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Perubahan Iklim dan Suku Bangsa Minoritas di Filipina: Pengalaman dan Pelajaran dari Suku Bangsa Ifugao untuk Masyarakat Asia Pasifik

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Abstrak

This paper discusses the global issue of climate change in relation with the life of indigenous people living in northern Luzon of the Philippines, Ifugao Community. The finding reveals that in a way of Ifugao People face profound global problems of climate change, the people cling to their own local knowledge. History shows that for thousands of years Ifugao farmers could adapt to their environment. This includes resiliency to the changes of climate. It is hoped that based on the Ifugao' experiences, lesson learned could be drawn for other indigenous communities elsewhere, particularly in Asia Pacific Region which have similar problems.

Keywords: Ifugao, climate change, ethnography, local wisdom.

Pendahuluan

Dalam konteks etnis suku bangsa, selain Taiwan, Filipina merupakan negara di Asia yang sudah menggunakan terminologi *indigenous people* sebagai terminologi resmi yang diakui oleh negara beserta dengan hak-hak yang melekat di dalamnya. *The National Commission on Indigenous People* (NCIP) atau Komisi Nasional Masyarakat Adat menetapkan ada sekitar 12 juta jiwa penduduk asli yang tersebar di Filipina. Suku-suku asli atau masyarakat adat tersebut tampaknya dapat mengelola gaya hidup, tradisi, dan adat istiadat mereka dari dulu hingga sekarang bahkan ketika jaman kolonialisme berlangsung di Filipina. Sebelum suku-suku bangsa Filipina ini diakui keberadaannya secara resmi, suku-suku bangsa ini disebut sebagai *cultural minorities* atau *tribal Filipinos*. Sejarah suku-suku bangsa ini selalu erat dengan gaya hidup cinta damai yang terkait dengan alam dan lingkungan. Dalam kenyataannya, suku-suku bangsa di Filipina menghadapi persoalan yang sangat kompleks mulai dari degradasi lingkungan, eksploitasi, diskriminasi, dan kemiskinan (Wardani, 2009). Dapat dikatakan bahwa suku-suku bangsa asli Filipina merupakan kelompok paling miskin diantara yang termiskin (*poorest of the poor*). Hingga saat ini, belum ada laporan resmi yang mencatat

secara tepat jumlah suku-suku bangsa asli di Filipina. Hal ini karena tempat tinggal mereka yang sangat terpencil dan secara geografi susah dijangkau. Namun, catatan resmi yang bisa diacu adalah suku-suku bangsa ini tersebar di berbagai wilayah Filipina yang diperkirakan jumlahnya mencapai 110 kelompok etnis. Menurut data sensus tahun 1997 (Roya, 2001), jumlah suku-suku asli Filipina adalah sekitar 12 juta atau sekitar 16 persen dari total populasi Filipina yang mencapai 73 juta jiwa.

Persoalan perubahan iklim menjadi salah satu persoalan mendasar bagi suku-suku bangsa minoritas di seluruh dunia. Hal ini karena mereka adalah target utama dari dampak perubahan iklim mengingat hidup mereka yang sangat tergantung pada sumber daya alam. *Food and Agriculture Organization for United Nation* (FAO) menyebutkan dampak perubahan iklim yang paling signifikan adalah pada sektor-sektor seperti ketahanan pangan, kondisi kesehatan manusia, aset-aset penghidupan, produksi pangan, jalur distribusi pangan, perubahan pada pola konsumsi dan juga aliran pasar. Kelompok-kelompok masyarakat rentan, termasuk suku-suku bangsa minoritas, merupakan target utama dari “korban” perubahan iklim tersebut.

Salah satu suku bangsa minoritas asli Filipina adalah Masyarakat Ifugao yang tinggal di wilayah pegunungan Cordillera bagian utara Pulau Luzon. Terminologi Ifugao disini menjelaskan banyak arti, yang antara lain Ifugao merupakan sebutan untuk nama suku sekaligus untuk nama wilayah (provinsi). Wilayah Cordillera sendiri merupakan wilayah yang kaya akan sumber daya alam terutama emas dan hasil tambang lainnya. Namun, Masyarakat Ifugao tidak dapat ikut merasakan kekayaan alam tersebut karena tempat tinggal mereka yang berada di wilayah terpencil, tidak mempunyai kandungan sumber daya alam seperti tetangga provinsi lainnya, dikelilingi oleh barisan gunung-gunung Cordillera yang terjal, dan mayoritas wilayah provinsi ini berupa hutan belantara dan sungai. Untuk menghidupi sebagian besar penduduk yang kurang lebih berjumlah 190.000 jiwa, sektor pertanian dan pariwisata merupakan tulang punggung kehidupan sehari-hari bagi Masyarakat Ifugao. Penduduk hidup di wilayah barisan gunung-gunung setinggi 1.000-1.500 meter yang terhampar hampir seluas 2.000 km². Menurut catatan *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO), tangga-tangga sawah tersebut dibangun sejak 2.000 tahun yang lalu, namun para tetua adat Ifugao mempunyai versi cerita sendiri. Menurut mereka, nenek moyang orang Ifugao telah membangun tangga-tangga tersebut sejak lebih dari 4.000 tahun yang lalu selama hampir 1.000 tahun hingga menjadi seperti sekarang. Meskipun beberapa hasil riset ilmiah dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ada yang membantah teori tersebut dan menyatakan bahwa terasering baru terbentuk beberapa ratus tahun yang lalu. Banyak orang mengistilahkan tangga-tangga tersebut sebagai “*stairways to heaven*” dan UNESCO menyebutnya sebagai salah satu dari warisan keajaiban dunia atau

a world heritage site. Hingga saat ini, barisan terasering sawah tersebut masih bisa dinikmati oleh masyarakat Ifugao sebagai tempat menggantungkan hidup dan para wisatawan untuk menikmati keindahan alam.

Alasan memilih tema *Perubahan Iklim dan Suku Bangsa Minoritas di Filipina* terutama bagi Suku Bangsa Ifugao didasari oleh beberapa persoalan serius yang dihadapi oleh suku bangsa minoritas terhadap ancaman global perubahan iklim yang sedang terjadi. Sebagai masyarakat yang menggantungkan hidup pada sektor pertanian dan pariwisata yang mengandalkan keindahan alam, perubahan iklim membawa berbagai dampak yang cukup signifikan bagi kehidupan mereka. Beberapa diantaranya adalah semakin menurunnya produktivitas pertanian dan perubahan cuaca ekstrim yang mengakibatkan berbagai kerusakan fisik terasering. Dengan mengambil contoh kasus masyarakat petani Ifugao yang merupakan salah satu suku minoritas di Filipina, diharapkan makalah ini dapat memberikan kontribusi pada dinamika akademik yang mengedepankan isu suku-suku minoritas, perubahan iklim, dan pertanian di wilayah Asia Pasifik.

Suku Bangsa Ifugao

A. Sejarah Singkat Masyarakat Ifugao

Jika menengok sejenak sejarah Ifugao, maka literatur-literatur yang ada akan mengerucut pada hal yang hampir sama. Istilah Ifugao sendiri sebenarnya berasal dari kata "IPUGO". Para misionaris Spanyol adalah pihak pertama yang menulis tentang mereka. Menurut sejarah, di abad ke-17 tentara Spanyol bertemu dengan masyarakat Ifugao untuk pertama kalinya dan menanyakan siapa mereka dan mereka menjawab "I-PUGO". Bagi masyarakat Ifugao, *Ipugo* sebenarnya berarti *people from the earth/human being* atau manusia yang berasal dari bumi. Hal ini terkait dengan kosmos orang Ifugao yang sangat menghormati alam dan keseimbangan posisi antara manusia dan bumi. Namun orang-orang di luar komunitas mereka kemudian memberikan terjemahan yang berbeda akan makna *Ipugo*. Bagi masyarakat lain, *Pugo* berarti bukit dan *I* berarti dari. Sehingga orang luar sering mengartikan masyarakat Ifugao sebagai orang-orang yang berasal dari bukit/gunung. Karena lidah orang Spanyol yang tidak bisa melafalkan *Ipugo* dengan benar, maka mereka menyebutnya dengan *Ifugaw*. Pada awalnya, orang Spanyol menyebut suku bangsa Ifugao sebagai *Ygolote* atau *Igolot* atau *Igorotte* untuk mendeskripsikan orang yang berasal dari gunung di wilayah Cordillera. Terminologi tersebut juga diterima oleh masyarakat di wilayah Cordillera, namun tidak oleh suku bangsa Ifugao. Lebih jauh, masyarakat Ifugao tidak mau disebut sebagai *Igorots* dan hanya mau disebut sebagai Ifugao.

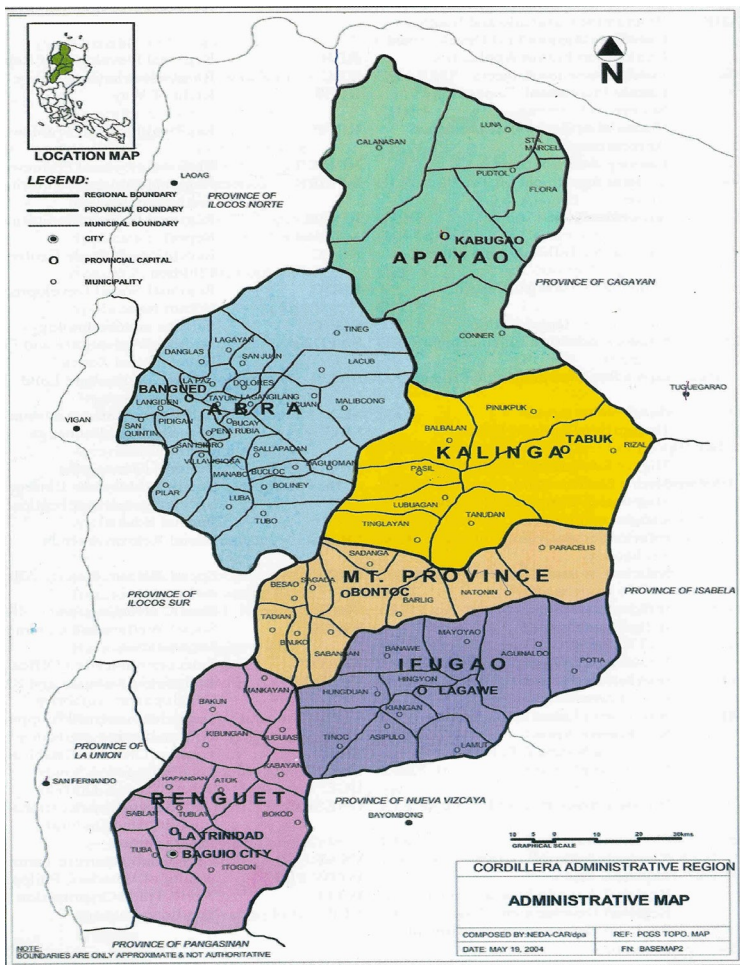
Menurut *Ethnography of the Major Ethnolinguistic Groups in the Cordillera* (2005), ada beberapa teori yang menyebutkan asal muasal suku bangsa

Ifugao. Menurut mitologi lokal yang berasal dari Kiangnan Ifugao, *ipugo* mengacu pada beberapa varietas padi putih yang pertama kali ditanam oleh pemburu Ballituk dan Kabigat di bukit Imbiday, sebuah area perbukitan di wilayah sekitar Kiyangan (Ifugao). Di wilayah lain, ada kepercayaan yang menyebutkan bahwa masyarakat Ifugao berasal dari nenek moyang mereka yang berasal dari Wigan dan Bugar yang berasal dari wilayah paling utara Pulau Luzon. Wigan dan Bugar ini merupakan keturunan dari Bakkayawan dan Bugar Atas yang disebut sebagai Kabunyan. Hingga saat ini, paling tidak ada tiga teori yang saling bertentangan mengenai asal suku bangsa Ifugao. Henry Otley Beyer mempercayai bahwa suku bangsa Ifugao berasal dari ras suku bangsa asli yang berasal dari wilayah tersebut. Beyer menyebutkan bahwa 2.000 tahun yang lalu, sekelompok orang yang berasal dari Indo-China telah bermigrasi ke bagian timur laut wilayah Ifugao. Imigran ini kemudian menerapkan pengetahuan mereka tentang tanaman padi basah dan pertanian terasering sebagai sumber mata pencaharian. Lambat laun mereka pindah menuju wilayah utara dan membangun terasering di sepanjang wilayah Ifugao.

Saat ini, teori Beyer tersebut banyak ditolak oleh para ahli arkeologi, linguistik, dan antropologi. Salah satu orang yang menentang teori tersebut adalah Keesing yang menyatakan bahwa pada jaman kolonialisme Spanyol, orang dari wilayah Magat telah bermigrasi ke wilayah Ifugao untuk melarikan diri dan menghindari penetrasi militer Spanyol di wilayah Cordillera. Magat sendiri merupakan sungai yang mengalir sebagian besar Pulau Luzon dengan anak sungai terbesar bernama Sungai Cagayan. Teori Keesing ini didukung oleh beberapa bukti yang menunjukkan berkurangnya populasi daratan rendah Magat secara drastis dari abad ke 16 hingga abad 19, terutama yang tinggal di Provinsi Isabela (provinsi terbesar kedua di Filipina). Keesing menambahkan bahwa menurut catatan kuno Spanyol yang dipelajarinya, bahwa sebelumnya tidak pernah ditemukan dan disebutkan tentang keberadaan terasering dan menurutnya terasering baru ada sekitar beberapa ratus tahun yang lalu bukan ribuan tahun yang lalu seperti yang diketahui saat ini. Seorang pastor yang bernama Romo Lambrecht (1960) telah melakukan sebuah penelitian tentang epik Ifugao yang berjudul *the Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bugar of Gonhadan*, juga mendukung hasil interpretasi teori Keesing ini. Di sisi lain, sejarawan Ifugao yang bernama Manuel Dulawan memiliki teorinya sendiri terkait dengan asal dan pola migrasi suku bangsa Ifugao. Berdasarkan hasil studinya tentang bahasa dan budaya Kankanaeys di barat Provinsi Mountain terutama di area Bauko-Tadian, Dulawan menyebutkan bahwa nenek moyang suku bangsa Ifugao berasal dari wilayah barat Provinsi Mountain yang setelah beberapa tahun bermigrasi ke wilayah Ifugao. Untuk menguatkan teorinya, Dulawan melampirkan bukti-bukti pendukung berupa:

- Adanya persamaan bahasa Kankana-eys yang digunakan oleh suku bangsa Aplay (atau Aplai) di wilayah barat Provinsi Mountain dan suku bangsa Ifugao.
- Persamaan bangunan arsitektur rumah adat Ifugao (*bale*) dan rumah adat Bauko *pinolpoltan*.
- Adanya keserupaan pada motif baju dan rajutan kostum adat kedua suku bangsa.
- Penggunaan nama dan tempat Tadian dan Bauko untuk beberapa ritual Ifugao.

Gambar 1. Peta Wilayah Cordillera



Sumber: Arsip Pemerintahan Provinsi Ifugao

Menurut kaledoskop Ifugao, pada masa kolonialisme Spanyol dari tahun 1565 hingga 1898, Masyarakat Ifugao merupakan salah satu suku yang menolak adanya okupasi Spanyol di Filipina. Kondisi geografi yang terpencil dan berbukit-bukit cukup menyulitkan tentara Spanyol untuk menjangkau wilayah Ifugao. Untuk menjangkau dominasi politik Spanyol pada masa itu, salah satu cara yang dilakukan tentara Spanyol adalah dengan menghancurkan rumah-rumah, tempat ibadah tradisional, dan sawah terasering. Namun demikian, Masyarakat Ifugao tidak tinggal diam. Pada periode 1896 hingga 1898, Masyarakat Ifugao secara terus menerus mengadakan perlawanan terhadap dominasi Spanyol. Pada masa-masa setelah itu semua jejak Spanyol telah lenyap dari wilayah Ifugao, yang tinggal hingga sekarang adalah arsitektur bangunan, bahasa, dan peninggalan ajaran Katolik.

Saat ini Ifugao sudah berdiri menjadi sebuah provinsi yang mandiri sejak 18 Juni 1966. Sebelumnya, pada tahun 1902 hingga 1905, Ifugao menjadi bagian dari Provinsi Nueva Vizcaya. Kemudian pada tahun 1906, Ifugao berubah status menjadi sub provinsi dari Mountain Province. Sebagai provinsi terkecil di negara Filipina atau sekitar 0.8% dari total luas negara Filipina, Ifugao sering disebut sebagai saudara sepupu yang miskin (*the poor cousin*) diantara saudara-saudaranya yang lain di Mountain Province (Wardani, 2009). Hal ini karena saudara-saudaranya yang lain telah merasakan investasi perusahaan-perusahaan asing dari sumber daya emas, pertambangan dan hasil olahan kayu. Namun Ifugao seakan masih tetap berjalan di tempat karena wilayah geografisnya yang tidak menguntungkan. Pembangunan fisik maupun sumber daya manusia berjalan sangat lambat. Bisa dikatakan, hampir tidak ada yang bisa diharapkan dari provinsi kecil ini.

B. Kondisi Sosial-Budaya Masyarakat Ifugao

Orang Filipina atau yang sering disebut sebagai Filipino merupakan masyarakat dengan karakteristik yang mudah akrab dan ramah kepada siapapun termasuk orang asing. Sehingga cukup wajar dan bisa dimaklumi jika Filipino mengedepankan kekeluargaan, tali persaudaraan, dan kekerabatan dalam aspek kehidupan mereka. Hal ini mungkin saja diperoleh dari budaya yang dimiliki oleh nenek moyang mereka termasuk masyarakat adat yang tersebar di Filipina. Secara khusus, bagi Masyarakat Ifugao, sistem kekerabatan dan menjunjung tradisi hingga sekarang secara turun temurun merupakan hal yang sangat penting dalam setiap aspek kehidupan mereka.

Dari sisi bahasa, Masyarakat Ifugao mempunyai empat kelompok etnolinguistik yaitu Ayangan, Tuwali, Kalanguya, dan Kalinga. Empat sub bahasa ini yang mempengaruhi penggunaan bahasa di wilayah Ifugao. Sementara itu di sekolah-sekolah, Bahasa Inggris dan Bahasa Filipino digunakan sebagai bahasa pengantar resmi mulai dari sekolah dasar

hingga perguruan tinggi. Seperti telah dijelaskan sebelumnya, selama masa kolonialisme Spanyol, pihak Spanyol mencoba untuk memasukkan unsur Katolikisme/Kristenisasi sebagai salah satu agama baru dengan membangun gereja dan menggunakan jalur pemerintahan sebagai sarana asimilasi bagi Masyarakat Ifugao. Upaya Spanyol ini membuahkan hasil dengan banyaknya pengikut Katolik/Protestan yang dapat kita jumpai pada masa sekarang ini. Peninggalan bangunan-bangunan gereja juga masih menjadi simbol peninggalan Spanyol yang ada di Ifugao. Hingga saat ini, menurut data resmi Sensus yang dilakukan pada tahun 2000, jumlah penduduk Ifugao yang menganut ajaran Roman Katolik adalah sebesar 54,39%, 24,03% menganut aliran Evangelical, dan sebesar 21,58% merupakan penganut Protesten.

Namun demikian, Masyarakat Ifugao tidak serta merta meninggalkan tradisi dan kepercayaan tradisional yang telah dianut secara turun temurun. Sebagian besar Masyarakat Ifugao masih menaruh kepercayaan terhadap kekuatan besar yang disebut *Maknongan* atau Dewa Kesuburan yang dipercayai dapat memberikan kesuburan pada tanah pertanian Masyarakat Ifugao. Ritual yang mengiringi *maknongan* sering disebut sebagai *baki* dan hanya bisa dilakukan oleh para tetua adat yang masih ada hingga sekarang. *Baki* merupakan pertunjukan ritual tradisional yang dilakukan oleh *munbaki*. *Baki* sendiri bisa berarti doa-doa yang dilantunkan kepada dewa-dewa dan arwah para leluhur. *Munbaki* merupakan sebutan bagi orang yang melakukan ritual *baki* ini yang biasanya adalah laki-laki. *Munbaki* tidak diperkenankan menerima bayaran dari ritual yang dilakukannya, namun jika seseorang memberi kompensasi atau hadiah, maka *Munbaki* diperbolehkan menerima kompensasi tersebut. Ritual ini sering dilakukan pada acara-acara penting yang menyangkut kehidupan Masyarakat Ifugao mulai dari bercocok tanam (pada saat musim tanam dan panen), pernikahan, kelahiran, hingga kematian. Tujuan dari ritual ini adalah memanggil arwah para leluhur untuk memberikan berkat dan keamanan bagi Masyarakat Ifugao dengan mempersembahkan berbagai macam hasil bumi yang dimiliki seperti ayam, babi, kambing, maupun hasil pertanian.

Selain kepercayaan adat yang masih dipegang hingga sekarang, tradisi yang menggambarkan budaya Masyarakat Ifugao adalah tradisi oral. Para tetua adat memegang peranan yang sangat penting pada tradisi oral ini. Dalam konteks ini, para tetua adat berfungsi sebagai penjaga ritual, penghubung arwah, sekaligus yang menurunkan pengetahuan ini kepada anak cucu mereka. Peninggalan tradisi oral yang masih dipertahankan hingga sekarang disebut sebagai *hudhud*. Pada tahun 2001, UNESCO memproklamkan bahwa *hudhud* merupakan peninggalan bersejarah yang sangat penting bagi dunia dan memberikan penghargaan berjudul *the Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* atau Karya Agung Tradisi Oral yang Tak Ternilai bagi Warisan Umat Manusia. Peninggalan *hudhud* ini berupa karya senandung

epik naratif tentang pahlawan-pahlawan Ifugao yang diperdengarkan pada saat musim tanam dan musim panen.

Keluarga Ifugao tinggal di area pemukiman-pemukiman kecil yang biasanya terdiri dari satu sampai beberapa puluh rumah. Lingkungan pemukiman tempat tinggal Masyarakat Ifugao sering disebut sebagai *bublely* yang biasanya berdekatan dengan sumber daya pertanian dan terasering yang dimiliki oleh rumah tangga-rumah tangga Ifugao tersebut. Dalam pemukiman Ifugao, rumah tangga baik secara individu maupun kelompok mempunyai hubungan kekerabatan yang sangat erat. Hal ini selain terkait dengan sumber daya pertanian yang mereka miliki juga terkait erat dengan beberapa tradisi ritual yang harus mereka jalani, dimana dalam satu pemukiman harus ada tetua adat yang memimpin berbagai ritual yang masih dilakukan oleh Masyarakat Ifugao. Salah satu cara penataan pemukiman adalah dengan membaginya berdasarkan distrik atau wilayah. Pembagian yang bersifat distrik ini terkait erat dengan pembagian sumber daya air untuk mengalir sawah mereka. Beberapa wilayah distrik ini juga saling terkait satu dengan yang lain dalam upaya untuk mencapai keseimbangan distribusi pembagian air.

Dari aspek sosial, komunitas pemukiman Ifugao terbentuk berdasarkan sistem pertanian yang mereka miliki. Pembagian sumber daya aliran air yang berasal dari sungai dibagi secara proporsional dan partisipatoris dalam satu wilayah pemukiman. Contoh lainnya adalah dalam hal penyelenggaraan ritual-ritual. Beberapa pesta adat untuk penyelenggaraan ritual dilakukan secara bergiliran dalam satu pemukiman dimana tuan rumah berkewajiban untuk menyediakan prasarana pesta adat yang berupa arak beras dan keperluan pesta lainnya. Arak beras merupakan simbol kekerabatan selain yang direpresentasikan oleh tarian dalam festival-festival adat tersebut.

Menurut Lourdes Dulawan (1977) yang telah dituliskan oleh Manuel Dulawan (1984), secara tradisional Masyarakat Ifugao dibagi menjadi tiga kelompok kelas yaitu golongan kaya atau aristokrat (*kadangyans*), kelompok menengah (*tagu*), dan kelompok miskin (*nawotwot*). Kelompok *kadangyans* biasanya merupakan sponsor utama dalam pertunjukan ritual-ritual besar seperti *hagabi* dan *uyauy*. Keluarga yang menampilkan *hagabi* sering disebut sebagai *himmagabi*, yaitu kelompok tertinggi dari kelas *kadangyan*, status tertinggi pada Masyarakat Ifugao. Kelas berikutnya adalah *inmuy-ya-uy*, terdiri dari pasangan yang mensponsori pesta pernikahan atau sering disebut sebagai *uyauy*. Bagi mereka yang tidak menikah, festival yang diselenggarakan adalah *balihong*. Ritual *uyauy* dan *balihong* merupakan ritual yang dibutuhkan sebelum melakukan ritual *hagabi*.

Sementara itu, kelas *tagu* merupakan kelas menengah bagi Masyarakat Ifugao yang ditandai dengan kesejahteraan ekonomi yang tinggi dengan jumlah lahan sawah terasering yang cukup dan mempunyai persediaan

beras melimpah selama setahun. Mereka juga mempunyai surplus beras yang berasal dari hasil pertanian mereka namun tidak mempunyai cukup kekayaan untuk menyelenggarakan festival-festival seperti yang dilakukan oleh kelompok *kadangyans*. Kelompok terakhir adalah kelompok *nawotwot*, yang berarti miskin, dan sering disebut sebagai *makibokla* yang berarti kelas pekerja. Mereka hanya mempunyai lahan terasering terbatas dan sebagian diantaranya tidak mempunyai lahan sama sekali. Pada saat-saat tertentu kelompok ini sering dipekerjakan oleh kelompok *kadangyans* untuk mengelola pertaniannya dengan upah harian atau mingguan. Tidak seperti kelompok *kadangyans* atau *tagu*, makanan utama sepanjang tahun kelompok ini adalah *kamote* atau kentang manis.

Perubahan Iklim dan Masyarakat Ifugao

A. Perubahan Iklim dalam Konteks Asia-Pasifik

Jika mengacu pada beberapa literatur, ada beberapa publikasi akademik yang dapat digunakan sebagai acuan dalam penulisan artikel yang terkait dengan isu perubahan iklim. World Bank (2009) melakukan sebuah studi tentang “*Assessing Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity to Climate Risks: Methods for Investigation at Local and National Levels*”. Laporan World Bank ini menjelaskan beberapa rencana efektif yang dapat dilakukan untuk beradaptasi di tengah perubahan iklim terutama bagi negara-negara yang sedang berkembang. Hal ini karena negara-negara yang sedang berkembang dianggap pihak yang paling rentan terhadap dampak yang dapat diakibatkan oleh perubahan iklim tersebut. Laporan ini juga memberikan suatu model metodologi yang dapat digunakan bagi perencanaan dan penilaian terhadap program adaptasi perubahan iklim bagi negara-negara berkembang. Makalah ini menyajikan pendekatan multisektoral dan analisis *real time* (tepat waktu) sekaligus pembelajaran institusional dan pengembangan kapasitas bagi negara-negara seperti Bangladesh, Bolivia, Ethiopia, Ghana, dan Mozambique. Watkiss dkk pada tahun 2005 melaporkan dampak dari perubahan iklim dari emisi gas rumah kaca merupakan sesuatu yang sangat bervariasi dan berpotensi semakin membesar dengan kemungkinan dampak jangka panjang yang sangat serius terhadap lingkungan. Makalah ini menampilkan berbagai *review* dan analisis dari dampak biaya ekonomi yang ditimbulkan oleh perubahan iklim. Tujuan dari makalah ini adalah untuk menyediakan estimasi dari keuntungan kebijakan perubahan iklim yang diimplementasikan.

Beberapa kejadian bencana yang terjadi selama beberapa tahun terakhir menunjukkan bahwa bumi kita sebenarnya sangat rentan. Hal ini tentu menambah daftar panjang ancaman perubahan iklim yang dapat mengganggu seluruh aspek kehidupan manusia. Menurut laporan *the United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP), sepanjang tahun 1980 hingga 2000,

sekitar 75% dari populasi dunia terancam oleh berbagai bentuk bencana alam termasuk di dalamnya adalah gempa bumi, angin topan, banjir, dan kekeringan. Untuk itu pada tahun 2004, UNDP menerbitkan sebuah pedoman tentang *Reducing Disaster Risk, a Challenge for Development* atau Pengurangan Risiko Bencana, Sebuah Tantangan untuk Pembangunan. Namun demikian, dampak dari bencana alam baru dapat diidentifikasi pada beberapa dekade terakhir termasuk juga di dalamnya adalah menghitung kerugian total yang diakibatkan oleh sebuah bencana. Masih menurut UNDP, bencana alam membawa dampak yang luar biasa dan terkait erat terhadap pembangunan manusia terutama pada derajat kerentanan sebuah komunitas. Di satu sisi, bencana alam dapat memberikan dampak negatif terhadap pembangunan manusia khususnya pada derajat kerentanan komunitas terutama pada risiko dan bahaya yang mungkin ditimbulkannya. Di sisi lain, pembangunan manusia juga memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan terhadap proses pengurangan risiko bencana dan dampak perubahan iklim lainnya. Publikasi UNDP ini memberikan data-data numerik tentang seberapa besar kerugian yang ditimbulkan oleh bencana alam yang pernah terjadi di dunia sekaligus juga pembelajaran terhadap implementasi program-program pengurangan risiko bencana yang telah diterapkan.

Seperti kita pahami bahwa sebagian besar negara-negara yang terletak di wilayah Pasifik merupakan wilayah-wilayah yang sangat rentan terhadap bencana alam atau yang sering disebut sebagai *Pacific Ring of Fire* atau Cincin Api Pasifik. Hal ini berarti bahwa negara-negara yang berada di wilayah ini cenderung memiliki kerentanan terhadap gempa bumi dan erupsi gunung berapi. Terkait dengan cincin api ini, Cincin Api Pasifik merupakan cincin api terbesar yang mempengaruhi struktur bumi jika dibandingkan cincin api di wilayah lainnya. Diperkirakan sepanjang 40.000 km atau sekitar 25.000 mil cincin api melingkari wilayah Pasifik yang berupa tapal kuda. Beberapa negara di Asia dan Pasifik secara geografis berada tepat di wilayah tapal kuda ini sehingga dapat dipastikan negara-negara tersebut mempunyai kerentanan yang lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan negara-negara lainnya yang tidak berada di wilayah tapal kuda Cincin Api Pasifik. Menurut laporan dari *the World Disaster Report* yang dirilis pada tahun 2010 oleh *the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*, diperkirakan ada sekitar 2.903 bencana yang terjadi di Asia sepanjang kurun waktu 2000 hingga 2009. Berdasarkan fakta tersebut, beberapa negara di Asia yang terletak di tapal kuda Cincin Api Pasifik dan berada di wilayah *Typhoon Belt* atau Sabuk Topan, mempunyai kerentanan yang sangat tinggi. Celakanya banyak komunitas di wilayah tersebut yang mempunyai keterbatasan kemampuan untuk mengurangi risiko dan ancaman bencana yang mungkin terjadi. Di sisi lain, Afrika berada pada posisi kedua dengan jumlah bencana yang diperkirakan terjadi sekitar 1.782 dan diikuti oleh Amerika dengan 1.334

bencana dan Eropa dengan 996 bencana alam pada kurun waktu yang sama. Pada konteks Asia, posisi geografis Indonesia dan Filipina merupakan dua negara di wilayah Asia Tenggara yang berada di lintasan Cincin Api Pasifik. Sehingga, kedua negara ini merupakan negara yang paling rentan terhadap bencana alam jika dibandingkan negara-negara tetangga di lingkungan Asia Tenggara lainnya. Beberapa bencana alam yang paling sering terjadi di kedua negara ini adalah gempa bumi, erupsi gunung berapi, banjir, angin topan, dan beberapa bencana alam lainnya.

Merespon kondisi tersebut, salah satu titik tonggak dari langkah nyata yang telah dilakukan oleh negara-negara di dunia adalah dengan diselenggarakannya *the Incheon Declaration on Disaster Risk Reduction in Asia and the Pacific 2010* yang merupakan pertemuan setingkat Menteri, *the Fourth Asian Ministerial Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction*, dan diselenggarakan di Incheon, Korea Selatan pada 25 - 28 Oktober 2010. Pertemuan ini menghasilkan deklarasi penting yang antara lain adalah: meningkatkan kepedulian dan pengembangan kapasitas untuk pengurangan risiko bencana dan adaptasi perubahan iklim; saling berbagi informasi, teknologi, dan pembelajaran di bidang perubahan iklim dan manajemen risiko bencana; mempromosikan integrasi pengurangan risiko bencana dan adaptasi perubahan iklim pada pertumbuhan pembangunan; mendorong beberapa pihak untuk segera mengimplementasikan lima aksi penting dari *the Hyogo Framework for Action*; mempromosikan investasi pada program pengurangan risiko bencana dan adaptasi perubahan iklim; dan mempromosikan ketangguhan lingkungan urban (kota).

B. Perubahan Iklim di Filipina

Filipina merupakan negara kepulauan yang didominasi oleh lautan. Hal ini dapat kita lihat dari panjang pesisir sebesar 32.400 kilometer atau 70% dari total wilayah negara tersebut. Diperkirakan 50 juta penduduk negara ini mengandalkan hasil laut sebagai tulang punggung ekonominya. Jika kita lihat kontribusi sektor kelautan terhadap *Gross National Product (GNP)* atau Produk Nasional Bruto (PNB) diperkirakan sebesar 4% dari PNB, dimana untuk jenis ikan laut menyumbang 40-60% dari produk-produk laut (Pedro dkk, 2009). Sebagai negara kepulauan dengan mayoritas wilayah pesisir membuat Filipina termasuk sebagai negara yang rentan terhadap bencana alam terutama di saat-saat perubahan iklim yang ekstrim seperti sekarang ini. Karena kondisi geografisnya, Filipina sangat rentan oleh bencana badai dan banjir yang timbul sebagai akibat kerusakan lingkungan. Sekitar 11 dari 32 atau rata-rata 20 badai tropis selalu singgah setiap tahunnya di Filipina (CAB, 1995).

Menurut Pulhim dan Lasco (2009), catatan bencana Filipina menunjukkan bahwa pada periode tahun 1951 hingga 2006, suhu di Filipina juga meningkat yang menyebabkan peningkatan tinggi laut di beberapa wilayah seperti di Manila, Legazpi, Cebu, Davao, dan Jolo. Tinggi air laut rata-rata per tahun di Manila juga meningkat semenjak tahun 1960an. Sementara di wilayah lain, peningkatan tinggi gelombang laut ini sudah diamati semakin meningkat semenjak tahun 1970an. Di Manila, Legazpi, dan Davao, peningkatan mencapai 15 cm dari periode 1980 hingga 1989 meskipun jumlah peningkatan ini masih lebih rendah dari yang diperkirakan sebelumnya oleh *the International Panel on Climate Change* atau IPCC (Perez, 1998). Sementara itu, peningkatan tren pada jumlah badai yang menghantam Filipina dengan kekuatan > 185 kph *wind speed*, juga terjadi selama beberapa tahun terakhir. Pada periode 1990-1998 diperkirakan 7 badai besar melanda negara ini (NDCC, 2000 dan Typhoon2000.com).

Pulhim dan Lasco memperkirakan, di masa yang akan datang sebagian besar wilayah-wilayah di Filipina akan mengalami peningkatan suhu mulai dari 2 hingga 30 derajat Celsius. Wilayah seperti Ilocos (Region 1) dan Cagayan (Region II) diperkirakan akan mengalami peningkatan suhu dibawah 2 derajat Celsius, sementara wilayah seperti Mindanao Timur akan mengalami peningkatan suhu diatas 30 derajat Celsius. Jika dilihat dari curah hujan, diperkirakan sebagian besar wilayah di Filipina akan mengalami peningkatan curah hujan dari 50-100% sementara wilayah Mindanao Utara dan di wilayah Selatan akan mengalami penurunan curah hujan sekitar 50%. Prediksi ini merupakan hasil penelitian berkesinambungan yang telah dilakukan oleh *the Canadian Climate Center (CCC) Model* dengan menggunakan skenario ganda CO₂.

Sayangnya, Filipina memiliki sumber daya yang terbatas untuk mengatasi persoalan kerentanan pada isu-isu perubahan iklim ini. Dapat dipastikan bahwa Filipina tidak siap untuk menghadapi dampak yang disebabkan oleh perubahan iklim. Dilihat dari berbagai sektor, dapat dikatakan pihak yang paling rentan adalah mereka yang tinggal di wilayah daratan tinggi yang mayoritas berada di bawah garis kemiskinan. Sekitar 18-20 juta orang hidup di wilayah daratan tinggi yang menggantungkan hidup pada sumber daya alam untuk penghidupan mereka, termasuk di dalamnya adalah Suku Bangsa Ifugao.

C. Perubahan Iklim dan Masyarakat Ifugao

Pertanian yang dikelola oleh Masyarakat Ifugao mempunyai satu kalender musim sepanjang satu tahun (Wardani, 2009). Pertanian Ifugao juga masih sangat dipengaruhi oleh tradisi nenek moyang mereka, termasuk pada penggunaan kalender pertanian. Masyarakat Ifugao percaya bahwa untuk

mencapai hasil yang optimal, penerapan satu musim kalender selama satu tahun merupakan sistem terbaik yang harus mereka lestarikan hingga sekarang. Masyarakat Ifugao membagi empat tahap pada kalender pertanian mereka, yaitu:

- Mempersiapkan tanah: bulan Oktober hingga November
- Persiapan musim tanam: bulan Desember
- Musim tanam: Januari-Februari
- Musim panen: Juni-Juli

Sementara itu, pada periode Agustus hingga September, lahan pertanian akan dibiarkan sedemikian rupa untuk beristirahat dari segala jenis aktivitas. Hal ini dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk mempertahankan tingkat kesuburan tanah dengan memberikan waktu yang cukup kepada tanah untuk beristirahat. Seperti halnya bagi suku bangsa lainnya, tanah merupakan salah satu hal paling penting bagi Masyarakat Ifugao (Wardani, 2009).

Menurut Conklin (1980), yang melakukan beberapa studi mengenai ritual-ritual yang terkait dengan beras dan budaya beras di Ifugao, satu kalender musim dalam pertanian Ifugao tersebut dikenal dengan *hintawon*. Berbeda dengan temuan Wardani pada tahun 2009, menurut Conklin, Masyarakat Ifugao membagi dua fase pada kalender musim pertanian tersebut. Fase pertama dimulai pada bulan Agustus hingga Maret dimana Masyarakat Ifugao fokus pada aktivitas persiapan sebelum tanam. Proses ini akan menghasilkan lahan siap tanam yang disebut sebagai *payo*. Fase kedua menurut Conklin adalah masa produksi. Masa ini termasuk periode yang digunakan untuk memaksimalkan pertumbuhan padi sawah yang disebut sebagai *page*. Namun secara keseluruhan, Conklin juga membagi empat tahap dalam satu tahun kalender pertanian Ifugao. Tahap pertama adalah periode formasi sawah terasering yang disebut sebagai *iwang*. Ini adalah musim terpanjang dalam satu tahun yang mengawali sistem pertanian Masyarakat Ifugao setelah dilakukannya ritual jeda pada akhir Juni hingga awal Agustus dan pada akhir November hingga awal Desember. Dalam kurun waktu 4-5 bulan ini, kegiatan yang dilakukan hanyalah persiapan sawah untuk ditanami. Kedua adalah disebut sebagai musim tanam atau dalam bahasa lokal disebut sebagai *lawiang*. Kegiatan ini merupakan lanjutan dari kegiatan yang telah dilakukan pada akhir November hingga awal Desember. Masa tanam ini diisi dengan berbagai kegiatan seperti memperbaiki terasering yang rusak, menebar benih padi, dan kegiatan tanam lainnya. Tahap ketiga adalah masa kering atau dalam bahasa lokal disebut sebagai *tiyalgo* yang membutuhkan waktu paling tidak tiga bulan dari akhir Maret atau awal April hingga akhir Juni. Pada masa ini, petani dapat menunggu padi siap dipanen dengan melakukan aktivitas lainnya di luar sektor pertanian seperti berdagang,

mengunjungi saudara/keluarga jauh yang tinggal di desa lain, ataupun menerima pekerjaan paruh waktu atau pekerjaan musiman diluar sektor pertanian. Tahap keempat atau terakhir adalah musim panen atau dikenal sebagai *ahitulo*. Tahap ini merupakan masa terpendek dari keseluruhan proses pertanian Ifugao yang berlangsung selama satu bulan mulai dari akhir Juni hingga awal Juli. Saat-saat panen merupakan saat dimana para petani dan keluarganya berada di rumah masing-masing untuk bekerja bahu membahu memanen padi. Para istri berada di rumah untuk memasak arak beras yang akan dilanjutkan dengan pesta adat. Pesta adat adalah saat yang digunakan untuk minum-minum bersama kerabat yang lain dan menyelenggarakan pernikahan. Masa panen berakhir ketika setelah memanen padi para petani akan menjemur padi dan kemudian menyimpannya di lumbung-lumbung penyimpanan yang ada di rumah masing-masing. Ritual ini berlangsung selama empat hari dan oleh pemerintah daerah Ifugao ditetapkan sebagai hari libur resmi musim panen.

Kalender musim yang diyakini dan dilakukan oleh Masyarakat Ifugao secara turun temurun dari tahun ke tahun sangat terkait erat dengan keadaan cuaca yang ada di wilayah tersebut. Pada umumnya, Ifugao mempunyai iklim yang sedang dimana pada bulan Januari hingga April cenderung kering dan pada bulan Mei hingga Desember cenderung dingin dan basah. Cuaca dingin mendominasi beberapa wilayah Ifugao selama setahun diantaranya adalah wilayah Banaue, Mayoyao, Aguinaldo, Hingyon, Tinoc, Hungduan, dan Kiangon.

Terkait erat dengan budaya praktek pertanian basah yang dikelola oleh Masyarakat Ifugao dengan menggunakan pendekatan tradisional adalah sistem pengelolaan hutan yang dikenal dengan sebutan *pinugo* atau *muyong*. Sistem ini terdiri dari sebidang ruang yang ditanami kayu dan ditandai sebagai kepemilikan suatu keluarga yang biasanya direpresentasikan oleh laki-laki dalam rumah tangga, bisa suami atau anak laki-laki. *Pinugo* ini dikelola secara hati-hati dan benar-benar diproteksi secara sungguh-sungguh oleh perwakilan keluarga yang memiliki sebagai bentuk perlindungan terhadap cadangan air bagi sawah mereka. Selain sebagai cadangan air, *pinugo* juga bisa dipanen untuk menghasilkan kayu bakar maupun untuk membuat rumah. Rata-rata kepemilikan *pinugo* adalah antara beberapa ratus meter persegi hingga lima hektar luas hutan. Ukuran luas hutan yang dimiliki oleh Masyarakat Ifugao juga merepresentasikan tingkat kesejahteraan mereka, semakin luas hutan *pinugo* yang mereka miliki, semakin sejahtera keluarga tersebut. Jenis-jenis kayu yang bisa dikelola oleh Masyarakat Ifugao adalah jenis kayu *galiagiwon*, *hawili*, *bakkuwong*, dan *polayon* yang sering digunakan untuk membuat rumah dan berbagai kerajinan kayu. Diantara kayu-kayu tersebut, *polayon* merupakan jenis kayu yang membutuhkan masa tanam yang singkat dan hasil kayunya biasa digunakan untuk membuat atap rumah dan digunakan

untuk kayu bakar. Selain menanam kayu, pemilik *pinugo* juga menanam sirih, kopi, pisang, dan berbagai jenis buah hutan di lahan mereka.

Menurut beberapa publikasi akademik, sektor pertanian merupakan salah satu sektor yang paling rentan terhadap dampak perubahan iklim. Pada konteks Filipina, dengan situasi iklim yang ekstrim saat ini, jutaan peso telah hilang sebagai akibat dari rusaknya tanaman pertanian akibat curah hujan yang sangat tinggi dan angin topan yang terjadi setiap tahunnya. Sebagai contohnya, kerusakan sektor pertanian dari gagal panen mencapai 3,3 milyar peso atau setara dengan 740 dollar Amerika Serikat selama topan Dante menyerang Filipina pada tahun 2008 silam (Pulhin dan Lasco, 2009). Selain bahaya hujan badai, ancaman kekeringan sebagai akibat fenomena El Nino juga menyebabkan berbagai kerugian di sektor pertanian Filipina. Mayoritas produk-produk pertanian Filipina sangat tergantung pada pasokan air sehingga berkurangnya atau terbatasnya persediaan air sebagai dampak dari El Nino menyebabkan produktivitas pertanian Filipina menurun. Beberapa contoh konkret yang bisa dilacak antara lain dengan menurunnya produktivitas *palay* (gabah), jagung, kelapa, dan tebu selama dua episode El Nino terburuk pada periode 1982-1983 dan 1997-1998, yang menyebabkan kerugian pada penurunan Produk Domestik Bruto (PDB) negara Filipina. Pada periode 1990 hingga 2003, bencana kekeringan yang disebabkan oleh El Nino menyebabkan kerugian sebesar 370 dollar Amerika Serikat.

Berbagai kerugian sebagai akibat dari perubahan iklim pada sektor pertanian Filipina juga membawa bencana tersendiri kepada para petani Filipina. Salah satu studi yang pernah dilakukan terkait dengan dampak perubahan iklim terhadap petani di Filipina, dilakukan di Lantapan, Bukidnon (Filipina) pada tahun 2007-2008. Pendekatan yang dilakukan adalah dengan metode *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) yang dikombinasikan dengan wawancara mendalam terhadap 150 petani di Bukidnon. Terdapat 4 kejadian alam yang telah diidentifikasi oleh para petani yang memberi dampak terhadap tanaman pertanian mereka, pendapatan, lapisan tanah, dan air. Keempat kejadian tersebut termasuk maju dan mundurnya musim penghujan, hujan yang berkepanjangan, El Nina, dan El Nino. Dampak dari berbagai perubahan iklim juga beragam, mulai dampak positif yang memberi keuntungan terhadap tanaman tertentu sebagai akibat curah hujan yang berlebih, berkurangnya ketergantungan terhadap air irigasi; dan dampak negatif seperti meningkatnya jumlah hama dan penyakit terhadap tanaman mereka, menurunnya hasil panen, dan menurunnya kualitas hasil panen (Pulhin dan Lasco, 2009).

Sebagai wilayah terasering yang telah ditetapkan oleh UNESCO sebagai *a world heritage* atau salah satu warisan dunia, Masyarakat Ifugao mengandalkan sektor ekonomi mereka dari bidang pertanian, industri kerajinan mikro, dan wisatawan. Salah satu hal yang menarik dari sektor pariwisata adalah

kebanyakan turis yang datang merupakan turis-turis asing yang berasal dari Eropa yang ingin menikmati dan menelusuri jajaran pegunungan terasering di sepanjang wilayah Ifugao. Turis Eropa juga mengharapkan dapat menikmati kehidupan tradisional yang masih dimiliki oleh Masyarakat Ifugao. Namun sayangnya, seiring dengan laju pembangunan yang juga ikut memberikan kontribusi pada kehidupan Masyarakat Ifugao, beberapa tradisi tersebut juga ikut ditinggalkan. Hal ini berdampak pada turut menurunnya juga jumlah wisatawan asing yang datang ke Ifugao. Bagaimanapun juga, romantisme antropologi kehidupan tradisional sebuah suku bangsa masih merupakan daya tarik menarik bagi para wisatawan Eropa. Salah satu contoh yang paling nyata adalah, wisatawan Eropa yang datang ke Ifugao ingin menikmati rumah-rumah tradisional Ifugao yang kini sudah mulai jarang ditemui karena mayoritas bangunan rumah sekarang sudah terbuat dari rumah-rumah tembok.

Infrastruktur juga merupakan salah satu faktor penting bagi kehidupan Masyarakat Ifugao. Wilayah tempat tinggal mereka yang berada di wilayah terpencil dan tidak didukung oleh infrastruktur yang layak, membuat lokasi keberadaan Masyarakat Ifugao jauh dari jangkauan akses pembangunan. Aktivitas ekonomi juga sering terhambat akibat sering terjadinya longsor dan badai. Beberapa ahli sering mengkhawatirkan kondisi terasering yang mulai rusak akibat longsor, gempa bumi, hujan, dan hama penyakit. Jika tidak diperhatikan, salah satu warisan budaya di dunia ini akan lenyap akibat beberapa bencana tersebut. Salah satu bencana hebat yang membawa akibat cukup parah adalah gempa bumi yang terjadi pada tahun 1990. Dampak dari gempa bumi ini sangat hebat sehingga dapat meruntuhkan beberapa jajaran terasering yang telah dibangun selama ribuan tahun. Sayangnya, pihak pemerintah belum melakukan sesuatu yang berarti bagi perbaikan atau pembangunan kembali terasering yang rusak parah. Para petani pemilik lahan dengan segala keterbatasannya mencoba untuk merestorasi secara mandiri beberapa kerusakan yang terjadi tersebut.

Dalam konteks perubahan iklim, ancaman yang ada bagi Masyarakat Ifugao berasal dari ancaman alam dan ancaman manusia. Ancaman alam seperti yang telah disebutkan sebelumnya yaitu banjir, longsor, kebakaran hutan, kekeringan, dan berkurangnya kesuburan tanah di Ifugao karena berbagai sebab. Keberlangsungan sawah terasering Ifugao sangat tergantung oleh praktek *muyong* yang telah dijalankan secara tradisional dan dilakukan dari generasi ke generasi. Dapat dikatakan bahwa selama *muyong* Masyarakat Ifugao dalam keadaan baik, maka kondisi terasering juga akan baik-baik saja. *Muyong* merupakan pelindung terasering yang dikelola secara kolektif oleh Masyarakat Ifugao. Namun demikian, ancaman perubahan iklim yang ditandai dengan perubahan musim juga berpengaruh terhadap keberlangsungan *muyong* dan terasering. Beberapa perubahan cuaca ekstrim

yang terjadi antara lain adalah lebih panjangnya musim kemarau dan curah hujan berlebih yang terjadi di Ifugao. Perubahan ekstrim ini mau tidak mau juga mempengaruhi kalender pertanian Masyarakat Ifugao. Petani harus menyesuaikan diri dengan merubah kalender pertanian sesuai dengan musim, menanam tanaman lain selain padi (*multi cropping*), dan mengelola sumber penghidupan lain diluar sektor pertanian untuk bertahan hidup. Menurut hasil penelitian Saway dkk dengan judul *Climate Change Adaptation Mechanisms of the Indigenous People's Communities in Ifugao-the Philippines*, disebutkan bahwa beberapa temuan terkait dengan dampak perubahan iklim terhadap Masyarakat Ifugao antara lain:

- Berkurangnya cadangan makanan di tingkat rumah tangga, perubahan harga yang tidak menentu pada produk-produk pertanian, dan pertumbuhan yang stagnan pada tanaman pertanian dan ternak yang mereka kelola.
- Persediaan air yang berkurang, menyebabkan rendahnya tingkat produktivitas hasil pertanian padi.
- Perubahan iklim drastis yang terjadi di Ifugao merupakan penyebab utama kebakaran hutan, erosi, dan banjir yang akhir-akhir ini sering terjadi di wilayah Ifugao.

Selain ancaman perubahan iklim yang menyebabkan sektor pertanian Masyarakat Ifugao menurun dari waktu ke waktu, salah satu ancaman penting lainnya adalah yang berasal dari manusia. Seiring dengan menurunnya pendapatan rumah tangga, tidak sedikit Masyarakat Ifugao yang mengelola *muyong* mereka dengan mengabaikan ajaran leluhur yang salah satunya adalah memanen kayu sesuai usia pohon. Pada masa kini, banyak kayu yang belum cukup umur namun sudah dipanen oleh Masyarakat Ifugao untuk memenuhi kebutuhan hidup yang semakin meningkat. Kayu, seperti halnya yang terjadi di tempat lain, merupakan tabungan yang sangat mudah diuangkan dengan segera. Akibatnya, hutan semakin cepat habis akibat dibabat dan sebagai akibat kebakaran hutan. Kondisi ini semakin memperparah hutan di Ifugao yang berfungsi sebagai cadangan air bagi sawah terasering yang bergantung pada keberlangsungan hutan Ifugao.

Pada tahun 2012, Milinium Development Goals Secretariat (MDG-F Secretariat) yang berpusat di New York membuat laporan yang berjudul "Strengthening the Philippines' Institutional Capacity to Adapt to Climate Change (MDG-F 1656)". Pada laporan ini disebutkan bahwa Ifugao sebagai salah satu fokus wilayah penelitian telah berpartisipasi pada survey tentang adaptasi perubahan iklim. Hasil dari 97 studi kasus di Ifugao menunjukkan bahwa beberapa strategi yang dapat dilakukan dalam mengurangi dampak perubahan iklim bagi Masyarakat Ifugao antara lain adalah dengan mendorong

model agroforestri, peremajaan hutan, peningkatan budidaya ternak, dan pengelolaan sumber air yang lebih berkelanjutan. Beberapa langkah tersebut sangat perlu dilakukan mengingat hampir seluruh aktivitas pertanian di Ifugao menggunakan model pertanian organik tanpa penggunaan bahan-bahan kimia dan pestisida. Namun demikian studi ini juga mengungkapkan bahwa untuk mengimplementasikan beberapa langkah strategis tersebut tidaklah mudah mengingat topografi wilayah Ifugao yang bergunung-gunung, lahan yang terbatas, dan sangat rentan terhadap berbagai fenomena perubahan cuaca. Meskipun demikian, para peneliti mengakui bahwa langkah-langkah strategis yang direkomendasikan sebenarnya merupakan pengetahuan lokal masyarakat yang sudah dipahami dan dilaksanakan secara turun temurun.

Pada prakteknya, pengetahuan lokal masyarakat telah terbukti mampu menjawab berbagai persoalan perubahan iklim sebagai strategi dan solusi. Beberapa strategi yang telah diimplementasikan pada masyarakat antara lain:

- Menggunakan varietas padi dan tanaman lokal lainnya yang dapat disesuaikan dan tahan terhadap perubahan iklim, baik pada cuaca kering berkelanjutan dan hujan badai ekstrim yang sering terjadi di Filipina.
- Tetap mempertahankan penggunaan komponen organik, baik untuk pupuk, pelindung tanaman, ataupun menambah tanaman agroforestri dalam hutan mereka yang berfungsi sebagai cadangan air.
- Adanya kesepakatan kolektif masyarakat untuk tetap mempertahankan tradisi yang telah diajarkan oleh nenek moyang mereka dari generasi ke generasi, mulai dari proses tanam, pemeliharaan, panen, hingga tata cara penghormatan terhadap tanah pertanian.
- Pengetahuan lokal dalam mengelola air untuk mencegah banjir, erosi, maupun longsor dengan cara tetap mempertahankan *muyong* yang mereka miliki.
- Menggunakan pengetahuan tradisional Masyarakat Ifugao untuk membaca tanda-tanda perubahan musim selain juga mengandalkan metode modern untuk memperkirakan cuaca.

Agroforestri menjadi salah satu pintu masuk yang ideal bagi Masyarakat Ifugao karena kemampuan pendekatan ini yang mempunyai peran ganda dalam menjawab persoalan perubahan iklim. Agroforestri dapat berperan sebagai alat mitigasi pada perubahan iklim dan juga sekaligus kemampuannya untuk memberikan keuntungan ekonomi dan ekologis bagi masyarakat. Dalam konteks Filipina, sistem agroforestri baru diperkenalkan pada tahun

1983 ketika dua orang peneliti yaitu Lundgren dan Raintree seperti yang dikutip oleh Lasco (1992) memunculkan ide tersebut. Menurut Lundgren dan Raintree, agroforestri merupakan sebuah upaya kolektif yang dilakukan pada sistem penggunaan tanah hutan dengan menanam tanaman kayu yang biasa ditanam di hutan bersamaan dengan tanaman pertanian pada waktu tertentu. Menurut Lasco (1992), salah satu tehnik agroforestri yang diterapkan secara tradisional terbukti merupakan salah satu kisah sukses penerapan agroforestri di Filipina.

Dengan tetap membiarkan kayu-kayu hutan tumbuh dan dipanen sesuai usia kayu, akan memberikan manfaat pada lingkungan dengan kemampuan menyerap karbon yang bisa dilakukan oleh pohon-pohon di dalam hutan tersebut. Selain fungsi mitigasi, agroforestri juga membantu petani untuk beradaptasi terhadap perubahan iklim yang terjadi pada saat sekarang ini. Agroforestri akan menjamin para petani tetap mendapatkan pendapatan meskipun pertanian mereka terpengaruh oleh perubahan iklim yang ekstrim. Dengan menanam tanaman yang diantara tanaman kayu lainnya, membuat petani mampu tetap mendapatkan penghasilan dari tanaman tumpangsari yang mereka kelola tanpa takut dengan perubahan masa panen. Beberapa tanaman yang direkomendasikan antara lain adalah tanaman buah-buahan atau sayur-sayuranya berumur pendek dan mempunyai adaptasi tinggi terhadap cuaca. Beberapa hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa tanaman buah-buahan terbukti memiliki daya tahan tinggi dibanding tanaman pertanian lainnya. Beberapa jenis pohon lokal juga mempunyai kemampuan untuk menyimpan cadangan air lebih tinggi dibanding pohon-pohon yang lain. Selain itu, daun-daun yang berjatuhan dari pohon dapat berfungsi sebagai pupuk organik yang dapat menyuburkan tanah. Pohon tertentu juga dapat mendinginkan suhu yang sangat dibutuhkan oleh tanaman coklat dan kopi yang banyak ditanam oleh Masyarakat Ifugao.

Tampaknya gerakan untuk kembali mempercayai ajaran para leluhur disertai dengan pengembangan sistem agroforestri merupakan salah satu jalan keluar yang patut dipertimbangkan. Terlebih mengingat situasi iklim yang ada di Ifugao saat ini. Beberapa dekade terakhir, petani Ifugao mengalami persoalan serius perubahan iklim. Yang paling jelas adalah cuaca panas dan dingin ekstrim yang lebih panjang dari biasanya, musim penghujan yang tidak dapat diprediksi, dan badai topan yang lebih sering datang. Terkadang di tengah cuaca panas terik, tiba-tiba turun hujan badai yang tidak dapat diperkirakan sebelumnya. Begitu pula sebaliknya, musim menjadi sesuatu yang membingungkan bagi Masyarakat Ifugao. Sebelum teknologi prakiraan cuaca tersedia bagi Masyarakat Ifugao, para petani biasanya menggantungkan prediksi mereka pada lingkungan dan perilaku tanaman/binatang sebagai indikator perubahan cuaca. Namun pada saat ini, perkembangan teknologi yang tersedia mengubah beberapa pengetahuan

lokal masyarakat tersebut. Meskipun reabilitas dari indikator tradisional belumlah dapat dibuktikan namun dalam banyak kasus cukup membantu para petani untuk mempersiapkan dan beradaptasi terhadap perubahan iklim. Kembali ke pengetahuan lokal yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat secara turun temurun tampaknya bukanlah sesuatu yang patut dipertanyakan pada masa perubahan iklim ini. Justru sebaliknya, pengetahuan lokal jika digunakan secara tepat bersamaan dengan perkembangan teknologi akan memberikan hasil yang lebih akurat.

Menarik Pelajaran dari Masyarakat Ifugao untuk Asia Pasifik

Salah satu usaha yang perlu mendapat perhatian dalam hal adaptasi perubahan iklim bagi Masyarakat Ifugao adalah dengan lebih memperhatikan adanya implementasi program yang sinergis antarsektor atau sering disebut sebagai *adaptation measures*. Strategi yang bisa dilakukan adalah dengan menggabungkan mitigasi dan adaptasi perubahan iklim dengan menerapkan sistem agroforestri bagi petani Ifugao. Agroforestri dapat berperan sebagai penampung sampah karbon dan di saat yang bersamaan membantu komunitas untuk beradaptasi terhadap perubahan iklim. Untuk perannya sebagai sistem mitigasi, agroforestri berperan pada potensi penjualan karbon sementara pada sistem adaptasi, adanya peningkatan resiliensi terhadap pertanian di wilayah daratan tinggi sekaligus meningkatkan produktivitas pertanian. Bisa dikatakan sistem agroforestri menyiapkan *win-win solution* bagi petani dan pihak lain di tengah perubahan iklim yang tidak dapat dihindarkan di Filipina terutama bagi Suku Bangsa Ifugao. Selain itu, sistem agroforestri juga akan menjaga stabilitas ekologi dan produktivitas ekosistem.

Pengalaman dari Suku Bangsa Ifugao menunjukkan bahwa dengan memahami lebih baik pengetahuan-pengetahuan lokal yang dimiliki secara turun temurun dan disandingkan dengan ilmu pengetahuan merupakan landasan yang tepat untuk membuat keputusan-keputusan penting baik yang bersifat formal maupun informal. Sejarah menunjukkan bahwa selama ribuan tahun petani Ifugao dapat beradaptasi dengan lingkungan mereka dan tetap tahan terhadap berbagai perubahan ekstrim dengan tetap mempertahankan tradisi mereka. Banyak negara dunia, khususnya di Asia Pasifik, yang mengalami persoalan sama terhadap sistem pertanian mereka. Dimana kebanyakan sistem pertanian di dunia ini sangat tergantung dan sangat rentan terhadap dampak dari perubahan iklim. Untuk itu, pengalaman dari Masyarakat Ifugao dalam mengelola sistem pertaniannya dengan menggunakan kearifan lokal tampaknya merupakan sebuah pelajaran berharga yang dapat menjadi contoh bagi sistem pertanian lainnya di wilayah Asia Pasifik. ●

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Defining US Southeast Asia Strategy: A Strategic Analysis of US Foreign Policy under Obama Administration

Frassminggi Kamasa

Abstrak

Studi ini mengkaji strategi Amerika Serikat (AS) di Asia Tenggara (Asteng). Penulis secara khusus dan empiris mengambil fokus kepentingan-kepentingan vital AS apa yang sesungguhnya terancam di kawasan Asteng, bagaimana berbagai strategi AS dan sumber daya yang dimilikinya melindungi dan memajukan kepentingan tersebut. Berbeda dengan studi lainnya, penulis mempertimbangkan apakah kebijakan poros strategis AS di Asia semata berfungsi untuk menjaga kohesivitas keamanan antarkawasan yang berada di bawah payung AS sejak Perang Dunia II. Kebijakan demikian dapat membelah persatuan ASEAN, menimbulkan ketegangan dengan Tiongkok, dan juga pada akhirnya dapat melemahkan keamanan antarkawasan. Sebagai tambahan, penulis mempertimbangkan apakah fokus baru AS di Asteng benar-benar format baru atau sekedar perubahan fokus strategi dengan substansi yang sama. Dengan menggunakan analisa studi kasus tunggal dari politik luar negeri AS di bawah Pemerintahan Presiden Obama di Asteng dari tahun 2009-2012, penulis menemukan bukti bahwa asosiasi antara fokus baru AS di Asteng dengan kepentingan nasional AS di bidang ipoleksosbudhankam yang bersifat memaksa sebagai bagian politik luar negerinya yang digunakan untuk memperbaiki keadaan dalam negerinya. Selain itu, penulis menunjukkan bahwa politik luar negeri AS di Asteng tetap dilanjutkan fokusnya pada perang melawan terorisme, menahan kebangkitan Tiongkok, dan memastikan bahwa kawasan Asteng tidak didominasi oleh entitas kekuatan yang berpotensi memusuhi AS.

Kata kunci: Amerika Serikat, kebijakan luar negeri, Asia Tenggara, strategis.

Introduction

Southeast Asia (SEA) countries share strategic locations and access to plentiful natural resources. Furthermore, their diversity and increasing integration lie at the heart of the region's rapid and resilient economic growth. Politically, in the post 1997-1998, the region provides stability in a part of the world that is rapidly reshaping the global balance of power.

Meanwhile, The United States (US) has been the guarantor of the SEA security through a 'hub-and-spoke' security system and the forward basing of

US forces in the region since 1945. SEA continues to retain its geopolitical and economics importance to US national interests and global strategy. However, in every US administration there is an option between change and continuity on the focus of strategy in SEA. This study analyzes which variables are likely to have an effect on the US and SEA strategy.

This study examines US foreign policy in the region from 2009-2012. This study will discuss the question about what vital US interests really are at stake in the region, what is US strategy is, and what resources are used to protect and advance those interests. I will divide this study into three sections. The first section analyzes how the US security strategy contributes to its new focus in the SEA. The second section examines how economic strategy contributes to its strategic interests. The third section investigates how the US directed liberal internationalism values to shape the region.

Theoretical Framework

The discourses on order in the SEA and the role of the US are extensive and voluminous. One of the debates focused on what is the explanation of the US hegemonic project in the region post-Cold War security order and the potential durability of any US-centered order (Ikenberry & Matsunduno, 2003). In this study I will focus on how US SEA strategy fits into this discourse. I will conduct a single-case study of US strategic pivot towards SEA under the Obama Administration from 2009-2012 which has the potential to play a role in the attenuation of regional security. In *Regions and Power: the Structure of International Security*, Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver (2003, p. 10-11) pointed out that "the regional level stands more clearly on its own as the locus of conflict and cooperation for states. Regional security dynamics will normally be a significant part of the overall constellation of security in the international system."

Kerry and Manning (2001), Misalucha, (2011) and Park (2011) pointed out that SEA remains important to US national security and continues to retain its geopolitical and economic importance to US national interests and global strategy. Yet, the US policy toward the region has been ad hoc, incoherent, reactive, and vague. Thus, in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: Regional Dynamics and National Differences*, Marc Beeson (2004) points out "the general point to emphasize about American power in the context of Southeast Asia is that it has resources available to it at the strategic, economic, and institutional levels that allow it to pursue its interests in ways that other countries cannot." Now with the 'Asia Pivot', as Ming-Te & Tai-Ling Liu (2011), Tow & Kurlantzick (2012) found that the most high profile and concrete elements of the Obama administration toward the region have come in the military realm, economic and trade relations, and sustain liberal internationalism value-making in

the region. In each of these analyses, it is clearly that there is significant evidence that the US is adopting a balancing strategy between intensifying its engagement and strategic commitment within the region. It also suggests SEA's rising importance in international order.

My research question is: "what vital interests really are at stake in SEA region today?" The study's hypotheses may include the following: (1) the economic, political, security ties between the US and ASEAN are fundamental to US economic growth and security will lead to the new focus of US SEA strategy, (2) China's emergence as a major regional power is transforming the economic, political, and security environment in SEA will lead to the new focus of US SEA strategy.

My first hypothesis pointed out by Ernest Bower and Murray Hiebert that the SEA region is an arena of considerable economic, geostrategic, and geopolitical interests that will lead to the new focus of US SEA strategy (2011: 1-3). My second hypothesis outlined by Evelyn Goh and Sheldon Simon (2008) is that the economic and political rise of China influences the nations of SEA and potentially challenges the US-centered hegemonic order in SEA will lead to the new focus of US SEA strategy.

The study's dependent variable is the US strategic policy in the region. The strategic policy covers elements of economic, politics, and security policy which relate to the role of armed forces in international affairs. It also can be seen as an approach by the government to protect and to promote national interests in the international environment (Australian Department of Defence, 1997). The strategic policy plays a decisive part in the military strategy against the adversary. It also can be seen as the broad scope of foreign policy. US foreign policy formulations are impacted heavily by political interest groups and the lobby, *corporatocracy*, institutional views of the US State Department and Pentagon Foreign Policy according to the Encyclopedia Britannica (2012) is "general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behavior of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs.

This study explores three independent variables: (1) security; (2) economy; and (3) values. Security was measured by the application of realist school theories of balancing, bandwagoning, and hedging to be applied in the US and SEA security strategy. Balancing implies the forging of countervailing strength against status quo as a hegemonic power and challenger of threatening status quo. As has been shown (Arlidge, 2011 & Goh, 2005) balancing occurs when a group of weaker states decide to oppose influence and threat posed by a stronger state or grouping of states that is unacceptable to them. The objective is to make sure that no one power is predominant in the region. Bandwagoning, by contrast, occurs when a state choose to align

itself strategically with the threatening power in order to limit the hegemonic or threatening power. As Arlidge (2011) and Goh (2005) demonstrated, in bandwagoning with the dominant state, weaker state joining together to counter larger power that threatens them.

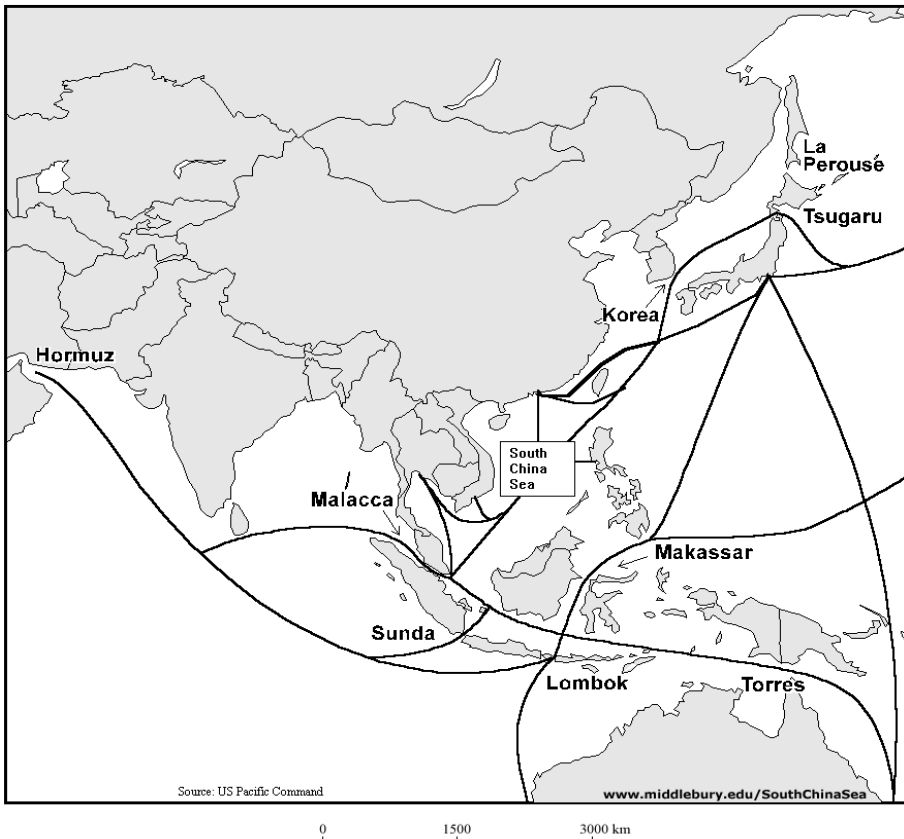
Hedging refers to taking action to ensure against undesirable outcomes, usually by cultivating a middle position that forestalls or avoids having to choose one side at the obvious expense of others. States applied hedging strategy not to antagonize major powers unless and until they directly threaten to national interests and national sovereignty. These are basically approaches to security centered on state survival in an anarchical world. Economic stakes are influenced by the growing importance of this region to the US. Security and economic stakes are influenced and shaped each other by setting 'rules of the game' in the region. This is how value stakes strategically avail and circulate US strategy in a smart power by carefully crafting security, economic, and values that is held to deserve in the region.

Security Stakes

The eleven countries in the SEA are complex. The countries comprising ASEAN have varied political systems, socio-cultural systems, and rates of economic development. However when it comes to the US security stakes in the region it is relatively simple and straightforward. The security connection between US and SEA nations for almost six decades is characterized as a hub-and-spoke system. In this system, the US had perceived as the central of the security guarantor and the rest of SEA come under its proxy. However it is not simple to elaborate whether US security stakes in the region, because who counts as a security issue, who are we trying to secure, who or what are we trying to secure against, and how security to be achieved.

The first stake is to control the transportation channel at Malacca in order to break Chinese "string of pearl" strategy. This strategy is applied in the name of freedom of navigation in the geo-strategic of Malacca strait as sea-lanes for international shipment of East Asia's (EA) hydrocarbon from Middle East. It is likely that this objective is accompanied by freedom of movement on US forces from the Western Pacific to Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.

Map 1. String of Pearl’ and Strategic chokepoints: straits of Malacca, Sunda, Lombok, Makassar, and sea-lanes passing the South China Sea (Spartly Islands).



Source: http://community.middlebury.edu/~scs/maps_images.html

The recent trends of US security commitments in the region can be measured from those objectives and geostrategic location of the region. The regions geographic location encompasses sea-lanes connecting the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Oceans, linking north-south routes between Australia and New Zealand to the countries of EA, and its strategic relevance for international security and commerce. From the above map, we can see clearly that the hydrocarbon pathway is needed by the energy hunger of EA and the US naval movement. Annually over 60,000 maritime traders transport about 40 per cent of the world’s trade goods and 80 per cent of EA’s oil through Malacca strait (Sotrey, 2008: 102-103). From the Strait of Hormuz the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) must pass the Malacca strait or if there is any crisis must navigate to Sunda, Lombok, or Makassar straits. It is

reasonable to say that maintaining freedom of navigation of these strategic waterways is everybody's concern and objective. However, from the US military perspective, these sea-lanes are critically important.

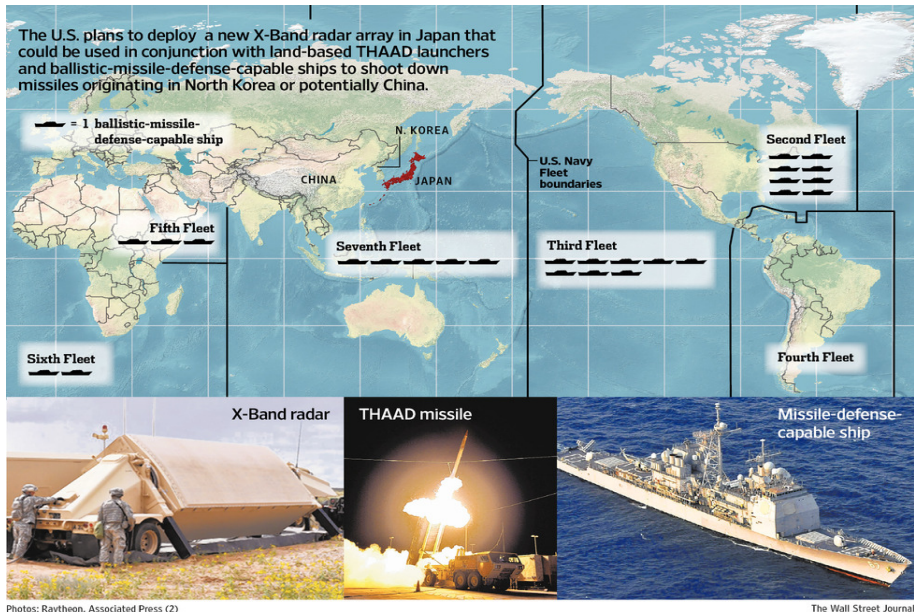
According to Kuppuswamy (2004), Malacca strait is "situated between the coastline of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore to the East and the Indonesian island of Sumatra to the West, extends 900 km from its widest point (about 350 km between Northern Sumatra and Thailand) to its narrowest (less than 3 km wide between southern Sumatra and Singapore). At its shallowest, it has reported that the depth is just 25 meters. Any attempt conducted by a hostile power to control or interdict these sea-lanes can raise the stakes the battle of power in the name of freedom of navigation and protecting each national interest. The security implications will be too heavy if hostile power and disruption take place on it. Because of these security implications, the US is eager to internationalize the Malacca strait. This is done by bilateral approaches towards the littoral states of Malacca – among which are Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore – to prevent conventional and non-conventional threats.

The second stake is to advance military reinforcements and deployments in the region. To achieve a stable region in SEA, US thinks that it is better to have military capabilities, its presence, and its proxy. It is because if there is any potential threat of China as a rising regional power or disruption from SEA countries, it will threaten US economy and security in a variety of ways.

The US's pivotal role in the region highlights the importance of military ties with its traditional allies in the region, namely the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore, and announced it as strategy of rebalancing. This strategy of rebalancing is basically a shift of US military focus in the world from the realm of frustration in Afghanistan and Iraq to prospective SEA. That is why the US needs to secure SEA sea-lanes. The US is seeking to increase its military presence by shifting 60 per cent of its navy ship to the Asia-Pacific (Porth, 2007). The necessity to rebalance toward SEA will emphasize in existing traditional alliances, searching non-traditional alliances, secure strategic partnership, selling arms sales, and reinforcement of US military deployment in the region.

The shift of American military could place SEA countries in a dilemma because SEA is eager to have Chinese money under the US security umbrella. The US tries to attract its non-traditional alliances in the region in order to help them feel secure with his growing military posture capabilities in Asia and not to bandwagon with China. The US does not want any rival within the region as the guarantor of peace and stability because of its vested interests. The US plans to deploy new missile defense can be seen from this context. The US anti-missile defense or powerful early warning radar known as X-band in Japan in 2006, could be placed in SEA in the near future.

Map 2. US Plans New Asia Missile Defense

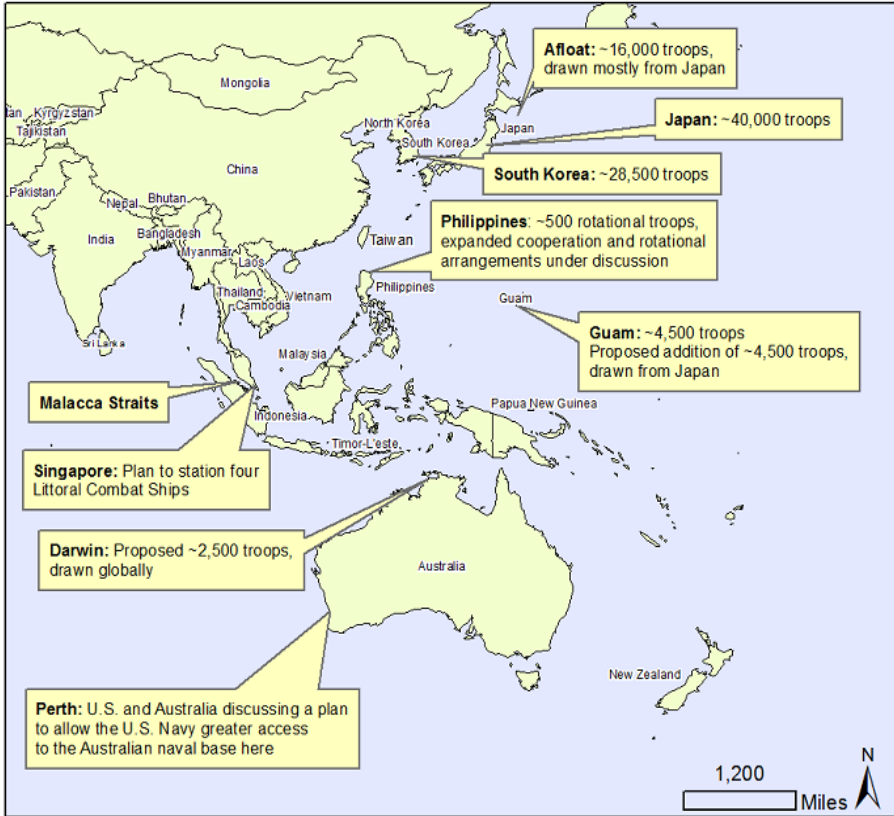


Source: Adam Entous & Julian Barnes (2012, August 23). *U.S. Plans New Asia Missile Defenses*. Retrieved September 16, 2012, from The Wall Street Journal: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444812704577605591629039400.html#project%3DASIAMISSILE0823%26articleTabs%3Darticle>.

As we can see on the map above, I think it is a tactical move from the US to put strategic weapon in Japan, as a buffer state, where they can intercept missiles from China or North Korea. This also can be seen as a kind of shrewd preparation if there is any crisis in the region. Australia or SEA certainly have a strategic location to launch an attack or as a logistical station if war is broke out.

If we see from a macro analysis, it is likely that the US would militarily deter China. It is not only about defining hierarchy or hegemony but it is about how to prolong assertiveness in the US-centered hegemonic order in the region, due to its relative decline of the US power perceived by others. By implication, it will have an impact, from micro analysis, on whether SEA countries pursue security strategy of balancing, hedging, bandwagoning, or positioning neutrality to deal with the rise of China. The US tries to re-engage with SEA and send a 'warning signal' to China. In other words, it is a soft power move to pressure SEA countries and smart power move to threaten China.

Map 3. Selected 92.000 US troops deployments and plans



Source: Mark Manyin, et al. (2012). *Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama Administration's "Rebalancing" Towards Asia*. Washington: Congressional Research Service, p. 3.

I argue that this move is threatening the region, because it is creating an insecure mentality in the region and a shared collective security dilemma in the region. Griffiths, O'Callaghan, and Roach (2008: 295) posited that security competition will lead super power, major powers, middle powers, and little powers in the region to ensure order and protection in an anarchical international system. If we examine the current state of the US alliances, partnership, and security cooperation, there are only three countries that support US military presence in the region and among them are the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore. The Philippines has an alliance treaty with US in 1947, joint military exercises, and 142 US soldiers have stationed in the Philippines. Thailand has an alliance treaty with US in 1955, joint military exercises, contributed troops and support for US military operations in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Thailand has 142 of US soldiers stationed in the country. Singapore contributed troops

and supported US military operations in Afghanistan, participant in anti-piracy operations in Malacca Strait, joint military exercises, and the country has 163 of US soldiers stationed (Dormandy, 2012). Other countries among which conduct military exercises with the US military in the region include Malaysia and Cambodia, but it has a small US military presence. Vietnam has a statement of intent on military medical cooperation with US, signed in August 2011. Malaysia has allied with Australia, while Australia has allied with the US. Malaysia allows Australia to use their airbase station at Butterworth (White, 2012). Meanwhile, Indonesia has carried out 140 joint military exercises with the US in 2011. US has financed four reconnaissance radars along the Makassar Strait, and provided 19 patrol boats, and tactical communication in Jakarta in addition to the radar installations along the northern Sumatra coast (Yudhoyono, 2012 & Dormandy, 2012).

Based on the above map, we can see that there are 92,000 troops deployed and plans supported by the US in the strategic pivot toward Asia. US military placements all over the world number is about 255,000 troops. This strategy is more than re-balancing but it is crowding Asia-Pacific with US troops to be stationed.¹ I argue this can destabilize the region and it can result a potential clash deduced from keen observation in six contemporaries of the US military active in the region.

First, the US were increasing military training to ASEAN countries. From the year 2000, the US has staged a number of joint military Cobra Gold exercises and drills with the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia (Kerry & Manning, 2011). The US applies the 'influence squadron' concept by dispatching small groups of lower capability ships to far-flung locations across the region, the US Navy can partner with more nations in maritime SEA than would be possible if its ships operate as part of a large task force (Denmark & Kliman, 2011). The US Navy will deploy its first littoral combat ship (LCS) in Singapore, beginning from the second quarter of 2013. Second, in the midst of SCS tension, in June 2012, the Philippines has allowed American troops, warships, and aircraft once again use their former naval and air facilities in Subic, Zambales, and in Clark field in Pampanga after twenty years being inactive (Laude, 2012).

1 This is a conservative figure. The US military has bases in 70 countries with 255,065 military personnel deployed worldwide. The US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta said that the US would move its Navy fleet and military personnel by 60% into the Asia-Pacific region. It means there will be 153,039 military personnel will come to the region. See Jules Dufour. (2007, July 1). *The Worldwide Network of US Military Bases. The Global Deployment of US Military Personnel*. Retrieved July 8, 2012, from Global Research: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-worldwide-network-of-us-military-bases/>; David Alexander. (2012, February 6). *Panetta: Majority of US Warship moving to Asia. Defense secretary provides first details of new strategy*. Retrieved July 9, 2012, from MSNBC: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/47655768/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/panetta-majority-us-warships-moving-asia/#.UHNaiK47qt8.

Third, the US marine deployment and airbase in Darwin in 2012 will be upgraded for increasing US nuclear-armed warships and aircraft. Fourth, it is accompanied by plans for surveillance drone aircraft to operate from Cocos Islands. Fifth, in 2011, the volume of US overseas arms sales hit a record high of \$66.3 billion, the lion's share coming from the Asia-Pacific region (US Department of Defense, 2012). Sixth, the US has sought to return to U-tapao Air Base in the Thai eastern seaboard province or Kampong Som in Cambodia as part of its military buildup in the region.

The US security objectives for military deployments, strategic missile shield plan, and being targeted to China, are to assure the region and to bandwagon with the US. This implies that the blockade of EA's vital sea passages through SEA region could cut off its access to oil and other natural resources and strangle its economy. In other words, the shift of US military could affect the peace and stability in the region if it tries to play the role of leadership adversary with China. Any wrong signals over SEA sea-lanes continued to South China Sea (SCS) will cause unrest in the region.

These developments likely are part of a broader US strategy of forging alliances and effective bases throughout the region aimed at surrounding China. The US repeatedly has announced that its national interest in the region to maintain peace and stability, respect for international law, freedom of navigation, and unimpeded lawful commerce in the SCS. However, US reaction to the territorial dispute in the SCS is quite important. The US announced that they do not take a position on competing territorial claims but they attempt to be on the game and elevate the issue as international affairs. The idea of more formal code of conduct proposed by the US is criticized by the Chinese media who sees America's "role as a sneaky trouble maker sitting behind some nations in the region and pulling strings (Xinhua, 2012).

The third stake is to surround China. In the Cold War, the US government saw the containment of communism as a global task. Now this mentality is coming back. From the perspective of regional security complex (Buzan and Waever, 2003) after the Cold War in SEA, "conflict came in bipolarized form, thus attracted a relatively clear pattern of superpower intervention." SEA became so heavily penetrated by the US and Chinese rivalry that its essential structure largely followed Cold War alignments. Moreover, any stability inside the SEA countries has serious spill-over consequence in the region because of this reason. This is also because the status quo of the US super power and the rising regional power of China that has penetrated the domestic affairs of SEA countries and it heavily affected and played a role in regional bipolarization of conflict. However, this region tied together as united ASEAN, partly because of that rivalry in the Cold War and its ambiguous role of ASEAN played so aptly for 'rowing between two rocks.' It is why SEA was neither fully autonomous nor subordinated.

After the Cold War, the situation borne some resemblance to Cold War mechanisms but in more dramatic, subtle, and strategic ways. The US attempted to divide-and-rule of ASEAN unity in order to weaken China’s political, economic and security influences in the region. China ‘peaceful rice’ seen by the US as potential challenger for the US ‘return to Asia’ policy, at first in business and later in remaking the order. The US engagement policy seeks to develop closer political and economic ties with SEA countries and draw them into US’s sphere of influence. This can be seen from the US initiative to urge regional bloc ASEAN to form an united front on territorial dispute in the SCS.

In the new US strategic review (January 2012), it is clear that the US has anticipated this at the very beginning. The US perceived challenge posed by the rising China at very heart of America’s new defense strategy. The document carefully said that China is not destined to be an adversary. But it makes it clear the US is, nevertheless, about to retool its military to deter China, and if necessary, to confront it (US DoD, 2012). It is reasonable to say that the fundamental of the US national security policy *vis-à-vis* China in SEA is to check the latter increase with the former decline in the region. What is the indicator?

I will look into details in economic stakes analysis but it is suffice to say that China’s trade with ASEAN surpasses trade between the US and ASEAN since 2007. I would like to elaborate my argument that the US contemporary strategy divide-and-rule since the Obama Administration has conducted a bilateral approach rather than regional approach. This can be seen from eighteenth visit of the US President and Secretary of State from 2009-2012.

Barrack Obama’s Trip through the SEA region 2009-2012		
2009		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
November 14	Singapore	The trip was the second stop on a four-nation tour of Asia. Obama was attending APEC Singapore 2009 summit. He had bilateral talks with Singapore’s PM and Indonesia’s President.
2010		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
November 9-10	Indonesia	President Obama’s state visit to Jakarta, as part of a four-country tour of Asia. He signed the Comprehensive Partnership Agreement between the two countries.

2011		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
November 17-19	Cambodia, Myanmar, & Indonesia	<p>President Obama second visit to Indonesia. He attended the annually ASEAN Summit and the sixth East Asia Summit (EAS) in Bali. He had bilateral meetings with PM of Thailand, President of the Philippines, and President of Indonesia.</p> <p>Before that, President Obama went to Myanmar for six-hour trip to balance U.S praise for the government's progress in shaking off military rule with pressure to complete the process of democratic reform</p> <p>President Obama arrived in Cambodia to criticize the country's strongman leader on the issue of human rights during a tense meeting.</p>
Hillary Clinton's trip through the SEA region 2009-2012		
2009		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
February 18	Indonesia	<p>Hillary Clinton made her first trip as a Secretary of State to Asia. Indonesia is her second destination. US pledged stronger ties with Jakarta.</p> <p>She reiterated that Islam, democracy, and modernity can thrive together.</p> <p>She discussed building ties on issues such as climate change, trade, security, and counter-terrorism.</p>

2010		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
July 22-23	Vietnam	Hillary was in Vietnam to attend the 27-nation of ASEAN regional forum. She discussed military cooperation and forging better ties, pushed in part by mutual concerns over SCS issue, as well as desire to expand trade and investment.
October 29-30	Vietnam	The second visit of Hillary Clinton was just about three months. Hillary attended the EAS and hosted meeting with her counterparts in the Lower Mekong initiative (LMI). She also highlighted economic partnerships with Vietnam, speaking for human rights and religious freedom, and building multilateral cooperation with Asia.
October 30-31	Cambodia	She commits that the US will deepen partnership with Cambodia and aim to help its social and economic development, including the debt issue.
November 1-2	Malaysia	She discussed bilateral relationships (strategic cooperation), the role that Malaysia is playing in the Trans Pacific Partnership, and a new free trade agreement that will enhance market access. She also raised issues for the Malaysian government to support Afghanistan and the people there with training and medical service.

2011		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
November 30 – December 2	Myanmar	Hillary Clinton was the first secretary state to visit Myanmar since John Foster Dulles in 1955. The aim of the trip was to test what the true intentions of Myanmar regimes and whether there was any commitment to both economic and political reform. US wanted to help Myanmar in the democratization process.
November 15-16	Philippines	Hillary came to commemorate 60 th anniversary of the US-Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty. She also participated in a signing ceremony to launch the implementation phase of Partnership for Growth with the Philippines.
November 16	Thailand	Hillary underscored US's strong alliance with Thailand. She also discussed shared interests and regional issues in advance of the EAS.
November 17-19	Indonesia	She attended EAS and the US ASEAN Leaders Meeting.
2012		
Date(s)	Country	Objectives
July 10-11	Vietnam	Hillary promoted US investment and raising human rights concern.
July 11	Laos	This groundbreaking visit to Laos marked the first US Secretary of State in 57 years. Hillary discussed a variety of bilateral issues, including the LMI and ASEAN integration efforts

July 11-13	Cambodia	<p>Hillary chaired and attended ministerial events and participated in bilateral meetings with Cambodian officials. Region conferences included ARF, the EAS Summit Foreign Ministries Meeting, and the US-ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference. She acted as a co-chair in the LMI Ministerial.</p> <p>Clinton led US business representatives to Cambodia for ASEAN at the “Commitment to Connectivity-US ASEAN Business Forum” and delivered a keynote address on Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment.</p>
September 3	Indonesia	<p>Hillary discussed various regional issues with senior officials of Indonesia, such as the SCS dispute. Clinton held talks with Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Marty Natalegawa on bilateral and global issues.</p> <p>Hillary Clinton visited the ASEAN Secretariat, emphasizing the US’ commitment to see ASEAN continuing its growth as a vibrant, open region that is committed to regional and global peace and prosperity.</p>
September 6	East Timor	<p>Hillary reemphasized US support for East Timor democratization and economic development.</p>
September 7	Brunei	<p>Hillary focused on the discussion of Brunei’s chairmanship of the ASEAN regional bloc in 2013.</p>

Sources: Collected from various sources in Jakarta Post, Xinhua, Global Times, and Guardian.

What assumptions can be made from above data? Apart from a divide-and-rule strategy and SEA's strategic sea lanes of communication there are at least eight objectives from above visits. One for sure is the reaffirmation of a US 'pivotal' role in the SEA. Hillary Clinton visited all eleven countries of SEA in three years. There is no doubt that the center of economic gravity now shifted to Asia. SEA has a strategic and vital role to play concerning this trend. The US wants to revive its economic weight and brake China's in the region. The US pays more attention to Indonesia because it has an important role to play in the region as largest Muslim population in the world. It can be seen also as a sign of a new US policy towards the Muslim world and its engagement with SEA countries in general. Second, it is a try-out for the US to critically think what choices be made in crafting its strategy for the SEA in the midst of the rising China. In my view, there are only three courses, whether the US hinges to recapitalize its forces in the region, encourage its allies to take on larger security responsibilities or limit its commitments.

Third, the US is encouraging the rise of SEA's low and middle powers to hedging together as a unit against China. As for that case, ASEAN countries are in the dilemma of presenting themselves, not to leaning toward the US or China. ASEAN countries now are on the brink of this division if they cannot internally find solutions to break the 'battle' of regional leadership between the US and China. The US wants to tie the discourse to ASEAN's elites and its decision-making that underlines the importance of American power in assuring the small countries of ASEAN to protect their interests in the realm of China's rise. Fourth, encircling China is a major challenge for US-centered hegemonic order in the region. The US 'pivot' to Asia-Pacific envisages US leadership in shaping regionalism and its future now is being contested by China.

Fifth, it also raises the importance of the Eastern flank of Indonesia in geo-strategic importance. Eighty per cent of China's oil imports still pass through the Malacca strait and this is why it is a vital choke-point. However, it seems the US has a contingency plan in the Eastern part of Indonesia when the crisis erupted. Sixth, the US tries to assure SEA countries not to bandwagon with China. The US does not want any rival within the region as the guarantor of peace and stability, because it threatens its vested interest in the region.

Seventh, at the moment US conduct the primacy of military power rhetoric to demand security commitment of SEA countries (such as defeat global terrorism) and to have greater access to SEA markets. In other words, the use of military power is to maintain its dominance of SEA resources and to gain profit against China. Eight, the US wants to reaffirm its presence and influence in the region, or at least to neutralize China in order to sustain the status quo. China's desire to reduce US influence is an uneasy fact for the US.

The 'battle' of making order in Asia-Pacific rests on how the US continues and consolidates its current patterns of the US-hegemonic order.

In my opinion, the key element concerning to the order in SEA is balancing of power. The concept of balancing of power used in SEA tends toward the common confusion between the power structure and policies or behavior designed to influence the structural outcome.² The US strategic engagement in SEA is to maintain US presence based on treaty alliances. In SEA, there are only three countries producing this capability, such as Thailand (Manila Pact of the former SEATO in February 19, 1954 and designated as major Non-NATO ally since December 2003), the Philippines (with Mutual Defense Treaty in August 30, 1951 and major non-NATO ally since October 6, 2003), and Singapore (Strategic Framework Agreement July 1, 2005) in a less rigid way (Clinton, 2010).

The US objective is not just to sustain the cooperation but also it aims to engage further so that the cooperation remain effective in a changing world. For these three countries, US engagement is viewed as essential action to maintain regional stability and it needs to continue to prosper this complicated strategic environment. However, Indonesia and Malaysia relations with US were not so close comparing to those three countries. Indonesia is being targeted as a crucial and potential key ally for the US during the Obama Administration since the signing of a bilateral strategic comprehensive partnership in 2010. As for CMLV (Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam) countries, the US is competing hard with China to influence these countries that located in China's backyard. Based on these analyses, the US security strategies in the region are inextricable with the US economic interests. In the following section, I will analyze what the US economic stakes in the region.

Economic Stakes

Washington and Beijing as the world's two biggest economies compete in the Asia's regional economy. In the article of *Foreign Policy*, Hillary Clinton stated that "harnessing Asia's growth and dynamism is central to American economic and strategic interests and a key priority for President Obama. Clinton (2011) posited that open markets in Asia provide the US with unprecedented opportunities for investment, trade, and access to cutting-edge technology. Our economic recovery at home will depend on exports and the ability of American firms to tap into the vast and growing consumer base of Asia."³

2 William Tow & Amitav Acharya. (2007, December). *Obstinate or obsolete? The US alliance structure in the Asia-Pacific*. Retrieved October 10, 2012, from ANU: http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ir/pubs/work_papers/07-4.pdf, pp. 6-37.

3 Hillary Clinton. (2011, November). *America's Pacific Century*. Retrieved September 18, 2012, from *Foreign Policy*: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/americas_pacific_century?page=full.

The SEA region contains eleven independent countries: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam. All of these, with the exception of Timor-Leste, joined the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The objectives of ASEAN are to promote regional economic growth, political stability, social progress, and cultural developments in the SEA region. The characteristic of ASEAN is non-interference, respect sovereignty, based on a mutualistic symbiosis relationship, and does not intend to make defense or military alliances and common foreign policy. The SE region then is open to any non-hostile country that wants to cooperate peacefully.

The ASEAN region covers an area of 4.46 million square kilometers, with a population of approximately 598 million people (about 8.8% of the world population). In 2011, its combined nominal GDP had grown to \$1.8 trillion; despite this significant disparities still prevail across the region (ASEAN, 2011). Today, according to Nehru (2011), SEA is characterized by high economic growth in most countries and closer regional integration. SEA's ten countries have combined GDP of \$1.9 trillion (bigger than India), a population of almost 600 million people (nearly twice that of the U.S.), and an average per-capita income \$3.0925 (near that of China). Over the last decade, the countries have averaged a growth rate of more than 5 percent per year (Budiman, 2008). Rasyid (2008) posited that if SEA were one country, it would be the world's ninth largest economy. It would also be the most trade-dependent, with a trade-to-GDP ratio in excess of 150 percent, and one of the world's consistently good performers.

In the midst of US economies downturn, economic opportunities in SEA are too good to be left out. There are at least three objectives on US economic strategies in the region. First, renew domestic economic vigor. The IMF has announced that China will surpass the US economically in real terms in 2016. The report brings new light to the US economic debates surrounding American debts, budget, government spending, investment, and the crisis of the US dollar. The report uses purchasing power and other factors to gauge economic growth. It measured what people earn and spend in real terms as opposed to measuring exchange and currency rates (Weisbrot 2011 & RT 2012). This has shocked many who did not realize China was so close to surpassing the US.

According to the latest US Treasury's figures, the total outstanding U.S. public debt hit \$16 trillion, an increase of more than 5 trillion dollars compared to the level when Obama took office in 2009. The US has come too close to the legislative limit of the debt, which was set at a level slightly below \$16.4 trillion. According to Vasspard (2012) "to date, the budget deficit in the U.S. is \$ 1.2 trillion. It is clear that there is no money in the treasury to solve the problem and it is impossible to pay the huge debt of many years in one

fell swoop. One has to understand: reducing the deficit now means stopping all movement within the economy. For the global market, which can hardly move right now, it will be a stab in the back.”

ASEAN with a considerable population is a large market for American goods and services as well as an increasingly important US investments destination and sources of imports. SEA is a region likely to play a critical role in determining the future of Asia and whether the US can sustain itself as an Asia-Pacific power. The significance of the SEA for US interest is reflected by the trade amounts almost \$200 billion annually, and US cumulative investment in the region is valued over \$100 billion in 2011 (Mitchell & Harding, 2011, p. VI). Therefore, any form of invigorating economic relationship is welcomed by the US. In SEA, China’s increasing economic clout and political influence has pushed US to the side and the role of leading economic player is taken over by China (Rachmianto, 2011).

When we connect the security stakes with economic stakes, as Liming (2012), we found an interesting link that “the volume of U.S. overseas arms sales hit a record high of \$66.3 billion, the lion’s share coming from the Asia-Pacific region.” This is why US conducts joint military exercises and drills with SEA countries and its traditional allies in Northeast Asia such as Japan and South Korea.

A second goal is to become largest trading partner in the region. This strategy objective is to prevent the decline of US total trade with SEA and pave the way for US investment flooding into the region. The table below explains more about it.

Table 2. ASEAN with Selected Trade Partners: Total Trade (in US\$ million and percent share) from 2003-2010

Country	2003 (%)	2008 (%)	2009 (%)	2010 (%)
Intra-ASEAN	206,732 (25.1)	470,112 (24.8)	376,1172 (24.5)	519,805 (25.4)
China	59,637 (7.2)	196,884 (10.4)	178,190 (11.6)	232,013 (11.3)
EU-27	102,767 (12.3)	101,683 (11.0)	208,291 (11.2)	208,585 (10.2)
Japan	113,401 (13.8)	214,400 (11.3)	160,893 (10.5)	206,637 (10.1)
USA	117,886 (14.3)	186,243 (9.8)	149,582 (9.7)	186,685 (9.1)

Source: Data processed from ASEAN. (2012). *ASEAN Community in Figures*. (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat), p. 14-15.

From the table above we can infer that China, EU-27 and the US continued to be ASEAN's major trade partners. The US remained the fifth largest goods trading partner of the ASEAN. Trade values between the US and ASEAN amounted \$186 billion in 2010. This put the US in fifth place or 9.1% share in total trade with ASEAN. In addition to increasing intra-ASEAN integration, China was the fastest growing trade partner, an upsurge of more than ten-fold with ASEAN since the Asian financial crisis in 1998. Intra-ASEAN trade comprised one-fourth of ASEAN's total trade. China, EU-27, Japan, and the US continued to be the four major trade partners of the ASEAN. However, the combined share of EU-27, Japan, and US to ASEAN's total trade has dwindled from 2003-2010.

ASEAN is also a major destination for American foreign investments, as measured by Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) position as we can see from the table below. From the table below, EU-27, intra-ASEAN and Japan remained to be the top providers of ASEAN FDI inflows for 2010. EU-27 contributed 22.4%, followed by intra-ASEAN (16%), and Japan (11%). The US remained as the third largest investor in ASEAN in front of China by almost triple. Furthermore, according to the latest figures, in 2011 trade between US and ASEAN totaled \$194 billion while China's trade value with ASEAN amounted to \$292.78 billion. US FDI stock in ASEAN countries amounted to \$6.1 billion in 2011 while China's investment in ASEAN totaled \$4.38 billion in 2010.⁴ China is still the biggest trading partner for ASEAN, followed by EU, Japan, and the US. These figures have confronted SEA countries with an acute dilemma. It has historically a closed economic, strategic, and military ties with the US yet it is increasingly reliant on China as a trading partner. China has definitely realized that it depends heavily on its trade, particularly the trade with its backyard neighbors in SEA to secure its imports of energy resources and other raw material that passed through SEA countries.

4 ASEAN. (2012, June). *Overview of ASEAN-US Dialogue Relations*. Retrieved September 12, 2012, from Association of Southeast Asian Nations: <http://www.aseansec.org/23222.htm>; Xinhua. (2011, November 17). *China-ASEAN 2011 trade to hit record high*. Retrieved September 14, 2012, from Xinhua: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2011-11/17/content_14113326.htm.

Table 3. ASEAN: FDI inflow, by source country (in US\$ million) from 2003-2010 and % share from 2003-2010

Country	2003	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	% Share
EU-27	6,866	13,387	18,611	7,010	9,132	17,066	22.4
Intra-ASEAN	2,712	7,876	9,626	9,449	5,271	1,765	16.1
US	1,363	3,041	8,340	3,518	4,087	8,578	11.3
Japan	3,903	10,413	8,844	4,129	3,763	8,386	11.0
China	201	1,035	1,741	1,874	4,158	2,861	3.8

Source: ASEAN. (2012: 38). *ASEAN Community in Figures*. (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat).

The other side of coin, I think it is reasonable to say that the US wants to get more share in economic opportunities in SEA and if it possible to weaken China and ASEAN economic relations. Actually, since 2007 the total trade between China and ASEAN has surpassed total trade between US and ASEAN.⁵ This is why the US wants to catch-up with economic opportunities because it already lags behind in economic regional initiatives behind China such as ASEAN-China Free Trade Are (ACTFA) and ASEAN +3 cooperative frameworks. China's initiative for an FTA with ASEAN formed the largest FTA, comprising 1.9 billion consumers and \$4.3 trillion in trade (come into effect in 2010).

With this profit, China has increased its military spending by 170% in real terms since 2002. The US remains by far the biggest military spender, with the defense budget of \$711 billion in 2011. It is followed by China, which spent an estimated \$143 billion on its armed forces in 2011 (Rogers, 2012). The US determines to reestablish the economic supremacy which cannot be challenged by China or by other combination of economic powers. The US wants to break any block of regional cooperation that is under Chinese influence and transform it to another kind of regional cooperation which is called "multilateral regionalism."

The third goal is to craft economic "multilateral regionalism" to mitigate Chinese economic preponderance in the region. In general, it is about how to advance and promote US national interest in trade, credit, and natural resources one step ahead of China. The US lags behind China in projects on of its economic statecraft in the region. The US has started to realize that the table is difficult to turn and it is more reasonable for the US to advocate a new

⁵ ASEAN. (2011, December 16). *Inaugural China-ASEAN Beijing Economic Forum (CABEF) looks forward to its second edition in 2012, as organisers and participants affirmed the importance of bilateral dynamics*. Retrieved 15 September, 2012, from Association of Southeast Asian Nations: <http://www.aseansec.org/26758.htm>.

regionalism partnership to counter Chinese economic advancements in the region. What is the form of this “multilateral regionalism?”

The form of multilateral regionalism is Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP). The objective is to reach SEA countries such as Brunei, Singapore, Vietnam, and Malaysia. According to Hung Ming-Te and Tony Tai-Ting Liu (2011, p. 108), the TPP is “basically follows Washington’s long term conception for regionalization in Asia that is centered on APEC countries towards trade liberalization in the region. Washington’s TPP proposal brings in yet another alternative to the multiple developments towards regionalization in Asia, which is currently centered on ASEAN +3 with China as the dominant player.”

This is the counter-economic strategy from the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement (ACTFA), proposed China-oriented ASEAN +3 trade agreements or the broader Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia. This new economic cooperation initiative likely represents a pan-Asian movement to resist American imposition of liberal capitalist reforms and to restore Asia’s developmental vision. ACTFA itself was signed in 2002 and establishing the FTA in order to trade goods for the original six ASEAN countries in 2010 and for newer members by 2015 (Sutter, 2010, p. 217).

In my opinion, this happened likely because the US wants to be a model of regional architecture building in the region. The US tries to pave the way in economic regional architecture within ASEAN and their economic strategy in the region. The national security strategy is most likely aimed at economic regionalism connecting ASEAN with APEC and other regional institutions in the Asia-Pacific region (Clinton, 2010). By effect, it will create systemic concerns of a ‘noodle-bowl’ effect, which is the overlapping and crisscrossing of FTAs in the Asia-Pacific region.

Following the Asian financial crisis, a variety of Asian regional multilateral groupings centered on ASEAN and its EA partners were formed and advanced significantly. China’s stature and influence in these groups and among ASEAN states grew rapidly and burgeoning intra-Asian trade and investment networks involving China in a central role, attentive, and innovative of Chinese diplomacy (Sutter, 2009). This is known as the Beijing Consensus in opposition of Washington Consensus.

What is the impact of this so-called ‘Beijing Consensus’ for SEA? It is basically the consciousness of Asian in general, and SEA in particular (especially shown by the Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir Mohammad) that the ability of print currency gives the US immense power. Why this is so importance?

It is because, “Chinese currency now has the potential to be a major currency of the global economy due to China’s huge international reserves

of as much \$3 trillion" (*The Nation*, 2012). According to John Perkins (2004, p. 212), it means that "US can continue to make loans that will never be repaid, and by that continues accumulate huge debts. As long as the world accepts the dollar as its standard currency, this excessive debt does not pose a serious obstacle to the corporatocracy. However, if another currency should come along to replace the dollar, and if some of the US's creditors (Japan or China, for example) should decide to call their debts, the situation would change drastically. The US would suddenly find itself in a most precarious situation." The US does not want that to happen and it is imperative to setting the values in the region.

Value Stakes

The first goal is to promote deeper liberal internationalism. According to Griffiths, O'Callaghan, & Roach (2008), liberal internationalism is "essentially a project to transform international relations so that they conform to models of peace, freedom, and prosperity allegedly enjoyed within constitutional liberal democracies such as the US". Keohane (2002) posited that there are three strands of liberal internationalism, which are commercial liberalism operating at the transnational level, republican liberalism directed at the relationship between states and their citizens, and regulatory or institutional liberalism operates at the level of the international political structure. The US realized that it is important to build international regimes to expect desirable outcomes and behavior of ASEAN countries via embedded institution and bilateral ties. This is important task to illuminate economic and power relationship between states. Regimes according to Stephen Krasner (1982) can be defined "as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." By setting out the regimes, the US molds the international structure and system governed in the region by the infusion of principles, norms, rules, and decision making-procedures as sets of governing arrangements. This will create asymmetrical relationship and the power-maximizing of US interests in the region.

With a US proactive policy towards the region, there is a basic value-stake strategy from the US to the SEA countries to promote democratic development of the region, to invigorate engagement with its non-traditional allies, and to enhance its engagement with its traditional allies, and to address transnational threats in the region. In order to achieve those value-stake objectives, the US has to shape regimes in SEA to secure desired outcomes based on expected behavior. This is why values are so important because it is part of utilization of regimes in the practice and inextricably linked with expected behavior. Assuring these regimes will lead to power stability and interest security in the region.

Scholars of varying ideological persuasions agree that a strong state/political economy are no longer viable in SEA, as the pressures of globalization continue to sweep the region shaking economies, and liberal economic rules are more rigorously enforced by international institutions like the IMF and WTO (Felker, 2004: 70). It seems that the advent of financial globalization under the auspices of undisguised American hegemony confronts the region with a stark choice: yield fully to the imperatives of global markets and to embrace economic as well as political liberalization, or else risk marginalization and decline.

During the Asian Financial Crisis, the US insisted on pressing neoliberal reforms through the conditions attached to IMF bailout packages. As of today, America has restored geostrategic priorities to prominence in its Asian agenda, at the expense of hopes for liberal political and economic change. Against the backdrop, of its regional rivalry with China and its pivot toward Asia, Obama Administration has sought greater security cooperation in the region and signalled its willingness to overlook differences in other policy areas, such as human rights and democratization. This is similar to what the second Bush Administration has done.

The US has pursued its foreign and security policy by proxy. It is done by building institutions domestically or through international institutions based on principal values of liberal internationalism (Arlidge, 2011; Goh, 2005). With this involvement, the US has an influence in ASEAN's regional approaches to foreign and security policy. This is the explanation why ASEAN was in a deadlock situation without any accepted *communiqué* for the first time in its 45-years history in ASEAN's 2012 summit in Cambodia (Saragih, 2012). The region was divided whether to support US or China in deciding the substantial and acceptable solution for SCS dispute. China is deeply influencing Cambodia while other states have deeply embedded in the US security area through a hub-and-spoke system.

Second, is to spread democracy and human rights. Advancing democracy and human rights is the central pillar of US engagement throughout SEA. The US is ensuring wide dissemination of these ideas through elite accommodation and institutional crafting of plural society in the SEA democratization (US National Intelligence Council, 2004: 43). The utilization of liberal internationalism by the US was mainly done by promoting democracy and pressing human rights issues as 'the only game in the town'. If not, there will be attempt to overthrow the independent political order by hook or by crook. New international forces, whether taking the form of demands by donor countries for human rights, global capitalism's structural requirements for meritorious selection and consumerism, NGOs or the media's advocacy, appear recently to have combined in ways that promote democracy's liberal dimensions.

In my view, democracy and human rights are commonly accepted in the region as ideal condition that meets the level of civil, political liberties and rights sufficiently to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation. However, these ideas often have been implemented in different nomenclatures because of the bitter colonial experience and the idea of political culture. O'Neil (2010: 115) posited that political culture is "essentially the argument that there are differences in societal institutions-norms and values-that shape the landscape of political activity." Because of their background in a protracted and often conflictual process of decolonization the regional security complex in SEA shaped by a mixture of acceptance for liberal democracy. The West's imperial quest for resources and its intense colonization in the region have made negative image in the people. It should be noted also that there are various styles of democracy in the region, for instance in Indonesia and Malaysia there is *gotong royong* concept which is spirit of mutual help in society.

Any attempt to push singular democratization to the region is actually counterproductive, because the developmental challenges in the SEA region are wide and varied. The countries comprising ASEAN have varied political systems, socio-cultural systems, and rates of economic developments. If the US wants to sustain its hegemonic project in the region then it is must pay attention to these considerations. By and large, this is what the Obama Administration learnt from the previous administration especially dealing with of so-called "Islamic terrorism" in the region. Terrorism is a clear threat for the US to preserve its centered order in the region.

Third, the Obama Administration wants to prevent latent threats such as terrorism coming to the surface. The objective of the Obama Administration to the Islamic world is to reshape the negative image of Bush's unilateral and neo-conservative policy. In the SEA region it added with not to bandwagon with China.

In the context of SEA, it is difficult to achieve because of negative civic consent of US 'contemporary legacy of empire' in Muslim countries, such as the US-led invasion in Iraq in 2003, war in Afghanistan 2001, and the US staunch support for Israel against the Palestinian cause. As with many other Muslims in the world, SEA's Muslims were not happy with terrorist stigmas produced by counterterrorism and the deradicalization policies of Bush's Administration. And this is exactly what Obama Administration is trying to reshape to end years of mistrust between the West and the Muslim world with his first visit to Indonesia in 2010 (Jakarta Post, 2010; Guardian, 2010). However, the presence reality suggests the opposite direction in President Obama's rhetoric. Apparently he still commits to use American military in his foreign policy objectives.

Obama's doctrine is basically a far more focused approach to US adversaries; a shift from the martial policies and bellicose rhetoric of the Bush administration. The Bush doctrine was basically a principle of sustaining a global *Pax Americana* with the strategy of pre-emptive strikes against threats to US national security. It is a global battle against terrorist in his words "either you are with us or against us" (BBC, 2002).

Therefore, the US SEA strategy is likely a continuation of Bush's policy in a more subtle way, yet at same shifting focus to restrain China by forging alliances in the region. Keating (2007) posited that the US strategy issued by the US Pacific Command (PACOM) in November 2008 is based on "partnership and military readiness." In Bush's era it was more assertive but in Obama's era it is apparently deceptive in downplaying the military preeminence at least on the half of his administration. In fact, it has changed drastically from 2012 where US Marines were set for Darwin deployment (Siegel, 2012). If in Bush's Administration the US is seeking to root out non-traditional security threats via cooperative security. In the Obama's Administration, it is seeking to root out traditional and non-traditional security threats to advance its national interests. For instance, from 2005, the US has a ministerial dialogue with SEA to discuss mainly terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) proliferation, and preparation for possible pandemics (Sheldon, 2012: 6).

America's interests are inextricably linked to the durability of US-centered order. In the US Quadrennial Defence Review (QDR) 2010 (US DoD, 2010: 59), the US military objective is to "enhance our long-standing alliances with Thailand and the Philippines, to deepen our partnership with Singapore, and to develop new strategic relationship with Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam, to address issues such as counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, and to support humanitarian assistance operations in the region. The United States is also encouraging the continued development of multilateral institutions and other integrated approaches to regional security affairs."

Furthermore, it is noted in the QDR 2011 (US DoD, 2010: 10) that "whenever possible, the United States will use force in an internationally sanctioned coalition with allies, international regional organizations, and like-minded nations committed to these common principles. America's Armed Forces will retain the ability to act unilaterally and decisively when appropriate, maintaining joint, all-domain military capabilities that can prevail across a wide range of contingencies." Obama and his senior officials have successfully reframed Bush's global battle as a more narrowly focused struggle against al Qaeda in a decisive ways. They stopped using the term of global war on terror and instead described it as a campaign against a single, clearly identifiable group (Rohde, 2012). It seems the strategy put importance on the continuation of Bush doctrine, but with more caution and a 'not alone' approaches (Richter, 2012).

The recent upsurge of terrorism reminds the US that any ambitious project of liberalism will create a backlash to US national interest and degenerate the liberal system in international political economy. This is why the US has to show more cautious action, respect the interests of other countries or not trying to enforce it by committing more strongly to underpinning a liberal economic system with bilateral means and regional or multilateral institutions supported by coercive power.

Conclusion

US strategy in SEA is the part of US reengagement in Asia strategy, knowing that it is a region that shapes the future of the stability of the region and for the entire world. The US vital interests in SEA are rooted in military, economic, and value stakes. It is basically built upon partnership with military pre-eminence. The US SEA strategy is basically defined in two approaches. First, it is by commitment focusing more regional development mostly via bilateral ties and second, and it is done by advancing its strategic policy to contain China in the region. The US sees China's rising prominence would steer the region in the direction that reduces American influence and against US interests. It is about the fundamental cooperation sustained by inoculation of regimes and sustained by military supports to mitigate situations that could lead to conflict and crisis.

Many aspects of US policy towards SEA correspond to previous administration, e.g. Bush's administration. The difference from the latter to the previous administration is the focus of Bush's administration more aggressive and solitary one. Obama's foreign policy is more gradualist, sociable, and impulsive foreign policy. The strategic orientation is still the same by using hard power to pursue its objectives. In other words, the mentality of either "you with us or against us" is still prevalence. US exceptionalism, secularism, and military intervention in internal conflicts of other countries have become common words for the US. The US in SEA does not lack perception or native wit to pursue the same objective at the same moment. Obama's administration crafted strategy to press SEA countries not to bandwagon with China while they are still encouraged to strengthening economic ties. At the same time, Obama's administration keeps containing China with military expansion in the region.

Policy recommendation from this study relates to the will of foreign policy of Indonesian government to pursue its national interest assertively but wisely. Indonesia must ensure that any attempt to dictate the legitimate Indonesian government in controlling the political and economic order in Indonesia will be counterproductive. Based upon free and active foreign policy principles, Indonesia is willing to cooperate with any countries on equal basis.

Indonesia should condemn any attempt conducted by any country or any who is trying to enforce its will by hook or by crook. Last but not least, Indonesia should alert and expand its ideology, politics, economy, society, culture, and defence and security policy in deterring challenges, obstacles, threats, and harassments internationally or domestically, directly or indirectly by proxy war or asymmetric warfare. ●

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Patriot Ekspatriat: Imajinasi dan Aksi Anti-Kolonialisme dan Nasionalisme Asia Tenggara

Wildan Sena Utama

Abstrak

This article explores another variant of the emergence of the nationalism and anti colonialism idea. In the discourse of nationalism and anti-colonialism, much of attention from historians solely allocate to "the rooted aspect" of "the formation of the nation", while there is a forgotten that the nationalism awareness and the anti-colonial sensitivity also can sprout from the mobility or travel of the community or individual far beyond the homeland. This article wants to observe "the mobile aspects" of the imagination and the action of anti-colonialism and nationalism from this type of individuals, called expatriate patriots, which was invented and awakened from their relationship that they interlaced during their odyssey in Europe. I argue, despite of their networks, interactions, experiences, model and method of actions were different, however, their impact on the discourse of nation formation was no doubt very important

Keywords: expatriate patriots, anti-colonialism, nationalism, and travel.

Pendahuluan

Diskursus tentang anticolonialisme dan tumbuhnya sentimen nasionalisme pada sebuah negara jajahan sering ditempatkan pada pergerakan dan pemikiran yang terjadi di negara jajahan itu. Beberapa studi klasik tentang nasionalisme di Indonesia misalnya, seperti George McT. Kahin (1952), Robert van Niel (1960) Akira Nagazumi (1972) dan kurang memberikan perhatian kepada pemikiran nasionalisme dan anticolonialisme dari intelektual Indonesia yang berkembang di luar tanah air dan bagaimana interaksi dan koneksi yang terjadi diantara pemikiran dan pergerakan tersebut dalam relasi "luar-dalam". Sebagai sebuah pemikiran yang lentur, tumbuhnya kesadaran anticolonialisme dan imajinasi tentang bangsa seringkali bukan hanya muncul ketika seorang individu, komunitas atau masyarakat merasa sebagai "inferior, terjajah ataupun tereksplorasi" di tanah airnya. Kesadaran tentang imajinasi akan tanah air juga bisa muncul ketika seseorang telah meninggalkan tanah airnya dan malahan menemukan dan menggali "ketanah-airannya" di luar tanah airnya.

Pada tahun 2009, Sugata Bose, seorang sejarawan dari Harvard University menerbitkan sebuah buku menarik berjudul *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Bose (2009) dalam buku ini menawarkan perspektif baru untuk mendefinisikan konsep “*spatial boundaries*” dan “*temporal thresholds*” pada sejarah Samudera Hindia selama masa imperialisme Eropa dan nasionalisme anti-kolonial. Dalam sebuah pembahasannya Bose (2009: 150) mengkritik pandangan dari para sejarawan yang terlalu fokus untuk mengamati tumbuhnya pemikiran ataupun tindakan yang berhubungan tentang pembentukan bangsa sebagai “*imagined community*” yang hanya “berakar dari dalam teritori negara jajahan” (*rooted*) tetapi melupakan aspek bahwa kesadaran kebangsaan juga tumbuh dari mobilitas atau perjalanan (*mobile*). Dalam salah satu bahasannya Bose mengkritik pandangan Ben Anderson dalam *Imagined Communities* yang menurutnya “melacak penyebaran global, replikasi dan pembajakan negara-bangsa dari Barat ke Timur, dan melupakan beberapa arti dari kebangsaan dan framework alternatif negara-negara yang diimajinasikan dalam dunia terjajah Asia dan Afrika” (Bose 2009: 150).

Perjalanan melintasi negara ke negara, benua ke benua ataupun hidup dalam domisili yang berada jauh dari tanah air seringkali menimbulkan perasaan yang berbeda terhadap tanah air atau bangsa dari para ekspatriat yang hidup dalam lingkungan baru diaspora. Dalam hal lain, perjuangan untuk kemerdekaan dari kolonialisme di Asia banyak ditemui pula tidak bisa diperjuangkan hanya dari dalam negara asal sang patriot (Stolte 2012: 404). Oleh karena itu, begitu menarik jika kita memberikan perhatian baru kepada “nasionalis-transnasional” atau para “patriot ekspatriat”, yaitu orang-orang yang tumbuh pemikirannya tentang nasionalisme atau anti-kolonialisme ketika mereka berada dalam perjalanan, berkeliling atau tinggal di tempat yang jauh di luar tanah air mereka. Sebab menurut Carolien Stolte (2012: 404) dalam “proyek antikolonialisme” di Asia solidaritas dalam format transnasional dan usaha untuk menegakkan kedaulatan negara bukan suatu hal yang *mutually exclusive* tetapi *inextricably entwined*. Pada konteks ini secara menarik kita akan banyak melihat pula bahwa dalam kasus-kasus “proyek antikolonialisme” seperti ini globalisme dan nasionalisme bukan merupakan suatu hal yang bertentangan. Sejarah patriotisme diantara para ekspatriat ditandai dengan interaksi yang saling berhubungan antara nasionalisme dan universalisme dalam pemikiran normatif dan praktik politiknya (Bose 2009: 151).

Sejarah nasionalisme dan imajinasi antikolonialisme di Asia dipengaruhi dengan penjelajahan para patriot ekspatriat di negara-negara di luar tanah airnya. Sebuah contoh menarik ada dalam kasus India dimana konseptualisasi pemikiran nasionalisme Mahatma Gandhi yang mempengaruhi imajinasinya tentang bangsa di India tahun 1919 ke atas dipengaruhi oleh pengalamannya

saat berada di Afrika Selatan. Konsep perjuangan politik *passive resistance*, *Satyagraha*, lahir ketika Gandhi berada di Afrika Selatan menuntut keadilan atas diskriminasi rasial yang menimpa masyarakat Asia (Rai 2000: 36). Tahun 1906 pemerintah Transvaal mengumumkan peraturan “registrasi orang Asia”, dimana semua orang Asia di teritori negara itu harus registrasi dan membawa sertifikat yang ada sidik jari mereka. Gandhi mendesak orang India bersumpah tidak tunduk kepada peraturan ini. Dalam sebuah pertemuan massa September 1906, tiga ribu orang dari berbagai latar belakang agama dan etnis berkumpul untuk bersumpah memilih masuk penjara daripada mengikuti peraturan ini.

Kasus Gandhi merupakan salah satu contoh dimana para patriot menemukan kesadaran terhadap imajinasi dan aksi anti-kolonialisme tidak di tanah airnya. Bila diamati secara global contoh seperti Gandhi ini ditemukan pula di negara jajahan lain di Asia, terutama banyak sekali contohnya di Asia Tenggara. Pembentukan diskursus anti-kolonialisme dan nasionalisme yang melahirkan ide tentang bangsa tidak bisa dilepaskan dari wacana pemikiran para patriot ekspatriat. Sebab para *founding fathers* negara-negara di Asia Tenggara, seperti Tan Malaka, E.F.E Douwes Dekker, Ho Chi Minh dan Jose Rizal bila dicermati adalah para patriot ekspatriat yang pemikirannya tentang kemerdekaan, nasionalisme bahkan marxisme terbentuk dari pengalaman perjalanan mereka berpindah-pindah tempat. Dalam perjalanan itu pemikiran mereka terpengaruh dengan pergaulan dan lingkungan politik tempat ia berdomisili.

Artikel ini ingin mengobservasi dan menganalisis imajinasi dan aksi anti-kolonialisme dan tentang bangsa patriot ekspatriat Asia Tenggara seperti Ho Chi Minh dan Jose Rizal yang tumbuh dari hubungan-hubungan yang mereka jalin dalam pengembaraan mereka di Eropa. Mereka mempunyai pengalaman, transformasi ide dan metode aksi yang berbeda. Seperti apa jaringan dan interaksi yang terbentuk dan terjalin dari perjalanan politik para patriot ekspatriat? Bagaimana pengalaman para patriot ekspatriat di luar tanah air mempengaruhi pemikiran mereka tentang bangsanya? Seperti apa model resistensi yang dilakukan oleh para patriot ekspatriat di metropolis?

Memetakan Perjalanan, Memetakan Jaringan

One's character is based largely on that of the people with whom one lives... Knowledge opens the mind... Travels also greatly expands the mind; we leave the circle of our nation's prejudices, and are hardly in a position to take on those of another (Montesquieu)

Ho Chi Minh dan Jose Rizal, keduanya mempunyai alasan yang berbeda ketika memutuskan untuk meninggalkan tanah air. Jose Rizal sama dengan Tan Malaka, pada awalnya melakukan perantauan untuk melakukan studi. Sedangkan Ho Chi Minh pada awalnya memutuskan untuk keluar Vietnam bukan untuk studi. Ia mempunyai alasan bahwa “perjalanan menjelajahi dunia akan membawa pengetahuan dan pengalaman-pengalaman baru tentang banyak hal” (Schoebrun 1957: 232). Itu alasan utamanya disamping masalah sosial-ekonomi yang membuat dirinya berpikir untuk ke luar Vietnam. Ayahnya diberhentikan dari pekerjaannya sebagai hakim kekaisaran karena ia dituduh memerintahkan penyerangan kepada tuan tanah tiran (Brocheux 2007: 4).

Ho Chi Minh mendapatkan pendidikan *lycee* di Hue, sekolah dengan sistem pendidikan Perancis. Saat di Hue inilah ia ditengarai terlibat dalam demonstrasi anti pajak petani miskin tahun 1907. Dia kemudian meninggalkan sekolah dan pergi ke selatan bekerja sebagai asisten guru di Duc Thanh di Phan Thiét. Setelah itu ia pergi ke Saigon tahun 1911. Di Saigon, Ho mengalami persentuhan pertamanya dengan modernisasi Barat saat ia mengetahui lampu listrik dan es krim. Tapi dia pun menyadari bahwa peradaban yang terkenal dengan keilmuan dan kemajuan teknologinya itu juga memaksa orang lain untuk tunduk dibawah kekuasaannya (Brocheux 2007: 8). Di tahun 1911 inilah Ho memulai perjalanan bersejarahinya meninggalkan Vietnam. Ia bekerja sebagai asisten dapur di sebuah kapal uap Perancis dengan rute ke Marseille.

Tahun 1911-1917 adalah tahun penjelajahan baginya ke berbagai negara di dunia. Dalam rentang waktu 1911-1913, dia berkunjung ke Dunkirk, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Tunis, Dakar dan beberapa kota pelabuhan di Afrika Timur. Dari benua Afrika ia berlabuh ke benua Amerika menjelajahi kota-kota di Amerika Utara dan Selatan. Sebelum akhirnya ia berhenti lama di Inggris. Dari observasi selama dua tahun pengembaraan, ia mengetahui berbagai model represi rezim kolonial: saat dia menjadi saksi dari penindasan yang diderita oleh orang-orang Arab, Afrika dan kaum kulit hitam di Amerika Serikat. Di New York menurut William Duiker (2000:50-1), Ho mendatangi pertemuan-pertemuan Marcus Garvey Universal Negro Improvement Association di Harlem. Di Amerika Serikat, dia menyadari kontradiksi menyolok antara “prinsip idealistik” dan “kondisi aktual” dari masyarakat berwarna, yang menjadi objek segregasi, ditolak hak kewarganegaraan dan hidup dibawah ancaman penggantungan (Brocheux 2007: 10). Di Inggris pun dia mempelajari kolonialisme ternyata tidak mengenal perbedaan berdasar warna kulit: Inggris negara imperialis terbesar di dunia saat itu merepresi Irlandia yang menuntut kemerdekaan. Ho pun akhirnya menyadari bahwa antara teori dan praktik seringkali tidak sama, khususnya bahwa negara

yang mengaku penganut demokrasi liberal ternyata menoleransi rasisme dan kolonialisme.

Perjalanan menunjukkan kepadanya kesengsaraan dan penindasan di seluruh dunia. Internasionalisme mungkin sesuatu hal yang baru atau aneh bagi seseorang yang membaca Konfusianisme: “seluruh umat manusia bersaudara di empat penjuru samudera” (Brocheux 2007: 11). Saat bekerja sebagai *busboy* di restoran Hotel Carlton, Ho yang bersimpati kepada orang tertindas selalu memberikan makanan sisa kepada orang miskin daripada membuangnya. Di sela-sela pekerjaan ia menyempatkan diri membaca, menulis dan belajar bahasa Inggris, sementara teman lainnya sibuk bermain kartu, mabuk ataupun tidur. Ilmu pengetahuan menurutnya adalah kunci untuk kemajuan. Ia ingin mengajarkan ilmu kepada orang-orang, dimulai dari orang Vietnam kenalannya yang banyak tidak bisa membaca dan tidak bersekolah. Maka Ho memberikan pelajaran membaca dan menulis kepada teman-temannya dan menekankan untuk berperilaku baik agar tidak menodai imej Vietnam dan bangsanya.

Pada akhir tahun 1917, Ho meninggalkan Inggris untuk berdomisili di Paris. Di Paris inilah minatnya pada politik tumbuh secara luar biasa. Tidak lama setelah kedatangannya, Ho mengadakan kontak dengan para pasifis dan sindikalis. Dia bertemu dengan Paul Vailant-Couturier, sosialis Perancis yang nanti menjadi legislator dan editor dari koran Partai Komunis Perancis, *L'humanité*. Dia tinggal berbagi ruangan dengan Phan Van Truong, yang membuka praktik hukum dan menjadi kawan dalam jaringan aktivisme Vietnam serta Jean Ralaimongo, bekas tentara dan guru dari Madagaskar yang berpandangan revolusioner (Edwards 2003: 15). Baik Ho dan Ralaimongo adalah para penggerak koran *L' action coloniale*, yang selama tahun 1920-24 menjadi forum tempat diskusi intelektual progresif dari negara kolonial Karibia, Afrika dan Asia. Jaringan yang dibentangkan oleh Ho di Perancis begitu luas, dia bekerja sama dengan intelektual Korea yang sedang berjuang dari kolonialisme Jepang serta di waktu yang sama membangun koneksi dengan para aktivis Irlandia. Ho juga bergabung dengan French Socialist Party (FSP), yang menurutnya merupakan perwujudan dari Revolusi Perancis yang mengusung tiga prinsip kedaulatan rakyat (Brocheux 2007: 14).

Setelah Perang Dunia I selesai, tahun 1919, bersama dengan jaringan aktivis Vietnam - Phan Van Truong dan Phan Chu Trinh, Ho Chi Minh mengeluarkan petisi kepada para pemimpin sekutu dalam Perjanjian Versailles berjudul *Demands of the Annamite People*. Ho membuat draft tulisan dengan bantuan Trinh dan ditulis ulang oleh Truong. Petisi tersebut berisi desakan terhadap otonomi, kebebasan dan persamaan untuk rakyat Vietnam (Brocheux 2007: 13). Dalam dokumen itu Ho Chi Minh mencantumkan nama Nguyen Ai Quoc atau “Nguyen Sang Patriot”, momen ini mungkin menjadi *turning point* dalam karir politiknya.

Perjalanan Ho Chi Minh bersama FSP tidak berlangsung mulus. Keluarnya Ho dari FSP disebabkan lantaran dua hal: pertama, dia sadar bahwa konsepsi dan aksi politik yang diambil FSP tidak membuatnya percaya bahwa gerakan ini akan membawa implikasi besar kepada rakyat Vietnam. Ho yang bergabung dengan FSP tahun 1919, tidak sabar dan marah dengan cara operasi kolonial yang diremehkan dan bahkan diacuhkan oleh beberapa orang dalam organisasi. Posisi kebanyakan sosialis, begitu ambivalen, percaya bahwa cara-cara kolonialisme humanis ataupun mempromosikan agenda reformis dapat mengantar negara jajahan kepada peradaban modern dan kemajuan (Belmessous 2013: 187). Kedua, pecahnya Revolusi Bolshevik di Soviet tahun 1917 mengubah pandangannya tentang pergerakan anti-kolonial. Di sekitar revolusi itu, sebetulnya Ho belum mempunyai pemikiran mendalam mengenai marxisme. Bahkan saat bergabung dengan FSP, Ho sempat bertanya kepada Jean Longuet untuk menjelaskan doktrin marxis kepadanya. Longuet hanya membalas "bacalah *Das Kapital*". Meskipun Ho tidak begitu rinci menganalisis tesis-tesis Marx dalam *Das Kapital* tapi dia menemukan karya Lenin "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," yang begitu mempengaruhi pemikirannya. Karya itu dipresentasikan oleh Lenin dalam Second Congress of the Comintern Juni 1920. Dalam karyanya itu, Lenin memberikan perhatian kepada teori dan strategi revolusi dalam skala global (Jacobson 1994: 54). Pada penutup artikel itu, Lenin memberikan sebuah anjuran bahwa "kemenangan total atas kapitalisme tidak dapat diraih kecuali kalau kaum proletar, massa kelas pekerja di semua negara dan bangsa di seluruh dunia secara sukarela bekerja keras untuk bersatu dan berserikat" untuk membentuk gerakan revolusioner global (Lenin 1965: 151). Adanya suatu metode dan cara berpikir marxis yang di luar kebiasaan dan progresif membuat Ho berharap bahwa *revolutionary path* dapat menjadi alternatif kepada lambatnya dan legalnya *path of reforms*, dan ketergantungan negara terjajah pada kekuatan imperialis dalam memutuskan nasibnya di dunia (Brocheux 2007: 17).

Pada Desember 1920, kongres kedelapan belas FSP diselenggarakan di Tours, Ho Chi Minh mengajukan proposal: "terlepas dari kiri dan kanan" FSP harus secara efektif mendukung orang pribumi tertindas. Dia berharap bahwa partai dapat bergabung dalam Third International (Komintern) yang menjanjikan mulai dari sekarang program politiknya menyematkan kepada gugatan terhadap kolonialisme dan memberikan hak-hak kepada orang asli. Pengalaman buruk atas jalur moderat dalam konferensi Perjanjian Versailles, dimana Ho tidak mendapatkan apa-apa, dan dialognya dengan pemerintah Perancis yang ternyata mengindahkan permintaan-permintanya, membuat dirinya mendapatkan pelajaran bahwa "yang terkuat" tidak akan secara cuma-cuma memberikan kemerdekaan. Jalan terbaik dan paling logis baginya adalah mencoba metode baru, sebuah strategi jaringan revolusi global yang lebih progresif baik dalam sisi ide dan pengorganisasian aksi.

Mayoritas pemberi suara akhirnya memutuskan untuk menempuh jalur memisahkan diri, kemudian mereka memutuskan untuk membentuk French Communist Party (FCP), yang mendeklarasikan dukungan pada pergerakan politik yang diambil oleh Komintern. Bagi FSP dan khususnya Ho Chi Minh hal ini merupakan “horizon baru” dalam aktivitas politiknya. Setelah FCP terbentuk Ho diminta berpartisipasi dalam komisi kolonial. Tahun 1921, Ho Chi Minh mendirikan Intercolonial Union, sebuah organisasi diluar FCP yang dibentuk bersama para aktivis multietnis progresif di Paris. Dalam organisasi ini berisi Jean Ralaimongo, Max Bloncourt dari Guadeloupe, Saint-Jacques dari Haiti, Samuel Stephany dari Madagaskar, sosialis-legislator Joseph Lagrosilliere dari Martinique, Jacques Barquiseau dari Pulau Reunion dan dari Algeria, Abdelkader Hadj Ali (Edwards 2003: 18). Organisasi ini mempunyai anggota sekitar 200-an, dengan markas berlokasi di rue due Marché-des-Patriarches di arrondissement 5 Paris.

Philippe Dewitte mendeskripsikan Intercolonial Union (IU) sebagai “*the conjunction of diverse militant trajectories, of heteroclite political sensibilities, and of disparate, at times even opposed, national claims*” (Edwards 2003: 18). Meskipun demikian, Edwards (2003: 18) menekankan bahwa IU bukan sesederhana “*pressure group*” atau “*clearinghouse*” untuk pekerjaan radikal di koloni. Sebagai sebuah organisasi massa berbentuk kolektif, mereka juga mempunyai proyek anti-kolonial konseptual dengan menulis sejarah dengan cara pandang orang asli. Dalam IU, kemudian dibentuk Comité d’Etudes Coloniales. Tujuan dari komisi ini adalah untuk memberikan instruksi dan indoktrinasi kepada aktivis kolonial dan lebih luas lagi, untuk memproduksi pengetahuan yang berguna untuk teoritisasi Communist International dan propaganda diseperti kolonialisme. Selain memproduksi penulisan sejarah, pada April 1922, IU membuat koran bernama *Le paria*. Koran ini diterbitkan sebagai upaya bersama dari League for French Citizenship Rights for Madagascar Natives dan Association of Annamite Patriots, yang didirikan oleh Ho Chi Minh bersama jaringan Vietnam-nya di Paris. Di *Le Paria*, Ho Chi Minh menjadi salah satu kontributor utama, ia menulis sekitar 21 tulisan. Disamping menulis, Ho juga menjadi ilustrator dan menggambar karikatur untuk *Le paria*. Keterlibatannya di FCP dan Intercolonial Union, lebih luas lagi, periode selama berada di Paris, tidak diragukan lagi memberikan inspirasi perasaan yang mendalam terhadap solidaritas anti-kolonial dan cara pandang yang lebih radikal maupun teoritis dalam berjuang melawan penindasan kolonial.

Jika Ho Chi Minh membentuk jaringan solidaritas anti-kolonial serta menemukan berbagai macam hal pengetahuan menyangkut kolonialisme, bangsa dan komunisme di Paris maka Jose Rizal mendapatkan hal itu saat melanjutkan studi di Madrid dan melakukan perjalanan di beberapa kota di Jerman dan Inggris. Sebelum pergi ke Madrid, Rizal belajar di University

of Santo Thomas mengambil *preparatory course* untuk hukum, tetapi pindah ke kedokteran disaat tahu ibunya dalam proses mengalami kebutaan. Di kedokteran dia mengambil spesialisasi *ophthalmology*, ilmu yang mempelajari anatomi, fisiologi dan penyakit mata untuk membantu menyembuhkan penyakit ibunya. Pada Mei 1882, Rizal memutuskan untuk meninggalkan Filipina dan melanjutkan studi di Spanyol. Dia melakukan perjalanan sendirian menggunakan kapal Perancis ke Marseille kemudian ke Barcelona. Di Barcelona, Rizal pertama kali menulis esai yang terkenal, berjudul “Amor Patrio”. Esai ini tidak langsung mendapatkan reputasi, namun nanti terkenal setelah dipublikasikan di *La Solidaridad* delapan tahun kemudian. Dalam esai tersebut, Rizal memprtimbangkan tanah air sebagai “*an idol*” dan “*a light*”. Rizal berpendapat “*you who have lost the idea of souls, you who, with wounded hearts, have seen your illusions disappear one by one and like the tree in autumn you find yourselves without flowers and leaves ... there you have motherland: love her*” (Rafael 1990: 599).”

Dari Barcelona dia pergi ke Madrid untuk mengambil studi di Universidad Central de Madrid. Di universitas ini, Rizal belajar kedokteran, disamping itu ia juga belajar sastra dan filsafat bahkan di luar universitas dia masih belajar seni dan bahasa. Kecintaannya dan penguasaannya yang baik pada sastra, sejarah, antropologi, ekonomi dan filsafat meneguhkan bahwa dirinya memiliki kecerdasan di atas rata-rata. Pemikirannya yang terentang dalam berbagai macam bidang ilmu bahkan disiplin ilmu itu tidak berkorelasi membuat sulit bagi orang lain untuk mengklasifikasikan dirinya adalah seorang spesialis. Keahlian dan kecepatannya menyerap bahasa juga memberikan label bahwa Rizal bukan hanya seorang polymath tetapi juga seorang poliglot. Sejak belajar di Eropa, banyak pertanyaan yang menghantui benaknya mengenai kondisi ketertinggalan bangsanya. Dia menyelidiki “apakah penghinaan dan penghambaan dari Filipina adalah hasil dari inferioritas ras atau produk dari situasi sejarah?” (Fisher 1956: 260).

Setelah mendapatkan gelar “Licenciado en Medicina” tanggal 21 Juni 1884 serta mendapatkan “Licenciado en Filosofia y Letras” tanggal 19 Juni 1885, Rizal melakukan perjalanan keliling Eropa untuk mempedalam ilmu *ophthalmology*. Tahun 1885 dia meninggalkan Spanyol ke Paris, dan setahun berikutnya menuju Heidelberg. Pada dua kota itu, Rizal belajar kedokteran di University of Paris dan University of Heidelberg. Selama tinggal di Heidelberg Rizal menulis puisi berjudul “A las flores de Heidelberg” yang berisi harapan kemakmuran kepada tanah airnya dan unifikasi kesamaan nilai antara Barat dan Timur. Dari Jerman, dia melakukan perjalanan berkeliling ke beberapa kota di Austria, Swiss dan Italia.

Rizal mempunyai teman baik Eropa bernama Ferdinand Blumentritt, scholar Austria yang merupakan ahli Filipina. Dalam travel-nya dia juga bertemu dengan A.B. Mayer, antropolog dan ornitholog, dan Friedrich Ratzel

seorang antropolog dan ahli geografi terkenal dari University of Leipzig. Dari perjalanan dan *self-study*, Rizal tertarik dan mempelajari filsafat liberal Barat. Dia membaca banyak buku filsuf Eropa terkenal seperti Voltaire, Bentham, Hugo, Dumas, Rosseau dan John Stuart Mill (Anderson 2005: 29). Meskipun demikian, karya yang membuatnya kagum dan memberi pengaruh kepada pemikiran politiknya adalah karya sastra Harriet Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabine*, yang menurutnya adalah semacam "obor kemanusiaan" (Russell dan Rodriguez 1924: 88). Novel ini memberikan inspirasi dan pengaruh pada pembangunan framework di *Noli Me Tangere*.

Setelah kepulangan sebentar ke Filipina, Rizal berangkat ke London pada Juni 1888 untuk memulai proyek membuat kampanye propaganda untuk pergerakan politik di Filipina. Dia sadar untuk memulai rencana ini, hal yang mesti dikuasainya terlebih dahulu adalah mengerti secara mendalam sejarah Filipina. Ini faktor utama mengapa dia memilih untuk tinggal di Chalcot Crescent 37, Primrose Hill, yang berlokasi tidak jauh dari British Museum. Selama pengisolasian diri di British Museum, Rizal banyak membaca buku seputar sejarah Filipina dan disana ia menemukan sebuah buku klasik karya Antonio Morga *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Buku ini pertama kali dipublikasikan tahun 1609, bercerita tentang peristiwa sejarah yang terjadi pada awal dekade penjajahan Spanyol di Filipina. Rizal kemudian menerbitkan ulang buku ini dengan maksud untuk menyangkal klaim dan asumsi yang keliru mengenai *state of culture* orang-orang Filipina sebelum Spanyol datang (Zafra 1977: 44). Saat menyiapkan publikasi *Sucesos*, Rizal menerbitkan dua esai "Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años" dan "La Indolencia de los Filipinos" yang diterbitkan di *La Solidaridad*.

Selama tahun-tahun ini, keterlibatan Rizal dalam politik begitu intens. Dia merupakan kontributor untuk koran *La Solidaridad*, yang menjadi corong utama Propaganda Movement. Propaganda Movement adalah organisasi kultural yang berisikan sekumpulan orang-orang liberal-eksil dan para mahasiswa Filipina yang belajar di Eropa. Organisasi ini mempunyai misi untuk meningkatkan perhatian Spanyol terhadap kebutuhan dasar koloni. Selain Rizal, ada Graciano Lopez Jaena yang berada di balik layar publikasi *La Solidaridad*, Mariano Ponce seorang ahli Fisika dan penulis, serta Marcelo H. de Pilar, seorang penulis yang bersama Jaena dan Rizal sering dijuluki oleh orang-orang Filipina sebagai "*triumvirate of Filipino propagandist*". Jaringan yang terbentuk dari diaspora para Filipino di Eropa yang *well-traveled*, *multi-lingual* dan terdidik ini lantas menasbihkan diri sebagai *ilustrados*, "yang tercerahkan". *Ilustrados* yang mendapatkan pendidikan bagus di Eropa merupakan "otak dari bangsa" yang kemudian melebar menjadi praksis, gerakan politik sangat besar di Filipina.

Dalam pergerakan anti-kolonial Filipina Propaganda Movement memainkan peranan penting, mereka menuntut persamaan status antara

Spanyol dan Filipina, penghapusan korupsi, menuntut agar orang Filipina diberi kursi di parlemen Spanyol dan mendesak penghapusan kekuasaan luar biasa para biarawan Katolik (Abinales dan Amoroso 2005: 106). Gerakan ini mempunyai ide “kemerdekaan menyeluruh” dalam artian mereka tidak hanya menuntut persamaan hak antara terjajah dan dijajah tetapi juga mendorong terciptanya proses sekularisasi untuk menghilangkan *power* berlebihan yang dipunyai kaum gereja. Frustrasi dengan tindak tanduk yang dilakukan oleh para biarawan Katolik, banyak para anggota Propaganda yang bergabung dengan Freemason di Spanyol. Mengapa banyak anggota Propaganda yang tertarik untuk berafiliasi dengan Freemason? Alasannya adalah prinsip Masonry yang anti-pastor, serta loji-loji Masonry tidak menerapkan diskriminasi ras. Selain itu tradisi kerahasiaan yang dijaga dalam Masonry, membuat pemikiran dan rencana para *ilustrados* tidak bisa diendus dengan baik oleh para biarawan Katolik. Dalam loji Freemason siapapun dapat mengeluarkan idenya mengenai banyak hal, inilah yang membuat mereka nyaman bergabung dengan perkumpulan rahasia ini.

Dalam dua jaringan pergerakan, baik yang terbentuk di Paris dan Madrid, dimana Ho Chi Minh dan Jose Rizal sedang dalam proses pemekaran aktivisme politik, situasi dua kota yang memiliki “atmosfer toleransi” mendukung kegiatan politik mereka untuk berkembang. Khususnya untuk Paris, Raymond Williams (1973 dan 1989: 154, 44-5) pernah mengatakan bahwa Paris dalam suatu waktu pernah mengalami apa yang disebut “*miscellaneity*” - kualitas atau keadaan menjadi beraneka, suatu anonimitas yang mengizinkan “berbagai kelompok kecil yang berbeda-beda” mempunyai ruang untuk beroperasi dan berekspresi yang belum tentu bisa dilakukan di lokasi metropolis imperial lain. Mungkin kurang lebih narasi tentang perlawanan politik Rizal dan Ho Chi Minh bersama dengan jaringan aliansi yang mereka bentuk di metropolis adalah sebuah cerita kecil dari “*the shadow of shadows*”.¹

Adversarial Internationalization: Anti-Kolonialisme di Metropolis

This Union has its goal to group and to guide the colonials living in France; (and) to illuminate those who are living in the colonies about things in France, toward the goal of solidarity; to discuss and to study all questions of colonial policy and economy
(Ho Chi Minh)

Pergerakan politik yang dilakukan oleh Union Intercoloniale untuk menteoritisi anti-imperialisme dengan membangun solidaritas dan berbagai interes diantara aktivis koloni di metropolis Paris merepresentasikan apa yang disebut oleh Edward Said sebagai *adversarial internationalization*.

¹ Frase ini muncul ketika Du Bois mencoba membuat pemetaan terhadap kemungkinan pergerakan anti-kolonial dari bawah, dari “*the colored world*” melawan universalisme Barat.

Said (1990: 31) dalam sebuah artikelnya mengatakan bahwa *adversarial internationalization* adalah usaha untuk mengorganisasi aliansi menantang diskursus universalisme Barat yang berlaku. Salah satu proyek kolektif anti-kolonial yang disusun oleh UI adalah penulisan sejarah atau historiografi, yang berusaha mendekonstruksi hegemoni Barat dan disaat yang sama bersifat internasionalis. Menurut Edwards (2003: 23) kualitas “*adversarial*” berakar dalam penolakan Ho dan para aktivis UI lainnya terhadap wajah universal kesadaran kelas yang dapat melupakan hubungan antara imperialisme dan rasialisme serta hal yang menyebabkan eksploitasi.

Pada Desember 1922, Comité d’Etudes Coloniales yang berada di bawah UI, menerbitkan sebuah seruan “*Aux Indigènes des Colonies*” atau yang berarti “untuk orang pribumi di koloni”. Artikel yang begitu propagandis ini bertuliskan karangan “para komunis di metropolis” dan ditunjukkan kepada “pekerja pribumi” (Edwards 2003: 24). Dalam tulisan ini, diserukan bahwa telah terjadi “eksploitasi ganda” yang dilakukan bukan hanya oleh kekuasaan imperial tetapi juga para tuan tanah rakus lokal yang mengambil kesempatan keuntungan di atas keringat mereka. Pernyataan yang keras dalam tulisan itu tertulis “kamu telah tereksploitasi ganda: sebagai orang asli dan sebagai pekerja” (Edwards 2003: 24). Teori tentang eksploitasi ganda ini mencoba mendorong ke arah internasionalisme proletar sambil menginventarisir eksploitasi, khas dari kolonialisme. Seruan dalam tulisan itu berlanjut kepada penegasan akan kekuatan solidaritas “kami telah berhasil menggalang kerja sama untuk melawan para kolonialis, dan kita sedang menyiapkan untuk mendepak mereka dengan mendirikan “Partai Komunis Raya” (Edwards 2003: 25).

Salah satu kelebihan dari UI dan khususnya koran propagandanya *Le paria* adalah mereka sangat peka terhadap penerjemahan, sehingga sekat-sekat bahasa dan bangsa dapat dilampaui. Dalam halaman judul yang diterbitkan *Le paria* judul tidak hanya tampil dalam bahasa Perancis, tetapi juga bahasa Arab dan Vietnam. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa koran ini tidak ingin menonjolkan identitas nasionalis saja namun perlu sekali lagi dilihat bahwa pada dasarnya IU merupakan organisasi pergerakan yang terdiri dari kemungkinan-kemungkinan gerakan kolektif, interkolonial. Interkolonial merupakan suatu ciri khas dalam pemikiran Ho Chi Minh ketika di Paris, dalam hal ini seringkali dijumpai dalam beberapa tulisannya. Ia lebih suka menggunakan pendekatan interkolonial daripada sekedar menggunakan jargon nasionalisme Vietnam ataupun internasionalisme proletar.

Periode aktivitas politik di Paris merupakan suatu masa produktif bagi Ho Chi Minh tidak hanya membangun kontak, *networking* politik, tetapi juga dalam membangun reputasi dan membangun kesadaran massa, dengan cara menulis. Ditambah dengan menulis itu sebetulnya Ho Chi Minh secara tidak langsung membangun benang merah dengan para aktivis anti-kolonial yang

mempunyai kesadaran dan minat yang sama dengannya. Artikel-artikelnya tersebar tidak hanya di *Le paria* tapi juga di *L' humanité*, *Le journal du peuple*, *La voix ouvrière*, *Le libétaire*, *Clarté* dan *L' action coloniale*. Sebagai penulis Ho adalah penulis yang cukup sering menunjuk langsung musuh-musuh politiknya. Ciri khasnya yang lain adalah dia sering menyeru dalam tulisan-tulisannya kepada orang-orang terjajah, ini ditemukan di *Le paria*. Selain itu dia tidak terlalu dogmatis dan seringkali menjembatani jarak antara masa lalu dan masa kini dengan mencari formulasi di masa lalu yang bisa membawa manfaat, relevan dengan kondisi kekinian (Brocheux 2007: 20). Dalam sebuah tulisannya di *La Revue communiste* 15 Mei 1921, mungkin segala ciri khasnya itu terangkum semua:

"Asians – although considered backward by Westerners – understand better, however, the need for total reform of the present society. And here is why...The great Confucius advocated internationalism and preached the equality of the wealth. He says that world peace comes only with a universal Republic. One should not be afraid of having little, but of not having equally. Equality cancels out poverty...His disciple Mencius continued his doctrine and consumption. Nothing was forgotten in his plan: the protection and development of healthy childhood, education and mandatory work for adults. Happiness and well-being should be equally accessible to all not only to majority. Responding to a question by the king, he frankly replied that "the interests of the people come first, those of the nation come second, and those of the king are of no importance" (Brocheux 2007: 20)

Ho Chi Minh juga banyak menulis esai anti-kolonial dengan cara satir. Dia juga menggunakan parodi dalam tulisan-tulisannya seperti "Ménagerie" dan esai yang begitu menohok "Zoologie", yang ditulisnya di *Le paria*. Dalam "Zoologie" Ho menulis mengenai penemuan spesies baru, yang bahkan Darwin tidak tahu, Ho mengatakan:

"some of its useful characteristics are superior to those of our domestic beasts. Once tamed, it lets itself be sheared like a sheep, loaded up like a donkey, and sent to the butcher like a calf. It is of an extreme fascinability: if one individual is taken, the biggest or strongest of the herd, and a brilliant substance like a gold piece or a cross is hung about its neck, it becomes utterly docile, and then one can make it do absolutely anything and go absolutely anywhere, and the others follow...like beasts, if I may put in such terms" (Edwards 2003: 34).

Binatang fenomenal itu, dengan satir, lazim dengan nama "native of the colonies" kemudian dia menambahkan sebuah catatan bahwa ada sebuah laporan pula dari kolega kami naturalis terkenal De Partout yang menemukan sebuah spesimen yang juga diidentifikasi berhubungan dengan binatang fenomenal yang baru saja ditemukan, nama ilmiah binatang itu adalah "the

proletariat". Dengan menggunakan nama kolega De Partout yang artinya adalah "dari mana saja", menurut Edwards (2003: 34), dalam tulisan ini Ho ingin menunjukkan bahwa satire tidak hanya berakhir dengan mengganti nama, jargon pseudo-ilmiah dalam perlakuan kejam kepada para pribumi di bawah kolonialisme Perancis, namun juga ingin menunjukkan kepada universalisme yang dapat menempatkan pribumi dan proletariat dalam satu bendera internasionalisme.

Model-model variatif yang digunakan oleh Ho Chi Minh dalam menyatakan pandangan anti-kolonialnya, interkolonialnya, ataupun internasionalismenya menunjukkan bahwa gaya penentangan itu tidak monoton. Ho Chi Minh juga menulis beberapa cerita fiksi di *L'humanité*, dengan misi yang sama cuma gaya berbeda. Menulis fiksi adalah suatu model pemberontakan yang cukup efektif. Dalam fiksi pengarang bisa menggambarkan kekompleksan suatu cerita, membangun imajinasi, dengan sentuhan-sentuhan emosional yang tidak bisa dihadirkan melalui karya non-fiksi. Pemberontakan anti-kolonial melalui sastra akan banyak dibicarakan melalui Jose Rizal yang menggunakan sastra sebagai metode perlawanan.

Sastra: Alternatif yang Melampau Batas

Dibanding para patriot ekspatriat lain, Jose Rizal mempunyai metode resistensi yang menarik untuk dieksplorasi. Rizal banyak mengungkapkan kegelisahannya mengenai apa yang terjadi pada bangsanya: korupsi, kolonialisme, keterbelakangan dan superioritas agama, dengan menggunakan karya sastra. Rizal menulis dua buah novel utama, *Noli Me Tangere* dan *El Filibusterismo* yang begitu kritis memperlihatkan bobrok yang terjadi pada tanah airnya sekaligus memperlihatkan rancangan sebuah alur revolusioner untuk tanah airnya. Dua novel inilah yang menggugah kesadaran rakyat Filipina dan memantik pergerakan anti-kolonial dan kemerdekaan menjadi sedemikian besar di Filipina. Disamping secara politik mempunyai implikasi yang dahsyat, novel karya Rizal diakui sebagai *masterpiece* sastra perwakilan dari Asia untuk dunia pada abad ke-19.

Ben Anderson (2005: 28) menempatkan Rizal sebagai salah satu penulis Asia bersama karya sastra yang semakin mengglobal penggebrak duopoli *magnum opus* sastra Perancis-Inggris pada pertengahan abad ke-19. Diantara karya-karya selain *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) dan *El Filibusterismo* (1891) itu ada *Moby Dick* (1851) dan *The Confidence Man* (1857) karya Melville, *Oblomov* (1857) karya Goncharov, *On the Eve* (1860) dan *Fathers and Sons* (1862) karya Turgenev, *Max Havelaar* (1860) novel besar anti-kolonial pertama, karya Douwes Dekker (Anderson 2005: 28). Tahun 1886 Dostoevsky menerbitkan *Crime and Punishment* lalu Tolstoy menerbitkan *War and Peace*. Setelah itu karya dari Brazil Machado de Assis *Memorias postumas de Bras Cubas* (1882). Generasi

Rizal adalah Joseph Conrad dari Polandia, Natsume Sōseki dari Jepang dan Rabindranath Tagore dari India (Anderson 2005: 28).

Jose Rizal menulis novel pertamanya *Noli Me Tangere* saat dia berdomisili di Madrid dan dilanjutkan ketika menetap sementara di Paris dan Heidelberg (Russell dan Rodriguez 1924: 89). Ide untuk menulis novel sebagai alternatif untuk melawan dominasi kolonial dan gereja telah diutarakan oleh Rizal kepada kawan-kawan jaringan Filipina di Eropa. Meskipun mereka antusias terhadap ide itu, tapi dalam implementasinya wacana itu tidak pernah direalisasikan. Keinginan Rizal untuk melampiaskan kegundahannya mengenai borok yang ada dalam kehidupan sosial-politik Filipina semakin kuat ketika dia berkenalan dengan novel Harriet Beecher Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Novel inilah yang menginspirasi dirinya untuk menulis fiksi untuk mengungkapkan pemikirannya tentang kondisi tanah air.

Noli bercerita tentang sebuah kisah Juan Crisóstomo Ibarra yang kembali ke Filipina setelah tujuh tahun studi. Ia bertemu dengan cinta lamanya, Maria Clara, yang akan segera menyelenggarakan pernikahan dengannya. Kehidupannya, juga hidup ayahnya, mengalami pergolakan yang berat akibat fitnah dan manipulasi dari mantan pendeta San Diego Damaso Vardolagas. Dalam novel ini Rizal ingin memperlihatkan gereja sebagai sebuah institusi bobrok (korupsi dan *abuse of power*) yang membuat tanah airnya mengalami kemunduran yang luar biasa. Ibarra mengalami konspirasi penuduhan bahwa dirinya merupakan otak dibalik pemberontakan oleh para pendeta dan pemerintah. Ibarra kemudian ditahan. Tapi akhirnya dia dapat kabur berkat pertolongan seorang revolusioner bernama Elias, orang yang pernah diselamatkannya. Berkat konspirasi dari Damaso pernikahan Ibarra dengan Maria dibatalkan. Maria yang menduga Ibarra tewas kemudian menyesal telah menyerahkan bukti-bukti surat pribadinya sehingga pihak gereja dapat tahu bentuk tulisannya untuk memperkuat bukti bahwa Ibarra adalah pemberontak. Ibarra dipercayai telah tewas, padahal yang tertembak adalah Elias yang menyelamatkan dirinya. Elias yang tertembak dengan luka parah kemudian terbangun di hutan ketika malam natal. Ia bertemu dengan seorang anak muda bernama Basilio yang kemudian disuruhnya untuk membuat pemakaman, dan kemudian Basilio diminta untuk membakar jenazahnya. Sebelum Elias meninggal ia mengatakan kepada Basilio untuk terus bermimpi tentang kebebasan tanah air. Elias berkata "*I die without seeing the dawn break on my country... You who are about to see it, greet her... do not forget those who have fallen during the night*" (Rizal 1996: 421).

Noli memang bukan sebatas cerita roman antara Ibarra dan Maria, percintaan adalah bumbu dari sebuah wacana besar yang ingin diangkat oleh Rizal, yaitu situasi faktual yang terjadi apa adanya di Filipina. Dengan menghadirkan apa yang disebutnya sebagai "kanker sosial" ini, Rizal ingin pemerintah Spanyol lebih memberikan atensi kepada tanah jajahan untuk

segera mereformasi sistem pemerintahan. Di dalam novel ini memang sensitivitas nasionalisme Rizal dimasukkan, tidak hanya dalam karakter Elias tapi juga Ibarra, yang banyak kalangan menyangka bahwa dirinya adalah transformasi dari sosok Jose Rizal dalam fiksi. Dalam sebuah dialog Ibarra dengan Laruja di sebuah perjamuan, Ibarra ditanyakan *"how long have you been away from the motherland?"* Ibarra membalas *"almost seven years"*. Laruja kemudian merespon balik *"come! You must already forgotten her!"* tetapi apa yang dikatakan Ibarra, dia menyatakan *"on the contrary; and even if my country seemed to have forgotten me, I have always thought of her"* (Rizal 1996: 18).

Setelah publikasi *Noli*, novel ini mendapatkan kritik hebat dari pemerintah Spanyol dan juga dari institusi agama di Filipina. Mereka yang membaca novel itu mengatakan bahwa orang Filipina yang membaca novel Rizal bisa tereliminasi rasa cintanya kepada Spanyol dan terbakar nasionalismenya sebagai bangsa Filipina. Comision Permanente de Censura, sebuah badan penyensoran, kemudian mempublikasikan laporan untuk membatasi peredaran novel itu. Rizal disebut oleh penduduk Spanyol di Filipina sebagai *filibustero* (revolusionis, agitator) sebaliknya dia mendapat sambutan rakyat Filipina sebagai pembawa obor nasionalisme Filipino.

Setelah publikasi *Noli* yang mengegerkan, Rizal menerbitkan sekuelnya berjudul *El Filibusterismo* tahun 1891 di Ghent. Dalam novel ini atmosfer yang dibangun Rizal lebih muram namun lebih terus terang dalam pesan politik, meskipun demikian banyak orang yang berpendapat bahwa struktur *El Filibusterismo* lebih sulit dipahami daripada *Noli Me Tangere* (Watson 1998: 7). Dalam novel ini, ada *influence* dari *Max Havelaar* yang dibaca oleh Rizal saat dia berinkubasi di British Museum, terutama dalam bagaimana sebuah novel dapat secara kuat ditulis untuk mempunyai pesan anti-kolonial, politikal dan pembalasan secara personal (Anderson 2005: 46).

Dalam *El Filibusterismo*, tokoh utama Ibarra telah bertransformasi sebagai Simoun, seorang pedagang perhiasan yang kaya dengan aksen percampuran Inggris dan Latin yang aneh. Simoun kembali ke tanah airnya setelah bertualang di Kuba dan Eropa. Simon telah menyusun sebuah rencana revolusioner untuk menghancurkan sistem korup kolonial dan membebaskan cinta sejatinya Maria. Perubahan nama Ibarra menjadi seseorang dengan karakter baru menggunakan pseudonym tokoh revolusioner Amerika Selatan, Simon Bolivar, memberi kesan bahwa Rizal ingin menghidupkan spirit Simon Bolivar ke dalam karakter ini, dimana dia berjuang untuk membebaskan Amerika Selatan dan menyatukan bangsa-bangsa bekas jajahan Spanyol (Lifshey 2008: 1439). Dalam klimaks cerita dalam novel ini, Ibarra, dalam sebuah pernikahan besar dimana semua elit berkumpul, menaruh bom nitroglycerin dalam lampu minyak tanah. Dalam sebuah dialog dengan Basilio, yang muncul lagi namun sudah besar dan bergabung dengan gerakan revolusioner Ibarra, Ibarra mengatakan bahwa ini tidak hanya sebuah bom

nitrogliserin tetapi juga “didalamnya mengandung air mata, ketidakadilan, kejahatan dan ungkapan kebencian” (Rizal 2007: 203). Rencana itu pada akhirnya gagal dan Simoun atau Ibarra menjadi buronan dan ditembak oleh tentara pemerintah dalam pelariannya. Ibarra yang terluka lalu mendatangi rumah Father Florentino. Dalam akhir cerita novel terjadi dialog antara Ibarra dan Father Florentino yang merupakan pesan moral dan testamen politik yang disampaikan oleh Rizal untuk bangsa Filipina.

Memang model yang dibangun oleh kedua novel ini hampir sama. Tapi pesan blak-blakan yang ditinggalkan oleh Rizal dalam *El Fili* menjadi sedemikian penting. Dialog itu setidaknya mempunyai empat ide penting yang ingin disampaikan Rizal mengenai pandangan ideal terhadap bangsa dan nasionalisme (Rizal 2007: 307-16). Pertama, rakyat-lah yang menentukan takdirnya sendiri. Kedua, liberasi nasional, yang diperoleh oleh rakyat harus dicapai dengan penderitaan dan bahkan dengan kerja keras yang mempertaruhkan nyawa. Ketiga, kemerdekaan bisa dicapai sepanjang fondasi kemampuan intelektual dan moral rakyat ditingkatkan, jika tidak itu hanya menggantikan majikan, Ibarra mengungkapkan “*why independence if the slaves today will be the tyrants of tomorrow?*” (Rizal 2007: 314). Terakhir, tata kelola pemerintahan yang baik mustahil tercapai apabila tidak adanya penghargaan kepada keadilan, keadilan mustahil diwujudkan apabila tidak ada penghargaan kepada kemanusiaan.

Pada akhirnya nasib Ibarra begitu tragis sama dengan Rizal di kehidupan nyata, dimana keduanya ditembak oleh tentara pemerintah. Meskipun keduanya meninggal, bagaimanapun, mimpi mereka berdua tentang kemerdekaan bangsa Filipina tetap menyala di hati rakyat Filipina.

Kesimpulan

Dari komparasi yang dilakukan terhadap Ho Chi Minh dan Jose Rizal, meskipun keduanya mempunyai corak pemikiran yang berbeda, model dan metode pergerakan yang berbeda, namun keduanya menunjukkan sebuah lintasan yang berbeda dari model imajinasi dan aksi anti-kolonialisme dan nasionalisme yang selama ini banyak dikupas oleh sejarawan. Bila selama ini anti-kolonialisme atau nasionalisme identik dengan sebuah ide bahwa imajinasi atau aksi itu mengakar secara teritorial (*rooted*), atau sekedar sebagai replikasi atau penyebaran dari Barat ke Timur, namun jaringan yang dibentuk oleh para patriot ekspatriat ini mengidentikkan suatu fenomena lain bahwa baik anti-kolonialisme dan nasionalisme juga ditemukan dan dibangun oleh mobilitas atau perjalanan (*mobile*).

Di Asia Tenggara tidak hanya Jose Rizal dan Ho Chi Minh saja, contohnya selain mereka masih ada Moh. Hatta dan Tan Malaka, merupakan bagian sedikit dari mereka. Masih banyak suara-suara lain yang mungkin

masih butuh dieksplorasi dalam penelitian lebih lanjut. Fenomena patriot ekspatriat bila dilihat lebih seksama, dalam pendekatan waktu dan spasial, mewujudkan sebuah benang merah yang sama: terbangun dari berbagai tokoh atau komunitas yang menunjukkan suatu resistensi kepada dominasi kolonial. Keberadaan mereka di luar tanah air tidak menghalangi mereka untuk membangun sebuah platform pergerakan politik. Malahan yang menjadi menarik adalah mereka melakukan pergerakan di kota-kota metropolis yang notabene merupakan ibukota imperial negara yang menjajah mereka. Oleh sebab itu, atensi terhadap peran dan pergerakan dari patriot ekspatriat patut diberikan perhatian oleh para sejarawan yang menekuni studi tentang sejarah pemikiran.

Terakhir, suatu hal yang membutuhkan penelitian lebih lanjut lagi adalah metode pergerakan anti-kolonial yang dilakukan oleh Rizal dan Ho. Rizal menggunakan sastra sebagai alternatif perjuangan politik sedangkan Ho dalam beberapa temuan juga menulis esai secara parodikal dan menggunakan karya fiksi. Seperti yang dikatakan oleh James Scott (1985), "*weapons of the weak*" itu tidak hanya berupa pemberontakan fisik, bisa saja gerakan kreatif diluar ekspetasi dari para pemegang kuasa. Komparasi bisa dilakukan, sebagai contoh bisa saja membandingkan karya-karya sastra anti-kolonial yang tumbuh pada akhir abad ke-19 dan awal abad ke-20, seperti *Max Havelaar*, atau karya-karya Mas Marco Kartodikromo yang menulis novel *Mata Gelap* (1914) dan *Student Hidjo* (1919) dengan karya sastra lain di Asia Tenggara ataupun Asia. Usaha ini akan memberikan sebuah *insight* atas varian-varian pergerakan politik yang muncul di koloni. ●

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The Philippines' Typhoon Alley: The Historic *Bagyos* of the Philippines and Their Impact

Augusto V. de Viana

Abstrak

Setiap tahun Filipina dilanda hampir selusin badai tropis. Badai yang dibarengi turunnya hujan lebat ini menyebabkan kerusakan berat dan merenggut kehidupan warga Filipina. Selama kurun satu tahun, badai tropis ini mengalami proses beberapa tahap di atas permukaan laut sebelum melintasi daratan. Beberapa wilayah di Filipina rentan terhadap badai tropis dan taifun ini. Sementara wilayah lain tidak begitu parah terkena dampak dan potensi kerusakannya. Terkait perubahan iklim, badai yang sangat kuat dalam bentuk super taifun menjadi sedikit lumrah. Tulisan ini bertutur tentang bagaimana pembentukan badai tropis yang berlangsung setiap tahunnya di wilayah Pasifik Barat dan dampaknya bagi kehidupan warga. Tulisan ini juga mengaitkan data historis tentang badai ini di Filipina, termasuk badai super Yolanda yang dideskripsikan sebagai badai terkuat pernah melintas di permukaan bumi.

Kata kunci: Badai tropis, taifun, rehabilitasi, rekonstruksi.

Introduction: Nomenclature of Tropical Cyclones

One of the characteristics of the Philippine environment is the frequent occurrence of tropical cyclones. The archipelago is visited by an average of 22 cyclones in a year. For many Filipinos the occurrence of storms especially after a long drought brings relief to farmers. The accompanying rains bring life to parched surroundings. To farmers especially those cultivating rain-fed fields' storms are beneficial. Aside from sustaining life, tropical cyclones are bringers of death. Excessive rains cause rivers to overflow and wash away homes, crops and livestock. Every year, hundreds of Filipinos die as a result of floods and landslides. Since the occurrence of tropical cyclones is a constant feature of the Philippines, people can only adjust to its power.

Tropical cyclones are areas of low barometric pressure which cause a movement of air and accompanied by large amounts of moisture which come from the surrounding bodies of water. The movement of the air is swirls in a counter clockwise direction as cyclones formed in the northern hemisphere spin in this direction while those that form in the southern hemisphere spin in the clockwise direction. The differences in the spinning direction are attributed to the earth's magnetic field.

Tropical cyclones in the Philippines are called *bagyos* or *baguios*.¹ Foreign terms for these tropical disturbances are *tifones*, *temporales*, *tormentas* and *tempestos* in Spanish. The English terms include typhoons and storms. Sometimes the West Indian uses the term "hurricanes" or hurricanes. Spanish documents also use the Tagalog term *baguio*, making it part of the Spanish vocabulary (*PNA, Calamidades Publicas, 1845-1898, Bundle 2, SDS 15087*).

There are technical terms for the tropical cyclones. The beginnings of a cyclone are a low pressure area (LPA). Based on the standards of the Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Service Administration (PAGASA) when a low pressure area develops swirling winds that reach 35 to 55 kilometers per hour, it becomes a tropical depression. As the tropical depression gains strength with speeds reaching 60 kilometers per hour, it is now classified as a tropical storm. The disturbance officially becomes a typhoon when the wind speed reaches 120 kilometers an hour.

The word "typhoon" or "tifon" in Spanish originates from the Chinese *dai feng* or the Japanese *tai fu* which both means "great wind." The word typhoon is the term given to this strong disturbance in the North Pacific area west of the International Date Line. In the Carribean and North Atlantic area these disturbances are called hurricanes- from the word "*huracan*" which was the god of the rain, storm and fire of the ancient Mayas. The term cyclones apply to the disturbances in the South Pacific, Indian Ocean and the Atlantic area. A super typhoon is the highest and most powerful level of tropical cyclones in the Philippines. According to the U.S. Joint Typhoon Warning Center, the typhoon is a cyclone whose surface wind speed reaches at least 240 kilometers an hour.²

The Creation and Behavior of Tropical Cyclones in the Philippines

Tropical cyclones usually develop over warm water and near the equator. These tropical disturbances feed from the water vapor which is abundant in the oceans and seas. When the sun warms up the earth's surface water evaporates into the atmosphere and condenses into water droplets. A great amount

1 This is different from Baguio from which the city of Baguio in Northern Luzon was named. The city was named from bagiw which was a term for a local moss in the area.

2 The US Joint Typhoon Warning Center uses the Saffir-Simpson wind scale to classify hurricanes and typhoons. It classifies storms into five categories. A Category 1 storm must have sustained winds of 74 to 95 miles per hour (119-153 kilometers per hour); a category 2 has winds between 96 to 110 miles per hour (119-153 kilometers per hour); a category 3 has winds from 111 to 129 miles per hour (178 to 208 kilometers per hour); category 4 has sustained winds of 130 to 156 kilometers per hour (209 to 251 kilometers per hour). The most severe category, the category 5 has winds in excess of 157 miles per hour (252 kilometers per hour) A tropical storm, according to the Saffir-Simpson Scale has sustained winds of 39 to 78 miles per hour (63 to 118 kilometers per hour) while a tropical depression has winds of less than 38 miles per hour (62 kilometers per hour) . See Williams, Jack (May 17, 2005). "Hurricane scale invented to communicate storm danger". USA Today. Retrieved 2007-02-25.

of heat energy which is locked up in the water vapor is released through condensation. Usually the ocean temperature of 26.5 centigrade (79.7 degrees Fahrenheit) or more is necessary for the formation of a tropical disturbance. The warm waters are needed to maintain a warm core that supplies the energy for the cyclone. Tropical cyclones also form within 500 kilometers (300 miles) of the earth's equator but with the rise of ocean temperatures because of El Niño phenomenon, tropical storms may now form at higher latitudes.

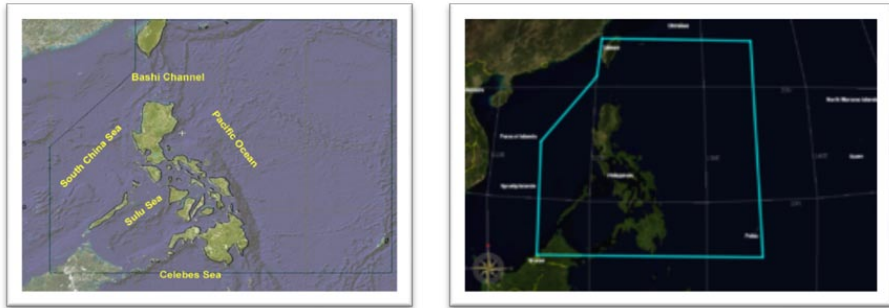
The process of forming and sustaining a tropical cyclone requires a great amount of energy. According to Pagasa, an average-sized typhoon will get an energy supply in one day all the energy released by 40,000 hydrogen bombs. The typhoon will dissipate once the supply of water vapor is cut off. This happens when a typhoon from the ocean passes over land. But while it is still over water the typhoon would be at its strongest. When it moves over mountains the effect of the topography retards the air strength. The relationship of tropical cyclones and large bodies of water shows that cyclones like typhoons are closely related to the oceans.

Along with the heating of the bodies of water within the Western Pacific the increase in water vapor results in the instability of the lower atmosphere. The interaction between the air and the ocean happens at the surface of the seas. This interface however is not a rigid boundary between the fluid and gaseous envelopes of the earth. Rather it is a transfer station of matter and energy when the heat helps turn the water into water vapor.

Another factor which gives rise to the formation of tropical cyclones is the high humidity which is provided by the warm ocean waters. While these conditions are necessary for cyclone formation, they do not necessarily mean that such a weather disturbance will form. What could just form maybe just a mass of clouds or a front zone where winds from the north and south may converge. However when a sufficient vortex is formed, a tropical disturbance may develop. It becomes organized with the formation of an "eye" which is actually a region of calmness inside a storm. The winds of a cyclone are the strongest near the eye or vortex.

Filipino meteorologists study cyclones in an area called the Philippine Area of Responsibility (PAR). The area is actually bigger than the territory of the Philippines and it is bounded by the following coordinates: 25°N - 120°E, 25°N - 135°E, 5°N - 135°E, 5°N - 115°E, 15°N - 115°E and 21°N - 120°E.

Picture 1. The Philippine Area of Responsibility (PAR)



Source: Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration hereinafter referred to as PAGASA.

Tropical cyclones in the Western Pacific Ocean follow three common tracks: The first is a straight track which is a general westward path that affects the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam. The second track is the parabolic track in which the tropical disturbance recurves to the north, affecting eastern Philippines, eastern China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan. The last common track is when the tropical cyclone follows a northward track. The storm moves in a northerly direction and affects only small islands. A few storms originate in the South China Sea and the Western Pacific and move eastward.

Most tropical cyclones make landfall or passed near extreme Northern Luzon during the June –October period. Cyclones especially typhoons would make landfall at Central and Northern Luzon during July and August. The Visayas and Southern Luzon would be passed by the cyclone around September to October. Some storms would make landfall in eastern Mindanao. Often this happens at the latter part of the year during November and December. The occurrence of tropical cyclones in southern Mindanao and Sulu is considered rare.

On an annual time scale the month with the least tropical disturbance reaching the Philippines would be in the month of May. This steadily increases through June and July and the month of August having the most typhoons in a year. The activity falls off significantly in October. The most active typhoon season was in 1993 when the Philippine Area of Responsibility was visited by a record 36 tropical cyclones.

Nearly a third of the world's tropical cyclones form in the Western Pacific, making the region one of the most active on earth. Tropical cyclones were formed all year round. Historically, the year 1964 was the most active year in the formation of tropical cyclones in the Pacific. During that year, 39

cyclones of tropical storm strength were formed. In 2010, only 14 cyclones of tropical strength were formed in the Pacific of which seven became typhoons. The year 1993 was the highest year for cyclone strikes for the Philippines with nineteen tropical cyclones passing through the islands. In contrast, in 1958 there was only one tropical storm visited the archipelago (Rodgers, Adler and Pierce, 2000).

Tropical disturbances in the Pacific form all year in the northwestern Pacific Ocean. This corresponds to the area just northeast of the Philippines. The month with the least number of cyclones formed is in February. This number then steadily increases through June and spiking through July to October and September, becoming the most active month for the cyclone formation. The activity falls off in November. The most affected areas were northern and Central Luzon and Eastern Visayas. Here, at least 30% of the annual rainfall comes from tropical cyclones while in the southern islands less than 10% receive their annual rainfall from tropical cyclones.

Tropical cyclones become stronger when they are fed with moisture from the seasonal winds called monsoons. The country experiences two monsoon seasons: the northeast monsoon locally called the *amihan*. It usually occurs from October to February, originates from the Northeast Asia. The other monsoon is the southwest monsoon, known locally as the *habagat* and it blows from the late of May to October. This monsoon brings moisture coming from the Indian Ocean and the southern West Philippine Sea. As a tropical cyclone approaches the Philippines it sucks in the monsoon and its accompanying moisture releasing great volumes of rain. The tropical cyclone weakens when it encounters a mountain range but it may recover once it reaches water.

Naming of Storms

The naming of tropical storms was adopted in the 20th century. Female names were used in the 1950s. The Philippines has its own naming system which was adopted in 1963. Local female names were given once the storm with an international name has entered the Philippine Area of Responsibility. The naming was assigned in alphabetical order. In January 2000, the World Meteorological Organization began assigning names to storms from a list given by 14 Asian countries with each country getting two three a year. Unlike the American, Philippine systems storm names were not people's names but names of things, like flowers, goods and animals. These names were not given in alphabetical order by the country that nominated that name. Since January 2000, forecasters at PAGASA continued the tradition of giving local names to tropical cyclones once these enters the PAR. Presently the PAGASA provides the local name and the international name. For example super typhoon *Haiyan* was given the local name Yolanda. In Chinese, Haiyan means "petrel".

Names of cyclones can be reused or renamed several times but some names were replaced or cannot be used again because of the scale of destruction they created. Among them were *Dading* (Winnie, 1964), *Pitang* (Georgia, 1970), *Titang* (Kate, 1970), *Yoling* (Patsy, 1970), *Sening* (Joan, 1970), *Wening* (Elaine, 1974), *Didang* (Olga, 1976), *Atang* (Olive, 1978), *Undang* (Agnes, 1984), *Herming* (Betty, 1987), *Sisang* (Nina, 1987), *Unsang* (Ruby, 1988), *Uring*, (Thelma, 1991), *Rosing* (Angela, 1995), *Loleng* (Babs, 1998), *Unding* (Muifa, 2004), *Violeta* (Merbok, 2004), *Winnie* (2004), *Milenyo* (Xangsane, 2006), *Reming* (Durian, 2006), *Cosme* (Halong, 2008), *Frank* (Fengshen, 2008), *Ondoy* (Ketsana, 2009), *Pepeng* (Parma, 2009), *Bebeng* (Aere, 2011), *Mina* (Nanmandol, 2011), *Sendong* (Washi, 2011), *Pablo* (Bopha, 2012), *Santi* (Utor, 2013) and *Yolanda* (Haiyan, 2013) (Pagasa.gov.ph).

Intensity

The Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) have its own classification for tropical cyclones. The lowest category is that of a tropical depression which a weak low pressure disturbance is with a definite surface circulation having maximum wind speed of up to 63 kilometers per hour (kph) or approximately less than 25 miles per hour (mph). It has one or more closed isobars and it is most common in the equatorial regions or inter tropical convergence zones and less frequent in the trades. A tropical storm is a moderate tropical cyclone with a maximum wind speed of 64 to 118 per hour (25 to 75 mph) and with closed isobars while a typhoon is an intense tropical cyclone with a maximum wind speed exceeding 118 kilometers per hour.

Other countries have different standards for tropical cyclones. The Japan Meteorological Agency (JMA) defines a tropical depression as a tropical system that has wind speeds not exceeding 33 knots (38 mph or 61 kph); a tropical storm has a sustained wind speed that exceeds 34 knots (39 mph/63 kph). When the tropical cyclone exceeds winds of 64 knots (74 mph/119 kph) it is now a considered a typhoon which is the highest on its scale. The Hong Kong Observatory has three classifications for typhoons: a typhoon has wind speeds of 64 to 79 knots (73-119 mph/118-149 kph); a severe typhoon has wind speeds of at least 80 knots (92 mph/150 kph) while the highest form of typhoon is the super typhoon which has a wind speed of at least 100 knots (120 mph/190 kph). The United States Joint Typhoon Warning Center (JTWC) unofficially classifies typhoons with wind speeds of at least 130 knots (150 mph/241 kph) which is the equivalent of strong category 4 storms in the Saffir-Simpson Scale as super typhoons.

Tropical cyclones have a life cycle that has four stages. First of this stage is the formative stage in which the tropical cyclone form in waves and in

shear lines of pre-existing disturbances and winds usually below the typhoon force. The second stage is the immature stage in which there a deepening stage of the cyclone until the lowest central pressure and maximum wind intensity is reached. This intensification usually does not always take place since some tropical cyclones are known to die down even if it has not reached winds of typhoon force. The third stage is the mature stage in which the area of circulation expands while the surface pressure no longer falls and there is no increase in the maximum wind speed which may last for a week. The final stage is the decaying stage in which the cyclone dissipates. The dissipation happens when the cyclone encounters friction with land masses and lack of moisture as it moves over continents or when it meets colder and drier air when they go towards the North Pole.

The Effects of Tropical Cyclones Winds

The primary effect of a tropical cyclone is the strong wind. Tropical cyclones are at their strongest near the center or the “eye.” The formation of the “eye” is actually the vortex of the cyclone and a formation of a well-developed “eye” shows the maturity of the storm. The intensity of the cyclone is measured by the speed of the wind as it approaches an area. PAGASA releases cyclone warnings in the form of Public Storm Warning Signals (PSWS). If an area goes under Public Storm Signal (PSWS) No. 1, a tropical cyclone will affect the locality and winds of 30 to 60 kph or intermittent rains may be expected 36 hours. When a tropical cyclone develops very close to the locality a shorter lead time of the occurrence will be specified in the warning bulletin.

Under PSWS No. 1 twigs and branches of small trees may be broken and some banana plants may be tilted or downed. Some houses made of very light material like nipa and cogon maybe partially unroofed.³ Light damage is expected by exposed communities. Rice crops however may suffer significant damage when the plants are at their flowering stage. When their locality goes under PSWS No. 1, the signal may be upgraded if the cyclone is getting stronger or moving closer. The waves on coastal waters may gradually develop and become bigger and higher. Fishermen and sailors are advised against going out to sea especially if their sea craft is small. People are advised to listen to the latest severe weather bulletins every six hours. Businesses however may be carried out unless floods occur. Disaster preparedness is activated to alert status.

³ Nipa refers to palm leaves obtained from swamp palms which are commonly used for roofings as well as walls in homes in Philippine rural villages. Cogon on the other hand, is a type of grass that is used for roofing material.

Picture 2. Depiction of a place under Public Storm Signal No. 1



Source: pagasa.dost.gov.ph

In PSWS No. 2, winds of up to 60 kilometers per hour are expected within the next 24 hours. Like in PSWS No. 1, the tropical cyclone will affect the locality and winds greater than 60 up to 100 kph will be expected in at least 24 hours. Under PSWS No. 1, coconut trees may be tilted and others may be broken. Banana plants may be downed.⁴ Rice and corn plants will be adversely affected and large number of houses with nipa and cogon roofs may be partially or totally unroofed. Some old galvanized iron roofings may be peeled off. In general, there will be light and moderate damage to exposed communities.

When an area comes under PSWS No. 2, sea and coastal waters will be dangerous to small sea craft. Special attention should be given to the latest position, the direction, movement and intensity of the cyclone as it moves towards the locality. The general public is advised against travelling by sea and is cautioned to avoid unnecessary risks. Properties must be secured before the signal is upgraded and disaster preparedness agencies are now in action to alert their communities.

⁴ There are references to Philippine agricultural products such as rice, corn and coconuts since the rural countryside produces these goods.

Picture 3. Depiction of a place under Public Storm Signal No. 1



Source: pagasa.dost.gov.ph

In an area placed under PSWS No. 3, winds of 100 kilometers per hour are expected in the next 18 hours. Many coconut trees may be broken or destroyed and almost all banana plants may be downed and a number of trees may be uprooted. Rice and corn crops may suffer heavy losses. Majority of houses built of light materials like cogon and nipa may be unroofed or destroyed. There may be considerable damage to structures of light and medium construction. There may be widespread disruption of electrical power and communication services. In general, moderate to heavy damage is expected especially in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

The tropical disturbance of PSWS No. 3 strength is dangerous to the affected and threatened communities. The sea and coastal waters will be very dangerous to all kinds of sea crafts. Travel will be very risky by air or by sea and people are advised to seek shelter in strong buildings, evacuate low-lying areas and stay away from the coasts as the seas may swell. They are similarly advised to stay away from river banks as the rivers may overflow because of heavy rains.

When the eye of the tropical disturbance passes over the locality there will be a sudden occurrence of fair weather immediately after the very bad weather with intense winds coming generally from the north. People are advised not to venture away from the safe shelter because after one to two hours, the worst weather will resume with very strong winds coming this

time from the south. Classes in all levels should be suspended and children should stay within the safety of strong buildings. The disaster preparedness and response agencies and organizations are in action with appropriate response to the actual emergency.

Picture 4. An artist's depiction of an area under PSWS No. 3



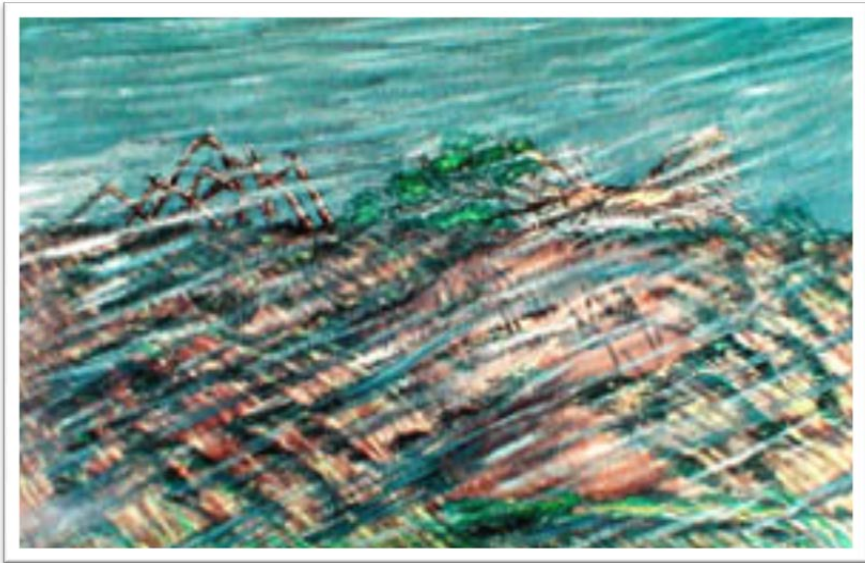
Source: pagasa.dost.gov.ph

Under the highest alert signal, PSWS No. 4, winds in excess of 185 kilometers per hour are expected within the next 12 hours. Here the very intense typhoon will affect the locality and very strong winds of more than 185 kph may be expected in at least 12 hours. The effect of an area under PSWS No. 4 is that coconut plantations may suffer from extensive damage. Many large trees may be uprooted. Rice and corn plantations may suffer severe losses. Most residential and institutional buildings of mixed construction may be severely damaged. Electrical power distribution and communication facilities may be severely disrupted. In the overall the damage to affected communities can be very heavy.

For people coming under PSWS No.4 the situation is potentially destructive to the community and all travel and outdoor activities should be cancelled. Evacuation to safer shelters should have been completed at this time but it will be too late under this situation. Areas coming under PSWS No. 4 are likely to be hit directly by the eye of the typhoon. As the eye of the typhoon approaches, the weather will continuously worsen with the winds increasing to their strongest coming from the north. Then there will

be a sudden improvement of the weather with light winds which is actually a lull. This means the eye of the typhoon is over the locality. The improved weather may last for one to two hours depending on the diameter of the eye and the ground speed of the typhoon. As the eye moves out of the locality the worst weather experienced before the lull resumes. This time the very strong winds will come generally from the south. The disaster coordinating councils and other disaster response organizations are now fully responding to emergencies and in full readiness to respond to the possible calamity.

Picture 5. An artist's depiction of an area under PSWS No. 4



Source: pagasa.dost.gov.ph

As the cyclone approaches an area and gains strength, the storm signals are upgraded. On the other hand, when a cyclone leaves an area or weakens, storm signals are lowered. As for suspension of classes, classes in the preschool level are cancelled whenever there is a PSWS No. 1; Elementary and High School classes are suspended whenever PSWS No. 2 is raised; all classes for colleges and universities are suspended whenever PSWS No. 3 and 4 are raised.

Rains, Floods, and Storm Surges

Along with winds, heavy rainfall is expected with the approach of a cyclone. Since cyclones develop over bodies of water, a strong typhoon will dump

several inches of rainwater. The wettest tropical cyclone was recorded in Baguio City during July 14-18, 1911. The cyclone dumped 2,210 millimeters or 87 inches of rain during a 15 hour period. The source of the moisture was not just the cyclone itself but the accompanying monsoon.

Tropical cyclones account for 30% of the rainfall in the Philippines. The rest is attributed to the monsoons. A tropical cyclone did not need to be especially powerful to cause massive destruction. A well-placed cyclone can draw in moisture from the monsoon that will cause massive flooding. One example was tropical cyclone *Ibiang* (Winnie). *Ibiang* was just a tropical depression with a wind speed of 55 kph on August 18, 1997, but sucked in the southwest monsoon causing massive flooding in Central and Northern Luzon. A total of 810,105 people were affected by the typhoon and 53,654 persons had to be evacuated to higher grounds. Preliminary damage was reported at 60 million pesos. Aside from damage due to floods, heavy rains may cause landslides in mountainous areas, blocking roads and burying entire villages. One such incident was the landslides in Compostela Valley in 2011 from tropical storm Sendong. The denudation of the surrounding forests and gold mining activities increased the risk of landslides as the roots of the trees which hold down the soil are uprooted.

A tropical cyclone does not need to make a landfall to cause heavy rains and massive flooding. Typhoon *Heling* (Abe) caused heavy rains in the Philippines and Taiwan on August 1990 without making landfall before hitting China on September 2. During the same year, Typhoon *Loleng* (Dot) caused floods in northern Luzon and killing four people without making landfall in the Philippines during September 3 to 11, 1990. Heavy rains cause flashfloods in low-lying areas. Small rivers and streams become raging torrents. Numerous deaths caused by drowning and landslides were caused by oversaturated mountainsides. Billions of pesos were lost in typhoon and monsoon-caused floods. In the onslaught of *Ondoy*/*Ketsana*, the storm which induced the southwest monsoon dumped more than 180 millimeters of rain in a 9 to 12 hour period. This would be more than a month's worth of rain that was dumped in a single day. Around 200 people were reported killed as a result of massive flooding.

The rate of absorption of the soil was only 40 to 60 millimeters in six hours before flooding can occur. The excess of this amount will result in flooding. During the onslaught of *Ondoy* floods were reported in Camarines Norte, Metro Manila, Bulacan, Batangas, Laguna, and Rizal reported widespread and very heavy flooding with moderate to low flooding occurring in the provinces of Zambales, Pampanga, Bataan, Cavite and Quezon. *Ondoy's* rainfall turned out to be of a flash flood type and was very unanticipated and unprepared for, which led to many deaths and extensive destruction of property.

One of the worst storms that caused massive destruction was Typhoon *Diding* (Yunya) during June 11-17, 1991. The typhoon made landfall at Dingalan Bay in Aurora Province as a category 1 storm with maximum winds of 120 kilometers per hour. It exited as a weak tropical storm a day later. The storm washed down volcanic ash ejected by Mount Pinatubo which had just erupted downing power lines, burying hundreds of houses to their second floor level. Since the volcano had just erupted, it literally rained mud on June 11 and 12, 1991. Oversaturation of the ground with water will cause landslides in elevated areas. Mountainous areas especially the Cordillera region, Eastern Mindanao, Compostela Valley and Mindoro will be vulnerable in a typhoon that draws in excessive moisture.

During the onslaught of Typhoon *Pedro* (Nesat) on September 27, 2011, the typhoon had a sustained wind-speed of 105 kph but it attracted the southwest monsoon. Within a few hours caused waist-deep waters in downtown Manila. The floods were not just caused by the heavy rain but by a storm surge as waters of Manila Bay were blown inland, damaging and flooding most buildings facing the bay. Anecdotal accounts about floods show the very rapid rate of flooding caused by the rain and the storm surge:

"The residents of Manila had no other choice but to wade through waist-deep floodwaters, dodging branches and flying debris as the typhoon sent surging waves as tall as palm trees over seawalls completely submerging neighborhoods. By the evening of September 27, at least 7 people were reported to be killed and most of them in metropolitan Manila, a place already battered by heavy monsoonal rains. A motorcyclist in the city reported that "It's flooded everywhere. We don't have a place to go for shelter. Even my motorcycle got filled with water". He was one of the thousands stranded by fast-rising flood in the city. Hospital generators were flooded and the building had no power once the typhoon arrived. Soldiers and police in trucks moved thousands of residents, most importantly the women and the children away from the Baseco shanty town after many houses were washed away in the surge and floodwaters brought by Nesat. The storm surge destroyed the seawall of Roxas Boulevard and caused flooding inside the hotels facing Manila Bay. (Hjranski, Hrvoje, "Typhoon Nesat Swamps Cities, 7 Die," (Hearst Communications, 27 September 2011)

Since cyclones are areas of low pressure, such low pressure causes bodies of water to rise. With the accompanying winds, a wave or surge is created. Several surges are created as the waves pile up over one another. In Tacloban a surge as high as 30 feet was reported during the onslaught of super typhoon Yolanda in November 6, 2014 that the residents had to climb trees and move to the upper floors of their homes to avoid the incoming water from the sea. Most of the casualties caused by the super typhoon were caused in Tacloban

City. The surge was so sudden that the residents believed that a tsunami had hit the city.

Storms Mentioned in Philippine History

A Spanish Jesuit priest Manuel Selga, S.J. compiled a history of storms and typhoons in the Philippines. Selga was the last Spanish Director of the Manila Observatory who served between 1926 to 1946. His work *Catalogue of Typhoons* (published 1935) used terms such as storms, depression and typhoons. He compiled information from old historical accounts among were 533 disturbances classified as typhoons. (Schumacher, p. 112)

An addenda to the work is a *Chart of Remarkable Typhoons in the Philippines 1902-1934* which is an abridged enumeration of typhoons and storms as described by old chroniclers or described by contemporary documents. The earliest description of a typhoon came from Ibn Batuta. The catalogue was structured monthly providing every month a list of typhoons. He quoted a part of *Natural History of the Visayas*, written by Fr. Ignacio Alcina who was assigned in the Visayas. Describing what a typhoon was in the 17th century he wrote:

"The Indians of this area call baguio to this type of hurricane, which in other part and in the East Indies are called typhoons. And all this means a very strong tempest. There used to be in these islands so numerous and so strong that neither Virgil in his Eneid (sic), nor Ovidius in his Ponto, nor any other poet that I have read reaches by one thousand miles to describe their rigors or their strength. We see them very often and we suffer so much, that even after experiencing them it seems impossible to believe. To say it briefly, when one of those baguíos runs (usually one of two every year), neither the trees are safe in the center of the mountains, nor the animals in the caves, nor the men in their houses, nor the beasts in their middens, nor even the worms in their dens...". (AMN Ms. 478)

Describing a typhoon which hit Luzon on November 1-3, 1893, Selga wrote:

"A typhoon appeared to the SE of Manila and partially filled up, entering the Archipelago, continuing westward as a depression'. On the other hand there are very vivid and detailed reports, such as that from November 1, 1742: 'in a manuscript dated 1743 and written in Manila, we read the following account: "On All Saints' Day of the last year, 1742, we experienced such a storm, as never before had been seen in Manila. It caused the greatest destruction to the churches and houses of the Society of Jesus. In our church, some arches were damaged. The big window of the choir with its frame was forced in; the rain rushed in and the church was so full of water that mass could not be said on some of the altars the next day. The corridors of many houses were destroyed, and in a word, there is scarcely a roof in Manila that is not damaged'.

The analysis of these reports shows the intensity of the tropical cyclone. The reports in the second half of the 19th century have become very detailed and sometimes accompanied by instrumental data. The main reason for this was the establishment of the Manila Observatory in 1865. The observatory was founded by Fr. Frederico Faura who was an innovative meteorologist who used instruments to predict the weather. Under his supervision a Secchi Meteograph was installed. The predictions by Fr. Faura were very accurate in predicting typhoons sealing the reputation of the Observatory. The need to establish a weather observatory has practical applications not just for knowing science. The occurrence of tropical cyclones presents a risk to life and property. Prediction of behavior of these weather disturbances would mean between the difference between life and death.

The role of the observatory became very significant that the Spanish government designated as the official institution for the observation of weather in the Philippines. Secondary stations were established in various parts of Luzon. Fr. Faura also designed an aneroid barometer. Another of his innovations a weather gauge became a household article. Eventually the Observatory branched out to seismology and astronomy. Before his death a 19-inch refracting microscope telescope was installed.

The Observatory also had a publication entitled *Boletin del Observatorio de Manila* which was in demand in Asia in the late 19th century. The Observatory exchanged information with the other observatories run by Jesuits in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Japan which gave a more complete picture about the tropical disturbance. In one account about a typhoon which originated in the Philippines:

'A typhoon appeared in the China Sea NW of Luzon, moved to WNW and entered the continent NE of Hong Kong'. Similarly, for September, 9-16, 1891, it is quoted as: 'Appearing NE of Luzon, the typhoon, moving in a WNW direction, approached S Formosa and recurved to the NE; then it followed the coast of Japan bordering the Japan Sea and finally crossed Hokkaido to the ENE' (East North East).

Selga also used secondary sources among which were the Piddington maps and the History of the Philippines by Rev. Father Pedro Murillo. The Piddington maps are included in a classic book titled *The sailors handbook for the law of storms* and written by Henry Piddington (1876). Selga was the first person to use the term "cyclone" to refer to the tropical weather phenomenon we now call hurricanes or typhoons. He was the president of the Marine Courts at Calcutta in the mid-19th century. The *History of Philippines* (Murillo, 1749) was written by a Jesuits and provides a comprehensive Account of the Jesuits activities in the Archipelago during the period 1616-1716. Baldwin,

M.P., L.J. Gray, T.J. Dunkerton, K. Hamilton, P.H. Haynes, W.J. Randel, J.R. Holton, M.J. Alexander, I. Hirota, T. Horinouchi, D.B.A. Jones.

The Deadliest Storms in the Philippines

The deadliest tropical cyclone on record to hit the Philippines was believed during September 1881. Known as the Haiphong typhoon, the disturbance hit Central Luzon was estimated to have killed up to 20,000 people as it passed over the country September 27, 1881. On October 22, 1882, a typhoon hit the Manila area destroying hundreds of houses. A list from the *Tribunal de Naturales* showed that even sturdy houses made of stone with roofs made of galvanized iron were not safe and houses of light materials like those made from nipa and wood will certainly not survive from winds of more than 200 kilometers per hour (de Viana, pp. 225-229).

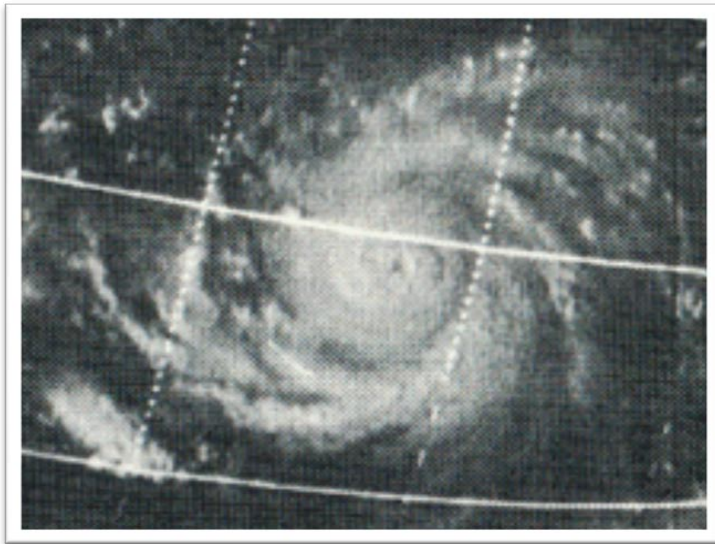
A report about the effect of the typhoon in Manila was replete with terms like *piedra rota la delantera* (stone removed, washed out), *hierro galvanizado remanzado* (galvanized roof torn off), *el balconage roto* (balcony destroyed), *piedra destrosada* (stone destroyed), *hierro galvanizada tombada y destrosada* (turned over and destroyed) etc. dominated the report. (Philippine National Archives, *Varias Provincias*, Binondo)

In analyzing the term such as *piedra rota*, the report explicitly said that even sturdy houses made of stone were destroyed. The material of the houses needs to be examined. The houses built of stone at that time were made of adobe or volcanic tuffa which is widely available in the Philippines. Adobe stone is just compacted volcanic ash. The houses at that time had no steel reinforcement.

In 1897 a powerful storm made landfall on the islands of Samar and Leyte with strong winds and a "deadly tidal wave." This "tidal wave" was unmistakably a storm surge caused by the storm blowing great volumes of water inland. The hurricane hit the capital Tacloban and left the town in less than half an hour a mass of ruins. Reports at the time estimated that the storm –"one of the worst disasters reported from the Southern Ocean in many years" –had killed more than 6,000 local residents and 400 Europeans. The report appeared in the issue of the *New York Times* on November 28, 1897. The hurricane actually hit the two islands more than a month earlier and the news did not reach the US press until that time. Only one building in Tacloban survived the storm. There was also uncertainty over the exact death toll. A former government official Raphael Lotilla cites a study of the 1897 typhoon carried out at the time by officials from the Observatory of Manila. The study estimates the number of dead to be roughly 1,300, far fewer than U.S. newspapers reported.

In 1912 powerful storm caused widespread devastation in the Central Visayan region. The landfall in the Central Visayas on November 29, 1912 directly hit Tacloban. The exact death toll from the typhoon was unclear. The *Washington Herald* reported that “probably half of the population of Tacloban and that of Capiz that more than 20,000 had died. But a report on the same day by the *New York Times* put the death toll far lower at slightly more than 300. This was similar to a report by a police official who said that the death toll in Typhoon *Yolanda* at 10,000 dead. As of December 13, 2013 the death toll from the typhoon according to the *Christian Science Monitor* was 6,009 with 1,779 still missing. The actual number of fatalities was placed at newspaper nevertheless acknowledged that the damage to the telegraph lines no estimate of possible number of fatalities or of the property losses can be made. Before typhoon *Yolanda*, one of the most remembered typhoon was Typhoon *Yoling* (International name Patsy)

Picture 6. Typhoon Patsy (*Yoling*)

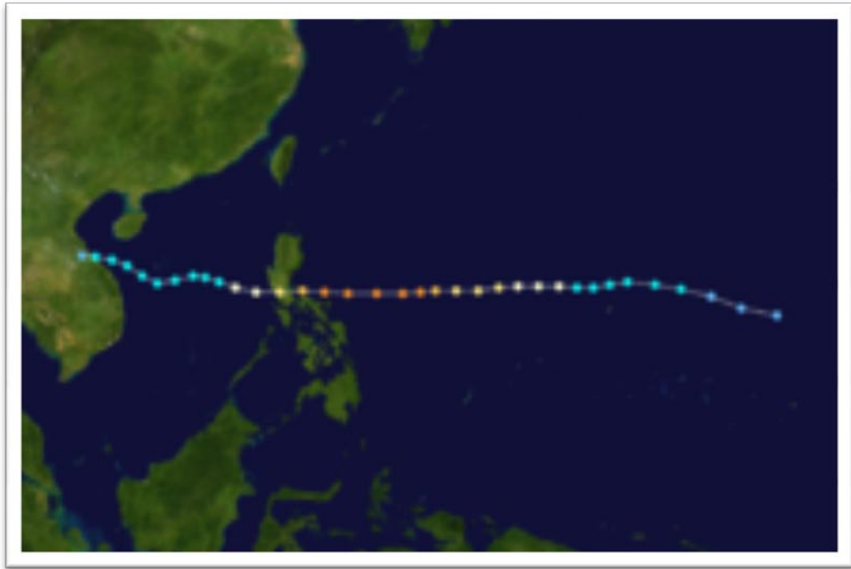


Source: US Navy photograph

Yoling began as a tropical disturbance south southeast of Wake Island on November 10, 1970. It weakened into a tropical depression designated as 27W (from its location at latitude 27, Western Pacific). The strong high pressure area forced it to move westward and upon reaching an area north of Saipan on November 24 it became a tropical storm and was given the international name Patsy. As it moved westward it grew in intensity and reached typhoon strength at 200 miles northwest of Guam on November 16, 1970. Its winds

peaked 250 kilometers per hour (155 mph). The typhoon slightly weakened to 210 kph with an atmospheric pressure of 918 millibar as the Philippine landmass blocked the air flow of the typhoon. At this strength, it was still destructive as it slammed into Casiguran, Aurora on November 19 and its eye passed over Manila. The typhoon continued to move westward into the South China Sea and struck Vietnam as a tropical storm with winds of 70 kph and dissipated on November 22.

Picture 7. Path of Typhoon *Yoling*



Source: Japan Meteorological Agency

Typhoon *Yoling* caused massive flooding in Luzon. The storm surge created by the typhoon caused the Laguna Lake to overflow and the flooding of Luzon's Central Plain caused the waters to join the waters of the lake. The official damage caused by the typhoon was US\$80 million (\$403 million in 2005). The official death toll was placed at 241. More deaths were reported in Vietnam but the official dead and missing may never be known because of the Vietnam War which was raging at the time. *Yoling* was said to be the deadliest cyclone to hit Manila since the establishment of the Philippine Observatory before Tropical Storm Ondoy (Ketsana) in 2009 and Typhoon Yolanda in 2013.

The following is a list of deadliest and costliest tropical storms to hit the Philippines

Name of Cyclone	Date of Impact	Areas Affected	Death Toll	Property Damage	Remarks
September 1881 typhoon	1881, September 27	Central Visayas	20,000	Unknown	Hurricane science.org.
October 1897 Typhoon	1897, October 7	Central Visayas	1,500	Unknown	Selga
Bopha/ <i>Pablo</i> 2012	2012, December 2-9	Northern Mindanao, Southern Visayas	1,901	42.2 billion/1.04 billion	Ndrmcc.gov.ph
1867 Typhoon	1867, September 22	Luzon	1,800	Unknown	Boletin del Observatorio de Manila, January 1868
Ike/ <i>Nitang</i> 1984	1984, September 3-6	Visayas, Northern Mindanao	1,492	4.1 billion	Pagasa.com
Fengshen/ <i>Frank</i> 2008	2008, June 20-23	Panay, Central Visayas	1,410	13.5 billion/301 million	Inquirer.net/typhoon frank
Durian/ <i>Reming</i> 2006	2006, November 29-December 1		1,399	Metro Manila, Bicol Region	Associated Press, "Powerful Typhoon Durian lashes eastern Philippines" December 1, 2009
Winnie/ <i>Ibiang</i> 2004 Tropical depression	2004, November 27-30	Visayas/ Luzon	1,593	678.7million/14.6 million	Typhoon2000.ph/storma rchives.2004\ retired
Parma/ <i>Pepeng</i>	October 2 - 10, 2009	Northern Luzon		27.3 billion/608 million	GMA News, 100,000 recommended evacuated, October 2009
Nesat/ <i>Pedring</i> 2011	September 26 - 28, 2011	Luzon	85	15 billion/333 million	Joint Typhoon Warning Advisory 301800 Xinhua News Agency, Typhoon Leaves 31 Dead, 28 September 2011

Ketsana / Ondoy	September 25 - 27, 2009	Luzon	484	11 billion/244 million	Flood blamed on record rainfall". Manila Bulletin. 2009-09-28. Retrieved 2009-12-09. Pagasa/Ndrmmcc
Mike/Ruping	November 10 - 14, 1990	Northern Mindana, Visayas, Palawan	748	10.8 billion/241 million	Reuters, "Typhoon leaves 235 Dead in Philippines," New Straits Times, November 14, 1990.
Angela/Rosing	October 30 - November 4, 1995	Luzon, Metro Manila	936	10.8 billion/241 million	Pagasa.com.
Flo/Katiang	October 2 - 6, 1993	Over water		8.75 billion/195 million	Meteogroup.typhoon2000.com
Megi/Juan	October 18 - 21, 2010	Luzon	26	8.32 billion/193 million	Pagasa/Ndrmmcc.com
Haiyan/ Yolanda	2013, November 7-8	Central Visayas, Palawan	6,241	35.5 billion/809 million	Typhoon Haiyan RW updates, UN Office of Humanitarian Affairs, December 2013

Super Typhoon Yolanda

Yolanda/Haiyan began as a region of low pressure off Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia on November 2, 2013 and became a storm the following day. The increase of intensity was caused by the warm waters of the area. It passed over Palau on November 6 and entered the Philippine Area of Responsibility on the same day. It made landfall on Guiuan, Eastern Samar on November 8. As it hit land *Yolanda* struck with maximum sustained winds of 314 kilometers per hour (195 mph). The winds were so strong that some residents thought that a tornado accompanied the typhoon. The storm easily tore out galvanized iron roofs and destroyed wooden structures. Ships at sea and those docked near the shore were also washed into the land.

As the super typhoon roared inland it created a storm surge up to 30 feet high that the residents thought that they were hit by a tsunami. *Yolanda* created five other landfalls in Tolosa, Leyte; at Daanbantayan, Cebu; Bantayan, Cebu; Concepcion, Iloilo and Busuanga, Palawan. In these areas it left a wide path of destruction. By November 9, the super typhoon left the Philippine Area of Responsibility. On November 11, President Benigno Aquino III declared a State of National Emergency.

Yolanda affected five political regions of the Philippines; Southern Luzon (Region IV-A [Mindoro, Marinduque, Romblon, Palawan provinces], Region IV-B [Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal, Quezon], Region V (Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, Catanduanes, Sorsogon, Masbate), Region VI [Iloilo, Antique, Aklan, Capiz, Negros Occidental and Guimaras]; Region VII (Cebu, Bohol, Negros Oriental and Siquijor); Region VIII [Eastern Samar, Northern Samar, Samar, Leyte, Southern Leyte and Biliran Province]; Region XI [Compostela Valley, Davao Oriental, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur] and Region XIII (Caraga Region [Agusan Del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur, Dinagat Islands]).

Of these regions Region VIII especially the provinces of Eastern Samar, Leyte, Southern Leyte and Samar bore the brunt of the super typhoon. The northern parts of Palawan, Cebu, Iloilo and Aklan also bore severe damage. The city of Tacloban and the area facing the Pacific Ocean were swamped by the storm surge and a few structures were left standing. A total of 3,424,593 families or 16,078,181 persons were affected by the super typhoon; 6, 201 persons were confirmed killed, 28,626 were injured and 1,785 persons were still missing.

The calamity also displaced 890,895 families or 4,095,280 persons. It caused a humanitarian crisis with the destruction thousands of homes. People resorted to rampant looting of stores, groceries, hardware supply shops and damaged and undamaged structures. Security guards, police personnel and home and store owners were helpless in stemming the looters as they ransacked

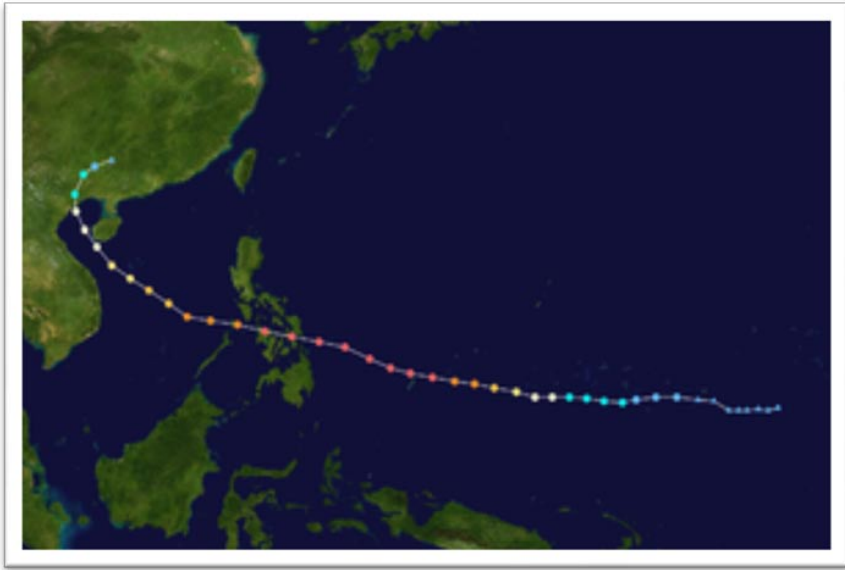
warehouses and shops. There is also the threat of waterborne diseases as toilet facilities were destroyed and there were still bodies being found up to two months after the super typhoon. The displacement of inhabitants caused a migration to other areas as far as Manila. People scrambled to get the next available flight or trip out of the region. For those who remained, the government and private groups set up tent cities and later the hastily-constructed bunk houses. As schools were destroyed, classes were suspended for a month and later many students moved to schools in provinces like Cebu and some of them migrated to Manila to continue their studies.

Damage to infrastructure as a result of super typhoon *Yolanda* was estimated at 19,599,379,136.11 pesos. (US\$ 44,5440,434.92) The Tacloban airport was temporarily put out of commission but its main terminal was totally destroyed. The ports remained unusable and were reopened only to accommodate rescue and relief vessels. Facilities for the supply of potable water were also damaged. Water supply was sufficient as of November 15. In Busuanga, Palawan water supply remained functional but Coron started rationing for potable water. In Roxas, Capiz, the local water district resumed operations as of November 15 but the water supply remained limited. Forty per cent of the water districts in Antique were functional and 70% were functional in Iloilo.

The super typhoon destroyed or damaged 1,959 electrical transmission facilities as hundreds of transmission towers and poles were toppled along with the main transmission lines. The Department of Energy gave a grim assessment that it would take a year to fully restore electricity in the affected areas. As of January 4, 2014 electrical power was restored to 56 barangays or villages or 1,243 households in Tacloban City. This number comprises only 3.46% of the total number of households in the city. Damage to agriculture from the super typhoon was estimated at 20,262,118,716.06 pesos (US\$46,0502,698.09). The affected areas in Region VIII were dependent on coconut farming and it will take several years for the industry to recover.

Typhoon *Yolanda/Haiyan* was the world's deadliest storm in recent memory. It was the strongest typhoon ever recorded to make landfalls anywhere in the world based on its wind speed of 315 kph (195 mph). *Yolanda/Haiyan* was a Category 5 typhoon and it exceeded hurricane *Katrina* which had a wind speed of 280 kph (175 mph). The scale of destruction was unprecedented in the country's history. All in all damage to both infrastructure and agriculture was estimated 39,821,497,852.17. (\$90,5034,042.09). Because of the immediate need to provide relief to the affected inhabitants, President Aquino appealed for international aid. The affected regions will continue to bear the scars of the destruction of *Yolanda* for years to come. (Simbahayan Data)

Picture 8. Path of Typhoon *Yolanda*/Haiyan (Japan Meteorological Agency)



Victims of super typhoon *Yolanda* line up to get their relief supplies in Tacloban City. (UST Simbahayan)

Concluding Remarks

The occurrence of tropical cyclones in the form of tropical depressions, storms and typhoons is a permanent feature of the Philippine environment. The Philippines lies in the typhoon belt and the occurrence of tropical cyclones is a yearly occurrence. The location of the country's typhoon alley varies depending on the time of the year from the early months of the year, to June or July this avenue of storms that will be on the north of the country such as extreme northern Luzon and northern Luzon area. In the latter part of the year, the typhoon alley moves south and on occasion hitting Mindanao. This behavior is due to climatic conditions.

Severe storms are part of the collective memory of the Filipinos. Some were remembered in folklore such as the Darangen of the Maranaos in Mindanao. This lengthy recitation of a folk tale mentions about the existence of a land called Bumbaran. Bumbaran was said to be a prosperous city until it was destroyed by a powerful typhoon. The inhabitants of the city were said to have disrespected Islamic preachers who had arrived to introduce Islam in the area. (Castillo and Buenaventura, p. 38) The preachers cursed the inhabitants and brought the typhoon as a punishment. Among the Tagalogs of Luzon

there was a mention of the *unos* Luzon which happened because the people did not pay the proper offerings to the ancestral spirits.

In the historical records, there were few occasions in which tropical cyclones and bad weather changed the course of history. In 1748 patache *Santo Domingo* was dispatched to the Marianas. The vessel carrying immigrants to the Marianas was forced back to the Philippines because of bad weather and it was wrecked at Homonhon. There were no survivors from the shipwreck and since then the plan to repopulate the Marianas with indios from the Philippines was stopped. (PNA, Marianas, *Memoria*, 1758, ff. 94-95)

One of the near-disasters of World War II was a typhoon which occurred in December 1944 and affected the Central Visayan region. A relatively average typhoon named Cobra, churned in the Western Pacific Ocean. At the time, the US Navy Task Force 38 consisting of 86 ships was covering operations for the Philippines. Wrong information about the location of the typhoon caused the commander, Admiral William Halsey to sail directly into the disturbance. It resulted in the loss of 790 men, two ships sunk and damage to 26 others.⁵ Admiral Halsey was relieved of command. The casualties from the typhoon was considered the largest casualties the history of the US Navy caused by a tropical cyclone. The aftermath of Typhoon Cobra, also remembered as Halsey's Typhoon, led to the establishment of the Joint Typhoon Warning Center (JTWC) whose data are being used by the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force.

The main cause of death is drowning from the resulting floods and storm surges. Unfortunately, this is due to the lack of adequate preparation and the stoic attitude of Filipinos of what may come, will come. Another shortcoming of the Filipinos was the lack of historical memory. Despite historical documentation, the warnings of history remained unheeded. For many people storms like Yolanda was one of those storms that they could ride out.

The number of casualties in the eastern Visayan typhoon alley was greater than in any other region of the Philippines because the area is more densely populated. Furthermore, the coasts which are vulnerable to storm surges have large concentrations of people. Compared to the other typhoon alleys like the Batanes and some parts of northern Luzon, these areas have less inhabitants. In the Batanes the inhabitants live on the hillsides rather than on the coasts. The houses are more spread out unlike those in the Visayas. Furthermore, the inhabitants developed a type of architecture which made an

⁵ Among these were the *USS Hull* (capsized and sank), *USS Monaghan* (capsized and sunk) and *USS Spence* (capsized and sunk). Twenty-six other ships were *USS Cowpens*, *USS Monterey*, *USS Langley*, *USS San Jacinto* *USS Altamaha*, *USS Anzio*, *USS Nehenta*, *USS Cape Esperance*, *USS Kwajalein*, *USS Iowa*, *USS Baltimore*, *USS Dewey*, *USS Alwyin*, *USS Buchanan*, *USS Dyson*, *USS Hickox*, *USS Maddox*, *USS Benham*, *USS Donaldson*, *USS Melvin R. Newman*, *USS Tabberer*, *USS Waterman*, *USS Jicarilla* and the *USS Shasta*

ivatan (a native of the Batanes) house highly resistant to typhoons. This type of architecture was introduced by the Spaniards in the 17th century (Hornedo, p. 62).

The frequent occurrence of typhoons in certain areas affected the economy of the typhoon alleys. In Northern Luzon, the Ilocano inhabitants of Northwestern Luzon whose land experiences extremes of drought and very rainy seasons, agriculture in that region is not as productive compared to the eastern part of Luzon. In the Visayan typhoon alley in the provinces of Eastern Samar, Samar, Leyte, Southern Leyte and Biliran which comprise Region 8 is the third poorest region in the Philippines after the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) and Region XII which comprises the provinces of South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat and Sarangani. The incidence of poverty among families in 2012 is 37.2% compared to 36.2% in 2009 and 33.3% in 2006. According to the National Statistical Coordination Board, one out of three families in Eastern Visayas is poor (NSCB Fact Sheet, p. 1).

The poverty among Eastern Visayans is expected to remain for a long time since a large part of the region (about 49%) of agricultural land is dependent on coconut farming. It will take years before it will recover from the effects of *Yolanda*. Areas planted to rice, corn and root crops may recover in a year. While fishing communities may recover as soon as they rebuild their fishing boats. The poverty caused by the dismal economic opportunity and the frequent natural disasters caused a diaspora among the people of Eastern Visayas. These people of the typhoon alleys are inclined to migrate to other areas. According to figures from the Philippine Statistics Authority, many people from the Eastern Visayas come to cities like Manila to find work. Being poor, many of them are functionally illiterate.⁶ According to the Philippine Statistical Authority Eastern Visayas has the lowest literacy rate in Central Philippines. Many of the migrants end up as menial laborers. Many became victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. It was feared that one of the long term effects of *Yolanda* would be an upsurge of human trafficking especially of child trafficking (Sevastupulo Demitri, p. 1.).

These are acts of desperation by the parents who could not take care of their children and the opportunism by unscrupulous individuals to take advantage of the plight of typhoon victims. Many become victims of human trafficking the destruction of facilities in the typhoon alley especially in the Visayas forced many inhabitants to migrate elsewhere for education, health care and work (Catholic News.org.international/asia.story.php).

The occurrence of more and more powerful storms will be expected as the world experiences global warming. A study of the United Nations shows

6 According to the Philippine Statistical Authority, Eastern Visayas which comprise the islands of Samar and Leyte, has the lowest functional literacy rate (76.7%) in the Central Philippines region as of 2003. See, www.census.ph.gov.

that the Philippines had more than its share of natural calamities placing it at no. 3 on countries that would be likely to be struck by a typhoon or an earthquake. A study by the NOAA reveals that one degree increase in sea water temperature will increase the possibility of more storms and stronger ones. Philippine authorities and people in general can only adjust to these conditions through adequate preparation. As one goes around Manila there are markers placed in strategic places where floods are likely to occur. Disaster teams and measures on how to respond whenever a typhoon and storm have been placed in the minds of people.

The best thing to deal with more powerful typhoons is to prepare for it. In one of its publications, the National Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (NDRRMC) stated that the Philippines are frequently subjected to various types of hazards and it has been observed to be increasing throughout the years. Its geographical location and physical environment make it vulnerable to natural hazards such as tropical cyclones, floods, extreme rainfall, thunderstorm, storm surges, strong winds, tornado and others. Every year, these hazards bring havoc to life and property, seriously disrupt the agriculture-based economy and disturb the lives of millions of Filipino families. The occurrence of typhoons gives the basis for planning in the future. The Philippine government NDRRMC and the Department of Science and Technology began identifying and mapping areas that would be prone to storm surges, floods and landslides. These include areas directly facing the open ocean like in Eastern Samar and Mindanao; mountainous areas such as the Cordillera and Compostela Valley region; the low-lying areas at the plains and river banks. Plans have been made to relocate facilities and population centers. There are plans to relocate the Tacloban Airport which directly faces the Pacific Ocean to a more secure area in the town of Palo. That plan was shot down however by local politics (Interaksyon.com).⁷ Here, politics including friction between political parties as well as personalities may play a role in the speed (or delay) for disaster preparation, mitigation and rehabilitation. There is already conflict between political authorities on the priorities regarding which areas should be rehabilitated first.

For the inhabitants of Leyte and Samar, people were advised against establishing their residences in areas that would be prone to storm surges and floods. In other areas like cities like Manila, markers were installed signifying if the flood warranted evacuation. Rivers and drainage systems were dredged periodically to allow the smooth passage of rainwater. People are informed what to do in the incidence of floods while local governments were given the authority to declare suspension of work and of classes independent of the announcement of the Philippine weather bureau especially in the incidence

⁷ "Tao Nga Di Mailipat, Airport pa? Tacloban mayor rebuffs Gov's Proposal to Transfer Airport," Interaksyon.com. article. March 27, 2014.

of heavy rains in their localities. Evacuation routes and places for evacuees were already identified and food or emergency supplies and equipment were always ready.

The occurrences of typhoons also provided an opportunity to try out new technologies especially in the rehabilitation of the affected areas. The wooden boats of fishermen who lost their property during typhoons were will be replaced with boats made of fiberglass. The use of fiberglass will help conserve the forests as fewer trees would be cut down to build new boats. As of June 2014, more than 500 fiberglass boats were constructed and distributed to fishermen's families affected by super typhoon *Yolanda* (Simbahayan Data). The funding for the new boats came from voluntary donations and funneled through non-governmental organizations. Another innovation would be the use of solar panels especially in area where electricity was yet to be restored. A community development group based in the University of Santo Tomas (UST) named Simbahayan said that every P 2,000 (US\$45) donation will provide for one solar panel and one three-watt bulb.⁸ This would light up one family home. To minimize the use of high voltage lighting light bulbs using light emitting diode (LED) technology was used. These types of bulbs were utilized using either electricity from solar panels or electricity from the grid.

**An illustration of a three-watt bulb powered by solar power
(UST Simbahayan)**



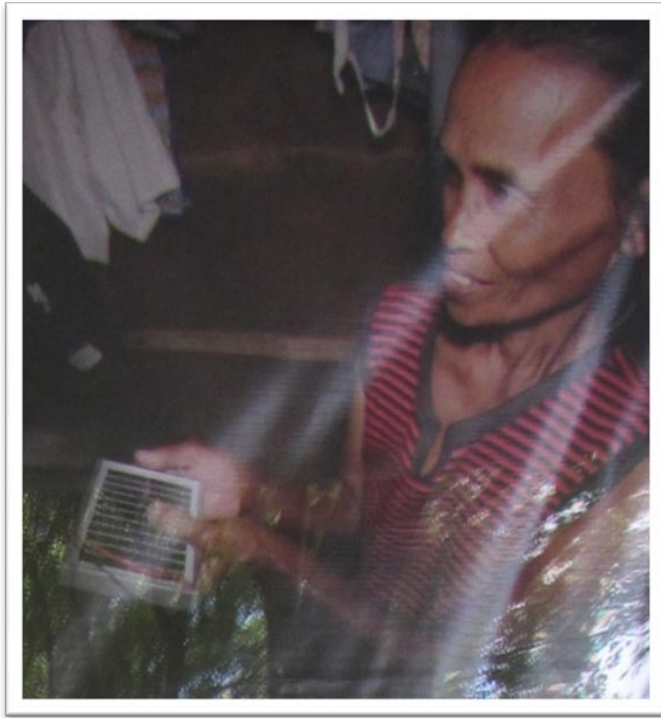
⁸ Simbahayan's area of operations is in the Western Visayas targeting the towns of Altavas and Batan, in Aklan province and Sara and Balasan in Iloilo.

Psychological counseling being conducted by volunteers of Simbahayan with the super typhoon victims. (UST Simbahayan)



Aside from physical reconstruction and livelihood restoration, there is a need to conduct psychological counseling among disaster victims. Psychological trauma is one of the effects of tragedies that are not paid enough attention. The effect of such trauma can be felt in the long term. Often children suffer from traumatic experiences especially if they lose a family member from the disaster. Government and private groups and agencies conduct psychological counseling to the affected individuals to help them move on with their lives after their tragic experience.

**A resident receiving a solar panel from the Simbahayan volunteers.
(UST Simbahayan)**



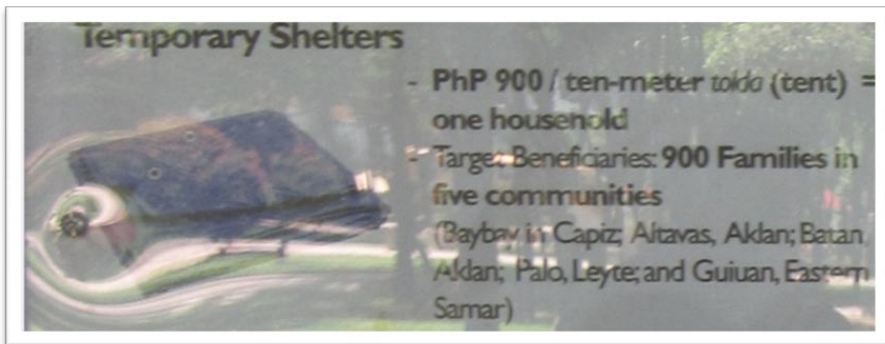
**Student volunteers teaching residents how to use the solar panels.
(UST Simbahayan)**



Since the recovery efforts will last for several months, government and private organizations will have to raise funds for a longer period to allow the affected regions to recover. Thus, there are many efforts done by private and government groups to continue to solicit assistance several months after the occurrence of the super typhoon.

The immediate need for families rendered homeless by the Super typhoon is the erection of temporary shelters which are actually tents.

**These shelters need to be replaced later by bunk houses.
(UST Simbahayan)**

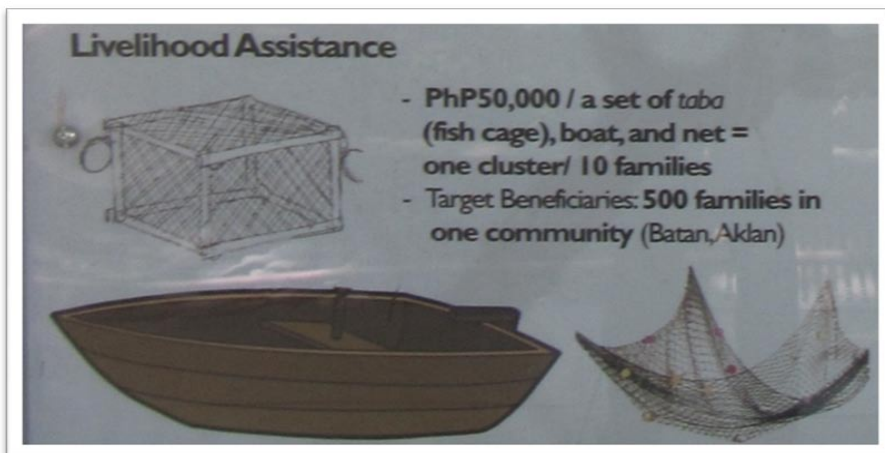


Temporary Shelters

- PhP 900 / ten-meter *tolda* (tent) = one household
- Target Beneficiaries: **900 Families in five communities**
(Baybay in Capiz, Altavas, Aklan; Batan, Aklan; Palo, Leyte; and Guiuan, Eastern Samar)

The infographic features a photograph of a blue and white tent set up on a grassy area. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

There is also a need to restore the livelihood of the victims' families
According to Simbahayan the amount of 50,000 pesos (US\$ 1136.36) is necessary to furnish a fish cage, a boat and net. (UST Simbahayan)



Livelihood Assistance

- PhP50,000 / a set of *taba* (fish cage), boat, and net = one cluster/ 10 families
- Target Beneficiaries: **500 families in one community** (Batan, Aklan)

The infographic includes three illustrations: a wire mesh fish cage, a wooden boat, and a fishing net. The text is positioned to the right of these illustrations.

A poster from the UST Simbahayan appealing for donations.
Collection for cash and goods is still on going months after the disaster
(UST Simbahayan)



A marathon organized by UST Simbahayan for the benefit of the victims of Super typhoon Yolanda.
(UST Simbahayan)



The final step towards disaster preparedness is to educate people and their local officials to be diligent at all times. The attitude of the people of "bahala na" or whatever will be, will be, should be replaced by a culture of preparedness. When people undertake the adequate preparations, extreme heavy casualties and property destruction will be avoided and a better quality of life can be ensured. ●

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The Role of the Dayak People of Indonesia and the Philippines' Menvù Tribe of the Keretungan Mountain in Ecological Conservation: The Natural and Indispensable Partners

Rosalyn Malate

Abstrak

Tulisan ini terinspirasi dari tulisan Janis B. Alcorn dan Antoinette G. Royos, Eds. "Indigenous Social Movements and Ecological Resilience: Lessons from the Dayak of Indonesia, Biodiversity Support Program in 2000 and the Idsesenggilaha of the Menvù Tribe in Mount Kalatungan, Bukidnon, ICCA. Tulisan ini dibuat untuk mendukung tujuan Perserikatan Bangsa-bangsa tentang hak dan kesejahteraan masyarakat adat, utamanya di Asia dan pada saat sama tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menggugah kesadaran kita dan memenuhi tanggungjawab kita untuk melindungi dan melestarikan lingkungan.

Introduction

There are more than 370 million estimated indigenous peoples spread across 70 countries worldwide. They live in a distinct life from those of the dominant societies. They practice unique traditions and retain a distinctive social, cultural, economic and political order. According to a common definition, they are the descendants of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means.

Moreover, the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (1971) relies on the following definition: "Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed in their territories, considered themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis for their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems" (UN, 2004).

Indonesia is a signatory to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. However, as almost all Indonesians (with the exception of the ethnic

Chinese) are indigenous, government officials argue that the concept of indigenous peoples is not applicable. As a result, the government has rejected calls for special treatment by groups identifying themselves as indigenous. Indonesia has a population of around 237 million. The government recognizes 365 ethnic and sub-ethnic groups as *komunitas adat terpencil*, geographically-isolated customary law communities. They number approx. 1.1 million. Many people, however, consider themselves, or are considered by others, to be indigenous. The national indigenous people's organization, Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), uses the term *masyarakat adat* to refer indigenous peoples. The number of indigenous peoples in Indonesia conservatively estimated between 30 and 40 million people.

In Article 18b-2 of the third amendment to the Indonesian Constitution recognizes indigenous people's rights. Though conditional in more recent legislation, there is an implicit recognition of some rights of people referred to as *masyarakat adat* or *masyarakat hukum adat*, such as Act No. 5/1960 on Basic Agrarian Regulation, Act No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, MPR Decree No X/2001 on Agrarian Reform (IWGIA, 2014).

In the case of the Philippines, the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA), or Republic Act No. 8371 of the Philippines, defines Indigenous People as follows: "Indigenous People/Indigenous Cultural Communities (IP/ICC) refer to a group of people sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed and utilized a territory. These terms shall likewise or in alternative refer to homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as a community in community-bounded and defined territory, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, and who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, become historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos. ICCs/IPs shall likewise include people who are regarded as indigenous on account of descent from the populations which inhabited the country at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, but who may have been displaced from their traditional domains or who may have resettled outside their ancestral domains." (The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, RA No. 8371, 1997)

The Indigenous Peoples of Kalimantan: the Dayak Societies

Kalimantan or Borneo is the enigmatic and exotic Indonesian island which is transected by wide rivers and forest plantations. Indonesian Dayak territory (collectively called Kalimantan) is divided into five provinces, East

Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, North Kalimantan and West Kalimantan. Kalimantan is the land of the indigenous Dayak people. They are the descendants of the fearless jungle warriors who practiced head-hunting and followed animistic beliefs. While there are several subgroups with different languages, social structures, and governance traditions, the Dayak societies share many features.

Rich in natural resources, the Dayak territory consists of watersheds of great rivers and vast forests which are home to an incredible diversity of fish, over five hundred species of birds, many endemic species. The forests are enriched in unknown flora including over three hundred fifty species of dipterocarps valued for their timber, and a rich fauna of rare species, including orangutans, banteng cattle, sun bears, elephants, and rhinos (Arcorn 1999). Dayaks were dependent on agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering products from the forest for many years and changing their emphasis as needed.

The Dayak economy is largely based on their practice of shifting cultivation of rice crop. The indigenous hill people, like the Land Dayak, the Iban, the Kayan, the Kenyah, the Kajang all have a subsistence economy, based on the shifting cultivation of dry rice (Freeman, 1960: 65). The *bilek* family, residing in a single longhouse apartment, is economically independent, fulfilling their own subsistence through the shifting cultivation of hill rice and other crops (Freeman, 1960: 66). Thus, the longhouse has no collective ownership rights over the swidden, and community is not a corporate economic group (Freeman, 1960: 69). Other studies indicated that through swidden agriculture, each family of Kenyah cultivates rice in the *ladang*, ideally on heavily forested hillsides (Conley, William W. 1973: 217). Each family has the right to use and own the land. It was said that the rule is as long as the family keeps working in the forest, that family has rights over this land (Conley, 1973, 218). Usually, relatives make their *ladang* alongside each other. Large cut down trees are used as markers to the borders of neighboring fields.

Similar to other indigenous people in Indonesia, the Dayak created an agro-ecosystem tailored to tropical forest ecosystems. The indigenous *adat* institutions—rules created and enforced consensus through community-based political processes governed the agro-ecosystems, and the behavior of the people who use them. Dayak institutions developed suitably for the ecosystems they manage. (Folke, 1997: 4)

The importance of land, forest and river to the Dayak identity is a reflection of their vision of prosperity. The shifting mosaic land use pattern that they create in the forest ecosystem in which they live is a reflection of this vision. There are patches of natural forest, managed forests, rotating swidden/fallow, and permanent fields molded to the ecological conditions

of the mountains, wetlands and river valleys of a particular community's territory in a typical Dayak land use mosaic. The only non-forest areas are the permanent wet rice fields. The forest cover is steady though each community landscape is not the same. The millions of hectares are covered in the past years by this shifting patchwork producing a huge resilient landscape. At present, communities that have ceded their lands to oil palm plantations where monoculture has replaced diversity are interspersed with communities following indigenous management practices. However, no tenurial shell to protect indigenous systems is tendered by the Indonesian Government.

The Dayak communities occupied mostly the Kalimantan's forest. In the inaccessible areas found the larger patches of forest. In other spots, Dayak communities' forests offer isolated patches of refugia habitat in an expanse of mono-cultural oil palm plantations (Alcorn, 2000). Several communities' patches of the non-Dayaks are almost similar to those of the Dayaks. Some are transitional. The historical governance under *adat* and past disruptions suffered in the area are used as determinant for the distribution of the smaller patches of land use types within a given community's patch. The decision to expand gaps in the landscape where plantations, colonists' farms and degraded lands replace healthy ecosystems, based on the centralized, national land-use decisions.

The resilience-sustaining practices and "scripts" of Dayak land use systems that produce this resilient mosaic are alike to other indigenous peoples. Moreover, due to the lower population density, it is richer in diversity. This might be due to the strong indigenous institutions that resisted colonial administration, the range of ecological variation available for exploitation in a single community and the historically large market for multiple non-timber forest products (B. Alcorn, 1990: 203-220)

Dayaks use interruption to create space for food production and use forest succession processes as a production resource similar to other swidden agriculturists (Alcorn, 1989). The community's households are bound together in mutually dependent relationships by the rituals and work activities involving rice which is central to the Dayaks' swidden system and identity. Community social unity also serves to uphold the integrity of the overall system which is necessary to respond unpredictable manmade or natural events. Dayaks increase threats by relying on a variety of resources through fishing, hunting, forest products for sale and use, and agricultural products. Based on recent experience the widespread use of auguries for decisions (like the selection of a swidden site) both supports observance to indigenous belief system and throws a randomizing variable into decisions. If the choice were based on existing ecological knowledge then this enhances the chances for experimentation in places that would not usually be chosen (Dove, 1996:564).

The quality of the agreements that the farmer made with the spirits of nature that control the harvest is believed to be dependent to the yield of swidden. The significance of the principles of reciprocity and exchange is established through the rituals associated to the bounty or scarcity of fruit yields (Dove, 1997, p 94). The quality of the relationships between people and the relationship between people and nature is observed by the Dayak through the fruit and nut harvests. The event of a scarce harvest every few years serves to remind community members of their relationships with nature and each other because many native fruits are mast fruiting species (having large production of fruit some years and none in other years).

The preservation of the equilibrium between economic dependence on forest products and subsistence rice production is Dayak's concern. This indigenous people are cautious about the necessity of maintaining a balance between a forest ecosystems and transforming it into a plantation landscape. For the Dayak, to make swidden is to be (Dove, 1997: 94). Rice cultivation is associated to major Dayak rituals. The proper swidden management implies giving properly care and respect for the rice's soul (Djuweng, 1998 p.7). The resilience of the swidden system is upheld by this belief system. When rubber prices rose and fell erratically in the 1930's, for example, one man's dream about rice-eating rubber quickly spread across Kalimantan, warning people to protect the forest swidden system and to balance rubber with swiddens.

The ecological damage from concessions and concessions cover Dayak forests are widespread at present. The ecological guideline is followed by very little few concessionaires. A national *adat* forest movement coalition insisted that the state "revoke the status of state forests by redefining the border between state forests and forests that have been owned and controlled by traditional and local communities" and "revoke all regulations and policies regarding the exploitation and violation of community rights to manage natural resources" in the early days of the Reformasi opening in 1998 (KUDETA, 2000). Although the state keeps on promising to the *adat*, it fails to radically change the situation even with formulation of the new Forest Law No.41, 1999 which aimed to answer those demands. The situation leads to the development and strengthening of the indigenous movement. To counteract these movements, the state implemented few reforms. The concessionaires continuously force the indigenous communities of Dayak to acknowledge their rights as long as the Dayak will not stand together to fight for their rights.

The challenge is how to address these new pressures from the outside since these are current situations and the Dayak people have limited ways of recognizing and facing these challenges. Dynamic adjustment necessitates acknowledgment of the situations. The Dayaks have little knowledge of the community's forests' territory. When they experience pressures from the

concessionaires they would immediately give up their rights to the land at times belonging to neighboring territory. Their limited awareness of the coming threats like that of the concessionaires will bring an impact to their indigenous way of life.

The Dayak system of administering the natural resources has existed in Kalimantan for hundreds of years. The Dayak administering method take part in preserving and maintaining Kalimantan's natural environment. For thousand years the Dayaks have coexisted with nature attesting that their system of administering natural resources is sustainable and responsive to nature.

The Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines: Idsesenggilaha of the Menuvù Tribe

The Kalatungan Mountain is the 6th highest peak in the Philippines with an elevation of 2,287 meters. Located in the municipalities of Talakag, Maramag, Pangantucan and Valencia in Bukidnon Province, Mt. Kalatungan is an active volcano. The whole Mt Kalatungan Range, including Idsesenggilaha haven a diverse mix of flora and fauna being ascribed to its "numerous rivers and waterfalls, a lake and small wetland area, cliffs, caves and rock formations that...provide habitats for wildlife" (Bird Life International, 2011). Accordingly, there are around 429 species in Mt. Kalatungan. Many of these species are endangered, endemic, economically and socially important to the locals. The survey conducted by the Central Mindanao State University indicated that bird species diversity is highest in Mt. Kalatungan. The endangered Philippine Eagle locally known as the "Kalumbata" is also found in this mountainous forest. The Philippine deer and the Philippine wild pig along with several species of mountain rodents are also present. No comprehensive resource inventory has been undertaken within the forests though presence of these faunal species is confirmed by personal witnesses as this activity in the area is considered taboo by the indigenous peoples.

Several studies have offered their own interpretations of the word Manobo or *Menuvù*. The Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) explained it as "person" or "people". Saleeby (1991) suggested "man" meaning "first, aboriginal" and "tuvu" meaning "to grow". Accordingly, it could mean "the people that grow upon the island". Junamarti (1892) contends that the term "Manobo" was originally a Maguindanao word meaning "mountain people". In all cases, "Manobo" is the Spanish adopted term and was applied widely throughout Mindanao as a tribal designation (Le Bar, 1975). However, the Menuvù (Manobo) has their own meaning to their tribal designation—a meaning that is revealed in their peoples' beginning. The Kalatungan is known to the Menuvù as Keretungan. Its summit is called "Apu" as they believe that

it is the abode of an Elembiten and it serves as their tribe's guardian spirit, their ultimate protector.

The core reason why the tribe nurtured a close and protective relationship with the environment is due to the Menuvù's (Manobo) perception of the Keretungan (Kalatungan) as sacred. The sacredness of Keretungan lies on the Menuvù's belief that the mountain is the dwelling place of the various invisible spirits. The mountain is known to be the origin of their ancestors. Keretungan is the starting place of knowledge. It is the place of healing and a source of livelihood. Thus, for Menuvù tribe the mountain has spiritual, historical and economic significance. The generosity of Keretungan to them deserves reverence and gratitude to the nature spirits. They collectively call Kedelisayen and the Supreme Being, they call Megbevaya. These beliefs and the practical knowledge of taking just enough at the right place and at the right time governed the use of the mountains' resources. The Menuvù always use the right method with due permission and respect to the spirits. Otherwise, they might incur the wrath of the spirits and bring upon them punitive actions in the form of sickness, crop and hunting failure, and other disasters.

The Menuvù manage their own. Fishing, hunting, trapping, and gathering of forest products complemented the agricultural production. For these livelihood activities, the tribe has developed traditionally unique and practical mechanisms, techniques and equipment. These traditional practices are selective in the sense that they only get the adult animals that are, for example, not pregnant to make sure that the animal could breed more and the tribe could hunt in the future.

The Menuvù's way of life is entangled with its environment. This relation took many centuries to develop which molded the intertwined relationship between the Menuvù culture and their environment. As a tribe, their identity is tangled with the Idsesenggilaha. It is place of the tribe's cultural and spiritual practices such as rituals, ceremonies, and other sacred activities. The Idsesenggilaha is dotted with ritual areas. That is why the use of resources is very little and mostly constrained. Both specialized and communal, the Idsesenggilaha serves as their school. The Menuvù's activities are in accordance to their knowledge about their environment. For instance, the moon guides them to their fishing and hunting activities while the star guides to farming activities. Fundamentally, the Menuvù tribe depends on the Idsesenggilaha and the ancestral domain for survival. The water, food, medicine, shelter, materials for domestic use as well as for their livelihood activities are provided by Keretungan. The Menuvù get only what they need in the environment, if there is a surplus they either saved for later or shared with the community. The Menuvù Tribe is one of the first people to have conservative relationships with nature amidst the vicissitude of land occupation, utilization and culture.

Their spiritual beliefs guided the administration of Idsesenggilaha by means of indigenous and traditional resource management and governance systems. The preservation of the rich biodiversity of Keretungan is the main objective, because this would ensure the continuity of the tribe for generations. The Idsesenggilaha's protection and preservation of resources implies the safeguarding of the Menvù's place of rituals and sacred activities. This guarantees the permanence of their relation to Megbevaya (Supreme Being) and the nature/guardian spirits. The protection of the source of tribe's material needs not only for the present but for the future generations.

The Menvù's cultural identity is confronted with the aggravated progressive displacement from their ancestral lands after WWII because of the influx of migrants brought about by the Government resettlement program, the thriving of the logging industry and the aggressive development of agricultural activities in Bukidnon. In-migration due to possible employment from logging industry occurred. The primary reason of deforestation in the Keretungan lowland forest, however, is the period of unrestrained logging in Bukidnon between the late 1960s to early 1980s. The job offered to the Menvù is limited, from forest guides to guards of logging equipment and harvested logs. There is no effort made to restore the denuded areas. The logging companies and forest fires easily altered the forestlands into agricultural areas which accidentally cleared the areas for both the migrants' and natives' agricultural purposes. The Menvù's innate friendliness and *naïveté* made them susceptible to trickery. Being unprepared for the unexpected flood of migrants and settlers in their territories, the Menvù, gullible and naive to the ways of the lowlanders, has instantly lost most of their lands for a few tins of sardines and bottles of alcohol. At very low prices or a few bottles of drink, their abaca and coffee were bought. Many were forced into debts by which they paid with their lands. The Menvù tribe is downgraded into being squatters on their own ancestral domains. They were enforced to run into the fortification of the highlands and its forests to evade the intricacy and contentions the new society. Acculturation is suffered by those who stayed. After many years, there are some Menvù who befall as alien to their own customs and the affiliations that took incalculable amount of time to be forged has either been not remembered, put aside or submissively dropped from their lives to be substituted by the new belief systems brought by the outsiders. The change in the cultural landscape is caused by the change in the mother culture and, unavoidably, in the related biodiversity. The traditional site of the observance of their beliefs is radically narrowed and restricted to a place that has also become, in the words of authorities, environmentally-critical. Hence, the Government said that the traditional site required also special protection by the specialists.

Challenges and Threats to the Indigenous Peoples

The preservation of ecosystem is not new for indigenous peoples. This is part and parcel of their way of life. However, the changing social, economic and political structure has greatly affected and posed threats to the indigenous communities. For example, in the case of Indonesia the government has destroyed longhouses in the 1960s. The Dayak culture is supported by the longhouses. The spirits of solidarity and collectivity are active in the everyday life in the longhouses. Hence, there is a customary transfer of knowledge between older and younger generations. The longhouses according to the government's opinion are not healthy, dissolute, and comparable to the Communists' way of life. The cohesion and solidity among the Dayak people has been undermined as a result of the alteration in the way of life from longhouse to single houses. The *adat* institution in West Kalimantan is affected. Since the person in charge of a longhouse is also in charge of the village government, this distorted the ways of assessments related to the use of resource management. Thus, the obliteration of longhouses has not only affected the Dayak's cohesion, the transmittal of indigenous knowledge and culture, and the village defense system, but it implies also a substantial modification in the source of living of the Dayak people.

The attainment of soaring monetary growth is the guidelines for the government's policies. Consequently, development plans pay no attention to the ecology and environment. It is causing serious social and cultural loss. Kalimantan is very rich in timber. Since 1968, there are 75 logging concessions operating in West Kalimantan. In 1967, there are nine million hectares of forest area in West Kalimantan. After twenty years, the forest areas have diminished to 30%. Of the total forest areas of West Kalimantan the logging concessions hold 74% or 47% of the total area (Syarif, 1999: 18.) As long as the existing policy remains, it will result in massive forest deforestation. Log production in West Kalimantan has declined by more than 50% in 1996. This tendency will put an end to West Kalimantan forests by the year 2020, according to experts. Abusive logging behaviors have caused heavy soil erosion, flood and pollution. The heavily logged areas are vulnerable to forest fires.

Transmigration and resettlement policies had an impact also on deforestation. Some transmigration locations are built by forfeiting the ancestral domain and people's way of life. There is often a direct connection between the relocation of indigenous people and the exploitation of the natural resources though the developing and modernizing justification is given to support relocation, according to some observers. The course of relocation is often expressed in terms of nationwide progress in postcolonial settings. The indigenous people are often transferred to places that are believed to be fitting for settled farming. The main aim of resettlement in Kalimantan has been to eradicate shifting cultivation and also to relocate people from areas 'valuable

in timber and mineral resources' (King, 1993:287). Moreover, in relation to indigenous people the new global economy needs their land and resources, not their labor (Kahn 1995:145).

The governance system of the indigenous peoples and communities is deeply rooted in customary knowledge and belief systems. This is true also for the Menuvù Tribe of Mt. Keretungan, Bukidnon. Any threatens to Idsesenggilaha is also threatening the rich and varied life that flourish in it and it creates a huge impact to their culture. These are the influence of the lowlands people especially to the young generations according to the Menuvù leaders. The persuasion is facilitated through education that undermines traditional knowledge and culture-insensitive laws and policies by the government.

The Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID, 2012) and Indigenous and Community Conservative Areas (2010) listed seven (7) threats that the Menuvù Tribe of Mt. Keretungan is facing at present. According to PAFID and ICCA the first threat is caused by the western education and foreign religion that weaken customary knowledge and practices acquired by the younger generations. This leads to the disruption in traditional knowledge and cultural changes. The global climate change is threatening traditional knowledge and practices of the Menuvù, especially traditional livelihood activities. The Menuvù's activities are guided by the environmental signs. The sudden changes in the weather are upsetting these activities. The constellation of the stars and the moon serve as a guide in farming and fishing. The weather is not consistent that unexpected rainstorm leads to crop failures and it compromises food security. The third threat listed by PAFID and ICCA is related to the tourism activities in Mt Keretungan (Kalantungan). The promotion of ecotourism in the Mt. Keretungan is launched by the Local Government Unit (LGU). This has become now a source of additional income for the local and indigenous communities. Unfortunately, the flooding of climbers and visitors left garbage into the Menuvù's sacred forest. The excessive noise disturbs the animals and spirits that live in the area. The fourth threat is the Menuvù Tribe's conflict with neighboring communities or associated communities with regards to the boundaries of their ancestral domain. There is also an ongoing conflict between some of the tribal leaders due to personal issues or rift between communities and sabotage coordinative and collaborative partnership relations and compromise the strengthening efforts towards biodiversity conservation and ICCA recognition and its support.

The fifth treat is due to the expanding sugarcane plantations, posing a threat to the associated biodiversity. The use of chemicals like pesticides and fertilizers caused nutrient depletion of the soil, making it unsuitable for traditional crops. Near sugarcane plantations, the pests and insects also destroy crops planted in traditional farms. At present, no sugarcane plantations are

inside the ICCA but its projected expansion is likely to happen. In addition, as it affects the economic aspect of the associated communities, the people might opt to obtain supplemental and easy money from the ICCA by putting timber and wild animals in danger for poaching. The sixth threat is the development of Napier grass plantations for biofuel industries. The hilly areas with marginal, eroded/degraded soils are conducive for Napier based biofuel production. Some part of the Menuvù ancestral domain has become one of the targets of the investors. The biggest risk is the arrival of migrants, dwelled in the ancestral domain and it is threatening land and culture security for the Menuvù. It creates the potential encroachment of Napier plantations into the Idsesenggilaha. Albeit the populace assurance, they will leave patches of forest and they will exclude the ICCA in the plantations, disintegration of the forest. It will certainly deteriorate its resilience and negatively affect biodiversity in the surrounding areas. It ultimately affects the ICCA and the Menuvù Tribe. The last treat is the extraction through hunting, mining, logging and fishing. At present, logging and mining are not main threats but it might be in the future. In some part of the Keretungan, small-scale loggings built are often owned by migrants and it remains a problem. Within the ancestral domain the Menuvù community, there has been developed a Community Conservation Plan (CCP), primarily to sustain and improve protection and conservation efforts for the ICCA as well as the improvement of the well-being of the Menuvù community.

Conclusion

In the past, the International Labour Organization's (ILO's) Article 169 is the only internationally accepted instrument that defined the rights of Indigenous People. The ILO refers to the importance of securing Indigenous Peoples' lands and traditional knowledge and linking these to biodiversity conservation. UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People was passed at the UN General Assembly (2007) that marked an important moment for the Indigenous People global movement. Based on this Declaration, the United Nations recognized the urgent need to respect and promote the rights of indigenous people affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with States. It further stated that indigenous people control over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources that enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs. The respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment (UN General Assembly 2007).

In accordance to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, any nation and government pursuing economic development programs must recognize and protect the rights of each individual, groups and various sectors in the society. The welfare of the indigenous people must not be neglected and sacrificed for the sake of progress. Any action towards this aim is supposedly environmentally sensitive. The acknowledgment that one's cultural history is dependent upon and rooted to nature that is the core of ecological preservation. Our survival is under threat without respecting nature or protecting our environment. To defend the environment devoid of safety and integrated territory is not easy.

In places very rich in biodiversity, there is an implausible opportunity lying ahead to work with Indigenous People toward the conservation of the environments. The challenge is to give the rights and social realities of the Indigenous People in ecological protection and preservation that has been recognized for thousand years. The Indigenous Peoples are the stewards of our environment. With the absence of the dynamic and efficient engagement of Indigenous peoples in ecological protection, no preservation projects will be effective. This concerns not only privileges but it also relates the efficiency of development and social impartiality in all their intentions and extents. The Indigenous people are the natural and indispensable partners in biodiversity, ecological preservation and conservation. ●

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