

T.R.
ISTANBUL SABAHATTIN ZAIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE EDUCATION INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**ANALYSING INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY
THROUGH THE LENS OF JAVANESE POLITICAL
CULTURE: A NON-WESTERN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS APPROACH**

MA THESIS

Muhsin Abdul HADI

Istanbul

February – 2024

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DECLARATION OF SCIENTIFIC ETHICS AND ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that this MA thesis titled “*Analysing Indonesian Foreign Policy Through the Lens of Javanese Political Culture: A Non-Western International Relations Approach*” is my work and I have acted according to scientific ethics and academic rules while producing it. I have collected and used all information and data according to scientific ethics and guidelines on thesis writing at Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University. I have fully referenced, in both the text and bibliography, all direct and indirect quotations and all sources I have used in this work.



Muhsin Abdul Hadi

Istanbul, February 2024

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ABSTRACT

ANALYSING INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH THE LENS OF JAVANESE POLITICAL CULTURE: A NON- WESTERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS APPROACH

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The necessity for a non-Western framework in comprehending and constructing foreign policy arises from the urgency to cultivate a more comprehensive, varied, and subtle viewpoint on global affairs. Traditionally, ideas about international relations have mostly originated from Western contexts, frequently reflecting perspectives that prioritize the Western world. Embedded in indigenous values and traditions, Javanese political culture, which is characterized by elements such as consensus building, hierarchical structures, collectivism, and a unique approach to power dynamics, can offer an alternative perspective distinct from Western approaches. This thesis endeavors to conduct a thorough analysis of Indonesia's foreign policies, specifically limiting its focus on the leadership of Sukarno (1945-1967) and Suharto (1967-1998), within the context of Javanese political culture values. Utilizing historical records, diplomatic archives, and scholarly literatures from books, journals, and related reading materials to the topic, this study employs a qualitative method based on the examination on how Javanese cultural norms can be applied to analyze the development and implementation of foreign policies under the leadership of Sukarno and Suharto. This thesis aims to provide a better understanding of how cultural heritage and global engagement interacted during significant periods in Indonesian history. This analysis adds to the broader discourse surrounding the relationship of culture and foreign policy, providing insight into the impact of Javanese culture on Indonesia's approach to the global arena.

Keywords: Foreign policy, Javanese political culture, Non-western international relations, Indigenous, Sukarno, Suharto.

ÖZET

ENDONEZYA DIŐ POLİTİKASININ CAVA SİYASİ KÜLTÜRÜ MERCEĞİNDEN ANALİZİ: BATI-DIŐ BİR ULUSLARARASI İLİŐKİLER YAKLAŐIMI

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Yabancı politikayı anlamak ve inşa etmek için Batılı olmayan bir çerçeveye duyulan ihtiyaç, daha kapsamlı, çeŐitlendirilmiş ve küresel ilişkiler üzerine kurulan ve ince zekayla düşünölmüş bir bakıŐ açısının geliştirilmesinin aciliyetinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Geleneksel olarak uluslararası ilişkiler ile ilgili fikirler çoğunlukla Batı içeriklerinden kaynağını almaktadır, sıklıkla Batı dünyasını öncelikli kılan perspektifleri yansıtmaktadırlar. Fikir birliĐi inşa etme, hiyerarŐik yapılar, ortaklaşacılık ve dinamikleri güçlendiren özgün bir yaklaşım gibi elementlerle karakterize olan, yerli deĐerler ve geleneklerin içine yerleŐtirilmiş Java politik kültürü; Batı yaklaşımlarından farklı olan alternatif bir perspektif sunabilir. Bu tez, Endonezya yabancı politikasının özellikle Sukarno ve Suharto'nun liderliklerine odaklanılarak Java Politik deĐerlerinin çerçevesinde derinlemesine analiz edilmesi için çaba sarfedecektir. Bu çalıŐma, tarihi kayıtlardan, diplomatik arŐivlerden ve kitaplardan alınan akademik literatürden ve konuyla alakalı okuma materyallerinden faydalanarak, Java Kültürel normlarının, Sukarno ve Suharto'nun liderliĐi altında yabancı politikaların uygulanmasının ve geliştirilmesinin analizi üzerine nasıl uygulanabileceĐine dair nitel bir yöntem yürütmektedir. Bu tez, Endonezya tarihinin önemli dönemlerinde kültürel miras ve küresel katılımın nasıl etkileŐime geçtiĐine dair daha iyi bir anlayıŐ sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu analiz, Endonezya'nın küresel arenaya yaklaşımının üzerindeki Java politik kültürünün etkisine yönelik görüŐler saĐlayarak; kültür ve yabancı politikanın ilişkisini çevreleyen daha geniŐ bir tartıŐmaya katkıda bulunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:DıŐ politika, Cava siyasi kültürü, Batı-dıŐı uluslararası ilişkiler, Yerli, Sukarno, Suharto.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	:	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	:	African Union
BPUPKI	:	Badan Penyelenggara Usaha Persiapakan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (The Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesia Independence)
EU	:	European Union
FPA	:	Foreign Policy Analysis
G30S	:	Gerakan 30 September (The Thirtieth of September Movement)
IO	:	International Organizations
MAPHILINDO	:	Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia
NASAKOM	:	Nasionalisme, Agama, dan Komunisme (Nationalism, Religion, and Communism)
NATO	:	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEFOS	:	New Emerging Forces
OLDEFOS	:	Old Established Forces
PKI	:	Partai Komunis Indonesia (The Communist Party of Indonesia)
TRIKORA	:	Tri Komando Rakyat (Three Commands of People)
UNTEA	:	United Nations Temporary Executive Authority
VC	:	Vaderlandsche Club
ZOPFAN	:	The Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In the preface of his book “Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny”, Amartya Sen cites a quote by Oscar Wilde, a renowned Irish author from the 19th century. Wilde stated that “most people are other people”, implying that individuals are susceptible to the opinions of others and have a tendency to imitate and quote them (Sen, 2007: xv). This enigmatic claim of Wilde becomes very interesting when it is drawn into today's study of international relations. Within the global study of international relations, there is no way of viewing the diversity in looking at the dynamics of international relations in the various parts of regions. The majority of scholars keep reading the world using the interpretation of Western ideas and thinking.

In a seminal essay published over 50 years ago, Martin Wight explores the absence of a comprehensive international theory and poses a stimulating question of its existence. According to Wight (1966: 20), the field of international theory lacks organization, coherence, and is largely difficult for non-experts to access. Recent studies suggest a questioning of the absence of growing theories of IR in the non-Western world, contending that globalization and the emergence of new actors in international relations requires academics to reevaluate the Western perspectives (Acharya and Buzan (2010: 1-25). In essence, western theories are not always suitable to explain international phenomena in the Non-Western region, because of their not one-size-fits-all nature.

Within Asia, there is a growing awareness regarding the inadequacy of western theories in explaining the phenomenon of international relations in the region. David Kang, in his article argues that the Eurocentric character of existing theories proved irrelevant in understanding the diverse nature of Asian complexity including culture, demographics, history, economics, politics, and other aspects (Kang, 2003: 57-85). Other experts also provide evidence concerning the weak nature of mainstream theories in explaining the absence of NATO in Asia (Hemmer and Katzstein, 2002: 576-607). Indeed, experts have long questioned the validity of Western theories to explain international relations in the Non-Western region especially Asia.

The contention that Western theory may not always be applicable within a non-Western context is also evident in Robert Cox's (1986: 207) assertion that "Theory is for someone and for some purpose". This statement underscores the notion that theories in the field of international relations serves as a tool designed to address a particular question or challenge. They are not universal truths but intellectual frameworks that can be used to analyze, interpret, and respond to international events and phenomena. The choice and the application of theory depends on the purpose and interests of the person or group who uses it, as well as the context in which it is implemented. The explanation of this statement can be applied to the Western theoretical framework in the field of international relations. While it is not possible to directly establish a direct correlation between this argument by Cox and the necessity for non-Western international relations theory, it can be inferred that alternative perspectives are required. These perspectives should recognize cultural and contextual differences and possess local relevance in comprehending international relations.

Why is there no theory of non-Western international relations? The question was first raised by Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan in the introduction to a book entitled "Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia, in 2010". The question arises because, according to both Acharya and Buzan, sources of the theory of international relations strikingly fails to relate to the global distribution of its subjects. Western international relations theory is considered too narrow in the context of its sources, but on the other hand too dominant in terms of influence (Acharya dan Buzan, 2010: 2). Similar to the inseparable nature of discourse in the social realm, the field of international relations is also seeing a comparable phenomenon in its scientific endeavors. The production and reproduction of the Western international relations study discourse has greatly influenced the way the actors view the international political arena. As a result, the behavior of states and other actors in the study of international relations, as a reflection of their perspectives, will be used again to strengthen the Western international relations discourse, so that the established scientific structure becomes more and more unwavering.

This is the impasse that Acharya and Buzan (2010:10-14) intend to solve by offering four main types of sources in formulating non-Western soft theory. 1) Focus on local thinkers, just like Western thinkers focus on Thucydides, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Kant, and others. 2) Taking the thoughts of the nation's leaders as the primary source of

formulating theories, like Soekarno's, Suharto's, and other key foreign policy makers. 3) The third type has been done by most of the Asian scholars. They take data from local or regional experiences, while still employing Western perspectives in their analysis. 4) This type, which according to Acharya and Buzan could be an alternative, focuses on digging local or regional data, then formulating concepts based on the data obtained. The intention behind this approach is to generate the theory or concepts free from the dominance of the scientific discourse of Western international relations.

Although Acharya and Buzan have paved the way for the formulation of the Non-Western international relations theory, the work of scholars meeting the criteria set by these two is still limited. In Indonesia, the discourse about the prospect of the emergence of international relations theory from an Indonesian perspective is quite promising. Awareness of finding local-based knowledge has emerged. At various scientific forums in Indonesia, such as seminars and conferences attended by experts in international relations, the idea of formulating a theory of international relations peculiar to Indonesia frequently arises. However, the idea often fades away without any concrete follow-ups. Such reluctance is becoming increasingly evident in the field of IR, especially when there is weak institutional structure a lack of data sources and low incentives, and appreciation for theoretical activities. (Sebastian and Lanti 2010: 166).

Within the realm of academia, scholars have dedicated greater attention to examining the political culture of Java compared to that of Seberang, which represents a non-Javanese political culture (Sebastian and Lanti, 2010:153). This is probably because the Java people are the largest Indonesian ethnic group and one of the oldest civilizations in the world (Geertz 1980: 78). Given their long history, the Java people have built a complex, and rich culture of spiritual life. The valley of Java civilization is a fertile agricultural land in Central Java around the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta today. Historically, it was a farming society. Similar to other societies, the Java people have also cultivated a culture that is introspective, collectivist, status-oriented, and hierarchical in its thinking (Liddle 1996: 65–66). In terms of foreign relations, Java culture has its own concepts and ideas. Long before modern sovereignty was prompted, particularly at the time of the Westphalia treaty in 1648, the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in Java such as Kediri, Singasari, and Majapahit, as well as the Islamic kingdoms such as Demak and Mataram used centripetal understanding of

sovereignty. In other words, sovereignty does not have clear geographical boundaries. It is flexible and can be expanded or narrowed in accordance with the power of the leader (Anderson, 2007: 28).

The Javanese culture considers the actualization of power in the international sphere to be crucial, as a great nation reflects the authority of the leader. A great country, according to Moertono, is the one esteemed for; its fame, its high authority, and respect by other nations (Moertono, 2017: 87). These attributes inspired the emergence of the cult of majesty, a belief that a ruler must be able to demonstrate his authority and power in front of the people and opponents as a means of gaining loyalty. On the other hand, as noted by Anderson (2007: 13), the concept of power in Java places more emphasis on displaying or expressing the signs of power rather than on attempts to use power. War is not merely meant for gaining power, but more as an attempt to recognize that others must submit to power (ibid). Within the Javanese cultural context, equilibrium is achieved by the effective centralization of power in the ruler, while disequilibrium arises when power fails to be consolidated optimally, resulting in a state of disorder (Effendi and Prasetya, 2017: 49).

While there is a significant amount of scholarly research on Javanese political culture, the political culture of the outer islands is comparatively underrepresented. The presence of diverse groups residing in these islands, in contrast to the Javanese, contributes to their dispersion throughout the archipelago. The absence of effective communication, in contrast to Java, has made it impossible to conceive the formation of a unified civilization among these groups (Sebastian and Lanti 2010: 154). However, there are certain prevalent characteristics that are commonly found among these non-Javanese ethnic groups. These groups include the Acehnese, Batak, and Minangkabau of Sumatra, and the Bugis and Makassar peoples of Sulawesi, as well as the inhabitants of the Maluku islands. The individuals residing in coastal towns in the northern regions of Java, known as pesisir Javanese, can also be categorized as part of this group. This classification also includes the inhabitants of Banten, which is located in the westernmost area of Java island (Ibid). Koentjaraningrat ascribes the socio-geographic attributes of these individuals to the fact that a portion of them inhabit coastal regions while others reside in remote interior areas (Koentjaraningrat, 1975: 28). In general, Seberang cultures foster a stronger sense of individuality than their agriculturally based Javanese counterparts, owing to their maritime origins. In contrast

to the assimilating and all-encompassing nature of Javanese culture, Seberang cultures are typically more exclusive and inflexible (Sebastian and Lanti 2010: 155).

Considering Sukarno and Suharto, their leadership era is commonly regarded as the beginning of postcolonial era of Indonesia, and it has been characterized by a complex process of constructing a nation, experiencing political instability, and achieving socio-economic progress. After enduring centuries of Dutch colonial domination, Indonesia proclaimed its autonomy in 1945, marking the beginning of a demanding postcolonial era. Under Sukarno's leadership, the nation aimed to strengthen its national identity and address issues such as economic volatility and the lingering effects of colonialism (Sujoko, et al., 2021: 188-198). Nevertheless, Sukarno's era was marked by intricate political circumstances, ultimately resulting in the ascension of Suharto in 1965. The New Order regime, which lasted until 1998, aimed to achieve stability and economic growth but faced criticism for its overwhelming authority (Berger, 1997: 322-335). Indonesia after the end of colonial rule has successfully managed the intricacies of various cultures, languages, and regions, with the aim of creating a unified nation while tackling economic and political difficulties. The postcolonial development of the nation demonstrates its ability to recover from adversity, its complex and varied cultural interactions, and its continuous endeavors to create a cohesive and prosperous future.

The subject of this thesis is to study an alternative approach of Non-Western theories in international relations (IR) by examining Indonesian foreign policy through Javanese political perspective. The study encompasses the exploration of Javanese political culture, covering historical influences, key cultural elements, and how these aspects shape political thought and decision-making in Indonesian foreign policy, especially during the era of Sukarno and Suharto's leadership. Furthermore, this study also includes the presentation of several case studies from the eras of both leaders, aiming to exemplify the correlation between Javanese political culture and the foreign policy of Indonesia. These case studies provide specific examples of how cultural elements can be used to analyse international relations of Indonesia.

1.2 The Problem Statement

The field of foreign policy studies plays a crucial role in addressing the challenges faced by nation-states in relation to the formulation and execution of their strategies in

the realm of international affairs. The foreign policy of a nation aims to comprehend the inherent characteristics and extent of prevailing power dynamics within the realm of global politics. The primary purpose of this endeavor is to attain national recognition and establish a position of supremacy relative to other nations within the international arena. The present initiative was conceived, developed, and executed with the aim of addressing diverse difficulties and challenges encountered by all nations globally. Theoretical frameworks in the realm of foreign policy posit that nations engage in a competitive process, vying with one another to achieve effective and fruitful decision-making and subsequent execution. The notion of foreign policy is a dynamic subject within the field of international politics, with the objective of analyzing and elucidating the diverse elements necessary for the pursuit of national objectives. The primary objective of foreign policy is to safeguard the interests of the nation-state and effectively attain them (Khara, 2018: 108).

The interconnection between politics and culture is inherent. Culture serves as a societal framework that exerts a significant impact, and at times, even determines the actions and conduct of political leaders. Culture serves as a metaphorical prism through which one can get insight into the intricate dynamics between persons and their surrounding environment. Culture is responsible for the emergence of values that provide guidance to leaders and society. This value subsequently affects the political realm, where the decision-making process pertaining to the public interest takes place. This applies to the dynamics of the relationship between leaders and their followers, as well as the interactions between different nations. Due to the inherent diversity of societal cultures, the conceptualization of political affairs exhibits distinct approaches across diverse contexts.

Thus, the problem with studying Indonesian foreign policy through the lens of Javanese political culture lies in the risk of oversimplification and neglect of the identity factors that belong to Indonesia that may facilitate a wider understanding of the country's international relations decisions.

1.3 The Rationale of the Study

While attempting to contribute an alternative discourse to finding an approach to the Indonesian perspective of IR, this thesis limits its scope to the examination of Java culture for three specific reasons. Firstly, Java culture is one of the dominant cultures

in Indonesia. According to data from the Indonesian Central Statistical Agency, Java has the highest number of ethnic groups, accounting for 45 percent of the total ethnic diversity in Indonesia. Secondly, The Java people possesses a rich and extensive historical background, which is further substantiated by the existence of numerous dominant and prominent kingdoms. The aforementioned factor facilitated the development of their political culture. Lastly, and most importantly, almost all of the seven leaders who have ever governed Indonesia are of Java ethnicity (with the exception of B.J. Habibie, who has Bugis and Javanese ancestry). This assumption is consistent with the proposition of an elite approach to foreign policy that Indonesian foreign policy tends to be dominated by the elite preferences of the government leaders. In line with that, Charles Kegley, as quoted by Wibisono (2010:13) said “The course of history is determined by the decisions of the political elites”. In Indonesia, where the educational level of its citizens is relatively low and consequently the growing public opinion tends to be irrational, foreign policy is an area dominated only by a handful of elite decision makers where personality factors often play a key role. Thus, the cultural factors of the life of Indonesian political elites must have an influence on foreign decision-making processes.

This thesis attempts to show that there is more to international relations than just Western ideas, by looking at how Indonesia's Indigenous cultural approach affects its foreign policy. As Yaqing Qin (2018: 432) asserted that;

To enable an IR that is truly global, we must promote IR theories from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives, as this is where revolutionary creativity is rising and emerging. By allowing the concealed to be unveiled, the implausible to be expressed, and the foreground to be brought into focus, we can initiate a democratic process of knowledge reproduction and production.

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to analyze the political culture from a Javanese perspective and examine the potential convergence between Javanese culture and Indonesia foreign policy.

To achieve the study's goal, the context of culture in this thesis is not viewed as a cause driving an event or as an independent variable, but rather as an interpretative attempt to explain Indonesian behavior overseas from the perspective of Java culture. In other words, this thesis is a convergent effort to uncover compatibility among variables

rather than finding cause-and-effect linkages between variables. Additionally, this thesis also employs a personal or idiosyncratic approach in examining Indonesian leaders, aiming to assess the degree to which Java culture influences these specific leaders. The personal character of the leader in this thesis is treated as an indirect variable that (possibly) influences foreign policy. As Sebastian and Lanti (2010: 158) confirms that the relationship between personal character of the leaders and the Java culture gives rise to the nature of leaders' behavior that can serve as a subject of analysis. Consequently, the inclusion of personal character in this study serves to demonstrate that Java culture also plays a significant part in shaping the individual traits of each leader.

1.4 The Significance of the Study

Through a deep analysis of Indonesia's foreign policy during Sukarno and Suharto eras, the thesis sheds light on how Javanese political culture, with its unique historical and cultural context, shaped the nation's foreign policy decisions. This cultural lens not only enriches our understanding of Indonesia's international behavior but also underscores the importance of considering cultural factors in IR, paving the way for a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach to the discipline. The significance of this matter lies in the fact that the mainstream IR theories aim to create knowledge across time and space, striving to formulate theories that possess universal applicability while disregarding the role of any cultural background (Qin, 2018: 416). Furthermore, the historical context provided by this thesis will offer significant insights into the development of Indonesia's foreign policy, making it a valuable resource for scholars and practitioners in the field.

1.5 The Scope and Content of the Study

In the context of Indonesia, Sukarno and Suharto are widely regarded as significant figures that reflect the country's foreign policy practices based on Javanese political culture. Their contributions elucidate the manifestation of the "ASEAN way" (Sebastian and Lanti, 2010: 159), a term that denotes the diplomatic strategies and decision-making procedures adopted by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The characters and ideologies of these two leaders exhibit different characteristics and unique qualities. The most prominent feature of Indonesian foreign policy in the Sukarno era (1945-1967) was the politics of confrontation as he was

always characterized as a person aiming for victory. Michael Leifer argues that Sukarno used foreign policy to satisfy his obsession with national unity and secure his power from the threat of his domestic political opponents (1989: 81). Such a profound impact of Javanese culture on Suharto's personality also shapes his outlook and behavior. Suharto's personal character is often portrayed as a realistic, pragmatic, slow and cautious person, characterized by a tendency to avoid risks and calculating his actions (Roeder, 1990: 11).

The exploration of Javanese political culture, encompassing its historical underpinnings, significant cultural components, and their impact on political thought and decision-making within Indonesia's foreign policy during the tenures of Sukarno (1945-1967) and Suharto (1967-1998) is the subject of the discussion of this thesis.

1.5.1 Research Question

This thesis poses two basic questions, which are as follows:

- a. What is the perspective of Javanese culture about politics ?
 - What are the foundational elements of Javanese culture in relation to power and foreign policy ?
 - What distinguishes it from the Western perspectives ?
- b. How is the implementation of the values of Javanese political culture linked to Indonesian foreign policy in the Sukarno (1945-1967) and Suharto (1967-1988) era ?

1.5.2 Thesis Hypotheses

There are two basic Hypotheses this thesis develops depending on the question it is investigating:

- a. Javanese culture's distinctive perspective on politics, influenced by traditional values like hierarchy, communalism, and spirituality, has a significant impact on political attitudes, behavior, and governance in Javanese society.
- b. The impact of Javanese political culture value on Sukarno and Soeharto's behavior during their eras resulted in noticeable diplomatic approaches, alliance formations, and policy outcomes in Indonesia's international engagement.

The study of international relations encompasses the examination of three distinct entities that serve as subjects of analysis: the international system, the nation-state, and

the individual (see Kenneth waltz, 1954). At the individual level, it becomes evident that the political realm and culture are inherently interconnected. This is due to the fact that culture, as a social construct, exerts a significant impact, and at times even dictates, the actions and behaviors of political leaders (see Vailati: 2014, Nhung-Bing Ly: 2019). The individual analysis level pertains to the examination of personal elements that influence a leader's decision-making in formulating foreign policies (see Herman: 1980), encompassing cultural factors associated with their place of birth and upbringing.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

There are two limitation that this study contains; Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that the examination of culture within this research does not serve as the primary determinant directly shaping Indonesian foreign policy. Instead, its purpose lies in the analysis of the background and characteristics of Indonesian leaders, which subsequently influence their decision-making processes pertaining to foreign policy. Secondly, this study is limited to examining the leadership of two Indonesian leaders, Sukarno, and Suharto, specifically in relation to their foreign policy decisions. The reason behind this can be attributed to the widespread recognition of these two leaders as being significantly affected by Javanese culture in a substantial body of literary works (see Sebastian and Lanti: 2010, Wibisono: 2020, Baskara: 2021, Darwin. et al.: 2020)

1.7 Research Method of the Thesis

This study employs a descriptive approach to elucidate the ways in which Indonesian foreign policy can be interpreted through the lens of Javanese political culture, which is an indigenous Indonesian culture. The type of data used is secondary data obtained indirectly. this data serves to support the author in research through library books, files downloaded from the internet, and in the form of documentation. The data analysis used is qualitative, specially, in the form of content analysis, focusing on more on the historical structure of Indonesian leaders' behavior which is presented in the context of Javanese culture perspective of Indonesian foreign policy.

which involves gathering theoretical and conceptual data from; scholarly books, reference materials, and documents available in the library pertaining to the scope of research and serving as foundational texts for discussion. Additionally, the data is

collected from documents taken from the internet as research reference materials. The purpose of this procedure is to facilitate the author's analysis and comprehensive response to the issue formula, allowing for focused attention on a specific region. The data will be thoroughly examined and analyzed in each chapter of this study. This analytical process will involve applying the relevant formula to address the research problem and develop meaningful conclusions based on the research findings.

In this study, the author agrees with Miles and Huberman's assertion that the qualitative method of data analysis is an interactive approach that encompasses the stages of data collecting, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Anis and Kandung, 2014: 64).

1. Data Reduction

Data reduction is an analysis that sharpens, selects, focuses, discards and collects data in such a way that conclusions can be drawn and verified. The author shall collect data pertaining to an overarching examination of foreign policy, the Javanese cultural perspective in politics as an indigenous culture of Indonesia, and the manner in which Javanese cultural values are incorporated into Indonesian foreign policy. The author shall conduct a data sifting process to eliminate any information that is not pertinent to the main focus of research.

2. Presentation of Data

The researcher will give a range of assumptions, concepts, definitions, and descriptions of information that were thoroughly explained, examined, and subsequently presented in the text. The researcher will analyze the data by employing pertinent concepts related to the research.

3. Drawing Conclusion

During this phase, the researcher formulates conclusions based on the data that were previously examined. The conclusion drawn is used to address the inquiries posed by the problem formulation and determine the extent to which the study objectives have been achieved.

1.8 Literature Review Related to the Thesis Subject

To accomplish the objectives of the thesis, the author conducted a comprehensive evaluation of literature across three distinct categories to identify the research gap that needs to be addressed. Firstly, studies that elucidate the approach and necessity of

formulating a non-western theory of International Relations (IR), particularly in the Asian context is essential. Secondly, studies that delve into the perspective of Javanese culture as a foundation for political and international relations approaches are valuable. Lastly, there is a dire need to examine foreign policy in relation to individual leaders, especially focusing on the leadership of Sukarno and Suharto.

In the work titled "Why is there No Non-Western International Relation Theory", Acharya and Buzan (2010) argue that Western international relations theory is considered too narrow in the context of its sources, but on the other hand too dominant in terms of influence. Their observation highlights the significance of addressing the imbalance in the field of IR, which has traditionally been dominated by Western perspectives. By acknowledging the potential impact of increased resources, Acharya and Buzan suggest that a more inclusive and diverse understanding of IR theory could be fostered. This notion aligns with the growing recognition within the academic community of the need to incorporate non-Western perspectives into the study of IR. Consequently, the availability of additional resources may serve as an opportunity for bridging the gap between Western and non-Western IR theory, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive and balanced understanding of international relations.

John M. Hudson's book, "The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory 1760-2010," offers a critical examination of the underlying assumptions of Eurocentrism, providing a thorough analysis of the problematic nature inherent in Eurocentric myths in the field of international relations. He critically examines the deeply rooted beliefs about European cultural superiority, challenges the idea that European knowledge can be universally applied, examines the linear and progressive perspective of history, and carefully analyzes the hierarchical power dynamics that benefit European nations. The primary focus of his work centers on the urgent necessity to dismantle Eurocentric frameworks within international theory, encouraging scholars to actively confront the prejudices that have traditionally influenced the discipline. By doing this, his work not only makes a significant contribution to uncovering the restrictions and prejudices inherent in Eurocentrism, but also issues a powerful call for a transformative change towards a more comprehensive and varied approach to international theory. This insightful investigation provides a crucial foundation for the ongoing discussion in the academic field.

In the chapter titled "On the Road toward a Globalized International Theory," A Layer and John M. Hobson (2023) thoroughly examine the discussion surrounding a globalized international theory. They emphasize the importance of embracing diversity and heterogeneity during the process of developing theories. Both authors present a strong argument against the Western belief in universality and instead advocate for pluriversality—the recognition of multiple universalisms stemming from the rich heterogeneity inherent in our global landscape. The importance of non-Western voices, experiences, ideas, concepts, theories, perspectives, and worldviews in shaping a comprehensive globalized international theory is strongly emphasized. Their work argues that both mainstream and non-mainstream Western theories fail to sufficiently emphasize diversity, overlooking the transformative influence of epistemological differences that result from embracing heterogeneity. In conclusion, the authors argue for a worldwide understanding of international theory that is firmly based on the recognition of multiple perspectives and a deep acknowledgement of the different ways in which the world is perceived. This insightful analysis provides a strong basis for enhancing the comprehension of a broader and more detailed global theoretical framework.

"A Multiverse of Knowledge: Cultures and International Relations Theories" by Yaqin Qing (2018) offers a cultural lens through which to examine international theorizing, highlighting the significance of collective cultural knowledge in the generation of knowledge and the advancement of theoretical frameworks. In this research, Qing argues that the emergence of a genuinely global International Relations (IR) endeavor, along by the increasing number of non-Western IR theories, would constitute a momentous advancement within the field.

In "Opening up the Debate over 'Non-Western' International Relations," Yong-Soo Eun (2019) emphasizes the need to move away from the prevalent emphasis on Western perspectives and to broaden the theoretical scope of the field of International Relations (IR). The author underscores the significance of adopting theoretical plurality within the field of International Relations (IR) and advocating for conversation and participation beyond theoretical and spatial boundaries. Eun's research proposes that although prevailing and forthcoming theories of international relations (IR) may stem from Western notions and encounters, it is conceivable to

construct alternative theories rooted in non-Western perspectives through the means of discussion and exploration.

According to Ching-Chang Chen (2011) in his work "The Absence of Non-Western IR Theory in Asia Reconsidered", the lack of non-Western International Relations (IR) theory in Asia cannot be attributed solely to the integration of non-Western concepts or the encouragement of contributions by non-Western researchers. Chen proposes the necessity of reorienting the field of International Relations (IR) towards a post-Western period in order to confront the discipline's Eurocentric epistemic underpinnings. This study highlights the imperative for the field of International Relations (IR) to transition towards a more democratic and less dominant trajectory. The proposition recognizes the need of establishing alternative platforms for generating knowledge in the field of global politics, emphasizing the need for non-Western International Relations (IR) to avoid fostering nativism or engaging in uncritical analysis.

Similarly, in his article with the title "Theorizing the International relations of Asia: Necessity or Indulgence? Some Reflections" Acharya (2017) argues that the examination of international relations within Asia has progressed from a lack of theoretical foundation to the integration of theoretical frameworks. This development, according to him, has shed light on the deficiencies of mainstream international relations theories when applied to the regional context. Acharya asserted that the extent of indigenization in Asian International Relations (IR) theory is constrained by the dependence on Western theoretical frameworks among local scholars and the strong interconnection between academia and government officials in the area.

Western international relations (IR) theories, including realism, constructivism, and liberalism, remain applicable and practical when examining Asian international relations, according to an additional Acharya (2007) article titled "Theoretical Perspectives on International Relations in Asia". This research highlights the importance of moving beyond just theoretical literature and instead incorporating empirical or policy-oriented research that reflects behavioral or social factors. In his study, Acharya suggests a potential existence of an Asian universalism within the realm of International Relations (IR) theory, wherein local knowledge is employed to comprehend and elucidate both domestic and foreign aspects of IR.

David kang's (2003) work on the title "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks", explains that Eurocentric character of existing theories proved irrelevant to understanding the diverse Asian complexity in terms of culture, demographics, history, economics, politics, and other related aspects. Other scholars have expressed similar views, supporting their claims with empirical evidence that highlights the inadequacy of the current theoretical framework in elucidating the absence of NATO in the Asian region (Hemmer and Katzenstein: 2002). These studies indicate that scholars have extensively raised concerns regarding the applicability of Western theories in comprehending international relations inside the Asian region.

With regard to Indonesia, Leonard C. Sebastian and Irman G. Lanti, (2010) in their article "Perceiving Indonesian Approach to International Relation Theory", assert that Indonesia possesses the capacity to obtain theoretical insights in the field of international relations (IR) from its indigenous sources. Based on their analysis, Indonesia has potential sources which encompass analytical research on the political behavior exhibited by leaders, as well as an in-depth examination of political thought impacted by the politico-cultural characteristics of different ethnic groups in Indonesia. These methodologies, according to both, offer a cultural framework for decision-making and contribute to a more comprehensive comprehension of strategic conduct in the field of international relations. The research proposes that undertaking a cohesive effort focused on the exploration of indigenous traditions can serve as a valuable foundation for substantial theoretical development within the field of Indonesian International Relations. The text expressly identifies the Javanese and outer islanders (Seberang tradition) as two primary groupings of ethnic groups that can be examined in terms of their politico-cultural characteristics.

Kacung Marijan's (1999) article entitled "The Study of Political Culture in Indonesia" contends that the political culture in Indonesia is subject to the impact of multiple elements, including values, beliefs, and attitudes. Furthermore, this political culture develops by the interactions and contradictions that arise among its numerous components. The political culture of Indonesia is distinguished by its pluralistic society, which embraces a wide range of ethnicities, races, faiths, and social strata. This study emphasizes the significance of comprehending political culture within both the general population and the ruling class, particularly in nations characterized by paternalistic norms such as Indonesia.

Sujarman (1992), in his article “Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Budaya Jawa” argues that power, within the Java community, constitutes a dimension of life that is intricately intertwined with subjective socio-cultural values. The authority in question possesses a socio-empirical character, since its legitimacy derives from language that has demonstrated the ability to foster genuine allegiance towards the king as the wielder of power, without turning to coercion. This scenario finds support in the perspectives of the Java community, which are rooted in concepts pertaining to power. These concepts include the cosmopolitan notion that places the king as the central figure in all matters, as well as the "Kawula Gusti" (the amalgamation of common individuals with the king) concept, which fosters the people's unwavering obedience to the king out of genuine sincerity and wholeheartedness, owing to the belief that the king serves as the embodiment of divinity. However, it is important to note that the role of a king is not arbitrary but rather has significant moral obligations and responsibilities. Specifically, these responsibilities include the establishment of a just and virtuous governance, fostering an environment characterized by order and loyalty.

In the study entitled “the Idea of Power in Javanese Culture”, Benedict Anderson (2007) differentiated the conception of traditional Java power from the concept of modern European power. In the traditional Java perspective, as delineated by Benedict, the conceptualization of power is categorized into four distinct dimensions. The first dimension posits that power is tangible and perceptible. Power can be described as an elusive and enigmatic force that imbues the universe with vitality and spirituality. Secondly, power exhibits homogeneity. This implies that power is homogeneous in nature and originates from a common source. Furthermore, it may be observed that the rate of aging within the universe remains constant. According to Benedict, this concept entails that the concentration of power in a singular entity necessitates a proportional reduction of power in other areas. Furthermore, authority does not interrogate the legitimacy. In this context, Java’s cultural understanding of power, according to him, has significant consequences for the notions of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and foreign relations. According to him, Kingdoms in the archipelago tend to use centripetal ideas of sovereignty which means that state state sovereignty does not have clear geographical boundaries and instead exhibit flexibility.

In a similar way, Oliver Wolters (1999), in his study “History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspective”, asserts that the geopolitical order of the Southeast Asian

region during the pre-modern period was distinguished by the Mandala paradigm. According to this concept, a monarch possesses unrestricted authority over subordinate territories. The mandala concept signifies the subjugation of peripheral kingdoms or nations to a central kingdom or nation. This diverges from the notion of sovereignty, wherein within contemporary society, characterized by well-defined territorial boundaries, the mandala symbolizes a situation whereby a nation's power is boundless and adaptable.

Yusli effendi and Dion Maulana Prasetya (2017), in their article “Kritik Jawa atas Teori Hubungan Internasional barat” (Javanese Criticism of Western International Relations Theory), explain that in Javanese perspective, the concept of balance of power does not refer to a state in which two poles of power possess equal or unequal capabilities. Rather, Javanese culture views balance and imbalance as an effect of power itself. They also argue that there was some similarity between dynamic equilibrium and the concept of Java power. First, it prevented the creation of rivalries between states. Second, it used the sophisticated methods (dialogue) to resolve conflicts. Third, it prevents the emergence of domination by “absorbing” the big nations into the framework of regional cooperation. According to both authors, the same pattern has been taking place since Soekarno’s leadership – with the Asian-African Conference being shaken and then becoming the future cycle of the non-block or Suharto movement – by the formation of ASEAN regional organizations.

In the article “The Historical Influence of Javanese ethnicity and Culture on Political Consciousness and Mentality of Indonesian People”, Tatiana Ponka, Dami Sabrani, and Nikita Kuklin (2019) argue that that the Javanese ethnicity and its associated cultural traditions have exerted a substantial historical impact on the development of Indonesian political consciousness, political culture, and worldview in both domestic and international policy arenas. The authors argue that cultural heritage of Indonesia, which has its roots in Javanese traditions, has played a significant role in shaping a distinct worldview that continues to have influence over the mindset of Indonesian individuals and the political leaders of the nation. According to them, the political leadership of Javanese presidents, exemplified by figures like Sukarno and Suharto, has played a significant role in consolidating the authority of the Javanese ethnic group within the realm of Indonesian politics.

Several studies have been also conducted to describe on how the personal traits of leaders affect their foreign policy. This particular study will later subsequently assist the author's analysis of the foreign policies of Sukarno and Suharto. An investigation of this kind of topic is conducted by Margaret Herman (1980) entitled “Explaining foreign policy behavior Using the personal characteristics of political leader”, revealing that the individual traits and attitudes towards international issues of political leaders play a significant role in elucidating foreign policy conduct. The research conducted in this study has successfully defined and categorized two distinct orientations towards foreign affairs: the independent orientation and the participative orientation. The research indicates that the influence of leaders' individual traits on the foreign policy conduct of their governments can be strengthened by several contextual factors, including holding a dominant leadership position, being part of a cohesive regime, confronting a situation with uncertain outcomes, or managing a small bureaucracy. The study emphasizes the significance of incorporating leaders' personal attributes and orientations towards foreign affairs to elucidate governments' foreign policy conduct. However, Herman also accepts that this is merely an initial phase in the overall progression.

Another study done by Alexander George (1969) entitled “The Operational Code: A Neglected approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making” introduces the approach of Operational code which was developed during the latter half of the 1960s with the aim of offering guidance to the United States administration on the significance of comprehending the individual characteristics of Soviet Union leaders. According to Alexander George, the elite views and attitudes can be categorized into two distinct components: philosophical beliefs and instrumental beliefs. Philosophical convictions often revolve around the perspectives of privileged individuals regarding their perception of the external world. These perspectives encompass various aspects, such as the nature of conflicts or harmony within the world, the level of optimism or pessimism regarding the future of the world, the feasibility of predicting future events, the degree of confidence in exerting control over the future, and the recognition of chance elements in global politics. While instrumental belief can be seen as a strategy derived from philosophical conviction, it mostly focuses on practical aspects such as determining the most effective approach to achieve political goals, enhancing the efficacy of chosen methods, anticipating

potential dangers, identifying the appropriate timing for implementation, and evaluating these alternatives in relation to other policies.

In Baskara's (2021) article entitled "The Influence of the Javanese Political Concept of Power on President Sukarno", it is asserted that President Sukarno's political thoughts and actions were significantly influenced by the Javanese concept of power. He has demonstrated the ability to unite disparate political factions in Indonesia and extend his authority and influence to neighboring nations, employing the ideas of Mandala and Chakravarty. The initial manifestation of this concept is seen in Sukarno's endeavor to classify global political forces into two distinct factions, namely the "OLDEFOS" (Old Established Forces) and the "NEFOS" (Newly Emerging Forces). Sukarno strategically placed Indonesia and other recently emancipated nations within the latter category. In 1963, Sukarno organized the "GANEFU" or Games of the New Emerging Forces as a means to showcase the strength and unity within the second group. The latter is exemplified by his decision to join the United Nations in 1950 as its 60th member, demonstrating his support for global peace and stability under a unified world authority. The achievement of Indonesia's unification and the following international recognition under Sukarno's leadership can be traced to his skillful application of the Javanese concept of power.

Kusmayadi (2017), in his work "Politik Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia pada Masa Konfrontasi Malaysia Tahun 1963-1966" (Foreign Policy of the Republic of Indonesia during Malaysian Confrontation 1963 to 1966), concludes that Indonesia's foreign policy during the Indonesian confrontation with Malaysia from 1963-1966 deviated from the 'independent and free' foreign policy pursued by Sukarno during his leadership. The Unification of Malaysia triggered the Indonesian dispute with Malaysia. Soekarno viewed the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia as a manifestation of British neo-colonialism that posed a potential threat to the Indonesian revolution. President Soekarno's actions in confronting Malaysia can be seen as appropriate from a positive perspective. Indonesia's foreign policy prioritizes independence and aims to prevent neighboring countries from becoming colonial or imperialist entities. When a Southeast Asian country falls under colonial and imperialist control, it becomes a platform for the expansion of their influence and eventual domination over neighboring nations. However, this confrontation has led the Indonesian people to stray from their stance of pursuing a free and proactive foreign

policy. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations resulted in the perception of the country being excluded from the international community.

Ngilan Bupu and Laba Sumarjina (2021) in their article “Operasi Trikora sebagai Upaya Mengembalikan Irian Barat ke Wilayah negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia” (Trikora Operation as an Effort to Return West Irian to the Territory of the Republic of Indonesia), explain that The Trikora operation, also known as the People's Tri Command, was initiated by Sukarno in response to the Dutch's violation of the agreement made during the BPUPKI (Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence) session, which aimed to investigate Indonesian independence efforts. Additionally, the Dutch's assertion of sovereignty over West Irian further fueled Sukarno's decision to launch the operation. The Indonesian government's attempts to peacefully restore West Irian have been undertaken but have not yielded favorable outcomes. The Indonesian government implemented various measures, including political diplomacy, economic initiatives, confrontation, and military actions. The Dutch later relinquished their control over West Irian on October 1, 1962. West Irian was placed under the guardianship of the United Nations until May 1, 1963, through the establishment of the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA). On May 1, 1963, the transfer of West Irian to the Indonesian Government took place.

Another article that author refer to is Yusuf Wibisono's (2020) “Falsafah Bangsa dan Budaya Jawa dalam Pemikiran Soeharto” (Soeharto's contemplations on Javanese culture and national philosophy). In this article, he argues that the cognitive framework of Suharto was deeply influenced by the Java culture, which he acquired from his family during his developmental years and carried into his adult life, ultimately exerting a significant impact on his presidency. Suharto, a figure well-versed in the nuances of Java culture, adeptly incorporates his guiding principles within the realms of familial and governmental spheres. The leadership exhibited by him during the period of the New Order regime consistently demonstrates a discernible imprint of the Java culture, as demonstrated by the astute nature of his decision-making and the deliberate nature of his strategic selections. One notable aspect of his policy framework is the tripartite approach of development, which encompasses three key dimensions: dynamic national stability, robust economic growth, and equitable distribution of development.

By highlighting the influence of ideology and leader perception in analyzing Indonesian foreign policy, Darwis, Bama Andika Putra, and Abdul Razak Kangara (2020) in their article “Navigating through domestic impediment: Suharto and Indonesia Leadership in ASEAN”, argue that Soekarno's leadership was more inclined toward Eastern Bloc countries and had a radical revolutionary approach to Indonesian foreign policy, while Suharto's leadership was influenced by Pancasila ideology and a gentle and polite Javanese culture. Suharto sought good relations with Southeast Asian and Western nations and rejected Western military forces in the region to gain support from many parties involved in Indonesia's economic development while maintaining Indonesian independence politics internationally. Indonesia's foreign policy in Southeast Asia under Suharto was attributed to Javanese political culture, increased military support, and coordinated policies with powerful domestic institutions. Under Suharto, Indonesia's foreign policy sought to improve its international standing, resulting in ASEAN and better relations with neighbors.

Lastly, Wildan Nugraha Nurdin Syah's (2018) work entitled “Peran Indonesia Menjaga Keamanan Regional ASEAN Dalam Konflik Kamboja-Vietnam Tahun 1978-1991” (the role of Indonesia in safeguarding ASEAN Regional security in the Cambodia-vietnam conflict during 1978-1991), explains that during the period of Soekarno's leadership, Indonesia faced challenges in attaining a prominent political standing on the global stage. In contrast, the focus of Soeharto's tenure shifted towards enhancing the country's economic conditions and ensuring stability within its domestic political landscape. Because Indonesia has joined the ASEAN organization, it is attempting to harmonize national interests with its foreign relations. The Southeast Asia region, which remains volatile at that time, is not conducive to Indonesia's economic progress. The conflict that erupted between Cambodia and Vietnam could not be divorced from the Cold War conditions, which heavily affected Vietnam's policy in invading Cambodia. With all attempts made, and despite the existing obstacles, Indonesia was able to persuade Vietnam and the four parties to the Cambodian government conflict to talk and address the issues peacefully. Indonesia also demonstrated to the world in 1989 that regional groups such as ASEAN could resolve regional disputes on their own, without the need for external assistance. This also fulfills the ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality) initiative, which aims to render the ASEAN region neutral and free of foreign influence.

After reviewing all the aforementioned literatures, the author finds several gaps that underly this thesis writing. Firstly, previous literatures claim that in international relations, Western theoretical frameworks are predominant, often overshadowing non-Western perspectives. This apparent gap emphasizes the importance of conducting research that employs non-Western IR theories, notably Javanese culture, to comprehensively assess Indonesia's foreign policy. Secondly, culture is increasingly being recognized as an important factor in foreign policy decisions. The prevailing body of literatures pertaining to this topic, however, explain cultural elements within a western theoretical framework. The study gap here is the lack of a comprehensive examination of how Javanese culture, with its distinct values, norms, and historical narratives, guides Indonesia's foreign policy decisions. Thirdly, there is a noticeable absence of a thorough comparative analysis in the existing literature that examines the foreign policy taken by both Sukarno and Suharto within the framework of Javanese culture. These two leaders had distinctive foreign policy strategies, and examining these through the lens of culture can provide valuable insights into how leadership styles within the same cultural context can shape foreign policy and decision-making. This thesis will fill these gaps in essence.

1.9 Design and Structure of the Thesis

The thesis study consists of five chapter. The first chapter contains the introduction that discusses the background of the study, objectives of the study, research questions and hypotheses, significance of the study, the scope and content of the study, and research method of the thesis.

The second chapter of the study includes theoretical framework of foreign policy. This will encompass a range of topics, including basic theories of foreign policy prevalent in Western scholarship, key concepts that underpin foreign policy analysis, and factors affecting foreign policy.

In the subsequent chapter, the thesis goes further into the Javanese cultural viewpoint on politics. This chapter will encompass various subtopics, including a philosophical examination of Javanese culture, the Javanese cultural perspective on state and authority, and finally, the Javanese cultural view on foreign policy.

The fourth chapter discusses the outcomes of the analysis by examining the foreign policy of Indonesian presidents, with particular emphasis on Sukarno and Suharto. The

analysis will commence by explaining their figure and thoughts, followed by an examination of their foreign policy from a Javanese standpoint. The discussion will end with a case study that has been conducted by both leaders.

The final chapter concludes the study with a general summary, while also offering recommendations for potential future research.



CHAPTER II

FOREIGN POLICY: BASIC THEORIES AND PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Definition and Objective of Foreign Policy

When examining foreign policy, it is crucial to grasp that foreign policy may be seen as a form of an action theory. This refers to a country's policy directed towards other nations with the objective of pursuing specific goals. Foreign policy can be broadly defined as a comprehensive framework consisting of principles, beliefs, strategies, and objectives aimed at safeguarding, protecting, and promoting a nation's interests in the global sphere. Rosenau provides a comprehensive and insightful analysis of foreign policy, offering one of the most exemplary explanations in the field. According to Rosenau, the concept of foreign policy refers to a nation's endeavors, encompassing its overall attitudes and actions, aimed at navigating and benefiting on its external surroundings. Foreign policy, according to him, is oriented towards the preservation and enduring viability of a nation (Rosenau, 1976: 27). The domain of foreign policy encompasses all actions and endeavors undertaken by a state towards its external surroundings with the aim of extracting advantages from that milieu, while also taking into account numerous internal factors that facilitate the development of these actions (Holsti, 1992: 21).

The study of international politics encompasses the dynamic idea of foreign policy, which seeks to analyze and elucidate the multifaceted elements necessary for the pursuit of state goals. The primary objective of foreign policy is to effectively safeguard and promote the interests of the nation-state (Khara, 2018: 108). There are two core elements of statehood which also relate to the aim of foreign policy, namely the preservation of territorial integrity and the safeguarding of political independence (Marxsen, 2015: 10). These objectives are universally regarded as paramount concerns for all nation-states. The state would no longer maintain its status as a state in the absence of any physical unity. Ensuring that it is both imperative and essential, the primary goal of a state must be to achieve this objective. Furthermore, another significant aspect to consider is the economic advancement of the populace, which entails improving their quality of life, elevating the reputation and standing of the nation, and pursuing territorial and ideological expansion (Rizwan, 2009).

According to Holsti, within the realm of foreign policy theory, there are three distinct formulations that delineate the primary objectives pursued by a nation in the formation and implementation of its foreign policy. These formulations encompass:

1. Values, the goals of a country, are an essential factor in the encouragement to formulate foreign policy. This is because foreign policy is formulated and implemented in accordance with a nation's objectives.
2. Time element, in the execution of foreign policy, there is a time element whose targets must be met in order to accomplish objectives.
3. Objective demand, which refers to a certain type of demand that member countries are obligated to fulfill within a predetermined timeframe, in accordance with the established agreement (Holsti, 1992: 89).

Foreign policy is a systematic and analytical approach that involves the examination, identification, and resolution of issues, as well as the development of perceptions, with the ultimate goal of advancing a nation's interests on the global stage. According to Hudson and Day, foreign policy researchers will encounter a range of complexities, encompassing both micro and macro levels of study. Analysts will be responsible for managing interdisciplinary scientific fields encompassing psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology, and other related areas (Hudson and Day, 2020: 6). Foreign policy analysis is the systematic examination and interpretation of the decision-making process and underlying rationales behind the formulation and implementation of a particular policy. The complexity encompasses various elements such as culture, identity, experience, cognitive abilities, and other contributing aspects.

Foreign policy is not solely derived from abstract contemplation, but rather, it materializes through several factors that reflect the state of a nation and serves as a tangible representation of its being. A nation that emerges from a communal thought process will inevitably possess subjectivity. The process of crafting a national manifestation involves the integration of local aspects, which can occasionally result in a foreign policy that is not easily comprehensible to other nations. The state's legitimacy is contingent not only upon its legal recognition, but also upon its active engagement in international affairs.

2.2 Basic Theoretical Approach to Foreign Policy

2.2.1 Realism

According to Dunne and Schmidt, realism is widely recognized as the prevailing mainstream paradigm within the discipline of International Relations. To a certain degree, the current state of international political activity remains aligned with the ideals of realism. State actors, characterized by their sovereignty and recognized status in the international system, continue to play a significant role in shaping global politics. Power competition among these actors persists as a key dynamic, driving their interactions and influencing the outcomes of various international issues. In response to this competitive environment, states often adopt self-help strategies, prioritizing their own security and pursuing actions that serve their national interests. The resulting interplay of state actions and interests can contribute to a state of world chaos, characterized by disorder and unpredictability in international affairs (Dunne and Schmidt, 2001: 141). Consequently, the concept of the balance of power remains a crucial consideration, as states seek to maintain equilibrium and prevent the dominance of any single actor or coalition. Overall, these factors continue to be of utmost importance in the study and analysis of international politics. Hence, the significance of realism in the realm of international politics is evident from both a theoretical and practical standpoint. Dunne and Schmidt (Ibid: 162), contend that prominent theorists and policymakers have consistently adopted a realism perspective in their analysis of global affairs from 1939 till the present.

Realism is a prominent theoretical framework within the field of international relations, positing that states serve as the primary actors in the realm of international politics. According to this perspective, states are rational entities driven by a desire to accumulate power and further their own interests. Manullang argues that realism is characterized by three primary attributes that encompass statism, survival, and self-help. Statism pertains to the elevation of states as the principal actors within the international system, owing to their sovereignty. Survival denotes the primary interests of states in their engagements within the international system. Lastly, self-help underscores the absence of authorized institutions to oversee the anarchic international system, necessitating countries to rely on their own capabilities to ensure their survival (Manullang, 2022: 160). Realism posits that states are rational actors motivated by the inherent character of human conflict, leading them to adopt policies or perspectives

that prioritize the acquisition of power. In a paradigm characterized by realism, the attainment of peace is contingent upon either a state of equilibrium in power dynamics or the establishment of hegemonic authority over the system. In addition to this, the aforementioned statement characterizes the international system as a platform wherein nations exhibit their respective capacities and capabilities. One approach is the utilization of hard power, specifically military tools or the final ratio, as a means of conducting international relations.

Concerning the particular dynamics of the realist theoretical tradition, the starting point of this section is the widely held notion that in international relations, realism is the dominant and influential theoretical school in this field (Jorgensen and Jorgensen: 2021: 7). Many authors (like Dunne and Schimdt, 2001; Donnelly, 2000) on international relations theory often portray realism as the dominant theoretical framework upon which alternative orientations are based or evaluated. Realists claim that nations engage in a perpetual struggle for power due to their inherent need for self-preservation and the pursuit of dominance over other nations. The paramount consideration for a nation is power. The field of international politics revolves around the concept of power, with each nation endeavoring to acquire power (Morgenthau, 2006). The concept of power can be delineated by its economic, military, and cultural dimensions, which are subject to dynamic fluctuations throughout the course of history. This phenomenon serves as a driving force for nations to aspire to great power status, so enabling them to attain a position of supremacy in relation to other countries. The efficient realization of a country's national interests can be facilitated by the possession of significant power. Nevertheless, this phenomenon engenders competitiveness and discord among nations, potentially resulting in a state of international anarchy or global catastrophe. The necessity for countries to pursue a state of equilibrium in power distribution in order to avert the subjugation of one nation by another has been highlighted by scholars such as Sutch and Elias (2007: 54-56). The establishment of a balance of power necessitates the presence of a bipolar global framework, as shown by the Cold War period (Ibid: 57-58).

Realism, as it can be considered as discipline's oldest theory, exhibits a notable lineage of classical antecedents predating the emergence of international relations studies. One notable illustration may be found in the works of Thucydides, a renowned historian recognized for his comprehensive narrative of the Peloponnesian War, as well as his

contributions to the field of political theory through the introduction of concepts such as the Melian Dialogue and Thucydides' Trap (Hadiwinata, 2018: 104). Additionally, there exist a further theory manifested from realism known as structural realism or neorealism. Both realism and neorealism share fundamental principles but differ in their emphasis. Summarizing Ben-Itzhak's work, it can be concluded that realism focuses on individual states as the main participants in international affairs, suggesting that their actions are primarily motivated by self-interest, self-preservation, and the quest for power. It recognizes the chaotic nature of the international system, in which states function without a centralized global authority.

Neorealism, in contrast, expands upon this analysis by placing greater emphasis on the structural elements of the international system. It argues that the allocation of power among states, rather than just the internal attributes of individual states, has a substantial impact on global dynamics. Realism focuses on analyzing states at the level of the state, while neorealism incorporates systemic factors and argues that the structure of the international system is important in shaping how states interact with each other (Ben- Itzhak, 2011: 311-316). Essentially, neorealism expands the perspective of understanding international relations by incorporating systemic factors, in addition to acknowledging the significance of power and anarchy. Nevertheless, despite the diverse range of variations and advancements witnessed within the realm of realism, a fundamental aspect stays constant: the significance of power in both the context of the state and the worldwide system (Mearsheimer, 2013: 56).

2.2.2. Liberalism

The term "liberalism" is derived from the word "Liberty" and is often used interchangeably with "libertarianism" in academic discourse. Expressing liberalism as a comprehensive and true school of thinking and political ideology poses significant challenges. Liberalism can be aptly characterized as a philosophical stance towards existence and its challenges, which places significant emphasis on principles such as individual autonomy, the rights of minority groups, and the self-determination of nations (Hadiwinata, 2018: 84). Liberalism is commonly understood as a specific governmental framework that encompasses principles such as the protection of individual rights, the primacy of legal systems, the recognition of private property, and the inclusion of societal engagement in political processes. In essence, it constitutes a system of domestic governance. The aforementioned liberal ideas that pertain to

domestic affairs can also be applied to the foreign sphere. Nevertheless, there is a shift in perspective among both liberal internationalists and current populist movements. They view the international liberal environment either as a necessary condition for domestic liberalism to progress and evolve, or as a significant hindrance to national growth (Jahn, 2018: 48).

According to Mansbach and Rafferty, the concept of liberalism in the field of international relations posits that political players have the potential to experience collective gains or losses, therefore engaging in what is commonly referred to as a variable-sum game. The ideology of liberalism also places emphasis on the achievement of absolute gains by players, which refers to a situation where all actors involved in international relations experience benefits (Mansbach and Rafferty (2008: 26). An alternative elucidation of the variety of liberalism, specifically neoliberalism, posits that every participant is mutually reliant on other participants to uphold its durability and also shares a collective fate (ibid: 27). Jackson and Sorensen have presented an alternative viewpoint on the philosophy of liberalism, positing three fundamental assumptions. Firstly, liberalism espouses an optimistic perspective on the inherent character of humanity. Furthermore, liberalism posits that international interactions have the potential to be characterized by cooperation rather than confrontation. Thirdly, liberalism is characterized by its belief in progress. According to the third assumption, liberals maintain that progress pertains to several domains of human existence (Jackson and Sorensen, 2009: 139).

According to Burchill, liberalism posits that national interests should prioritize endeavors aimed at attaining global peace and fostering harmonious relations among nations. Liberalism, as a political ideology, opposes the realist perspective that interprets international politics as characterized by conflict, distrust, and competition among independent nation-states (Burchill, 2005: 125). In the realm of international politics, proponents of liberalism hold contrasting views to those of realists who contend that conflict is an unavoidable occurrence. Contrary to viewing war as a natural and logical occurrence, liberals perceive it as an artificial construct rather than a reflection of innate human inclinations. As a result, they embraced the concept of progress and advancement of the human condition as a way to achieve perfection (Ibid: 112). In the the liberal perspective, armed conflict serves as a pretext for the government to augment tax rates, extend its bureaucratic infrastructure, and

consequently enhance its authority over the populace. In addressing the issue of warfare, liberalism advocates for the implementation of two key remedies: democracy and free trade (Ibid: 112-113).

Liberalism argues that democratic processes and institutions will break the power of the ruling elite, and curb their tendencies to commit violence (Ibid: 113). The proponents of liberalism see that the global dissemination of democratic systems is vital for the promotion of international stability (Ibid: 116). Similarly, the concept of free trade has the potential to surmount artificial obstacles that separate individuals and foster a sense of global solidarity among all members of the human community (Ibid: 113). Furthermore, the implementation of free trade will serve to broaden the scope of interaction and deepen the level of comprehension among individuals throughout the globe, fostering international amity, cosmopolitan thought, and enhanced understanding (Ibid). Within this particular framework, proponents of liberalism emphasize the significance of economic liberalism by prioritizing the enhancement of market interactions as the most effective model of economic arrangement. Additionally, political liberalism views the proliferation of liberal democracy as a remedy for conflict within the international system (Ibid: 104-105). Economic globalization and the ideology of democratic peace are two remedies advocated by liberalism for global issues.

The Liberalism paradigm in the field of international relations encompasses rationalism, idealism, and optimism within the international system. It places significant emphasis on ethical principles and international standards as means to establish and maintain peace, collective security, and disarmament. The ideology of traditional liberalism, as espoused by Immanuel Kant and Bentham, advocates for the achievement of enduring peace by means of a societal agreement that encompasses both governance at the national level and the international system (Hadiwinata, 2018: 95). This vision entails a fundamental shift in human awareness. Neoliberalism posits the inclusion of diverse actors, such as states and non-governmental organizations, in its framework. It asserts that political and diplomatic instruments can serve as alternatives to the use of force. Additionally, it highlights the increased participation of influential individuals and leaders in global affairs, sometimes surpassing the influence of governments (Ibid: 100-101).

2.2.3. Constructivism

Constructivism is the sole theoretical framework that acknowledges the significance of norms in facilitating the ongoing nature of international relations among nations and states. Norms can be described as sets of instructions or standards that govern the behavior of individuals and nations within social and political contexts, ensuring suitable and appropriate conduct (Tabak, 2016: 189-190). Within its categorization, norms can be classified into two distinct types. The first type is referred to as written norms, which are explicitly expressed through various textual forms such as laws, articles, and other written documents. The second category pertains to implicit norms, which are not readily observable and lack explicit codification (Rosyidin, 2015: 70). These standards have evolved within the broader society and are perpetuated between generations. The norms can still be distinguished from one another depending on their respective areas of emphasis. International norms refer to provisions that are derived from principles or standards established by international players, such as governments. The second category pertains to domestic norms, which encompass the values and behaviors embraced by a specific nation (Ibid: 71).

Constructivism views that foreign policy theory must take into account the behavior based on values and habits of good cultural traditions or logic appropriateness (Boekle, Ritterberg, and Wagner, 1999: 5). Logical appropriateness is a behavior or belief that is considered a good action, yet the action is not carried out intentionally because the action has become a habitual belief that has been adhered to over time (ibid). Based on this logic, appropriateness calls for the parties involved to declare their identity to maintain behavior within a social regulation. Logic appropriateness is seen as a viewpoint that regards human actions as being motivated by a set of behavioral rules that are considered suitable or deserving of emulation. March and Olsen (2004: 7) also argue that this appropriateness logic does not assume that the actions taken are more directed towards the concept of driving identity rather than ultimately resulting in benefits for themselves.

Ted Hopf (1998: 172) elucidates that constructivism provides an alternative comprehension of various pivotal concepts in international relations theory, encompassing the interpretation of anarchy and the balance of power, the correlation between state identity and interests, the depiction of power, and the prospects for change in world politics. Contrary to neorealism and neoliberalism, which posit that

actors' interests are externally determined, constructivists contend that comprehending how actors form their interests is crucial for explaining a range of international phenomena (Hadiwinata, 2018: 268). To explain the formation of interests, constructivists focus on the social identity of individuals and countries (Ibid).

Kukla (2000: 18) asserts that constructivism can be understood as a theoretical framework that arises from the contemplation and execution of sociological inquiries into the realm of science. It is argued that the root of this matter lies in the logical coherence of such a self-identification when evaluated against the foundational principles that underpin any state's international relations (Kratocwhil, 2011: 166). As discussed by Carlnaes, et al, there are several elements that are associated with constructivism. First and foremost, the theoretical framework of constructivism directs its attention towards the pivotal role that ideas play in the construction and development of social life. Second, constructivism places emphasis on elucidating the socially constructed essence of agents or subjects. Furthermore, it is important to note that constructivism, as a theoretical framework, is grounded in a research strategy that emphasizes methodological holism as opposed to methodological individualism (Carlnaes, et, al., 2002: 75-76).

The constructivist approach can be categorized into three primary branches: systemic constructivism, unit level constructivism, and holistic constructivism (Nia, 2018: 10-11); Firstly, systemic Constructivism embraces the neorealist inclination towards system theory from a distinct standpoint and posits that constructivism can provide a systemic examination of changes in international relations (Adler, 1997: 342). Systemic constructivism exclusively emphasizes the conceptual and normative frameworks of the global context while disregarding alterations in the domestic political sphere. Wendt's constructivist theory exemplifies systemic constructivism at its finest (Wendt, 1999: 348). He categorizes identity into two distinct types: social identity and state corporate identity. Social identity pertains to the interpretation that individual assigns to oneself from the perspective of others, while corporate identity encompasses the intrinsic aspects of a nation, such as human, material, ideological, or cultural traits, that define its essence (Wendt, 1994: 385). The prominence of social identities subsequently impacts the foreign policy conduct of governments during social interactions among individual actors.

Secondly, unit-level constructivism specifically examines the connection between social norms and domestic law (Reus-Smit, 2001: 220), in contrast to systemic constructivism. Unit level constructivism focuses on the potential for internal changes in both the alter and ego, and how these changes might affect their cooperative or competing connections. According to this perspective, the internal socialization processes within a country can independently shape the identities and interests of individuals, regardless of their contacts on the international stage (Katzenstein, 1996: 27).

Thirdly, the holistic constructivist approach is a theoretical framework that examines identity formation at both the domestic and international levels. This gives rise to expectations regarding the diverse ways in which various nations would react to international pressure. The concept of holistic constructivism has questioned the division between systemic and domestic structures and aimed to reconcile these two approaches in order to encompass all factors that shape the identity and interests of a state (Reus-Smit, 2001: 221). Koslowski and Kratochwil (1995: 127), prominent researchers in the field of holistic constructivism, view corporate and social identity as a unified analytical approach that regards domestic and international structures and processes as interconnected aspects of a single social and political system (Reus-Smit, 2001: 221). Holistic constructivists study the reciprocal influence between domestic and international social phenomena in order to understand how they determine the conduct of states in the field of international relations (Richard and Reus-Smit, 1998: 265). Foreign policy behavior can be understood as the result of the interplay between corporate identity at the domestic level and social identity at the international level, according to a holistic constructivist viewpoint.

There are three elements of constructivism that make it different from theories in international relations. First, global politics according to constructivism is guided by ideas, norms and values originating from individuals. They focus on the intersubjective dimension which emphasizes aspects of human existence, and how their ideas conceptualize the world. Second, ideational structures have constitutive effects, not just regulative ones. Thus, structure guides individuals to redefine interests and identities in the process of interaction (socialization), something that in Neorealism and Neoliberalism is considered constant because of the role of international forces and institutions. Third, ideational structures and individuals mutually elevate and

determine each other. Structure elevates individuals in importance and identity, while structure also produces and reproduces, and is transformed by, discontinuous agential practices. These elements can challenge the determination of Neorealism. So, in constructivism, people can change structures through social activities, they can free themselves from detrimental situations (Guzzini and Leander, 2006: 78). In summary, the following table illustrates the comparison of the basic assumptions of these theories.

Table 2.1: Key Assumption of Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism

Aspect	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism
Central Assumption	States are the primary actors, and their behavior is driven by self-interest and the pursuit of power	States are important, but non-state actors also play a significant role	Reality is socially constructed; ideas and norms shape state behavior
International System	Anarchy prevails; there is a lack of a central authority	Emphasis on international institutions and cooperation	States' identities and interests are not fixed; they evolve over time
Conflict	Inevitable due to competition for power and security concerns	Can be mitigated through diplomacy, international law, and economic interdependence	Rooted in ideas and identity, not just material interests
Cooperation	Limited, occurring only when it aligns with national interests.	Achievable through shared values, international institutions, and economic ties	Driven by shared norms, identities, and social constructs
Human Nature	Egoistic and self-interested; states prioritize survival.	Cooperative and capable of forming alliances for mutual benefit.	Social beings influenced by ideas, identities, and norms.

Source: (Author's own)

2.3 Key Concept in Foreign Policy

Foreign policy, as a component of international relations, consists of two main components: formulation and implementation. The constitution dictates the process by which a country formulates its foreign policy decisions. The majority of constitutions assign this duty to parliament and the executive institutions of the government, with the government's executive institutions primarily responsible for carrying out the implementation aspect. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that in a military junta, an individual has the ability to assume the role of both formulating and executing foreign policy (Mbah and Ojukwu, 2020: 600).

There are key concepts that are important in the study of foreign policy. These concepts provide a framework for analyzing and understanding state behavior in the international system. Security is another key concept in foreign policy. Security refers to a country's ability to protect its citizens and territory from external threats. Countries can implement various strategies to improve their security, such as building alliances, acquiring military capabilities, and investing in intelligence and surveillance. Diplomacy is an important tool in foreign policy that involves negotiation and communication with other countries and non-state actors (Marks, 2019). Diplomacy can be used to resolve conflicts, build alliances, and increase cooperation. International cooperation is another key concept in foreign policy. Countries can work together to achieve common interests and overcome global challenges, such as climate change and terrorism. International cooperation can be carried out in various forms, such as economic integration, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance (Dasanayaka, 2023: 6).

2.3.1 Power

The concept of power is widely discussed and analyzed in the field of social and political theory. The definitions of power exhibit a wide range of interpretations, encompassing the notion of power as a specific resource employed by individuals to advance their personal interests, as well as power being understood as the ability of a social system to effectively utilize resources in order to achieve common objectives (Parsons, 2002: 56). According to Lukes (2002: 45), power might be considered as an inherently contested term, because it invariably leads to ongoing debates regarding its proper utilization by those who possess it. Furthermore, Lukes suggests that

participating in such disputes is fundamentally engaging in the realm of politics. Nevertheless, Haugaard (2002: 3) argues that power should not be considered an inherently disputed term, but rather a concept that exhibits similarities within a family of related concepts. Any endeavor to capture the fundamental nature or core meaning of a term will inevitably overlook specific elements that may hold significance within a certain context. Instead of attempting to include the concept of power within a singular, comprehensive definition, the task is to develop a contextualized framework suitable for a certain setting (Avelino, 2021: 2).

The theory of power continues to serve as the primary framework within the realm of politics and political science. The notion in question has garnered diverse interpretations within the discipline of political science as a whole, and more specifically within the subfield of foreign policy (Mbah and Ojukwu, 2020: 598). According to Morgenthau (1956:26), power can be defined as the ability of individuals to exert influence and control over the beliefs and behaviors of others. Specifically, political power refers to a dynamic of mutual control between those in positions of public authority and the general population. Morgenthau (1956:26) underscores the significance of his conceptualization of power by asserting that political power entails a psychological dynamic between those who wield it and those who are subject to it. These dynamic grants the former the ability to govern certain behaviors of the latter through the persuasive sway exerted over their cognitive faculties. The exertion of influence can manifest itself through the issuance of directives, the expression of menacing statements, the application of persuasive techniques, or a synergistic employment of these aspects.

Morgenthau (1956:26) also stressed that international politics, similar to other politics, revolves around the pursuit of power. Regardless of the ultimate objective of international politics, power is consistently the primary aim. Statesmen and individuals eventually aspire for independence, security, prosperity, or power. Individuals have the option to establish their objectives according to religious, philosophical, economic, or societal principles. They may anticipate that these values will be actualized via their inherent fortitude, or through the organic progression of human events. Additionally, they can endeavor to achieve it through non-political methods, such as engaging in technological collaboration with other nations or international organizations. However, if they endeavored to achieve their objectives through global diplomacy,

they did so by engaging in power struggles. Power, in its fundamental essence, denotes a state's capacity to exert influence over both other states as well as non-state players within the international system. States can employ a range of instruments to exert authority, including military might, economic penalties, and diplomatic coercion.

2.3.2 Security

Security is one of the focuses of attention that all parties, both state entities and individuals, want to achieve. This is what makes issues and studies about security dominant in IR studies. At the beginning of its emergence, IR studies often focused on studies of a country's national security in international politics. The application of the security concept is then dominated by the state's behavior in anticipating national security threats using a military approach, this is greatly influenced by current world conditions in the backdrop of cold war. After the cold war, world security conditions experienced significant changes which had implications for the transformation of issues and actors in international relations, including the concept of security (Sudiar, 2018: 155).

In its development, the concept of security had faced criticism regarding its traditional understanding and meaning. The concept of securitization later emerge as a concept aims to criticize security studies. This approach to securitization emphasizes the significance of political power and the symbolic meaning of the term 'security'. It involves utilizing all available resources to address matters that go beyond regular politics and integrating them into security concerns. Additionally, it aims to challenge the conventional zero-sum mindset associated with traditional security (Waeber, 1995: 164). Security actors carry out securitization to eliminate non-traditional threats such as the environment, economy, politics, and even issues of poverty. The securitization process involves actors implementing escalatory changes to transform non-security issues into security ones.

The success of security depends greatly on the development of psychological, social, cultural, economic, and, finally, physical conditions (military/non-military) that can develop interconnection without prejudice, especially by minimizing the environment of conflict between stakeholders. with the aim of protecting the core essence (interests and assets) of each community group and, avoiding conflicts of interest through negotiations which must lead to peaceful coexistence (Rogers, 2010: 34). In this

particular context, there is a direct connection between the referent of security (the masses and their materiality) and the environment in which security is necessary to prevail (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, 1998: 56). According to Maslow (1943: 67), the creation of a secure atmosphere is an essential requirement for the progress of all aspects related to individuals. An environment that does not provide conducive conditions for personal growth and development might be classified as unsafe. This phenomenon is also observed inside the global system, when each sovereign state endeavors to safeguard its national security. The concept of security or insecurity can be subjectively perceived by individuals or entities. However, when a significant portion of society shares similar perceptions within a specific area or region, the level of security or insecurity can be assessed with a certain degree of intensity (Maslow, 1943: 67).

2.3.3 Diplomacy

The practice of diplomacy holds great significance in the current era of globalization. This is because globalization facilitates interconnectivity across nations to serve their respective interests. Diverse approaches are employed to cater to the specific objectives of individual nations. Diplomacy refers to a nation's strategic actions aimed at advancing its own interests on the global stage. It can also be understood as the interactions between countries in their dealings with one another (Warsito and Kartikasari, 2007: 2). Diplomacy is the practice of developing and managing relationships between countries, which can be either multilateral (including many countries) or bilateral (involving two countries). Bilateral diplomacy include the establishment of political, economic, and cultural contacts between two countries through the negotiation and implementation of agreements (treaties), the exchange of ambassadors, and state visits (Sukawarsini, 2008: 67).

Diplomacy is a strategic tool employed by nations to express and execute their foreign policies in international affairs. Diplomacy encompasses various elements such as structure, legal framework, processes, methods of action, personnel, and financial resources. The oversight of this composition is carried out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ministries. The Minister sets the fundamental principles of the nation's foreign policy and is accountable for and supervises the achievement of the objectives and duties (both immediate and long-term) derived from the established principles. Diplomacy and foreign policy are interconnected concepts; however they possess

distinct meanings. The foreign policy of a state encompasses a defined set of objectives, strategies, and resources employed to carry out the state's exterior functions. These tasks are achieved by diplomatic, economic, military, and ideological means. Diplomacy, in its essence, represents a fundamental mechanism for the management of a state's affairs in foreign territories. Hence, it is evident that the concept of diplomacy exhibits a more limited range in comparison to that of foreign policy. Diplomacy encompasses the strategic approach employed by a nation in its external affairs, involving the systematic identification of challenges and subsequent selection of appropriate methods and resources to address them, with the ultimate aim of achieving foreign policy goals. Hence, it can be regarded as a strategic instrument employed in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives (Kuźniar, 2006: 130).

Prayuda and Sundari, examines the important things contained in various definitions of diplomacy. According to both, from these definitions several things appear clear as the characteristic of diplomacy;

1. The main element of diplomacy is negotiation.
2. Negotiations are carried out to prioritize the interests of the state.
3. Diplomatic endeavors are undertaken to protect and promote national interests to the greatest extent feasible, while prioritizing the preservation of peace and avoiding any harm to national interests. The primary objective of diplomacy is to maintain peace.
4. Diplomacy is closely related to a country's foreign policy objectives.
5. Modern diplomacy is closely related to the state system.
6. Diplomacy cannot be separated from state representation (Prayuda and Sundari (2019: 84-85).

Diplomacy, together with its associated protocols, serves as a diplomatic instrument aimed at fostering peaceful conditions in the realm of international relations. One may argue that “where diplomacy ends, war begins”. Diplomatic activities are seen as the practice of communication between nations, involving the use of specific tools by diplomats. It is a process that facilitates understanding of the requirements, desires, and objectives of countries.

2.3.4 International Cooperation

The study of International Relations has many topics of discussion, but almost all of the discussion focuses on one thing, namely international cooperation. Collaboration can occur because of interests and agreements between two or more parties. International cooperation can also be interpreted as the existence of interests that underlie an agreement between two or more international actors to interact in a certain field with mutually agreed methods and objectives (Krisna, 1993: 56). Cooperation between two or more international actors does not depend on the closeness between the parties but depends on the interests of each party.

International collaboration can be defined as a deliberate and voluntary establishment of agreements between involved parties, devoid of any kind of coercion, and duly allowed by legal frameworks. In this particular scenario, international collaboration can be categorized into three distinct kinds, namely bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation. Bilateral cooperation refers to a formal agreement between two nations, typically in the form of a bilateral contract. Regional cooperation refers to a formal agreement established among multiple countries within a defined geographical area. Multilateral collaboration refers to an agreement established among nations that transcends regional boundaries, hence constituting an international collaborative effort (Masruroh, 2020: 131). The majority of these collaborations exhibit a notable trend towards heightened interdependence. The interdependence observed can be attributed to the disparities in natural resources or other shared capabilities, as noted by Friedmann (1964: 178).

There exist multiple factors that contribute to the potential for collaboration among international actors, as outlined by Holsti.

1. To enhance economic well-being.
2. To enhance cost efficiency by means of collaboration, an agreement can be achieved to jointly alleviate the burdens experienced by related parties.
3. Owing to challenges that pose a threat to collective security.
4. To mitigate the adverse consequences resulting from the activities of individual states that affect other entities (Holsti, 1992: 365).

2.4 Factors Affecting Foreign Policy

Scholars widely agree that foreign policy functions as a crucial intersection between home and international politics. Therefore, it can be asserted that the foreign policy of each nation is primarily shaped by two key factors: external or international influences and internal or domestic factors. The aforementioned aspects are regarded as influential elements that contribute to the formation and development of foreign policy. Nevertheless, the relationship between factors influencing foreign and domestic affairs has been a subject of much discussion within the realm of international relations and specifically, Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) (see Hudson and Day, 2020: 145-146). There exists a debate among scholars on the relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy. Some say that these two realms are distinct and operate independently, while others contend that they are interdependent and have the potential to influence one another.

Although both schools of scholars presented persuasive arguments, it is important to note that the extent of influence exerted by domestic and international determinants on foreign policies differs across states and their respective political environments. International variables can be influential in certain instances, whereas domestic determinants may hold greater significance in other occasions.

2.4.1 Internal Factors

2.4.1.1 Domestic Politics

Henry Kissinger (1996: 503) posited that the realm of foreign policy commences precisely at the point when domestic policy ends. This analysis suggests that foreign policy is shaped by national political dynamics and subsequently employed in diplomatic engagements concerning global political matters. In essence, foreign policy was formulated in alignment with the prevailing international political circumstances of the era, thereby assuming a significant role for every nation-state. This involves ensuring the national security and consolidating power amidst the acceptance of the foreign policy formulated by other nations. It is imperative to underscore that foreign policy exerts a significant influence on domestic politics. So, these two realms are inherently interconnected and cannot be disentangled. Foreign policy and diplomacy are closely interconnected and share a common objective, which is to advance the national interests of their respective nations. This demonstrates the presence of

interconnections across nations, encompassing engagements within the realm of international relations.

Fearon (1998: 301-306) provides an interpretation of domestic politics as a framework for understanding how interactions within a country's political system influence its foreign policy decisions. Hence, the dynamics of internal political contacts exert a significant impact on the ultimate outcomes of a nation's foreign policy. Also, the interdependence between a nation's foreign policy and its domestic political landscape is evident through the dynamics of political power and party systems, as shown in the presence of coalitions and opposition within the government (Boejang, 2018: 6). The argument presented is reinforced by Fearon's assertion (1998: 306) that the state is not a singular entity, implying that the state does not operate in isolation when conducting governance. Instead, it comprises several players who engage in interactions and subsequently shape domestic politics. In order to effectively pursue its national interests through foreign policy, the state must be capable of reconciling both national and foreign political considerations (ibid: 306).

In order to comprehend the correlation between domestic politics and international politics, it is imperative to acknowledge that domestic politics is subject to influence from a diverse array of actors and different political systems. These actors encompass elite institutions, including the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches, as well as political parties, opposition groups, coalitions, and even the media. According to Hudson and Day (2020: 150), a wide range of entities, including community organizations, business coalitions, and even terrorist groups, can be observed in this context.

The domestic political situations are also influenced by the conditions of domestic society. The primary goal of foreign policy is to serve the interests of the state by addressing the needs and aspirations of society, taking into account the specific circumstances and situations within the domestic realm. Thus, the domestic politics and societal influence must be considered analytically before taking other variables into account when explaining government preferences (Schirm, 2020: 3).

2.4.1.2 Economic Interest

Another internal aspect to consider is the economic interests that are directed towards promoting welfare. The primary objective of foreign policy is to enhance the well-

being of the populace. The implementation of foreign policy in the economic sector by the state is aimed at addressing a range of domestic challenges through various strategies. Trade agreements, investment policies, and engagement in international economic organizations serve as means by which states endeavor to attain economic benefits while concurrently pursuing wider geopolitical objectives. There exists a fundamental connection and interdependence between domestic economic development and its corresponding policy, which serves as a catalyst for the expansion of the economic sector. One means through which this objective can be attained is the implementation of foreign policy (Razak and Elyta, 2018: 2).

The economic development level of a country directly impacts its foreign policy. Several advanced industrialized countries exert significant influence in global politics and shape their foreign policies to uphold their dominance in the international system. The impact of a nation's economic progress on its foreign policy can be observed in various manifestations. Numerous advanced industrial nations exert significant influence in global politics and shape their foreign policies with the aim of preserving the hegemony of the prevailing international order. Nations such as the United States, Russia, Germany, and France possess considerable resources to develop military capacities and extend financial assistance to other nations in the form of aid and loans, primarily with the objective of fostering alliances (Boejang, 2018 : 6).

2.4.1.3 Culture and History

Culture comprises a shared collection of concepts, principles, behaviors, traditions, and objects that differentiate and characterize a specific group or society. This includes diverse elements such as language, religion, social structure, art, and technology (Birukou, et al., 2013: 12). It is important to note that this phenomenon has a significant impact on both individual and collective identity, behavior, and communication. Additionally, it serves as an adaptive mechanism and social construct that has the ability to change power dynamics and social norms (Fukuyama, 2018: 24). Culture is an ever-evolving and forward-moving phenomenon that experiences transformations over time, influenced by causes such as globalization, migration, technological growth, and social and political changes. Hence, this results in significant disparities in cultural customs both within and among different societies (Saaida, 2023: 50).

Liland (1993 : 7-13) provided an explanation on the expansive nature of the cultural dimension within the realm of foreign policy. Nevertheless, there exists a scholarly discourse about the extent to which culture influences and molds a nation's foreign and security policy, specifically, as well as its broader implications for international relations. Numerous experts in the field of international relations assert that the cognitive framework of a nation's populace, commonly referred to as culture, significantly influences the formulation and implementation of governmental policies. She (ibid) further underscores the significance of culture, highlighting its deep-seated origins whereby a nation inherits distinct customs and cultural practices. These, in turn, exert a profound influence on the acts that a nation must do in its interactions with other autonomous states. Various factors have a significant impact on the perspectives of individuals and communities, shaping their perceptions of the world, interpretations of events, and patterns of social interaction. Through the acquisition of knowledge about diverse cultures, nations can enhance their comprehension and appreciation of one another, thereby diminishing instances of misinterpretation and fostering increased collaboration in tackling global predicaments (Khan, et al., 2020 : 182).

The international relations of a nation are predominantly shaped by its historical and cultural legacies. The foreign policy of a nation is shaped by long-standing traditional values and beliefs that have evolved throughout time. The foreign policy of a nation can be influenced by its historical experiences, including cultural and traditional factors. Countries that share common cultural backgrounds and historical experiences tend to have a greater ease in developing foreign policies that are both effective and consistent. In such instances, a significant portion of the populace, characterized by shared experiences and views pertaining to past occurrences, tend to endorse the foreign policy of the nation. Formulating foreign policies concurrently becomes challenging due to the presence of diverse cultures and distinct historical backgrounds among nations within various regions (Boejang, 2018 : 5).

2.4.1.4 Geography

Holsti (1992: 133-134) posits that political elites take into account many conditions or variables while formulating foreign policy strategies. These factors include the geographical position, features, terrain, and natural resource endowments of the country. Moreover, within the realm of foreign policy, there exists apprehension over the extent of a nation's landmass and population, as well as its geographical positioning

and technological capabilities. These factors can originate from systemic or sociological origins (Roseneau, 1976: 18).

The dimensions of a nation's territorial expanse, geographical characteristics, and population demographics exert significant effect on the formulation and execution of its foreign policy. The geographical positioning of a nation is an indisputable determinant of its foreign policy. According to Amer Rizwan (2009), the geographical location of a country holds significance. The presence of natural boundaries, such as oceans, high mountains, or deserts, holds significance in determining the geopolitical context of a country. The composition of one's neighbors and the geographical size, population, affluence, and governance of a particular country are significant factors to consider.

2.4.1.5 Military Capabilities

The military capabilities of a nation are also a determining factor in shaping its foreign policy approach. The capacity of a nation to safeguard its borders from military assault holds significant implications for the internal and exterior policies it undertakes. Countries possessing military capabilities enjoy enhanced autonomy in shaping their foreign policy, hence reducing their reliance on external actors. Similarly, an augmentation in a nation's military capacities can lead to a transformation in its approach towards international relations, transitioning from a pacifist foreign policy to a more assertive and combative one (Boejang, 2018 : 6)

Kaplan (1974: 101) asserts that indicators such as the present strength and reserve capacity of the armed forces (including land force, air force, and navy), the quantity and quality of available weaponry, and the capacity for rapid innovation in this domain serve as manifestations of military strength and global concentration. Additionally, the ability to wield destructive power at the appropriate moment further exemplifies these characteristics. The possession of military power has the potential to enhance the entire power of a state, not only in terms of military capabilities but also in various other domains. The acquisition, potential employment, and tangible utilization of that authority bestows upon a nation its autonomy and grants it the capacity to engage in diplomatic discussions, deter potential adversaries, and take action against other nations on a global scale. This enables the nation to strategically align itself with other countries by means of alliances that are established, structured, and spearheaded by

dominant nations. Furthermore, it enables the direct involvement in the domestic affairs of nations whose political and diplomatic progress is perceived to pose a threat to the interests of the major country in question.

2.4.1.6 Leaders' Character and Personality

Leadership, in a broader sense, and more specifically the personality traits of a leader, significantly influence the process of formulating foreign policy. The impact of personality on foreign policy necessitates an analysis of cognitive mechanisms and asserts that the process of decision-making is a product of individual human agency. In other words, it asserts that decisions are ultimately made by individuals rather than by states. Therefore, the role of personality is significant in enhancing our comprehension of foreign policy action. Nevertheless, according to several experts, the significance of this matter is contingent upon the limitations imposed by the international system and the domestic political framework (Boejang, 2018: 6).

Roseneau (1976: 35) states that various idiosyncratic factors can impact the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. These factors encompass a leader's convictions concerning the characteristics of the global stage and the objectives that should be pursued within it, their distinctive cognitive abilities, and limitations in assessing information and making choices, their personal history and its pertinence to the requirements of their position, as well as their emotional requirements and other individual characteristics. The influence of government structure and societal dynamics on a leader's character is widely acknowledged. However, it is during times of crisis that a leader demonstrates their ability to guide both the government and society. The significance of the leadership role has resulted in the emergence of research interest among scholars in the subject of organizational behavior, particularly within the framework of state organizations. According to Schein (1992: 56), it is well acknowledged that leaders exert significant effect on the achievement of organizational performance. Leadership has a pivotal role in the formulation and execution of corporate strategies.

2.4.2 External Factor

2.4.2.1 Structure of International System

In the field of international relations, the term "system" typically denotes a collection of constituent elements or entities whose interactions possess sufficient significance to

warrant their perception as a cohesive entity. An international system is established when a collection of nations mutually consider the actions of each country as a significant determinant in the decision-making processes of other nations. This system is characterized by the establishment of dialogue and consensus regarding general principles and approaches governing their interactions, while also acknowledging shared interests in ensuring continuity (Bull and Watson 1984: 1). This implies that within the context of international relations, a system can be defined as a collection of states that engage in mutual interactions. The provided definition is considered a seminal explanation that, to a certain degree, retains its capacity to elucidate the dynamics of state interactions and their execution of responsibilities within the global arena.

Neorealism posits that the international system is characterized by an anarchic framework, wherein there exists a lack of hierarchical authority or governance over individual states. The configuration of the global system plays a pivotal role in shaping a nation's foreign policy. Consequently, it is not unexpected that countries endowed with higher strength wield a more significant influence, as argued by Waltz (1979: 121). In the meantime, Wendt (1987: 339) initially highlighted that the principles governing the state system establish the state as a decision-making entity comprised of individuals who bear responsibility for their actions. In essence, the behavior of international actors is influenced by the configuration of the international system (Jackson and Nexon 1999: 96). Consequently, in their pursuit of a moderate approach that bridges paradigms in the field of International Relations (IR), constrained their examination to the formation of identity and interests, while categorizing other dimensions of agency (Katzenstein, 1996: 67).

The formulation of foreign policy is influenced by the dynamics of international power or global politics. As the world undergoes transformations brought about by various events and individuals, individuals across the globe are confronted with new challenges in the realm of foreign policy. Consequently, shifts in global power dynamics exert influence on the foreign policies of states. The conventional multi-polar framework facilitated governments in strategically aligning themselves and optimizing their interests. In the 1980s, the international system was characterized by bipolarity during the Cold War. However, at present, it has transitioned into a unipolar structure, with the United States assuming the role of a hegemonic power. These events

caused a significant shift in power dynamics and had a profound impact on the foreign policies of states.

2.4.2.2 International Law

International law is commonly understood as a body of regulations that govern the interactions among nations. International law is a deliberate and clear set of regulations established by states. The state desires to be strictly governed by regulations in order to effectively control its dealings with others (Sotong, 2013: 02). The presence of international law and standards constrains the autonomy of states within the system. This is predicated on the accords and conventions established between nations, hence it does not comprehensively align with the interests of every country. This imposes constraints on a country to varying degrees. Foreign policy, in this context, refers to the objectives that govern a nation's actions and engagements in its dealings with other nations. Countries are thought to genuinely adhere to and abide by international law as it constrains the formulation and execution of their foreign policies (Bojang, 2018: 3).

International law plays a crucial role in foreign policy by providing a legally enforceable framework for states to interact. This framework helps govern states, preventing the implementation of sanctions and allowing them to avoid public criticism from international activists.. In summary, international law delineates the legal framework that establishes the position, entitlements, duties, and commitments of nations in the realm of foreign affairs. Therefore, it is incumbent upon each state to adhere to established standards and regulations, as non-compliance carries repercussions.

2.4.2.3 International Organization

The term "international organization" (IO) typically pertains to organizations established by governments at the international level. IOs, in contrast to other entities such as non-governmental organizations or multinational enterprises, were established through the collaborative efforts of multiple governments (Rittberger & Zangl, 2006: 8). An international organization is a formal and ongoing structure that is established through an agreement between its members, who are sovereign nations from two or more countries. The purpose of such an organization is to work towards the shared objectives of its members (Archer, 1983: 35).

There remains ongoing scholarly debate within the field of international relations over the extent to which international organizations (IOs) influence the foreign policies of nation-states. Traditionally, the realism perspective in international politics has exhibited limited faith in the effectiveness of international organizations. Some argue that the UN and other international organizations do not have the necessary resources to properly carry out their decisions, which is why nation states are considered to have the real authority in the international system. In contrast, the perspectives of constructivism and liberal institutionalism, which use a "top-down" approach, differ in their assessment of the influence of international organization on the development and execution of foreign policy by nation-states. The ideas presented argue that international organizations play a crucial role as independent entities, exerting influence on the conduct of states and affecting their actions. The entities in question have a substantial impact on the decision-making processes of member nations with regard to their approaches to foreign policy (Boejang, 2018: 14). International and regional organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the European Union (EU), and the African Union (AU), significantly influence the foreign policies of states. These organizations recognize the interdependence of nations and play a crucial role in various aspects, including economy, human resources, and other areas.

2.4.2.4 Military/ Arm Race

States employ several methods in the pursuit of their foreign policy objectives, among which military strategy is a prominent one. Scholars argue that a fundamental requirement for a state to be considered a credible actor is the cultivation of military capabilities and the political determination to employ force in support of its diplomatic efforts, when considered necessary. Therefore, the utilization of military force is regarded as the ultimate instrument of global diplomacy, in accordance with the notion that warfare is an extension of politics through alternative methods (Boejang, 2018: 4).

Arms races give rise to a well-known phenomenon known as the Hobbesian trap, characterized by a recurring cycle wherein the apprehension of potential aggression prompts an escalation in the acquisition of armaments, hence intensifying the prevailing sense of fear. This self-perpetuating loop continues unabated until either one or both parties involved may be inclined to initiate a preemptive offensive action.

While both parties express a lack of desire to annihilate one another, the apprehension of being rendered ineffective serves as a motivating factor to intentionally render the opposing party ineffective. Regrettably, it is likely that other entities will adopt a similar line of reasoning and harbor suspicions that individuals may counteract their actions out of apprehension of being targeted initially, hence creating a motivation for them to engage in indefinite prevention (Abbink, et. al, 2019: 2).

Thomas Schelling as cited by Abbink et, al (ibid) presents a well-known scenario involving a homeowner and a burglar, both armed with firearms, who find themselves in a situation where they are inclined to shoot each other in self-defense before being shot themselves. The theory of Mutually Assured Destruction served as a potential solution to this predicament, effectively shaping the dynamics between the superpowers over a significant portion of the Cold War era. This necessitates both entities to possess sufficient strength, enabling them to not only possess the capacity for initiating an initial attack but also to possess the potential for a subsequent retaliatory strike. In the event that neither party is capable of completely neutralizing the adversary's weaponry in a single assault, the initial offensive maneuver will prompt a retaliatory response of comparable magnitude. The potentiality of a subsequent assault served as a deterrent for both factions, resulting in the preservation of an uneasy state of tranquility.

2.5 Summary

Foreign policy is a process that involves investigation, problem identification, problem solving, and perception formation to achieve national interests. This process is very complex, involves analysis from micro to macro levels, and utilizes interdisciplinary scientific disciplines such as psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology, and others. The purpose of foreign policy analysis is to explain how foreign policy is made and the reasons behind these decisions. This involves consideration of culture, identity, experience, cognitive factors, and other elements. Mainly, in the context of International Relations theory, there are three main schools that influence the understanding of foreign policy. These theoretical perspectives provide different viewpoints on how states behave and serve as a framework for understanding the reasons and strategies behind foreign policy decisions:

1. Realism is the main current that dominates International Relations. It considers the state as the main actor whose aim is to gain power. Realism emphasizes power competition, self-help strategies, national interests, and an anarchic international system.

2. Liberalism is a more optimistic view and emphasizes values such as individual freedom, the rule of law, private property, and political participation. This view opposes realism which sees international politics through the lens of conflict and competition.

3. Constructivism views that foreign policy theory must consider cultural values, norms and traditions in shaping state identity and behavior. Constructivism also highlights how domestic changes can influence international relations and combines aspects from both the unit and systemic levels.

In foreign policy analysis, four key concepts are the focus: power, security, diplomacy, and international cooperation. Power is the essence of diplomacy, referring to a country's ability to influence the actions of other countries in the international arena. This capability can be manifested through various tools such as military force, economic pressure, or diplomacy. Security is a priority in foreign policy to protect the country and its citizens from external threats, with diplomacy being an important tool in maintaining peace. Diplomacy, as the main instrument in foreign policy, plays an important role in exercising power and securing security. Through diplomacy, countries communicate, negotiate, and work to achieve common goals, avoid armed conflict, and promote international cooperation. International cooperation is another key concept aimed at achieving common interests and addressing global problems such as climate change and terrorism. In the context of increasingly complex international relations, understanding these four concepts is important in formulating effective foreign policy and maintaining stability at the global level.

In a study of factors that influence foreign policy, it can be concluded that a country's foreign policy is greatly influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors include domestic politics, economic interest, geography, culture and history, military capabilities, and the characteristics of the leaders. In addition, external factors include the structure of the international system, international law, international organization, and military or arms race. In analyzing foreign policy, it is important to consider these

factors, as they can shape government preferences and actions. Foreign policy is the result of the interaction between internal and external factors, and a deep understanding of these factors can help in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy that is effective and in line with the interests of the country.



CHAPTER III

POLITICS IN JAVANESE CULTURE PERSPECTIVE

The interconnection between politics and culture is inherent, as culture serves as a societal framework that has significant influence, and at times, even dictates the actions and conduct of political leaders. Culture serves as a metaphorical prism through which one can get insight into the intricate dynamics between persons and their surrounding environment. Culture has a pivotal role in shaping several aspects of human existence, encompassing notions of morality, ethics, social organization, power dynamics, and even spiritual beliefs. It serves as a framework through which individuals perceive and evaluate phenomena such as the divisions of good and bad, right and wrong, order and chaos, strength and weakness, peace and conflict, and even the abstract concept of divinity. In summary, culture serves as the foundation for the development of values that provide guidance for leaders and society. This value then permeates the political realm, where the process of decision-making pertaining to the welfare of the general public takes place. This pertains to the dynamics of the relationship between leaders and their followers, as well as the interactions between different nations. Due to the inherent diversity of societal cultures, the conceptualization of political affairs exhibits distinct approaches across diverse contexts. The idea of cultural aspect entails that the manner in which the state is governed differs between societies.

The present chapter provides a discussion of Javanese cultural perspectives on politics and governance. This chapter presents a thorough examination of the philosophical dimensions behind the interpretation of politics within the context of Javanese culture. The initial section of the discourse examines the notion of culture, which serves as a tool for analytical purposes. The subsequent section shall present an overview of Javanese culture. The primary topics of discourse encompass the conceptualization of Javanese culture, the genealogy of the origin of Javanese culture and its prominent characteristics. The subsequent part examines the notions of state and power through the lens of Javanese culture. The conceptualization of the state and its power dynamics will be informed by the scholarly contributions of Soemarsaid Moertono and Benedict Anderson, as they provide a comprehensive analysis by comparing Javanese political culture with the Western political perspective. Furthermore, their studies are

frequently employed by numerous scholars to elucidate the political culture of the Javanese. This section also explores the attributes of a leader and the concept of an optimal leadership model. The subsequent part delves into the perspective of Javanese culture about foreign affairs. The topic of international relations is infrequently addressed within the context of Javanese culture. Nevertheless, given the primary focus of this study on foreign relations as opposed to domestic politics, it is imperative to thoroughly address this matter within this particular area. The concluding portion serves as the culmination of these deliberations.

3.1 Culture as an Analytical Instrument

In the realm of social sciences, culture has emerged as a significant analytical instrument that aids in comprehending and interpreting various aspects of human societies. Culture functions as a versatile analytical tool, enabling scholars and researchers to explore the complex aspects of human behavior, societal frameworks, and collective convictions. Culture, fundamentally, comprises the entirety of collective knowledge, traditions, convictions, principles, and behaviors that characterize a specific group of individuals (Ningsi, et al, 2023: 209). When utilized as an analytical tool, culture becomes a potent perspective through which to scrutinize and comprehend the intricacies of human societies, revealing the historical, social, and psychological aspects that influence its identity. This analytical approach acknowledges that culture is not fixed but rather a dynamic entity that continually adapts, in response to both internal and external stimuli. Cultural artifacts encompass various forms of human expression, including behavioral patterns, language, tools, social organizations, religion, art, and other elements that facilitate societal living (Soekamto, 2013: 67).

The concept of culture is one that has been subject to various definitions by experts in the field. Edward B. Taylor asserts that the concept of culture encompasses a wide range of human abilities and practices that are acquired by individuals as they participate in society. This includes not only beliefs, customary law, arts, and knowledge, but also various other aspects that contribute to the overall cultural material (Taylor, 1887: 167). In a similar vein, Ralph Linton contends that culture can be comprehended as comprising the complete range of practices and beliefs that characterize a society, rather than being confined to a specific set of societal traditions that are deemed superior or more preferable (Linton, 1945: 84). According to Alisyahbana (1969: 78), the concept of culture can be understood as a tangible

representation of the cognitive processes of human beings. In other words, culture serves as a visible expression of the way individuals think and perceive the world around them. This perspective highlights the intricate relationship between human cognition and the various cultural phenomena that emerge as a result. By recognizing culture as a manifestation of human thinking, Alisyahbana emphasizes the significance of cognitive processes in shaping and influencing the development and expression of cultural practices, beliefs, and values (Ibid). Ting-Toomey posits that culture is an acquired system of meaning that encompasses patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, conventions, and symbols that are transmitted. It is transmitted from one generation to the next, these are shared to a varying degrees and obtained through engagement with community folks (Ting-Toomey,1999: 9).

In his work, Clifford Geertz provides a comprehensive definition of culture. According to Geertz, culture can be understood as a structured system that encompasses meanings and symbols. These meanings and symbols play a crucial role in shaping how individuals perceive and interpret their surroundings. Moreover, culture influences how individuals express their emotions and make judgments. Geertz emphasizes that the patterns of meaning within a culture are transmitted across generations, thereby highlighting the historical dimension of culture. Additionally, these patterns of meaning find expression in symbolic forms through various means of communication, service, and knowledge development (Geertz, 1973: 89). In this regard, it is evident that culture can be understood as a symbolic system. This implies that culture encompasses a collection of symbols, signs, and meanings that are shared and transmitted among individuals within a particular social group or community. These symbols serve as a medium through which individuals communicate and make sense of their world.

Based on the given description, culture, when employed as an analytical instrument, denotes the notion that culture functions as a framework of meanings and symbols that impact individuals' perception of their environment, expression of their emotions, formation of judgments, and contribution to knowledge via communication. This concept serves as a tool for analysis, allowing to comprehend and interpret the significance and patterns in individuals or societies. Thus, this cultural analysis will provide a more profound comprehension of how culture shapes the interactions of

individuals and groups with their environment, as well as the evolution and dynamics of culture over time.

Ross (2010: 134) contends that culture plays a crucial role in the examination of politics as it establishes a structure for organizing individuals' everyday lives, determining their own and others' positions within society, comprehending the actions and deciphering the motivations of others, providing a foundation for analyzing interests, connecting identities to political engagement, and influencing individuals and groups to favor certain actions while discouraging others. Political culture refers to the political dimension of the value and belief system that emerges inside a society. Musliamin perceives political culture as a component of political values encompassing knowledge, practices, and beliefs. The majority of society are aware of and embrace all of this, which helps them justify their acceptance or rejection of other values and standards (Musliamin, 2021: 157). Political culture analysis is a valuable tool for understanding the influence of culture on the collective behavior of a political community. It helps assess the community's productivity in relation to overall societal development and examines how the political culture of a society evolves and changes over time.

3.2 A Philosophical Overview of Javanese Culture

The etymology of the term 'Java' can be traced back to its likely inception around 132 AD, as evidenced by Chinese texts. This text recounts that a king hailing from the region of 'Ye-Tiao' dispatched a diplomatic envoy to present tribute to the Chinese emperor. The name 'Ye-Tiao' corresponds to the Chinese designation for 'Jawadwipa', but the appellation 'Tiao Pien' in Chinese denotes the Sanskrit name 'Dewawarman' ascribed to the King. The phrase 'Jawadwipa' is believed to have preceded the term 'Jawa'. The term 'Jawadwipa' refers to an island predominantly associated with the cultivation of rice, as shown in the Hindu epic Ramayana (Rani, 2010: 52). According to Vlekke (2016: 16), the epic narrative describes Jawadwipa as being adorned with seven kingdoms and islands made of precious metals, known for their abundant natural resources. The veracity of this narrative is undeniably a subject of contention. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable that Javanese culture existed before the introduction of Indian, Chinese, Islamic, and Western cultural influences. The provided image is a map of Indonesia, highlighting the geographical position of Java island within the country.



3.1: The Map of Indonesia

Source: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-indonesia-political-map-147161674.html>

The definition of 'Javanese' is inherently intricate owing to the different sub-cultural backgrounds of the individuals residing on the island of Java. Koentjaraningrat (1984: 25) posits that the term "Javanese culture" encompasses a multitude of sub-cultures. He argues that there exist a minimum of four distinct Javanese sub-cultures that are frequently linked with the Java region. The region of Banyumas in Java encompasses many areas located in the western portion of Central Java, including Brebes, Tegal, Pemasang (north), Cilacap, Kebumen, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, and Banyumas with its capital city of Purwokerto (south). Furthermore, Mataraman Java is a cultural region that traces its origins to the esteemed Yogyakarta and Solo palaces. Geographically, it encompasses the area spanning from Central Java to East Java, specifically in the Brantas River delta, which includes regions like as Kediri, Nganjuk, and Mojokerto. Third, coastal Java, namely the people who live on the north coast of Java, particularly those residing along the northern coast. The aforementioned regions encompass Indramayu and Cirebon in the western part, Kudus and Demak in the central part, and Tuban and Gresik in the eastern part. One notable attribute of coastal culture is its adherence to the Islamic faith, which is often characterized by a puritanical approach. Meanwhile, the southern coastal region of East Java, commonly referred to as Tiyang Osing, encompasses the population residing in the Blambangan (Banyuwangi) area, as well as individuals of mixed Javanese descent in Surabaya, Pasuruan, Malang, Probolinggo, Panarukan, Situbondo, Jember, Lumajang, and neighboring localities. It is notable that these communities exhibit a discernible influence from Madurese culture (Ibid, 26).

Among the four sub-cultures, those associated with the 'Javanese' sub-culture in this particular context exhibit a greater inclination towards the cultural influences emanating from the palaces of Yogyakarta and Solo, which are located in Central Java and East Java respectively. In essence, the term 'Javanese' refers to individuals who primarily communicate in the Javanese language as their native tongue. Magnis-Suseno (1984: 11) states that the Javanese people are the indigenous residents of the Central and Eastern regions of Java island who communicate in the Javanese language. The Javanese language has historical origins that can be traced back to Sanskrit and ancient Indian languages. According to Kontjaraningrat (1984: 19), the Javanese script can be traced back to the Devanagari Sanskrit writing system that originated in South India. This writing system, in turn, can be traced back to the inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty in the 4th century. Javanese language style, specifically in terms of pronunciation, is categorized into three distinct social levels, known as 'Ngoko', 'Madya', and 'Krama'. The three levels possess distinct social functions that mirror the hierarchical structure of social status within Javanese culture.

One prominent feature of Javanese culture is its notable inclusivity, since it is receptive to external cultural influences rather than being impervious to them. The Javanese culture underwent significant transformation during the period of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, spanning from the 4th century AD until the decline of the Majapahit Kingdom in the 15th century. This transformation was primarily influenced by the interaction with Indian culture, resulting in the assimilation of various values from Shivaism, Vishnuism, and Buddhism. Notably, these values encompassed aspects such as reverence for ancestors, perspectives on death and salvation, belief in a cosmic order, and the incorporation of ancient tribal myths (Magnis-Suseno, 1984: 30). It is important to acknowledge that the incorporation of Buddhist components into Javanese culture involves more than mere acculturation. Rather, it signifies the revival of Javanese cultural practices through the assimilation of Indian religious and cultural elements. In this context, Javanese cultural icons demonstrate proactive engagement in the assimilation and reinterpretation of Indian religious and cultural components, with the aim of revitalizing and advancing Javanese culture (Simuh, 2019: 16).

The island of Java witnessed the diffusion of Islam facilitated by the efforts of the Walisongo, resulting in significant transformations and acculturation within Javanese culture. The initial Javanese culture can be characterized as animistic and dynamistic

as it predates the influence of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic traditions (Huda, 2017: 45). Prior to the introduction of these cultural influences, Vlekke contends that Javanese people adhered to a belief system that posited the universe's essence as a manifestation of supernatural forces. This belief comprises two fundamental components. The first component pertains to the pantheistic perspective, which posits that all entities, including living organisms, possess a soul or life energy. The second component involves the conviction in the presence of an a soul or power that permanently resides within a human being or other things (Vlekke, 2016: 14). This belief endures and mixes with other ideas to create a belief system within Javanese society.

The fundamental characteristic of Javanese culture revolves around the realm of mysticism and spirituality (Smith, 2020: 5-10). The term commonly used to refer to this belief system is *Kejawen (javanism)*. The aforementioned phrase does not pertain to the conventional religious terminologies commonly recognized by the general populace. *Kejawen*, also known as Javanism, is not considered a religious classification, but rather a system of ethics and a way of life that draws inspiration from Javanese philosophical perspectives (Mulder, 2001: 13). *Kejawen* prioritizes spiritual elements over the formal procedures associated with religious observance. This framework encompasses the Javanese understanding of the nature of the world, as well as the social interactions and ethical principles that govern Javanese society (Asmuni, 2021: 303). The *Kejawen* belief system is commonly linked to the *abangan* (bureaucrat or more tend to be secular group) faction, which is known for its opposition to the white or *santri* (religious group) faction as explained by Clifford Greetz (1960: 112).

Similar to Western philosophy, Javanese philosophy can be comprehended via three distinct lenses: ontology, which concerns the fundamental nature of existence; epistemology, which explores the nature of human knowledge; and axiology, which delves into ethics and values. From an ontological perspective, Javanese philosophy aligns with the concept of monism which posits that the fundamental nature of all entities is singular (Mulder, 1990: 12). Monism stands in opposition to dualism, a philosophical perspective that posits the existence of two opposing substances as the fundamental essence of all things. Examples of dualistic frameworks include Descartes' distinction between the 'body' and 'soul' and Taoism's teachings on 'Yin'

and 'Yang'. According to the tenets of Javanese monism, the essence of Javanese spirituality resides in the doctrine of 'manunggaling kawula gusti' (the amalgamation of common individuals with the king), which posits the inseparable unity between God and humanity. In essence, the concept of 'God' and 'human' can be understood as fundamentally interconnected. According to Dumadi, the Javanese philosophy of '*panunggalan*' posits the notion that all elements within the universe are interconnected and constitute a cohesive entity referred to as single unity of universe (Dumadi, 2011: 1). The concept of unity is also evident in the *hanacaraka* script in which, Ciptoprawiro (2000: 15) assert that human beings maintain a perpetual connection with both the divine being and the cosmos and possess a profound understanding of their inherent interconnectedness. The concept of oneness posits that human existence and behavior serve as a manifestation of the divine life and acts. The concept of human being in a condition of unity might be seen as a manifestation of the divine inside the realm of the physical world (Simuh, 1998: 326).

The notion of unity is not inherently indigenous to Java. Within the context of Hinduism, there exists a philosophical concept known as "Tat tvam asi", which can be translated as 'thou art that'. Within the Javanese teachings, there exists a tale concerning the creese and its sheath, which states "Curiga manjing warangka, warangka manjing curiga" (the creese goes into its sheath, and the sheath can be entered by the creese) (Mulder, 1990). This proverbial expression highlights the reciprocal relationship between the heritage creese and its sheath, emphasizing the inseparable nature of these two entities. In this regard, Simuh (1998: 290-291) contends that the existence of human life inside a particular situation can be seen as a manifestation of the divine presence in the world. The doctrine mentioned is indeed present within the Islamic tradition, particularly in the teachings of *Wahdat al-Wujud* by Ibn Arabi and Mansur al-Hallaj, where the concept of 'tajalli' holds significance. Syeh Siti Jenar is the prominent figure associated with the teachings of the *walisongo*. In accordance with the perspective put forward by Siti Jenar, the entirety of existence can be considered as a manifestation of the divine, implying that the distinction between the invisible and the perceptible is fundamentally interconnected and inseparable (Chodjim, 2007: 56-58).

The Javanese cosmology, which places significant emphasis on the concept of unity within existence, holds ramifications for the understanding of human knowledge.

From the Javanese standpoint, the notion of knowledge diverges significantly from the rational approach prevalent in Western thought. The Javanese populace exhibits a preference for pragmatic knowledge over philosophical thoughts. It is because the Javanese philosophy primarily revolves around the practical aspects of daily existence. The inseparability of theory and practice is a fundamental principle in Javanese culture. Magnis-Suseno (1984: 82) asserts that Javanese people prioritize the pragmatic value of knowledge in their pursuit of attaining calmness, peace, and inner equilibrium. In this context, Ki Ageng Suryomentaram (1892-1962) argues that the concept of knowledge in Javanese culture is referred to as 'kawruh' (the knowledge of wisdom), which encompasses knowledge that primarily serves the purpose of assisting individuals in self-discovery and providing guidance for leading a wise and fulfilling life.

The objective of Javanese philosophy is to attain a state of perfection, commonly referred to as "ngudi kasampurnan" (pursuit of perfection)(Wibawa, 2013: 332). According to Javanese cultural values, individuals maintain a perpetual connection with the divine and the cosmos, thereby cultivating a profound awareness of their inherent interconnectedness. In the realm of western philosophy, it is commonly posited that humans are perceived as being detached or separate from their surrounding world (Galus, 2015: 98-99). In Eastern philosophical traditions, the pursuit of knowledge is primarily oriented towards personal growth rather than external objectives. The process of learning entails the cultivation of one's moral and social attributes in order to attain personal excellence as a human being.

Therefore, as Stange (1984: 114-115) explains that the Javanese people distinguishes between the concepts of 'knowledge' as science and gnosis. Knowledge is derived from the cognitive processes of human beings through the establishment and implementation of scientific methodologies. The inherent characteristics of science necessitate a foundation rooted in rationality, logic, systematicity, and analysis. However, it is not necessary for gnosis to adhere to rationality. Gnosis can be acquired through the processes of revelation or intuition, which are facilitated by engaging in introspective inner practice aimed at attaining knowledge and comprehension. The notion of feeling encompasses not just physical sensations but also emotional experiences, which involve elements such as consciousness, subjective significance, and potential divine influences on human consciousness (Beatty, 2001: 229). It can be

said that taste serves as an interface that links bodily sensations encompassing taste and touch, emotional experiences originating from the heart, and the most profound and mystical forms of appreciation. The Same as in the notion of ‘ma’rifah’ in sufism, gnosis in Javanese culture is attained by the practice of various kinds of self-denial, including asceticism, meditation, fasting, and self-discipline. These approaches aim to restrain physical desires, so facilitating the acquisition of gnosis. The aforementioned statement aligns with the principles espoused by Mangkunegara IV in his literary work *Serat Wedhatama*, whereby he asserts that the acquisition of wisdom is achieved through internal cultivation (Endraswata, 2006: 32-37). The concept of existence is not derived from logical deduction, but rather from spiritual encounters or introspective appreciation (Ciptopprawarito, 2005: 38).

Aligned with the aforementioned Javanese worldview connected to the ontological aspects of existence and the acquisition of knowledge in Javanese society, Javanese philosophy encompasses a substantial body of ethical teachings from an axiological standpoint. There is a possibility that Javanese philosophy can be characterized as an ethical philosophy. The fundamental principles of Javanese ethics revolve around the concepts of harmony and respect (Yu, 2022: 14). Stange also argues that the concept of harmony entails the preservation of harmonious relations among individuals. The traditional Javanese society places significant importance on the principles of harmony, balance, peace, and consensus (Stange, 2007: 28). According to Javanese cosmology, the state of harmony is not a product of deliberate creation, but rather an inherent and intrinsic condition. The concept of order entails aligning oneself with the fundamental principles of the cosmos, which include unity, wholeness, and the interconnectedness between humanity and the creator (Mulder, 2001: 38). The responsibility of humanity is not to generate harmony, but rather to uphold and sustain such a state. The principle of harmony entails the preservation of social equilibrium through the avoidance of disruptions to societal order. According to Magnus-Suseno, harmony refers to the concerted effort to prevent the occurrence of disputes (Magnus-Suseno, 1984: 40).

There are several characteristics of Javanese society in their social life that embody a sense of harmony. Firstly, the concept of a collective attitude. The Javanese community places great importance on the concept of collective unity. There exists a colloquial phrase “mangan ra mangan sing pending ngumpul” which emphasizes the

significance of the act of gathering, regardless of whether one consumes food or not (Tandywijaya, 2020: 199). The Javanese people has a notable aversion towards individualistic tendencies. In order for society to function effectively, it will be necessary for individuals to prioritize the collective welfare over their own personal interests. As stated by Frans Magnis Suseno (1984:40), the pursuit of individual benefits without regard for societal acceptability, as well as the endeavor to advance independently without involving collective entities, is deemed unfavorable. Similarly, the act of independently taking initiative is often seen with disapproval. This aligns with a collectivist attitude observed in Asian nations, which emphasizes the need to discourage individuality and promote conformity within a community. In the context of Asian societies, especially the Javanese culture, the prioritization of preserving harmonious social relations is seen to be of greater importance than the pursuit of personal objectives. The measurement of success is not contingent upon individual accomplishments, but rather on the extent to which an individual contributes towards the attainment of collective objectives. According to Nisbett (2003: 49), attitudes towards individualism and self-assertion are not highly esteemed.

Second, the notion of self-restraint is another important aspect to consider. The Javanese community is expected to possess the capacity to restrain their emotions, as the act of excessive self-expression is perceived as disruptive to societal order (Sriyanti, 2012: 68-69). Being Javanese entails possessing cultural knowledge, including familiarity with individuals, etiquette, and an understanding of one's social standing (Mulder, 2001: 96). Hence, under Javanese culture, the act of overtly declining or accepting a proposition is regarded as unfriendly. The Javanese population exhibits signs of discomfort or rejection through the use of indirect statements. As an individual of Javanese descent, it is customary to adhere to certain cultural norms that exist in the society. Individuals of Javanese descent who have internalized the cultural ideals of Java tend to perceive their own life as significantly contingent upon their affiliation with their respective social collectives. According to Magnis-Suseno (1984: 47), a Javanese will refrain from outright contradicting the desires of others or openly displaying animosity. These qualities are consistent with the Javanese ethical principle of "Tepa selira" (tolerance), which emphasizes the importance of individuals taking into account the consequences of their words and actions on others (Andayani, 2013: 398).

Third, the notion of mutual cooperation and deliberation. The Javanese society places significant stress on the relevance of these two ideas, which can be seen as consequences stemming from the notion of unity or collectivism. The principle of mutual cooperation embodies the virtuous notion that individuals should prioritize the collective interest or “*sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe*” (actively engaging in benevolent actions for the betterment of all) (Hapsari and Supardjo, 2020: 159). The assertion made is that Javanese culture does not impose restrictions on individuals' own goals, but instead provides a social system for harmonizing these interests in order to benefit the collective (ibid: 58). In the realm of social dynamics, deliberation is a social mechanism for integrating common interests, even including one's personal interests.

In addition to the concept of harmony, Javanese ethics places significant emphasis on the value of respect. The aforementioned perspective is indicative of the hierarchical structure prevalent in Javanese cosmology. The preservation of order within a given environment is contingent upon the effective execution of individual roles by each person in accordance with their respective positions. It is imperative that individuals possess the ability to behave themselves in accordance with established norms of etiquette. As explained by Hapsari and Supardjo, It is expected that individuals occupying subordinate roles demonstrate deference towards individuals occupying superior positions. Conversely, those occupying higher positions exhibit caring qualities akin to those of paternal and maternal figures, assuming a comprehensive sense of duty towards those under their care (ibid: 60). As stated before, the socioeconomic stratification is evident in the three tiers of Javanese language utilization, namely ‘*ngoko, madya, and kromo*’. The improper utilization of each strata of language can lead to feelings of embarrassment or social disapproval for the individual responsible. In Javanese ethics, there is a concept known as ‘*sungkan*’ or ‘*seگان*’ (ibid: 65), which can be translated as reluctance. Reluctance can be understood as a manifestation of self-regulation in managing one's emotional feelings towards those occupying a superior hierarchical position.

At this point, the discourse pertaining to Javanese philosophy has predominantly centered on matters pertaining to ontology, epistemology, and axiology. There exists a logical relationship among all three entities. The cosmology of the Javanese culture is characterized by its adherence to a monistic perspective, which emphasizes the unity

and singularity of life. This principle bears consequences for the epistemological process of human knowledge acquisition, specifically pertaining to the cultivation of wisdom through cognitive engagement. This behavior, in turn, seeks to cultivate a moral attitude (ethics) that aligns with the fundamental objective of the universe, which is the unification of humanity with the creator. Ultimately, the ethical principles applied in politics, as hypothesized by Zadari (2022: 6-7), are expected to advocate a way forward through more responsible politics at the national and international levels, involving taking the best potentially ethical actions that circumstances permit.

3.3 Javanese Culture Views on the Concept of State and Power

Given the diversity and fragmentation of the western philosophical perspective, certain scholars contend that the state represents the collective desires of society. In the 16th century, English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes proposed that the state's establishment stemmed from a social contract addressing the challenges of the natural condition, with the aim of forming a cohesive civil society (Sasan, 2021: 36). This agreement, as noted by Schmandt (2015: 317), does not focus on the relationship between leaders and the public but instead serves as a pact among individuals to curb self-centered and uncivilized tendencies. Conversely, John Locke, a prominent liberal philosopher, argued that the state's creation was motivated by individuals seeking to safeguard their innate desires for freedom, equality, and independence. Locke emphasized the state's role in protecting individual rights and penalizing those who violate them (ibid: 339). This perspective aligns with the ideas of J.J. Rousseau, who contended that the state's existence hinges on the manifestation of the general will within society (Caporioni, 2015: 62), suggesting that state formation, within the Western ideological framework, follows a bottom-up approach shaped by the collective will of the populace.

In contrast to the prior viewpoint, the Javanese perspective predicates that the state is not solely a product of agreements forged among individuals within a certain culture. The Javanese perspective on the concept of the state is grounded in the philosophical principle of “Manunggaling kawula gusti” (the amalgamation of common individuals with the king), as previously examined. The notion of oneness served as a significant influence on the governmental structure in Java, spanning from the age of the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom to the advent of Islam. The assertion is made that the state and its leader, specifically the king, are inseparable entities. This implies that the presence of

the state is inherently intertwined with the volition of its leader or monarch. This perspective diverges from the Western state paradigm, wherein politicians are perceived as trustee for executing the collective desires of the populace, sometimes referred to as the people's mandate. The Javanese worldview perceives the role of a leader as a divine appointment bestowed by a higher power (God). Similar to the political systems observed in other ancient world empires, the king was regarded as the embodiment of divinity, therefore possessing absolute and unrestricted authority. The viability of a nation is contingent upon the efficacy of its leadership. The source of a king's complete and exclusive power in a state is derived from the authority of leadership acquired through revelation or inner growth. The level of greatness exhibited by a leader is directly correlated with the level of greatness observed among the entire nation (Moertono, 2017: 87).

The Javanese cultural perspective on power diverges significantly from the Western understanding when considering the interdependence of the state and its leader. Benedict Anderson (2007: 21-28), a prominent scholar from Cornell University, known for his extensive research on Indonesia, presents the most authoritative articulation of the Javanese's idea of power. Anderson, who has extensively studied Java, has contributed significantly to the scholarly discourse on this subject. Anderson provides a comprehensive analysis whereby he outlines four distinct characteristics that serve to divide the Javanese and Western notions of power. Firstly, with regards to the conceptualization of power, Western perspectives tend to perceive it as an abstract concept, whereas in the context of Java, power is understood as a more tangible and concrete phenomenon. Based on the Western perspective, power is a fundamental element inside social relationships, exerting influence over individuals' inclination to comply or defy the desires of another entity. From a Javanese cultural standpoint, power is perceived as tangible as it is believed to permeate every entity, blurring the boundary between "inanimate" and "living" objects due to the belief that all things possess a soul. Power, in this context, can be understood as more than just the capacity to exert influence on others. Instead, it is conceptualized as a pervasive force or energy that permeates all aspects of existence.

Secondly, while examining power dynamics from a Western standpoint, it is evident that power derives from diverse origins, displaying heterogeneity. Conversely, within Javanese culture, power is derived solely from a singular source, hence exhibiting

homogeneity. According to Western political thinking, power can originate from various sources, such as material wealth, social standing, weaponry, and other factors. In contrast, the Javanese attribute authority to a singular source. Anderson's explanation of the source of Javanese power lacked sufficient information. Nevertheless, when examining the matter through the lens of Javanese cosmology, it is quite probable that the power originates from the divine entity, which is regarded as the architect of the cosmos. Engaging in the practice of restraining one's desires can lead an individual to develop a greater connection with the divine, resulting in the assimilation of God's power inside them. Hence, it was observed that the ancient rulers of Java exhibited a proclivity for engaging in *tapa*, a practice aimed at assimilating the energy and might of the world, with the ultimate objective of acquiring 'kasekten' or magical power. The possession of supernatural abilities is deemed an essential prerequisite for a monarch to effectively demonstrate their rule.

Thirdly, while addressing the aspect of quantity, the western perspective perceives power as unlimited, whereas Javanese culture regards power in the universe as constant. Western intellectuals hold the belief that power has the potential to be accumulated indefinitely. The potential for an individual's power to grow in the future can be enhanced by the accumulation of diverse sources of power. In contrast, the Javanese hold the belief that power is inherent (given) and not a product of creation, hence making its presence in the universe unproblematic and immutable. The implication posits that the concentration of power in one locus will result in a corresponding decrease of power concentration in other locales. The accumulation of power by an individual or nation will lead to a reduction of power for another individual or nation.

Finally, from the perspective of Western thought, the acquisition of power is closely linked to matters of ethics and morality. The question of the legitimacy of an individual's power has been a subject of extensive discourse throughout Western political philosophy. This ongoing discussion stems from the recognition that political ethics necessitates leaders to adhere to specific normative principles in order to govern effectively. Conversely, Javanese culture exhibits a more accepting attitude towards such matters. Power is power no matter what way it is earned. The individual who attains power (sanctity) is seen legitimate in their authority due to their alignment with the cosmic order.

The relationship between leaders and people possesses distinctiveness when viewed from a Javanese standpoint. Within this framework, the role of the king/leader and his people might be likened to the correlation between 'gusti' and 'kawula'. Soemarsani Moertono provides an explanation of the relationship between the two in the following manner: The idea of "kawula-gusti" not only illustrates the connection between the upper and lower classes, but also highlights the strong dependency between two distinct yet inseparable parts, which are essentially two facets of the same entity (Moertono, 2017:31). This concept diverges from the Chinese understanding of 'Yin' and 'Yang', in which they are regarded as distinct elements that mutually enhance each other in a balanced partnership. According to Javanese cosmology of power, 'kawula' and 'gusti' share a complementary connection within a hierarchical system, where the position of 'gusti' (leader) is superior to that of 'kawula' (normal people). The practical aspect of this perspective is that a ruler should demonstrate parental care for their people, just as parents care for their children. In turn, the people should exhibit a genuine sense of devotion. In his work, Paul Stange (2007: 37) asserts that the optimal leader is an individual who effectively fosters a sense of collective consciousness within the group under their authority. The aspiration to become an exemplary ruler is achieved when leaders possess an understanding of their surroundings and possess a direct perception of the sentiments resonating inside the population they govern. This may appear optimistic. Nevertheless, the understanding of the connection between leaders and individuals in Javanese society suggests that subordinates lack autonomy. The leader's thoughts exert control over subordinates. The ideal society is one in which all individuals, referred to as 'kawula', are governed by the Sultan's divine authority as a representative of God Himself (Woodward, 2008: 276).

An effective leader possesses the capability to uphold systematic order. According to Moertono (2017: 55), the primary political responsibility of a leader is to proactively avert disturbances and effectively restore order in the event that they do occur. As previously said, Javanese culture highly values social order, considering it the ultimate focus of existence. The Javanese people prioritize the preservation of harmony. Anderson (2007: 19) argues that harmony in Javanese culture is associated with two primary values: prosperity and order. The motto "Tata Tentrem karta raharja" represents the harmonious coexistence of these two elements, promoting order, peace, and prosperity. In Javanese viewpoint, power generates favorable circumstances.

Conversely, the emergence of adverse circumstances such as disorder, strife, or even armed conflict does not stem from the leader's authority, but rather indicates a decline in their power. Hence, the indications of disposition, such as calamities and disorder, are frequently linked to the prevailing political circumstances of the nation.

At this point, it can be inferred that the Javanese understanding of state and power is unique. The essence of Javanese political beliefs is around the monist ideology of “Manunggaling kawula gusti”, which asserts that the state and its ruler are inseparable. The state's existence is not contingent upon communal consensus, but rather on the ruler's volition. The authority of a leader is unequivocal and should be followed by the populace, akin to how children comply with their parents. Conversely, the monarch has a duty to safeguard and support the well-being of the people, ensuring their bodily and mental requirements are fulfilled. The primary responsibility of a leader is to safeguard the stability and prosperity of society by mitigating all disruptions. Due to the Javanese understanding of power, which is associated with fostering communal harmony, the notion of "abuse of power" is nonexistent in the natural perception of the soul. Abuse of power arises when leaders neglect their obligations towards the populace. Legal measures can be taken against parties deemed disruptive to establish order. Regarding international relations, an aggressive approach is deemed acceptable as long as it is pursued for the honor and prestige of the nation.

3.4 Javanese Culture Views on International Relations

The Javanese cultural understanding of power has significant consequences for the notions of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and foreign relations (Anderson, 2007: 28). Prior to the establishment of modern sovereignty through the 1648 Westphalian convention, the kingdoms in the archipelago possessed their own distinct notions of sovereignty. The Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Kediri, Singasari, and Majapahit, together with the Islamic kingdoms of Demak and Mataram, commonly employed centripetal concepts of sovereignty. This implies that the concept of state sovereignty is not confined to certain geographical bounds, but rather it is adaptable and can expand or shrink depending on the authority of the leader (Ibid). Due to the constancy of power, the expansion of power by one empire will always lead to a diminishment of power among other empires. Hence, war and conquest became more prevalent during this era as a means of amassing power.

In Javanese culture, the manifestation of power in the international arena is highly valued because a large country symbolizes the influence of its leader. According to Moertono, a large country is one that is "dawa kuncarene, excel kawibawane" (known for its fame and high authority), or in simpler terms, it is like a big torch that radiates its presence, and its fame reaches far and wide. The leader of such a country is respected by other nations (Moertono, 2017: 87). The presence of these qualities gives rise to the cult of majesty, which holds that a leader must be capable of showcasing their authority and power in order to secure devotion from both their people and adversaries.

As noted by Anderson (2007: 13), the concept of power in Java does not emphasize efforts to use power (exercise of power) but rather on showing or displaying signs of power. Various manifestations of grandeur, such as bestowing royal titles, elaborate attire, ceremonial practices, showcasing cultural heritage, constructing opulent palaces serve as means to demonstrate the king's authority. Within the framework of international relations, war is not merely perceived as a means to solely enhance one's influence, but rather as a deliberate endeavor to get acknowledgment that other nations must yield to their authority.

This thought gave rise to the notion of a 'mandala', which is a doctrine that emphasizes the desire for expansion, a necessary driver in the struggle for life, self-assertion and mastery of the world, and dynamic factors that are expected to disrupt the balance of relations between countries (Moertono, 2017: 101). Wolters (1999) states that the geopolitical order of the Southeast Asian region throughout the pre-modern era was defined by the notion of mandala. In this notion, a monarch possesses unrestricted authority over subordinate territories. The concept of mandala entails the subjugation of one kingdom or country to another kingdom or central state. Unlike the contemporary notion of sovereignty, which entails well-defined bounds for a nation's territory, the mandala symbolizes a state of affairs in which the extent of a state's authority is boundless and adaptable. The term 'strategic culture' is used in the context of the cult of magnificence to justify the reasons for engaging in warfare (Johnson, 1995: 37). The presence of this cult is attributed to the Javanese cultural viewpoint on power, which diverges significantly from the Western notion of authority. Similar to Chinese culture, Javanese culture perceives the power structure in the global arena as hierarchical, wherein countries beyond the central territory are regarded as colonial

nations (vassals) that exist to fulfill the core country's goals. In Chinese culture, this system is referred to as Tianxia, which translates to 'world under heaven', and is also known as the 'tributary system' (Jacques, 2011: 34). The Javanese employ the expression "kang cedak mangling, kang tebih tumiyung" (those who are close bow down and those who are far away lean forward) to encapsulate the concept of the mandala. The drive for expansion is motivated by the intention to assure conformity, as stated by Moertono (2017: 101).

The idea of mandala implies that the nearest neighbor poses the greatest threat. This aligns with the realism principle, commonly held in Western thinking, that 'my neighbor is my adversary'. It is logical to think that the amount of vulnerability increases as the geographical distance to another Kingdom decreases. Hence, the nearest Kingdom is exceedingly cautious. To monitor risks from neighbors, three tactics can be employed: destruction and dispersal, absorption, or a combination of both (Anderson, 2007: 31). The tactic of destruction entails engaging in combat or eliminating the fundamental causes. This approach is an aggressive tactic that tends to be severe. In the relations between territories, this approach is equivalent to employing hard power, whereas the second approach, known as absorption, tends to rely on soft power as other nations are inclined to willingly comply without the need for force (Ibid: 31-32).

Another implication of the 'mandala' strategy is the aspiration to attain global dominion. The core of this ideology is the Indian notion of 'chakravarti', a term derived from Sanskrit that signifies a global leader who governs with principles of ethics and compassion (Misra, 2016:13-24). This concept presupposes a global scenario devoid of conflict and warfare, as all political entities have been assimilated into the sphere of influence of a solitary ruler who is anticipated to possess the capability to uphold order in the worldwide system (Reid, 2015:328). Upon initial examination, this line of thought appears to bear a striking resemblance to the Western realist notion of hegemony. The world requires a one sovereign who possesses immense might and carries the noble duty of upholding global order.

Based on the given description, it is evident that Javanese culture strongly prioritizes power as the primary aspect of international interactions. The Javanese culture appears to perceive conflict and territorial expansion as customary aspects of interactions between states. While it does not have the only purpose of regional domination, it

primarily aims to get acknowledgement from other nations. The aggressive strategy employed here indicates that Javanese culture appears to sanction the utilization of violence and coercion as means of conducting foreign affairs. The Javanese concept of power aligns with classical realist approach, which posits that power is the primary objective of every state. The focus on power politics appears to contradict Javanese culture, which tends to like peace and harmony, and places great attention on manners and etiquette in interpersonal interactions.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an analysis of Javanese cosmology and its consequences for Javanese political thought. The central idea in Javanese philosophy is the concept of “manunggaling kawula gusti”, which describes the unity of existence of all things. This monistic perspective has extensive ramifications in the realm of politics. Initially, the state and its leader are considered as a single entity. The absence of a distinction between states and rulers arises from the fact that governments do not emerge from a social compact, as posited in Western political theory. Furthermore, since the king's power is not acquired through the authorization of the populace, it cannot be rescinded. It is considered that the king possesses complete and unrestricted authority. Furthermore, the dynamic between the monarch and the people might be likened to that of parental figures and their offspring. The leader has a duty to safeguard and serve those under their responsibility, while the people have an obligation to unquestioningly comply and obey the leader.

In interstate relations, the Javanese notion of power extends beyond mere power accumulation, emphasizing the significance of recognizing sovereign power and authority. A proactive approach is necessary, with a primary goal of asserting dominance and achieving maximum authority. Nevertheless, offensive measures often have adverse consequences, making an absorption plan the optimal approach. This entails employing soft power to effectively attain national interests. The excessive focus on the concept of ‘mandala’ and the obsession with grandeur is overly biased as it disregards other esteemed values within Javanese ideology.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXAMINATION OF JAVANESE POLITICAL CULTURE PERSPECTIVE ON INDEONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Since its independency, Indonesia has witnessed a series of leaders who have shaped the nation's political landscape. Sukarno, the founding president, governed from 1945 until 1967, advocating for a dynamic and independent foreign policy. Following Sukarno's era, Suharto assumed power in 1967, leading the country for over three decades characterized by stability and economic development. However, his rule ended in 1998 amid social and political upheaval. The subsequent presidents, including B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati Sukarnoputri, each held office for relatively short periods, navigating the challenges of democratization. In 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became president, focusing on economic reforms and anti-corruption measures during his two terms. Joko Widodo, commonly known as Jokowi, assumed office in 2014 and was re-elected in 2019. His presidency has been marked by infrastructure development, social welfare programs, and efforts to strengthen Indonesia's global standing. The diverse range of leaders reflects Indonesia's complex political landscape and the nation's ongoing journey toward political stability and economic progress.

Within the realm of foreign policy, Sukarno and Suharto, two significant figures in Indonesian history, established separate and unique foreign policies throughout their respective periods of leadership. Sukarno, the inaugural president of Indonesia, placed great emphasis on a proactive and self-reliant strategy that sought to establish Indonesia as a prominent figure, promoting the interests of developing nations, and cultivating partnerships. Sukarno's charismatic and nationalist position aimed to position Indonesia as a prominent participant in international affairs. Unlike Sukarno, Suharto, his successor, had a pragmatic and economically oriented approach to foreign policy. Suharto placed great importance on stability and economic growth, making regional cooperation a top priority and actively seeking international investment to enhance Indonesia's economy. His approach was a deviation from Sukarno's policy, which was heavily influenced by ideology, and instead emphasized practical statecraft and economic development. Sukarno's era was marked by intense commitment to

ideology and worldwide engagement, but Suharto's leadership focused on stability and economic progress when developing Indonesia's international relations.

Aligned with the argument made by Sebastian and Lanti (2010) that Javanese political culture and the political behavior of Indonesian leaders are proposed as the alternative basis for the IR approach, and in accordance with the recognition in a substantial body of literature that the first two Indonesian leaders were profoundly influenced by Javanese culture (see Sebastian and Lanti: 2010, Wibisono: 2020, Baskara: 2021, Darwin et al.: 2020), this chapter seeks to analyse the foreign policies of Sukarno and Suharto within the framework of Javanese political culture, which refers to the cultural norms and practices of the region where these two leaders were born and raised. This involves the examination of their speeches, writings, and public gestures to identify cultural elements embedded in their foreign policy.

This chapter commences by explaining the characteristics of both leader as well as their thoughts. The following explanation explores their foreign policy from a Javanese perspective, with a special emphasis on Javanese ideals that are perceived as aligning with their foreign policy. The inclusion of several case studies is expected to clarify the compatibility of their foreign policy with the Javanese political perspective. The Malaysia confrontation and the liberation of Western Irian will be the subject of the discussion regarding Sukarno, while the establishment of ASEAN and the mediation of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict will be associated with Suharto.

4.1 Sukarno Foreign Policy

4.1.1 The Figure of Sukarno and his Thoughts

Sukarno's persona is widely recognized by both the Indonesian populace and the global community. Numerous literary works have been dedicated to this subject. Indeed, there is a proliferation of narratives including mythical elements around Sukarno that are frequently disseminated among the general populace. Depicting Sukarno entails portraying one of the eminent individuals ever to emerge from the Indonesian populace. The origin of his reputation is most probably his extraordinary charisma, which was widely recognized for its capacity to engross numerous individuals. He possesses the capacity to sway listeners via the articulation of his fervent statements. In addition, his character was influenced by the transformative encounters he underwent as a youth, actively opposing Dutch colonial rule.

Another significant component is the impact of Javanese culture on his personality. While Sukarno's lineage was a composite of Javanese and Balinese, it was his father, Raden Sukemi Sosrodiharjo, who exerted a substantial influence on him. According to John Legge (2001: 33-34), who is Sukarno's biographer, Sukarno acquired elements of Javanese philosophy from his grandparents in Tulungagung, his father in Mojokerto, and also from Wagiman, an impoverished farmer in Mojokerto. From an early age, Sukarno was deeply involved in the *wayang* tradition (Javanese traditional puppet theatre). He frequently incorporates *wayang* narratives into his presentations. Sukarno stated in his memoirs that his father frequently imparted life lessons to him through *wayang* tales. The name Sukarno is derived from the term Karno, which refers to the offspring of Batara Surya and Kunti in the Mahabrata narrative, symbolizing patriotic attributes (Adams, 2014: 32).

Sukarno's dominant personality trait was his relentless pursuit of victory (Ibid: 34). This attribute of aversion to defeat ultimately exerted a significant impact on Sukarno's attitude and approach to leadership, particularly when confronted with the predicament of Dutch colonialism. Confronting the Dutch, Sukarno exhibited no trace of fear, even enduring many incarcerations. There is a single premise, which is that independence has a certain cost and the value of being a free nation must be maintained (Ibid: 174). This individual's personality is characterized by a strong focus on unity, nationalism, and opposition to colonialism and imperialism, which significantly influences his thinking style. The primary tenets of Sukarno's political ideology may be identified as these three fundamental ideas. Initially, Sukarno aimed to consolidate the Indonesian nation by integrating its heterogeneous cultures into a unified Indonesian entity. Sukarno was aware of the fact that the diversity within Indonesian society had the potential to incite perilous divides, which posed a greater threat than the conflict with the Dutch. Sukarno's famous phrase suggests that that his battle was comparatively less challenging as he confronted external aggressors and triumphed in expelling them, whereas the struggle of the Indonesian populace would be challenging due to its internal nature, entailing a conflict against their fellow compatriots.

The first core manifestation of Sukarno's concept of unity was the doctrine of *Pancasila* (5 foundational principles of Indonesia). According to Sukarno, *Pancasila* did not originate with Sukarno, but rather has a longstanding existence in Indonesia. Sukarno claims to have uncovered the latent worth of the islands, which had been

concealed for millennia. During his speech at Gadjah Mada University on 19 September 1951, Sukarno expresses his humility when bestowing the doctor honoris causa regarding Pancasila:

In accordance with Pancasila, I am nothing more than the "formulator" of the aspirations and innermost thoughts of successive generations of Indonesians, or the "expresser" of desires that have remained in the hearts of the Indonesian people for decades. From my perspective, the Indonesian people have historically embraced Pancasila, in which, in my opinion, represents the DNA of the Indonesian people (Sukarno, 2015: 57).

In his speech commemorating the birth of Pancasila on July 5 1958, Sukarno emphasized that eternal and perpetual national unity is contingent upon a foundation that transcends the confines of the nation and beyond the geographical boundaries of Indonesia (Sukarno, 2015: 98). Sukarno refers to Pancasila as an ideological framework. He believes that a nation lacking a coherent ideology would be unable to endure. In another instance, during his speech on February 1, 1957, he criticized liberal democracy as a 'imported democracy'. According to him, this type of democracy is not in line with the spirit of the Indonesian nation, which highly values the sense of kinship (Feith, 1998: 72). He often warns about the threat of the disintegration of national unity due to the implementation of a political system that is not in line with the pattern and cultural character of Indonesia.

Sukarno's second key contribution revolved around the concept of nationalism. A significant number of Indonesians continue to hold the belief that Sukarno was a communist due to his conciliatory approach towards the Indonesian Communist party (PKI) and leftist factions. Nevertheless, the portrayal of Sukarno as a communist figure is entirely inaccurate, as numerous historians, including Herold Couch, assert that his association with the PKI was merely limited to the level of political interest. Furthermore, the inception of the NASAKOM (nationalism, religion, and communism) concept was merely an attempt to unite the three major powers of the time (Samingan, 2022: 75-76). Sukarno was an advocate of nationalism. The ideology espoused by Sukarno is evident in the political organization he established, the Indonesian National Party (PNI). Sukarno's thought was reflected in the PNI through three key aspects: national unity, a confrontational stance towards the Dutch, and the ideology of Marhaenism (Legge, 2001: 120-122). Marhaenism is an ideology

embraced by the marhaen, which refers to the impoverished individuals in Indonesia who are self-employed rather than working for others. In this regard, Sukarno provided the following definition:

A Marhaen is an individual who possesses limited resources and things, barely sufficient for their own needs. Our nation, consisting of a large population, who have been impoverished, and there is no utilization of one's energy by others for their own benefit. Marhaenism is the practical implementation of Indonesian Socialism (Adams, 2014: 75).

Sukarno also stressed that his idealism did not include a restricted form of nationalism that exalted one's own nation while disparaging others (chauvinism). In his own words, he defined 'nation' as; "A significant collective of individuals, characterized by a strong inclination towards unity, a desire to be together, and a shared character, residing within a specific territory as a cohesive entity" (Sukarno, 2015: 178).

In his speech on May 7, 1953, Sukarno cautioned the populace against embracing chauvinistic nationalism. Sukarno cautioned against adopting chauvinistic or restricted nationalism, instead advocating for a form of nationalism that embraces humanity as a whole (Feith, 1988:152). Sukarno thought that nationalism, rooted in a collective sense of destiny, would facilitate the realization of unifying diverse people.

Sukarno's third ideological pillar was anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. The genesis of young Sukarno's ideas appeared to take shape during his time as a boarder at the residence of Tjokroaminoto, a prominent player in the battle who established Sarekat Islam (SI). According to Sukarno's memoirs, from political discussions at Tjokro's house, his anti-colonialism awareness began to grow. Sukarno, who previously dedicated time to reading, started contemplating ways to affect societal transformation. Sukarno expressed his gradual transformation into a determined nationalist, recognizing the need for Indonesian youth to refrain from indulging in escapist fantasies (Adams, 2014: 49).

Sukarno's resistance against colonialism and imperialism gained prominence during the 1955 Asian-African Conference. Sukarno expressed his profound aversion for this in his remarks. Sukarno (2016: 100-101) stated that colonialism and imperialism are inherently cruel and should be completely eliminated from the world, regardless of the location, time, or method. Sukarno's condemnation of colonialism and imperialism

also intensified during the height of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Sukarno, that possessed a keen understanding of the manipulative tactics employed by powerful nations towards weaker ones, strongly declared at the United Nations that the era of colonialism and imperialism must come to an end. During his address to the United Nations session on September 30, 1960, titled “To Build a World Anew” Sukarno expressed his strong aversion towards imperialism and colonialism. He also expressed concern about the potential consequences of the final intense struggle for survival (Sukarno, 2016: 81). The profound hatred he harbored for colonialism and imperialism subsequently exerted a wide-ranging influence on his international policy.

4.1.2 Sukarno Foreign Policy in Javanese Political Culture Perspective

Indonesia's foreign policy during Sukarno's leadership was consistent with his unwavering approach towards the western countries and their supporters. The predominant characteristic of Indonesian foreign policy during this period was political confrontation (Sebastian and Lanti 2010: 159). According to Michael Leifer (1989: 81), Sukarno employs foreign policy as a means to fulfill his obsession on national unity and safeguard his authority against domestic political adversaries. In pursuit of this objective, Sukarno fearlessly confronted major nations that he believed were endorsing the ideologies of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. His personal nature, particularly the aversion to colonialism, influenced his foreign policy throughout this period. In his work, Frederick F. Bunnell (1966: 38) acknowledged that the Indonesian foreign policy during the Sukarno era displayed a tendency towards aggression, conflict, revolution, and expansion, which were a reflection of Sukarno's personal traits. Sukarno categorizes International structure into two opposing factions: Nefos (New Emerging Forces) and Oldefos (Old Emerging Forces). According to Sukarno, who was influenced by Marxist ideology, the international order was characterized by the exploitation of powerful and wealthy nations over weaker and impoverished nations. Sukarno's view prompted him to underscore the significance of tiny and impoverished nations combating this exploitation in order to preserve their dignity (B Weinstein, 2007).

For Sukarno, diplomacy was an instrument of revolution. In relation to this issue, Anak Agung Gede Agung stated:

True to the revolutionary spirit of that time and to the 'Romanticism of Revolution' of its conceiver and executor, Indonesia's foreign policy had its hallmark a militant drive against imperialism and colonialism in order that Indonesia might as the leader of the nonaligned countries and thus regain her self-respect and prestige in the field of international relations as a vindication of the humiliation she had to suffer during the colonial period (Agung, 1973: 285).

It may be inferred that Sukarno's confrontational tactics throughout his reign were primarily aimed at enhancing Indonesia's self-worth and global standing, rather than pursuing material benefits that directly served society. Sukarno advocated his ideas to the global community with the aim of attaining acknowledgment that Indonesia possessed sovereignty, character, and self-esteem, rather than being a subordinate nation under the dominion of others.

While Western scholars often link the attributes of Sukarno's foreign policy during his era to Western theories, it is important to note that the archipelago's culture, particularly that of Java, has its own distinct perspective. An appropriate Javanese cultural concept to illustrate Sukarno's foreign policy is "Sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi", which directly translates to "defending with utmost dedication a small portion of land, symbolized by a touch of the forehead, even at the cost of one's life". This principle is intricately connected to a sense of national allegiance. This implies that if anything is connected to a certain region or country, it has been acquired by them and is now under their possession. The phrase "Sadumuk Bathuk Sanyari Bumi" may also be interpreted as "land and honor are the two most principles that worth to die for". This implies that any attempt to dishonor someone will result in severe consequences and will be fiercely resisted. Even exchanged for one's own life. Essentially, this statement implies that if someone or a group or another country dishonors Indonesia, its people are prepared to sacrifice their lives to restore the tarnished honor (Widy, 2017).

This cultural norm illustrates a grave deffense, wherein pointing a finger at the forehead of a someone deemed intellectually unable is symbolic of insulting their

dignity. Consequently, the offender might be deemed as dishonoring and may face severe consequences, even risking their life. In the framework of a nation, a territory represents the nation's sovereignty. Territory also signifies the presence, self-worth, and crucial aspects of survival. When a country experiences territorial loss, it not only undermines its self-esteem but also poses a threat to its very survival. Hence, the philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" might be characterized as an emotional rather than rational expression, since it pertains to the notions of national self-esteem and honor (Widy, 2017). This is also intricately linked to land ownership. According to Reki, the phrase "Sadumuk Bathuk Sanyari Bumi" is strongly associated with the agricultural ethos. In Javanese culture, land holds great significance as it serves as the foundation of civilization in every community, including both philosophical and historical dimensions across different regions (Reki, 2018). Within this particular framework, the proverb signifies that any disruption to a small area of land will result in violent consequences (Hastanti, 2018).

The norm of "Sadumuk bathuk sanyari bumi" strongly emphasizes the significance of upholding the integrity of the nation and state (Anugerah, 2016). This philosophy has instilled in the indigenous people the resilience and passion to safeguard their sovereignty and repel any attempts by invaders to seize the land that has been passed down from their ancestors. Reki (2018) further elucidated the significance of land for the Indonesian populace. According to him, land and its natural resources are not only a divine gift but also a highly strategic element for the nation, state, and people, serving as the foundation for achieving social prosperity for the Indonesian people. Hence, state intervention is necessary to regulate it. The constitutional mandate also underscores the importance of such regulation, as stated in Article 33, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia, which asserts that "The earth, water, and natural resources contained therein are under the control of the state and should be utilized for the utmost welfare of the people".

In Javanese culture, the forehead represents honor and is located at the highest point of the head. Similarly, even a small piece of land, no matter how narrow, is highly valued as it provides a means of sustenance. Hence, this statement epitomizes the assertive disposition of Javanese individuals in safeguarding their possessions. Leaders that embrace this attitude are committed to employing all available means, even warfare if required, to safeguard their dignity and integrity. In simple terms, the

phrase "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" directly conveys the idea of employing military force to emphasize the significance of safeguarding one's homeland and preserving the unity and independence of a country. Rosihan Anwar's book documents that Sukarno, in his speech at the Senayan Sports Hall, asserted that the revolution could not be comprehensively addressed solely through rationality, but also required emotional factor, and those who are unaware of this fact are mistaken (Anwar, 2007: 99).

Upon initial observation, this notion appears to contradict the Javanese understanding of harmony. As elucidated in the preceding chapter, Javanese cosmology places significant emphasis on the precedence of harmony and equilibrium in one's existence. Javanese individuals prefer attitudes that demonstrate inner tranquility and a sense of harmony with the natural environment, as opposed to displays of aggression. Nevertheless, Javanese culture does not exhibit a hostile attitude towards the utilization of violent means. Among the Javanese, resorting to violent means is deemed acceptable only in cases where it is deemed very essential, as it pertains to matters of dignity and self-esteem. The perception of aggressiveness is not inherently negative as its interpretation depends on the surrounding circumstances. Engaging in aggression towards unsuitable circumstances is regarded as a disturbance to harmony. Conversely, aggression should be channeled towards noble objectives, benefiting society and the collective interests of numerous individuals. The assertive demeanor of a head of state should be construed as a means to safeguard the tranquility of the populace, rather than merely showcasing power or intimidating other nations. Therefore, it may be inferred that the idea of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" is linked to a combative and passionate demeanor aimed at preserving one's own dignity. This demeanor is perceived as defensive, as it serves the purpose of self-protection, rather than attacking. To understand the significance of this philosophy in interpreting Sukarno's foreign policy, the discussion further presents two case studies. These studies demonstrate how Sukarno displayed a forceful and passionate approach in defending regional sovereignty, which reflected the self-worth and dignity of the Indonesian nation.

4.1.2.1 The Case of Confrontation with Malaysia

An exemplary case that exemplifies Sukarno's ideology about the Javanese philosophy "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" is his confrontation with Malaysia,

sometimes referred to as his "Ganjang Malaysia" (destroy Malaysia) campaign. The root cause of this issue lies in the concept of "Greater Malaysia" in which England, being a former British colony, aspired to consolidate its former colonies, specifically Sabah and Sarawak, into a federation or a 'Malay land alliance'. England deemed this concept as the most logical and practical option to consolidate all of its former colonies. Indeed, the endeavor of the inhabitants in that region to achieve autonomy was already in progress, similar to other colonial regions. The British proposal directly opposes the Manila Agreement (Manila Accord) signed by representatives from Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Maphilindo). The Manila Agreement advocates for the conduct of fair and unrestricted elections, enabling everyone to select their own future under the supervision of the United Nations.

In essence, Britain did not independently proclaim its wish to establish the Malaysian Federation. The proposition for the unification of Malaysia was put out by Tengku Abdul Rahman, who served as the Prime Minister of Malaysia during that period. England enthusiastically endorsed this proposition as it aligned with its national objectives (Agung, 1973: 453). The establishment of the Malaysian Federation served as Britain's strategy to uphold its status and exert its influence in the region. While the federation maintains its constitutional independence, the new country will maintain significant connections with Britain, particularly in the areas of security and economics, given its historical status as a former colonial power (Subritzky, 2000: 39). The central concept is that the establishment of the Malaysian Federation was a strategic plan devised by Britain to uphold its influence in Southeast Asia. According to Tuck, the Federation of Malaysia would provide Britain with various advantages, including the disruption of anti-colonialism activities in the region, the prevention of the establishment of radical communist groups sympathizing with the government in Singapore, and the assurance of Malaysia's self-defense. Malaysia will serve as a central point for the UK's defense policy and global strategy (Tuck, 2013: 19).

Sukarno viewed the concept of Malayan Federation as a strong indication of the existence of imperialist forces. Sukarno's fear regarding the consolidation of imperialist authority in Malay territory was not merely a psychological response, but rather a factual reality. Sukarno deemed this notion as inappropriate for Indonesia, since it would effectively facilitate the establishment of colonialism in Indonesia's neighborhood (Agung, 1973: 461). The establishment of the Malayan federation poses

a clear and direct threat to Indonesia's national security. Sukarno perceived this plan as a Western endeavor to encircle Indonesia. During that period, the United States strategically positioned its naval fleet in the Indian Ocean. According to Sukarno, the US and Britain conspired together to devise a military and political strategy aimed at surrounding Indonesia (Ibid: 462). Sukarno said that the establishment of the Malaysian Federation did not signify Malaysia's independence, but rather it served as a means for Britain and Western nations to uphold their control in Southeast Asia (T. Wardaya, 2007: 365). In addition to the logic behind threats, Sukarno's confrontational tactics were intricately linked to Indonesia's sense of dignity or self-esteem. According to Sukarno, as elucidated in the preceding section pertaining to Sukarno's own character, dignity holds a highly significant role. He strongly dislikes being demeaned, much less subjected to mistreatment. This personal character seems to have carried over into the confrontation with Malaysia. In one of his speeches, Sukarno articulated the concept of this struggle as follows;

The feeling of hungry is a natural occurrence. Experiencing embarrassment is a common and expected response. However, if our feelings of hunger or embarrassment is attributed to Malaysia, it displays rudeness. Deploy military forces to Kalimantan to counter the Malaysian threat. Employ strategic tactics to protect our land and airspace from any encroachment. Please pray for me as I prepare to enter the battlefield as a devoted patriot, willing to sacrifice my life for my country and determined to defend its honor. Summon all regions of the nation to unite in combating this disgrace, seeking retribution for this mistreatment, and demonstrating our enduring resilience, fortitude, and dignity (Kusmayadi, 2017: 26).

Therefore, it can be inferred that Sukarno's confrontational politics aligns with the Javanese philosophy of "sadumuk bahu, sanyari bumi," which emphasizes the leader's obligation to utilize all available resources and exert maximum effort to uphold their self-esteem and honor, represented by their territory and ideological convictions. It is important to emphasize that the Javanese values are defensive in nature, despite the fact that it appear to cover offensive actions. Coercive or aggressive actions in foreign policy are deemed acceptable only when employed exclusively for self-defense purposes, and not for the purpose of extending influence or conquering other nations for specific goals.

4.1.2.2 The Case of the Liberation of Western Irian

Another instance of Sukarno's policy that merits discussion is his endeavor to seize or as Sukarno referred to it, 'liberate' West Irian. Securing West Irian for Sukarno was an objective that had been eagerly anticipated since the Dutch-Indonesian round table agreement in 1949, and its attainment was considered non-negotiable. Within the framework of such agreement, the issue of West Irian would be effectively settled within a period of one year. Nevertheless, the Netherlands appears unwilling to uphold its commitment. Indonesia has made multiple efforts to assert its control over West Irian through a range of strategies, including diplomatic discussions, economic coercion, and even military conflict. In 1962, Indonesia initiated a military campaign called "Trikorra Operation" (people's three command operation), also known as People's Tri Command, with the aim of capturing West Irian.

Just like the confrontation with Malaysia, Operation Trikorra when viewed from a Javanese cultural perspective is consistent with the philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi." This is because both cases relate to efforts to defend national pride from the threat of foreign occupation. In contrast to the case of confrontation with Malaysia where the colonials did not openly occupy Indonesian territory, the background to the operation to liberate West Irian clearly shows the presence of another country; the Netherlands, in Indonesian territory..

The assertion of West Irian belongs to Indonesia consistently generated controversy. The Dutch saw West Irian as distinct from Indonesia due to its ethnic and cultural disparities. Furthermore, West Irian holds considerable strategic importance for the Netherlands from ethical, demographic, and economic perspectives. The Dutch's refusal to relinquish control of West Irian stemmed from their desire to propagate the Catholic mission and Protestantism. This was seen as a manifestation of the Dutch's moral obligation towards the Papuan population. The Netherlands is interested in addressing its high population density by considering the relocation of a portion of its inhabitants to West Irian. The Dutch saw this region as a highly desirable territory and it was vigorously advocated for by the Vaderlandsche Club (VC), an ultra-conservative organization that strongly opposed the ambitions of severe Indonesian nationalists. According to Panders (2002: 57), this group contends that the establishment of a white Dutch province in the Indies, which stands as the call for Dutch colony of Indonesian

territory, is essential for showcasing the Netherlands' imperial ambitions. The Dutch are fully aware of the significant worth of Papua's mineral riches.

Addressing the Dutch contention that the Papuan population exhibits distinct ethnic and cultural characteristics in comparison to Indonesia, Sukarno inquired whether the Papuan people have more resemblance to the Dutch (Adams, 2014: 346). He reiterated the identical sentence when encountering President John F. Kennedy on April 24, 1961. Kennedy challenged the legitimacy of Indonesia's assertion on West Irian due to ethnic disparity. Sukarno unequivocally asserted that West Irian was an integral part of Indonesia and so must be liberated from Dutch control. Sukarno responded to Kennedy's inquiry by raising questions about the distinctions across races and various skin tones within the American population itself. Sukarno argued that a nation's identity is not defined by subjective preferences or racial characteristics (T. Wardaya, 2007: 309). Sukarno compared West Irian to a specific anatomical component. In his autobiography, as cited by Adams (2014: 346);

West Irian is part of our body. Would someone just let one of their body parts be cut off without giving any retaliation? Wouldn't someone scream in pain, if the tip was cut off? even just a few fingers?.

The liberation of West Irian was undertaken to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Sukarno's vision for the Republic of Indonesia encompassed the entire archipelago, extending from Sabang to Merauke. Consequently, West Irian was considered an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Sukarno elucidated his conceptualization of Indonesia during his address in Yogyakarta on December 19, 1961;

Brother, what exactly is Indonesia known as? Indonesia comprises the entirety of the archipelago from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia is an area that was formerly referred to as "Dutch-Hindu". The term "Indonesia" is synonymous with the Dutch term "Nederlandsch Indie", The tens of thousands of islands that extend from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia is the name given to that region (Toto Rahardjo, 2010: 321-322).

Many researchers (Bupu and Sumurjina, 2021; Kurnia and Miftahuddin, 2019) believe that the West Irian issue is a matter of national sovereignty, not to mention its natural resources. Sukarno held the belief, dating back to the Dutch-Indonesia round table

agreement, that Indonesia's territorial independence remained incomplete until West Irian entered Indonesian sovereign territory. Thus, from Sukarno's perspective, the endeavor to conquer West Irian constituted an element of a "unfinished revolution", as freedom from oppression or colonialism is a fundamental aspect of national independence (Mariana, 2020: 14).

Sukarno's attitude of knowing how to compromise on the West Irian issue was clearly related to his idealism regarding anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. The Dutch occupation of Papua was a form of colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, according to Sukarno, the honor and dignity of the Indonesian people must be restored by forcing the Dutch to leave West Irian at all costs. In his speech on March 8 1962 at the Merdeka Palace, Sukarno emphasized his determination to vigorously defend West Irian and return it to Indonesia.

The Indonesian people must liberate West Irian by whatever rightful means. And how? Oh, brothers and sisters, it can be by way of Infiltrations, entering into West Irian, our fatherland, it can be by means of skirmishes, or large-scale fightings, or total war. All rightful ways must be followed. Brothers and Sisters, to restore West Irian into the territory under the authority of the republic. The liberation of a territory of ours which is occupied by the enemy is a sacred duty to that we have the conviction and the resolve that the liberation of West Irian as soon as possible by whatever means -God willing- will get God's blessing (Sitompul, 2020).

From the quote of Sukarno's speech above, it is clear that even though Sukarno did not quote the expression in Javanese culture "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" the leader's attitude which will not compromise on treatment that tramples on the nation's self-esteem and honor as in the case of the occupation of West Irian by the Dutch reflects the mentioned javanese value. The Trikora Operation, which is one of the largest military operations that Indonesia has carried out since independence, is an aggressive stance towards the existence of threats to the country's sovereignty. Michael Leifer asserts that Dutch control over West Irian created a threat to the integrity of the country which was socially heterogeneous and geographically a vast archipelago. West Irian, thus, is a "fundamental symbol of manifestation of national attitudes" Michael Leifer (1989: 89). Indonesia's aggressiveness to seize West Irian is therefore in accordance

with Javanese culture in the philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" because it is not intended to threaten other countries but merely to defend itself.

4.2 Suharto Foreign Policy

4.2.1 The Figure of Suharto and his Thoughts

During the Suharto regime (1967-1988), collaboration was favored through the prioritization of dialogue, deliberation, and economic cooperation. When Suharto ruled Indonesia, economics concern dominated the country's foreign policy agenda, as opposed to politics concern which dominated during the Sukarno era (1945-1967). In this regard, Suharto's foreign policy prioritized economic concerns while still acknowledging the political dimensions of international relations. This approach is chosen due to fact that Indonesian economy experienced a downturn during the previous regime because of government's preoccupation with Sukarno's confrontational politics. Confronted with such deplorable circumstances, Suharto referred to his regime as the "New Order," whereas the Sukarno era was known as the "Old Order". To facilitate economic growth, the New Order prioritized the preservation of political stability in its approach to foreign policy. These two elements influence each other; Stable politics will encourage economic growth and high economic growth will contribute to stable politics (MacDougall, 1986: 172).

Discussing Suharto's personal character cannot be separated from Javanese culture (Ibid, 173). The significance of this Javanese cultural element prompted O. G. Roeder (1990:11), as Suharto's biographer, to assert that any endeavor to acquaint readers with Suharto would inevitably fail if it failed to emphasize the religious and spiritual heritage of Indonesia. As Roeder puts it, Javanese culture is the spirit of the Indonesian nation; therefore, it is impossible to comprehend Suharto without first comprehending the soul of this nation. Consequently, it is plausible that Suharto's persona was substantially molded by Javanese culture, though with a minor impact from his devotion to the Islamic faith. Suharto stated in his autobiography;

The life difficulties that I experienced, the upholding of family education, the heritage of my ancestors, the national education when I was in lower secondary school, the religious education when reciting the Qur'an, seemed to have had a big influence on the formation of my character. At that time I got to know and absorb the morals and philosophy of life that prevailed in my

environment. namely getting to know religion and Javanese ways of life
(translated from Dwipayana & Hadjimaja, 1989: 13).

The impact of Javanese culture on Suharto's thought and behavior was profound. Suharto is frequently characterized as pragmatic, cautious, and a reluctant to engage in risky endeavors (Roeder, 1990: 56). Suharto was a typical person who always remembered his bitter past experiences. For this reason, he consistently underscore the significance of the phrase “tepo seliro” (tolerance). R. E. Elson (2005: 37), as another biographer of Suharto, identified Suharto's personal character as analyzing and solving problems, puzzles, and confusion, looked inward, not outward. When it was unclear who was an ally or an adversary, Suharto consistently exercised prudence in high-stakes situations; he committed only when the situation became certain; he maintained composure under pressure; and he did not hesitate to request assistance from the opposing side until the very last moment (Ibid, 57).

In nature, Suharto did not engage in the generation of innovative concepts. He embodied the pragmatist ideal of prioritizing tangible and practical benefits. However, this does not mean that Suharto did not have political views. One of Suharto's most notable attributes was the tendency for maintaining private views on political matters until the appropriate moment came to express them. One of his political positions was a vehement opposition to communism. It has been told that when Suharto accompanied Sukarno to Semarang in 1956, Suharto reportedly reminded Sukarno of the dangers posed by the PKI (The Communist Party of Indonesia). On the contrary, Sukarno reprimanded Suharto, asserting that the PKI ought to be incorporated into Pancasila (Roeder, 1990: 217).

The testimony provided by Suharto above demonstrates his early engagement in politics while he was still serving in the military. Nevertheless, a notable feature evident in the aforementioned account is that Suharto had a tendency to nurture his aspirations in a role that did not yield personal advantages. Regardless of his personal disagreement with Sukarno's Nasakom philosophy, he endeavored to demonstrate his allegiance to the president due to his subordinate position. This perspective aligns with the Javanese doctrine of consistently refraining from discussing sensitive subjects and refraining from overtly expressing opposition towards them. This is called 'Unggah-ungguh' (being polite) in Javanese which refers to the practice of exhibiting excellent manners and demonstrating respect towards individuals who are older or hold a higher

social status (Nida, 2020: 46). According to the paternalistic Javanese ideology of leadership, a leader is akin to an authoritative figure, such as a parent, whose authority cannot be questioned or refused. A child's responsibility is to adhere to their parents' instructions without question. Engaging in open argumentation entails defiance and disrespect for parents (Gido, 2020).

Suharto consistently exhibited the 'unggah-ungguh' (being polite) trait of keeping etiquette and manners, particularly in his interactions with Sukarno. Suharto's stance towards Sukarno was indeed ambivalent. Suharto regarded Sukarno as a political adversary due to their divergent perspectives on the handling of the PKI and communism. However, Suharto was unable to refute Sukarno's authority as the president and as a figure who must be accorded respect. Suharto's ambiguous attitude reveals his mysterious disposition, making it challenging to anticipate his genuine intentions. An illustration of this mindset can be observed in the G30S (30th September movement) incident, wherein Suharto executed a "creeping coup" by gradually and ostensibly legitimately assuming power after Sukarno's failed coup attempt orchestrated by the PKI. This aligns with the Javanese phrase "alon-alon asal kelakon" which means progressing slowly but steadily towards achieving the desired outcome. In his memoirs, Suharto affirmed that one of his guiding principles in life was the following remark (Dwipayana and Hadjimaja, 1989: 190). With this norm in mind, Suharto emerged as a leader renowned for his patience and reluctance to engage in hasty speculations. His genuinely mature calculations were founded on actual events rather than his own speculations.

Following the Order of the Eleventh March incident, more commonly known as Supersemar, Suharto maintained a vigorous approach to his political maneuvers. Suharto's strategic actions can be observed in his behavior towards the agreement established to uphold Sukarno's legitimacy, specifically known as the Yogya Declaration. The 'Yogya Declaration' was a document executed on July 7, 1967, by leaders of four Java Regional Military command, the Army Strategic Reserve, and Kopassus (Special Forces Command). Its provisions mandated punishment for individuals found to have violated Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Indeed, they would react severely against anyone attempting to reestablish Sukarno's authority. Interestingly, the "Yogya Declaration" does not bear the signature of Suharto.

Evidently, Suharto neither endorsed nor discouraged the commanders from issuing a statement. (Roeder, 1990: 249).

An additional notable attribute of Suharto that is notable is his composed disposition, even when confronted with difficult circumstances. He is capable of remaining composed and calculating when challenged. Nonetheless, when his decision is final it cannot be contested (Abdulgani-Knapp, 2007: 100). As an example of his approach to policy, Suharto cited the Javanese proverb "sura dira jayaningrat, lebur dening pangasuti," which translates to emotional courage is contingent upon patience and endurance. As stated in his autobiography, Suharto once said; "*A person who is already enraged will become even more enraged when confronted with violence. However, he will spontaneously surrender if we confront him with wisdom and a disposition of gratitude*" (translated from Dwipayana & Hadjimaja, 1989: 248). In fact, Suharto tended to be the opposite of Sukarno, who was explosive and high profile. As a result of Suharto's predominance of silence and smiles, O. G. Roeder (1990) referred to him as "the smiling general." One notable attribute of Suharto as a statesman was his capacity to maintain composure amidst extremely chaotic and critical circumstances.

4.2.2 Suharto Foreign Policy in Javanese Political Culture Perspective

As previously mentioned, one of the prominent characteristics of Suharto's foreign policy was his emphasis on economic development. In contrast to Sukarno, who focused on external matters, Suharto prioritized domestic affairs. This does not mean that Indonesia is implementing an isolationist strategy, but rather that Suharto's inward-looking policy aims to restore the national economy through foreign relations. According to Suharto, Indonesia must strengthen its economy first before contributing to the international political stage. About this, Suharto said in his speech in August 1969: "*Why is Indonesia's voice no longer heard abroad? The problem is that we will only be able to play an effective role if we ourselves have great national power*" (translated from Leifer, 1989: 163).

When considering Suharto's foreign policy, one could say that he did not consistently exhibit enthusiasm for international issues. It is imperative that in Suharto's travel abroad, it provides opportunities for an examination of economic development model examples and their potential applications in Indonesia (Elson, 2005: 344). It appears

that greater attention is paid to economic issues than to others. According to O. G. Roeder (1990:295), Suharto's speeches rarely neglect economic matters, which encompass intricate state finances as well as the expense associated with riding a pedicab. In his speech before the House of Representatives on 16 August 1967, he outlined one of the principles of realistic and pragmatic foreign policy, namely:

realistic in the sense of always paying attention to the realities that exist in the world constellation and making policy decisions in accordance with those realities; pragmatic in the sense of determining policies that are useful and useful for our national interests, and for the interests of humanity without abandoning the ideal aspects of the Indonesian nation, the morals of Pancasila (translated from Suharto, 1967).

From a Javanese cultural standpoint, Suharto's foreign policy aligned with the norm of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja," which means a focus on orderliness, safety, peacefulness, and self-sufficiency. This notion encompasses two distinct dimensions: security and prosperity, which refer to the state of being protected and the state of having wealth, respectively. The government should enact regulations that facilitate the fulfillment of these fundamental necessities. This statement can be defined as the endeavor to attain political stability and social peace. Leaders that adhere to this ideology as their guiding political concept will strive to safeguard the well-being and safety of their citizens by ensuring their fundamental necessities and security.

When considering foreign policy, the application of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja" is not solely inward-focused; rather, it encompasses strategies for establishing a society that is secure, harmonious, and affluent. Furthermore, it is possible to interpret this expression as an embodiment of endeavors to establish a setting that fosters amicable relations among individuals and nations (Yulianto, 2023). Instead of being antagonistic, a nation must cultivate amicable relations with other nations to achieve this objective. Javanese cultural experts assert that leaders who comprehend the tenets of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja" are less likely to engage in aggressive behavior toward other nations. Suharto is not the type of irate individual who threatens other nations with ease. This philosophy draws a parallel between a good leader and an individual who endeavors to sustain amicable relations with nations that were previously antagonistic towards him (Atmaja, 2020). This perspective does not equate to pacifism (the rejection of violence). War is an absolute last resort when a nation is

disrupted. However, this philosophical standpoint primarily focuses on fostering political stability through the maintenance of international harmony, rather than addressing the issue of the use of violent methods. Such stability, of course, will have ramifications for the general welfare of humanity.

This section attempts to enlarge upon this interpretation by analyzing two case studies of Suharto's foreign policy that adhere to the principles of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja". The initial instance involves the ASEAN initiation policy. The second instance concerns Indonesia's participation in settlement initiatives pertaining to the Vietnam-Cambodia war. Suharto, in contrast to Sukarno, who dragged Indonesia into the Eastern Bloc, positioned Indonesia as a mediator in international conflicts.

4.2.2.1 The Case of ASEAN Formation

ASEAN served as the cornerstone of Suharto's foreign policy. ASEAN plays a crucial role in safeguarding Indonesia's national interests, particularly in terms of maintaining peace and security (Suryadinata, 1998: 83). The establishment of this institution was driven by the same interests of its members, specifically the facilitation of economic growth and development, and the promotion of regional security. ASEAN countries hold the conviction that economic development can only be achieved through regional political stability (Ibid, 87). Suharto held similar viewpoints on ASEAN in relation to this matter.

The establishment of ASEAN is a consequence of the process of normalizing relations with Malaysia. In 1964, Suharto established a task group named 'Special Operations' (Opsus) with the objective of infiltrating Malaysia in order to establish communication with important figures in Malaysia. The objective was to put an end to the conflict instigated by Sukarno. The suggestion to prevent conflict with Malaysia originated from the Army, which sought to avoid the potential hazards of engaging in warfare with England, particularly given the establishment of the Malaysian Federation at that time. According to Adam Malik as cited by Dharmawarman, the end of this political confrontation was seen as a victory for both parties as a unified nation (Malay) (Dharmawan, 2008: 88).

Following Suharto's assumption of the presidency, he promptly centralized his authority both domestically and internationally. Internationally, subsequent to the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Malaysia, a conference took place

in Thailand on August 8, 1967, which came to be recognized as the 'Bangkok Declaration'. Suharto's newly established administration aimed to establish political stability in the area, and hence viewed the establishment of ASEAN as a strategic tool to achieve this objective. The influential members of Suharto's inner circle contended that Indonesia's economic progress could only be achieved in a politically stable regional context (Suryadinata, 1999: 84). Indonesia considers international stability and peace as essential prerequisites for recovering from the economic catastrophe experienced during Sukarno rule (Nuke Pudjiastuti, 2008: 116).

Indonesia views both the normalization of relations with Malaysia and the establishment of ASEAN as a viable approach to regain the world community's confidence in Indonesia. Suharto's actions concerning Malaysia and regional stability will be perceived as a dedication to a policy of amicable relations with neighboring countries. This will pave the door for Indonesia to assume a more extensive role in the region and, most significantly, obtain economic help from Western countries (Fortuna Anwar, 1994: 44).

ASEAN has a dual purpose; both symbolically and practically. It is symbolic because through ASEAN Indonesia will be seen by the international world as no longer adopting confrontational foreign policy but instead focusing on domestic economic development. In terms of practice, the significance also lies in the fact that through ASEAN Indonesia can contribute to creating a regional environment that is conducive to the national economic development program as planned by Sukarno. Apart from that, Indonesia's involvement in ASEAN would also increase opportunities to open economic cooperation with affluent countries (Fortuna Anwar, 1994: 164-165)

Referring to the philosophy of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja," the establishment of ASEAN already encompasses two fundamental principles: stability (political-security) and prosperity (economic). Suharto aimed to ensure peace in the Southeast Asian region and adhere to the ideals of amicable relations with neighboring countries, since this was a prerequisite for pursuing economic progress. Ali Alatas (2001: 151-152) argues that economic development and peace are interdependent. Without peace, there can be no development, and sustainable peace cannot be achieved as long as economic gaps and inequality persist. Indonesia under the leadership of Suharto, together with other ASEAN members, has diligently contributed to the achievement of such a scenario in the Asia-Pacific region. Economic development had assumed an

ideological nature for Suharto. According to Elson, the ideology of development, under Suharto's rule, held significant influence in his political discussions, emphasizing the need of security as a necessary condition (Elson, 2005: 332).

Suharto's policy in ASEAN also cannot be separated from the role of the army. The military elite under Suharto's leadership held the belief that Indonesia's participation in ASEAN was crucial as it might bolster both national security and economic well-being. The idea of the need for Indonesia to establish relations within the Southeast Asian area predates the establishment of ASEAN by several years. In 1964, the Army Staff and Command School (Seskoad) developed the notion of the 'threat from the north', specifically referring to communism, which contradicted Sukarno's ideology. The military elite subsequently utilized this impression of threat as the foundation for legitimizing Indonesia's free and active foreign policy, through the proposition of regional cooperation. Thus, According to military circles, ASEAN was established with two main objectives: firstly, to serve as a barrier against the spread of communism, and secondly, to function as a means of promoting economic cooperation. Although Suharto later asserted that ASEAN prioritized the economic and security sector rather than politics (Fortuna Anwar, 1994: 134-139).

Suharto's policy of forming ASEAN was actually in line with his political program which wanted to encourage national economic development. However, to make this happen, it is not enough for ASEAN to act as a forum for economic cooperation alone. For Suharto, ASEAN was an instrument of regional security and stability. ASEAN plays a role to mitigate the potential conflicts that may occur between countries in the region. The absence of guarantees of stability in the region threatens domestic development programs. Therefore, a stable and peaceful area is needed to ensure optimal functioning of the economy. These two pillars economic welfare and security stability are the two pillars of values contained in the Javanese cultural norm of "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja."

4.2.2.2 The Case of Mediating Vietnam-Cambodian Conflict

During the 1980s, Indonesia's foreign policy underwent transformations as Indonesia became more actively involved in international affairs. This change in perspective is the outcome of achievements within the country. Sukarno held the belief that for Indonesia to have a significant influence in global affairs, it was imperative to establish

a robust national power stance. During the initial stages of his presidency, the foreign policy primarily centered around the restructuring the economy through the implementation of foreign aid and foreign investment initiatives. As previously elucidated, this technique has demonstrated efficacy in improving Indonesia's situation. The 1980s were a time in which Indonesia gained recognition as a notable exemplar of progress among developing nations. Suharto's growing confidence prompted him to believe that Indonesia was ready to participate in the global political arena.

One of Indonesia's major contributions in terms of international peace was mediating the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia (1978-1991). The Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, which took place in the late 1970s, was a result of historical animosities, regional geopolitics, and the consequences of the Khmer Rouge's ruthless regime in Cambodia. Under the leadership of Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge perpetrated heinous acts of atrocity and human rights violations throughout their regime. At first, Vietnam provided support to the Khmer Rouge in their conflict against the Khmer Republic. However, as worries escalated regarding Pol Pot's aggressive actions, Vietnam launched a military intervention in 1978 to oust the Khmer Rouge from their position of power in Cambodia. The conflict had wider ramifications, encompassing Cold War dynamics with China providing support to the Khmer Rouge and the Soviet Union endorsing Vietnam. The international reaction was fragmented, illustrating the intricacies of the Cold War period and regional power conflicts.

Efforts for peace between the two countries have been quite tough because many meetings have ended in deadlock. Indonesia initiated informal meetings called the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) twice in July 1988 and February 1989 (Sudrajat, et al, 2019: 702). However, both meetings were fruitless because the four factions in Cambodia still had not reached an agreement even though Vietnam finally agreed to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. Even though JIM failed, at least the meetings were considered a breakthrough in the sense that all parties to the conflict could meet and talk for the first time (Suryadinata, 1998: 168). Indonesia then collaborated with France to initiate the Paris International Conference (PIC) in 1989, but again failed (Sudrajat, et al, 2019: 703). The reason behind it was mostly caused by the persistence of the tough positions of each faction, as they vied for national reconciliation, due to their divergent perspectives on the notion of power distribution. Another challenge

arises from the trial format, which employs unanimity rather than a consensus system (Nasution. et, al., 2002: 138)

Indonesia made another attempt to reconcile the two parties in Jakarta in February 1990, but once again, it was unsuccessful (Sudrajat, 2019: 704). Ali Alatas, the foreign minister of Indonesia, expressed profound disappointment by stating:

God knows how hard we have tried to unite them together and reduce their differences. It is now incumbent upon the Cambodian populace to demonstrate their determination and genuineness in their desire to halt the acts of violence and bring an end to the prevailing tragedy within their nation (Suryadinata, 1989. 169).

The subsequent year (1991), the formal agreement of peace between the two nations was ratified in Paris, under the joint leaderships of Indonesia and France. Indonesia experienced a sense of involvement in the peace process, despite the accord not being entirely adequate due to Indonesia's level of participation (Ibid, 172). The demise of communism resulting from the conclusion of the Cold War had a profound impact on the potential for peace between the two nations. Nevertheless, the intriguing aspect of the Vietnam-Cambodia settlement lies not in the magnitude of Indonesia's involvement, but rather in the rationale behind Indonesia's interest in mediating the dispute between the two nations, despite its previous unsuccessful attempts.

Indonesia's role as a 'stabilizer' in sustaining regional stability appears to be a significant factor in its consistent efforts to promote peace between Vietnam and Cambodia. Indonesia, being as one of the leading country in the region, believes that it has the duty to ensure the reduction of conflicts. Suharto emphasized the imperative for Southeast Asian nation to assume the responsibility of upholding peace, stability, and security within our region (Dwipayana & Hadjimaja, 1989: 521). In his speech at the Paris conference on July 30 1989, Ali Alatas said that the conflict between the two countries must be resolved through political and not military means to ensure regional stability.

We all share the view that the Cambodia question should be resolved through political means and thus not by force of arms, thereby contributing to peace and stability in Southeast Asia as a whole. This would ensure a Cambodia at

peace within itself, free from foreign interference by any quarter and posing no threat to any of its neighbours (translated from Alatas, 2001: 285).

Ali Alatas stated that Indonesia played the position of a mediator between ASEAN and the two conflicting nations:

Indonesia as a designated interlocutor of ASEAN, has for many years endeavored to explore all avenues which could bring about genuine dialogue and negotiations among the parties to the Kampuchean conflict, which intern could lead to a comprehensive, just and durable solution, taking into account the legitimate interests of all concerned (translated Alatas, 2001: 274).

In addition, Indonesia's participation is also shaped by its foreign policy paradigm that opposes interference in the internal affairs of other nations. Indonesia expresses concern over the potential escalation of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, fearing the intervention of major powers, a stance fiercely opposed by Indonesia. Indonesia believes that if the problem is not resolved, it will pose a significant risk as it could lead to the direct intervention of major nations, ultimately resulting in their long-term presence in the region (Leifer, 1989: 241). Interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries is considered a taboo. Suharto consistently highlighted Indonesia's foreign policy values, which were centered around opposition to foreign involvement. These principles included peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations (Dwipayana & Hadjimaja, 1989: 483). Indonesia's commitment to resolving the Vietnam-Cambodia dispute is rooted in its role as a regional force in the area. Indonesia recognizes the necessity of implementing strategic measures to resolve the ongoing conflict between the two nations, as it has adversely impacted the security landscape in Southeast Asia.

Suharto's foreign policy, from its inception, adhered to the principle of peaceful coexistence while refraining from intervening in the internal affairs of other nations or region. According to his own statement, ensuring stability in regional security is a component of Indonesia's national interests. Hence, this foreign relations principle aligns with the "tata, titi, tentrem, karta raharja" value in Indonesian policy regarding the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict. It aims to mitigate conflicts that may jeopardize the security, peace, and harmonious coexistence among neighboring countries in the region. Indonesia's job here is analogous to that of a police force, ensuring the

protection and peace of citizens without possessing the power to make arrests. Indonesia solely attempted to mediate by convening a meeting and negotiation between the two countries. While the success of the peace efforts cannot be solely attributed to Indonesia's efforts alone, it is undeniable that Indonesia's commitment to the cause is a significant historical fact (Sudrajat. et, al.,2019: 706).

4.3. Summary

Drawing upon the substantial influence of Javanese in Indonesian politics, this chapter examines Indonesia foreign policy by taking a limitation on individual approach of both Sukarno and Suharto, and the values of Javanese political culture that were intertwined with their respective regimes' foreign policy implementation. Indonesian foreign policy during the Sukarno era was dominated by the concept of Nefo and Oldefo. This view gives rise to confrontational politics which tends to be aggressive and militaristic. Sukarno's leadership style was also consistent with an attitude that tended to be fierce in fighting colonialism and imperialism. Two foreign policies that reflect this are confrontation with Malaysia and West Irian. Both cases show that apart from Sukarno's conception, Javanese culture can also be used to interpret Sukarno's confrontational politics.

The similarity in values and principles between the facts of Sukarno's foreign policy lies in the Javanese philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi." This philosophy essentially emphasizes the importance of defending self-respect from the honor symbolized by ownership. Javanese people are obliged to fiercely defend what is their right. Sukarno's attitude as a leader who was uncompromising in fighting for what was Indonesia's rights reflected a leader's attitude that was in line with the Javanese philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi". The militaristic approach which tended to be aggressive during the periods of its leadership can be interpreted with this philosophy due to the fact that Indonesia did not intend to expand its power or conquer other countries but simply to defend its sovereignty from threats from other countries, namely England in the case of confrontation with Malaysia and the Netherlands in the case of the seizure of West Irian.

In contrast to Sukarno, Suharto's foreign policy was characterized by a practical and pragmatic approach, with a focus on prioritizing economic development. Suharto's foreign policy aligned with the Javanese philosophy of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta

raharja". The Javanese philosophy of "data, titi, trentrem, karta raharja" encompasses two fundamental principles that underpin societal well-being, not only in Javanese society but in all societies: security and wealth. The essence of this doctrine is that a leader must possess the capacity to ensure a tranquil, harmonious, and affluent existence for their constituents. Leaders who comprehend this ideology will not permit their subordinates to be subjected to fear and worry and suffer from deprivation or an inability to fulfill their daily necessities. Throughout his 32-year reign, Suharto endeavored to actualize goals that align with the notion of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja". Two pertinent cases examined in this research include the establishment of ASEAN and Indonesia's role in mediating the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict. Both incidents are pertinent to the philosophy of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja" which prioritizes stability, security, and sustainable impact on economic development and prosperity. Indonesia, by assuming the role of a stabilizer, assumes the responsibility for fostering a region that is characterized by stability.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A non-Western approach to international relations is necessary for comprehending and devising foreign policy due to the necessity of cultivating a more comprehensive, varied, and subtle viewpoint on matters of global significance. In the study of IR, theories of international relations have predominantly originated in Western contexts, frequently exhibiting perspectives that are centered around the West. It is imperative to adopt non-Western perspectives in order to attain a more holistic comprehension of the intricacies inherent in global dynamics. Doing so necessitates consideration of varied cultural, historical, and geopolitical circumstances, which conventional Western paradigms might fail to acknowledge. The inclusion of non-Western viewpoints promotes a fairer portrayal of interests and voices on the international platform, thereby cultivating diplomatic ties that are aware of diverse cultural conventions and principles. This methodology promotes a more cooperative and collaborative international system, acknowledging the influence of diverse narratives and experiences that shape global interactions. This thesis tried to fill this gap, namely by presenting an approach to international relations from an Indonesian perspective through an analysis of Indonesia foreign policy in Javanese political culture, which is considered indigenous to Indonesian.

Foreign policy refers to the comprehensive range of measures taken by a nation to interact with other countries and international organizations. The process involves a methodical approach that includes investigation, identification of concerns, problem-solving, and the acquisition of knowledge to achieve national goals. Within the realm of foreign policy theory, there are three distinct formulations that delineate the primary objectives pursued by a nation when formulating and implementing its foreign policy. These formulations encompass three key elements: values, time element, and objective demand. In the study of IR, realism, liberalism, and constructivism, can be seen as basic theories that provide different viewpoints on how states behave and serve as a framework for understanding the reasons and strategies behind foreign policy decisions.

The objective of analyzing foreign policy is to elucidate the process of formulating foreign policy and the underlying rationales behind it. This involves an examination

of culture, identity, experience, cognitive factors, and other related elements. It can be argued that the key themes in foreign policy analysis encompass four pivotal concepts: power, security, diplomacy, and international cooperation. Amidst the growing intricacy of international relations, comprehending these four principles is crucial for devising efficient foreign policy and upholding global stability. Apart from that, a country's foreign policy is significantly shaped by internal and external factors. Internal factors include domestic politics, economic interest, geography, culture, history, military capabilities, and the characteristics of the leaders. In addition, external factors include the structure of the international system, international law, international organization, and military or arms race. When examining foreign policy, it is crucial to take into account these factors, as they have the potential to influence government preferences and actions. Thus, foreign policy is the result of the interaction between internal and external factors, and a deep understanding of these factors can help in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy that is effective and in line with the interests of the country.

In contrast to the prevailing Western perspective on foreign policy, the Javanese cultural perspective on power dynamics and international relations is rooted in its distinctive cosmology understanding. According to Javanese political culture, the central idea in Javanese philosophy is the concept of "manunggaling kawula gusti," which describes the unity of existence of all things. This monistic perspective has extensive ramifications in the realm of politics. Initially, the state and its leader are considered as a single entity. The absence of a distinction between states and rulers arises from the fact that governments do not emerge from a social compact, as posited in Western political theory. Furthermore, since the king's power is not acquired through the authorization of the populace, it cannot be rescinded. It is considered that the king possesses complete and unrestricted authority. In addition, the dynamic between the leader and the people might be likened to that of parental figures and their offspring. The leader has a duty to safeguard and serve those under their responsibility, while the people have an obligation to unquestioningly comply and obey the leader.

In the context of interstate relations, the Javanese concept of power goes beyond simply accumulating power, and instead highlights the importance of acknowledging and respecting sovereign power and authority. An assertive and dominant stance is crucial, with the primary objective of attaining utmost authority. However, taking

offensive actions frequently leads to negative outcomes, thus making an absorption strategy the most advantageous approach. This involves utilizing soft power as a means to effectively achieve national objectives. The disproportionate emphasis on the notion of 'mandala' and the fixation on magnificence is excessively one-sided as it neglects other esteemed principles within Javanese political culture.

Utilizing the significant impact of Javanese political culture on Indonesian politics, both Sukarno and Suharto demonstrated distinct values of Javanese political culture that were closely linked to the execution of their respective regimes' foreign policies. The Sukarno era (1945-1967) in Indonesian foreign policy was primarily characterized by the dominance of the *Nefo* and *Oldefo* concepts. This perspective leads to adversarial politics that often exhibit belligerence and a propensity for military action. Sukarno's leadership style was characterized by a resolute and unwavering stance against colonialism and imperialism. Two foreign policies that exemplify this approach are the confrontations with Malaysia and West Irian. Both instances demonstrate that in addition to Sukarno's ideology, Javanese culture can also serve as a lens through which to analyze Sukarno's confrontational political approach.

The link between the principles of Sukarno's foreign policy and Javanese values can be found in the Javanese cultural value of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi" (land and honor are the two most principles that worth to die for). This philosophy primarily underscores the significance of safeguarding one's self-esteem from the prestige associated with possession. The Javanese individuals are compelled to vigorously protect their entitlements. Sukarno's unwavering stance as a leader in defending Indonesia's rights exemplified a leader's attitude that aligned with the Javanese philosophy of "sadumuk bathuk, sanyari bumi". The assertive nature of Indonesia's militaristic approach during its leadership can be attributed to its philosophy of not seeking to expand its power or conquer other nations, but rather to safeguard its sovereignty from external threats. This was evident in its conflict with Malaysia, where it engaged in a confrontation with England, and in the seizure of West Irian, where it clashed with the Netherlands.

Unlike Sukarno, Suharto's foreign policy was marked by a pragmatic and practical stance approach, emphasizing the prioritization of economic advancement. Suharto's foreign policy was in accordance with the Javanese cultural value of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja" (the state of orderliness, safety, peacefulness, and self-

sufficiency). The Javanese philosophy of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja" encompasses two fundamental principles that are essential for the overall welfare of society, not only in Javanese society but in all societies: security and wealth. The essence of this doctrine lies in the leader's ability to guarantee a peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous life for their constituents. Leaders who understand this ideology will not allow their subordinates to experience fear, anxiety, or lack of basic needs. During his 32-year rule, Suharto strived to achieve objectives that are in line with the idea of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja". This notion can be seen in the relevant cases during his regime, namely the formation of ASEAN and Indonesia's mediation of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict. Both incidents are relevant to the philosophy of "tata, titi, trentrem, karta raharja," which emphasizes the importance of stability, security, and sustainable impact on economic development and prosperity. Indonesia, by taking on the role of a stabilizer, bears the responsibility of cultivating a region that is marked by stability.

While conducting this study through qualitative analysis method of literature study, several limitation can be identified; 1). Time constraint, conducting a literature study need a considerable time and effort. Within a limited timeframe, the scope and depth of the analysis is limited. 2). Lack of generalizability, findings from a qualitative study based on Sukarno and Suharto with several cases during their regime may not be representative of the broader discussion applicable beyond the specific context of the study. The limited sample might not adequately capture the diversity of views within the field. The findings of the present study suggest potential areas for future research. First, given the limited availability of data pertaining to the examination of Indonesian leader's and its relation with Javanese political culture, multiple study on other presidents are necessary to comprehend and compare the policy implementations and underlying values behind it during their respective regime. Additionally, comparative studies between different culture either in the same country or in different countries could be conducted to examine variations of more fruitful understanding of international relations approaches. Investigating in a broader perspective of International relations, especially in non-western approach could significantly contribute to the development of diversity of IR. Overall, it is anticipated that the outcomes of this research will inspire further investigations in the field.

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