INDONESIA MATTERS

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Asia's Emerging Democratic Power

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CONTENTS

Preface

vii

Abbreviations

xi

Chapter 1

Why Indonesia Matters?

1

Chapter 2

Democracy, Development and Stability:
Creating a Virtuous Cycle

19

Chapter 3

Indonesia and the Regional Architecture

49

Chapter 4

Indonesia and the Major Powers

75

Chapter 5
Indonesia as a Global Actor
99

Chapter 6
A Nation on the Move: Indonesian Voices
119

About the Author
135

PREFACE

This book grew primarily out of a series of conversations I have had with Indonesians about their country's foreign policy and role in regional and international affairs. I have always been fascinated by a country which, despite not being the number one military or economic power in its own region, has been able to provide leadership and direction not only to Southeast Asia, but also to the wider Asia-Pacific region. And it is emerging as a recognized and respected voice in world affairs.

This is not a book about Indonesia's domestic politics, nor is it a comprehensive account of Indonesia's foreign policy in general. Rather it offers a snapshot of Indonesia's role as an emerging power in Asia and in the world. I will discuss what I mean by "emerging power" in Chapter 1, but suffice is to say that it focuses on those aspects of Indonesia's role which have wider regional and global relevance and implications. While the country's bilateral relations are factored in, I give more focus to regional and multilateral relationships as would be consistent with the notion of an emerging power.

A good deal of this book focuses on the Presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–14). This is an important turning point for Indonesia for three reasons. First, this is the period when Indonesia emerged from its domestic economic and political crisis with a sense of having consolidated its democracy. Yudhoyono became the first directly elected President of Indonesia, the first to be re-elected and the first to complete his two elected terms. Second, and especially important for the theme of this book, it is under the Yudhoyono presidency that Indonesia acquired international recognition as an emerging power. This was the result of its democratic consolidation, economic growth, and relative stability, as well as its robust re-engagement with ASEAN and its place and role in the G-20 (Group of 20), which became a summit-level global

forum in 2008. Third, Yudhoyono has been an unusually active foreign policy president, who, even his critics concede, has worked energetically to advance Indonesia's image and influence in the region and in the world.

In his conversations with me, the President took particular care to stress that Indonesia's achievements are not his alone, and that Indonesia still faces major challenges in advancing itself as an emerging power. As befits the leader of a democracy with a free and vibrant media, Yudhoyono is openly criticized and praised within Indonesia. But for many in the international community, he has been *the* symbol of Indonesia's leadership aspirations and role in regional and international affairs with a style that is widely recognized as gentle, open, and engaging. As he steps down from office, only time will tell how much of his legacy will endure. It is possible that Indonesia under a future leader will go from strength to strength or it might become less active and more inward looking in its foreign policy, or its domestic politics might take an authoritarian turn. No matter what happens, Yudhoyono's presidency will be remembered as a period in which a vast and immensely diverse country made significant strides in making a virtuous cycle out of democracy, development and stability into a virtuous cycle and considerably enhanced its international standing and role.

A good deal of foreign commentary on Indonesia's political future, including its prospects as an emerging power, ignores voices from within the country. I have tried to tell the story of Indonesia by drawing on conversations with people *inside* the country, from its President in Jakarta to the head of a *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Sulawesi.

Indonesia is a nation of extraordinarily hospitable people. Over the past two decades, from the Suharto era to the present, I have had the good fortune to visit Indonesia dozens of times, and to talk to numerous experts and officials, including its Foreign Ministers (the late Ali Alatas was extremely generous to me), military commanders, politicians and human rights activists, while conducting research topics such as ASEAN cooperation, human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia, the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, and Indonesia's foreign policy and international role more generally. Every time, I have been deeply touched by the willingness of its intellectuals, officials, media and civil society activists to receive me, provide me with information, offer comments and suggestions and engage me in discussions and debates. For this book,

I can only mention a few of them, since a good deal of my conversations were with people who did not want to be identified or whose identity I did not note down (to encourage candour).

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of Indonesia

Marty Natalegawa, Foreign Minister of Indonesia

Hassan Wirajuda, former Foreign Minister

Purnomo Yusgiantoro, Defence Minister, and his staff

Dino Patti Djalal, Ambassador to the US (2010–13)

Budi Bowoleksono, Director-General of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry (who succeeded Djalal as Indonesia's Ambassador to the US)

Mahendra Siregar, Chairman of the Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board and its G-20 "Sherpa"

Sidarto Danusubroto, Speaker of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR-Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat)

Kemal Stamboel, former member of the DPR and former Chairman of the First Commission of the House of Representative of Indonesia (Komisi I Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat-DPR), currently Secretary-General of the Foreign Banks Association of Indonesia (FBAI)

Teuku Faizasyah, Spokesman for President Yudhoyono and former spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Meidyatama Suryodiningra, Editor-in-Chief, *The Jakarta Post*

I Ketut Putra Erawan, Executive Director, Institute for Peace and Democracy, Bali (the IPD is the implementing agency of the Bali Democracy Forum)

Major General Bachtiar, Commander of Kodam VII/Wirabuana, Makassar, and his staff.

God bless Vicky Lumentut, Mayor of Manado

Rizal Sukma, Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta

Rahimah Abdulrahim, Executive Director, The Habibie Center

Philips Vermonte, Researcher, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta

Riefqi Muna, Researcher, Center for Political Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences

Dr. Afifuddin Harisah, Principal, Pondok An-Nahdlah, Makassar

A special note of thanks to Ambassador Dino Patti Djalal, one of the most energetic and far-sighted diplomats in Washington, D.C. whom I have come across, for his strong encouragement and support for this book, especially in helping with my interviews in Indonesia. I am grateful to The Habibie Center, founded by the former President of the Republic of Indonesia, B. J. Habibie and focusing on human rights and democracy, for providing me with valuable briefings and information on the country's domestic conflicts. Benjamin Schreer of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute kindly shared his research on Indonesian defence spending and military acquisitions, as presented in Chapter 4. I thank Adam Tuigo and Sade Bimantara, from the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, for their generous support and advice for this book. This book would not have been completed without the timely and excellent research assistance provided by Wirya Adiweni in Jakarta and Nadia Bulkin, Allan Layug, and Chakra Pratima in Washington, D.C. Chapter 2, especially the sections dealing with Indonesian democracy, development and stability, was first drafted by Bulkin, who had just completed a master's thesis at the American University specializing in Indonesian democracy; she is emerging as one of the most promising young scholars of Indonesian politics and foreign policy.

I thank the World Scientific publishers (Singapore, London and New York), and its Publishing Director Chua Hong Koon for undertaking the publication of this book at very short notice. Last but certainly not the least, I owe a major debt to Triena Ong. As the long-term Managing Editor of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, she built what is perhaps Southeast Asia's largest and most successful English-language publishing outlet until leaving late last year to join the private sector. Of Indonesian descent, and well versed in the history and current affairs of Indonesia and Southeast Asia, she has provided invaluable assistance with this book, as editor and adviser.

This book was completed — deliberately — before the 9 July 2014 presidential elections, which pitted Joko Widodo against Prabowo Subianto. While I do not discuss the implications of the outcome of that election, the five factors outlined in the conclusion remain relevant in assessing Indonesia's future progress and role as an emerging power under the new president.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APC	Armoured Personnel Carriers
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
BDF	Bali Democracy Forum
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CBDR	Common but Differentiated Responsibility
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)
COC	Code of Conduct (in South China Sea)
DOC	Declaration on Code of Conduct (in South China Sea)
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People's Representative Council)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD I: Provincial Legislative Council; DPRD II: District Legislative Council)
EAS	East Asia Summit
FPI	Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders' Front)
G-20	Group of 20
GESF	General Expenditure Support Fund (G-20)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPD	Institute of Peace and Democracy (Bali)
Jl	Jemaah Islamiya
KID	Indonesia Community for Democracy
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission)
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Elections Commission)

LPD	Landing Platform Docks
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEF	Minimum Essential Force
MP3EI	Masterplan Percepatandan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia (Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development)
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OBIT	One Billion Indonesian Trees (for the World)
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OICIPHRC	OIC Independent Permanent Human Right Commission
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PKO	Peace Keeping Operations
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (of ASEAN)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Armed Forces, formerly ABRI)
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNORCID	United Nations Office for REDD+ Coordination in Indonesia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ASEAN)