

TRUST FACTOR: Indonesia's Foreign Policy In Enhancing Indonesia-Australia Cooperation Under President Joko Widodo's Leadership

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ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is an important instrument in its relation to realizing national interests. Indonesian-Australian diplomatic relations that have existed since Indonesia's independence have experienced rise and fall dynamics. President Joko Widodo through Indonesia's foreign policy towards Australia wants to rebuild harmonious relations between the two countries to enhance cooperation between the two countries. The method used in this analysis is a qualitative method using case studies. In answering the objectives of this analysis the writer used the concepts of foreign policy and cooperation. The writer's findings related to the analysis of Indonesia's foreign policy towards Australia in enhancing cooperation between the two countries is through the role of trust that will be built between Indonesian and Australian leaders and people. This needs to be done because so far the relationship between the two is still very easy to break when facing a conflict or problem.

Keywords: *Indonesia, Australia, Foreign Policy, Cooperation, Collective Trust.*

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of Indonesia-Australia relations began in 1945. The relations between the two countries are constantly experiencing rise and fall dynamics (V. Dugis, 1996). Additionally, good relations occur in several periods as well as relationships that are bad enough to create an uproar (V. M. Dugis, 2017).

Indonesia's foreign policy under Joko Widodo, amid the dynamics of the relationship between the two, seems to be more focused on strengthening the domestic sector and is inward looking (Widiatmaja & Albab, 2019). This is inseparable from the dynamics of the regional strategic environment. Indonesia becomes important to Australia because of Indonesia's strategic geographical position which is located in the nexus of the Indian and Pacific oceans. These conditions indicate the potential for Indonesia to become a buffer state for any threat that comes primarily from the north of Australia. This has become a factor in the dynamics of relations between the two countries which are always experiencing ups and downs. Some cases that have occurred include the case of West Papua, Timor Leste, Bali Bomber, Aceh Tsunami and tapping cases in 2013 (Saputra, 2014).

Furthermore, the prospect of Indonesia-Australia relations is one of the important issues in how Jokowi managed Indonesia's foreign relations with Australia after the commotion that occurred, one of which was during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), namely the case of wiretapping communication of a number of Indonesian officials including President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono himself. As a result, the case has an impact on relations between the two countries where the Indonesian government carried out a protest with the initial step of stopping all bilateral cooperation. The next step is to instruct

the repatriation of the Indonesian ambassador to Australia, as well as asking for accountability in the form of explanation from the Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Greg Moriarity, related to the case (Shaffan, 2018).

Efforts to improve relations were carried out by both parties. This was proven by the continued communication between the Indonesian and Australian elites even though there was no ambassador in Canberra during 2013, then in 2014 Indonesia sent its ambassador again and shortly after, Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, tried to hold a meeting with President SBY. Normalization of relations between the two countries was considered significant with the successful implementation of Vice President Budiono's visit to Australia in 2014. But relations between the two countries have not fully recovered and there are still many things that need to be done in achieving harmonization between the two countries.

Under the leadership of President Joko Widodo, these efforts initially seemed to be positive in improvement. However, this needs to be considered again due to the new case on drug smuggling by an Australian citizen, Andrew Chan and Myuran Sukuraman. Consequently, Indonesia provides penalties in accordance with applicable legal provisions namely the death penalty. Australia asked President Joko Widodo to grant clemency related to the case, but President Joko Widodo refused because this was a serious violation and at the same time to show the rule of law of Indonesia. The rejection of clemency has angered Australia so that relations between the two countries have returned to unfavorable conditions. (Young Researcher on International Relations Issues in the Field of International Relations Research and Data Processing Center (P3DI), 2015).

After the drug smuggling case, the relationship between the two countries began to be restored by both parties. This seems to be moving towards a positive direction coupled with the vision of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, which is related to the importance of realizing dialogue and confidence in developing steps to create an umbrella for Indo-Pacific cooperation (Sian, 2019).

The rise and fall dynamics that occurred in the relations between the two countries illustrate that there are still a number of things that still need to be communicated regarding how the solution for harmonizing the relations between the two. Thus, this study aims to describe Indonesia's foreign policy towards Australia in enhancing cooperation between the two countries under the leadership of President Joko Widodo through the role of trust that will be built between Indonesian and Australian leaders and people.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Foreign policy

According to Hugh Gibson (1944), foreign policy is a well-rounded, comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience to carry out the government affairs with other parties throughout the world (Nizar Hidayat, 2017).

Foreign policy analysis is a study of the management of external relations and the activities of the nation state. In this case, foreign policy involves ideals of strategy, method actions, guidance, direction, understanding, agreement and other matters on which the governments can mutually engage in international relations. Foreign policy consists of prospects and actions intended to guide the decisions and actions of the government concerned with external affairs primarily with foreign countries. Foreign relations in its management must consider well the action plans that will be taken related to foreign interests and affairs namely the expectations of the government (Jackson, R and Sorensen, 2013)

2. Cooperation

Cooperation is created from a combination of diversity of national, regional or global issues that arise and require attention from more than one country. Each government approaches each other that brings a proposal to overcome the problem, bargain, or discuss an issue, putting together written evidence to justify a proposal or another and end the negotiations with an agreement or understanding that satisfies all parties (Suryadi, 2016).

Similarly, KJ Holsti has several definitions of cooperation, including the idea that two or more interests, values, and goals would meet and able to produce something, be promoted, or be fulfilled by all parties at once, ideas or hopes of one country that the policies decided by other countries will help the country to achieve its interests and values, certain agreements or issues between two or more countries in order to take advantage of equal interests or conflicts of interest, official or unofficial rules regarding future transactions made to carry out agreements, and transactions between countries to fulfill their agreement (Holsti, 1993).

International cooperation can be defined simply, that is a set of relations that are carried out consciously by the parties concerned and without any coercion but also legalized legally. In this case international cooperation can be classified in three forms including Bilateral cooperation, which is an Agreement carried out by only two countries and is a Treaty Contract. Regional cooperation, which is an agreement made by several countries in a region, is a limited Law Making Treaty and Treaty Contract, and Multilateral Cooperation which is an agreement made by countries without being limited by a particular region, it is an international cooperation and is a Law Making Treaty (Suryadi, 2016).

METHOD

In conducting research on Indonesia's foreign policy in enhancing cooperation with Australia under President Joko Widodo's leadership, the writer used qualitative research methods. The qualitative research method was chosen by the writer since in conducting this research, the data used is based on existing relevant documents.

The definition of qualitative research according to Craswell in his book *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design*:

“Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes.

The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change”.

One of the types of qualitative method is a Case Study, where case study seeks to explore one specific case more specifically by involving the collection of diverse sources of information. On this approach, the writer tries to describe phenomena that occur with the

aim of presenting the significance of a country and be able to describe a phenomenon, facts and reality (Raco, 2013). The case study approach used by the writer in this research is the descriptive case study approach. In accordance with Patton (in Raco, 2013) the process of preparing a case study consists of three stages:

1. Collection of raw data about individuals, organizations, programs, places of occurrence on which case studies are based.
2. Arranging or organize cases that have been obtained through compaction, summarizing data that is still in the form of raw data, classify and edit along with putting it into one file that can be managed (manageable) and accessible (accessible).
3. Writing the final research report in the form of a narrative that is easy to read.

According to the case under study, the writer uses a single instrumental case study. According to Stake (in Creswell, 2007) research will be considered suitable using a single instrument case study if:

“the researcher focuses on an issue or concern, and then selects one bounded case to illustrate this issue”.

In this case, the writer focuses on Indonesia's foreign policy issues with a choice of cases of enhancing cooperation with Australia under the leadership of President Joko Widodo.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Indonesia-Australia Bilateral Relations

a. Indonesia's Foreign Policy towards Australia

The dynamics of relations that occur between Indonesia and Australia certainly cannot be separated from the existence of foreign policy carried out by both. In this case Indonesia's foreign policy towards Australia under the leadership of President Joko Widodo also became a factor of tension between the two countries. However, Joko Widodo's several foreign policies also strengthened their cooperation in realizing collective interests. One of the collective interests of the two are a stable and prosperous Southeast Asia which also greatly influences Australia which underlines ASEAN's centrality in Asia-Pacific multilateralism. In realizing this, President Joko Widodo is committed to rebuilding relations with Australia and encouraging mutually beneficial policies in the fields of security, economy and education (Gleason et al., 2014). In contrast to the early years of the first period of Joko Widodo's administration where the escalation of the relationship between the two still looked tense because of several things that were the influence of the instability. One of them is Joko Widodo's refusal related to Australia's request in granting clemency for drug cases by Australian citizens. This have caused tension in the relationship between the two after Susilio Bambang Yudhoyono's period. Then, at the end of the first period and the second period of Joko Widodo, the way he led Indonesia tended to be done to be able to prove that he was able to balance his relationships and commitments and also explore opportunities abroad.

Cooperation between Indonesia and Australia has long existed in various sectors. In the trade sector, especially agricultural and livestock products which are also designed so that later they can be oriented towards food independence. Furthermore, in the health sector Australia often helps strengthen the Indonesian government in health sector especially in handling HIV / AIDS cases. In the economic sector, surely there is a lot of cooperation starting from the mining business to the telecommunications business. In the tourism sector, Australia is a country that is a source of tourists for Indonesia, especially on the island of Bali. Then, in the security sector, it focuses on regional stability, state sovereignty and respect for the rights of each country. Whereas in the development sector, Indonesia and Australia have worked more or less 60 years together with the aim of encouraging economic growth, improving basic infrastructure, creating employment opportunities, improving health and education, and strengthening democracy and justice as well as better governance (Rondonuwu et al ., nd)

Indonesia's foreign policy in the security sector has been further improved from the previous period where on December 6 2019, Indonesia along with Australia held the 6th Foreign and Defense Minister's 2 + 2 Meeting in Nusa Dua, Bali. In the meeting, the cooperation between the two countries focused on several security issues, namely maritime cooperation, counter terrorism, peacekeeping forces, cyber technology, and disaster countermeasures and mitigation. It also aims to discuss efforts to strengthen cooperation in facing the current geopolitical dynamics of the world, including partnerships between the two countries in the Indo-Pacific region. The reinforcement is also to strengthen the cooperation between the two countries from Comprehensive Partnership to Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). In the field of education, the cooperation between the two is also increasingly enhanced. President Joko Widodo, on his second term served to make the issue of human resource development a priority, including in the fields of vocational and higher education. In addition, in the economic sector, President Joko Widodo also wants to enhance cooperation between the two and strongly supports the implementation of the Pacific Exposition in Auckland with the aim of increasing economic relations between Pacific countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). As for the maritime axis issue, Indonesia has an interest in making the maritime region in the Asia Pacific and the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and bringing prosperity collectively (Nasution, 2018).

b. Relations and Diplomacy between Officials of Both Countries

Social relations is a reciprocal relationships between individuals with another individual in which they influence each other and are based on awareness to help each other where social relations are also a process of influencing between two people. Jalaluddin Rakhmat (in Al-Faruqi, 2013) summarizes the development of interpersonal relationships. Interpersonal relationships are not static but dynamic. To maintain and strengthen interpersonal relationships, certain actions are needed. However, even the most harmonious interpersonal relationships can be terminated, because of factors such as death, unresolved conflict or other matters. The relationship between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull looks closer than the previous Prime Minister, Tony Abbot, who when looking at the example of the Andrew Chan and Myuran Sukumaran executions, Grenville explained that this was an

intrinsic point of conflict that was unavoidable and which was greatly exacerbated by Tony Abbot's communication that had linked the problem with assistance provided by Australia during the 2004 Aceh tsunami (Sian, 2019).

The good relationship between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull proved to be successful in helping restore relations between Indonesia and Australia which were often tense. This was illustrated by Turnbull's short visit to Jakarta in November 2015 (Topsfield, 2016). The existing relationship managed to be the beginning of the re-implementation of some collaboration between the two with more improved quality. The increase in cooperation is also inseparable from the diplomatic factors of the two countries which resulted in foreign policy of both Indonesia and Australia in their calculations to actualize the national interests of each country through collective agreements.

Furthermore, after Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull was replaced by Prime Minister Scott Morrison relations between the two countries still remain good to this day. This is also because President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Scott Morrison still have the opportunity for face-to-face interaction from time to time. In several meetings they also discussed bilateral relations between the two countries and the escalation of cooperation that had been previously established. Restoration of relations that began during the Turnbull period is indeed expected to be maintained despite the change of officials between the two countries.

Several form of diplomacy in various sectors are also often carried out between the relevant ministries in Indonesia with several Australian institutions and high officials. These include diplomacy in the economic sector for the achievement of an Indonesia-Australia comprehensive economic partnership agreement (IA-CEPA) which aims to create a framework in a new era of closer economic relations between Indonesia and Australia and to open up markets and new opportunities for business, major producers, service providers and investors (Australian Indonesian Embassy, 2019). One other form of diplomacy recently signed by the Australian *Chargé d'Affaires* to Indonesia, Allaster Cox and Director General of Information and Public Diplomacy, Cecep Herawan, also witnessed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, is about digital diplomacy and trilateral cooperation, this new commitment is expected to ensure greater consultation, cooperation and collaboration between the governments of Indonesia and Australia (Verdiana, 2020).

2. Trust Factor: Realization of Increasing Indonesia-Australia Cooperation?

As stated previously, the relationship between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull showed an indication of the importance of the trust index between the two. The trust index is a signal of inherent credibility regarding other people's trust that can be obtained during face-to-face interactions (Wheeler, 2018). The meeting between Joko Widodo and Malcolm Turnbull resulted in a trust between the two, which affected the restoration of the cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Australia. This certainly would be better if both of the interpersonal relations are maintained and getting better. Moreover, in addition to maintaining the relationship between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, it is also important to develop a sense of trust in the community, in this case between Australian and Indonesian people. Their understanding in the capacity to understand each other can deliver a new belief and hopes

that are more positive for good relationship between the two countries given the many potential threats from outside in the Asia-Pacific region both from concerns about the rise of China and the uncertainty associated with US involvement in the region under the leadership of President Donald Trump (Sian, 2019).

The development of trust between communities needs to be realized after it begins with a good relationship built and established between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull given the trust between Indonesian and Australian communities is still minimal. One underlying factor is that between education and knowledge of each other is still lacking. Based on the results of a survey from the 2018 Lowy Institution Poll presents the following data:

Tabel 1. The level of understanding of the Australian community towards Indonesia

Information	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
Indonesia is a Democratic Country	24	50
Indonesia is Australia's Best Friend	1	99
Indonesia is a responsible country in the world	52	48
Indonesia is a significant economic partner for Australia	58	42

Source: Lowy Institute

Understanding one another between communities needs to be further developed both through educational and cultural means. This can help create harmonious relations between the two countries because problems in relations are more often derived from the community, both individuals and groups than those from the two governments. In this case, both parties tend to carry out a kind of "nationalization" of an issue, for example by securitizing or even politicizing these issues for various interests (Buzan, 1991). One other factor that triggers the difficulty of integration between Australian and Indonesian communities is caused by differences in various fields as revealed by Paul Keating:

"No two neighbours anywhere in the world are as comprehensively unlike as Australia and Indonesia. We differ in language, culture, religion, history, ethnicity, population size and in political, legal, and social systems. Usually neighbours share at least some characteristics brought about by proximity over time, but the Indonesian archipelago and

the continental land mass of Australia might well have been half a world apart". (Evan and Grant, 1993: 184).

Thus, the difficulties in establishing communication are very reasonable. However, both of them actually realize that they need each other. In this case, the government and the people of Australia hopes the government and the people of Indonesia to be able to understand everything that they do along with the values contained therein as well as the expectations of the government and the people of Indonesia so that Australia can make policies towards Indonesia by considering values, norms, political system, law and human rights that apply in Indonesia (Muti, 2015).

CONCLUSIN

Foreign policy of a country is inseparable from the actors who take foreign policy steps where the steps can also have an impact on the harmonious relations between the two countries. In this case, harmonious relations have also proven to be effective in realizing inter-state cooperation. The creation of a harmonious relationship between the two countries is also inseparable from the factor of trust between officials that is built and the important role of trust between Indonesian and Australian communities. Interpersonal relations established between President Joko Widodo and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull create a trust between the two so that it is proven to be able to restore relations between the two tense countries to become warm and harmonious so that cooperation between Indonesia and Australia can again be continued and even enhanced in some key areas namely security, economics and education.

The recommendation given by the writer in this matter is that the government must continue to encourage the development of trust between the people of Indonesia and Australia to minimize the misunderstandings that often occur between the two countries which of course are related to national interests in realizing the right foreign policy of Indonesia. Government policies in realizing this must be well-structured so that harmonious relations between Indonesia and Australia can be fully realized. In further research it can be increased to a broader level which also involves aspects of understanding Australian foreign policy in the domestic and international context in focusing on bilateral relations with the Indonesian.

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