a change in one variable, there will be changes in other variables as well. Equilibrium is maintained if the occurrence of changes in these variables is not too much and fast. However, as long as there is a balanced distribution of resources among 3 or more actors, a policy will remain moderate (Ramadhan, 2019).

In order for a balance of power to be realized, of course, there must be an international system, namely a community of various countries that are in regular contact with each other. The states that have certain policy goals, some of which of course there will be countries that are contrary to the policies of other states. However, the most important goal of every country is the sustainability and independence of each country itself. In order to maintain their independence, countries will of course rely on diplomacy supported by military power, especially on the country's own property, but if needed additional strength will be added with allied forces. When each country acts to match its

competitors, a balance of power emerges that underpins an essentially stable system. From the explanation above, it can be seen that this theory is a bridge to dissect the problems that the author raises. According about explanation before, the existence of America in South China Sea can be classified as balance of power as national policy.

About Freedom on Navigation Policy and Indo-Pacific Free and Open Policy, as we known that the South China Sea area is included in the open sea so that the area can be used as an international sea route that cannot be claimed by other countries. FONOP'S (*Freedom of navigation*) or freedom of navigation is a concept in the order of the international community with relation to establishing foreign relations, where the territory is an area that can be crossed by any country (without permission) to achieve its national interests (Bahri, 2016).

But, as we known that China is one of the countries that take advantage of this condition to make it more flexible to carry out various activities in this region. China is building and expanding its military bases in the Spratly and Paracel Islands where China seems so free to build these bases which should not be allowed because the disputed islands are still the status quo (Fajri, 2020). Then it was responded to by the United States. As such, the geography of the SCS area means that its legal ownership and the right to use it are open for contention by countries other than those that directly border the water areas.

The US holds that China's excessive maritime claims in the SCS are adversely affecting freedom of navigation and regional stability in Southeast Asia, while China argues that freedom of navigation is never a problem in that region. The Freedom on Navigation policy itself is closely related to the implementation of UNCLOS as a responsible regime in the sea area.

The US in 1979 initiated the Freedom of Navigation Programs. Where in the described program consists of bilateral and multilateral consultations, diplomatic representation, and operational statements by government ships and aircraft directed at the claims of littoral states – allies and rivals. Under President Obama, the US labelled one naval operation in 2013, two in 2015, and three in 2016 as South China Sea FONOPs (*Freedom of Navigation Operations*). Under President Donald Trump, the US Navy conducted six FONOPs in 2017, five in 2018, seven in 2019, and five in 2020 (Cook, 2018).

Efforts by America to build alliances and strengthen its ties with the Indo-Pacific region have indirectly shaped a balance of power with China in the Indo-Pacific region, particularly in the South China Sea region. This can be interpreted as balance of power as national policy where to describe a national policy which is to form an alliance that is defensive in nature to prevent coalitions from gaining a dominant position. In identifying these coalition-building efforts, this can be understood through regional security complex theory according to Buzan Waever. Deep regional security complex, the IR'

phenomenon is not only described as a region territorial but as a collection of units that share a process of securitization, desecuritization, possibly both, and therefore causes a state-security problem that cannot be analyzed analytically separated (Pratama, 2014).

Moreover regional security complex, which plays an important role at the regional level, there is an interplay between global security and national security. At the regional level, there is security interdependence built by many factors, such as geographical, historical, economic, political, and cultural factors. This theory is colored by a pattern known as *amity* (cooperation) and *enmity* (competition) with the countries in the region. Similarly using these two patterns to analyze by involving a domestic and global factor. It can be identified that the United States is building alliances with countries in the Indo-Pacific region such as Japan, Indonesia, and several countries around the South China Sea to stem China's elimination in the South China Sea. In fact, the similarity was formed on the basis of the similarity of state interests that have interests in the territorial territory of the country that enters the South China Sea area claimed unilaterally by China.

Of course, the presence of the United States in stemming China's hegemony over the South China Sea will provide its own freedom and flexibility for a country that has a territorial border with the South China Sea. This is in line with the United States' balance of power with China in the South China Sea, as well as the alliances America has made with its allies related to

China's hegemony in the South China Sea. This American balance of power can indirectly counter Southeast Asian countries that are directly adjacent to the South China Sea. However, the presence of the United States in calculating China's hegemony in the South China Sea area certainly does not make China stand still. There will certainly be other Chinese efforts and of course it will have the potential for a larger and long-term conflict in the region, both for America itself and Southeast Asian countries.

It can be identified that the two countries (America and China) have their respective national interests in the South China Sea area which of course the two countries need to be careful so that there is no quarrel between the two sides in the future. In 2016, the United States increased the number of naval patrols within and outside the 12 nautical mile zone of the Spratly and Paracel Islands without challenging China's claim to sovereignty (the Nine Dash Line). The behavior of the two countries, namely the United States and China, indirectly reflects the political willingness of the two countries to keep the South China Sea dispute under control and to enhance maritime cooperation despite these different views.

With the development of the conflict, the competition between the US and China is an example of the dynamics that occur in the South China Sea region. The existence of interests between the two sides in the South China Sea area can often lead to political friction that has the potential to trigger tensions in the South China Sea area. The interests that the two countries are trying to

achieve tend to become a domination in the region so that the competition is expected to continue to increase as a result of the rise of China and the United States' comprehensive strategic adjustment in Asia-Pacific.

CHAPTER V

CLOSING

5.1. Conclusion

In this study entitled the Impact of US Military Policy under Donald Trump Administration on the South China Sea Conflict with the formulation of the problem, namely how are the Foreign Policy Options of Donald Trump's In the South China Sea and the Impact of U.S. Military Policy Changes in the South China Sea under Donald Trump's Administration.

For Foreign Policy Options of Donald Trump's In the South China Sea, there is a “Freedom of Navigation policy” and “Indo-Pacific Free and Open Policy”. As for the Impact of U.S. Military Policy Changes in the South China Sea under Donald Trump's Administration there are reducing the escalation of China's conflict with the Southeast Asian country directly adjacent to the South China Sea, Increasing the United States' tensions with China.

5.2 Suggestion

Based on the existing conclusions. The suggestion in this study is that it is hoped that there will be research that analyzes further related to the South China Sea study, especially regarding the impacts produced both for the United

States, China, Southeast Asian countries, and the dynamics of the Southeast Asian region.

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