

A Two-Track Diplomacy Planning Model through Mediation in Resolving Indonesia and China's Border Conflict in the South China Sea

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ABSTRACT

The maritime border conflict that occurred in the South China Sea was caused by China's unilateral claim, where China's claim was based on ten *dash* lines, which actually had no international legal basis. Meanwhile, ASEAN member countries including Indonesia apply and use the 1982 UNCLOS foundation. ASEAN member countries including Indonesia were disadvantaged by their territorial waters over China's *ten dash-line* claim. Based on qualitative description, this article describes certain phenomena. Library research is used to collect important data and information. To address this issue in the midst of epistemic conflict and declining public trust in fellow citizens, science and government, Second Track Diplomacy is recommended, which is an informal conversation facilitated by a neutral third party.

INTRODUCTION

The South China Sea is an international trade route located in the Pacific Ocean, stretching from the Singapore Strait, Malacca Strait, Karimata Strait to the Taiwan Strait which has an area of approximately 3,500,000 square metres. The South China Sea has a very strategic role in the world because it is used as an international trade route, many ships in the world cross this sea to go to countries in Southeast Asia and vice versa. Not only that, the South China Sea has abundant natural resources such as huge oil and gas reserves and various types of marine biota contained in it, so that it can meet food needs (Setiawan, 2017). Because the South China Sea contains 10% of the world's total fish and 11 billion barrels of oil and 190 trillion cubic of natural gas, the South China Sea has become very strategic and very important for industrial and economic needs in the world (Candra & Saptatiningsih, 2023).

With vast oil and natural gas reserves in the South China Sea, many countries in Southeast Asia are in dispute over maritime boundaries. As the People's Republic of China (PRC) claims the South China Sea as its maritime territory, this has led to major conflicts in Southeast Asia, especially countries directly bordering the South China Sea. Such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam and Taiwan. The People's Republic of China (PRC) claims almost all of the South China Sea belongs to it, where it claims its boundaries based on the Nine-dashed line. This imaginary line (Nine-dashed line) is a line drawn unilaterally by the PRC government without going through a United Nations (UN) conference on the grounds of marking its ancestral territory in the South China Sea. According to the People's Republic of China (PRC), the South China Sea is the territory of its ancestors, namely during the Han, Song, Manchu and Yuan Nasti periods with evidence of the discovery of ancient currency and ancient goods, namely jars found around the Spratly and Paracel islands (Toruan, 2020).

The People's Republic of China (PRC) also claims that around 200 BC, Chinese fishermen explored the South China Sea, particularly the Spratly and Paracel islands. With evidence of Han, Manchu, Song and Yuan Nasti settlements and the discovery of ancient currency and merchandise, the People's Republic of China (PRC) claims the entire South China Sea area is its territory on the grounds of historical rights and the discovery of ancient items around the islands bordering the South China Sea (Arasit, 2023).

The following are some experts' opinions on the conflict in the South China Sea: According to Hans J. Morgenthau, a country's national interest is the pursuit of power, namely everything that can establish and maintain control over a country. Meanwhile, according to Jack C Plano and Roy Olton, national interest is the fundamental goal and the most decisive factor that guides decision makers in formulating foreign policy, national interest is a general conception, but an element that is a vital necessity for the state (Putri, 2023).



Figure 1: South China Sea Map, source: UNCLOS, CIA

The South China Sea Territorial Dispute began with the Chinese government's claim in August 1951 when Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai declared ownership of the Spratly and Paracel islands. The Chinese government's claim was based on a document issued by the Goumindang (Koumintang) regime led by Chiang Kai-shek that ruled China at the time. The document explains that the Spratly, Paracel and Pratas islands are the territory of the People's Republic of China (PRC), this claim is emphasised on the principle of historical rights (Toruan, 2020).

Indonesia is a country appointed by the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS 82), to mediate between several countries that have conflicts in the South China Sea region. Indonesia's involvement in efforts to resolve the South China Sea conflict is not without reason. Indonesia also has its own interests in the South China Sea. which is stated in the fourth paragraph, namely to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. Because the South China Sea is an international trade route and is the busiest route in the world, because more than half of the world's trade sails through the South China Sea. Of course the South China Sea conflict greatly affects the stability of the Indonesian economy, because the South China Sea is a route that is often passed by Indonesia and other countries with the aim of delivering and taking export and import goods as well as shipping and taking crude oil delivered to various countries that pass through it. South China Sea. So that Indonesia participates in resolving the South China Sea conflict, because the conflict that occurred in the South China Sea has disrupted Indonesia's national economic stability (Hartati, 2016).

Law No. 17 of 1985 which later became Law No. 5 of 1983 allowed the Republic of Indonesia to ratify UNCLOS 1982 in 1985. This law established comprehensive regulations regarding Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone. Indonesia is entitled to draw an exclusive economic zone line of 200 miles as a state party that has ratified UNCLOS 1982. This line can be drawn up to the North Natuna Sea located in the Riau Islands Province and referred to as the Natuna Regency. Natuna Regency borders Vietnam and Cambodia and is located at 10016'-7019' North latitude and 105000'-110000' East longitude. Six South China

Seas border the North China Sea in addition to Vietnam and Cambodia. Speaking of the South China Sea, it borders a number of countries, including China (Ardila & Akbar, 2020). Most recently, China has claimed ten *dash* lines to various countries bordering the South China Sea; these lines then extend into Indonesia's EEZ. With the 200-mile EEZ line drawn in the North Natuna Sea, there was a violation of UNCLOS 1982. On 23 December 2019, a Chinese vessel entered the North Natuna Sea, which is Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone, and claimed the ten-dash line.

Second Track Diplomacy, an informal dialogue facilitated by a neutral third party, is proposed to address these issues amidst epistemic, scientific and governmental conflicts. This study examines the application of second-track diplomacy in border conflicts in the South China Sea. Collaborating with policymakers and community partners, the research team explored the two-track diplomacy process and conducted semi-structured interviews with policymakers, academics, practitioners, observers and civil society representatives. Data interpretation explored contextual factors, conflict transformation potential, and design features for the two-track diplomacy process. The first theory of change will focus on personal attitudes, relationships, and culture. Twotrack diplomacy offers a promising approach to recasting intractable public health policy conflicts by moving stakeholders from opposing positions to jointly assessing and solving problems. Further empirical evidence is needed to test the suggested process (Bharwani, et al. 2023).

Although "Track Two Diplomacy" has been the subject of extensive research since its inception nearly sixty years ago, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of this discussion that need to be explored. The operational and often private nature of Track Two makes it an unusual research problem. In an attempt to show where we stand in terms of best practice and where further consideration and research is needed, the contributions to this special issue of International Negotiations address some of the major difficulties encountered (Jones, 2021).

It has been sixty years since John Burton and his colleagues held the first informal workshop on conflict in Southeast Asia and coined the term "controlled communication" to describe their efforts. Joseph Montville originally used the phrase "Two-Track Diplomacy" to refer to unofficial and informal problem-solving seminars some forty years ago (2). Since then, much has been published on various aspects of this topic, and we now have a deeper understanding of many of these interactions. Yet there are still unanswered questions, and our knowledge of this phenomenon is still growing (Mitchell, 2001).

Two Track Diplomacy may be the right solution. Track Two Diplomacy allows for multiple viewpoints to be given weight and find resolution in the shift from dichotomous thinking to more realistic, or even more complex, thinking as opposed to narrowing the discussion down to one clear perspective. Unofficial and informal communication between disputants assisted by a neutral third party is known as "track two diplomacy" (Jones, 2015). This assisted discourse approach is useful in resolving international conflicts and is currently being explored in conflicts involving public health (Bharwani, et al. 2022).

Intractable and identity-based conflicts were not given enough space to be managed through traditional diplomacy methods and international relations models, so in the 1960s, social scientists began to look for other approaches to dealing with these conflicts, giving rise to the dual diplomacy path. The techniques they created, and have developed, are based on social psychology and emphasise the importance of understanding and addressing the psychological and emotional dimensions of conflict. This approach highlights the value of assisted dialogue as a way to shift the discourse between opposing groups from zero-sum bargaining to a "problem-solving" mode of contact by creating conditions that go beyond surface rationality. Crucially, if opposing parties are brought together in an unstructured way, then they will quickly turn to positional campaigning, which is unlikely to succeed in a situation where disagreements are so deeply embedded that neither party is willing to find a way to "resolve" them. Instead, they seek to defend their positions and increase potential gains (Bharwani, et al. 2023).

The role of a trained facilitator should be to gently guide the key actors into a contemplative and analytical way of conversation so that they can understand the issues between them as problems they face together and not as differences they bargain over. They will then enter into a phase where they will analyse the "problem" together, which will lead to the next phase where they will collaborate to find a solution based on the "sum" method. Theories and case studies that deepen our understanding of the potential of this field are still being developed (Federer, 2023).

The more popular, established and formalised method of dispute resolution is Path Two. Particularly in Track Two, scholarship has existed in a transitional region between theory and practice, where theoretical ideas are often derived from real-world applications and observations. Gaining more understanding of the theoretical development and future direction of the field can be achieved by examining how Track Two theory represents these paradigms. Given the significant changes taking place in practice, this highlights the need to conduct a regular and methodical survey of Track Two-related literature. The development of Track Two theory strategic negotiation and problem-solving; conflict transformation; and liberal and post-liberal peacebuilding within the framework of conflict resolution paradigms (Federer, 2021).

Then, compare the elements considered critical to the success of Path Two initiatives. The definition of Track Two has shifted from "narrow" to "broad": activities categorised as such have expanded from covert interactions and small-scale conversations between unofficial actors to stronger forms of civil society inclusion and participation, driven by the normative imperative towards more inclusive and participatory peace processes in conflict resolution.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Second Track Diplomacy

According to Joseph Montville, second-track diplomacy is an idea in conflict resolution that involves non-governmental players in an effort to defuse tensions and promote peace. In his 1981 publication entitled 'The Arrow and the

Olive Branch: A Case for Track Two Diplomacy,' Montville presented the idea for the first time. Montville made a distinction between two types of diplomacy: track one and track two. Each has a specific and significant function in the conflict resolution process. Montville emphasises that two-track diplomacy includes people or organisations such as academics, non-governmental organisations, religious leaders, and former government officials who do not hold official positions in government. Two-track diplomacy allows the parties to have frank and open discussions because the interaction takes place in an informal context without political pressure. Building trust between conflicting parties is one of the main objectives of two-track diplomacy, as this often cannot be achieved with conventional diplomacy. The aim of two-track diplomacy is to enhance formal diplomacy by providing a more adaptable and individualised channel of communication, rather than to replace it. As the goal of two-track diplomacy is to change views and improve understanding, the process is often protracted. When formal channels are blocked, new avenues for communication can be found through two-track diplomacy. Second-channel actors can reduce the misunderstandings and biases that are often at the core of conflict by fostering an environment more conducive to casual conversation. Two-track diplomacy is not constrained by formal procedures, often resulting in original concepts and imaginative solutions to challenging issues (Montville, 1993).

Maritime Security

Natalie Klein (2011), states that maritime security theory offers a comprehensive method for understanding and addressing security risks associated with the seas and oceans. As an international law specialist, Klein has contributed greatly to the field by studying several aspects of maritime law, maritime security and conflict resolution at sea. According to Klein, there are other challenges to maritime security besides traditional military challenges, such as organised crime, piracy, terrorism, illegal immigration and environmental degradation. He emphasised the importance of international law in controlling the use of the sea and preventing and resolving maritime conflicts, particularly the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

Given that many of these issues are transboundary in nature, Klein emphasised the need for international institutions and states to work together to solve maritime security challenges. Protecting and managing marine resources, such as ensuring sustainable fishing practices and protecting the marine environment from pollution and other hazards, is another aspect of maritime security (Klein, 2009). To address maritime security challenges, Klein recommends using a proactive and preventive approach that includes effective law enforcement, capacity building and increased surveillance. In her book *Maritime Security and the Law of the Sea*, Natalie Klein discusses topics related to maritime security in relation to international law, including the functioning of UNCLOS and the difficulties in implementing it. The book investigates how international courts deal with maritime conflicts, especially those involving maritime security (Klein, 2014). Natalie Klein uses a thorough global law-based approach to make significant contributions to the understanding and development of maritime security theory. Her work emphasises the value of a

proactive approach to resolving maritime security issues, strong legislative frameworks and international collaboration (Klein, 2014).

In qualitative research is known as a conceptual framework, the following is the conceptual framework in this study:

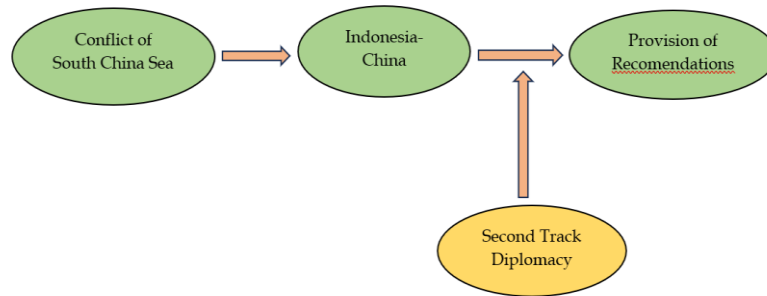


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework

METHODOLOGY

Based on qualitative description, this article describes a particular phenomenon. Desk research was used to collect important data and information. A desk study consists of four steps, according to Zed (2004): preparing the necessary tools, creating a bibliography, scheduling time, and reading or documenting the research material. Information is gathered and sought using a variety of sources, including books, journals and other research projects. Arguments and concepts put forward were supported by thorough and critical analyses of literature sources collected from various references. Data were validated using triangulation techniques, particularly source triangulation. Thereafter, the Interactive model was applied to analyse the collected, reduced and presented data (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Two-Track Diplomacy Planning Model

The science in this area has improved dramatically over nearly sixty years since the advent of two-track diplomacy, a process of informal, unofficial conversations between disputants facilitated by practical academics (Federer, 2021). To address these issues amidst epistemic conflicts and declining public trust in fellow citizens, science, and government, Second Track Diplomacy, an informal conversation facilitated by a neutral third party is suggested (Bharwani et al., 2023). The year 2024 marks the creation of the term "Track Two diplomacy" by American diplomat Joseph Montville and psychiatrist William Davidson in 1981. The term first referred to a new practice developed by scholarpractitioners that enabled unofficial interactions between important actors in armed conflict.

Path Two Problem Solving Workshops (PSWs) designed within an "interactive conflict resolution" (ICR) framework (Fisher, 1993) are used in armed conflict situations around the world as an alternative to conventional dispute resolution resolved formally by government, military, or diplomatic officials (Bercovitch 2009). Today, Track Two initiatives have been incorporated into

peace policy and practice, and their definition has been broadened to cover a wider range of activities. Large-scale national dialogues (Paffenholz and Helfer 2017) and large-scale parallel processes involving civil society actors (Hellmüller and Zahar 2018) are also understood to involve Path Two actors, especially in regulatory contexts.

A peace process that includes various stages (Federer et al., 2019). Nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) focused on professional conflict resolution are increasingly regarded as Path Two facilitators, working together with unofficial and official actors in Path Two dialogues. This method represents a significant paradigm shift in the conflict resolution literature, where Path Two is becoming more dynamic, professionalised and normative (Hellmüller et al., 2015; Turner and Wählich, 2021), as empirical evidence emerges demonstrating the benefits of conflict resolution and civil society engagement (Nilsson 2012; Krause, Krause et al., 2018). In light of recent requests from Track Two experts to evaluate the impact of more inclusive peace efforts on Track Two (Çuhadar and Paffenholz 2019; Gamaghelyan 2020; Jones 2020). Resolution (Donais and McCandless 2017; Hellmüller et al., 2020), shown in Track Two scholarship. While there are some significant exceptions that focus on strong regional normative frameworks in Asia Pacific (Job 2003; Capie 2010; Acharya 2014), the impact of inclusivity norms in the Track Two literature has not been thoroughly researched.

Therefore, these new developments are worth noting. To begin, Federer (2021) reviewed the relevant literature on Track Two from 1970 to 2000, using Duursma's (2014) process-oriented approach and Wall and Dunne's (2012) approach to review the mediation literature through various paradigms of the constitutive components of the Track Two initiative. Then in a second step, Federer (2021) examined the Path Two literature from 2000 to 2024, including literature on inclusion in conflict resolution. Then, Federer (2021) used an analytical framework to compare how this second "generation" of literature (Çuhadar and Paffenholz 2019) affects each constitutive component.

Later Federer (2021) analysed this literature and showed that most Path Two studies were influenced by the increasing emphasis on the role of international standards in conflict resolution. This "normative shift" has broadened the understanding of Track Two and the rationale for implementing it. These analyses provide a new understanding of the actors, practices and objectives that shape Track Two today. The normative shift has influenced the definition of Track Two, which was originally a small, covert conversation between informal actors (Hirblinger and Landau 2020), and now includes a more robust "inclusive mediation" featuring conceptualisations of modalities, participants, facilitators, formats and objectives.

1. Problem Identification

The South China Sea (SCS) has been a source of conflict between China and ASEAN countries in recent years. A marginal sea in the Western Pacific Ocean, the SCS has a wealth of natural resources and is of great economic and strategic importance.

Many countries claim to have overlapping maritime boundaries in the sea and islands within it (Azhari et al., 2023). China is currently involved in various territorial disputes, such as island disputes in the South China Sea (SCS) with several Southeast Asian countries. Large fossil fuel reserves, abundant marine fisheries and being one of the world's major sea lines of communication (almost all trade from China as well as Japan, Taiwan and South Korea is shipped through the LCS) make the LCS an important region both geopolitically and geoeconomically (Fels and Fu., 2015).

Under the leadership of Xi Jinping, China has pursued a more active policy in the South China Sea. This includes building artificial islands in disputed areas and stationing the military there. This has inevitably affected China's Southeast Asian neighbours, particularly Vietnam, the Philippines and Indonesia's exclusive economic zone maritime area over China's claims to the South China Sea. Despite the escalation of tensions in the SCS region, the conflict has not yet developed into a war. This suggests that all countries involved, including China, strongly favour a non-adversarial approach to dispute resolution (Kang, 2003). China's claim is based on the "*ten dash-line*", which covers most of the sea area, from the southern part of the country to the Borneo waters of Sabah and Sarawak. China's claim is not in accordance with the provisions of the 1982 United National Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which defines a country's maritime territories. UNCLOS 1982 says the 12-mile territorial sea zone is drawn from the base of the outer island and has full sovereignty over the waters, seabed and air above it. Then there is the 200-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and the state has sovereignty over the exploration, utilisation, conservation and management of natural resources. Furthermore, the continental shelf is up to 350 miles long and has the right to explore and utilise the natural resources beneath it.

2. *Destination*

To achieve a final solution, it must set a common goal, namely, resolving the border conflict between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea peacefully through a twotrack diplomacy approach involving mediation. Formulate an agreement that is acceptable to both countries regarding the border dispute. Reduce tension and potential conflict in the South China Sea region. Build trust between Indonesia and China through constructive dialogue and cooperation. Ensure that the national interests of each country are accommodated in the agreement reached (Fisher & Patton, 2011).

3. *Strategy Design*

Devise a strategy that involves non-government actors (academics, NGOs, community leaders) to support official government efforts. Establish a mediation team consisting of diplomats with expertise in regional diplomacy and international mediation. Conduct structured training for mediation team members in mediation, negotiation and multilateral diplomacy skills. Collect and analyse comprehensive data on the territorial claims, economic, political and security interests involved. Analyse the impact of the conflict on regional stability, international trade, and bilateral relations. Build consensus and support

from ASEAN countries in favour of Indonesia's mediation efforts. Furthermore, build cooperation with the United Nations and other regional organisations to facilitate dialogue and support mediation efforts (United Nations).

Opening up space for open dialogue between Indonesia and China to find common ground and build trust. Use preventive diplomacy to avoid conflict escalation and promote peaceful solutions. Develop a clear and structured agenda for mediation meetings, focusing on concrete solutions and phased implementation. Identify points of agreement that are acceptable to both sides to build the foundation for a long-term solution. Establish an effective monitoring mechanism to monitor the implementation of the agreement and address disputes that may arise. Conduct periodic evaluations of the progress and effectiveness of the strategy, with necessary adjustments according to the dynamics of the situation. Effectively communicate to the international community the goals, values, and progress in conflict mediation. Open transparent communication channels with civil society and the media to enhance public understanding of mediation efforts.

4. Resource Gathering

Select and train mediators who are experienced in international conflict resolution, have a deep understanding of the political and cultural contexts in Indonesia and China and assemble a team of international legal experts who can provide insights into the legal aspects involved in the border dispute, as well as recruit political analysts who are able to understand the power dynamics and foreign policies of both countries (United Nations, 2012). According to the recommendations of the International Crisis Group (2015), it is necessary to obtain funding support from the governments of Indonesia and China to finance mediation activities, including travel, accommodation, and administrative costs. Identify and request funding from international donor agencies or non-governmental organisations interested in regional peace and stability in the South China Sea. Allocate budgets from organisations or institutions involved in mediation, such as research costs, capacity building, and general administration.

Present theory and practice on how to effectively manage resources in peace and mediation efforts (Galtung & Jacobsen, 200). Collect up-to-date data on territorial claims, conflict history and political dynamics in the South China Sea from reliable sources and utilise modern communication technologies to facilitate dialogue and information exchange between parties involved in mediation (Bercovith & Gartner, 2010). Build networks with non-governmental actors, including NGOs, academics and communities, to support the mediation process and broaden the base of support and engage civil society in public consultations to understand their views and interests regarding border conflict resolution (Avruch et al., 2001).

5. Building Trust

Scheduling regular meetings between Indonesian and Chinese representatives to discuss border-related issues and mediation. Openly share information about intentions, policies, and measures taken by each party (United Nations, 2012). Common goals and visions that are acceptable to both parties,

such as achieving fair and sustainable solutions to border disputes and building cooperation in strategic areas that can benefit both countries (Fisher & Patton, 2011). Involvement of non-government actors, inviting participation from NGOs, academics, and community leaders to support dialogue and mediation. Enhance understanding of each country's culture and history through cultural and educational exchange programmes (Avruch & Scimecca, 2001). Ensure implementation and adherence to agreements reached through effective monitoring mechanisms and maintain consistency in diplomacy and mediation approaches despite changes in government policy (Wallenstein & Svensson, 2014). Take concrete steps such as the exchange of official visits, co-operation on infrastructure projects, or joint activities to demonstrate commitment to a peaceful settlement. Conduct periodic evaluations to evaluate the effectiveness of the confidence-building strategy and adjust the approach according to developments in the situation. Adjust strategies based on feedback from both parties and evaluation results to improve mediation effectiveness. Conduct public education campaigns and disseminate correct information to reduce tensions and increase public understanding of peace efforts (Bercovitch & Gartner, 2010). f. Facilitate Dialogue

A neutral and impartial approach requires that the appointed mediator or facilitator is neutral and makes use of technology such as video conferencing and online communication platforms to facilitate dialogue between the parties involved, especially when in-person meetings are not possible (Bercovitch & Gartner, 2010). Have no vested interest in the outcome of the mediation and schedule regular meetings between Indonesian and Chinese representatives to discuss issues related to the border conflict and help the parties involved to set clear and structured meeting agendas to maximise available time and achieve productive outcomes (Zartman, 2008). Facilitating an open and honest dialogue between the two parties to understand each other's perspectives and find common ground also requires monitoring the dialogue process to ensure that all parties feel heard and to ensure that the dialogue takes place in a constructive atmosphere (Fisher & Patton, 2011). Using constructive negotiation techniques, such as focusing on mutual interests, seeking options that benefit both parties, and creating added value (Lewicki & Saunders, 2015). Ensure the use of polite language and respect for each other's culture to avoid misunderstandings and increase trust and facilitate the creation of solutions acceptable to both parties, taking into account existing national and regional interests (Avruch & Scimecca, 2001).

6. *Finding Solutions Together*

Identify areas where both parties have a common interest or potential to reach a compromise. This may include determining boundaries that are acceptable to each side (United Nations, 2012). Consider various solution options that can fulfil the different interests and needs of both parties. These options should include sufficient compromise to avoid deadlock (Fisher & Patton, 2011). Take into account relevant aspects of international law and the history of territorial claims to support a sustainable and internationally recognisable solution (Charney &

Jorgenson, 1992). Engage international law experts, historians, and other relevant stakeholders to gain in-depth and supportive perspectives in the development of the Solution (Avruch & Scimecca, 2001). Encourage constructive dialogue between Indonesia and China to develop solutions that are acceptable to both parties, with a focus on mutual value creation and long-term sustainability (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Consider the long-term implications of each solution option on each country's regional stability and national security and design a monitoring mechanism to monitor the implementation of the solution and address disputes that may arise in the future (Wallensteen & Svensson, 2014). Ensure that the proposed solutions are acceptable to society and have sufficient support from civil society and international public opinion and recognise that the solutions found may require adjustment over time, especially as political changes and regional conditions evolve (Coleman & Deutsch, 2001).

7. Implementation and Monitoring Strategy

Establish a clear timetable and specific steps for the implementation of each aspect of the agreed solution, including the responsibilities of each party (United Nations, 2012). Establish a coordination mechanism between Indonesia and China to ensure smooth communication and effective coordination throughout the implementation process (Bercovitch & Gartner, 2010). Ensure that sufficient human, financial and technical resources are allocated to support the implementation of the solution, including international assistance if needed (Wallensteen & Svensson, 2014). Conduct regular monitoring of implementation progress, identify any obstacles or problems that arise, and evaluate the impact of the measures taken (Coleman & Deutsch, 2001). Ensure commitment from both parties to abide by the agreement reached and rectify any problems that may arise in a spirit of mutual trust (Avruch & Scimecca, 2001). Publicise implementation progress to the public and other stakeholders to strengthen transparency and accountability. Adjust implementation strategies according to changes in the situation or emerging needs, taking into account feedback from monitoring and evaluation. Involve international organisations, NGOs, or third countries as mediators or independent observers to facilitate implementation and monitor compliance. Conduct community education and participation programmes to increase understanding of the implemented solutions and support the sustainability of the peace process (Fisher & Patton, 2011).

8. Evaluation

Measure the extent to which the goals and objectives of the implemented solution have been achieved, including evaluation of the performance of each party involved (Patton, 2014). Continuously monitor the implementation process and results to identify any problems or obstacles (Rossi & Freeman, 2004). Involve various stakeholders, including governments, communities and international organisations in the evaluation process to obtain comprehensive input (Bryson, 2018). Evaluate the long-term impact of implemented solutions on regional stability, bilateral relations, and the well-being of affected communities (Weiss, 1998). Using evaluation results to make necessary adjustments to implementation strategies and actions to improve effectiveness and efficiency

(Scriven, 1991). According to Craswell & Plano (2017), systematically collect data from various sources to get a complete picture of implementation and its impact, using qualitative and quantitative analysis methods to thoroughly evaluate implementation results. Prepare transparent and accurate evaluation reports to be shared with all stakeholders. Establish regular evaluation periods to ensure continuous monitoring and responsiveness to dynamics. Use feedback from the evaluation process to make improvements and refinements to implementation strategies and actions (Craswell & Plano, 2017).

9. Provision of Recommendations

Develop recommendations based on accurate evaluation results and data analysis, covering various aspects of Solution implementation (Patton, 2014). Identify specific areas that require further improvement and development to achieve better results (Rossi & Freeman, 2004). Develop practical and realistic recommendations, which can be implemented with existing resources and capacity (Weiss, 1998). Involve stakeholders in the recommendation process to ensure that the recommendations are relevant and acceptable to all parties (Bryson, 2018). Encourage active participation from all parties involved in the development and implementation of recommendations to increase commitment and compliance (Chambers, 1997). Develop a clear follow-up plan based on the recommendations provided, with appropriate scheduling and assignment of responsibilities. Prepare a comprehensive and easy-to-understand report on the recommendations, including evaluation findings and suggested measures. Socialise and disseminate the recommendations to all relevant parties, including government, communities and international organisations. Develop a mechanism for receiving and responding to feedback related to the recommendations provided, to enable further adjustments and refinements (Scriven, 1991).

Successful Two-Way Diplomacy

The rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, rooted in sectarian, political and strategic differences, has significantly impacted regional stability in the Middle East. Both countries have supported opposing factions in conflicts across the region, including in Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon. China's second-track diplomacy in reconciling Saudi Arabia and Iran involves informal and unofficial dialogues facilitated by nongovernmental actors, such as academics, retired officials, and think tanks. This approach allows for more flexible and open discussions that can pave the way for formal diplomatic negotiations (Sun, 2019). China's success in using two-track diplomacy to reconcile Saudi Arabia and Iran is a significant example of how non-traditional approaches can produce positive outcomes in international relations. China successfully positioned itself as a neutral mediator trusted by both Saudi Arabia and Iran. This is important because trust is a key foundation in effective mediation (Garver, 2006). China's focus on economic cooperation and infrastructure development in the Middle East region incentivises the two countries to reconcile and work together for regional stability and prosperity. China keeps its distance from each country's domestic political affairs, which helps maintain trust and minimise suspicion of

political motives (Zhang, 2013). Involving academics, nongovernmental organisations and other third parties to facilitate informal dialogues that can reduce tensions before involving officialdom (He, 2016). China facilitated a series of closed dialogues and informal meetings between representatives of both countries to build mutual understanding and identify common interests (Shambaugh, 2013).

Organise forums and informal meetings that provide opportunities for both sides to communicate without political pressure. Encourage discussions on practical issues affecting both countries, such as maritime security, energy and trade, to build a concrete basis for cooperation. Ensure that mediation efforts are not just temporary but have longterm commitments for ongoing monitoring and support (He, 2016).

Key Stages of China's Second Track Diplomacy (Zhu, 2018);

1) Academic and Cultural Exchange

China initiated academic and cultural exchanges to promote mutual understanding and reduce stereotypes. Chinese universities and think tanks organised conferences and workshops involving Saudi and Iranian scholars and former officials.

2) Economic Collaboration

Leveraging its economic ties with both countries, China emphasised the potential benefits of regional stability for trade and investment. This economic interdependence encouraged both countries to consider reconciliation.

3) Neutral Mediator

China is positioning itself as a neutral mediator respected by both Saudi Arabia and Iran. This neutrality is crucial to gaining the trust of both sides.

4) Informal Meeting

The Chinese think tank organised an informal meeting at a neutral location, which allowed Saudi and Iranian representatives to engage in open discussions without the pressure of formal negotiations.

5) Regional Security

Discussions highlighted their shared interests in regional security and the detrimental impact of their rivalry on the wider Middle East.

6) Economic Stability

Both countries recognise that their economic growth is hampered by the ongoing conflict, which provides a strong incentive for dialogue and cooperation.

7) Joint Initiative

Small-scale joint initiatives, such as humanitarian efforts in conflict zones, help build trust and demonstrate the potential for co-operation. 8)

Communication Channels

Establishing direct communication channels between Saudi and Iranian representatives facilitates better understanding and reduces the risk of misunderstandings. Outcomes and Impacts

China's two-track diplomacy efforts resulted in several notable achievements (Garver, 2019):

1) Reducing Tension

Two-track diplomacy efforts succeeded in creating space for open dialogue between Saudi Arabia and Iran, which was previously hampered by political and military tensions. There is an ongoing line of communication between the two countries, facilitating discussions on sensitive and pressing issues. The success of informal dialogue paved the way for more formal negotiations, with China continuing to play a supporting role.

2) Economic Cooperation

Increased economic and trade co-operation between the two countries, with the support of infrastructure projects and investments from China. This process highlights the potential for broader regional co-operation, contributing to a more stable Middle East.

3) Regional Stability

Contribution to regional stability in the Middle East, which has a positive impact on global security and international trade. Reduced tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran have a direct impact on stability in the Middle East, reducing incidents of violence and open conflict in the region. The existence of open dialogue helps to maintain the balance of power in the region, preventing the dominance of one party that could potentially lead to instability. Opportunities for economic cooperation between Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other countries in the region become more likely with greater peace and stability.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The maritime border conflict that occurred in the South China Sea was caused by China's unilateral claim, where China's claim was based on *ten dash-line* (ten dotted lines, this actually has no international legal basis. Meanwhile ASEAN member countries including Indonesia apply and use the 1982 UNCLOS foundation. Even though China itself also ratified the law of the sea treaty, but China did not run it and China made its own rules, namely the ten dash-line, so ASEAN member countries including Indonesia were disadvantaged by their territorial waters over China's *ten dash-line* claim.

Second Track Diplomacy can be a solution to the maritime conflict that occurs in the South China Sea. By appointing a third party as a neutral mediator who is a non-state actor, such as an academic, politician, non-governmental organisation, community leader, and so on. With this appointment, it will be facilitated to dialogue and convey the national interests of each conflicting country in this case Indonesia and China. After knowing the national interests of each of Indonesia and China, then find a middle ground, perhaps by managing the natural resources contained in the disputed sea area can be managed together or so on.

China's success in reconciling Saudi Arabia and Iran involved informal and unofficial dialogues facilitated by nongovernmental actors, such as academics, retired officials and think tanks. This approach allows for more flexible and open discussions that can pave the way for formal diplomatic

negotiations. China initiated academic and cultural exchanges to promote mutual understanding and reduce stereotypes. Chinese universities and think tanks organised conferences and workshops involving Saudi and Iranian scholars and former officials. This can be a benchmark in reconciling the border conflict that occurred in the South China Sea between Indonesia and China. With the hope of reducing tensions, creating regional stability, and establishing economic cooperation.

ADVANCED RESEARCH

Further research is expected to be able to provide real solutions to the South China Sea conflict. for practitioners to immediately open communication between Indonesia and China to then negotiate and find a fair solution for both countries.

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