

CHAPTER II

INDONESIA FOREIGN POLICY

In this chapter, the writer explains Indonesia Free and Active Foreign Policy. The explanation will begin with the history of Indonesia Foreign Policy since its independence. Furthermore, the writer will discuss Global Maritime Fulcrum as an implementation of Indonesia Foreign Policy in Joko Widodo Era and Indonesia's performance and achievements in the UN Security Council. Thus, it will be easier for the reader to understand the next chapter.

A. History of Indonesia Foreign Policy

The end of World War II has formed the bipolarization of world power into two opposing blocs, namely the Western and Eastern Blocs. The two blocks represent a great power at that time, the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the war, these two superpowers continued to argue about the ideological differences they adopted. This inter-ideological war came to be known as the Cold War, where the two dominant ideologies were the Western Bloc with liberalism and the Eastern Bloc with communist ideology. It is called as Cold War because both parties were fighting each other in the form of intervening other countries through ideologies they adopted without making a direct contact war.

Indonesia, as one of the newly independent countries amid the bustle of power in the Cold War era, certainly understands itself that it is not possible to stand alone without the assistance or cooperation of other countries. As a new state actor in the international community, Indonesia did not necessarily confine itself, but on the contrary, Indonesia tried to establish interaction with the international community. As a result of the interaction with the international world, a policy was formed and was called foreign policy. Foreign policy is a pattern or scheme of behavior or strategy of a country when interacting with

international actors. Of course, in carrying out its foreign policy, there are goals that the country wants to achieve. The intention to be achieved by a country is known as national interest. Principally, national interest is a description of the current condition of a country and the expected conditions of a country in the future. In the broad sense, the foreign policy defined as a policy or action taken by a country in the context of its relationship with the international world in an effort of achieving its national interests.

In Indonesian history, Mohammad Hatta was the founder of the concept of Indonesian foreign policy. Indonesia's foreign policy is defined as free-active, which is still implemented until today. The formulation of the concept of free-active politics was stated in Mohammad Hatta's speech delivered on September 2, 1948 in front of the Central Indonesian National Committee (Komisi Nasional Indonesia Pusat). The speech was entitled "Rowing between Two Corals" (Mendayung diantara Dua Karang). His speech described Indonesia's position during the Cold War era, during which the global constellation splited into two, and so Indonesia should determine its own attitude rather than becoming an object of international politics. Indonesia must be a neutral and independent country that does not side with any of two. The compilation of the Pancasila as the basis of the state and the UUD 1945 as the basis of Indonesian constitution should have been the foundation of every policy taken by this nation. This was also confirmed by a speech delivered by President Soekarno in 1960. His intended speech was entitled "Our Revolution" cited as following:

"Our Free Active Establishment, step by step must be reflected in every relation with foreign countries, so that is not biased to the West or East."

This Free and Active politics is the reflection of Indonesia attitude during the Cold War era. By Free and

Active politics, it respectively means being impartial towards the two blocks and active means participating in maintaining world peace by easing the tensions that occur due to the actions taken by the two blocs. Through free foreign policy, the interests of the people or known as national interests is the ultimate guidance. Such in dealing with various international problems, Indonesia has the right to take its own path without any intervention. Hence, Indonesia is also free to establish relations with any international actors in order to fulfill its national interests. Therefore, this is also often called as Independent Policy. This foreign policy is expected not only to be purely ideological but also to be rational by looking at the political constellation that developed at that time both inside and outside the country. Then, this makes Indonesia be known as an independent and a sovereign nation in describing its national interests and position in global arena from time to time.

The development of Indonesia's foreign policy by the times has made a lot of changes and if observed carefully, will show a pattern. The pattern of foreign policy taken basically depends on the leader or president as the decision maker, as well as the domestic conditions of a country and also the objectives to be achieved. Furthermore, the history of the development of Indonesia's foreign policy from the beginning of independence until post-reformation will be discussed through the following points:

1. Old Order (1945-1967)

At this time, the presidency of Indonesia was held by President Soekarno. Indonesia's foreign policy tended to be hard profile. The pattern of interaction that was built in dealing with various international problems at this time tended to be hard and firm. Soekarno was vocal in voicing the spirit of anti-colonialism and firmly opposed all forms of occupation by the West. With such attitude, he succeeded in convincing the Asian-African countries, which were mostly ex-colonial countries to

promote unity until the Asian-African Conference was realized in 1955 at Bandung. The basis of this conference is that they shared common fate and spirit of togetherness. In addition, Sukarno also made sharp criticisms on the West including his campaign "*Ganyang Malaysia*". In fact, he dared to oppose and become an opposition to the West if it was deemed necessary. In its position in the international world, Indonesia placed itself in strategic positions as NEFOS (New Emerging Forces) which is in existence against OLDEFOS (Old Established Forces). NEFOS is the power of new countries that oppose OLDEFOS as a major power that support neo-colonialism and dominated with western country. The culmination of Indonesia's hard profile policy was when Indonesia expressed its criticism and disappointment with the UN and decided to leave the organization. This is certainly a big decision that had been carefully thought out, in which there were consequences that must be taken at that time by considering that Indonesia was still young at that time.

2. New Order (1967-1998)

The New Order era was marked by the fall of the Indonesian presidency under President Soeharto. In contrast to the Old Order, this time the foreign policy approach led to a low profile. The pattern of interaction formed tended to seek revitalization of Indonesia's relations with other countries which had stretched in the previous era. Suharto at that time understood that Indonesia needed economic development which received a lot of support from the West. Soeharto, a pro-developmental, who was familiarly called the Father of Indonesian Development at that time, made Indonesia the country with the highest economic growth in Asia in 1980. Through development he initiated, Indonesia was known as the next Asian Tiger in economic development. Another big decision taken was the re-

joining of Indonesia into the United Nations as a form of peace in Indonesia with previous Western conflicts. Also, in this era, Indonesia had appeared in various international activities such as the OIC, GNB, APEC, etc. The weakness of this regime is that the domestic government was centralistic or authoritarian. This governance lasted long until three decades.

3. Reformation Era (1998-1999)

The Reformation era was marked by the changing of Indonesia's democracy to open politic and extensive economy. Changes in the pattern of foreign policy formulation have also become more democratic from heavy executives to be more public heavy. Foreign policy was not only dominated by the influence of the president as a decision maker, but these are the openings of opportunities for the public to participate in giving opinions, both through parliament and non-governmental organizations. The Reformation Era under BJ Habibie's leadership lasted for two years which was also known as transition era. Whereas in the previous two eras, the problem was more dominated by the problem of inter-state relations, during the era of entering the reformation period, the real involvement of the Indonesian public also finally had an influence on the field of problems that were more directed at the group level or individual. The foreign problems faced by Indonesia this time were basically more low-politic. The controversial policy in this era was when Indonesia gave people the choice of referendum in East Timor for their integration into the Indonesian territory. The referendum on August 30, 1999 created history for Indonesia, ehn people of East Timor was willing to separate themselves from Indonesia.

4. Post-Reform Era (1999-2014)

Post-Government reform in Indonesia was filled by three different governments. Sequentially the three heads of government were Abdurahman Wahid served

for 2 years, Megawati Soekarno Putri served for 3 years, then Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono served for 2 times the presidential period, 10 years. Along with changes in government, changes in policy within and outside a country also emerged. Furthermore, an explanation of post-reform policy will be divided based on the three periods of government, as following:

a. Abdurahman Wahid Era (1999-2001)

Along with Indonesia's political and economic conditions which were gradually improving, Indonesia's political policies were more directed on its efforts to improve the image to regain international trust. The President and his staff had carried out many international safaris in various countries to ensure the internationals about the current condition of Indonesia. But this actually became a boomerang because domestic affairs were a bit neglected. In domestic affairs, Abdurahman Wahid was also known as the elimination of anti-racism against the Chinese. The controversial policy that had been taken is that Indonesia opens diplomatic relations with Israel, which invited pros and cons, considering that Indonesia is a country that is predominantly Muslim. Besides, this is not in line with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution which states Indonesia as a country that calls for the abolition of all forms of colonialism in the world

b. Megawati Soekarno Putri Era (2001-2004)

Indonesia's foreign policy during Megawati's era still tended to continue the policy of the previous era where it sought to improve the image of Indonesia by seeking global support and cooperation. The foreign policy taken in the field of defense was the cooperation between Indonesia and Russia regarding the purchase of Sukhoi aircraft shill. In this era, Indonesia's foreign policy was

challenged by the Bali Bombing which then brought Indonesia into international forums related to the issue of terrorism.

c. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Era (2004-2014)

Indonesia in Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration (SBY) had two major capitals in the implementation of its foreign policy. First, domestic political and economic conditions tended to be stable. Second, the SBY government was a government that could be said to be democratically elected. This is because SBY was directly elected by the people through direct presidential elections. With domestic capital that had begun to recover, Indonesia under SBY administration tried to be more active in various international forums such as ASEAN, APEC, OKI, etc. The issue of terrorism and security during Megawati's past was continued, even in 2004 there was a bomb explosion at the Australian Embassy and a year later in 2005 the Bali Bombing II occurred. This then became a homework for SBY to solve both of these problems with the two concerned countries, America and Australia. Indonesia's achievements at that time were more inscribed with the appearance of Indonesia at regional and international forums, some of which were: ASEAN Security Community (ASC), the 50th Anniversary of the Asian-African Conference in 2005, the International Climate Change Conference in Bali in December 2007, etc.

During this reign, one controversial policy occurred when Indonesia took its political maneuver in the UN Security Council's decision on Iranian nuclear. Many people regretted the abstain decision because it was considered to be lacking in representing Indonesia's solidarity as a fellow Muslim country. The culmination of the effect of this policy was when the president was called by

the House of Representatives to provide an explanatory reason behind the policy taken.

B. Indonesia Foreign Policy Today (2014-2019)

Whoever serves as president, Indonesia's foreign policy actually remains the same as at the beginning of independence. The President of Indonesia is bounded by a constitutional mandate to carry out Free-Active foreign policy. Indonesia will continue to carry out foreign policy that does not favor anyone and remains active in contributing to world peace. Even though Indonesia's free and active foreign policy principles have been existed and used until now, the President in his capacity as a decision maker still has room to modify the implementation of these policies in accordance with the national interests to be achieved. In running its government, the president has priority programs to be achieved in the next five years. In order for the program to work, policies were made which has function to support the success of those programs.

After officially become a President, Joko Widodo introduced his vision and programs in his government in the next five years through the concept of *Nawacita*. *Nawa* means Nine in Sanskrit, then *Cita* means hope, agenda, or desire. So, *Nawacita* is an elaboration of the Nine agenda of Indonesia that become the national priority programs in national development. Substantially, *Nawacita* is a derivative of the *Trisakti* concept which was the manifesto of President Soekarno's idea in 1963. At that time, the condition of Indonesia was in the midst of two major world powers and Indonesia chose its own way to be free and independent of any both powers. Basically, the essence of *Trisakti* concept itself is sovereignty in politics, self-reliance in the economy and personality in culture. *Trisakti's* idea that has not been fully realized is what has become the reference for President Joko Widodo to his manifesto, *Nawacita*.

The description of Nawacita, are as followed:

1. Returning the state to its task of protecting all citizens and providing a safe environment.
2. Developing clean, effective, trusted and democratic governance.
3. Developing Indonesia's rural areas.
4. Reforming law enforcement agencies.
5. Improving quality of life.
6. Increasing productivity and creativeness.
7. Promoting economic independence by developing domestic strategic sector.
8. Overhauling the character of nation.
9. Strengthening the spirit of "unity in diversity" in social reform.

The President indicated that the Nawacita concept would be applied together in all sectors of administration and became a platform which was later adopted and implemented as part of government policy. That he also revealed, *Nawacita* is the right concept to answer current and future challenges for Indonesia if it is implemented consistently (Republika, 2015).

Just like previous presidents, Joko Widodo also has a paradigm or focus interest for his government. If the previous President, SBY is known as "Thousand Friends and Zero Enemy", then now Joko Widodo introduced his paradigm, "Global Martim Fulcrum". Through this slogan, Jokowi puts forward the strategic interests of Indonesia as a maritime country (Maksum, 2014). The background of this policy is that President Joko Widodo is trying to revitalize the *mantra* "*Jalesveva Jayamah*" which means in ocean we triumph. The glory of Indonesia in the ocean is a rediscovery of the identity of Indonesian nation as an archipelagic country. Indonesia is called as archipelagic country because this country has more than 17.504 islands. Indonesia is geostrategically located on the center of the connecting lines of Indian and Pacific Ocean which is known as an international trade route. Indonesia also shares

some sea boundaries with countries such as Australia, India, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand. As a maritime country, Indonesia lies in territory in which one third of its is land the two third of its territory is ocean. It is assumed that the maritime wealth Indonesia posses can be used for the common good of many people. This is in accordance with article 33 paragraph 1-5 of the UUD 1945 Constitution, which explains that economic control over natural wealth must refer to the common interest and to the prosperity of the people based on justice (Laut Masa Depan Bangsa, 2017). Because of the many potentials that Indonesia has, Joko Widodo is ambitious to make Indonesia the center of regional and world maritime power in the economic and security sphere (Maksum, 2014). Security issues are certainly important points to build a strong maritime defense force to safeguard the sovereignty of the Indonesian territory along with all its wealth and potential (Kemaritiman, 2016).

In domestic policy orientation, Indonesia is more likely to be inward looking in the face of today's political dynamics. Inward looking means that Indonesia should focus more on internal development. Realizing Indonesia's great aspirations as a world maritime axis is not an easy thing, therefore the government prioritizes to boost the development of domestic infrastructure to fulfill these ideals. Indonesia always strives to implement its foreign policy including maintaining Indonesia sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the world leadership, Indonesia again proposed itself as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period 2019-2020.