

National Identity and Foreign Policy: Indonesia Million Friends Zero Enemy under Yudhoyono Regime

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Abstract: In 2010, President SBY stated that Indonesia's foreign policy is "million friends zero enemy". This policy is meant to become a substitute for Indonesian foreign policy that has been used since the reign of President Soekarno, which is "freely active". Through this new policy put forward by President SBY, Indonesia's cultural role and identity can be seen as a country that befriends anyone and avoids enemy ownership. Since a country's foreign policy can reflect a country's culture and identity, it aims to look at the reasons, relationships, and roles of culture and national identity in shaping the policy through the level of analysis. In analyzing this policy, five variables were used to conceptualize national culture and identity, namely national self-image, religion, ideology, strategic culture, and national role conception in the international system. The purpose of this paper is to see whether the level of cultural analysis and national identity is the right level of analysis to explain the reason for the establishment of the "zero enemy enemy" policy.

1 INTRODUCTION

For a country, statements, actions, and actions of international actors that also include presidential speeches and expressions of the president or political representative actor important to his country conveyed to other actors can also be considered as a foreign policy of his country (Gerner in Neack, 2008: 9). The change of government of a country can also change the policy of the country. In this article, the author will try to explain one of the foreign policies of the government of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or who is often called by SBY, namely "zero enemy friends". The foreign policy of "million friends zero enemy" was interesting to discuss because it changed the role of Indonesian foreign policy which was originally "free active". Departing from this, the authors raised the "zero enemy enemy" policy which was only applied as a discussion in this paper.

The author analyzes the "zero enemy enemy" policy used during the administration of President SBY through one of the levels of analysis stated by Valerie Hudson. This level of analysis itself is a tool for writers to be able to simplify and sharpen analysis in a country's foreign policy. Valerie Hudson stated that there are seven levels of analysis that can be chosen by the author in analyzing foreign

policy, namely individuals, groups, culture and national identity, domestic politics, national attributes, and international systems (Hudson, 2007). In this paper, the author will use a level of national cultural and identity analysis in looking at the "zero enemy enemy" policy. National identity itself has a diverse conception from the perspective of constructivism. Constructivism also has various types of approaches. The author takes Constructivism's Structural or Structural Constructivism approach in using this level of analysis of national culture and identity. In the level of cultural analysis and national identity, there are five concepts that will be used as indicators in explaining the role and impact on culture and national identity. The five concepts are national self-image, religion, ideology, strategic culture, and the conception of national roles in the international system. The use of this level of analysis is seen from the role of culture and identity in its role in the reason for the formation of the policy.

2 NATIONAL IDENTITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Understanding national identity can be explained in the context of culture and identity. Culture at the

level of analysis itself is an action template by the state through its reaction to an international phenomenon. An action template or action that has become a habit, adopted by the state from past learning and experience and the role of the state (Hudson, 1999: 770). While identity is a psychological motivation that can give birth to a sense of ownership of "our" identity in a social group and collective group (Clunan, 2009: 3). According Clunan (2009: 6), national identity then interpreted by how the state or international actors interpret the views of the country. But according to Neack (2008: 86), national identity is formed through national self-image or how a country creates its own image. So that the level of cultural analysis and national identity is used to see how a country uses the culture and identity of its people in interpreting the structure of international politics and how it uses it in interacting with the state and / or other political actors (Ringmar 1997 in Weaver, 2002: 21). The purpose of the use of policy analysis through the level of cultural analysis and national identity is to see whether an external policy is the result of the linkage between the representation of national identity and the objectives of the policy itself or not (Hansen, 2006: 16). According to Rosenau (in Neack, 2008: 84), there are three main factors that can influence the foreign policy of a country, namely the size of the country by population, the economic system based on the developed or developing countries viewed from the gross national product, or the closure of a country in terms of how democratic the country is.

The concept of national identity arises from thinking from the perspective of constructivism. Constructivism itself has various approaches, namely structural, socio-psychological, norm-oriented, rule-oriented, and aspirational constructivism. In this paper, the author will use structural constructivism presented by Alexander Wendt. Wendt (1999 in Maysam, 2011: 1), states that identity is not just about how self or "Self" judges the "Self", but also about how the other party or "Other" understands and represents the "Self" identity itself. Wendt revealed three things about national identity, namely that Constructivism is a structural theory of the international system which then produces the following assumptions: (1) the state is a principal unit to analyze international politics; (2) the key of the structure in the state system is intersubjective rather than material; (3) the identity and interests of a state are constructed from social structures rather than human nature or

domestic politics (Wendt, 1999 in Maysam, 2011: 1).

The concept of national identity referred above can be understood through several concepts. First is national identity as national self-image. National self-image itself is how the state is viewed by other countries and or how it creates that view. To understand the self-image of a country, what must be done is to explore each country and pay attention to its dynamics. Besides that, it is important to know how the role of the country is in the international system (Neack, 2008: 83). The second concept of national identity is religion. Religion is a concept of national identity because it is considered a belief or a theology and cultural attributes as well as the source of the prevailing values within a country. Religion in a country can even influence the orientation of the foreign policy of the country as a whole (Warner and Walker, 2011: 115). The third concept is the national or national role which is meant by the role of a country in the international system. Holsti (1970: 233 & 241) states that there are nine main roles of the state in the international system, namely non-aligned countries, block leaders, balancers, and satellite states. In addition, the role of the state can be seen from the international organizations it follows. The fourth concept is an ideology which is a system of belief in philosophical principles and values that are assumed to be true and then automatically becomes the guide for acting and adopting the foreign policy of a country (Schonberg, 2008: 39). The final concept is strategic culture, which is a system of state symbols that form a long-term strategy through the utilization of military power in inter-state political conflicts and through the use of factual strategies that can be seen as realistic and efficient actions (Johnston , 1995: 46). To determine whether a country's foreign policy is affected by its country's culture and national identity, the concepts mentioned in the preceding paragraph can be used as reference when using this level of analysis using the Structural Perspectives of Constructivism.

3 MILLION FRIENDS ZERO ENEMY

"Million friends zero enemy" is a motto for foreign policy which at the same time became the foundation of Indonesian foreign policy during the administration of President SBY (Falahi, 2012: 228). Through the speech of President SBY in January

2010, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed that "Indonesia is facing a strategic environment where no country perceives Indonesia as an enemy and there is no country where Indonesia considers an enemy. Thus Indonesia can exercise its foreign policy freely in all directions, having a million friends and zero enemies." (Jakarta Globe, t.t. Puspitasari, 2010: 2). The purpose of this policy is to show Indonesia as a country that can establish cooperation to any party in a turbulent and dynamic world without showing the boldness and high end neutrality. President SBY then called it with "navigating a turbulent ocean" which means sailing the turbulent ocean (Falahi, 2012: 229).

The aim of this zero enemy "million friends" policy is to improve relations with all countries through bilateral relations and multilateral institutions as well. In addition, this policy is also aimed at promoting justice and adherence in the international arena, improving investment policies in economic development, promoting democracy and consolidation in regional integration, protecting Indonesians, especially workers abroad, maintaining national unity, and seeking to establish mechanisms more effective foreign policy (Puspitasari, 2010: 2). According to *The Diplomat* (2014), this policy then helps Indonesia to control the growth of international trade and investment. This policy is also considered to reinforce the establishment of Indonesia that supports human rights which then affects the difficulties of relations with the state that has human rights issues, such as China. This is then expected to lift Indonesia's image, which at first fell in the eyes of the international community regarding the case of the release of East Timor into a sovereign state, Timor Leste.

The "million friends zero enemy" policy was then applied through Indonesia's active participation in international forums and bilateral relations with other countries. Obviously, Indonesia also expressed its support for nuclear weapons free and the elimination of weapons as a whole regarding the issue of North Korea and Iran. Indonesia also supported the NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) in May 2010 in New York. Unlike Soekarno's refusal to contribute to the United Nations (UN), the policy of "million friends zero enemy" brings Indonesia's active presence in the United Nations. This can be seen from Indonesia hosting the meeting of heads of state to discuss the Millennium Development Goals in 2010 (Puspitasari, 2010: 4). In addition, Indonesia is also a member of Group 20 (G-20) which is a group of countries that influence the development of the global economy. However, Indonesia does not

also ignore domestic aspirations in foreign policy making. It can be seen from the decision of Indonesia who chose not to vote or abstain in voting against sanctions for Iran and support Palestine in diplomacy Quartet know that Indonesia has the most Muslim population in the world (Puspitasari, 2010: 4).

In addition, this policy also improves Indonesia's relationship with other countries. Previously, Indonesia's relationship with the European Union was limited only through ASEAN alone. But in 2005, Indonesia normalized relations with the Dutch who had debated about the recognition of Indonesia's status as a sovereign country. In 2008, Indonesia also established a trilateral relationship with the Netherlands and Malaysia in the field of fisheries (Puspitasari, 2010: 5). At the same time, Indonesia also began improving bilateral relations with the UK and with Norway through the signing of a cooperation agreement on climate change. In addition to Europe, Indonesia also strengthened cooperation relations both bilaterally and through international institutions with China and ASEAN countries (Puspitasari, 2010: 5).

"Million friends zero enemy" is considered Falahi (2012) as a policy that is merely an imaging effort. However, although there are some good effects on Indonesia's condition in international politics, this policy is no longer used in government after SBY, namely the reign of President Jokowi. According to the Jokowi government through its foreign minister, Retno Marsudi, the zero enemy "million friends" policy put Indonesia's sovereignty under and rejected President Jokowi to continue using the slogan as the basis for Indonesia's foreign policy. Therefore, President Jokowi stressed the redefinition of "free active" politics in the following statement: "All Nations are friends until Indonesia sovereignty is integrated and national interest is jeopardized." (Kompas, 2014). The use of "million friends zero enemy" by President SBY then became the hallmark of foreign policy during his own reign.

4 NATIONAL IDENTITY ANALYSIS OF MILLION FRIENDS ZERO ENEMY

Since Indonesia was first led by President Soekarno, Indonesia holds the "active free" politics as its foreign policy grip. However, after the post-Soeharto administration, Indonesia's foreign policy lacked the main focus for the government due to

several issues and challenges to be faced, such as the Asian financial crisis (1997-1998), poverty, human rights issues and corruption. This problem is enough to create chaos on the condition of Indonesia at that time both in domestic and its relation with other countries in the international world. Even according to Rodolfo Severino (in Tan, 2007: 162), Indonesia has also lost its leadership in ASEAN. Indonesia's leadership period after Soeharto, namely B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Soekarnoputri, were more cautious in fulfilling their foreign ambitions (Tan, 2007: 162). This is because there is still a good image of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community. Indonesia's decline is also coupled with natural disasters, namely tsunamis, earthquakes, landslides, and flash floods. This then resulted in Indonesia focusing on the rehabilitation and recovery of the country, so that foreign ambitions were also damped. For seven years also, Indonesia's foreign policy through diplomacy is more directed towards gaining aid for economic recovery, ensuring that domestic separatist movements are not exposed, and building support for democratization (Tan, 2007: 162). It also carries the policy of "million friends zero enemy" as a novelty in Indonesian foreign policy which then brings about the effects described in the previous section.

In the international eyes, Indonesia is seen as a country that has a diverse ethnicity, religion, language, geography, history, to political organizations. In addition, Indonesia is assumed to be a "imagined communities" by Benedict Anderson, which is meant by a community that has a sense of belonging and nationalism from different backgrounds because it emerges from colonization that both colonized Indonesia at that time Moon, 2009: 256). Through Indonesia's unfamiliarity with this distinction and staying peaceful and harmonious, Indonesia wants to create an image in the eyes of the international community that Indonesia also wants to establish such relations through the "million friends zero enemy" policy without seeing the difference. Indonesia also wants to emphasize that all parties are important. Establishing a relationship intended by the policy is not limited to the state alone, but also to individuals (people to people) and non-governmental organizations (Falahi, 2012: 229-30).

In addition to being an "imagined communities", Indonesian identity can also be seen as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. According to Warner and Walker (2011: 115), religion as a national identity can also influence the

adoption of a foreign policy. The role of religion, in this case Islam because Indonesia is known as the most populous Islamic country, was true enough to give influence. This can be seen from the position of Indonesia which is the only country that abstained in giving sanctions for Iran and supporting Palestine as a sovereign country. However, Indonesia does not take sides in an alliance in international politics.

Referring to Holsti (1990), Indonesia's national role in the international system is known as a non-aligned country. It can be seen from Indonesia who is the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. Through the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia seeks to become a neutral country without taking sides to any camp. When Indonesia views Indonesia's decision in its "million friends zero enemy" policy, Indonesia plays the role of a country that befriends all countries without seeking enemies. It can be said that Indonesia wants to portray Indonesia's national role through this foreign policy. In addition to the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia also wants to improve relations with countries that during the previous reign were not the main focus of Indonesia's international political agenda.

In ideological variables, Indonesia is famous for its ideology of Pancasila which contains five principles, namely nationalism, humanitarianism, representative government, social justice, and belief in one God (Guy, 1958: 314). Based on Pancasila, Indonesia's foreign policy is "freely active" since Soekarno's reign. Despite the policy of "million friends zero enemy", it does not mean "free active" is simply abandoned. Because basically, "million friends zero enemy" is just a strengthening of the policy of "free active" politics born by President Soekarno (The Diplomat, 2014). The goal to be achieved is to be the same, ie, to be impartial of any bloc and to make friendships with all countries. Its application lies in increasing Indonesia's contribution to international forums and strengthening Indonesia's cooperation with other countries, especially neighboring countries. The addition of efforts to the achievement of Indonesia's impartial objectives lies only in terms of quantity only, so it is referred to only as adjustment policy changes (The Diplomat, 2014 and Hermann, 1990: 5-6). According to Hermann (1990: 5-6) in his article "Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy", there are four kinds of foreign policy changes of a country. The first is adjustment changes, which are policy changes that only increase or reduce the effort to achieve the objectives of a foreign policy. This

change does not change the original purpose of a foreign policy of a country. Second is program changes. Program changes is one of the changes made by changing the way to achieve its goals, but still with the same goal (Hermann, 1990: 5-6). The third is the problem / goal changes, which are changes to foreign policy that change the initial goal of a policy. While the last change is international orientation changes, which is the highest level of change than the other three kinds of changes. This is because this type of change changes both the activity and the role of a country in the international system, so the changed policy is not just one (Hermann, 1990: 5-6). Looking at President Yudhoyono's foreign policy, "millions friends zero enemy" which during the previous administration did not yet exist, the authors consider the foreign policy to be included in the category of first level policy change, namely adjustment change.

While seen in its strategic culture, according to Dewi Fortuma Anwar (1996), there are five parameters of the use of strategic culture, namely ideology, foreign policy, conflict solution, economy, and national defense. Both ideology and foreign policy have been discussed in the preceding paragraph. While the conflict solution in question is Indonesia's strategic culture that uses consensus *munfakat* in conflict resolution and using the principle of mutual cooperation in both political and social life (Guy, 1958: 314). The deliberation system requires all members of the deliberations to agree on the outcome of the negotiations before the negotiations end. This indicates that Indonesia avoids disputes and conflicts. When applied to Indonesian foreign policy, this is in line with the objective of the "million friends zero enemy" policy, which promotes friendship without disputes.

Whereas in the national self-image variable, Indonesia considers itself as a country that has an important role in the world when it sees ownership of history, geography, resources and natural scenery. Indonesia also sees itself as a nation that has a traditional culture with distinctive political principles and ideologies. In addition, Indonesia is also known and claims to be a nation that has solidarity, has good social skills, is friendly, kind, sincere, cheerful, well-behaved, and tolerant (Guy, 1958: 313). Such a national self-image of Indonesia can adequately explain Indonesia's decision in choosing a "million friends zero enemy" policy. Indonesia wants to have a good image in the international world.

When viewed from the variables described above, it can be said that in the international system,

Indonesia is seen as a country with Pancasila ideology, which is only owned by Indonesia with its foreign policy in the form of "free active" and then changed to "million friends zero enemy" During the administration of President SBY. Indonesia is also known as the most populous Muslim country in the world and a country that plays a role in the international system as a non-aligned country. In addition, Indonesia has also established an image and is known as a good-hearted, friendly, and highly tolerant country. Indonesia is also famous for its own country in politics both domestic and international. One is to use the principle of mutual cooperation and consensus to reach *munfakat*. Of all the variables that exist, the author sees that the Indonesian national identity that wants to be formed and then applied in its foreign policy is basically a benevolent nation state and wants to be friends with all of them. These variables also later construct the image of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community that Indonesia is a non-aligned third world country that has foreign politics friendly with all actors in the international system. Thus, the policy of "million friends zero enemy" properly reflects both national identity and international social construction. However, there is no clear reason that can be explained by the level of cultural analysis and national identity as to why the presidency with SBY chooses to release the policy. This is because there is no difference in the purpose of "active free" policy. However, with the policy of "million friends zero enemy", Indonesian national identity is more emphasized than the previous policy of "free active".

5 CONCLUSION

Indonesia's foreign policy has been known as "free and active" politics, but during the administration of the second President SBY, President SBY introduced Indonesia's foreign policy as "million friends zero enemy". What is meant by the "zero enemy enemy" policy is that Indonesia wants to establish cooperation with all parties and does not want to make enemies. Based on the author's explanation and analysis, the writer can conclude that the level of cultural analysis and national identity has not been able to explain why the government during the President SBY decided to issue foreign policy "million friends zero enemy". To find out about this, the author uses several indicators, namely national self-image, national roles in international systems, religion, ideology, and

strategic culture with a Structural Constructivism perspective by Alexander Wendt. Which in Structural Constructivism, which can be underlined is that national identity is formed based on social construction, so that the role of actors in a country is important in creating a national identity that can be assessed from its policies both domestically and abroad by "Other".

It is said that the level of national cultural and identity analysis cannot fully explain the reason for the emergence of zero enemy "million friends" policy because there are no variables that can explain in detail, considering the "million friends zero enemy" policy is only an extension of foreign policy that Indonesia has previously adopted, ie "free active". In the national role variables in the international system, the policy of "million friends zero enemy" only strengthens Indonesia's position as a non-aligned country that does not want to take sides and befriends anyone. This indicates that in the absence of a "million friends zero enemy" policy and an active "active free" politics that exists as a characteristic of Indonesia's foreign policy identity, there is no significant impact. The purpose of both policies is the same. The second difference is only the application by President SBY and the president of the previous administration, which was only during the administration of President SBY which focused on strengthening foreign relations. This can be seen from the active Indonesia in various international forums, intensive President SBY in visiting friendly countries, and increase the number of diplomatic cooperation with countries in the world. Based on this, the author argues that a more appropriate level of analysis to analyze the emergence of the "zero enemy enemy" policy is the level of individual analysis that discusses on what basis President SBY focuses more on good relations with all countries and becomes very active in international forums.

In addition to the level of individual analysis, the author also believes that the "million friends zero enemy" policy can also be explained through the level of domestic political analysis. This was caused by the explanation of the reason why Indonesia during the administration of President SBY used the "zero enemy" million policy, which was due to Indonesian domestic politics which in the previous administration still focused on national development. In addition, the level of domestic political analysis is also considered more capable of analyzing this policy because the power of the majority government is held by the new party, the Democratic Party. Through this policy, in line with

that disclosed by Tan (2007), that Indonesia is trying to find a secure position in foreign relations and hopes to get help, especially in the economic field considering Indonesia at the beginning of the administration of President SBY needs a lot of funds due to the many natural disasters. However, national identity can be one of the factors behind decision making as a "zero enemy enemy", but only limited to strengthening Indonesia's position and Indonesia's national identity from the previous foreign policy, namely "free active". In addition, zero enemy "million friends" based on the level of analysis of national culture and identity want to reshape Indonesia's image that is kind, friendly, sincere and tolerant towards others.

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