



Indonesia as a Maritim Power: Change And Continuity in Foreign Policy Perspective

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Abstract. This article will discuss Indonesia as a maritime country and its maritime strengths, which are connected to a periodized analysis of Indonesian foreign policy using a qualitative-descriptive approach. In the first stage, this article will explain the background of Indonesian foreign policy related to the maritime dimension, starting from history to foreign policy principles. This article will also explain the Indonesian maritime dimension of change and continuity from a foreign policy perspective as part of geopolitical thinking among the maritime strategies adopted by several countries. The continuity and change aspect of foreign policy will be used in this article to look at the challenges and opportunities for the maritime agenda, notwithstanding the difficulties presented by other nations' maritime strategies in Indonesia's foreign policy.

Keywords: Indonesia Foreign Policy, Global Maritime Fulcrum, Change and Continuity, Geopolitical Thinking.

I. INTRODUCTION

Both internal and international political environments significantly impact Indonesia's foreign policy. It is evident from the policy approaches adopted by Indonesia's ruling regimes that they were both shaped by global politics and tailored to the country's unique political and economic circumstances.

During the Old Order (Orde Lama), The spirit of post-colonial patriotism and the start of the Cold War on a global scale both impacted Indonesia's foreign policy. After Indonesia's independence in 1945, Indonesia's main foreign policy agenda, like other countries in the world did when they first proclaimed their independence, was to seek recognition from other countries. The Indonesian government at that time also did the same thing, such that Indonesia's foreign policy was primarily focused on seeking recognition from other countries, hence the beginning of diplomatic relations with various countries in the world. The beginning of Indonesia's foreign policy was also influenced by international political developments, which entered the early stages of the Cold War in the 1960s. With Indonesia's domestic conditions, as a newly established country, it is trying to find a figure or build its profile in the international world. Relatively weak economic conditions but a great spirit of patriotism mean that the Indonesian government must determine the direction of its policies abroad to build Indonesia's image. Muhammad Hatta said that "rowing between two rocks (Mendayung di antara Dua Karang)" best described Indonesia's foreign strategy. This indicates that Indonesia

maintains a neutral foreign policy stance toward the two superpowers, the US and the USSR.

Indonesia plays no favorites between the two opposed and flows its own path through the various international problems. It terms this policy "independent", and further characterizes it by describing it as independent and "active". By active is meant the effort to work energetically for the preservation of peace and the relaxation of tension generated by the two blocs, through endeavors supported if possible by the majority of the members of the United Nations.

Our policy is independent and active – independent because Indonesia does not wish to align herself with either of opposition blocs, the Western bloc or the Communist bloc; active because it actively carries out a peaceful policy as a loyal member of the United Nations [1].

The approach used in the foundation of Indonesian foreign policy is very good, especially in responding to the Cold War phenomenon. The concepts introduced by Hatta attracted the attention of many countries, so they intended to establish good relations with Indonesia. The concept introduced by Hatta has indirectly led Indonesia to the gates of guided democracy, even though in its implementation, what President Soekarno did at that time was very different from Hatta's thoughts. President Soekarno, who is known for his confrontational politics, which is hard-profile and tends to be inward-looking, coupled with domestic upheavals, indeed caused the development of democracy in Indonesia to experience setbacks, even far from setbacks due to Soekarno's closeness to China and Russia and his foreign political orientation, which he carries out. However, Hatta had demonstrated that the Republic of Indonesia could achieve democracy.

II. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government has pioneered Indonesia as an architectural region [2]. The government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has an outward-looking foreign policy model with two significant capitals for implementing its foreign policy. First, domestic political and economic conditions tend to be stable. Second, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government is a government that can be said to be democratically elected. This is because the people elected Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono directly

through direct presidential elections [3]. With domestic strength capital, which has begun to recover, this has encouraged Indonesia under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to become active again in various international forums such as ASEAN, APEC, OIC, and several important global issues. During the SBY administration, several regional and international achievements have been recorded, such as [1]:

1. Indonesia has succeeded in proposing an ASEAN security community (ASC).
2. The 50th anniversary of the Asian-African Conference in 2005, as an effort to remind people of the importance of the unity of countries in the Asia-Africa region.
3. The UN sponsored the International Climate Change Conference in Bali in December 2007.
4. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's proposal for handling the global crisis at the end of 2008 resulted in Indonesia being invited to give its views at the G20 meeting of advanced industrial countries in London, England, in 2009.
5. Indonesia is trying to carry out a sea and coral protection campaign (World Ocean Conference) in Manado.
6. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).
7. ASEAN Regional Forum
8. East Asia Summit (EAS)

When Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ran and was re-elected as president for a second term, Indonesia's foreign policy trajectory was redirected. The notion of an independent and active foreign policy for Indonesia is then translated into other points:

1. Constructivism mindset.
2. Never join a military pact.
3. Connectivity with the outside world.
4. Indonesia's identity project in the global arena, including its status as the fourth most populous nation, the home of the world's largest Muslim community, the third most democratic nation, and a nation where democracy, Islam, and modernity can coexist.
5. Reflects true Indonesian nationalism: openness, self-confidence, moderation, tolerance, and outward-lookingness. In the midst of globalization, interdependence, and increasingly strong competition, SBY stated that Indonesia was sailing in a wide ocean current (Navigating in the Turbulence Ocean).

A. "Global Maritime Fulcrum" as a Medium to Continue Towards Asia's Maritim Power

Since being elected in October 2014, the Global Maritime Fulcrum concept has been President Joko Widodo's flagship concept to position Indonesia amid global political flows. This concept seems to revive the idea that Indonesia is a country that has maritime potential. As stated in old poems, this nation has almost forgotten and is nostalgic for the historical glory that was carved out of the archipelago during the era of the Srivijaya and kingdoms of Majapahit with their extensive maritime power. This concept also seems to want to change the Indonesian paradigm, which has always adhered to a continental orientation, towards a maritime orientation.

The concept of a Global Maritime Fulcrum launched by President Joko Widodo also answers the challenges and position of Indonesia that global politics have contested. This is because several developed countries and other emerging countries already have a clear concept of the maritime world. Currently, a country's maritime conditions can reflect the geopolitical thinking of that country. It comes beyond mentioning that marine power is the foundation of the maritime strategy that many nations have embraced worldwide. Maritime power itself is defined as the degree to which a nation makes the best use of its maritime strength. It also refers to the power at sea, which is symbolized by a nation's fleet (navy) [4].

China has a highly sophisticated geopolitical strategy within the Asian region. China developed another grand strategy for maritime affairs in 1992, following implementing the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) plan. This is consistent with the recent military and economic advancements in China. In front of the Indonesian parliament, Chinese President Xi Jinping formally unveiled the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road idea on October 3, 2013. The core of this strategy is the construction of maritime infrastructure, known as OBOR (One Belt One Road) by China, which connects the Chinese mainland to major ports in Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe [5]. As China continues to grow militarily and economically and becomes more assertive in the ASEAN region, particularly with regard to the South China Sea conflict, Indonesia faces both a challenge and a hope in this regard. The challenge is China's desire to build better and more sustainable cooperation with Indonesia.

Apart from China, India also plays an important role in global maritime power. India, which has moved away from the emerging country stage, has gradually shown new strength in Asia. India's maritime policy can be seen in the Look East Policy issued by India in 1991. This policy is also expected to be able to balance China's power and influence in Asia.

Japan also plays an important role in the global maritime world among China and India. Even though Japan was demanded by the international community not to be involved in activities to develop its military capacity internationally due to its defeat in World War II (Article 9 of the 1947 Constitution), currently Japan is bolder in interpreting this article to be more involved in global maritime activities. Speaking before the Indian Parliament in 2007 with the topic "Confluence of the Two Seas," Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe further illustrated this [5]. Additionally, Japan coined the phrase "Indo-Pacific" at that meeting to refer to the growing strategic importance of the Pacific and Indian oceans on the global stage. The countries of the United States, Australia, China, India, Japan, and South Korea make up the Indo-Pacific region.

The objectives and obstacles that Indonesia will face, apart from the several countries previously explained, come from Indonesia's neighbouring country, which comes from the next continent, Australia. Australia has a

policy in the maritime sector that has been recorded in the Australian defines white paper, namely the "Strategic ARC" [5]. This idea only explains Australia's attempts to link Southeast Asia with the Indian and Pacific Oceans. How developed is the idea of Indonesia's "maritime fulcrum" then? President Joko Widodo explained this idea in his speech prior to the 9th East Asia Summit (EAS) event on November 13, 2014, in Naypyidaw, Myanmar. It is composed of five basic pillars. [5]: marine economy, maritime culture, maritime defines, maritime diplomacy, and maritime connectivity.

This concept is still ongoing, so research and collective data are needed for the future to measure its effectiveness. But one thing that can be taken from the study of the "maritime fulcrum" in the middle of the global maritime agenda is that Indonesia wants to show that its country does not always have to be in the position of the object of the agenda but rather participate as the subject of the agenda. Indonesia not only wants to be part of the triangle or circle formed by the meeting of the two oceans, but Indonesia also wants to support this agenda with reference to national interests, which have been analysed in relation to the Global Maritime Fulcrum concept.

B. Continuity and Change Aspects of Indonesia's "Independent and Active" Foreign Policy

Indonesian politics, which is based on "Independent and active", has placed Indonesia in every global vortex that comes its way. Indonesia can be proud of its foreign policy foundation because this concept contributes to aspects of upholding the formation of the democratic process [1]. This foundation also shapes Indonesia's foreign policy at the inward and outward looking stages.

For the inward-looking aspect, Indonesia faces many domestic phenomena that have indirectly provided experience to maintain Indonesia's existence in the global vortex. Indonesia has experienced cases of human rights violations and even disintegration, so many efforts have been made to restructure foreign policy without ignoring its foundations.

The outward-looking aspect can be seen in Indonesia's efforts to become a regional architecture and global actor in setting the international agenda. The location of the continuity and change aspect is when Indonesian foreign policy stakeholders combine the foundations of Indonesian foreign policy with the programs offered by each government. This is what makes Indonesian foreign policy more dynamic, but it does not abandon its foundations. So that each president and his staff have their own mindset and style in carrying out their foreign policy. With these various dynamics and processes, it indirectly makes Indonesia worthy of being considered an emerging power country in Asia.

The concept of continuity and change was also reflected when the foundation of Indonesian foreign policy was introduced by Muhammad Hatta with the analogy of Rowing Between Two Rocks (Mendayung di antara Dua

Karang) and continued with the new framework for Indonesian foreign policy, which takes into account how different foreign policy players have developed their positions over time. The aspect of sustainability that is in line with Muhammad Hatta's thoughts can be seen in the concept introduced by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, namely "Navigating in a Turbulent Ocean". The same concept but with different packaging was also introduced by the next president, Joko Widodo, with his "Global Maritime Fulcrum". The sustainability aspect is very dominant here, but amidst the sustainability aspect, aspects always change the dynamics of Indonesian foreign policy. This changing aspect is reflected in the current conditions and constellation of international politics. This makes Indonesia's current foreign policy more independent and active; its approach tends to be pragmatic, no longer ideological, as happened during the Cold War [6].

However, to become an emerging power country, Indonesia must think about the geopolitical aspect of its thinking to compete with other countries. If President B.J. Habibie once thought about the geopolitical aspect of Indonesia's thinking by creating and developing strategic industries (ships and aircraft), now Indonesia must take advantage of its geopolitical position to develop this, followed by implementing clear policies.

III. CONCLUSION

One cannot separate Indonesia's recurring foreign policy journey from its status as a maritime power in Asia. Given the basis of its foreign policy, which appears to require establishing a democratic process, Indonesia is a nation deserving of consideration in international affairs. Indonesia's current geographical position must begin to be utilized strategically. Indonesia, which is between two oceans and two continents, must play an important role in maintaining a balanced foreign policy in close contact with developed countries while still taking into consideration small countries (equidistance) in accordance with the idea of "independent-active" foreign policy. Indonesia. The large geopolitical potential, especially the use of the Indian Ocean, known as a very strategic shipping lane (sea line of communication), should be Indonesia's main focus. Apart from that, Indonesia must utilize the geopolitical strategies of countries and regions such as China, India, Japan, and the Indo-Pacific to show that Indonesia is a new maritime power country. The construction of Indonesia as a subject must be built in this regard, so that Indonesia is no longer considered a strategic object compared to other large countries. Indonesia also seems to have its own issues with making Indonesia a maritime power country. Apart from that, Indonesia's participation in regional and global contests makes Indonesia appear to have normative power. This is what makes Indonesia worthy of being called a new guy who has moving power and setting power.

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