

Paradiplomacy and the Future of Aceh Government

Takdir Ali Mukti

Department of International Relations
Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
takdiralimukti@umy.ac.id

Abstract—Paradiplomacy as one of the concepts in International Relations acted by regional government plays a strategic role in terms of economic and diplomatic cooperation. Aceh, under the Helsinki Agreement 2005, has the opportunities to play this significant authority to strengthen the economic growth and investments in Aceh. However, the international network and cooperation of Aceh since the Peace Agreement seemed goes through the low efforts and minimal results. This article focuses on the obstacles of Paradiplomacy to energize the economic development of Aceh in the global competition. The research uses the qualitative method to analyse the reason behind many obstacles and the low results of Aceh's para-diplomacy. The finding confirms that the paradiplomatic problems are caused by the problem of institutionalization of paradiplomatic authority, dispute of law, and lack of soft power diplomacy instruments in managing paradiplomatic activities.

Keywords—paradiplomacy; obstacles; institutionalization; soft power

I. INTRODUCTION

Paradiplomacy refers to the behaviour and the capacity to perform inter-state relations with the foreign party did by the entity –sub-state”, in order to gain their specific interest. The term ‘Para-diplomacy’ was first launched in the academic debate by the scientist coming from Basque, Panayotis Soldatos of 1980, as the merger of ‘parallel diplomacy’ into ‘Para-diplomacy’, which refers to the meaning of ‘the foreign policy of non-central governments’, according to Aldecoa, Keating and Boyer (Criekemans, 2008). The sub-state actor performed by the local government who traditionally act as the domestic actor. However, in the transnational era nowadays, the local government also deliver the interaction across their state borders and in the certain level they compose the foreign partnership policies too, which mostly, are not always consulted well with the central government. This phenomenon of local government builds such international relations are highly visible in the western developed industrial countries such as Flanders-Belgium, Catalonia-Spain, the Basque Country, and Quebec-Canada. The participation of local government or the autonomous region to take part internationally, according to Stefan Wolff, indicates that the most basic ideas on the state sovereignty have changed fundamentally. The Westphalia system which puts the sovereignty solemnly on the central government must be willing to ‘share’ with the local government for its concept of international activities. On how much the proportion of ‘shared’ sovereignty must be distinctive among the states (Wolff, 2009).

In the context of Aceh paradiplomacy, based on the Helsinki MOU of 2005, the Aceh government has the broad authority to intertwine international cooperation in the field of an international loan, trade, direct investment, and tourism. This understanding on the authority to cooperate with the foreign party, by the Acehnese elites as in Governor Zaini Abdullah, remains consistently fully based on the Helsinki MOU instead of the Constitution Number 11 of 2006 or Presidential Decree Number 11 of 2010, as he stated that Aceh has the special authority to cooperate with the foreign party without necessarily having coordination with the Central government and it has been granted by the specificity law of Aceh. It is stated while the Aceh Governor met the Parliamentary Chairman and the Deputy Trade Minister of Japan in Tokyo (Aceh, 2016).

To date, the Aceh government has been engaged in the cooperation with the foreign parties both for the governance or technical business such as with various of foreign universities from Sweden, United Kingdom, Penang Malaysia, Istanbul Turkey, and Japan. Yet of all the existed and initiative cooperation, some of it was stopped on the Memorandum of Understand (MOU) signing only, without being followed by the realization or the implementation of the agreement. Among that fact was revealed in the research done by Sahari A. Ganie, the lecturer in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Unsyiah, who stressed that the impression had appeared is the pattern of diplomacy handling by the Aceh government (Paradiplomacy) remains very conventional. The domination of government visit overseas, both the executive and legislative, has proven their effort to offer the investment potential in Aceh as stated in the MOU. Unfortunately, those were ended from one MOU to another without giving any significant concrete realization (Ganie, 2015).

The findings of Sahari A. Ganie has been confirmed by the publication in the form of a report on foreign investment realization which has decreased drastically after 2013 from 1.5 trillion rupiah of foreign investment to only 9 billion rupiah,

although there was a quite significant growth from 2010 to 2013 in the amount of 40 to 367 billion rupiahs in 2011 and was a bit lessen in 2012 with 235 billion rupiah. In 2014, foreign investment in Aceh began to increase even though it was still slow, and a jump in foreign investment occurred in 2016 which reached \$ 8.8 million from the previous 2015 below 1 million \$ (Aceh, 2018). However, the highest foreign investment figure in Aceh is still the lowest number or ranking no 34, when compared to other provinces in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the paradiplomacy of Aceh through the instrument of soft-power diplomacies, such as Acehnese culture and public diplomacy has not been properly worked. What remains to establish is just the cultural performances did sporadically and lack of integrative planning among the Acehnese artists in their shows abroad. The mission performed the Aceh culture among countries such as United Kingdom, Japan, South-Korea, Malaysia, Australia, and others, was still not packaged yet in the comprehensive regional diplomatic mission which might be very helpful to strengthen the acceptance of Acehnese culture in the broad international society.

From the explanation above, the writer focuses on the analysis of the obstacles that influence the effectiveness of the authority of Aceh government to perform paradiplomacy, and how it could boost the economic growth in the global networks.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The effectiveness of Aceh paradiplomacy activities as the part of the government organizational process is highly affected by the institutional performance running for the authority of paradiplomacy itself. The institutionalization of paradiplomacy has been identified by the concept of institutionalism by Samuel Huntington. Huntington stated that institutionalism is a process whereby an organization and the working procedure gain the value and stability, by seeing the four aspects such as Adaptability-Rigidity, Complexity-Simplicity, Autonomy-Subordination, and Coherence-Disunity (Huntington, 1977). The adaptability meant by Huntington is the ability of an organization to adapt to the external environmental challenge so that it can respond correctly and creatively in accordance with the current development. Complexity is the completeness of the structure and expertise available inside the organizational body or an institution which answered the specific and complex issues, as well as shows the organ comprehensiveness in it. The autonomy and subordination are interpreted as the institutional independence in deciding its activities options. The more autonomous the organization is, the more it will be free to move and make decisions. However, if it is subordinated then the options in deciding the moves will tend to be limited. Meanwhile the coherence meant as the institutional integrity in facing and dealing with the issues existed. The more coherent the institution then it will be even more solid in dealing with the challenges and exhaust the issues.

The statement of Huntington is completed by the study of Michael Keating in Europe who has the focus more on the study on how important is the 'capacity' of the local government to perform the paradiplomacy in order to optimize the result of their cooperation. The capacity to do the Para-diplomacy relies on the 'institution' built to support the activities, and the existence of 'leadership' with the strong motivation to reach their 'regional interest'. This regional interest could varies such as the growth of border economy, the settlement of state traditional border related to the mobility of its citizen, the harmony of the cultural relations among the border societies, and the issue of border crosses or migrants from the non-European countries which the settlement is given to the local government or 'states' (Aldecoa & Keating, 2005). In the context of Para-diplomacy done by the Aceh government, the study of Huntington and Keating above are very relevant to see the institutionalization of Para-diplomacy authority owned by Aceh in accordance with the points stated on Helsinki MOU of 2005, as well as to test the affectivity at once. The deficiency of Huntington's or Keating's is that they did not specifically deliver an exploration on the implementation of Para-diplomacy in the local government with the historical conflict with the central government in the country.

Further, the study of Rodrigo Tavares, explored the substantial role of the paradiplomacy done by the local government along with the other 'non-state actors' in the context of globalization. The local government also uses paradiplomacy as their way to attain such interest and to influence other parties outside its regional borders. It has been stated that globalization has reduced the state domination in the implementation of all policies affectively, so that the sub-national government of 'local government' must accept the reality that the state sovereignty is not the only condition to enter the global arena. This is where the 'local government' uses paradiplomacy to promote its regional interest internationally in the fields of trade, culture, tourism, and even politics. The phenomenon of globalization and the expansion of authority for the local government are two of the elements stimulating the emergence of new methods and networks in doing much of the diplomatic activities. The experience to build the way or network for the regional diplomacy done in the European Union shows how huge the role of diplomatic vision changes in terms of strengthening the cooperation between the local government with the other international societies (Tavares, 2016). The portrayal of Tavares is highly suited to be adopted by the Aceh governance which has a very log diplomatic history since 14 to 18 Century, to re-promoting its cultural basis in the international forum.

The practice of paradiplomacy as commonly done by several local governments is the real implementation of soft-power diplomacy. According to Joseph Nye Jr., soft power is the ability to achieve what a state desired through the nation performance in the view of other States, and not by strengthening the force (military) or the payment (economic concession). Soft power has emerged from the performance of a country's culture, the political dream, and policies. If a state is willing to let its foreign policies seen 'legitimate' in the view of other nations, then the use of soft power is a must (Nye Jr., 2009). The

strength of soft power diplomacy is believed for its capacity to guarantee the relations among nations to be more harmony, as the fact proves that a good relationship has always been started from the 'intimate understanding', among the factors existed in the nations involve the cooperation. The deep understanding among nations about the citizen and their land, religion or their belief, culture, ecological reality, and their awareness to its surrounding neighbourhood countries, is the determination for the healthy and sustain relations among the nations itself (Wellman, 2004).

In the context of Aceh paradiplomacy performance, the local government needs to be able to play the card of 'soft power diplomacy' above in having the international communication so that the potential partnership candidates in overseas could possess the positive 'images' to the Acehnese and its government. This is very important to be realized as stated by Friedman that the characteristic of the global interaction nowadays has brought the opportunity for all parties to compete and show its unique identity while introducing the value of the local people broadly (Friedman, 2009). Unexpected, if the world today has reached the open era for the competition, yet there are some local governments who have not to open up or has not utilized the opportunities as well as the challenge of this globalization partnership. The risk of being a region which is lack in the economic growth and the education quality might be experienced by the local government who has not yet capable of being success in the international scene nowadays.

III. METHOD

This qualitative research seeks to explore the institutionalization of paradiplomacy, and the instrument of paradiplomacy namely soft power diplomacy. To analyse, this article explores three elements, namely paradiplomacy institutionalisation, regulations, and soft power diplomacy. The time span observed begin since the Helsinki MOU of 2005 up to the present. The researcher collects data from field area in Aceh by interviewing 57 informants from stakeholders in the bureaucratic board, members of parliament, academicians, local parties' leaders and businessman. Informants in this study will be selected according to the criteria set by the researcher to obtain reliable information, deep and authoritative. This technique is purposive in that the selection of informants is entirely left to the researcher based on consideration of conformity with the purpose of the study. The criteria for informants used were as follows, (1) Parties involved in making decisions related to foreign cooperation in the Aceh Government both in the DPRA and in the regional government; (2) Experienced in the field of government that is directly related to government for a minimum of 2 years, or People outside the government who are experienced as actors or who help or who facilitate cooperation between the Aceh Government and foreign parties; and, (3) Foreign parties related to the implementation of foreign cooperation of the Aceh Government, or other foreign parties believed to know certain information. Selected documents from the related sources, both in Aceh local government and other institutions, are collected and verified.

The data analysis technique used in this study refers to the technique of interactive model of analysis, which is an analysis model that rests on 3 components; data reduction, data presentation, and drawing and testing conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The Triangulation technique is used to check the validity of the data before being analysed further.

IV. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The signing of Peace Agreement between Indonesian governments with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Helsinki – Finland, on August 15 2005, was the new milestone in the Acehnese history post the prolonged conflict for almost 40 years. 'Aceh Nation' felt that the repressive action by the Indonesian government in the implementation era of Military Operation Zone (DOM) under General Soeharto regime, had just ended in the reformation era in 1998.

The Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) of 2005 had given the authority for the Acehnese to manage their government. They obtained a broad authority in the fields of domestic business, including economy, social, politics, law, culture, mining, and trade. Even more so, the Aceh government also attained the authority to engage with the foreign partnership in the frame of national governance of The Republic of Indonesia. That huge authority for the Aceh governance is a part of the implementation of asymmetrical autonomous principals in Indonesia. Prior to the Helsinki Agreement, the government of Indonesia has produced Constitution Number 18 of 2001 on the Aceh Special Autonomy. However, this could not fulfill the Acehnese aspiration as a whole, so it cannot run well. The principals of 'governing Aceh' stated in the Helsinki MOU have been legalized by the national government of Indonesia as the national regulation, namely the National Law Number 11 of 2006 on Governing Aceh. The regulation has explained into the details about the principals previously do not exist in the Helsinki MOU, as well as the authority to exercise the foreign partnership or Para-diplomacy in the framework of the Unitary States of the Republic of Indonesia.

A. *Aceh Paradiplomacy Institutionalization*

The authority to perform Para-diplomacy affairs owned by the Aceh governance as stated in the Helsinki MOU and the National Law Number 11 of 2006 in the institutionalization in the Aceh governance is apparently weak, particularly in the organizational structure handling the affairs of Para-diplomacy itself. It is caused by the small institution formed inside the governance body so it is not able to exercise the authority inside the national regulation. The institution built for handling the Paradiplomacy affairs in Aceh was only in the form of sub-unit, in the regional government secretary, under the Governor of

Aceh, or the structure is six level under the Governor position (Aceh, 2014). Why is this institutionalization too small and weak? Many scholars perceive it as the transitional period from the revolution era to the development era. That is the reason why this authority has not become a focus of Aceh government at the beginning of the period.

With the small size of the institution, the foreign initiative partnership of the Aceh government will be very dependent on the leadership of the executive leader or the governor, and not to the institutional performance which has been well planned long before. This way has the risk as if there is the executive leader changing with various reasons then the activities for the agreement of the partnership could be affected. On the other hand, the institution which is too small could only gain the human resource support also in limited number.

The initiation of conceptual change for the institutional paradiplomacy authority happened by the ratification of the Local Regulation (Qanun) Number 9 of 2013 on Lembaga Wali Nanggroe or the Aceh's Guardian Institution. In this Qanun, stated that in the Article of 29 says that the Wali Nanggroe has authority to, point (g) handling the Acehnese treasure inside and outside Aceh (both of outside the province and overseas), (h) making cooperation with the various parties both inside and outside the country for the advancement of Aceh civilization, (j) maintaining the peace in Aceh and participate in the reconciliation process of the world peace.

This local regulation means that the concept of paradiplomacy authority management in Aceh has experienced a basic change by giving a new function to the Wali Nanggroe so that he has the actual power in the field of paradiplomacy directly led by Wali. Certainly, there was a strong reaction coming from the central government of the changes, so that Jakarta is not willing to admit the validity of the local regulation. However, the Aceh government up to today is not willing to change the regulation they created. Conceptually, it is true that the institutionalization will be more effective due to the other new authorities, the Wali Nanggroe could directly having some negotiations with the foreign parties, both of the state and non-state actors, to fight for the people's interest. Unfortunately, in practice, this authority doesn't run well as mentioned in qonun, because it emerges dispute between Aceh government and central government.

B. Law on Aceh Paradiplomacy

In fact, the central government in Jakarta has considered proportionally to manage the paradiplomacy authority of Aceh as stated in the Constitution Number 11 of 2006 due to the existence of a clause that all of the international agreement made by the Aceh government, must attach the article on how is the position of Aceh, as a part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Further, the central government produces Presidential Decree Number 11 of 2010 by making the borders strengthening back to the clause of the engagement of Aceh government with the Republic of Indonesia to compose a document on the foreign partnership. The emphasizes the involvement of the central government in practicing the paradiplomacy authority since the planning to the implementation step of the foreign partnership done by the Aceh government.

The launch of the Decree, by the elites in Aceh was interpreted as the method of the central government to minimize the authority of Aceh government and at the same time controlling the foreign partnership as agreed in the Helsinki MOU. This signal is very logical. However, the central government is not willing to lose its control over the Aceh government post the Helsinki Agreement. The momentum of Presidential Decree Number 11 of 2010 was rolling after the absolute victory of Aceh Party in the 2009 election, which was the reincarnation of the supporter to GAM to fight for their political aspiration so that the political nuance was obvious. While the activist of GAM had the control over Aceh government dominantly, both in the executive by the winning of GAM activist, Irwandi Yusuf, in the election of Aceh governor in 2006, and the parliaments in the province or cities, the figure of GAM also came back as the Aceh governor, replacing Irwandi Yusuf in 2012, namely dr. Zaini Abdullah, the ex-Foreign Affairs Minister of GAM, along with the Vice Governor Mudzakkir Manaf (Mualim), who was the ex GAM warlord.

After the launch of Decree Number 11 of 2010, the Aceh governance created the Local Regulation Number 8 of 2012 on Wali Nanggroe Institution, then changed with the Qanun number 9 of 2013, as the change of the previous local regulation. The central government is highly objecting the clauses in the Qanun and sent 21 points must be revised by the Acehnese legislative regarding those. However, up until December 16, 2013 while the inauguration of Malik Abdullah done by the Acehnese representatives along the Aceh governor, Jakarta or central party has not admit the implementation of the Qanun so the Domestic Affairs Minister said that the inauguration of the Aceh representative was not valid because the Qanun has not been suited as the points brought up by the government, so that until the central government does not deliver the official envoy, except the Evaluation Team. Although it had been considered illegal by the central government, the Aceh representative kept performing in authority based on the Qanun made before (BBC, 2013). The Aceh government assures that the law of Qanun from Acehnese representative is already in line with the Peace Agreement in the Helsinki MOU and at the same time made the Qanun a very considerate source.

This Paradiplomacy authority is a new attribute for LWN who is very strategic for Aceh in order to broaden international cooperation. The understanding on the authority of the foreign partnership, stated Governor Zaini Abdullah that Aceh is using the Helsinki MOU of 2005 as its guidance, which is interpreted broadly, and not rooting on the Constitution Number 11 of 2006 or Presidential Decree Number 11 of 2010. Governor Zaini Abdullah said that Aceh has its special authority to have foreign cooperation without necessarily consult with the central government, and it has been granted by the Constitution. It is

mentioned while the Aceh Governor met the Parliamentary Chairperson of Japan and Vice Minister of Trade of Japan in Tokyo (Aceh, 2016).

Despite objections to the shift of authority within the local regulation, Jakarta also did not immediately cancel it. Apparently, the central government is very careful in addressing issues related to Aceh, because it does not damage the achievements that have been produced so far after the Helsinki MOU.

At present, the implementation of Aceh's paradiplomacy cooperation with foreign countries is carried out by the Governor of Aceh, not because Aceh has revised its local regulation, but because the governor is given the mandate or "full power letter" from the central government. This is what happened in December 2017 when Governor Irwandi Yusuf visited Russia in the context of paradiplomacy cooperation, and the signing of an electricity cooperation agreement with a company from Turkey in the third quarter of 2017 (Zairi, 2017). By its authority, the Aceh government has cooperated with various partners from abroad such as Istanbul – Turkey, Helsinki – Finland, Perlak – Malaysia, and a province in Kazakhstan, as well as cooperation with the foreign non-state actors in the field of education and tourism such as universities and private sectors.

C. Paradiplomacy and Soft Power Diplomacy

The long-standing paradiplomatic practices in developed countries were part of the continuation of the history of integration in each country. According to Lecours (2008), paradiplomacy practices could be categorized into 3 groups, namely, first, the relations and cooperation of regional governments or 'sub-states' which are only oriented to mere economic objectives such as market expansion, investment development abroad, and reciprocal investment. This relationship does not involve complex motives, such as politics or culture. This type of transnational interaction is commonly practiced by states in the United States and Australia. Secondly, paradiplomacy involving various fields in cooperation or multi-purposes, between economics, culture, education, health and technology transfer and so on. The concept of this relationship refers to a decentralized cooperation model of foreign cooperation or decentralized cooperation. Some provinces in Germany or lander, practicing the relationship of this model, as well as the Rhone-Alpes regional government, France, established relations with several states in Africa such as Mali, Senegal and Tunisia, and also with Vietnam and Poland. The third category is a complex paradiplomacy that involves specific political motives and regional nationalist identities. They try to establish international relations with enormous enthusiasm to express the specific and autonomous national identity of their region which is different from most regions in their country. Practicing this model include Flanders-Belgium, Catalonia-Spain, Quebec-Canada and the Basque Country (Lecours, 2008).

In the context of the Aceh Government, to implement authority in the field of paradiplomacy with soft power diplomacy instrument, Tulus Warsito (2007) stated that, as far as possible under the law, and in the context of peaceful diplomacy, regional governments could take several forms of activities such as exhibitions, competitions, mission exchanges, negotiations and conferences. While the ingredients can be through tourism, sports, education, trade, and arts. The advantage of soft power diplomacy is the low level of resistance from other communities with different cultures so that they are able to convey messages to other nations peacefully and effectively. He added, that the regional government can also take the following methods, (1) the establishment of permanent offices in other countries, especially in the world trade and financial centers; (2) exchange of visits by sub-national government officials in one country with sub-national government officials in other countries; (3) dispatch of technical missions, trade promotions and investments; (4) the establishment of a foreign trade zone as carried out by 30 states in the United States; and (5) other efforts are to participate in international organizations or conferences. As an example of Quebec's participation in the Canadian delegation at the Francophone Summit and the participation of the Tyrol Government in the Austrian delegation at the UN conference on the South Tyrol region (Warsito, 2007). This model of diplomacy, provides an important element in paradiplomacy activity, namely pragmatic flexibility in establishing international cooperation, as suggested by Nue Cornago (Cornago, 2000).

In addition to using these methods, the Aceh government can emulate the paradiplomacy carried out by South Korea, namely the appointment of honorary advisor to certain cities abroad, taken from South Koreans who reside in the country. This honorary advisor's duty is as a liaison between various parties in the city where he lives, both the foreign government and foreign businessmen, and other parties, to establish connections with parties from the local government in South Korea who have appointed him as this position. The number of Gyeongbuk honorary advisors reached 99 people in 48 countries, namely in Asian countries 25 people, Europe 24 people, North America 29 people, South America 4 people, Oceania 9 people, and Africa 8 people advisors, plus messengers special trade is placed in Henan Province, China (Gyeongsangbuk, 2005). For example, the Gyeongsangbuk Province government, appointed Mr. Nasir, who is a citizen of South Korea, as an honorary advisor in the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Indeed, international relations and cooperation made by the regional government will largely be oriented towards improving regional economies and supporting various work programs in leading sectors such as education, health and tourism so that the involvement of non-state international actors will be felt. There are multi national corporations (MNCs), international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), foundations, and individuals who have the ability to form networks to support each other together with state actors and local governments. The increasing intensity of relations and the increasing diversity of international actors must be considered as a potential for international diplomacy.

The challenge of the trend of world cooperation for the Aceh government can indeed be said to be heavily considering that so far there has been no bureaucratic tradition that leads to it. The bureaucratic tradition in Indonesia in general is still inward-looking, or oriented towards serving and dealing with the citizens themselves so that relatively no complex problems are encountered. However, in this era of changing global trends, even bureaucracy, especially business people, must be ready to change by doing outward looking, or expanding the horizon of a more competitive bureaucratic vision by considering competitors abroad, without leaving the main service mission to the community. The main keyword in this process is the change in the bureaucratic mindset from merely serving to be brave to accept the challenge of progress.

The Aceh Government can also freely carry out various activities that aim to strengthen relations between various nations by planning forms of activities that are non-political action, but more culturally, such as activities that highlight the artistic side of regional culture, traditional music, culinary and others, to be packaged into a means of diplomatic actions which attract foreign sympathies. The current world conditions encourage the emergence of a new style of diplomacy that prioritizes the formation of informal networks in addition to formal channels through representation. Reliable diplomacy requires connectivity and thinking out of the box. Creativity in marketing the potential of Aceh abroad, and creativity in forming international networks, are potential capital that can build the character of Aceh's government in the future that is independent, professional, and able to participate in the international community actively.

D. Towards Virtual Diplomacy

With the pace of progress in information and communication technology that is very revolutionary today it has fundamentally and will continue to change the behaviour of human relations, both within their own country and with foreign parties. Grech Olesya suggests that there will be changes in the behaviour of relations between countries, especially in diplomatic relations, from diplomatic activities that are real interactions in the dimensions of space, time and place, into diplomatic activities that are an imaginative reality, or "virtual diplomacy" (Olesya, 2006). 'Virtual Diplomacy' is characterized by several characteristics, among others, first, the use of information and communication technology or ICT which is so dominant that it replaces the role of physical humans in relating to diplomatic activities. The role of the world wide web or 'www' simplifies the process of information exchange and negotiation between various international actors and encourages the emergence of a new 'virtual' international community. The second characteristic is that there is a shift in diplomatic actors, namely from professional diplomats, to 'admin', or data processing personnel in web addresses. Third, diplomacy activities are no longer complacent in the center of government, but virtual diplomacy activities appear sporadically from all corners of the 'information' among nations, in international languages, even in all corners of the country. This is where the virtual diplomacy actors cannot be fully controlled by the state.

From this virtual diplomacy, the opportunity can be taken in implementing paradiplomacy in Aceh. The Aceh government does not need to be too confined to formal diplomacy, which step by step must wait and follow each stage as directed by the central government, but can directly access and connect with foreign parties through the media virtual on the internet. What must be addressed is the improvement of human resource readiness and continuous data updating and following the dynamics in this virtual world. Therefore, it is very important for the local government to recruit young civil servants who are literate towards information technology in advance, and not just they can operate a computer.

V. CONCLUSION

Paradiplomatic activities in Aceh government meet obstacles in term of small size and low-level paradiplomatic institution and dispute of law with the central government, so they don't have the capacity and enough resources to carry out authority progressively. The authority of the Paradiplomacy as stated in the Helsinki MOU and qonun, must be actualized in an adequate government practice, by establishing institutions properly that is capable of handling the authority of international cooperation because institutional barriers greatly disrupt the effectiveness of paradiplomacy activism.

Paradiplomacy Aceh also has not implemented soft power instruments in a well-planned manner so that the value of peaceful cultural promotion has not been effective yet. The Aceh government should optimize this instrument because it has a very low level of resistance internationally, so the success rate is high. Soft power diplomacy demands creativity in marketing the potential of Aceh and the formation of a new, stronger and broader international networks.

REFERENCES

- Aceh Government. (2014). Struktur Organisasi Di Lingkungan Pemerintah Aceh. Aceh Government. Retrieved from acehprov.go.id/profil/read/2014/10/03/103/struktur-organisasi-di-lingkungan-pemerintah-aceh.html.
- Aceh Government. (2016). Gubernur Tawarkan Kerjasama Aceh – Jepang. Aceh Government. Retrieved from humas.acehprov.go.id/gubernur-zaini-tawarkan-kerjasama-aceh-jepang/.
- Aceh Government (2018). Data Investasi. Aceh Government. Retrieved from dpmpstp.acehprov.go.id/id/info-publik/data-investasi/.
- Aldecoa, F., & Keating, M. (2005). *Paradiplomacy in action: The foreign relations of subnational governments*. London: Frank Cass.
- Cornago, N. (2000). "Exploring the Global Dimensions of Paradiplomacy: Functional and Normative Dynamics in the Global Spreading of Subnational Involvement in International Affairs." *Academia.edu - Share Research*, Oct. 2000, www.academia.edu/2286276/. Workshop on Constituent Units in

International Affairs. Hanover, Germany.

- Criekemans, D. (2008). –Are the Boundaries between Paradiplomacy and Diplomacy Watering down? Preliminary Findings and Hypotheses from a Comparative Study of Some Regions with Legislative Power and Small States”. Brocade Desktop: Irua, 2008, repository.uantwerpen.be/desktop/irua/core/index.phtml?language=E&euser=&session=&service=opacirua&robot=&deskservice=desktop&desktop=irua&workstation=&extra=loi.
- Dinamika, Y. (2017). Gubernur Irwandi Promosi Investasi Aceh Di Moskow. Serambinews, 5 Aug. 2017. Retrieved from aceh.tribunnews.com/2017/08/05/gubernur-irwandi-promosiinvestasi-aceh-di-moskow.
- Friedman, T.L. (2009). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. Bridgewater, NJ: Distributed by Paw Prints/Baker & Taylor.
- Ganie, S.A. (2015). Diplomasi Ekonomi Aceh. Aceh Trend, 8 Dec. 2015. Retrieved from www.acehtrend.com/2015/12/08/diplomasi-ekonomi-aceh/.
- Grech, O.M. (2006). Virtual Diplomacy, Dipomacy of Digital Age (Dissertation). Malta: University of Malta.
- Gyeongsangbuk Province (2005). –Operation of Gyeongbuk Honorary Advisory Service.” International-Northeast Asia Regional Governments Association, Gyeongsangbuk Province, Korea, 2005. Retrieved from www.gb.go.kr/eng/page.jsp?largeCode=business&mediumCode=trade&smallCode=inter_relations&LANGCODE=English.
- Huntington, S.P. (1977). *Political order in changing societies*. New Haven: Yale Up.
- Lecours, A. (2008). *Political Issues of Paradiplomacy: Lessons from the Developed World*. Den Haag: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook 2nd Edition*. SAGE.
- Nye, J.S. (2009). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Safitri, D. (2013). Jakarta Persoalkan Qonun Wali Nanggroe . BBC News Indonesia, 16 Dec. 2013. Retrieved from www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2013/12/131216_qanunwalinanggroe.
- Tavares, R. (2016). *Paradiplomacy, Cities and States as Global Players*. Oxford University Press.
- Warsito, T., & Kartikasari, W. (2007). *Diplomasi kebudayaan: Konsep dan relevansi bagi negara berkembang: Studi kasus Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Wellman, D.J. (2004). *Sustainable diplomacy: Ecology, religion, and ethics in Muslim-Christian relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wolff, S. (2007). Paradiplomacy - Scope, Opportunities and Challenges. Retrieved from http://www.saisjournal.org/posts/paradiplomacy.
- Zairi, M. (2017). Dua Perusahaan Turki Teken MoU Dengan Pemerintah Aceh. Serambinews, 25 Sept. 2017. Retrieved from aceh.tribunnews.com/2017/09/25/dua-perusahaan-turki-teken-mou-dengan-pemerintah-aceh