

National Attributes Analysis of Indonesia Thousand Friend Zero Enemies Policy

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Abstract: The foreign policy of a country is certainly influenced by many factors, internal and external, including Indonesia. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is the first president elected through direct elections. Indonesia was experiencing rapid development of democracy in the era of president of the leadership of SBY. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in the second period of his tenure to make a different move with the advent of the motto on Indonesia's foreign policy, namely million friends zero enemy. Policies million friends zero enemy then bring Indonesia to a different level in international politics. Indonesia sought to build conception to play a larger regional role, while strengthening bilateral relations with each country. Indonesia's foreign policy making is certainly influenced by elements of the domestic as well as the role of national attributes such as size, the element of geopolitical, demographic, political systems, as well as military and economic capabilities. National attributes become one of the elements that influenced the foreign policy making. This paper then discusses the underlying reasons for the selection of foreign policy million friends zero enemy through the Level of Analysis of national attributes.

1 INTRODUCTION

The process of making a country's foreign policy indirectly reflects the international system that is developing in the world and the national attributes that are owned by the state, without exception those that occur in Indonesia. Indonesia's behaviour in the formulation of its foreign policy can be understood from the history of its predecessor. In early independence, Indonesia implemented a free and active foreign policy strategy whereby Indonesia became one of the NAM initiators. In the next era, Indonesia actually kept a lower international profile and established close ties with Western economic powers to develop its economy (Piccone and Yusman 2014).

Indonesia in the era of reform with an increasingly growing democracy later inaugurated Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2004 as the first president elected by direct election. The establishment of Indonesia's foreign policy at the time could be said to be a combination of its two predecessor strategies. Indonesia is involved in the international environment, but is still holding back to make significant commitments that can challenge its preference, especially as a relatively neutral party in international disputes. Foreign policy during SBY

then cannot be separated from the motto "million friends zero enemy" expressed during his inauguration speech in the second period of 2009. SBY stated that Indonesia is facing a strategic environment in which no country views Indonesia as an enemy and no country which Indonesia considers enemies. Thus Indonesia can apply its foreign policy freely in all directions, with motto million friends and zero enemy (Piccone and Yusman 2014). In addition, Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa also expressed the dynamic equilibrium expression. Unlike in the more traditional concept of balance of power, the dynamic equilibrium seeks to involve all the relevant main forces in a more cooperative framework as a basis for the development of inclusive regional architecture (Anwar 2014).

Indonesia in the SBY era dreamed of a world that enabled cooperation between the South and North countries, where Indonesia was in the middle with an emphasis on neutrality (Falahi 2013). Indonesia sees the conception of its role as a peacemaker and bridge-builder through multilateral cooperation is key to addressing global and regional concerns (Rüland 2015). One of the things that stands out is the development of democracy. Indonesia in the era of SBY is experiencing the swift flow of democracy with the growing distribution of information as a

consequence of globalization. The promotion of democracy is a key element of Indonesia's soft power to gain a voice in regional and global affairs (Rüland 2015).

However, on the other hand Indonesia tends to refrain from making a strong commitment to uphold human rights on an international level as it continues to struggle with human rights issues within the country. As a democracy with the world's largest Muslim, the issue of internal human rights will pose a real threat to the credibility of Indonesia's claim to be a pioneer of democracy in other fragile democracies (Piccone and Yusman 2014). From the existence of this fact, it is necessary to study about the reasons why underlying Indonesia during SBY administration to take the policy million friends and zero enemy. The thing that needs to be underlined then is Indonesia's national strength as its competitiveness in the international world. The national power is converted into Indonesia's national attributes and influences foreign policy making. The national attribute will then be used in analyzing the million friends and zero enemy Indonesia policy described in more detail in the next paragraph.

1.1 National Attributes and Foreign Policy

Foreign policy analysis is essentially part of an international relations study. However, due to wider functions and discussions, foreign policy analysis then becomes a separate study. The subject of foreign policy focuses on the state and studies on the rationalization of the decisions of each country in making foreign policy. Therefore, a system of analysis level or level of analysis (LoA) is used. There are seven LoAs in analyzing the foreign policy of a country, ie individual, group, national identity, domestic politics, media or public opinion, national attributes, and international system. Analysis of foreign policy million friends and zero enemy under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in this paper using Level of Analysis attribute national.

The national attributes of a country can actually be a unit of analysis in reviewing foreign policy making. In simple terms, national attributes can be described as typical characteristics that reflect national strength in a country, and then can influence the formation of foreign policy (Hudson 2014). The national attributes have a basic principle that the state is seen as a unitary actor, namely the representation of a single political body that processes the policy-making process. The national attribute can be a tool of state consideration in determining the direction of

its relationship with other countries. There are several variables that can be used in identifying national attributes of a country, namely the size of the country, geopolitics which consists of natural resources owned and geographical location, demography, political system, military strength and economic capabilities (Hudson 2014).

The first variable is the size of a country that refers to the extent of the area affecting the model and techniques of a country in creating and responding to an issue of foreign policy (East 1973, 559). Generally, small countries do not have the ability to maintain the security of their territory, as well as relatively low economic capabilities compared to large countries. In addition, smaller countries are slower in responding to the development and change in policy direction than other international actors, thus tend to be less active in international politics (East 1973, 559). Hudson (2014) also states that small-sized states tend to be pragmatic in global politics and neutral in the face of conflict, while large countries tend to be more active.

The second variable is geographical, ie natural resources such as oil and gas, minerals, water, and minerals can be an important point that can be considered as one of the policy considerations of a country (Hudson 2014, 172). In general, countries that have a lack of resources will tend to rely on diplomacy with countries that have natural resource potential that meets the domestic needs of the country (Shaohua 2015, 9). Next is the geographical position of a country that also indirectly determines the ownership of natural resources. In addition, the geographical location of a strategic country will bring many benefits. For example, Indonesia has the border of the Malacca Strait which is one of the world's important trade routes.

The next variable is the demographic state of a country such as the distribution of age, religion, gender, as well as the level of education and health which will affect foreign policy, whether stable or lame (Hudson 2014, 174). The political system of a country will affect its relations with other countries. Countries with the same political system tend not to conflict and certainly more easily cooperate. The democratic system is a system of politics adopted by many countries in the world, where democratic peace theory explains that democratic countries will not conflict with other democratic countries (Hudson 2014). Countries that embrace democracy also tend to make peaceful policies.

The last variable is military strength and economic capability. Increasing military power of a nation-for example in arms ownership-will support

the defense system so as to influence the diplomatic model that tends to coercive (Hudson 2014, 174). Meanwhile, as stated by Lenin (Shaohua 2015, 9) that the domestic economic growth of a country can affect foreign policy. Countries with high economic capabilities can indirectly control the poor countries through their policies. This is because the capabilities are asymmetric, so the level of interdependence is higher. Countries with high economic capabilities - in general large countries - will certainly show their ability in international issues (East 1973, 558). Economic capability can actually be translated into military capability, and military capability can indirectly increase the prestige of a country. Dimensions that appear small if they can be connected to one another will play a significant role in the interaction of the state in international relations (Lebovic 1985, 48).

The author will examine each variable, then the writer will elaborate further the influential variables on Indonesia's foreign policy making million enemy zero friends of the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era government, and the conclusions will be included in the last part of the explanation.

1.2 National Attributes and Thousand Friend Zero Enemy Policy

The first national attribute variable is the size of the country. In simple terms, the size of the country is generally divided into 2, namely small and large countries. Indonesia has a total area of 1,904.59 square kilometers, making Indonesia the 15th largest country in the world and the largest country in Southeast Asia (Central Intelligence Agency, t.t.). With more than 18,000 islands, the Indonesian archipelago is the largest in the world, covering 2.8 million square kilometers, to 7.9 million square kilometers including an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) (Admiral 2011, 160). When viewed from the area, Indonesia can be categorized as a large country. Meanwhile, East (1973, 558) in his paper explained that grouping countries based on size not only involved broadly, but also economic capacity, availability of natural resources, and conditions of population. If it is related to East's understanding, that Indonesia can be grouped in large developing state, where Indonesia is classified as a large country but its economy is still developing and began to emerge as a middle power country.

Middle power countries can be defined as state actors who have limited influence to decide the distribution of power in a given regional system. But it is able to mobilize various resources to change the

position of great powers and maintain its own position regarding matters relating to national or regional security that can affect directly (Shin 2012 in Shin 2015). Indonesia under SBY's leadership with zero enemy million friends policy is described as a strategy in which Indonesia seeks to play an important role regionally, by strengthening bilateral relations with other countries at the same time (Márton 2015, 26). It is understandable that the size of the country and large population provide capital for Indonesia in playing regional and even global leadership roles (Laksmana 2011, 158).

The next variable is the ownership of natural resources. Indonesia is a country known for its natural resources. Indonesia is an exporter of gold, bauxite, tin, zinc and copper. The potential in renewable resources is also large, where Indonesia is the number one palm oil producer in the world and exporter. In addition, the second largest producer of rubber, robusta coffee and fishery products, and holds 40% of the total geothermal energy reserves (IEA 2008 in Dutu 2015). This can then be explained in East's (1973) statement that the size of a country indirectly also influences the availability of natural resources. Indonesia is a large country, and has abundant natural resources. Indonesia has large reserves of natural gas and oil, and until 2009 was the only Asian country in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (Dutu 2015). Since 2000, Indonesia has made several real achievements by becoming a central player on the world stage in agriculture and food as the main commodity. Besides palm oil and rubber, Indonesia is also the second largest producer of fishery products in the world after China and the third largest producer of rice and spices after China and India. Overall, now ranks fifth, with 2.5% of total agricultural output in the world, after China (23%), the United States (10.1%), India (9.9%) and Brazil (6%) (FAOSTAT 2015 in Dutu 2015). This then shows Indonesia's natural resources that can be used as a separate bargaining power to be active in international politics.

In geographical variables, Indonesia is a country with a strategic location between the Pacific and Indian oceans, making Indonesia a bridge between Asia and Australia and controlling the strategic sea lanes of communication essential for military and commercial activities between the Pacific, Europe, East Asia, Middle East and South Asia. Indonesia also has sovereign rights in the Malacca Strait, one of the busiest trade routes in the world (Admiral 2011, 160). Since the 1940s, Indonesian foreign policy makers, political elites and observers have seen this asset as proof that Indonesia is entitled to play the role

of regional leaders and global players (Laksamana 2011, 160). Indonesia's geographical location then plays an important role in Indonesia's active regional scale, namely ASEAN.

The next variable is demographic conditions, where Indonesia has a population of around 238 million, making Indonesia the fourth most populous country in the world (worldbank.org, t.t). Indonesia is also a multiethnic, multilingual and multi-religious country. The interesting thing then is that Indonesia is a democracy with the largest Muslim population in the world, even though it is not an Islamic theocratic country (Admiral 2011, 160). As a country with a majority of Muslims, Indonesia certainly gives extra attention in international conflicts involving Muslim populations, although its diplomats do not mention Muslim-majority countries particularly as one of Indonesia's most important relations. For example, conflict in the Middle East occupies a prominent place in Indonesia's foreign policy rhetoric. Various foreign policy-making actors, seeing the Middle East quite prominent with the presence of large numbers of Indonesian migrant workers in the region, Muslim solidarity, and historical ties with certain countries (McRae 2014).

Indonesia is one of the world's most democratic countries. Even during the newly independent Indonesian era, democratic values were established in free and active foreign policy during the Soekarno administration. However, during Soeharto's authoritarian rule, foreign policy-making became a closed affair and the prerogative of the president, with the military exercising considerable influence in security matters (Rüland 2015). After experiencing the New Order period, there was a transition period that restored the application of pure democracy. Indonesia's consolidation of democracy then made democracy begin to play a greater role in Indonesia's foreign policy, both as a process and as a theme. Indonesia under the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also placed democracy as a foreign policy agenda (Rüland 2015). Domestic democratization and the fact that Indonesia was chosen as the only full democracy in Southeast Asia is the basis of Indonesia's active promotion of democracy in the Southeast Asian region and beyond. To this end, the Indonesian government inaugurated the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), held for the first time in 2008 and sought to promote democracy (Rüland 2015, 11). Indonesia during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration made democracy a key element in order to be active in regional and global affairs (Rüland 2015).

In military capabilities, Armed Forces of Indonesia (the Indonesian Armed Forces, or TNI, formerly ABRI) has a total of about 350,000 members, including the army, navy, marines and air force. The number of soldiers is the largest, with around 280,000 active personnel. Spending on defense in the APBN is only 1.8% of GDP but has been supplemented by revenues from various military businesses and foundations. Indonesia runs a system of military centralized control through the Minister of Defense and Security, Commander of the Armed Forces, and general staff of the armed forces (Marine Corps Intelligence Activity 2005, 52). Indonesia is a country with the largest economy in Southeast Asia. In 2009, Indonesia had a GDP of 539, 58 billion US dollars with a GDP of 2,150 US dollars per capita (worldbank.org, t.t). Keep in mind that in 2008-2009 there was a global economic crisis, including Indonesia. Indonesia's economic growth during 2008-2009 only slowed in the last quarter of 2009, and Indonesia was still able to maintain its economic growth compared to other developing countries (Tambunan, 2010). If pulled back, Indonesia was hit by the economic crisis of 1997-1998. The 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis was triggered by sudden capital flight from Indonesia, so the national currency, the rupiah, depreciated significantly against the US dollar. At that time the impact of the crisis caused considerable chaos (Tambunan 2010, 157). It can be said that Indonesia's performance in overcoming the 2008 crisis was better than during the 1997-1998 financial crisis. This shows an increase in Indonesia's economic capability which is quite good, especially in dealing with the crisis. As a country with the largest economy in Southeast Asia, Indonesia also has its own competitiveness to establish economic cooperation with other countries. Nevertheless, Indonesia still relies on agricultural exports and other raw natural resources, so it is still classified as a developing economy.

It can be said that from the national attribute variables that have been described, the variable of state size and political system is the most influential national attribute in foreign policy making million friends zero enemy. The size of the country of Indonesia itself is also followed by the wealth of natural resources, strategic geographical location, and demographic conditions where Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. Even so, Indonesia's economic capabilities are still classified as developing countries, making Indonesia a middle power in international politics. This fact is then in accordance with SBY's steps to introduce the concept of multi-directive diplomacy, which is known as the

zero enemy million friends. This approach can be described as a strategy, in which Indonesia plays a larger regional role, while strengthening bilateral relations with individual countries (Mendiolaza and Hardjakusumah 2013 in Márton 2015, 26).

Under President Yudhoyono, Indonesia not only returned to pursue regional leadership status in ASEAN, but also began to take a stronger stance in organizations such as the G20 and the UN. The author himself saw that SBY's steps were intended to embrace countries so that profitable cooperation could be easier to build. At the regional level, the idea of dynamic equilibrium is used, where ASEAN members will work closely together in order to build mechanisms, such as the East Asia Summit (EAS) or ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+). In this mechanism there is nothing dominant or excluded. Regardless of the differences between member countries, these initiatives will help to create mutually beneficial relationships between them, enabling regional security to expand (Márton 2015, 26).

The concept of million friends zero enemy Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also brought changes in Indonesia's bilateral relations. On the one hand, SBY strengthened relations with neighboring countries, such as Australia, Malaysia or Singapore to achieve a more peaceful regional environment. On the other hand, while increasing relations with neighboring countries, the president also redefined bilateral relations with the United States, South Korea, India, Iran and China. Taking relationship between the United States and Indonesia for example, Yudhoyono managed to strengthen the relationship that had wavered between them (Márton 2015, 26). It can be said that Indonesia is a global medium power in international politics. Take a firm but independent position at the UN and in the G20 on issues such as civil war in Syria or climate change. SBY's policy proves that Indonesia is feasible at the regional level as well, by reclaiming its main role in ASEAN. With the ability and willingness to implement proactive diplomacy, Yudhoyono's multi-directive diplomacy, the policy of million friends zero enemy, is an effort to bring Indonesia to a new level in international politics (Márton 2015, 28). Nevertheless, there is still a gap between regional efforts and Indonesia's actions at the global level. At the UN for example, in human rights issues in Myanmar and North Korea, Indonesia has a relatively small record. Indonesia tends to bring issues of political reform at the bilateral level, so that Indonesia only looks focused on national and regional levels (Sukma 2011, 23). This can then be linked to

Indonesia's categorization into a large developing state, where Indonesia can become a major country at the regional level but cannot play a big role at the global level.

Indonesia's political system in the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration showed a very significant increase in democracy and entered the consolidation stage. Indonesia has a diverse dynamics of democratic development, from an actively free Sukarno government, a Suharto-led government with a *pancasila* democracy, and evolving towards a reform-era democracy. Indonesia then shows more democratic values, both at the domestic, national and international levels. Looking back slightly, signs of Indonesia's democratic promotion efforts began to emerge in 2001 when the foreign minister declared at a UN General Assembly meeting that the implementation of Indonesian foreign policy would reflect the government's democratic system (Sukma 2011, 23). This is inseparable from most Indonesian elites influenced by Western education, which also began to articulate the democratic peace theory, that democracies will be less likely to engage in conflict. In 2003, Indonesia proposed that ASEAN, then a largely non-democratic country, be transformed into a security community with democracy and respect for human rights as its foundation. In Sukma's view (2011, 23), Indonesia has also projected democratic values in bilateral relations. In Myanmar, Indonesia has put pressure on the regime there to move towards democracy and implement reforms (Sukma 2011, 23).

In the early era of reform Indonesia has also pursued the image of advocates for peaceful conflict management as exemplified by participation in the UN peace mission, with peaceful resolution of its own separatist conflict - such as Aceh - and strong attention to the issue of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. In addition, the conception of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker and bridge-builder becomes clear in government references to state mediation in armed conflict, usually conflicts involving Muslims. This implies that Indonesia is not only able to mediate conflicts among Muslims but also between Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries (Rüland 2015, 13). In the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's own leadership, democracy became a major component of the conception of Indonesia's role, which changed from "advocates of colonialism and imperialism" under Soekarno, then "development advocates" under Suharto, and then "good global citizen" under Yudhoyono (Rüland 2015, 16). Actually, even though the changes appear to be large in priorities and concepts, there is a basic

element of continuity that marks Indonesia's foreign policy, namely strict adherence to the principle of "free active". Indonesia's foreign policy under SBY has combined these key elements from previous years. It can be said that the emphasis in Indonesian regional policy has changed from Sukarno's confrontational character to close cooperation with neighboring countries to the formation of regional communities. The dominant theme of foreign policy has led to new themes, such as the promotion of Indonesia's soft power assets as the world's third largest democracy and the largest Muslim majority country (Anwar 2014). As has been known that Indonesia emerged as a country where democratic and Islamic values can coexist.

In addition, the promotion of democracy is a key element in Indonesia's quest to accumulate soft power and is recognized as a major voice in regional and global affairs. Indonesia's democracy promotion is focused on several levels: local level, highlighting decentralization reforms in Indonesia; national level, with a focus on Indonesia's democratic transition; ASEAN regional level; and the international level by trying to democratize executive multilateralism (Rüland 2015, 16). The Indonesian government also emphasized its leadership ambition by initiating many international conferences and events. This then has a close relationship with Indonesia's self-image as a peace builder and trying to produce soft power is a conception of its role as an organizer and facilitator of interreligious and intercultural dialogue (Rüland 2015). Explanation of Indonesian democracy can then be said to have an effect on the million friends zero enemy policy, where Indonesia tries to emerge as a neutral party that does not conflict and always chooses a peaceful path.

From the above explanation can be concluded that among the variables of national attribute, the size of state and political system become influential variable in foreign policy million friends zero enemy Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Indonesia belongs to a large developing state, which has an abundance of natural resources, population, and geographical location, but is still classified as a developing economy. The size of the country and large population and strategic geographical location then provide capital for Indonesia in playing regional and even global leadership roles. SBY's own step to introduce the concept of million friends zero enemy is described as a strategy in which Indonesia plays a larger regional role, while strengthening bilateral relations with each country. At the regional level, ASEAN members will work closer together, no one is dominant or excluded. This initiative will create mutually beneficial

relationships, and allow for regional stability. In bilateral relations, SBY strengthens ties with neighboring countries, such as Australia, Malaysia or Singapore and on the other hand also redefines bilateral relations with the United States, South Korea, India, Iran and China.

The national attributes of the Indonesian political system show the dynamics of the Sukarno-free, Suharto-led government with pancasila democracy, and evolved into a reform-era democracy. This is inseparable from most Indonesian elites influenced by Western education, which also began to articulate the democratic peace theory, that democracies will be less likely to engage in conflict. In the early era, the reformation of the concept of Indonesia's role was as a peacemaker and bridge-builder and was the key to overcoming global and regional problems. In the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership democracy became a major component of Indonesia's role as a "good global citizen". The principle of "free active" is one of the basic values of democracy which is a continuity in Indonesia's foreign policy. The promotion of democracy and the role of facilitator become the main elements of Indonesia's strategy to accumulate soft power and establish a positive image in the international eyes, so that it can be recognized as a major voice in regional and global affairs. Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic system, tends not to get involved in problems and try to be neutral and become a facilitator in conflicts. Indonesia seeks to bring the image of a friendly country to the international world. In addition, Indonesia's involvement in various collaborations and regional and multilateral organizations shows Indonesia's efforts to advance from the middle power towards the major player in global politics. All this is reflected in the policy of million friends zero enemy Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

2 CONCLUSION

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