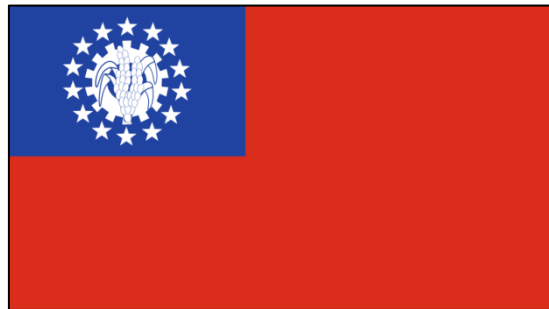


Indonesia's policy towards an ASEAN pariah

*Striking a balance between democratic values and
constructive engagement*



Kenny van der Loos (1023667)

MA thesis International Studies

Universiteit Leiden

Professor dr. D.E.F. Henley

27 May 2014

Contents

Introduction	2
1. The Megawati presidency	5
Bilateral relations	6
ASEAN	7
United Nations	10
2. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Hassan Wirajuda	12
Bilateral relations	13
ASEAN	15
United Nations	17
3. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Marty Natalegawa	18
Bilateral relations	18
ASEAN	19
United Nations	20
Conclusion.....	21
References	24

Introduction

In the wake of the Asian financial crisis Indonesia was faced by a political transition, when president Suharto was forced to resign in May 1998 after an authoritarian rule of more than thirty years. This event was of tremendous historical significance as it marked the beginning of a democratization process, leading to general elections in 2001 and the first presidential elections in Indonesian history three years later. The investigation will focus on the foreign policy of Indonesia in the post-Suharto period. More specifically an answer will be given to the following research question: to what extent do democratic values shape Indonesian foreign policy? The definition used for democratic values in this thesis originates in liberal thought. That is, they are defined as those values supporting the fundamental principle of individual freedom and liberal rights of freedom from arbitrary authority, equality before the law, and democratic representation or participation (Doyle, 1983, pp. 206-207).

The choice for this research question is based on the fact that existing literature on post-Suharto Indonesian foreign policy fails to address such a topic. Instead, most of the works focus on the influence of Islam on foreign policy, which is generally said to have grown since the fall of the Suharto regime (Sukma, 2003; Azra, 2006; Perwita, 2007; Anwar, 2010). Sukma (2011; 2012) is the only author who does address the topic, arguing that democracy has become an important context for the making and conduct of foreign policy following the political transition, but is faced by both domestic and regional constraints. A systematic investigation into the influence of democratic values, then, would fill a gap in the literature.

The research is similarly relevant from a theoretical perspective. This is not to say, that the influence of democratization on foreign policy is not discussed in existing theories, because liberalism does address the topic. Liberals believe that the spread of liberal democracy will decrease the number of international conflicts (Burchill, 2013, p. 59). The rationale behind this is that all liberal democratic countries are said to adhere to the aforementioned principle of individual freedom and the three rights that accompany it (Doyle, 1983, pp. 206-207). Liberalism, however, is not able to tell how these principles exactly shape foreign policy. Social constructivism, in contrast, has a far greater sensitivity for norms and values in claiming that ideational structures are as important as material structures (Reus-Smit, 2013, p. 224), but does not address democratization processes. This is the theoretical gap the thesis looks to fill.

According to constructivists identity is important because it strongly implies a particular set of interests or preferences in respect of choice of action. A state will try to do the right thing in accordance with its identity (Flockhart, 2012, pp. 85-86). This is also the case in the making of foreign policy as exemplified by Ashizawa's (2008, pp. 578-580) value-action framework. This framework is comprised of three components: values, preferences, and foreign policy actions. Values determine the preference for a particular policy direction, which, to be achieved, in turn require certain actions. In practice, a number of different values often exist, sometimes leading to incompatible preferences. When this occurs one value becomes dominant over another depending on the nature of the issue and the actors involved.

State identity, defined as "one kind of identity that refers to the image of individuality and distinctiveness held and projected by the state within particular international contexts", has an important role in the value-action framework being the source from which values arise. That said, two propositions have to be mentioned. First, identities exist in the plural; a country can, for example, have a Christian and a democratic identity at the same time. Second, identities are not the sole source of foreign policy-dominant values; they can equally arise from a long-term policy prescription (Ashizawa, 2008, pp. 575 and 581-582).

Keeping this in mind the research will be best served by carrying out a type of congruence procedure, namely a multiple within-case comparison. This entails making a number of paired observations of values on the independent (IV) and dependent variable (DV) across a range of circumstances within a case. Subsequently a comparison is made between the measured and the predicted values to test the hypothesis (Van Evera, 1997, pp. 61-62). In this case a democratic identity is the independent variable, whereas foreign policy is the dependent variable.

The case that is used to answer the research question is Indonesia's policy towards Myanmar during the presidencies of Megawati Sukarnoputri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) up to the general elections in Myanmar on 7 November 2010. This case is chosen for a number of reasons. First, the close relationship between the countries, both being members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Indonesia's policy towards the country is thus a relevant part of its foreign relations. Second, the undemocratic political system of Myanmar. The country was governed by a military junta from 1962 until 2010 (Roberts, 2010, pp. 55-56). During this period the European Union and United States of America have imposed multiple sanctions on the country for the violation of human rights (Kyaw, 2008, p. 152).

Finally, regarding the chosen timeframe, the Abdurrahman Wahid presidency is excluded, because Indonesia was still in a chaotic period of democratic transition (Anwar, 2000, pp. 81-83; Diamond, 2010, p. 34; Sukma, 2011, p. 111). Keeping the value-action framework (Ashizawa, 2008) in mind democratic values are expected to be shaping Indonesian foreign policy if the state has a democratic identity, which it lacked at this stage. Moreover, the presidency was relatively short lasting for less than two years from 20 October 1999 to 23 July 2001. For this reason the number of available sources is small.

The investigation is split into three sections, each showing a similar value on the IV. The foreign policy should therefore only change depending on the context and the individuals involved. On some occasions values derived from either the national ideology *Pancasila* or the free and active principle, both said to be influencing foreign policy (Anwar, 2003, pp. 1-3) may dominate, democratic values. *Pancasila*, which was adopted in 1945, is based on five principles: the belief in one god, Indonesian unity, internationalism or humanism, consultation and consensus, and social justice (Sukma, 2003, p. 19). The free and active principle, implying independence of action in international affairs, has three major components: anti-colonialism, independence, and pragmatism (Anwar, 2010, pp. 38-39). That is, pragmatism in the sense that Indonesia does not side with one country or group of countries in particular, but establishes diplomatic relations with any country deemed necessary (Yaakub, 2009, p. 35).

The first section will address the policy under president Megawati and minister of foreign affairs Hassan Wirajuda. This is followed by a research of foreign policy during SBY's first presidential term in the second section, Wirajuda continued to be foreign minister on this occasion. The third and final section focusses on SBY's second presidential term up to the Burmese general elections. Although this period is significantly shorter than the first two under review, it will be interesting to see whether a different minister of foreign affairs (Marty Natalegawa) causes a significant policy change.

For the purpose of the investigation a discourse analysis is undertaken using a variety of different documents including speeches and statements of presidents and ministers of foreign affairs, since they are dominant in determining the policy (Anwar, 2003; Sukma, 2003; Azra, 2006), ASEAN documents, and bilateral treaties between Indonesia and Myanmar. The websites of ASEAN, the United Nations, and *The Jakarta Post* are the most important sources.

1. The Megawati presidency

On 23 July 2001 Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's founder and first president Sukarno, became the country's fifth president succeeding Abdurrahman Wahid. Megawati, who had served as vice-president during the Wahid presidency, was appointed so by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) after Wahid's forced resignation. As her own political party, the PDI-P, only held a minority of the seats in the Indonesian parliament, she chose to form a broad coalition government of secular nationalist and Islamic parties, which had supported her presidency (Sukma, 2003, pp. 123-125).

The resulting coalition proved to be a fragile one, since the PDI-P wanted to preserve the non-religious character of the state, while the two Islamic parties, the PPP and PBB demanded a greater role for Islam in society. Outside parliament the government was faced by a number of political and economic challenges, including the implementation of political reforms, battling corruption, and recovering the economy (Sukma, 2003, pp. 125-127).

The domestic context was reflected in the objectives of foreign policy as formulated by the Department of Foreign Affairs: help boost economy and public welfare; help strengthen national unity, stability and integrity, and preserve nation's sovereignty; develop bilateral relations especially with countries that can support Indonesia's trade and investment and economic recovery; promote international cooperation that helps build and maintain world peace (Anwar, 2003, p. 4).

In practice, Indonesia strengthened the relations with the economic powers the United States, China and Russia as well as with the ASEAN countries (Anwar, 2003, pp.6-8). The increased attention for its immediate neighbours marked the return of the concentric circle formula in Indonesian foreign policy (Sukma, 2003, p. 139). According to this formula the most attention is paid to countries in the first concentric circle around Indonesia (the ASEAN-countries), followed by those in the second circle (Australia, China, East Timor, Japan, the Pacific Islands and South Korea) (Anwar, 2003, p. 3).

Anwar (2003, pp. 5-6) is quite positive about the foreign policy during the Megawati presidency. She applauds her for her low-key style, concentration on economic recovery, and delegation of responsibility to foreign minister Hassan Wirajuda, a career diplomat. Although she does admit that Megawati proved unable to improve Indonesia's international image or restore the confidence of investors; news of bloody conflicts, pervasive corruption and legal uncertainty continued to deter investors from returning to Indonesia (Anwar, 2005, pp. 110-

111). Azra (2006, p. 145), in contrast, is less positive in arguing that Megawati chose to be passive rather than active in both her foreign and domestic policies.

Without judging the policy between July 2001 and November 2004 on its success, Sukma (2011, p. 111) notes that it marked the beginning of democracy promotion in Indonesia's foreign policy. A clear example of this is its lobby in ASEAN to adopt democracy and human rights as regional values in 2003. At the same time, the principle of non-interference continued to play a role during the Megawati presidency as well, although observers differ on the resilience of the principle. According to Anwar (2005, p. 128) Indonesia did not turn a blind eye on the violation of human rights within ASEAN countries anymore, whereas Haacke (2003, p. 227) deemed the government to be unwilling to change the status quo. The time of writing, however, may have affected Haacke's conclusions.

At this point, both the domestic context and the foreign policy context are investigated. The chapter will continue with a discourse analysis of the policy towards Myanmar. This analysis is split into three parts, each focussing on a specific context: bilateral relations, ASEAN, and the United Nations. The value-action framework suggests policy may take a different shape depending on the actors involved (Ashizawa, 2008, pp. 580-581).

Bilateral relations

As the relations between Indonesia and Myanmar primarily take place within ASEAN the number of documents concerning bilateral relations is fairly limited. During the Megawati presidency one bilateral treaty was signed between the countries, namely an "agreement between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the government of the Union of Myanmar for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income" on the first of April 2003. This agreement applied to residents of both countries and concerned the Indonesian income tax, income tax in Myanmar, as well as the tax on profits in the latter country (Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2003, pp. 2-4).

While predominantly technical in nature, the agreement showed the willingness from both sites to cooperate on fiscal matters, especially since article 31 reads that it could only be terminated after a five-year period (Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2003, p. 39). The one-day visit Megawati made to Myanmar in August 2001, as part of a trip to all ASEAN-countries (Anwar, 2003, p. 6), was similarly aimed at enhancing cooperation (*Xinhuanet*, 2001). As was Wirajuda's visit to the country in April 2003. Although foreign ministry director for East Asia and Pacific Primo Alui Joelianto said that the discussion with

high-ranking officials would focus on “several pending issues” as well (*The Jakarta Post*, 2003).

On other occasions, however, Indonesia adopted a more critical stance towards Myanmar. In July 2003 Wirajuda said that Myanmar needed to move forward in its democratization process, but emphasized that isolating the country or imposing sanctions against it would not be effective. Instead he preferred a dialog, which was deemed the only way to solve any issues. This contrasted with statements made by both Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad and foreign minister Syed Hamid, who said that ASEAN members had to consider expelling Myanmar from the regional grouping (Siboro and Unidjaja, 2003). These statements were a response to the incarceration of Burmese opposition leader Aung Sang Suu Kyi and many of her party members in May of the same year (Kyaw, 2008, p. 157).

Concerns about Suu Kyi’s detention were repeated a few days later on the side-lines of a meeting between Asian and African officials, when Wirajuda said that Burmese leaders had guaranteed her release before an ASEAN Summit scheduled in October. These remarks came as a surprise to Myanmar’s minister of foreign affairs, Win Aung, who did not know why his Indonesian counterpart made these comments. Subsequently he could not make any promises concerning Suu Kyi’s release, apart from saying that they did not have any intention to “prolong that arrangement” (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2003).

By September 24 the opposition leader was still detained, to the frustration of Indonesia. Therefore, envoy to Myanmar and former foreign minister Ali Alatas met with leaders of the junta and handed over letters conveying Indonesian concerns about the situation. These concerns were not only of a bilateral nature, as Alatas stated the following:

“we would like to believe that it is in the interest of ASEAN and (Burma) that no extraneous issue such as the problem of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi would mar the deliberations of ASEAN” (quoted in British Broadcasting Corporation, 2003).

In some way one could say that Indonesia’s reputation was at stake here as well, being the chair of ASEAN that year (Haacke, 2006, p. 52). This topic will be explored further in the following section, which focusses on Indonesia’s policy towards Myanmar within the regional gathering.

ASEAN

A first step towards analysing Indonesian policy is made by comparing the joint communiqués of the annual ASEAN Ministerial Meetings (AMM), a meeting between

foreign ministers. In this way the importance of the political situation in Myanmar among policymakers can be traced. The first of such meetings during Megawati's presidency was the 35th AMM on July 29 and 30, 2002 in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei. Judging from its joint communiqué the political situation in Myanmar was not really an issue at that time; nothing is said about Burma specifically. This is not to say, that the foreign ministers, did not pay attention to the human rights situation in the region. They "recalled the decision made by the 26th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting to consider the establishment of an appropriate mechanism on human rights", but emphasized the importance of non-interference as well (ASEAN, 2002).

Regarding human rights, the Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism (Working Group) was deemed an important dialogue partner (ASEAN, 2002). This working group, a coalition of various national working groups, organized four workshops for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism over the period 2001-2004 of which two were held in Indonesia, and one in both the Philippines and Thailand (Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, n.d.). The first workshop was convened in Jakarta in early July 2001 during the Wahid presidency. The fact that it was co-hosted by the Working Group, the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission, and the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs shows Indonesia's willingness to promote human rights (Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, 2001).

During the 36th AMM, which was held in Phnom Penh on June 16 and 17, 2003, the situation in Myanmar did make it to the agenda. The ministers of foreign affairs "noted the efforts of the Government of Myanmar to promote peace and development", but "urged Myanmar to resume its efforts of national reconciliation and dialogue among all parties concerned leading to a peaceful transition to democracy." The United Nations was also to play a role in this transition through the efforts of Tan Sri Razali Ismail, the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Myanmar. Burmese assurance that the measures taken against Suu Kyi and fellow party members were temporary, prevented the ministers from considering any sanctions. Apart from this a call was made for Myanmar's participation in both the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The comments made about human rights were similar to those made in the joint communiqué a year earlier (ASEAN, 2003a).

Nor does the discourse on human rights in the joint communiqué of the 37th AMM, held in Jakarta the following year, signal a break with the past. The foreign ministers noted the reconvening of the National Convention in Myanmar and the role it could play in the

drafting of a new constitution, which should be followed by elections. In addition they emphasized the continued relevance of the comments made a year earlier, underlining “the need for the involvement of all strata of Myanmar society in the on-going National Convention” (ASEAN, 2004a).

In her speech at the opening of the 37th AMM Megawati (2004) stated that
“free, honest and successful elections were recently held in South Korea, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, the Philippines and here in Indonesia. In this context, we gladly note that a member of the ASEAN family, Myanmar, has added its voice to the cause of promoting democracy. We do encourage Myanmar to take every action that will add substance to the expression of its democratic aspirations.”

This was not only in their own interest, but even more so in the interest of ASEAN. Reforms were needed to enable the regional community to ride the positive waves of democratization and economic integration. The Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, also known as the Bali Concord II, was to be the blueprint for this integration. The Concord, adopted during the ninth ASEAN Summit, held in Bali, in October 2003 proposed the establishment of an ASEAN Community comprising three elements: a security- (ASC), economic- (AEC), and socio-cultural community (ASCC) (ASEAN, 2003b, pp. 4-8).

According to Sukma (2008, pp. 137-138), the ASC was proposed by Indonesia, which headed the regional community in 2003. Originally, however, Indonesia was aiming for a broader definition of security than eventually came about; it wanted to include political development, alongside norms setting, preventing and resolving conflict, and peacebuilding. Opposition of other member states prevented this goal from making the Concord, which reaffirmed the principle of non-interference. This being said, the original “democracy agenda” does shine through in the following sentence: “the ASEAN Security Community is envisaged to bring ASEAN’s political and security cooperation to a higher plane to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic and harmonious environment” (ASEAN, 2003b, p. 4).

The next step towards creating an ASC was drafting a document which outlined the concrete measures to be taken towards this goal. The document Indonesia drafted in February 2004 for this purpose, marked a return to the original democracy agenda. That is, the plan of action stipulated that regular and free general elections were to be undertaken in all ASEAN countries by 2017 and that an ASEAN Charter of Rights and Obligations of the People, accompanied by a regional commission on human rights, was to be developed by 2006. Similar to the plans a year earlier, Indonesia’s draft faced strong opposition of other member

countries, including Myanmar. Therefore, the document that was eventually adopted had a different tone, as will be shown in the following chapter (Roberts, 2010, pp. 181-183).

The difference between Indonesia's original plans for an ASC and the final outcome showed that the country's policymakers were not willing to put the relationship with other ASEAN countries at risk to promote democratic values. In the end, consensus, one of the principles of *Pancasila*, was the preferred option. This preference for consensus can also be seen in actions directly concerning Myanmar.

During the 36th AMM, Wirajuda initiated the plan to send a ministerial delegation to the country, which was supported by all the foreign ministers (Unidjaja, 2003a). Indonesia took the lead in this affair, but did not want to act unilaterally. On June 29 Marty Natalegawa, then Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman, said that Indonesia was waiting for a Burmese proposal regarding the delegation (Unidjaja, 2003b). This was followed by a statement a few days later that Indonesia accepted the responsibilities of being chair, but could not act on its own (Associated Press, 2003).

United Nations

The previous section analysed Indonesian policy within its own region, this section will focus on policy on global level, namely within the United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted three resolutions on the situation of human rights in Myanmar during the period under review: one on 24 December 2001 during the 56th session of the UNGA, one on 18 December 2002 during its 57th session, and the final one on 23 December 2003 during its 58th session. These were all adopted without a recorded vote. On a whole, the three resolutions welcomed the efforts made by the government of Myanmar, and its willingness to cooperate with both the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Myanmar and the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights. At the same time, it urged the government to stop violating human rights and to respect the outcome of the 1990 elections by cooperating with the opposition (UNGA, 2001; 2002; 2003).

Since the resolutions were all adopted without a recorded vote, it is hard to discern Indonesia's stance towards them. In this regard, statements by Wirajuda (2001; 2002; 2004) and Megawati (2003) made at the UNGA sessions are helpful to reveal its international agenda. In his speech 'the democratic response' held on November 15 2001 Wirajuda expressed his confidence in democracy as an instrument to combat global challenges, including international terrorism. Democratization was to be achieved both on the domestic- and the international level as the former was a precondition for the latter.

These words were repeated in his statement at the UNGA in the following year, while adding that democratization among nations requires multilateralism. This entails respect for one and other, mutual consultations and consensus. Responding to the critique that consensus-building within ASEAN obstructed assertiveness, he argued that “multilateralism gives ASEAN coherence, commitment and perseverance in the pursuit of its goals” (Wirajuda, 2002). Megawati’s (2003) speech at the 58th session was primarily preoccupied with the battle against international terrorism, but stressed Indonesia’s willingness to build “a better region and more democratic world.” In a similar vein Wirajuda (2004) said Indonesia was “devoutly committed” to making democracy work.

2. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Hassan Wirajuda

On 20 October 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was inaugurated as the sixth president of the Republic of Indonesia. More importantly, he was the first president in Indonesian history to be elected directly, defeating Megawati in the second round of the presidential elections. Like his predecessor, SBY was necessitated to form a broad coalition cabinet of both nationalist and Islamic parties. This was the case because his own *Partai Demokrat* (PD) only had won a minority of the seats in parliament during the legislative elections of April that year. According to Ricklefs (2008, pp. 402-404) the cabinet fell short on both cohesion and effectiveness.

Similarities in the domestic context were reflected in the international relations of Indonesia as Yaakub (2009, p. 44) argues that the policy during SBY's first presidential term mirrored that of Megawati. In both cases ASEAN countries knew a prominent position in foreign policy, followed by those countries of economic importance outside Southeast Asia. In addition, Hassan Wirajuda continued to be the minister of foreign affairs. At the same time, however, SBY departed from his predecessor in stressing the importance of engaging with the wider development world, in particular with Islamic countries.

Increasing engagement with the Muslim world was in line with a speech the president gave before the Indonesian Council on World Affairs on May 19, 2005. In this speech he stated that Indonesia's independent and active approach to foreign policy should reflect the country's international identity, which in turn "must be rooted in a strong sense of who we are." That is, "a country where democracy, Islam and modernity go hand-in-hand" (Yudhoyono, 2005). Nonetheless, Anwar (2010, p.48) and Sukma (2012, p. 86) argue that foreign policy, while mindful of domestic Muslim pressure, was not Islamic in nature.

The promotion of democratic values is said to have gained an even more prominent position in policymaking during SBY's presidency. According to Sukma (2011, p. 113), Indonesia kept supporting the principle of non-interference within ASEAN, but refused to hide behind these principle when human rights were at stake; human rights were no longer considered an internal matter. Beyond ASEAN, the organization of the first Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) on 10 and 11 December 2008 gave a clear indication of Indonesia's democracy agenda. The BDF was an intergovernmental forum open to all countries in the Asia-Pacific region, both democratic and non-democratic; countries from other parts of the world could apply for observer status. During this forum officials from various participating countries

shared their experiences on the transition to democracy, while they also discussed the possibilities of cooperation on the fields of human rights and the rule of law (Halans and Nassy, 2013, pp. 2-3).

With both the domestic context and the foreign policy context outlined, the chapter will continue with a discourse analysis of the policy towards Myanmar. This analysis is split into three parts, each focussing on a specific context: bilateral relations, ASEAN, and the United Nations. Keeping the value-action framework in mind, one may expect policy to take a different shape depending on the actors involved (Ashizawa, 2008, pp. 580-581).

Bilateral relations

During the first presidential of SBY two bilateral agreements were signed between the Republic of Indonesia and the Union of Myanmar, both in 2006. The first of these agreements was signed on March 1 in Yangon and concerned a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on “the establishment of a joint commission for bilateral cooperation.” This commission was to be established to promote the collaboration between both countries on topics ranging from culture to economics, to strengthen their friendship. The opening sentences of the MoU state that three principles should be leading in the work of the commission: “equality, mutual benefit and full respect for sovereignty.” As was the case with the agreement signed three years earlier, mutual trust was expressed in the fact that the arrangement could only be terminated after five years (Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2006a, pp. 1-3).

According to an article in *The Jakarta Post* there was a clear rationale behind Indonesia’s constructive approach towards Myanmar; the MoU could help persuading the junta to take further measures towards democratization. Wirajuda stated that Indonesia was willing to help smoothen the process to democracy, although he did not want to specify on the role the country could play in the release of Suu Kyi (Hotland, 2006a). Similarly, SBY did not mention Suu Kyi during his press conference in Yangon on 3 March concluding a state visit to Myanmar. Nor had the situation been discussed with general Than Shwe. That is, not explicitly, as he told the leader of the junta that reconciliation efforts should include all parties. SBY was positive about the efforts made towards a new constitution, while requesting the junta to brief ASEAN on new developments. This request was made following a refusal to give representatives of both ASEAN and the UN access to the country (Hotland, 2006b).

The second agreement was signed on the fourteenth of November in Jakarta and concerned a MoU on the “cooperation in the exchange of financial intelligence related to money laundering and financing of terrorism.” In contrast to the ones discussed earlier, this

agreement could be terminated at any point in time. The designated authorities of the Indonesian Financial Transactions Reports and Analysis Centre and of the Central Control Board of Myanmar agreed to share information with each other either spontaneously or upon request, but were free to deny a request if sharing would be against their own interests (Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2006b, pp. 1-3).

Thus far foreign policy on a bilateral level showed similarities to that during the preceding period in the sense that democratic values were part of Indonesian rhetoric but not of official documents; cooperation was pursued regardless of the political and humanitarian situation in the former British colony. A marked difference was the attention given to the detention of Suu Kyi, which returned to the agenda in January 2008. As Wirajuda expressed his frustration over the lack of progress made:

“we wish to see a more credible process in the implementation of their roadmap to democracy” (quoted in Pathoni, 2008).

In addition, he urged the junta to release political prisoners, including the leader of the opposition. Nevertheless, the foreign minister, making this statement during an annual foreign affairs briefing, did not consider taking sanctions against the country. Unlike other countries in the region, Indonesia did not ignore the problems in Burma, but chose to be “pro-active” hoping to bring about change by upholding close relations with the junta (Pathoni, 2008). The regional powers India and China may well be some of the other countries Wirajuda was referring to, since foreign ministry spokesman Teuku Faizasyah said the following about these countries in June 2009:

“those countries play a key role to find a settlement in Myanmar's issue (...) and we very much would like to see them urge Myanmar to embrace the value of human rights. (...) To exert more pressure on Myanmar, we want to bring the UN forum into a ministerial level forum but the idea has not been welcomed by India, citing concerns of its national interests” (quoted in Budianto, 2009b).

Indonesia, then, was criticizing India and China for brushing over the mounting problems in Myanmar, but can be accused of doing the same when it supported the Burmese nuclear energy program. Indonesian official Rezlan Ishar Jenie argued that Myanmar, as a signee to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, had the right to develop nuclear energy. While adding that the support was to be separated from concerns over human rights abuse. This was a controversial standpoint given the possibility to use nuclear capabilities for military purposes (Budianto, 2009c). A serious risk as the junta had used another type of weapons of

mass destruction, namely chemical weapons, on five occasions between 1984 and 2005 (Roberts, 2010, p. 59).

The nuclear energy program showed that tensions may arise when policymakers simultaneously try to pursue a democracy agenda and maintain close relations with a military regime. Similar tensions arose during the state visit of Burmese prime minister Thein Sein to Indonesia. The discussion between SBY and the prime minister concerned democratization and the Rohingya refugees, but the leaders also agreed on intensifying military and economic cooperation; bilateral trade, worth \$300,000,000 in 2009, was to increase. Bilateral cooperation was also pursued to solve the problem of Rohingya refugees entering Indonesia. In addition, the UN Refugee Agency and the International Organization for Migration were to play a role. Indonesia promised to extend the humanitarian assistance to 400 Rohingya stranded in Aceh, until a final solution was found (Maulia, 2009). The Rohingya are an Islamic ethnic group, which faces persecution in Myanmar (Budianto, 2009a).

ASEAN

With the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Myanmar during the first presidential term of SBY discussed, this section will focus on Indonesian policy within ASEAN. As was indicated in the previous chapter, Indonesian policymakers were forced to abandon the democracy agenda they had in mind when they made a proposal for the establishment of an ASEAN Security Community, due to criticism of fellow member countries.

It was only a month after SBY had assumed office, that the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) was adopted during the tenth ASEAN Summit held in Vientiane on November 29 and 30, 2004. This document stipulated the measures to be taken towards realizing the ASC, as well as the AEC and the ASCC. In contrast to the Indonesian draft of February, the chapter dealing with the ASC did not mention elections, nor the establishment of a human rights committee. This is not to say that the issue of human rights was left out completely; the VAP considered the promotion of human rights and obligations as being one of the strategies of political development (ASEAN, 2004b).

The stance foreign ministers adopted towards Myanmar during the 38th AMM held in Vientiane on 26 July 2005 was even less critical in tone than the VAP. The joint communiqué applauded the junta for its decision to relinquish its turn as chair of ASEAN in 2006 and instead focus on national reconciliation and the democratization process (ASEAN, 2005). The adoption of a constructive approach towards the Burmese regime is a trend reoccurring in the

joint communiqués of the AMMs, although they did become more critical as the years went by.

During the 39th AMM held in Kuala Lumpur on July 25, 2006, the ministers “expressed concern on the pace of the national reconciliation process and hope[d] to see tangible progress that would lead to peaceful transition to democracy in the near future.” In addition, they called for the “early release” of members of the opposition held under detention (ASEAN, 2006). Concrete calls for the junta to convey democratic elections in a specific year entered the discourse in 2008, as the joint communiqué of the 41st AMM in Singapore read the following: “we urged Myanmar to take bolder steps towards a peaceful transition to democracy in the near future, and working towards the holding of free and fair General Elections in 2010” (ASEAN, 2008).

As an article in the *Jakarta Globe* suggested the following year: leaders within ASEAN became increasingly frustrated with Burmese inaction. Wirajuda even went as far as acknowledging that the diplomatic efforts permitted under the principle of non-interference had proved insufficient in changing the situation in Myanmar:

“our dialogues with Burma have reached an impasse, (...) even efforts by other countries, such as exerting diplomatic pressure and imposing sanctions, have not been strong enough to push them to change” (quoted in Osman, 2009).

What is missing in all statements is any mention of human rights violations in the junta-led country. This is not to say that human rights seized to play a role within ASEAN; the possible establishment of a human rights commission, as originally proposed by Indonesia, returned to the agenda during the drafting of the ASEAN Charter. This document was intended to provide the association with a legal and institutional framework (ASEAN, 2007, p. 3). In the months prior to its adoption in November 2007, officials from Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore tried to include the provision for a human rights body. A plan that was, quite unsurprisingly, rejected by Myanmar (Khalik, 2007).

Ultimately, the objections of Myanmar and other members (Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) were overcome since the provision made it to the charter (Roberts, 2010, p. 185); article 14.1 stipulated that “in conformity with the purposes and principles of the ASEAN charter relating to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, ASEAN shall establish an ASEAN human rights body” (ASEAN, 2007, p. 19). Note, that these principles included non-interference and consensus (Roberts, 2010, 186), but also “democracy and constitutional government” (ASEAN, 2007, p. 6).

What the terms of reference of this human rights body would be was to be decided by the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries during an AMM (ASEAN, 2007). This meant that a number of hurdles were still to be taken before such a body could come about; the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) was inaugurated in October 2009. Notwithstanding efforts from the Indonesian side to give the AICHR the authority to conduct monitoring missions in member states (Alexandra, 2012, p. 53), its primary role became that of an advisory council. In addition, it was in charge of drafting an ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (ASEAN, 2009, pp. 6-7). As an anonymous source told *The Jakarta Post* in July 2009: Indonesia was essentially the only country in favour of giving the AICHR a broader mandate (Suryodiningrat, 2009).

United Nations

Where Indonesia proved to be one of Myanmar's loudest critics and a champion of human rights within ASEAN, it chose to side with its Southeast Asian neighbour on the global level. On one occasion, Indonesia voted against the adoption of a resolution on the situation of human rights in Myanmar in the General Assembly (UNGA, 2006), whereas it abstained its vote on two occasions (UNGA, 2007; UNGA, 2008). When comparing Indonesia's voting behaviour with those of other countries, one finds it to be part of a minority of countries not supporting the resolutions. At the same time, voting behaviour was in line with that of other ASEAN countries. In all instances the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand abstained their vote, while other members decided to oppose the resolutions. Indonesia, then, was the only one to change its vote.

Being a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2007 and 2008, Indonesia also had the right to vote on a resolution in January 2007, which "called on Myanmar's Government to cease military attacks against civilians in ethnic minority regions and begin a substantive political dialogue that would lead to a genuine democratic transition." As was the case in the General Assembly, however, Indonesia refused to support a resolution targeted against the Burmese junta. Permanent representative to the UN, Rezlan Ishar Jenie, defended this position by arguing that the situation in Myanmar, while problematic, did not form "a clear and present danger to the rest of the world." Therefore, "other United Nations bodies, such as the Human Rights Council, were more appropriate venues for addressing the problem of Myanmar" (UNSC, 2007a).

3. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Marty Natalegawa

With the foreign policy during the presidency of Megawati and the first presidential term of SBY investigated, this chapter will focus on Indonesian policy in the one-year period from 22 October 2009 until the general elections in Myanmar on 7 November 2010. After his victory in the 2004 presidential elections SBY managed to remain in office for a second term beginning in 2009. This time around, receiving enough votes in the first round of the presidential elections. Even though the president was in a better position to mould a new cabinet, than five years earlier (the legislative elections had made the PD into the largest party in parliament), he decided to rely on yet another broad coalition government (Sukma, 2010, pp. 61 and 67-69).

Perhaps the biggest change from the preceding cabinet, in the case of foreign policy that is, was the appointment of the diplomat Marty Natalegawa as the new minister of foreign affairs. Natalegawa had in the past served as the Indonesian ambassador to Great Britain, and most recently as the country's permanent representative to the United Nations. With a new foreign minister, a new doctrine entered foreign policy, namely that of dynamic equilibrium. The doctrine indicates that, since the end of the Cold War, the possibilities for countries to become a new power in international relations through peaceful cooperation have increased (Umar, 2011).

Whether dynamic equilibrium has had an impact on the policy towards Myanmar will be examined by carrying out a discourse analysis in the remainder of this chapter. This analysis is split into three parts, each focussing on a specific context: bilateral relations, ASEAN, and the United Nations. Keeping the value-action framework in mind, one may expect policy to take a different shape depending on the actors involved (Ashizawa, 2008, pp. 580-581).

Bilateral relations

To celebrate the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Myanmar, the Indonesian ambassador to Myanmar wrote a special feature in *The Myanmar Times*. In this feature, Sebastianus Sumarsono (2009) highlighted the socio-cultural aspect of the relationship, "considering that it will give a positive contribution for closer political, economic, consular, and security and defense relations." In addition, he gave a short overview of the sixty years of "bilateral friendship", arguing that "Indonesia also strongly supports

Myanmar's democratization process" and "consistently carried-out "constructive engagement" to assist Myanmar in resolving its political crisis."

Although he briefly touched on the political situation in the junta-led country, Sumarsono did not expand on the topic. This is imaginable given the nature of the contribution and its publication in a (censored) Burmese newspaper. In another policy statement the upcoming elections took centre stage. On the sixth of February the Indonesian ambassador was confident that the general elections would be truly inclusive since the government had promised this, while adding that Indonesia was willing to support the country in the process of democratization if needed (*The Jakarta Post*, 2010).

This confidence proved unfounded a month later; the military junta had issued a law which prohibited every person convicted by a criminal court from joining a political party. In this way, it prevented Suu Kyi from running in the elections. According to foreign ministry spokesman Teuku Faizasyah,

"the new regulations were regrettable (...) because it will result in an election that fails inclusivity" (quoted in Budianto, 2010a).

A decision to deny foreign observers and journalists access to the country during the elections was similarly critiqued by Indonesia. Natalegawa exposed his frustration about the situation when he said that the junta had not lived up to the expectations. Even exclusive elections, however, were considered a step forward (Adamrah, 2010).

ASEAN

Indonesian policy on the bilateral level essentially centred around the double exclusivity of the upcoming elections, both in terms of those allowed to compete in them and those allowed to report about them. The joint communiqué of the 43rd AMM held in Hanoi in July indicates that Indonesian worries were shared by other foreign ministers. They "underscored the importance of national reconciliation in Myanmar and the holding of the general election in a free, fair, and inclusive manner, thus contributing to Myanmar's stability and development" and "also stressed the need for Myanmar to continue to work with ASEAN and the United Nations in this process" (ASEAN, 2010).

It is unsure which countries were pushing for the inclusion of this statement in the joint communiqué, but it is certainly in line with Indonesia's opinion on the situation in Myanmar. The fact that SBY and Natalegawa raised these particular issues at the ASEAN summits in April and October is a testament to this (Adamrah, 2010; Budianto, 2010b). While

Indonesia may have taken the lead in pushing Myanmar to make a better effort, Natalegawa indicated that it could count on broad support in the regional grouping:

“as you may know, it’s not just Indonesia but the whole of ASEAN thinks Myanmar has not provided a positive response [to our calls]” (quoted in Adamrah, 2010).

United Nations

Besides ASEAN, Natalegawa said that he expected the broader international community and the UN in particular “to play a continued positive role on the issue” during a press conference at the headquarters of the United Nations. To be able to play this role he deemed it important “to have both very honest, candid, frank and even robust expectations from Myanmar, but at the same time to engage with that country.” This meant that countries were permitted to take sanctions against the junta, but these would not lead to a viable solution, unless combined with some form of constructive engagement. While highlighting the role the international community could play, the foreign minister emphasized that he wished

“very much to see Myanmar not miss this opportunity to resolve the situation in that country in a good way with the international community’s support (...) but this is a process, as professor Gambari is fond of saying, it’s not an event and that process is happening just now” (Natalegawa, 2009).

As was the case before, Indonesia was certainly in favour of international involvement in Myanmar, but this involvement was to be constructive. The country continued to reject any resolutions issued by the UNGA and the UNSC, judging from the fact that it was one of the 39 countries abstaining its vote on a UNGA draft resolution. Cambodia, Singapore, and Thailand showed the same voting behaviour, whereas most other members of ASEAN voted against the resolution; the Philippines was absent (UNGA, 2009).

Conclusion

With the foreign policy of Indonesia towards Myanmar between July 2001 and November 2010 investigated, an answer will be given to the research question: to what extent do democratic values shape Indonesian foreign policy? It is argued that Indonesia's democratic identity (IV) has manifested itself in its policy towards Myanmar (DV). This proves that social constructivist theory in general, and Ashizawa's value-action framework in particular, are applicable to values associated with democratization; a topic that remained relatively under investigated in the theoretical literature until this point. Similarly in line with the value-action framework the dominance of these values appears to be context-dependent, since other values are at play as well. That is, there are clear differences between Indonesian policy on the bilateral level, in ASEAN, and in the United Nations.

Minor differences notwithstanding, the discourse remained the same across the three presidencies. While a thorough analysis of this observation is not to take place here, two broad reasons can be identified. First, the fact that Indonesia and Myanmar are intrinsically linked to one and other through ASEAN means that the country is constrained in pursuing an independent policy towards the country. Not only because it has to take the opinion of other members into account, but also because damaging the relations with Myanmar may have negative consequences for the functioning of the regional grouping. Second, there was continuity in the people in charge of foreign policymaking; Hassan Wirajuda was the minister of foreign affairs during the first two periods, whereas SBY's presidency spanned the latter two.

Bilateral relations showed a careful balance between a democracy agenda and cooperation. The latter was inspired by the principle of consultation and consensus of *Pancasila*, but served national interests as well. Democratic values came to the fore front in Indonesia's preoccupation with the political situation in Myanmar. During the Megawati presidency this focussed on the release of political prisoners, Suu Kyi in particular. In the following periods this shifted to a concrete democracy agenda; by this time calls were made for national reconciliation and democratization.

While the content of policy changed, the preference of cooperation over confrontation remained a constant factor. At various points in time, Indonesian officials critiqued the junta over the lack of progress made, but never considered taking sanctions. Not even at the moment that Mahathir Mohamad said that ASEAN had to consider expelling the country. Nor

did the political situation in Myanmar prevent Indonesia from signing a number of bilateral agreements in fields ranging from security to trade.

The values shaping bilateral relations were also present in the policies pursued within ASEAN. The establishment of the AICHR in October 2009 was to a large extent Indonesia's achievement. Indonesian policymakers had first proposed such a commission in 2004 and again so in 2007, when the plan was approved by all members of the regional grouping and made it to the ASEAN Charter. Still, the mandate the AICHR received was not nearly as broad as originally intended.

Alongside the establishment of a human rights commission, Indonesians strived for the democratization of all member countries. This process began during the presidency of Megawati, when the plans for an ASEAN Security community were presented, which adopted a broad definition of security including political development. The draft for the Vientiane Action Plan even made a concrete call for general elections to be convened in all ASEAN countries by 2017. In 2010, SBY and Natalegawa were the ones pushing, at the ASEAN summits, for inclusive elections in Myanmar.

The fact that the adoption of documents within ASEAN requires consensus, prevented Indonesia from implementing many of its plans, at least in their original form. *Pancasila*, then, was a necessary part of foreign policy. Disregarding consensus-seeking as being merely a practical necessity, however, would not do justice to the evidence; in many of their statements concerning Myanmar, policymakers emphasized that they were not just speaking for their own, but that their views were shared by other members. In addition, even when Indonesia had the authority to take the lead in sending a mission to the junta-led country it still preferred to act multilaterally, rather than unilaterally.

There was a marked contrast between Indonesia's foreign policy towards Myanmar at the United Nations and that on the bilateral and regional level. Whereas Indonesia took a leading role in promoting human rights within ASEAN, it refused to do so at the global gathering. This is not to say that policymakers were all of a sudden indifferent to the political and humanitarian problems in Myanmar, but democratic rhetoric was not supported by pro-democracy actions.

Not on a single occasion did Indonesia vote in favour of a resolution on the human rights situation in Myanmar. Instead it defended non-interference, a leading principle of ASEAN and one of the components of the free and active principle. Given the content of the resolutions, votes in favour of them could have had negative consequences for Indonesia's ability to influence the junta through constructive engagement. Especially since none of the

other members of ASEAN casted a positive vote. Note, that policymakers were not against UN intervention *per se*; they supported the activities of the United Nations Human Rights Council.

Despite Indonesia's muted support for democracy in Myanmar at the UN, in general it is clear that democratic values did partly shape Indonesian foreign policy, both during the presidency of Megawati and the two presidential terms of SBY. The influence of these values depended on the context with consensus and non-interference also shaping policy. Perhaps surprisingly given the attention it gets in the literature, Islam was not a factor shaping the relations between Indonesia and Myanmar, even though Muslims face persecution in the latter country.

Although Indonesia was straightforward about its democratic intentions, it was not willing to put its relationship with Myanmar on the line. Therefore, constructive engagement was the preferred strategy. By constructively engaging with the local authorities and seeking support from other ASEAN countries, as well as the international community at large, policymakers hoped to convince the junta from the benefits of democratization. In line with Natalegawa's doctrine of dynamic equilibrium, then, Indonesia fulfilled the role of a cooperative leader, but it already did so prior to the formulation of this doctrine.

References

- Adamrah, M., 2010. RI maintains struggle against defiant Myanmar. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 26 October. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/10/26/ri-maintains-struggle-against-defiant-myanmar.html>> [Accessed 18 April 2014].
- Alexandra, L., 2012. Indonesia and the Responsibility to Protect. *The Pacific Review*, [e-journal] 25(1), pp. 51-74. Available through Universiteit Leiden Library website: <<http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/>> [Accessed 25 March 2014].
- Anwar, D.F., 2003. Key aspects of Indonesia's foreign policy. *Trends in Southeast Asia*, 9, pp. 1-10.
- Anwar, D.F., 2005. *Indonesia at large: collected writings on ASEAN, foreign policy, security and democratisation*. Jakarta: The Habibie Center.
- Anwar, D.F., 2010. Foreign policy, Islam and democracy in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, [e-journal] 3, pp. 37-54. Available through KITLV online catalogue: <<http://opc-kitlv.oclc.org:1080/DB=1/SET=2/TTL=1/OTHERDB>> [Accessed 17 October 2013].
- ASEAN, 2002. Responding to challenges: securing a better future. Joint communiqué of the 35th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM). Bandar Seri Begawan, 29-30 July 2002. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communiqué-of-the-35th-asean-ministerial-meeting-bandar-seri-begawan-29-30-july-2002-3>> [Accessed 22 January 2014].
- ASEAN, 2003a. Joint communiqué of the 36th AMM. Phnom Penh, 16-17 June 2003. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communiqué-of-the-36th-asean-ministerial-meeting-phnom-penh-16-17-june-2003-3>> [Accessed 22 January 2014].
- ASEAN, 2003b. Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) (signed on 7 October 2003).
- ASEAN, 2004a. Joint communiqué of the 37th AMM. Jakarta, 29-30 June 2004. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communiqué-of-the-37th-asean-ministerial-meeting-jakarta-29-30-june-2004-3>> [Accessed 22 January 2014].
- ASEAN, 2004b. Vientiane Action Programme (signed on 29 November 2004).
- ASEAN, 2005. Towards the harmony, dynamism and integration of ASEAN. Joint communiqué of the 38th AMM. Vientiane, 26 July 2005. [online] Available at:

- <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communique-of-the-38th-asean-ministerial-meeting-vientiane-26-july-2005>> [Accessed 7 April 2014].
- ASEAN, 2006. Forging a united, resilient, and integrated ASEAN. Joint communiqué of the 39th AMM. Kuala Lumpur, 25 July 2006. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communique-of-the-39th-asean-ministerial-meeting-amm-kuala-lumpur-25-july-2006-3>> [Accessed 7 April 2014].
- ASEAN, 2007. The ASEAN Charter (signed on 20 November 2007).
- ASEAN, 2008. One ASEAN at the heart of dynamic Asia. Joint communiqué of the 41st AMM. Singapore, 21 July 2008. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/joint-communique-of-the-41st-asean-ministerial-meeting-one-asean-at-the-heart-of-dynamic-asia-singapore-21-july-2008-2>> [Accessed 7 April 2014].
- ASEAN, 2009. ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (terms of reference). [online] Available at: <<http://aichr.org/documents/>> [Accessed 17 April 2014].
- ASEAN, 2010. Enhanced efforts towards the ASEAN community: from vision to action. Joint communiqué of the 43rd AMM. Hanoi, 19-20 July 2010. [online] Available at:
- Ashizawa, K., 2008. When identity matters: state identity, regional institution-building, and Japanese foreign policy. *International Studies Review*, [e-journal] 10(3), pp. 571-598. Available through: Universiteit Leiden Library website <<http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/>> [Accessed 9 October 2013].
- Associated Press, 3 July 2003. ASEAN mulling sending a delegation to Myanmar to press for Suu. [online] Available at: <<http://www.burmalibrary.org/TinKyi/archives/2003-07/msg00004.html>> [Accessed 19 February 2014].
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 30 July 2003. Burma to resolve Suu Kyi issue by October: Indonesian MP. [online] Available at: <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2003-07-30/burma-to-resolve-suu-kyi-issue-by-october/1456892>> [Accessed 23 January 2014].
- Azra, A., 2006. *Indonesia, Islam, and democracy: dynamics in a global context*. Jakarta: Solstice Publishing.
- British Broadcasting Corporation, 24 September 2003. Burma warned over Suu Kyi. [online] Available at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3134552.stm>> [Accessed 23 January 2014].
- Budianto, L., 2009a. RI rescues another 198 boatpeople in Aceh. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 4

- February 2009. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/02/04/ri-rescues-another-198-boatpeople-aceh.html>> [Accessed 25 March 2014].
- Budianto, L., 2009b. RI woos India, China over Suu Kyi. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 13 June 2009. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/13/ri-woos-india-china-over-suu-kyi.html>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Budianto, L., 2009c. RI supports Myanmar's nuclear energy program. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 22 August 2009. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/08/22/ri-supports-myanmar%E2%80%99s-nuclear-energy-program.html>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Budianto, L., 2010a. Indonesia hits out at Myanmar junta over new poll regulation. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 12 March 2010. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/03/12/indonesia-hits-out-myanmar-junta-over-new-poll-regulation.html>> [Accessed 18 April 2014].
- Budianto, L., 2010b. RI to focus on Myanmar elections at summit. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 5 April 2010. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/04/06/ri-focus-myanmar-elections-summit.html>> [Accessed 20 April 2014].
- Burchill, S. and Linklater, A. eds., 2013. *Theories of International Relations*. 5th ed. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Diamond, L., 2010. Indonesia's place in global democracy. In: E. Aspinall and M. Mietzner, ed. 2010. *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: elections, institutions and society*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing. pp. 21-49.
- Doyle, M.W., 1983. Kant, liberal legacies, and foreign affairs. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, [e-journal] 12(3), pp. 205-235. Available through: Universiteit Leiden Library website <<http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/>> [Accessed 23 September 2013].
- Evera, van S., 1997. *Guide to methods for students of political science*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Flockhart, T., 2012. Constructivism and foreign policy. In: S. Smith, A. Hadfield and T. Dunne, ed. 2012. *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 78-93.
- Haacke, J., 2003. *ASEAN's diplomatic and security culture: origins, development and prospects*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Haacke, J., 2006. Myanmar and ASEAN. *The Adelphi Papers*, [e-journal] 46(381), pp. 41-60. Available through: Universiteit Leiden Library website <<http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/>> [Accessed 5 March 2014].

- Halans, M. and Nassy, D., 2013. Expert seminar report. Indonesia's rise and democracy promotion in Asia: the Bali Democracy Forum and beyond. Den Haag, 28 October 2013. Den Haag: Clingendael. [online] Available at: <<http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Bali%20Democracy%20Forum%20and%20Beyond%20-%20Expert%20seminar%20report.pdf>> [Accessed 10 April 2014].
- Hotland, T., 2006a. Hopes ride on SBY's talks with Myanmar. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 2 March. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2006/03/02/hopes-ride-sby039s-talks-myanmar.html>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Hotland, T., 2006b. SBY tells junta to open up. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 3 March. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2006/03/03/sby-tells-junta-open.html>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Khalik, A., 2007. ASEAN debates rights commission. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 30 July. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/07/30/asean-debates-rights-commission.html>> [Accessed 16 April 2014].
- Maulia, E., 2009. RI, Myanmar discuss democracy, refugees. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 17 March. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/03/17/ri-myanmar-discuss-democracy-refugees.html>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Osman, N., 2009. Burmese inaction frustrates Asean. *Jakarta Globe*, [online] 17 June. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/archive/burmese-inaction-frustrates-asean/>> [Accessed 16 April 2014].
- Kyaw, Y.H., 2008. ASEAN's pariah: insecurity and autocracy in Myanmar (Burma). In: D.K. Emmerson, ed. 2008. *Hard choices: security, democracy, and regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Stanford: Shorenstein APARC. pp. 151-189.
- Natalegawa, M., 2009. Press Conference: H.E. Dr. R. M. Marty M. Natalegawa, the former Indonesian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, speaks to press in his capacity as Foreign Minister. [video] UN webcast, 21 December 2009. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/webcast/2009.html>> [Accessed 20 April 2014].
- Pathoni, A., 2008. Indonesia urges Myanmar to do more on democracy. *Reuters*, 8 January. [online] Available at: <<http://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAJAK12344820080108?pageNumber=2&virtualBrandChannel=0&sp=true>> [Accessed 21 March 2014].
- Perwita, A.A.B., 2007. *Indonesia and the Muslim world: Islam and secularism in the foreign policy of Soeharto and beyond*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2003. Agreement between the government of

- the Republic of Indonesia and the government of the Union of Myanmar for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income (signed on 1 April 2003).
- Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2006a. Memorandum of understanding between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the government of the Union of Myanmar on the establishment of a joint commission for bilateral cooperation (signed on 1 March 2006).
- Republic of Indonesia and Union of Myanmar, 2006b. Memorandum of understanding between the competent authorities of the Indonesian Financial Transaction Report and Analysis Center of the Republic of Indonesia and of the Central Control Board (CCB) of the Union of Myanmar concerning cooperation in the exchange of financial intelligence related to money laundering and financing of terrorism (signed on 14 November 2006).
- Ricklefs, M.C., 2008. *A history of modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. 4th ed. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roberts, C., 2010. *ASEAN's Myanmar crisis: challenges to the pursuit of a security community*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Siboro, T. and Unidjaja, F.D., 2003. Isolating Myanmar not effective, Hassan says. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 23 July. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2003/07/23/isolating-myanmar-not-effective-hassan-says.html>> [Accessed 8 January 2014].
- Sukarnoputri, M., 2003. Address at the 58th session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). New York, 23 September 2003. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/58/statements/indoeng030923.htm>> [Accessed 5 March 2014].
- Sukarnoputri, M., 2004. Statement at the opening session of 37th AMM. Jakarta, 30 June 2004. [online] Available at: <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/statement-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-indonesia-at-the-opening-session-of-the-37th-asean-ministerial-meeting>> [Accessed 22 January 2014].
- Sukma, R., 2003. *Islam in Indonesian foreign policy*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Sukma, R., 2008. Political development: a democracy agenda for ASEAN? In: D.K. Emmerson, ed. 2008. *Hard choices: security, democracy, and regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Stanford: Shorenstein APARC. pp. 135-149.

- Sukma, R., 2010. Indonesia's 2009 elections: defective system, resilient democracy. In: E. Aspinal and M. Mietzner, ed. 2010. *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: elections, institutions and society*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing. pp. 53-74.
- Sukma, R., 2011. Indonesia finds a new voice. *Journal of democracy*, [e-journal] 22(4), pp. 110-123. Available through: Universiteit Leiden Library website <<http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/>> [Accessed 14 December 2013].
- Sukma, R., 2012. Domestic politics and international posture: constraints and possibilities. In: A. Reid, ed. 2012. *Indonesia rising: the repositioning of Asia's third giant*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing. pp. 77-92.
- Sumarsono, S., 2009. The 60th anniversary of Indonesia-Myanmar diplomatic relations. A special feature by embassy of the Republic of Indonesia. *The Myanmar Times*, [online] 27 December. Available at: <<http://www.mmtimes.com/2010/feature/503/indo503.pdf>> [Accessed 18 April 2014].
- Suryodiningrat, M., 2009. ASEAN 9, human rights 1. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 24 July. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/07/24/asean-9-human-rights-1.html>> [Accessed 16 April 2014].
- The Jakarta Post*, 29 March 2003. FM to visit Myanmar, Thailand. [online] Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2003/03/29/fm-visit-myanmar-thailand.html>> [Accessed 19 February 2014].
- Umar, A.R.M., 2011. A critical reading of 'Natalegawa doctrine'. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 7 January. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/01/07/a-critical-reading-%E2%80%98natalegawa-doctrine%E2%80%99.html>> [Accessed 21 April 2014].
- UNGA, 2001. Situation of human rights in Myanmar. UN Doc A/RES/56/231.
- UNGA, 2002. Situation of human rights in Myanmar. UN Doc A/RES/57/231.
- UNGA, 2003. Situation of human rights in Myanmar. UN Doc A/RES/58/247.
- UNGA, 2006. Sixty-first General Assembly plenary 84th meeting (PM & night), 22 December. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/ga10566.doc.htm>> [Accessed 17 April 2014].
- UNGA, 2007. Sixty-second General Assembly plenary 79th meeting (PM & night), 21 December. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/ga10684.doc.htm>>

- [Accessed 17 April 2014].
- UNGA, 2008. Sixty-third General Assembly plenary 74th meeting (night), 23 December. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/ga10804.doc.htm>> [Accessed 17 April 2014].
- UNGA, 2009. Sixty-fourth General Assembly plenary 68th Meeting (PM & night), 23 December. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/ga10909.doc.htm>> [Accessed 21 April].
- UNSC, 2007. Security Council 5619th Meeting (PM), 12 January. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8939.doc.htm>> [Accessed 17 April 2014].
- Unidjaja, F.D., 2003a. RI leads ASEAN to security. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 18 June. Available at: <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2003/06/18/ri-leads-asean-security.html>> [Accessed 8 January 2014].
- Unidjaja, F.D., 2003b. ASEAN insists on release of Suu Kyi. *The Jakarta Post*, [online] 30 June. Available at: <<http://www.burmalibrary.org/TinKyi/archives/2003-06/msg00030.html>> [Accessed 19 February 2014].
- Wirajuda, N.H., 2001. The democratic response. Statement at the 56th of the UNGA. New York, 15 November 2001. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/56/statements/011115indonesiaE.htm>> [Accessed 5 March 2014].
- Wirajuda, N.H., 2002. Statement at the 58th session of the UNGA. New York, 18 September 2002. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/57/statements/020918IndonesiaE.htm>> [Accessed 5 March 2014].
- Wirajuda, N.H., 2004. Statement at the 59th session of the UNGA. New York, 27 September 2004. [online] Available at: <<http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/59/statements/indoeng040927.pdf>> [Accessed 5 March 2014].
- Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, n.d. *About us*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.aseanhrmech.org/aboutus.html>> [Accessed 13 February 2014].
- Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, 2001. Workshop's summary of

the proceedings. Jakarta, 5-6 July 2001. [online] Available at: <<http://www.aseanhrmech.org/conferences/1st-workshop-for-asean-human-rights.html>> [Accessed 13 February 2014].

Xinhuanet, 24 August 2001. Indonesian president ends visit to Myanmar. [online] Available at: <<http://www.burmalibrary.org/TinKyi/archives/2001-08/msg00021.html>> [Accessed 19 February 2013].

Yaakub, A.N., 2009. *Malaysia and Indonesia: a study of foreign policies with special reference to bilateral relations*. Ph.D. The University of Western Australia. Available at: <http://repository.uwa.edu.au/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=26663&local_base=GEN01-INS01> [Accessed 17 October 2013].

Yudhoyono, S.B., 2005. Speech before the Indonesian Council on World Affairs (ICWA). Jakarta, 19 May 2005. [online] Available at: <<http://www.presidenri.go.id/index.php/pidato/2005/05/19/332.html>> [Accessed 9 April 2014].