PREFACE

Indonesia, prior to the arrival of the Dutch, was no mere geographical designation, and its present boundaries bear to some extent the stamp of its earlier history. Indonesia’s history has always remained conditioned severely by its political development. Indonesia’s population has made it the world’s fifth most populous country (approximately 182.65 millions in 1991) and is distributed over islands varying tremendously in size and density of population. Constituting a bridge between Asia and Australia and lying athwart the principal channels of trade between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, this archipelago had been a crossroad of both international commerce and outside ideas and culture.

Beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century a new Western-educated elite began to emerge and this rise of nationalism was sequel to the traditional aristocratic ruling class (agents of the Dutch colonial regime) than the representatives of their people’s interests. It is thus understandable why Marxism, in particular Marxist ideas concerning the relationship between capitalism and colonialism, has had such a wide appeal for Indonesians. It is important to note that Indonesians were denied access to constructive political roles during the Dutch colonial
period which was similar to the situation faced by other Southeast Asian nations under colonial rule.

For the independent Indonesia that emerged after the second world war, this was to have unfortunate consequences; a reluctance to assume responsibility for decisions, particularly when confronting new problems demanding new answers upon the attainment of independence and tackling the issues pertaining to the matters of foreign policies. This lack of knowledge made the old order of Sukarno, to follow a rhetoric oriented foreign policy, especially during the guided democracy period. The analysis of the Indonesian foreign policy and the crucial role of foreign policy as an instrument of national development, the difficult processes of decision making and implementation in the Indonesian context and the responses of the international environment and domestic population in foreign policy issues is an interesting phenomena for academic exploration. This work is an attempt to analyse Indonesia's foreign policy from 1973 to 1988 during the new order and the framing of foreign policy regulations as an instrument of national development and national resilience. Though the New order came to power in 1965 itself, after the abortive coup by communists on 30 September 1965, Major General Suharto crushed the communist
coup and got appointed as the acting President by the Provisional Peoples Consultative Assembly on 7 March 1967 and as full-fledged President on 12 March 1968. The General Elections for the House of Representatives (DPR) were held in 1971 by the New order government, on 12 March 1973 and Suharto was elected as the President of Indonesia by the newly reconstituted People’s Consultative Assembly (PCA). Nationalism, which according to Indonesian President Suharto, means to be master of one’s own house and determine one’s own destiny, has been the constant factor in Indonesian foreign policy. But as is usually the case in foreign policy, it has been subjected to the constraints of existing realities and limitations.

In international relations one often finds that when a government changes in a country, the shift in the government usually throws up new imperatives in the foreign policy of a country. I propose to test this hypothesis in my analytical study of Indonesia’s foreign policy. Hence though my period of research is from 1973 to 1988, I have analysed the foreign policy from the start of the New order government.

Number of scholarly works have appeared in recent years dealing with Indonesia; few are exclusively devoted to the
foreign policy of Indonesia to highlight a few (1) Franklin Weinstein, *Indonesia’s Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Independence* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1976), Franklin Weinstein has dealt with the opinion of foreign policy elites on issue of aid and its effect on foreign policy; (2) Michael Leifer, *Indonesia’s Foreign Policy* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1983), Michael has some what done a detail work but he has not gone in depth into the economic and security aspects of foreign Policy. (3) Kalyani Bandhyopadhyaya, *Burma and Indonesia, Comparative Political Economy and Foreign Policy* (South Asian Publishers, New Delhi 1983), while Kalyani Bandhyopadhyaya has dealt with the the economic aspect she has not dealt with the regional and security aspects of Indonesian foreign policy; and (4) Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, *Twenty Years of Indonesian Foreign Policy, 1945-1965* (Mouton and Co., Netherlands, 1973) is invaluable for the understanding of Indonesia’s foreign policy during the old order. As far as articles are concerned J. Soedjati Djiwandono, Forty years of Indonesian Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity, *Indonesia Quarterly* (Jakarta), Vol.XII, No.4, pp.441-445 the author traces and analyses the foreign policy of Indonesia during the four decades from
the declaration of Independence by Indonesia. Though the article is informative, being an article it is very brief and the author's conclusion that the Indonesian foreign policy has not changed in terms of substance and principle even after the new order came to power is questionable. Jusuf Wanadi's article, Indonesia: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy, Indonesia Quarterly, (Jakarta), vol. XIII, no.3, pp.264-276 is very useful to understand the various domestic factors that have impact on Indonesian foreign policy. Peter Polomka's article, the Indonesian Army and Foreign Policy: A Re-appraisal, Asia Quarterly, (Belgium), 1972, no.4, pp.363-382 is quite useful to understand the role of the Indonesian army in foreign policy. Justus M. Van der Kroef in his article, National Security, Defence Strategy and Foreign Policy Perceptions in Indonesia, Orbis, (Pennsylvania, USA), Summer 1976, pp.464-495 provides useful understanding in security thinking that reflects on the insights of Indonesian foreign policy. Lalitha P. Singh's article, Indonesian Foreign Policy: The Linkage between Domestic Power Balance and Foreign Policy Behaviour, South East Asia Quarterly, (Illinois, USA), vol.1, no.4, fall 1971, pp.379-395 has analysed the foreign policy during
the Sukarno period and early New order period. As such this article is useful to understand the early economic imperatives that moulded the New order's foreign policy.

My dissertation goes beyond these publications while being critical of certain views held by the above mentioned authors. I have at the same time, tried to make full use of the formation and insights provided by them. I have analysed the foreign policy of Indonesia based on three important aspects, that is, Economic, Security and Regional aspects.

The required information for this thesis have been collected from diverse primary and secondary sources including published documents as well as unpublished sources - human and documentary. Published documents include books, journals, articles and reports. However, substantial reliance has been placed on the historical nature of the study undertaken. Collected materials have also been processed, analysed, synthesised and interpreted based on which inferences have been drawn. In a study of this nature no factor can be studied independently since almost all the issues are dependent on their sociological and environmental factors. As the study has to be finished within time, the
researcher was not able to make an exhaustive study of all the events. Further, due to financial constraints, infrastructure and administrative difficulties a field trip to Indonesia could not be undertaken within the stipulated period to make an on the spot study.

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the historical evolution of Indonesia's foreign policy from 1945 to 1965. The second chapter entitled old principles and new key notes in foreign policy focusses Indonesia's foreign policy during the old order of Sukarno and the new key notes in foreign policy of the new order of Suharto since 1965. The third chapter titled "Economic dimensions of foreign policy" deals with the problem of economic development and its effect on foreign policy. The fourth chapter, security aspects of foreign policy deals with security imperatives which modifies the foreign policy. The fifth chapter entitled foreign policy - regional framework focusses the emphasis on regional aspects in Indonesian foreign policy. The sixth chapter forms conclusion. First and foremost, I wish to thank Dr.S.Kadhirvel, Professor, Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, Madras, for his
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