INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN ENCOURAGING THE ACCELERATION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ASEAN OUTLOOK ON THE INDO-PACIFIC

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ABSTRACT

Background: The ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific has become an essential framework in shaping the dynamics of relations in this increasingly complex region. In this context, the role of Indonesian Foreign Policy is very significant. This article aims to investigate Indonesia's role in encouraging accelerated implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific by highlighting four main steps to focus on in achieving this goal.

Method: This research adopts a qualitative method of collecting data through in-depth interviews. Four key sources with deep insight into Indonesian foreign policy and the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific were interviewed. Triangulation techniques were used to validate and strengthen the findings. Primary data from these interviews is combined with secondary data from trusted sources such as policy documents, reports, and related literature.

Results: The research identified four main steps that are an essential focus in Indonesia's efforts to accelerate the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific implementation. These steps include a proactive approach in promoting regional stability and cooperation, balanced diplomacy with significant powers to maintain a balance of interests, in-depth analysis to understand the impact of foreign policy, and active participation in various regional cooperation initiatives.

Conclusion: Indonesia's foreign policy is vital in promoting the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific. By implementing measures such as a proactive approach, balanced diplomacy, in-depth analysis, and active participation in regional cooperation, Indonesia has played a central role in accelerating the implementation of this framework. This advances stability and peace in the Indo-Pacific region and ensures that ASEAN remains a key player in shaping the future of this increasingly complex region.

Keywords: Indonesian foreign policy, ASEAN outlook on Indo-Pacific, proactive approach, balanced diplomacy, in-depth analysis, active participation.
POLÍTICA EXTERNA DA INDONÉSIA NO INCENTIVO À ACELERAÇÃO DA IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DAS PERSPECTIVAS DA ASEAN NO INDONÉSIO-PACÍFIC

RESUMO

Antecedentes: A Perspectiva da ASEAN sobre o Indo-Pacífico tornou-se um quadro essencial para moldar a dinâmica das relações nesta região cada vez mais complexa. Neste contexto, o papel da política externa indonésia é muito significativo. Este artigo tem como objetivo investigar o papel da Indonésia no incentivo à implementação acelerada da Perspectiva da ASEAN no Indo-Pacífico, destacando quatro etapas principais nas quais se concentrar para alcançar esse objetivo.

Método: Esta pesquisa adota um método qualitativo de coleta de dados por meio de entrevistas em profundidade. Foram entrevistadas quatro fontes principais com conhecimentos profundos sobre a política externa indonésia e as perspectivas da ASEAN sobre o Indo-Pacífico. Técnicas de triangulação foram utilizadas para validar e fortalecer os resultados. Os dados primários destas entrevistas são combinados com dados secundários de fontes confiáveis, como documentos políticos, relatórios e literatura relacionada.

Resultados: A investigação identificou quatro passos principais que são um foco essencial nos esforços da Indonésia para acelerar as Perspectivas da ASEAN sobre a implementação do Indo-Pacífico. Estas medidas incluem uma abordagem proativa na promoção da estabilidade e cooperação regionais, uma diplomacia equilibrada com poderes significativos para manter um equilíbrio de interesses, uma análise aprofundada para compreender o impacto da política externa e uma participação activa em várias iniciativas de cooperação regional.

Conclusão: A política externa da Indonésia é vital na promoção da Perspectiva da ASEAN no Indo-Pacífico. Ao implementar medidas como uma abordagem proativa, uma diplomacia equilibrada, uma análise aprofundada e uma participação activa na cooperação regional, a Indonésia desempenhou um papel central na aceleração da implementação deste quadro. Isto promove a estabilidade e a paz na região do Indo-Pacífico e garante que a ASEAN continue a ser um interveniente fundamental na definição do futuro desta região cada vez mais complexa.

Palavras-chave: política externa da Indonésia, perspectiva da ASEAN sobre o Indo-Pacífico, abordagem proativa, diplomacia equilibrada, análise aprofundada, participação ativa.

1 INTRODUCTION

Amid increasingly developing geopolitical dynamics in the 21st century, the Indo-Pacific has become a region that plays a key role in global politics, economics, and security (Anwar, 2020; Oktaviano et al., 2020; Sallazar et al., 2023)). Home to most of the world’s population and a center of significant economic growth, the Indo-Pacific is the focus of attention of many countries and international institutions. ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) has developed a unique perspective regarding the Indo-Pacific known as the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (Yani & Montratama, 2018).
The global geopolitical economic contest between China, Russia, the United States, and its allies has intensified following China's expansion, penetration, and claims over maritime regions of countries adjacent to the South China Sea (Kurhayadi, 2021; Raharjo et al., 2019; Rovetta et al., 2023). China's territorial assertions could potentially escalate into overt conflicts with Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Japan, and South Korea. The United States and Europe perceive this as a global security threat capable of "disrupting" the established international security and economic order. Concurrently, China's penetration into the domestic markets of Asian countries poses a substantial threat to the economic interests of the United States and Europe (Gill, 2023; Weatherbee, 2013).

Figure 1. The New Indo-Pacific Bloc

Source: World Bank (2021)

Overshadowed by China's looming military threats, has resulted in highly protective economic policies from the United States and Europe. These powers are more inclined to cultivate their markets alongside their allies (Adnan, 2020; Wahyuni, 2023). This dynamic could have detrimental repercussions for developing nations, especially for Indonesia and the ASEAN member states. The sovereignty of Indonesia and ASEAN members is under threat due to China's penetration into the South China Sea, while concurrently, they are economically tethered to China (Artner, 2017; Kickbusch & Liu, 2022). Data indicates that China has extensively established its industrial activities in ASEAN countries. For ASEAN, the United States and Europe represent potential markets for their products.
ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific is an initiative born out of efforts to promote peace, stability and cooperation in the vast Indo-Pacific region. The initiative has ambitious goals, which include enhancing regional cooperation, peaceful conflict resolution, and sustainable development. Indonesia is one of the ASEAN members who has a central role in encouraging the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific (Raihan et al., 2022; Sari et al., 2021).

As the country with the largest population in ASEAN and a strategic geopolitical position, Indonesia has a vital role in advancing the ASEAN Outlook initiative. Indonesia's foreign policy, which continues to change in line with changing global and regional dynamics, can significantly influence the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook (Fossati et al., 2020; Tritto, 2021). This research investigates how Indonesia's foreign policy has supported or perhaps hindered efforts to encourage accelerated implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific.

Over the last two decades, trade relations between Indonesia and China have experienced an exciting journey. At the beginning of 2000, trade between the two countries was still around 6.4 billion USD. Trading volumes soared exponentially, along with rapid economic growth on both sides. Meanwhile, this figure has reached more than 79 billion USD, reflecting significant developments in bilateral trade cooperation in 2020. Striking changes are also visible in trade patterns. Indonesia has so far more often imported consumer goods and equipment from China, including electronic goods, textiles, and industrial equipment (Chapsos et al., 2019; Ekananda, 2022). This results in a continuing trade deficit, with the value of imports exceeding the value of Indonesia's exports, as presented in the following figure:
Cooperation between the two countries also includes trade and investment. China has become one of the largest foreign investors in Indonesia, especially in the infrastructure, energy, and manufacturing sectors. Grandiose projects such as the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed train and steam power plants are examples of Chinese investment that have built a strong foundation for economic growth in Indonesia (Kramer & Stoicescu, 2021; Rentetzi, 2021). Economic relations between the two countries also extend to heavy industrial sectors such as steel production and the chemical industry. Chinese investment in this sector has helped develop Indonesia’s manufacturing industry, significantly boosting the country's economic growth (Halimatussadiah et al., 2021; Maryudi et al., 2021). This trade relationship also faces several challenges that need to be overcome together. Competition in global markets, issues related to intellectual property rights, and the environmental impacts that may arise from economic expansion are some of them. With a better understanding of the dynamics of this relationship, Indonesia and
China have the potential to overcome these challenges and continue to deepen their economic cooperation in the future.

Indonesia established an international agreement termed the "ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific." The objective is to transform competition into collaboration, it is hoped that global confrontations can be subdued and benefits can be accrued to all nations involved (Fry et al., 2023; Yana et al., 2022). Yet, as of 2023, China seemingly has not reduced its tension over the South China Sea, while the United States and its allies have yet to "breakthrough" the global markets dominated by China. Concurrently, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has reshaped international relations dynamics. This situation has allowed China even more freedom to strengthen its position in the South China Sea. Given these circumstances, our research team believes it is crucial to promptly study Indonesia's foreign policy measures aimed at steering Pacific nations to remain consistent with the spirit of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (Maksum, 2021; Manosuthikit, 2021).

This journal article will explain the latest developments in Indonesia's foreign policy relating to the Indo-Pacific and analyze its impact on the ASEAN Outlook. We will outline the concrete steps the Indonesian government has taken to support this initiative and evaluate the challenges that may be faced in this process. Through this in-depth analysis, this article aims to understand better Indonesia's role in advancing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific and its implications for regional geopolitics.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN IMPLEMENTING THE ASEAN OUTLOOK IN THE INDO-PACIFIC FROM A REALISM PERSPECTIVE

Realism theory is one of the thought frameworks used in the analysis of international relations. This theory emphasizes the primary role of national interests, power, and state competition as determining factors in international relations. In the context of Indonesia's foreign policy in implementing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, realism theory can provide a useful understanding of how Indonesia responds to regional and global dynamics related to this policy (Margiansyah, 2020; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019). The following are several ways in which realism theory is related to Indonesian foreign policy regarding the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific:
a. Perception of National Interest: Realism theory emphasizes that states act based on perceptions of their national interest. In this case, Indonesia will view the ASEAN Outlook policy as a tool to protect and advance its national interests in the Indo-Pacific region. For example, this policy can be used to ensure stability and peace in the region, which can support Indonesian trade and investment.

b. Power Rivalry: Realism also highlights the rivalry between major powers within the Indo-Pacific region, especially the United States and China. As a country with a strategic position, Indonesia must consider the influence and interests of these two countries in its foreign policy. This could influence Indonesia's approach to the ASEAN Outlook, including whether Indonesia is more inclined to side with one country or maintain a balance in relations with them.

c. Regional Cooperation: Realism does not exclude regional cooperation but emphasizes that such cooperation is often a rational response to national interests. Indonesia can see the ASEAN Outlook policy as a tool to build alliances and networks in the Indo-Pacific region, which can strengthen its position in the context of power competition.

d. Regional Security: Within the framework of realism, Indonesia's foreign policy in supporting the ASEAN Outlook can also be seen as an effort to maintain regional security. Indonesia has a role in promoting stability in the Indo-Pacific through diplomacy and cooperation with neighboring countries. This aligns with the realist goal of minimizing threats to national security.

Realism theory has important implications for understanding Indonesian foreign policy in implementing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific. As a country with complex national interests, Indonesia seeks to balance regional security, economic interests, and power competition within a realpolitik framework that describes realism theory.
2.2 INDOONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN IMPLEMENTING THE ASEAN OUTLOOK IN THE INDO-PACIFIC FROM A DEPENDENCY THEORY PERSPECTIVE

Dependency Theory is a framework of thought in economics and international relations that explains how developing countries, such as Indonesia, can depend on advanced industrial countries, including China, in terms of economics and trade (Agastia, 2020; Dipua et al., 2021). This theory suggests that developing countries are often caught in unequal economic relationships with developed countries, making them more vulnerable to economic and political pressure from those countries. In the context of Indonesian foreign policy in implementing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, dependency theory can provide insight into several aspects that need to be considered:

a. Economic Dependency: as a developing country, Indonesia can depend on exports and imports from countries like China. Indonesia may become an exporter of specific natural resources, such as coal and crude oil, which China is taking heavily. This dependence can influence Indonesia's foreign policy because economic interests can influence its diplomatic policies, including its approach to the ASEAN Outlook.

b. Investment Dependency: Foreign investment from countries like China in infrastructure and other sectors in Indonesia can also create dependency. While these investments can provide economic benefits, Indonesia must ensure that these relationships do not leave it vulnerable to political pressure or undesirable external influences.

c. Negotiation of Power: Dependency theory highlights that negotiations between countries with different economic dependence levels are often unequal. In relations with China, Indonesia must carry out a wise and strategic foreign policy to ensure that its national economic interests are not compromised while implementing the ASEAN Outlook.

d. Balance between Sovereignty and Dependence: One of the challenges in Indonesian foreign policy is achieving a balance between state sovereignty and economic dependence. How Indonesia carries out its foreign policy in support of the ASEAN Outlook amidst economic dependence on China can reflect how Indonesia maintains sovereignty while exploiting the economic benefits of the relationship.
Economic dependence between Indonesia and China is a key aspect in understanding Indonesia's foreign policy in encouraging the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific. Over the past two decades, economic relations between the two countries have developed rapidly. As a developing country, Indonesia has become an exporter of specific natural resources, such as coal and crude oil, which China has heavily appropriated (Assaf et al., 2023; Kinsella et al., 2012). This illustrates the level of Indonesia's economic dependence on China, which can influence Indonesia's approach to foreign policy and the ASEAN Outlook. Foreign investment from China in infrastructure and other sectors in Indonesia also contributes to this relationship. Although this investment brings economic benefits, Indonesia must pursue a wise foreign policy to ensure that economic dependence does not compromise its sovereignty and national interests within the framework of the ASEAN Outlook. In the negotiation process with China and within the framework of regional diplomacy, Indonesia must consider the balance between economic dependence and the principles of sovereignty. This challenge must be overcome in implementing the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.

2.3 INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN IMPLEMENTING THE ASEAN OUTLOOK IN THE INDO-PACIFIC FROM A REGIONAL SECURITY THEORY PERSPECTIVE

Regional Security Theory is a framework of thought for studying international relations related to security at the regional level. This theory tries to explain how countries in a particular region collaborate and compete in an effort to maintain regional stability and peace. Regional security theory is relevant to Indonesia's foreign policy in implementing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific. It can help explain Indonesia's approach to regional security issues (Hameiri et al., 2019; Jones & Jenne, 2022). The following are several ways in which regional security theory is related to Indonesian foreign policy regarding the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific:

a. Cooperation and Security: Regional security theory emphasizes the importance of regional cooperation in maintaining stability and security. As a member of ASEAN, Indonesia is committed to the principles of regional cooperation in supporting the ASEAN Outlook. This cooperation covers various security issues, including peace, conflict resolution, and regional stability.

b. Regional Security Preferences: in its foreign policy, Indonesia may prioritize a regional approach in addressing security issues in the Indo-Pacific. This may reflect a preference for cooperating with neighboring countries and regional partners to achieve sustainable regional security.

c. Role in Maintaining Stability: Indonesia, as one of the largest and most influential countries in ASEAN, has a significant role in maintaining regional stability in the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia's active involvement in security issues, such as conflict resolution and regional diplomacy, reflects efforts to create a safer environment.

d. Maritime Security Issues: In the Indo-Pacific context, maritime security issues, including territorial disputes and strategic sea lanes, are an essential focus. Indonesia has a central role in managing these issues. Indonesia's approach to maritime security issues within the framework of the ASEAN Outlook influences regional stability.

e. Balance of Power: Regional security theory also emphasizes the importance of balance of power in maintaining security. As a country with a strategic position, Indonesia must consider the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific in its foreign policy and in supporting the ASEAN Outlook.

Indonesia's foreign policy in implementing the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific reflects efforts to maintain regional security in the region. Through regional cooperation, diplomacy, and active participation in regional security issues, Indonesia seeks to create a safer and more stable environment in the Indo-Pacific in accordance with the principles of regional security theory (McRae, 2019; Suryadinata, 2022).

3 METHOD

This research is a qualitative study, emphasizing a descriptive qualitative approach. Its objective is to depict and summarize various conditions, diverse situations, or multiple social reality phenomena and then attempt to surface the reality as a characteristic, trait, quality, model, sign, or representation of specific conditions or phenomena. This format centers on a particular unit of various phenomena. The data for this research consists of both primary and secondary sources. Primary data refers to information directly recorded in the field through in-depth interviews and observations by the researchers. Secondary data involve processed or officially published information
obtained from media reports, documentation, and archives of relevant institutions. Informants for this study include: 1) the Director of the ASEAN Cooperation Directorate of Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2) the Director of the Asia Pacific Cooperation Directorate of Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 3) the Director of Research and Development of Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and 4) Head of the ASEAN Study Center at the University of Indonesia.

The research instruments in this study are the researchers within this Research Team. Tools such as audio recorders (digital recorders), visual recording devices (video recorders), writing materials, and laptops for storing research data are utilized. Interview materials and observation guidelines are developed from various references presented in the proposition. Triangulation techniques are employed to verify the validity of the data in this research. New data and findings are assessed by conducting a cross-check of the data, then analyzed by combining the researcher’s interpretation with reference theories and other theories related to the findings in the study.

The subsequent phase involves interpreting and explaining the interaction patterns among categories, properties, and attributes, ultimately producing a pattern of influential relationships between the phenomena under investigation. The next step is to interpret all factual findings according to the categories, properties, and attributes obtained from the pre-determined perspective based on the reference framework and literature review. Qualitative interpretation also aims to uncover interaction patterns between phenomena. The final stage of this section involves drawing conclusions, which entail deriving propositions, postulates, or specific hypotheses based on the observed trends in attribute interactions. The conclusions addressing the research problems will elucidate the correlation patterns between categories and properties.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 RESEARCH RESULT

The implementation of Indonesia’s foreign policy in promoting the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific is an increasingly important topic in the dynamics of contemporary international relations. As the largest archipelagic country in the world and an essential member of ASEAN, Indonesia plays a key role in maintaining stability and security in the increasingly complex Indo-Pacific region. ASEAN Outlook is an initiative Indonesia and other ASEAN members created to face challenges and opportunities in the
region. In interviews with four sources who play an essential role in the formation of Indonesia's foreign policy, we will explore various aspects related to the implementation of this policy, including Indonesia's role in regional cooperation, efforts to maintain stability, and the influence of large countries such as China and the United States in Indo-Pacific dynamics (Engkus et al., 2019). This research will also involve academic perspectives with deep insight into Indonesia's role in the ASEAN and Indo-Pacific context. This interview aims to provide a deeper understanding of Indonesia is role in driving the ASEAN Outlook and how this influences broader regional dynamics.

To the Director of the Directorate of Asia Pacific Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs R, the question was addressed and focused on how cooperation with countries in the Asia Pacific, especially China and the United States, has influenced Indonesia's foreign policy in the context of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, the informant believes that:

“Cooperation with Asia Pacific countries is essential in supporting the ASEAN Outlook. Relations with China and the United States are key to Indonesia's foreign strategy. We have sought to maintain balance and advocate ASEAN values on regional issues, such as maritime security and sustainable development.”

This resource person underscored the importance of Indonesia's proactive role in supporting the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific. Engaging in dialogue and cooperation with ASEAN members and external stakeholders is a crucial step to ensure that the ASEAN Outlook positively impacts maintaining stability and peace in the region. An emphasis on strengthening ASEAN cohesion is vital in facing pressing regional issues.

To the Director of the Directorate of Asia Pacific Cooperation at the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the question focused on how cooperation with countries in the Asia Pacific, especially China, and the United States, has influenced Indonesia's foreign policy in the context of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, he explained that:

“Cooperation with Asia Pacific countries is essential in supporting the ASEAN Outlook. Relations with China and the United States are key to Indonesia's foreign strategy. We have sought to maintain balance and advocate ASEAN values on regional issues, such as maritime security and sustainable development.”
This resource person highlighted the role of cooperation with countries in the Asia Pacific, especially China and the United States, in influencing Indonesia's foreign policy. Balance in relationships with great powers is essential. Indonesia seeks to carry out balanced diplomacy between the two countries to ensure regional security, especially on maritime security and sustainable development.

The next question was addressed to the Director of Research and Development at the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who focused on how research and analysis carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially the Directorate of Research and Development, has influenced the formation and implementation of Indonesian foreign policy regarding the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific, he explains that:

“The research and analysis we carry out is the basis of Indonesia's foreign policy. We ensure that the policies we propose and implement are based on a deep understanding of regional and global dynamics, including the impact of the ASEAN Outlook. Our analysis provides the insights needed to understand the implications of different policies and strategies.”

This third resource person emphasized the important role of research and analysis in making Indonesian foreign policy. In-depth, evidence-based analysis is key to understanding the implications of different policies. These questions provide a basis for understanding regional dynamics and policy impacts in the context of the ASEAN Outlook.

The final question was addressed to the Head of the Center for ASEAN Studies at the University of Indonesia, which focused on the role of universities and study centers in helping Indonesia advance the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific and what efforts have been taken to increase public understanding of these issues, he explained that:

“Universities and study centers have an important role in deepening public understanding of the ASEAN Outlook. We strive to conduct research and publications that discuss related issues and participate in dialogues and seminars supporting the ASEAN Outlook's implementation. We also involve students in research and projects that contribute to a better understanding of Indonesia's role in the Indo-Pacific.”

The final speaker highlighted the role of universities and study centers in supporting the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook. They help deepen society's understanding of these issues through research, publications, and participation in dialogue. Involving students in projects related to ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific effectively educates the younger generation about Indonesia's role in regional dynamics.
From the results of interviews with the four sources above, it can be seen that Indonesia's foreign policy related to the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific is based on a proactive approach, balanced diplomacy with major countries, in-depth analysis, and active participation in cooperation. The involvement of universities and study centers also has a vital role in increasing public understanding of Indonesia's role in maintaining security and stability in the Indo-Pacific. This interview illustrates Indonesia's efforts to advance the ASEAN Outlook amidst increasingly complex dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region.

4.2 INDONESIA'S TACTICAL STEPS TO ACCELERATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ASEAN OUTLOOK IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

In steps to accelerate this implementation, Indonesia is taking at least four main key steps; these four keys are presented in the following paragraph:

a. Proactive Approach

A proactive approach in Indonesia's foreign policy plays a key role in accelerating the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific. In Indonesia's foreign policy view, this approach reflects the determination to be a major player in maintaining stability and peace in this increasingly complex region (Nugraha & Sari, 2022). Indonesia realizes that with rapidly changing regional dynamics, it is not enough to respond to developments; it also needs to take the initiative to guide the direction of regional policy. Indonesia takes a proactive approach involving a number of strategic steps. First, Indonesia actively supports the ASEAN Outlook initiative in the Indo-Pacific by facilitating dialogue and cooperation between ASEAN members and external stakeholders.

Indonesia is an effective link in seeking consensus among various ASEAN member countries and stakeholders. As an implementation of this step, President Joko Widodo officially opened the ASEAN-Indo-Pacific Forum (AIPF) in Jakarta on September 5, 2023, and considered it a concrete step in implementing ASEAN's view of the Indo-Pacific as well as efforts to strengthen ASEAN as the center of world growth. The event was attended by the leaders of ten ASEAN member countries and representatives from various regional countries. The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific visualizes a perspective to view the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean region not as contiguous territorial areas but as an integrated and closely linked region, with ASEAN
playing a central and strategic role in dialogue and cooperation and placing importance on the domain and Maritime perspectives in emerging regional architecture.

The second step taken by Indonesia is trying to ensure that the ASEAN Outlook has a concrete impact on maintaining regional security. This includes a role in conflict resolution and the promotion of sustainable development. By taking the initiative in maintaining regional stability, Indonesia contributes to collective efforts to create a safer and more productive environment in the Indo-Pacific. A proactive approach also involves strengthening ASEAN cohesion to address pressing regional issues. As a large ASEAN member country, Indonesia is working hard to ensure that ASEAN remains united and has a strong voice in regional dynamics. With this proactive approach, Indonesia is committed to maintaining stability and peace in the Indo-Pacific region. In the context of the ASEAN Outlook, this approach helps accelerate the implementation of these initiatives and ensures that ASEAN remains an important player in shaping the region's future (Geraldo & Etnan, 2023).

The non-ASEAN countries attending the opening ceremony were China, Japan, Australia, South Korea, Canada, Timor Leste, India, the United Kingdom and New Zealand. This two-day forum, the flagship event of the ASEAN and East Asia Summit, runs until Wednesday at the Mulia Hotel Jakarta. This event occurred after the COVID-19 pandemic, which has challenged the global economy. Even so, President Widodo emphasized ASEAN’s resilience and economic growth. The forum aims to transform competition in the Indo-Pacific into a collaborative effort, promoting cooperation under a win-win formula.
AIPF revolves around three main agendas: green infrastructure and resilient supply chains, sustainable and innovative financing, as well as digital transformation, and the creative economy. Collaborative projects worth billions of dollars were discussed, reflecting a commitment to building a peaceful, stable, prosperous Indo-Pacific. State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) Minister Erick Thohir highlighted the significance and responsibility of AIPC, emphasizing the need for sustainability, prosperity, and deeper connectivity for ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific region. The Indo-Pacific, representing more than 60% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and nearly half of world trade, is considered a place for trade, investment, and innovation. The AIPF, which serves as a platform for constructive discussions, concrete project development, and enhanced collaboration in the Indo-Pacific, embodies a collective response to the region's challenges and opportunities and a commitment to a rules-based, open, and inclusive regional order.

As a country significantly contributing to ASEAN GDP, Indonesia plays a proactive and supportive role in helping the region develop despite global economic uncertainty. The region's growth and resilience underscores the strength of cooperation among governments, state-owned enterprises, the private sector, and regional partners in ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific region. AIPF reflects a collective response to regional challenges and opportunities and the importance of collaboration and dialogue in the Indo-Pacific.

b. Carrying out Balanced Diplomacy with Big Countries

Carrying out balanced diplomacy with major countries is one of the critical approaches that can accelerate the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in Indonesia's foreign policy perspective. In this context, balanced diplomacy reflects Indonesia's efforts to maintain balanced relations with major countries such as China and the United States while still prioritizing the interests and integrity of ASEAN (Rosenau, 1969; Toma & Gorman, 1991). This approach has a number of important implications, including:

1) Balanced diplomacy allows Indonesia to continue to play an active role in ASEAN without becoming too dependent on one of the big countries. This provides flexibility and space for Indonesia to carry out its role as a regional mediator and leader without being bound by any external power.
2) Balanced diplomacy also allows Indonesia to maintain its independence in foreign decision-making. By balancing ASEAN's interests and relations with
major countries, Indonesia can carry out its foreign policy more effectively without depending too much on one party.

3) Balanced diplomacy helps create a conducive climate for regional cooperation. This reduces the risk of conflict and rivalry in the Indo-Pacific region, which could hinder the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook. By maintaining balanced relations, Indonesia can facilitate more effective dialogue and cooperation between all parties.

4) This approach reflects Indonesia's commitment to maintaining ASEAN as a strong regional policy center and ensuring that ASEAN's interests are not neglected in the dynamics of global relations. With balanced diplomacy, Indonesia plays a role in ensuring that ASEAN has a strong voice in formulating the future direction of the Indo-Pacific.

By carrying out balanced diplomacy with these major countries, Indonesia plays a vital role in encouraging the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook, maintaining regional stability, and ensuring that ASEAN remains a key player in shaping the future of the increasingly complex Indo-Pacific region.

c. In-Depth Analysis

In-depth analysis is a key step to accelerate the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in Indonesia's foreign policy perspective. In the complex dynamics of international relations, a deep understanding of regional dynamics and the impact of policies taken is the key to directing efforts effectively (Black, 1976; Lovell, 1970). Through this in-depth analysis, Indonesia can also identify opportunities and challenges that may be faced in implementing the ASEAN Outlook. This includes a deep understanding of interactions with major powers, such as China and the United States, and how Indonesia's foreign policy can contribute to regional stability.

The analysis also allows Indonesia to identify issues that require special attention, such as maritime security, conflicts in the Indo-Pacific region, or sustainable development. Indonesia can formulate appropriate strategies to overcome these issues and ensure that the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook runs smoothly and allows Indonesia to understand its role in regional cooperation. By understanding strengths and weaknesses, Indonesia can facilitate dialogue, collaboration, and cooperation among ASEAN members and external stakeholders more effectively. This helps accelerate the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook by minimizing risks and maximizing desired
outcomes. With a deep understanding of regional dynamics, Indonesia can be more effective in playing a key role in promoting peace, stability, and cooperation in the increasingly complex Indo-Pacific region.

d. Active Participation in Regional Cooperation

Active participation in regional cooperation is a critical step supporting the accelerated implementation of the ASEAN Outlook in Indonesia's foreign policy perspective. In the context of the ASEAN Outlook, which aims to integrate the Indo-Pacific region and promote regional cooperation, active participation is essential to achieving this goal. Through this active participation, Indonesia can play a more proactive role in promoting stability, peace, and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region. This includes efforts to facilitate dialogue and collaboration between ASEAN member countries, regional partner countries, and other stakeholders. Active participation allows Indonesia to become an effective mediator in resolving regional disputes and conflicts, aligning with the ASEAN Outlook vision and prioritizing the importance of dialogue. An example of the implementation of this can be seen in 2022 when Indonesia became the initiator and driver for the formation of the ASEAN Maritime Outlook, as shown in the following image:

![Figure 4. 25th ASEAN Political Security Council: Indonesia Encourages Formation of ASEAN Maritime Outlook](image.png)

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (2022)

At the 25th ASEAN Political Security Council Meeting in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs emphasized the importance of maritime cooperation that unites ASEAN with partners, not separates them. Indonesia
supports the formation of the ASEAN Maritime Outlook (AMO) as a background, which is expected to open up opportunities for broader cooperation with regional partners. AMO is seen as a major contribution to prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. Maritime issues are often approached only from a security perspective, but the potential for maritime cooperation in the Indo-Pacific is enormous. In response, ASEAN has prioritized maritime cooperation in the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia will prioritize maritime cooperation to encourage practical cooperation between ASEAN and regional partners.

Indonesia also highlights the importance of human rights (HAM). Indonesia supports mainstreaming human rights in the three pillars of ASEAN cooperation and proposes regular ASEAN human rights dialogue. Indonesia also emphasizes the role of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in protecting human rights. The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, who represented Indonesia in this meeting, raised issues such as human smuggling, the South China Sea and regional dynamics. Indonesia reminded us of the importance of comprehensive handling through the ASEAN mechanism.

The 25th APSC meeting also reported on progress in implementing the Polkam Pillar Blueprint, with most action lines having been completed. This meeting is a preparation for the 40th and 41st ASEAN Summits, which aim to evaluate the implementation of cooperation in the ASEAN Political-Security Pillar. Active participation also means Indonesia is involved in regional initiatives supporting the ASEAN Outlook's goals. This could include cooperation in the areas of maritime security, sustainable development, and economic growth. Through active participation, Indonesia can contribute to the practical implementation of these initiatives, accelerating the achievement of ASEAN Outlook goals and illustrating Indonesia's commitment to maintaining ASEAN as a strong regional policy center. By being an active player and involved in various initiatives, Indonesia can ensure that ASEAN remains a major player in shaping the future of the Indo-Pacific region.

4.3 DISCUSSION

Foreign policy is a grand design crafted by a nation to fulfill its domestic interests in the international realm. Empirical evidence reveals that no country can satisfy domestic needs without interacting with other nations; this does not imply that the lower the
capability of a nation, the higher its needs in the international arena, and vice versa. This is because a nation's needs in the international sphere never diminish (Coplin, 1980). The lower the capability of a nation, the more pragmatic its foreign policy will be. Conversely, the higher the capability of a nation, the more abstract its foreign policy will become.

Holsti (1987) in (Halimatussadiah et al., 2021) explains that foreign policy manifests as a nation's national interest. However, to achieve its objectives, a country must devise a specific design to implement its foreign policy in the form of foreign policy strategies. To obtain its interests in a particular region or country, a nation must formulate a specific foreign policy towards that region or country. Foreign policy represents the grand design, while foreign policy strategy is technically operational. This means that foreign policy strategy is the technical and operational form of a country's foreign policy. Examples include foreign loans, foreign aid in the form of economic or military assistance, regional cooperation, economic partnerships, defense and security cooperation, and so on. In connection with the above (Yani & Montratama, 2018) explains, "Foreign policy is essentially an 'action theory,' or the wisdom of a country directed towards another country to achieve a particular interest. Foreign policy is a set of value formulas, attitudes, directions, and objectives to protect, secure, and advance national interests in the international arena. It is fundamentally a basic strategy to achieve domestic and international objectives and simultaneously determines a country's involvement in international issues or its environment." (Rosenau, 1969) argues that foreign policy is complex because it involves a country's external and internal aspects. As the actor conducting foreign policy, the state remains the primary political unit in the international relations system, although non-state actors increasingly play an essential role in international relations. Foreign policy aims to meet national interests.

In a more operational explanation, Plano, Jack, and Roy Olton (1999) in (Oktaviano et al., 2020) describe foreign policy as a strategy or action plan created by state decision-makers in dealing with other nations or other international political units and is controlled to achieve specific national objectives, which are articulated in terms of national interests. Regarding this, Mas’oed (1994) in (Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019) explains that the foreign policy carried out by the government of a country indeed aims to achieve the national interests of the community it governs, even though the national interests of a nation at that time are determined by whoever is in power at that time.
international politics studies, five models of approach are recognized in formulating foreign policy, namely:

a. Strategic/Rational Model

(Lovell, 1970) explains that the primary factors influencing the strategic formulation of a country's foreign policy are associated with aspects of the structure of the international system, elite perceptions, strategies of other countries, and the capabilities possessed by that country. He further elaborates that based on these four, the strategy for formulating foreign policy can be organized into four strategic models: leadership strategy, confrontation strategy, accommodative strategy, and concordance strategy. (Coplin, 1980) details that determining foreign policy should refer to four factors: defining a situation, choosing the foreign policy goals, identifying alternatives, and choosing the alternatives.

b. The Decision-Making Model

The decision-making model takes into account the following aspects: a) Motivations of decision-makers (referring to the political values and norms they adhere to); b) Information flow among them (information network); c) The influence of various foreign policies on the choices to be made; and d) Circumstances or policy environment (occasion for decision) refer to the specific situational attributes present at the time the policy is to be made (Snyder in Rossenau James, 1969).

c. Bureaucratic Politics Model

This model emphasizes the roles of numerous bureaucrats involved in the foreign policy process rather than focusing solely on a nation's foreign policy. The resulting policy is more an outcome of interaction and adjustment among various individual and organizational actors. The foreign policy produced is primarily a result of bargaining, compromise, and adaptation (Toma & Gorman, 1991).

d. Adaptive Model

This model separates various foreign policy options by calculating a country's capabilities and geopolitical position. Foreign policy is the consequence of changes in both the external and internal (domestic) environments. A country's foreign policy at a specific time is the sum of two independent variables: external and internal (structural) changes.

\[ Pt = Et + St \] (1)
\[ Pt = \text{Foreign Policy at a specific time period} \]
\[ Et = \text{External Changes} \]
\[ St = \text{Internal (Structural) Changes} \]

However, in its subsequent development, it evolved into:

\[ Pt = Lt + Et + St \] (2)

\[ Lt = \text{represents the leadership aspect of a country's political elite.} \]

During a specific tenure (specific term of governance) (Rosenau, 1969) found that all countries are considered entities constantly adapting to their environment. The analysis in this model focuses on the adaptive actions of a country in response to changes in its external circumstances, drawing from internal reference points such as capability, geographical position, resources, and so forth (Jones & Jenne, 2022).

e. Incremental Decision-Making Model

In this model, foreign policy results from an incremental process (additions). The lack of complete information required and the uncertainty of data in the process of formulating foreign policy is considered a factor causing the formulated foreign policy to be immature. Therefore, in the ongoing process, revisions to the policy that has been made will refer to things that were not covered in the previous formulation stage (Kinsella et al., 2012).

It can be explained that Indonesia's capability and performance at the international level are at the level of developing countries. This means that Indonesia and other ASEAN member countries are in a position that the power of superpower nations such as China, the United States, and Europe can strongly determine. Indonesia and ASEAN must adopt an adaptive pattern to the international environment. Indonesia and other ASEAN member countries cannot impose their will and interests on other countries unless they have very high bargaining power. Indonesia's mainstay capability lies in the volume of natural resources it possesses. Its management still heavily depends on foreign technology and capital. This is not to mention the domestic social and political issues that always burden the ruling government. Indonesia's foreign policy related to accelerating the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific will be oriented towards an adaptive formulation process. This means that Indonesia must make intelligent adjustments in determining its foreign strategy to achieve what is expected. The adaptive
approach is the most appropriate academic reference for observing this phenomenon. Indonesia's foreign policy in promoting the accelerated implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific can be related to external change, structural change, and leadership.

f. Aspect of External Change

The war between Russia and Ukraine triggered global political, economic, and security changes. Russia felt threatened by Ukraine's intention to join NATO. For Russia, including Ukraine in NATO would provide the United States and its allies closer proximity and easier empirical monitoring of the country. Meanwhile, from Russia's perspective, Ukraine owed a "debt of gratitude" to Russia for the various aid provided by the country. Ukraine was perceived as betraying Russia. This situation shifted the attention of the United States and its allies from their initial focus, which was to contain China's global military and economic penetration, to support Ukraine against Russia. This war also disrupted the global trade and economic order due to the severed demand and supply networks between Asia and Eastern Europe.

Indonesia seems to be trying to reduce tensions between Russia and Ukraine through Jokowi's visit to both warring nations. However, it appears that this has not yielded the desired outcomes. This shift in the global political and economic constellation further complicates Indonesia's aspirations to realize the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific. The situation is further complicated by the ongoing democracy and human rights crisis in Myanmar (as summarized from interviews with the Director of the Directorate General for ASEAN Cooperation, the Head of the ASEAN Studies Center at the University of Indonesia, and the Indonesian Ambassador to ASEAN in Jakarta). In the face of this global scenario, Indonesia strives to ensure that ASEAN remains aligned and adopts a unified stance. This is deemed crucial to maintain ASEAN's position and interests on the global stage.
g. Structural Change Aspect

At the internal level, there have not been any fundamental changes concerning the power structure (government), aside from a cabinet reshuffle executed by Jokowi. Indonesia remains consistent in its conduct of foreign policy. The nation stands firm in avoiding political and economic intervention from the United States, Russia, or China. However, on the flip side, Indonesia maintains strong economic ties with China.

h. Leadership Aspect

Field research findings indicate that ASEAN member states place significant hope in Indonesia to determine their stance and ensure that ASEAN maintains its role as a regional power in Southeast Asia. Geographically, Southeast Asia holds a pivotal position in global trade routes. Consequently, with this strategic placement, ASEAN should ideally wield strong bargaining power against developed nations. Indonesia's leadership and diplomatic prowess are anticipated to safeguard ASEAN's global political and economic position. In this context, during the G20 summit, Indonesia will seize the opportunity to bolster economic cooperation between ASEAN countries and the developed nations.

5 CONCLUSION

In an effort to accelerate the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific, Indonesia's foreign policy has taken four key strategic steps. First, a proactive approach is the main step in promoting stability, peace, and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region. Second, balanced diplomacy with major countries is important to maintain a balance of interests and minimize the risk of conflict. Third, in-depth analysis is the basis for formulating effective strategies in dealing with regional dynamics and the impact of foreign policy. The final step is active participation in regional cooperation, enabling Indonesia to promote stability and cooperation in the region proactively. These steps help accelerate the implementation of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific and maintain ASEAN as a key player in shaping the future of this increasingly complex region.
REFERENCES


