



FOREIGN POLICY  
ANALYSIS



FOREIGN POLICY  
OF INDONESIA

VOLUME 5

Major General Dr. Budi Pramono, S.I.P., M.M, M.A., (GSC), CIQaR.,  
CIQnR., MOS., MCE.

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**CV. AKSARA GLOBAL AKADEMIA**

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# FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

## VOLUME 5



# FOREIGN POLICY OF INDONESIA

DEFENSE DIPLOMACY STUDY PROGRAM



MAJOR GENERAL DR. BUDI PRAMONO, S.I.P., M.M, M.A., (GSC)., CIQaR., CIQnR., MOS., MCE.



# PREFACE

Indonesia was one of the pioneer countries of the Non-Aligned Movement during the emergence of the cold war between the West and the East Blocks. In carrying out its foreign policy, Indonesia adheres to an independent and active principle. Independent means that the Indonesian people do not take sides or participate to the hostile parties since that attitudes are not in accordance with the noble values of the nation. Meanwhile, active means that Indonesia does not stay alone, but is active in international relations in the context of advancing world order. With an independent and active policy, Indonesia is able to determine its direction, attitude, and desire as an independent and sovereign state.

On Indonesia's Foreign Policy, students are expected to be able to employ Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) on Indonesia's policy in the current situation. On the other hand, students are expected to be capable of analyzing the weaknesses and strengths of the policy to formulate the best measures for improving the policy. By employing FPA, students are prepared to understand the theories contained in foreign policy developments, which are influenced by domestic considerations and policies, behavior of other countries, or plans to advance certain geopolitical designs.

The urgency of FPA on Indonesia's foreign policy is to provide a concept regarding Indonesia's national goals in keeping up with the developments of the current modern era. The policies have to be adapted to the national and regional threats dynamics. Emphasis on the advantages of geography and external threats also have to be put in shaping Indonesia's foreign policy.

Diplomacy is a foreign policy tool. Thus, it is necessary to renew the approach in dealing with all global problems, as well as renewing a more modern teaching materials to keep up and stay relevant despite any changes that occur.

Jakarta, September 2021

**Major General Dr. Budi Pramono, S.I.P., M.M, M.A., (GSC), CIQaR., CIQnR., MOS., MCE.**

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# INTRODUCTIONS

To a great extent, The Indonesian foreign policy elite's strategic thinking about the country's foreign relations and how to achieve maximum security for Indonesia in the post-Cold War period have been in line with the precepts of the balance of threat theory. However, the balance of threat theory is capable of explaining Indonesia's foreign policy dynamics since it extends the analysis beyond the elite's threat perceptions by putting more emphasis on the degree of the elite's consensus about the threat.



# HISTORICAL BRIEF

## Kingdoms Period

1. Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms
2. Rise of Islamic States

## Colonization

by:

1. Portuguese
2. British
3. Dutch
4. Japan

## Independence

1. Old Order (1945-1965)
2. New Order (1966-1998)
3. Reform (1999-now)

# IDEOLOGY & CONSTITUTION



- Ideology of Indonesia is *Pancasila (the five principles)*:
  1. Divinity / *Ketuhanan*
  2. Humanity / *kemanusiaan*
  3. Unity / *persatuan*
  4. Deliberation / *permusyawaratan*
  5. Social Justice / *keadilan sosial*.
- The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia was established in 1945

# Geographic Facts

## Area

total: 1,919,440 sq km

land: 1,826,440 sq km

water: 93,000 sq km

**Coastline:** 54,716 km

**Climate:** Tropical (wet season and dry season)

**Highest Point:** Puncak Jaya 5,030 m

**Indonesian Archipelago** consist of 17,508 islands (6,000 inhabited)

**Population:** 240,271,522 (July 2009 est.)

**Indonesia Standard Time** divided into three time zones:

Western Standard Time, UTC+7

Central Standard Time, UTC+8

Eastern Standard Time, UTC+9



# PROVINCES IN INDONESIA





# NATIONAL LANGUAGE

# BAHASA INDONESIA

LOCAL LANGUAGES: **726**

Java, Madura, Bali : 19  
Sumatera : 52  
Nusa Tenggara : 68  
Kalimantan : 82



Sulawesi : 114  
Maluku : 131  
Papua : 265



# RELIGIONS



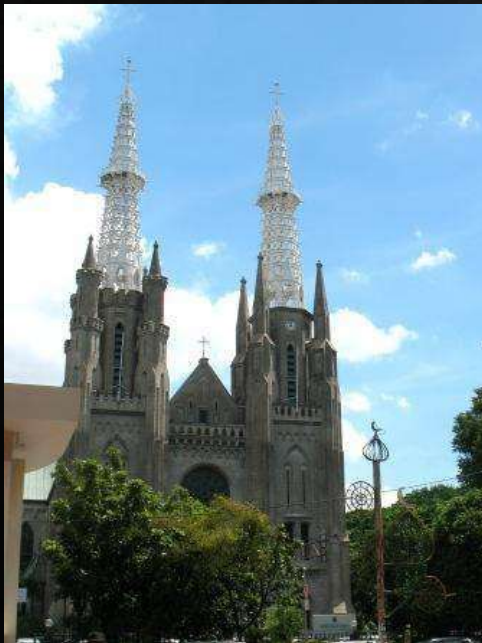
*Islam*



PROTESTANT



*Hindu*



*Catholic*



*Buddha*



*Confucius*

# Indonesia Biodiversity

Conservation International (CI) considers Indonesia to be one of 17 "mega-diversity" countries – with two of the world's 25 "hotspots. Although Indonesia covers only 1.3 percent of the earth's land surface, it includes:



**10 %** of world's flowering  
plant species

**25 %** of world's fish species



**12 %** of world's mammals  
species

**16 %** of world's  
reptile and  
amphibian  
species



**17 %** of world's bird  
species



# Natural Resources



**Tin**

**Petroleum**



**NATURAL GAS**



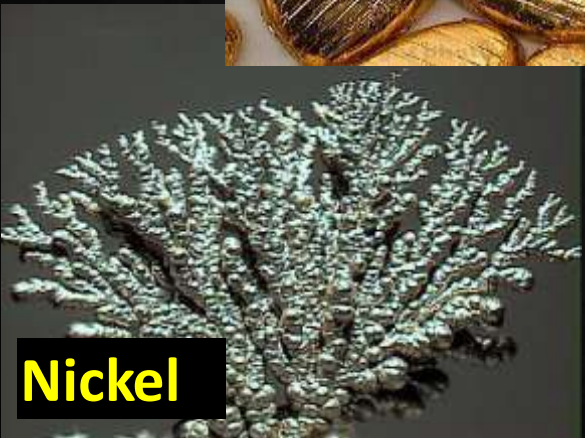
**Gold**



**Bauxite**



**Silver**



**Nickel**



**Coal**



**Copper**



# DOMESTIC ISSUES: Corruption



Commission of Corruption Eradication (KPK) building, Jakarta

- From Jan-Nov 2013, corruption in Indonesia have involved senior police officer, judge of Constitutional Court, ministers, governors, and cader of ruling party
- Commission of Corruption Eradication (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* – KPK) become the most respected and trusted government's legal institution by the public after dismantling many corruption cases.

# DOMESTIC ISSUES: **Communal conflict**



Communal Conflict in Indonesia

- Indonesia is a very heterogenous country, and thus have very large potential of communal conflicts.
- Other causes of communal conflict in Indonesia are:
  - Disobedience of local wisdom
  - Legal uncertainty
  - People's economic issues
  - Government's Indecisiveness
  - Decentralization
  - Democratization process
  - Public confidence crisis toward the government

# INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

# FOREIGN POLICY

- ❖ "*a thousands friends - zero enemy*" (contemporary slogan of Indonesia's foreign policy)
- ❖ Indonesia actively participates and organizes international conferences on security, economic and trade, democracy, and environmental issues.
- ❖ As the most populous muslim country, Indonesia shows more attention to moslem-related issues. ex: Palestine, Rohingya, Arab Spring.

- Indonesia maintains an independent and active foreign policy doctrine since its independence
- Other focuses of Indonesia's foreign policy:
  - a. investment policy
  - b. migrant workers
  - c. national unity
  - d. international justice and order
  - e. regional integration



INDONESIA as UN Security Council



Indonesia Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi



# INDONESIA AND ASEAN

Indonesia-ASEAN Summit 2021

- Indonesia is one of ASEAN'S founding fathers.
- ASEAN is Indonesia's foreign policy priority.
- It has hosted ASEAN annual meeting for 3 times (1976, 2003, and 2011).
- The ASEAN secretariat office is also located in Indonesia.



ASEAN Secretariat Building Jakarta - Indonesia

# INDONESIA AND ASEAN



- Indonesia actively encourages region stabilization and multidimension cooperation to prepare for ASEAN Community 2015.
  
- Indonesia plays role in many issues in Southeast Asia:
  - Phillipine – MNLF reconciliation
  - conflict and democratisation in Myanmar
  - East Timor membership in ASEAN
  - South China Sea disputes

# TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES

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Indonesia – Australia on illegal immigrant issue.

Indonesia – Malaysia on maritime boundary issue.

Indonesia – Singapore on maritime boundary issue.

• etc.





# INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE JOKOWI ERA

# SOME CAVEATS

- **First “outsider”:**
  - not part of political elite or military
  - Modest furniture salesman before entering politics
- **Meritocratic rise:**
  - Mayor of a small town in Central Java Province (Surakarta), 2005-2012
  - Governor of DKI Jakarta, 2012-2014
  - President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2014-present



# SOME CAVEATS

- **“Vote-winner”:**
  - 2005 elections: 36.62% of votes
  - 2010 elections: 90.01%
  - 2012 elections: 53.82% (after second round)
  - 2014 elections: 53.15%
  - 2019 elections: 55.50%
- **Good image:**
  - “Man-of-the-people”
  - Clean from corruption
  - Pro-human rights
  - Business-minded
  - “Man-of-Action”



# SOME CAVEATS

- When Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo was sworn as the seventh President of the Republic of Indonesia, taking over from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the change in personnel at the highest executive office of state **naturally raised questions** about the likely changes in government policies between the outgoing Yudhoyono Government and that of the incoming Widodo Government.
- This was **especially in the area of foreign policy** given that Yudhoyono was widely lauded for his efforts and achievements on the international stage; and the **general perception that Widodo lacks sufficient foreign policy experience and knowledge.**

# HOW DIFFERENT IS JOKOWI'S FOREIGN POLICY VIS-À-VIS HIS PREDECESSORS?

- **Foreign policy disinterest:**
  - Never attended UN General Assembly, even when Indonesia was campaigning for non-permanent seat in UN Security Council
  - Reluctant to attend/host international events
- **Undermining Foreign Minister:**
  - Liaison ministers to handle specific countries
  - Israel visa-free fiasco
  - New Vice Foreign Minister reports directly to Jokowi
- **Upsetting other countries**
  - 'Sink the boat' policy for foreign vessels that are caught conducting IUU fishing in Indonesian waters
  - Death execution of foreign drug offenders/ignoring pleas for clemency.

# HOW DIFFERENT IS JOKOWI'S FOREIGN POLICY VIS-À-VIS HIS PREDECESSORS?

- **'Indonesia's First'/Transactional consideration**
  - Jokowi is only interested in countries that could provide massive investment for Indonesia's infrastructure projects.
  - Less interested in geo-strategic considerations

NEWS > BUSINESS

## I held up umbrella for King Salman, yet China gets the investment: Jokowi



Anton Hermansyah  
The Jakarta Post

Jakarta / Fri, April 14, 2017 / 09:52 am



# HOW DIFFERENT IS JOKOWI'S FOREIGN POLICY VIS-À-VIS HIS PREDECESSORS?

- It could be argued that Jokowi's 1st term did not reach the same high point in foreign policy compared to his predecessor. However, **it cannot be said to represent a low point either.**
- Just as Indonesia secured a non-permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council during Yudhoyono's presidency, so did **it during Jokowi's presidency.**
- Just as the then-Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa **engaged in shuffle diplomacy** over a regional crisis, so did the Jokowi-appointed Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi when the Southeast Asian region was in the spotlight due to the Rohingya issue.
- Just as Yudhoyono tried and came up short in his attempts to lead ASEAN towards a certain direction, so did Jokowi struggle in his own efforts to push the regional organization towards adopting its own 'Indo-Pacific' concept.
- In this sense, President Jokowi perhaps **deserves the same praise and criticisms** leveled at Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

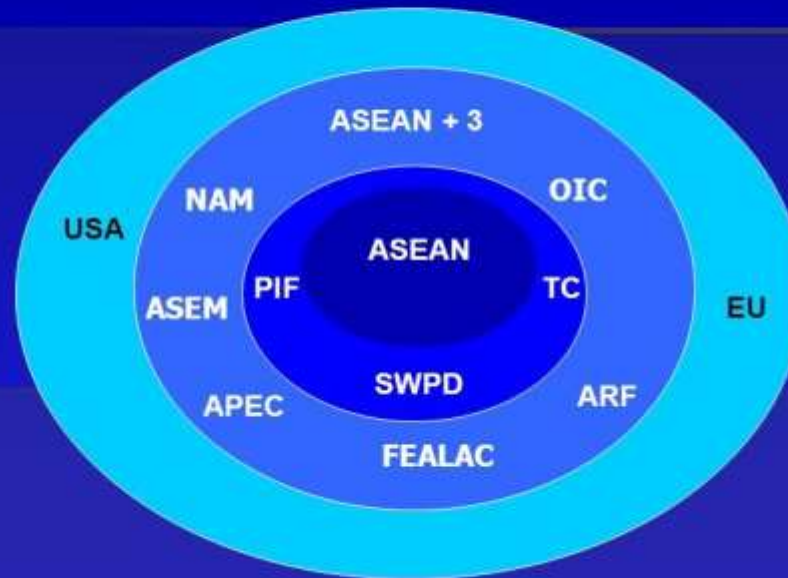
# WHAT ARE THE KEY DOMESTIC FACTORS INFLUENCING INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY?





# HOW DOES TODAY'S INDONESIA SEE THE REGION AND THE WORLD?

## CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY



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# DOES THE CURRENT DYNAMIC OF THE INDO-PACIFIC DISCOURSE MEET INDONESIA'S EXPECTATIONS?

- In June 2019, ASEAN endorsed the **ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP)**. **Heavily pushed by Indonesia**, the initiative aims to ensure ASEAN Centrality amidst competing concepts of the 'Indo-Pacific' regional architecture by major powers.
- Whilst the 'Indo-Pacific' term was not a new concept, it gained new attention after being used by U.S. President Trump during his trip to the region in 2017
- In addition to the U.S., countries such as Australia, India and Japan have all pushed forward their own vision for an 'Indo-Pacific' regional architecture.
- Such **competing visions threatened to undermine Indonesia's preference** for an **ASEAN-led regional architecture**, underpinned by the ASEAN Plus Three, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the East Asian Summit (EAS) mechanisms, among others.

# DOES THE CURRENT DYNAMIC OF THE INDO-PACIFIC DISCOURSE MEET INDONESIA'S EXPECTATIONS?

- Indonesia dedicated enormous effort to the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific
- Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi was reportedly **dubbed 'Miss Indo-Pacific'** by her peers in Southeast Asia due to her tireless persistence
  - President Jokowi brought it up at the 32nd ASEAN Summit in Singapore.
  - followed up by further discussions at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting and Related Meeting in August 2018, where Indonesia shared a concept paper
  - a one-and-a-half track meeting was organized in Jakarta in September 2018.
- That the document was formally **adopted by the ASEAN Leaders in less than two years** was a notable achievement given the 'notoriously slow ASEAN diplomacy, where all decisions must be made by consensus.

# AMIDST CHINA-U.S. CONTRADICTIONS, WHAT ARE INDONESIA'S CHOICES AND OPPORTUNITIES?



# INDONESIA AND RUSSIA IN THEIR EIGHTH DECADE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

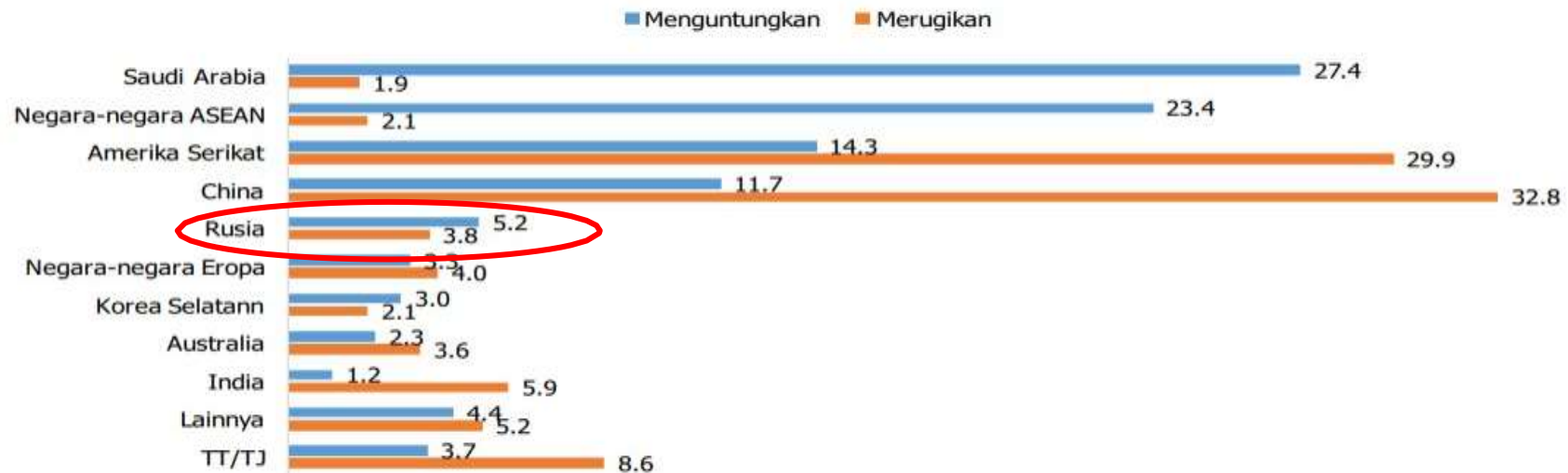
- Indonesia-Russia relations have not reached the same heights that they once were in the past, especially when Sukarno was president.
- Despite a strong Russian legacy that can be found in Indonesia (monuments in Jakarta, military hardware imported from Russia), most Indonesians would attach higher importance on relations with the U.S. and China as well as Japan, South Korea and Australia.
- Russian presence is arguably not strongly felt in Indonesia and vice-versa. Last state visits were in December 2006 (President Yudhoyono to Moscow) and September 2007 (President Putin to Jakarta).
- Complicated by geostrategic competition/pressure from other powers (example: Sukhoi Su-35 fighter jets and U.S. Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act).

# WHAT COULD WE REALISTICALLY EXPECT FROM INDONESIA AND RUSSIA IN THEIR EIGHTH DECADE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?



CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

## Kerja sama luar negeri yang menguntungkan dan merugikan bagi Indonesia



Kerjasama (ekonomi) dengan **Saudi Arabia** dianggap publik menguntungkan bagi Indonesia, sementara kerja sama dengan **China** dipersepsikan merugikan bagi (perekonomian) Indonesia

Survei Nasional CSIS "Orientasi Sosial, Ekonomi dan Politik Generasi Milenial", Periode 23-30 Agustus 2017

# CONCLUSION

- The Indonesian foreign policy elite's strategic thinking about the country's foreign relations and how to achieve maximum security for Indonesia in the post-Cold War period have been to a great extent in line with the precepts of the balance of threat theory. However, the balance of threat theory is capable of explaining Indonesia's foreign policy dynamics since it extends the analysis beyond the elite's threat perceptions by putting more emphasis on the degree of the elite's consensus about the threat.
- Generally, both the United States and China are perceived as the two most potent external factors with the potential to endanger Indonesia's national security and interests. On the one hand, the interviewed leaders identified the United States as presently the most significant malign factor affecting Indonesia's national security.

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# About the Author



**MG Dr. Budi Pramono, SIP., M.M., M.A., (GSC), CIQar., CIQnR., MOS., MCE.** Born in Sidoarjo in 1967. He holds two Masters degrees, at Hull University UK in the Field of Security and Strategic Studies (1998) and the University of National Development Veterans Jakarta (2005). When he was a colonel, he was awarded a doctorate degree in Political Science with a very good predicate.

After graduating from the Magelang Military Academy in 1988, he served in the Indonesian Army Strategic Forces (KOSTRAD) for ten years, then took part in the intelligence world (BAIS).

The author has a lot of experience taking various Military Education courses, some of which are: Austfamil Course (SUSLAPA II-ART) Australia (1996), National Security Intelligence Training Course in Taiwan (1999), Command and General Staff College, School of General Staff and Command in Manila (2001), best graduate with awards (Honor Graduate): United Nations logistics Course at Port Dickson (2002), Austfamil Course at Laverton Australia (2003), and Emergency Management in Australia, UN Military Observer Course, Port Dickson (2004).

In addition to being a frequent speaker at national and international conferences, as well as conducting scientific research, the author has also been actively writing many books, including: "Transformation of Indonesia Counter-Terrorism". (Terrorism and Disaster, Rajawali Pers, 2018), "The Role of Indonesia in Asean Security", (Terrorism and Disaster, Rajawali Pers, 2018), "Without Weapons, Concepts and Practices of Military Operations other than War in Indonesia" (Unhan Press, 2021), "Politics & National Defense" (Global Aksara Akademia, 2021). "Indonesian Politics" (Aksara Global Akademia, 2021).

Currently the author works as a Permanent Lecturer at the Republic of Indonesia Defense University and continues to take part in carrying out the *Tri Dharma* of Higher Education.\*\*\*

