AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN AID MOTIVATION FOR TUVALU IN EFFORTS TO COPE WITH CLIMATE CHANGE 2015 - 2020

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Abstract; Tuvalu is a country located in the Pacific Region which only has an area of about 26 square kilometers with an average height of only 1.83 meters which makes this country very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, especially sea level rise. Tuvalu is quite dependent on foreign aid from donor countries. Australia is one of the most disaster-responsive countries and continues to assist Tuvalu in its efforts to deal with the impacts of climate change. In trying to understand Australia’s background in providing assistance, the approach used is a qualitative method through literature study. The theories used to answer this phenomenon are the theory of foreign aid, the theory of soft power, and green political theory. Based on the data analysis, it was concluded that Australia has a low commitment to climate change and has not taken the right steps to achieve climate targets, so that the foreign assistance provided by Australia is one of Australia’s soft power strategies to maintain its dominance and influence in the Pacific Region. Australia can form a defense and security mapping to protect its national interests. Although the countries in the Pacific Region are relatively small and of little significance, Australia is taking advantage of the situation by making living fences as far as possible.

Keywords: Foreign Aid, Australia, Tuvalu, Climate Change, Soft Power, Pacific Region

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INTRODUCTION
Tuvalu is an island nation in the Pacific Ocean which was formerly known as the Ellice Islands. Tuvalu is a country with its maritime beauty. However, this country seems to be sinking slowly. Rising sea levels pose a major threat to the country. Tuvalu is living proof of the effects of climate change and global warming (Tyas, 2020). Tuvalu is a country in the west-central Pacific Ocean. This country has nine
small coral islands that are scattered and stretch from northwest to southeast with a distance of about 676 km.
The country does not have rivers and rainwater catchments, so wells are the only places that provide fresh water. The native people of Tuvalu are Polynesians, their language is Tuvaluan, while English is taught in schools and widely spoken there. One-third of the population of Tuvalu live in Funafuti, the capital city of Tuvalu, where the center of government and commerce is located. Tuvalu is very dependent on foreign aid. They import most of the food, fuel and manufactured goods. The country's trading partners include Fiji, Australia, New Zealand and Japan (Macdonald, n.d).

Tuvalu's geographical location and poor land conditions are limitations to its economy. Fishery resources are the livelihood of the people in Tuvalu. Although the Tuvaluan fishery has a very high and varied productivity level, it still depends on seasonal conditions. Another important asset of Tuvalu is the Tuvalu Trust Fund (TTF) which was established in 1987 primarily by foreign donors to contribute to Tuvalu's long-term financial sustainability by providing additional sources of income. Tuvalu is a country with free foreign debt, this indicates Tuvalu is a country that is able to avoid living beyond its means.

Tuvalu relies heavily on foreign aid. Tuvalu received a variety of assistance. Government development spending in Tuvalu is largely a reflection of foreign aid from other countries (Tisdell, 2000). Tuvaluans have weak access to finance. The limited number of savers, and the unavailability of ATM (Automated Teller Machine) and credit card services as well as a weak credit culture encourage financial institutions to adopt a conservative approach in their lending business (ADB, 2019).

The Australian Agency for International Development Cooperation, also known as Australian Aid, is a foreign aid program financed by the Australian Government through the Federal Government for programs to reduce poverty in developing countries. The Australian Aid program is an inter-Governmental (G to G) program. Australia's aid program aims to support Australia's national interest in reducing poverty and achieving sustainable development. At the 2019 Pacific Islands Forum, Australia pledged to spend $500 million over five years (2020-2025) to strengthen climate change and disaster resilience in the Pacific Region.

Australia is committed to working in partnership with the Government of Tuvalu to meet the needs and aspirations of its people in order to build resilience to the adverse impacts of climate change as well as disasters. Australia is working with the Government of Tuvalu to ensure that social infrastructure is critical to withstand increasingly strong winds and can serve as a shelter in times of disaster. Tuvaluan soil supports only a small number of plants. As climate change impacts intensify,
Tuvalu will need external support to implement priority adaptation actions such as protecting coastal zones and maintaining water supplies. Australia helps build the capacity of the Government of Tuvalu to access and effectively leverage global climate change finance. Australia is helping Tuvalu prepare for a more hazard-prone future by supporting the integration of climate change and resilience building into the country’s policy and planning agenda, including the National Constitution. Australia has provided approximately $3.2 million in bilateral climate change and disaster resilience assistance to Tuvalu since 2016. This support is built into many programmes, including in the infrastructure, education and government sectors (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australian Government, n.d).

Foreign aid is considered a key weapon in expanding alliances with other countries. Foreign aid in the realist view is a country’s policy to pursue power and supremacy. Foreign Aid is defined as any kind of assistance provided by a donor country or international donor agency (White, 1974). Foreign aid is not only in the form of materials or funds but can be in the form of services. In a broad sense K.J. Holsti in his book "International Politics: Framework of Analysis” says that foreign aid is a transfer of money or technology or consultation in the form of technical advice to recipient countries from aid donor countries or donor countries (Holsti, 1972).

Research on Australian Foreign Aid Motivation for Tuvalu in Efforts to Cope with Climate Change is relevant to using qualitative research methods, descriptive qualitative with the aim of describing a phenomenon in order to test or prove a theory because it fulfills the characteristic elements of qualitative research in terms of disclosing more in-depth data through literature studies. From the phenomena described above, the foreign aid provided by Australia to Tuvalu is indeed in the field of climate change, but the relationship between the two countries cannot be seen only on the surface.

In international politics, the relationship between two countries must be analyzed in depth what the motivation behind it. Why care about climate change that is happening, because all humans live on the same planet, namely earth. If one country feels the real impact of climate change, sooner or later other countries will also feel it. Based on the data analysis, it was concluded that Australia has a low commitment to climate change and has not taken the right steps to achieve climate targets, so that the foreign assistance provided by Australia is one of Australia’s soft power strategies to maintain its dominance and influence in the Pacific Region. Australia can form a defense and security mapping to protect its national interests. Although the countries in the Pacific Region are relatively small and of little significance, Australia is taking advantage of the situation by making living fences as far as possible. Based on the phenomena described above, the writer poses the
following research questions: “Why does Australia provide foreign aid to Tuvalu to address climate change?”

LITERATURE REVIEW
To improve the data in this paper, several previous studies that are relevant to the research conducted are used:

A. The first research used was from Yusuf Rifaldy, entitled “Melihat Latar Belakang Australia dalam Memberikan Bantuan Luar Negeri Ke Kawasan Pasifik”. The results of this study explain the importance of providing foreign aid to encourage the achievement of the donor country’s national interest in addition to the humanitarian aspect. Based on the geographical location of Australia, it is close to the Pacific Region so that through foreign assistance Australia can maintain its national interests which are supported by stability and security in the region, especially in the Pacific Region. Through Australia’s foreign aid provided to countries in the Pacific Region and other countries, the aim is to spread its influence, both regionally and internationally. So that the foreign aid provided by Australia, known as Australian Aid can be an asset to spread their influence and build their soft power internationally.

The similarity of the above research with this research lies in the discussion of the objectives behind Australia in providing foreign aid, especially to the Pacific Region. While the difference between this research and this research is in the object of research where the research above discusses Australian foreign aid to the Pacific Region (more than one country) while this study only focuses on Australian foreign aid to Tuvalu (one of the countries in the Pacific Region).

B. The second research used is from Peter Brown, entitled “Australian Influence in the South Pacific”. The results of this study explain the South Pacific which is seen by Australia as part of Australia’s natural sphere of influence. Australia is considered to have longstanding strategic interests in the South Pacific and has sought to influence Pacific island nations through various emphases that have changed over time such as Australian intervention and bilateral relations through aid and trade.

The South Pacific is seen as continuing to play an important role in Australia’s security policy, with a stable environment likely to be seen as important to Australia’s broader strategic interests. In support of this objective, the Australian Government’s policy for the Pacific region emphasizes the aspects of security, economic development and aid provision, etc.

The similarity of the above research with this research is to find out and understand what motivates Australia in issuing its foreign policy, especially for
countries in the Pacific Region, either through bilateral relations, trade and aid provision or through intervention. As for the difference, the research above discusses the influence of Australia which is carried out through various foreign policies, while this research only focuses on the influence of Australia through foreign aid provided to Tuvalu, one of the countries in the Pacific Region.

C. The third research used is from Charles Hawksley, entitled "Australia’s aid diplomacy and the Pacific Islands: change and continuity in middle power foreign policy". The results of this study explain Australia’s diplomatic relations with countries in the Pacific Region and other countries. In the Pacific Region Australia is effectively a major force influencing events through foreign aid. Australia is the largest and richest state in the Pacific Region so it can be said as a regional 'hegemon'.

Australia’s foreign aid in various forms is a cornerstone of Australia’s engagement with the Pacific Islands. Australia has the view that it has a special responsibility for the Pacific Region. The Australian Government makes strategies and policies to survive in the Pacific Region. The Australian Government has adopted a multi-pronged strategy to contain Australia’s declining influence through greater and more diplomatic efforts to provide assistance to address climate change, rising sea levels, as well as institutional development and poverty alleviation in the Pacific Island nation.

The similarity of the above research with this research lies in the discussion of foreign aid provided by Australia to countries in the Pacific Region for development, poverty alleviation, and overcoming climate and sea level changes that occur in almost all Pacific Island countries. Meanwhile, the difference between this research and this research lies in the object of research where this research only focuses on Australian foreign aid to overcome climate change in Tuvalu.

**Foreign Aid Theory**

According to Hans Morgenthau in his book entitled "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid" that foreign aid has become something of a controversy because on the one hand foreign aid is seen as the fulfillment of obligations that must be carried out by rich countries to poor countries. But on the other hand, foreign aid is considered as an instrument of a country’s policy to the recipient country through foreign aid. Foreign aid is the provision of money, goods, or services from a donor country to a recipient country (Morgenthau, 1962). Foreign aid is one of the real innovations introduced in modern times like today into the practice of foreign policy.

According to Carol Lancaster in her work entitled "Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics", foreign aid is the provision of resources from one
government to another (or to international organizations or non-governmental organizations) that is large and sustainable from time to time. Period with the important objective of helping to improve the human condition in aid recipient countries. Foreign aid is not only given to promote growth and poverty alleviation in donor recipient countries, but there are various purposes behind the assistance provided.

Scholars of international relations who view relations between states through a realist perspective assume that states operate in an anarchic environment. Power, security, and survival are the main things, so basically foreign aid is a diplomatic tool as a way to increase the security of donor countries such as reducing the temptation of communism and terrorism. George Liska, a professor of international relations, argues that foreign aid is a tool to increase national strength and security, and articulates the view that foreign aid today will remain an instrument of political power.

Several qualitative scientific studies explain the motivations of interest in foreign aid programs in each country. Most studies agree with the realist prediction that bilateral aid donors have been driven by donor country interests (Lancaster, 2007). Foreign Aid Theory which is used to find out Australia’s policy in providing foreign aid to Tuvalu.

Soft Power Theory

According to Joseph Nye, there are two types of power. Hard power is the ability of others to act in a way that goes against their preferences and initial strategies, this ability is used to coerce through threats as well as inducements (“sticks” and “carrots”). While soft power is the ability to make other people do something with the desired result, this ability is achieved not by coercion but by interest. Soft power does not always serve a good purpose, such as propaganda. The concept of soft power is very close to the liberal tradition, but there is no contradiction between realism and soft power.

To fight hard power, soft power emphasizes the aspect of cooperation, not using military force but through the power of ideas. Countries that have adequate economic resources tend to put pressure on and change the behavior of other countries that are economically weaker. A country’s economic resources can produce soft power as well as hard power because these resources can be used to attract or coerce.

Nye emphasized that institutions can increase the soft power of a country because they tend to promote the values, ideas, policies of a country, both with fellow member countries of the organization and with other countries outside the organization. Problems such as global warming, outer space, and cyberspace are
more likely to be solved by means of soft power, while the use of military force is considered inefficient or insufficient.

Soft power is not a zero-sum game where one country’s gain is another’s loss, because soft power can benefit everyone (Gomichon, 2013). As stated by Nye, countries that are more attractive in international relations are countries that can frame issues through culture and ideas that are closer to prevailing international norms and have credibility in other countries that are supported by values and their policies (Melissen, 2005). Soft Power theory is used to see Australia’s motivation in providing foreign aid.

Green Political Theory
Green political theory briefly explains the basic principles of ecocentrism and also growth restrictions. An ecocentric view is a view that focuses on nature. Green theory sees the global structure and capitalism as one of the common threads for environmental problems that have occurred so far because a country tends to prioritize the interests of its country’s development and ignores the environment. Green political theory is an alternative perspective in international relations that criticizes traditional perspectives in dealing with specific issues such as environmental issues.

The cosmopolitan issues raised by alternative perspectives such as green political theory are something that violates sovereignty that traditionalist views have never addressed and paid attention to. The essence of this theory is that humans have a moral obligation to nature. This obligation does not originate from human obligations to others, but originates and is based on the consideration that life is something of value, both for human life and for the life of other species. In terms of growth, green politics has the view that there are certain limits for humans in carrying out development and growth.

Green political theory focuses on creating justice. Justice is meant by paying attention to the environmental crisis that is happening unequally in the world. By exposing areas that do not have sufficient resource requirements to meet their needs and is expected to be able to make people aware that there is still an imbalance of resources for other communities (Burchill and Linklater, 1996). Green Political Theory is used to understand Australia’s role in overcoming climate change in the Pacific Region, especially Tuvalu.

METHODS
This research uses a qualitative research approach with a literature study method. Qualitative research approach is a process of research and understanding that examines social phenomena. In this method, a phenomenon or object of research is
examined in a complex manner, both through details of words, details of reports and views of respondents by researchers. This research uses descriptive qualitative with the aim of describing a phenomenon in order to test or prove a theory. (Harrison, 2009).

Literature study can be defined as a series of activities related to the methods of collecting library data, reading, taking notes, and processing research materials. This method can be done by answering questions in the problem formulation using a theory that is considered suitable for analyzing the issue being raised. The issues raised are analyzed using the theory that has been selected, and then elaborated so that the final answer and the congruent hypothesis are found (Zed, 2003).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Australian Policy on Climate Change
Only a small part of the international community knows about the country of Tuvalu, including where they come from. The people of Tuvalu are ethnically Polynesian and communicate using the Polynesian language as a way of identifying their culture. Although oral tradition and archaeological evidence point to their different origins, it appears that the people of Tuvalu shared a culture and lifestyle with the Polynesians. October 1, 1978 is Tuvalu's Independent day. The British referred to Tuvalu as the Elise Islands during World War II and made it a major air base during the war against Japan.

Upon achieving independence in 1978, the islands were renamed Tuvalu. Contemporary Tuvalu consists of nine small islands and atolls namely Nanumea, Niutao, Nanumaga, Nui, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti, Nukulaelae and Niulakita which are historically uninhabited. It is not uncommon for Tuvalu to experience the effects of El Nino and La Nina caused by changes in seawater temperatures located at the equator and the central Pacific. The country of Tuvalu is astronomically located between latitudes 5°–10° South Latitude and longitudes 176°–180°, to the west of the International Date Line. Tuvalu only has an area of about 26 sq km and ranks the country as the fourth smallest country in the world after the Vatican, Monaco and Nauru.

Tuvalu is a volcanic country with one of its largest atolls named Funafuti and also as the capital city of Tuvalu. Funafuti has many small islands that lie around the central lagoon with a distance of 25.1 km from north to south, and 18.4 km from east to west and makes Funafuti its largest city (Murphy, 2017). Tuvalu has an average elevation of only 1.83 meters which makes the country highly vulnerable to rising sea levels as well as to intensive tropical storms exacerbated by climate change.

According to the Pacific Climate Change Science Program study, since 1993 sea level around Tuvalu has increased by about 5 millimeters per year. Under the high
emission scenario the increase is predicted to be 7 to 18 centimeters by 2030. It is possible that large parts of the country will sink and become uninhabitable. The people of Tuvalu were forced to be relocated. Disasters related to the impact of climate change are considered a major threat to the lives of people in Tuvalu. These disasters include hurricanes, droughts, and floods (UNDP, 2017).

Aid can be defined as money or support provided by either individuals or governments to help poor countries through long-term programs with the aim of ending poverty or sudden humanitarian disasters. Aid provided by Australia has contributed to helping thousands of communities to access clean water, have a place to live, get food, medical care and also sustainable livelihoods. This assistance is provided not only to those in need but is also provided with the aim of strengthening Australia’s identity as a compassionate nation by reflecting the sense of justice and compassion that are at the core of the country’s collective well-being. Australians believe they are part of a global family and a shared humanity and so they need to act in solidarity with the international community they already consider to be their own brothers and sisters (Caritas Australia, n.d).

Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said that the integration of AusAID with DFAT would strengthen economic diplomacy as central to Australia’s engagement on the international scene. Australia provided humanitarian assistance to Tuvalu after the country was hit by tropical cyclone Pam in March 2015. The cyclone caused serious damage to homes, health centers and other important buildings. Australia, New Zealand and the Red Cross provide medical assistance and water supplies and deploy Australian humanitarian experts to support logistics, water and sanitation needs (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australian Government, 2015).

Australia’s support to Tuvalu is a fulfillment of its international commitments and to access international climate finance by helping build capacity in the country’s Climate Change and Disaster Coordination Unit of $0.73 million from 2016 to 2020. Australia’s support is intended to help ensure the Unit can effectively meet its objectives, and supports Tuvalu’s climate policy goals. Australia also provided more than $4.7 million in climate change support to Tuvalu from 2015 - 2016 to 2017 - 2018 in a bilateral program between Australia and Tuvalu. The Australian Aid Investment Plan (2016 - 2021) is committed to supporting the Government of Tuvalu in strengthening its action on climate change impacts and to improving disaster risk preparedness, including in education and governance.

Australia undertook a $4.1 million Classroom Development Project in Funafuti during 2015 – 2017. The project aims to build school facilities that can withstand Category 5 hurricanes as well as provide shelter in an emergency. In addition, technical assistance was also provided to the Prime Minister’s Office to support Tuvalu in fulfilling its commitments. Australia also supports capacities and
mechanisms to make it easier for Tuvalu to access global climate finance through the Green Climate Fund. Australia has also responded to Tuvalu’s request for assistance in the constitutional review to integrate climate change into the national constitution for $0.5 million during 2016 – 2019. Australia provided Tuvalu with many benefits on its regional climate change program totaling more than $50 million from 2015 - 2016 until 2017 – 2018 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australian Government, n.d). In the theory of foreign aid put forward by Hans Morgenthau, foreign aid is something that is controversial because on the one hand, foreign aid is seen as fulfilling obligations that rich countries have to do to poor countries as well as the aid provided by Australia to Tuvalu. On the other hand, the foreign aid provided is considered an instrument of a country’s policy to the recipient country. Because foreign aid has been centered and cannot be separated from the international political interests of donor countries, such as in aspects of defense, political influence, and others. Australia’s foreign aid is also the result of policies determined through its domestic political process.

At a meeting of representatives of the Pacific Region countries in Tuvalu in 2019, Australia was urged to stop clearing new land for coal mining in order to reduce emissions and the impact of climate change. Foreign aid from Australia that is given to countries in the Pacific Region is considered not a concrete solution to overcome the impacts of climate change because Australia still wants to maintain its coal mining industry which produces high emissions and is very environmentally unfriendly. However, the Australian government has made it clear that the country will not shut down coal mining because the Australian economy depends on the industry (Anthoni, 2019).

It is the attitude of Australia that considers its coal industry important as the green political theory. Because in this theory the global structure and capitalism are one of the common threads for the environmental problems that have occurred so far, because Australia is considered to tend to prioritize the interests of its country’s economic development rather than fulfilling the emission reduction commitments that have been determined.

**DISCUSSION**

**Australia’s Motivation in Providing Foreign Aid to Tuvalu**

Australia’s commitment to climate change, which is rated low by member countries of the Pacific Islands Forum, leaves questions about Australia’s motivation in providing assistance to Tuvalu in dealing with the impacts of climate change. Australia is committed to reducing emissions, while Australia maintains its coal industry. The Australian government’s attitude is seen as a strategy to maintain its influence in the Pacific Region as well as an effort to prevent China’s influence from
providing foreign aid as a way to get closer to countries in the Pacific Region (Nursalikah, 2019). According to the Australian Government, they have witnessed China's growing power in the Pacific Region which they have seen as their country's backyard, for more than a decade. By offering billions of dollars in aid in the form of long-term loans and grants, Australia aims to gain influence among its neighbors and also strengthen Australia's position (BBC News, 2018). Australia has a longstanding strategic interest in the Pacific Region and has sought to influence Pacific island nations, with emphasis changing over time.

Australia was able to exert influence on Pacific island nations to adopt a more 'moderate' approach, one example being the 'South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone' under the Rarotonga Treaty in 1985. Between the end of the Cold War and the events of 9/11, neither there is a perceived threat from the region, or even through the region. Here Australia plays its soft power to get other countries to do things with the desired results through persuasion and attraction, not by coercion, conflict or competition. Soft power that is run by Australia emphasizes aspects of cooperation such as the provision of foreign aid provided, not using military force.

Problems such as climate change and global warming are more likely to be solved by means of soft power. Because in international relations, countries that can frame issues through culture and ideas that are closer to applicable international norms and have credibility in other countries that are supported by their values and policies are attractive countries in the eyes of the international community. Currently Australia's focus on the region is to strengthen themes that support democracy, 'good governance' and enable sustainable economic development. In addition, Australia's new focus is to address the risk of countries in the Pacific Region being weaker or failing to govern their territories, so Australia is concerned that the country could create a power vacuum in which terrorist organizations or organized crime could step in, and pose a security threat to the Australia's doorstep (Brown, 2012).

Responses to climate change will be an important influence on international policy as well as the Australian economy. Australia has the resources and renewable products, capabilities and services in low emission technologies to benefit from the global economic transition to a low emission growth model. At the same time, the Indo-Pacific's demand for coal, high-quality LNG and uranium exports is relatively high. Australia predicts that the challenges posed by climate change will continue to increase over the next 10 years and countries need to include climate change on the list of long-term planning and investments, including its implications for national and regional security.
Changes in environmental conditions that are increasingly real, such as rising temperatures and sea levels as well as weather phenomena that are increasingly frequent and severe and lead to natural disasters. This will eventually lead to economic, environmental, security risks and in Australia itself these risks extend to beaches, agriculture, water resources and fisheries. Climate change is sometimes seen as a barrier to economic development, encouraging additional movements of people that if left unchecked will add to global pressures on food and water supplies. Australia has a strong desire to make an effective global transition to a low-emissions economy while still supporting growth and affordable energy. In addition to the low-emissions economic transition that has been announced by Australia, Pacific Region countries continue to demand Australia to ban coal mining activities and also urge Australia to stop opening new coal mining areas in order to reduce emissions. However, in reality Australia still gave approval to Adani, an Indian company, to start coal mining after years of delays in getting approval from environmental aspects.

The Australian government gave the green light after the state government also approved the mining project located in the Galilee Basin, Queensland. The 28 thousand hectare mine is estimated to be able to be used for 60 years and this mine is also estimated to contribute more than 450 trillion rupiah to the Australian economy and make it the largest coal mine in Australia (BBC News, 2019). Australia is one of the countries with the largest coal resources in the world. According to Australia’s Clean Energy Regulator, Australia as a developed country in the Pacific region is declared the largest contributor to climate pollution with a total of 322 million tons of carbon dioxide contributed in 2015 with an increase of 3.2% from the previous year. The Australian Conservation Foundation report also states that Australia is one of the biggest contributors to climate pollution because it has increased its emissions in recent periods.

The Australian government is targeting to reach 5% below the 2000 level in emitting gas which has become a climate change policy and Australia has promised the UN to reduce gas emissions by 5% to 25% by 2020. The number of emissions reported by regulators is 60% emissions have been generated by Australia from companies that produce more than a certain amount of emissions or more than a certain amount of energy, and these figures do not include calculations from the agricultural sector, residential property or private vehicles. In addition, a report from the Wilderness Society reveals that there will be a greater increase in carbon dioxide emissions over the next three years due to land clearing in Queensland.

According to data released by the Australian Government in 2018, Australia has not taken the right steps to achieve the 2030 climate target set by Paris. In contrast, Australia’s emission production has continued to increase in the last four years. The
Department of Environment and Energy said its latest carbon emission projections predict that Australia will reduce its carbon emissions by only 7% well below its target by 2030. Environment Minister Melissa Price insists the Government will continue to strive to meet Paris commitments (Dalzell, 2018).

Although Australia can build a good image in the region through the foreign assistance they provide, Australia can enhance this good image by participating in fulfilling climate change commitments to reduce emissions that have been targeted not only through the provision of assistance in the form of money, advice or programs that given to Tuvalu to deal with the impacts of climate change. If there is no technical solution that Australia can provide to solve the problem of climate change other than providing assistance. In the view of green political theory, human behavior is what is needed in creating these technical solutions to provide opportunities for political innovation or even transformative change in global politics, in this case the main thing is Australia’s policy regarding its coal mining.

CONCLUSION

Australia is one of the most disaster-responsive countries and continues to assist Tuvalu in its efforts to deal with the impacts of climate change. Australian Aid is an Australian aid program integrated into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The foreign assistance provided by Australia to Tuvalu is quite varied, such as funding for bilateral aid programs to build resilience to disasters and climate change, and increasing country capacity to respond to disaster events, and Australia is helping Tuvalu to access international climate finance through the Green Climate Fund, Australia also has responded to Tuvalu’s request for assistance in a constitutional review to integrate climate change into the national constitution.

The foreign assistance provided by Australia to Tuvalu is not only to overcome the impact of climate change that is felt by Tuvalu, but there is another purpose in providing this assistance, namely to strengthen Australia’s identity in the Pacific Region. The foreign assistance provided by Australia to Tuvalu is not a concrete solution to mitigate the impacts of climate change if in fact Australia still wants to maintain its coal mining industry which produces high emissions and can exacerbate climate change. Because one of the threats of climate change is caused by the burning of fossil fuels, one of which is coal.

Australia itself is one of the countries that has the largest coal resources in the world. The Australian government insists that its country will not shut down coal mining because the Australian economy depends on the industry. Australia also considers the coal industry important to create local jobs and to meet energy needs. Australia has not taken the right steps to achieve the 2030 climate targets set by the
Paris Agreement and on the other hand, Australia's emission production has continued to increase in the last four years. Australia has a low commitment to climate change so that the assistance provided by Australia to Tuvalu in efforts to deal with climate change is considered a strategy to maintain Australia's dominance and influence in the Pacific Region as one of the preventive measures taken to counter the influence of China which is starting to approach countries in the Pacific. Pacific region by providing foreign aid. Australia has witnessed the growth of China's power in the Pacific Region which they have considered as their country's backyard so that the assistance provided by Australia has the aim of strengthening its country's relations with countries in the Pacific Region, especially Tuvalu and also making the Pacific a "front and center" in policy overseas Australia. Australia also intends to continue to gain influence among its neighbors as well as to strengthen its position in the Region.

Australia has a focus on the Pacific Region to strengthen values that underpin democracy, good governance, sustainable economic development. In addition, Australia is focused on addressing the risk that countries in the Pacific Region could create a power vacuum in which terrorist organizations or organized crime can step in, and place security threats at Australia's doorstep. By becoming dominant in the Pacific Region, Australia can form a defense and security mapping to protect its national interests. Although the countries in the Pacific Region are relatively small and of little significance, Australia is taking advantage of the situation by making living fences as far as possible.

In the theory of foreign aid put forward by Hans Morgenthau, foreign aid is something that is controversial because on the one hand, foreign aid is seen as fulfilling obligations that rich countries have to do to poor countries as well as the aid provided by Australia to Tuvalu. On the other hand, the foreign aid provided is considered as an instrument of a country's policy to the recipient country. Because foreign aid has been centered and cannot be separated from the international political interests of donor countries, such as in aspects of defense, political influence, and others. Australia's foreign aid is also the result of policies determined through its domestic political process.

Australia plays its soft power to get other countries to do things with the desired results through persuasion and attraction, not by coercion, conflict or competition. Soft power that is run by Australia emphasizes aspects of cooperation such as providing foreign aid, not using military force. Problems such as climate change and global warming are more likely to be solved by means of soft power. Because in international relations, countries that can frame issues through culture and ideas that are closer to applicable international norms and have credibility in other
countries that are supported by their values and policies are attractive countries in the eyes of the international community. Likewise with Australia’s foreign aid provided to countries in the Pacific Region to deal with climate change, especially to Tuvalu. Where the assistance is inseparable from one of Australia’s forms of soft power to build a positive image as a rich country in the region. So that the assistance provided can also add to Australia’s image as a country that is responsible for what is being experienced by its neighbors in the Pacific Region.

Regarding Australia’s low commitment to climate change, green political theory has a critique of the state, where this theory assumes that the state is part of the dynamics of modern society that causes environmental crises such as the impact of climate change being experienced today. Climate change is the dominant environmental problem at this time, caused by human dependence on fossil fuels, where Australia is one of the largest coal-fired fossil fuel producers in the world and Australia does not want to stop its coal mining.

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