

## Reorientation of Indonesia's Foreign Policy In President Jokowi's Era: Case Studies Southwest Pacific

Laode Muhammad Fathun

Nurfarah Nidatya

Nyoman Aji Suadhana Rai

Universitas Pembangunan "Veteran" Jakarta

### Abstrak

*Kontribusi kepemimpinan Indonesia di kawasan yang telah dibangun sejak lama dapat dilihat antara lain melalui peran Indonesia yang menonjol di kawasan Pasifik Barat Daya melalui Dialog Pasifik Barat Daya (SwPd). Melihat bagaimana Indonesia menjadi inisiator pada saat itu dapat menjadi dasar kepemimpinan Indonesia di kawasan Pasifik Barat Daya saat ini. Tulisan ini mengkaji bagaimana kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia yang berorientasi geopolitik di bawah kepemimpinan Presiden Jokowi ditelusuri lebih lanjut di kawasan Pasifik barat daya. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori poliheuristik. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah paradigma kualitatif dengan analisis deskriptif dan teknik pengumpulan data sekunder dari berbagai referensi yang relevan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa di bawah kepemimpinan Presiden Jokowi, reorientasi kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia di kawasan Pasifik Barat Daya sangat penting. Hal ini didasarkan pada orientasi kepentingan nasional Indonesia, terutama mengamankan dan memastikan bahwa bidang politik dan keamanan menjadi prioritas utama dalam kebijakan luar negeri.*

**Kata kunci:** Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Indonesia, Pasifik Barat Daya, Poliheuristik

### Asbtract

The contribution of Indonesia's leadership in the region, which has been built for a long time, can be seen, among others, through Indonesia's prominent role in the Southwest Pacific region through the Southwest Pacific Dialogue (SwPd). Seeing how Indonesia became the initiator at that time can be the basis for Indonesia's leadership in the Southwest Pacific region today. This paper examines how Indonesia's geopolitically oriented foreign policy under the leadership of President Jokowi is further examined in the southwest Pacific region. The theory used in this study is poliheuristic theory. The research method used is a qualitative paradigm with descriptive analysis and secondary data collection techniques from various relevant references. The results show that under President Jokowi's leadership, a reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the Southwest Pacific region is crucial. This is based on the orientation of Indonesia's national interests, especially securing and ensuring that the political and security fields become the top priorities in foreign policy.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, Indonesia, Southwest Pacific, Poliheuristic

## INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is an action or response addressed to parties outside the country and taken to achieve the national interests of the policy-making country. According to Hudson (2020), foreign policy is everything that happens between countries and across countries that is influenced by the humanitarian dimension on the part of decision-makers who act individually or in groups (Neack, 2019) (Hudson & Day, 2020). A country's foreign policy will always be sourced from its national interests, which is an important element that can then become part of the source for the formulation and implementation of a country's foreign policy to understand the formulation and implementation of a country's foreign policy, an analysis of the policy itself is needed. At the core the study of foreign policy is the desire to understand the actions and behavior of a state towards other states as well as the international environment in general (Breuning, 2007). Breuning (Breuning, 2007) also explains that foreign policy analysis is a quest to understand not only why leaders make the choices they make but also how and why domestic considerations can be both an obstacle and an opportunity to influence their choices. Foreign policy analysis is necessary to be able to understand how and why a decision is made (Mintz & Derouen, 2010). Foreign policy making in general is always based on rational accumulation and existing factors as well as analysis using different models. In this case, foreign policy analysis acts as a bridge that connects a concept with empirical foundations that are often used in international relations and in decision-making that can be based on groups or even individuals. The concept of polyheuristics brings and connects cognitive and rational approaches in policymaking.

In epistemic foreign policy analysis, every correlated factor of state, non-state, individual, and business actors is a representation of how the policy is presented, starting from political decisions to legal policies. Political in the sense that there are many actors involved in the formulation and analysis of a country's foreign policy by carrying their respective interests. This means that each actor has their articulation of interests that must be fought for. In the legal or post-decision context, it is an accumulation of all existing interests that have been analyzed, calculated profits, and losses that are passed on to state needs both internally and externally (Fathun & Gideon, 2023).

In foreign policy, we must depart from the five basic elements of political science. These five elements are: (1) the state; (2) power; (3) decision-making; (4) policy; and (5) attribution and distribution. The state is the responsible actor in foreign policy, while power (Rudy 2003) is a reformulation of the state's ability to achieve certain objectives. In the process of foreign policy, a state is rooted in a decision, meaning that when in this position, the formation of foreign policy is still political or intra-state.

Furthermore, from the best alternative results, it is called a policy, policy, or alternative that has been chosen by the government and has been legally approved, and is ready to be implemented. In this implementation, if it is domestic, this is referred to as domestic policy. Therefore, Holsti said that a country's foreign policy consists of four components, namely: (1) foreign policy orientation; (2) national role; (3) goals; and (4) actions. (Holsti, 1988)

During President Jokowi's presidency, a paradigm shift in Indonesia's foreign policy, especially in the Southwest Pacific region, needs attention. In this context, special attention needs to be paid to the discussion of Papua and the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). The Papua region and Indonesia's membership in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) are important focuses in foreign policy reorientation efforts, which aim to strengthen diplomatic relations, increase regional cooperation, and increase Indonesia's influence in the Southwest Pacific region. This region is one of the important areas for Indonesia to gain support in defending the Papua region as an inseparable part of Indonesia since the Papuan problem has long-standing roots in history that made the Papuan conflict complex (Hasan et al., 2022). The discussion on Papua and the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) in the context of Indonesia's foreign policy reorientation in the Southwest Pacific region during President Jokowi's leadership was suspected as a step to minimize sovereignty threats from the MSG through various cooperation efforts offered by Indonesia to the MSG. Where the cooperation was formed as an effort by Indonesia to minimize MSG intervention against Indonesia while maintaining its strategic sovereignty in the Southwest Pacific Region. Moreover, in a global context, the region is increasingly important because of its economic potential, natural resources, and maritime routes. Therefore, Indonesia needs to understand and interact with the region through an effective foreign policy (Bekarekar Sari, 2016; Ichanar Kusuma, 2017; Tampubolon, 2015).

When talking about the issue of Papua, has always been associated with a complex and sensitive issue for Indonesia. In the context of foreign policy reorientation, it is important to discuss Papua to promote stability, sustainable development, and human rights protection in the region. Understanding Papua's dynamics in depth will help Indonesia address relevant social, political, and economic issues. MSG, or the so-called Melanesian Spearhead Group, is a regional group involving countries with a majority Melanesian population. Considering Indonesia's close cooperation and relationship with the MSG is an important step in the reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy. Through dialogue and partnership with MSG member countries, Indonesia can strengthen regional ties, promote stability, and enhance political, economic, and social cooperation. Therefore, this paper will answer the problem of reorienting Indonesia's foreign policy in the Southwest Pacific region. Why is this important? Because the region has always been a threat to the sovereignty and self-esteem of the Indonesian nation. This article argues that the existence of the MSG is an opportunity for Indonesia to be able to suppress the support of the Southwest Pacific countries for Papuan independence. In

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addition, if this is not restructured in Indonesia's foreign policy model, the MSG has the potential to become a medium for supporters of Papua Merdeka to raise votes.

## LITERATURE STUDY

This research is a study that continues and develops previous research. There have been many studies on Indonesia's foreign policy direction in the Southwest Pacific region. Previous studies have contributed to and are relevant to this research, namely Bekarekar (2016). This research is the result of thesis research that produces an exciting study. Incidentally, the researcher of this study is a Papuan. So that it adds depth and sensitivity to the object under study, this research explains that Indonesia's foreign policy in the Southwest Pacific region aims to secure all forms of Indonesia's national interests in the region. The most significant urgency of interest is maintaining stability and disrupting the region's countries to separate Papua from Indonesia. The disturbance of countries such as Fiji, Solomon, Palau, Vanuatu, etc., is absorbing Indonesia's concentration to maintain the stability of Papua.

Moreover, the independent Papuan movement has always flared up to separate itself from Indonesia. The movements carried out by these Southwest Pacific countries through multilateral and regional forums are very troublesome for Indonesia to explain that Papua is part of Indonesia and that there are no violations and injustices in Papua. That is why Indonesia strives to consistently participate in various meetings held by countries in the Southwest Pacific region. One of Indonesia's efforts is to become part of the MSG organization, an association of Southwest Pacific nation-states. Indonesia's participation is part of an effort to obtain information or fight against information discrimination by nations that want to separate Papua from Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia's efforts remain contributive even though it was only a reviewing country when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was leading. However, at least Indonesia can get information and developments in Papua by joining the organization.

The second research explains that the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy in the Jokowi era is different from the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era (Wati et al., 2018). The direction of foreign policy in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era emphasized globalism, while the direction of foreign policy in the Jokowi era was more identical to bilateralism (Wati et al., 2018).

Then, Indonesia's foreign policy in the Jokowi era also emphasized pro-democracy and pro-people diplomacy. So, if you look at the development of the Papua issue, Indonesia's foreign policy always participates in matters regarding the Pacific Islands. If we look further, Indonesia's foreign policy in the Jokowi era in the Pacific region emphasizes more on political issues. Due to the diversity of political and government systems and cultures in the

islands, Indonesia has always promoted democracy. For example, it is being involved in the Pacific Elevation forum. However, it turns out that Indonesia's involvement was responded to negatively by several countries, especially Vanuatu, which has consistently demanded the decolonization of Papua. The diplomatic style of nation-states in the Pacific Islands that emphasizes anti-colonialism demands that Indonesia release Papua to be independent and take care of itself. However, Indonesia's response remains constructive, remaining part of the MSG organization and providing economic assistance to Fiji and Vanuatu when affected by disasters. The goal is to melt the complex arguments of Vanuatu, Solomon, and Fiji, who firmly favor an independent Papua. Indonesia has always been active in maintaining its commitment to make Papua part of Indonesia, even though these countries have always voiced unfairness towards Papua. Indonesia also continues to build partnerships with Pacific nations to maintain stability and political issues that are always capitalized on by Pacific countries to cornering Indonesia.

The following research was conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2013). This research explains that the Southwest Asia region is a strategic area in Indonesia's national interests. The crucial factor in building Indonesia's regional relations is identical to ethnic considerations. In addition, the region inhabited by Melanesian ethnicity makes Indonesia always active in participating both bilaterally and multilaterally. Indonesia's participation is to maintain political stability, especially to maintain potential security threats due to provocations from several regional countries that want Papua to be independent of Indonesia. On the other hand, Indonesia is also an actor and participatory in building a sustainable economy to create and encourage economic prosperity in the region.

## **METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research is research that explains research objects based on the interpretation of meaning and is not focused on numbers and statistical data. Qualitative research also focuses on building theories based on the object under study. Qualitative research also shows intense closeness between the researcher and the object of research (Neuman, 2011) (Cresswell, 2018), (Bakry, 2015). This research also uses a case study method that shows a live case analysis to conclude a phenomenon. This case study research assesses and explains the uniqueness of the phenomenon under study (Cresswell, 2018)(Bakry, 2015). This research uses secondary data from various valid reference sources, such as books, journals, documents, the internet, and other relevant sources. This research uses the tracking process data analysis technique. The tracking process is a data analysis technique that profoundly explores the empirical facts about the case study. This process allows the researcher to obtain information about the object under study and draw conclusions after linking variables (Audie & Prakash, 2008). This research also uses systematic steps such as data rehabilitation, validation, and

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conclusion drawing for obtaining data categorization by the object of  
research (Miles et al., 2014)

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the Southwest Pacific

The direction of Indonesia's foreign policy on independence and activity cannot be separated from Mohammad Hatta's role as a thinker of the model. This is stated in the statement that the government believes that the best policy to be taken is one that does not make Indonesia an object of international conflict. On the contrary, Indonesia must remain a subject entitled to self-determination and fight for Indonesia's cause, namely independence for all of Indonesia. This statement was a forerunner of the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy. The concept of an active free foreign policy was born for the first time in the 12th Indonesian cabinet under the leadership of Dr. Sukiman as Prime Minister between April 27, 1951, and April 3, 1952. In international relations, the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy is also known as "rowing between two reefs". Indonesia is a country with an independent and active foreign policy foundation. Indonesia's independent and active policy is not interpreted as a neutral policy but as a policy that does not align Indonesia with superpowers and also does not bind the country to any military pact (Hatta, 1976)

In essence, Indonesia's foreign policy is designed to serve national interests while enabling Indonesia to cooperate with other countries to eliminate colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations for world peace and social justice. This then explains why Indonesia became one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. To become a country that actively participates in the global arena, synergy in the regional region is one of the necessary steps. This is regulated through (Sulaiman et al., 2022) MPR Decree Number II / MPR / 1993, which outlines Indonesia's foreign relations, especially in the regional region, and states that Indonesia's international relations must be based on the aim of strengthening international and regional friendly relations and cooperation through various multilateral and regional channels, by national interests and potentials. Indonesia's foreign policy, among others, is influenced by large population factors, strategic geographical location, and ownership of abundant natural resources. These factors are more or less a strong reason for Indonesia's superiority in regional and global affairs. (Hatta, 1953) Therefore, the orientation of Indonesia's foreign policy must be textual and contextual so that it can always be relevant to changes in international relations that are always dynamic.

Therefore, changes in internal and external systems in a country are very influential in policy making, and as a result, the state must adopt an adaptive approach to see its capabilities. Continuing Rosenau's statement, Jackson in the new edition stated that this foreign policy will need state caution, or every policy maker who is dominated by the president, prime minister, and king needs to be cognitively formulated, especially external relations with foreign countries. Because basically, when a country is involved in the international political arena, it is natural that the pattern of play (Ebyhara, 2011; Robertua & Sigalingging, 2019) . Power and Political Prestige It should take priority to amaze every actor who plays the game.

## **B. A Look Back at Indonesia's Foreign Policy Orientation in the Southwest Pacific**

According to Holsti (1988), every actor and decision-maker must be aware of their domestic needs, or domestic politics, and international politics, or the situation of the international system. This process model is similar to Snyder et al.'s, but this model has somewhat fewer variables studied than Snyder et al.'s. According to Holsti, in the process of formulating state foreign policy by decision-making actors, the perpetrator must know correctly the perception of domestic politics and the estimates to be achieved. Holsti also suggested that the capability of real power ownership, such as the military, population, and economy, in the form of needs could influence state policy. In addition, unreal powers such as national character, moral values, norms, and national laws can also affect the policy-making process. Therefore, seizing or achieving national interests can be determined by efficient and calculated ways or alternatives for the country's foreign policy model (Fathun, 2021).

Looking at one of the contributions of Indonesia's leadership in the region that has been built for a long time, can be seen in Indonesia's prominent role in the Southwest Pacific region through the South West Pacific Dialogue (SWPd). The Southwest Pacific region itself stretches from Papua New Guinea and Kiribati in the north to New Zealand in the south and is located between three continents, namely, Asia and Australia on the east side and America on the west. Located in the Pacific Ocean, the Southwest Pacific Region is a collection of countries that are mostly in the form of islands separated from each other. It has an ocean area covering 1/3 of the world's sea area. With decolonization in the Southwest Pacific Region, foreign influence is also inseparable from this region (Burhanuddin, 2015). The South-West Pacific Dialogue was born from the initiative of Abdurrahman Wahid, who was President at the time.

In 2000, Abdurrahman Wahid spontaneously announced his idea to establish the Southwest Pacific Forum after being humiliated by Lee, who had rejected proposals to include Papua New Guinea and Timor-Leste in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. After attending the annual ASEAN summit in Singapore in 2000, Abdurrahman Wahid pointed out that the Southwest Pacific Forum could be a new diplomatic foundation for Indonesia. The idea of establishing a forum for the Southwest Pacific was especially significant in the face of three important changes that occurred to the political and economic landscape of the Asia-Pacific region at

Fathun et al, Reorientation of Indonesia's Foreign Policy In President Jokowi's Era that time. First, with Timor-Leste's independence in 2000, it was considered to be in the region's interest for large amounts of aid to be channeled to the Timorese so that they could develop their political and economic infrastructure. Second, separatist movements in the region pose a direct threat to regional stability as well as good bilateral relations between the affected countries. The third change was the economic devastation caused by the Asian financial crisis, which weakened the region's ability to increase its development cooperation (Santarita, 2003).

In response to the new situation, the Wahid government at the time was convinced that mutual assistance in the region could be achieved through a forum where countries could contribute to finding ways to solve the problems afflicting the entire region. As a manifestation, six ministers gathered in Jogjakarta to discuss the SwPD program and strategy on October 5, 2002. Dr. N. Hassan Wirajuda, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, chaired the meeting, which was attended by Mr. Alexander Downer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia; Mr. Phil Goff, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand; Sir Rabbie Namaliu, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Immigration of Papua New Guinea; Mr. Blas F. Ople, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines; and Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta, Senior Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Timor-Leste. At the end of their meeting, they signed a declaration on the establishment of a new forum in the South-West Pacific Region in 2002 (Santarita, 2003).

The primary objective of the South-West Pacific Dialogue is to provide a forum for exchanging views and expertise on regional issues and possible sub-regional responses to current and future challenges. The South West Pacific Dialogue is based on the principles of mutual understanding and mutual respect's territorial integrity, as well as a people-to-people approach. Currently, the Southwest Pacific Dialogue (SwPD) has become a dialogue forum for Australia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, and Timor Leste to exchange views and information on important issues in the region. The SWPD Ministerial Meeting (PTM) is held once a year, with the host taking turns. Seeing how Indonesia became the initiator at that time can be a capital for Indonesia in leading in the southwest Pacific region today. Moreover, the direction of 'geopolitics' seems to be the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy under the current Jokowi administration. This direction is based on how every country, large and small, competes for dominance and influence in world regions, as well as on the transformation of the lebensraum nature of the state (Fathun & Isnarti, 2021).

### **C. Jokowi's Foreign Policy Reorientation in the Southwest Pacific**

One of President Jokowi's foreign policy objectives is to increase Indonesia's global role through middle-power diplomacy, which places Indonesia as a regional and selective global power by prioritizing issues directly related to the interests of the nation and state of Indonesia (Mangadar,



2015). Included here that needs attention is Indonesia's regional strength in the southwest Pacific region. The reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the Southwest Pacific region is in line with the vision and foreign policy proclaimed by President Jokowi. To build active and independent diplomacy, attention to Papua and the MSG is important to improve Indonesia's position in the region and play an active role in regional and global issues. Taking into account Papua and the MSG in the reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy, it is expected that Indonesia can strengthen its position in the Southwest Pacific region, promote stability, build mutually beneficial cooperation, and achieve strategic goals in the context of foreign relations. Stable foreign policy provisions in the region have great significance for Indonesia in demonstrating its presence and consistency in the region, as well as in dealing with existing regional issues (Bekarekar Sari, 2016).

The foreign policy of the state can be directed at the orientation model, which will affect the power structure and actions of other states in the international system. Thus, the state understands whether the foreign policy model is directed at isolation, non-alignment, coalitions, or alliances. Holsti identifications such as geographical influences, topography, leader character, patterns of ideological dominance of the international system, and power structures constitute the determining direction of foreign policy. Wolfe added that the direction of foreign policy is oriented towards offensive, defensive, revisionist, status quo, imperialist, internationalist, interventionist, and neutralist models. (Coulombus & Wolfe, 1982) (Holsti, 1988)

The national interest is the ontology of a country's foreign policy. In the Indonesian context, foreign policy is the actualization of a country's foreign policy in which there are national interests as an accumulation of diversity of people's interests. Foreign policy issued by a country is intended to achieve the welfare of the people of that country. It has become a law of nature that no country can survive without contact with other countries. In this case, the limited resources owned by a country will be used as a basic reason for the implementation of foreign policy. National resources, or what is spoken of as limited national strength, are the cause of foreign policy. The national interest itself arises to make up for the lack of these resources, which can only be obtained outside the territorial boundaries of the country.

Through the vision of national development for the 2005–2024 period, Indonesia is required to become an independent, developed, just, and prosperous country. As for the form of vision in the field of international relations, Indonesia is required to be able to play an active role in international associations. In particular, the priorities of Indonesia's foreign policy in the 2020–2024 period include strengthening economic diplomacy, protection diplomacy, and sovereignty and nationality diplomacy, as well as increasing Indonesia's leadership contribution in the region and the world (Sucipto & Mulyana, 2021).

This approach refers to the continuous relationship between geographical, political, and economic influences and is specifically related to

Fathun et al, Reorientation of Indonesia's Foreign Policy In President Jokowi's Era a country's foreign policy. Geopolitical emphasis itself is based on the focus of political power related to geographical spaces such as territorial waters and land areas of a country. Indonesia's geopolitical foreign policy under the leadership of President Jokowi can be further examined, especially in the southwest Pacific region, because the southwest Pacific region is also an important but not much-discussed region, even though interaction in the southwest Pacific region can contribute to improving overall regional development, especially connectivity in the region. Increasing connectivity in the Southwest Pacific region is important for responding to various common challenges, especially the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy.

In practice, Indonesia's foreign policy is stipulated in the Indonesian constitution. The Indonesian Constitution, namely Law 37/1999, stipulates that Foreign Policy is the policies, attitudes, and steps taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in conducting relations with other countries, international organizations, and other subjects of international law in order to face international problems and achieve national goals (article 1(2)). Further to Article 3, Foreign Policy adheres to the principle of active freedom devoted to the national interest. As continued in Article 4, foreign policy is carried out through creative, active, and anticipatory diplomacy, not just routine and reactive, firm in principles and stances, and rational and flexible in approach. Indonesia, as an independent and sovereign country, implements foreign relations and foreign policy based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, mutual benefit, and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as implied in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Article 2). Thus, the context of Indonesia's foreign policy must be based on its basic constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution, and the country's foundation, namely Pancasila, accompanied by attitudes that benefit Indonesia as an independent country and mutual respect to achieve the goals of each country pursued through diplomacy.

Kusumaatmadja argued that it is appropriate that Indonesia's foreign policy be directed by the basic values of Pancasila, where its interests must include (1) overall development interests in directed economic development, (2) domestic security and stability, and (3) maintaining Indonesia's geographical area. Furthermore, in the process of making foreign policy, the main steps that must be taken include (1) describing the consideration of national interests in the form of specific goals and objectives; (2) establishing situational factors in the domestic and international environment relating to foreign policy; (3) analyzing national capabilities to achieve desired results; (4) developing plans or strategies to use national capabilities in tackling certain variables to achieve the objectives set; (5) implementing the necessary actions; and (6) periodically evaluating and reviewing developments that have taken place in achieving the desired goals or results. (Olton & Plano, 1990)

Analysis of considerations of Indonesia's foreign policy orientation in the Southwest Pacific must have logical, rational, and cognitive reasons. Mintz and DeReun explain that when decisions are made, two main considerations play a big role in making those decisions: cognitive conditions and rational choice factors. In its application, it is carried out in two stages, namely cognitive alternatives that consider dimensions such as political dimensions; if it does not meet the base desired by the political elite, it will not pass to the decision stage. The cognitive approach prevails in the first stage, when policymakers simplify choices that are considered intolerable on certain dimensions as a form of policy strategy. Policymakers generally reject options that are considered detrimental because losses on one crucial dimension cannot be tolerated and exchanged for gains on other dimensions. Leaders are considered political actors and consider that the disadvantages of the political dimension cannot be replaced by other dimensions. Leaders eliminate policies that harm the political dimension through non-compensatory strategies.

Mintz delivers at the stage of rational choice, where decision-makers use more analytical processing to minimize risk and maximize benefits. At this stage, the final policy is determined by the leader. The remaining options are then analyzed for profit and loss. After analyzing the gains and losses, a more optimal policy determination is made by policymakers. The basic assumption of rational choice is that the international environment determines the actions of states as actors, all foreign policy choice shapers are almost equal in prioritizing the policy-making process, every state choice makes the process visible as a single actor in making choices, and every single actor makes rational choices (Mintz, 2004; Mintz & Derouen, 2010).

Reorientation or restructuring of foreign policy, as Goldmann said that foreign policy will always be adaptive to the environment they are in and external shocks (Goldmann, 1988). This condition is the main key to connecting the external strategy environment and its influence on the domestic area (Hill, 2003). It is in this context that there is a change in power (a power shift) and a change in point in the discourse of contemporary international relations. Because cooperation and conflict become more satisfactory factors in explaining how reaction dynamics, institutional memory, and behavior determinants in foreign policy analysis (Ward, 1982) are.

KJ Holsti in his three-variable foreign policy restructuring or reorientation model is based on sporadic foreign policy improvisation due to the dynamics of change and adaptation (Hudson, 2012). Foreign policy restructuring consists of three main factors, namely external environmental factors from military/non-military threats, domestic factors and national status quo conditions in socio-economic, and historical background and cultural factors from a country's experience; (2) intervention variables that focus on actors, processes, personalities, and how the attitude of political elites in perceiving an external condition and decision-making process in the National Police; and (3) dependent variables that focus on the participation and involvement of actors who have certain intentions either to change, remove, or take new policies in reaction actions to changes in the international environment to domestic and from domestic to outside (Holsti, 2016).

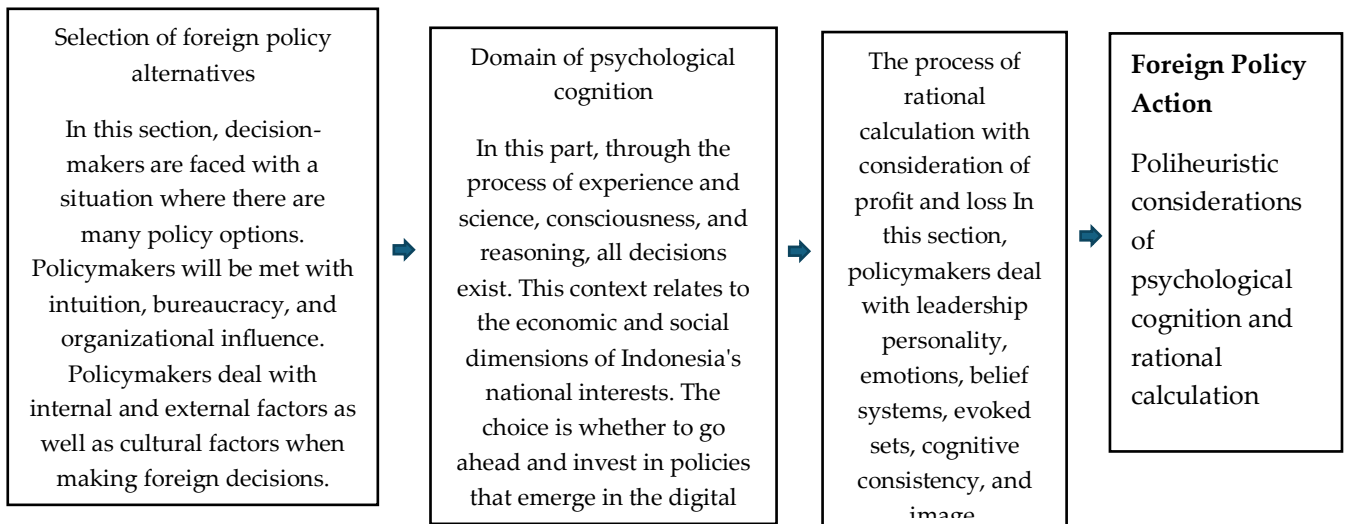


Figure 1. Formulation of Indonesian Foreign Policy, Self Design 2023

Table 2 Dimensions and Foreign Policy Considerations, processed by researcher, 2023

Code	Dimensions of Foreign Policy In the Southwest Pacific	Policy Considerations
Attitude 1	Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure Indonesia's role in the Southwest Pacific, Oceania and Polynesia. This aims to ensure that Papua remains part of the Republic of Indonesia</li> <li>• Papua is an economic and political asset for Indonesia. So that the power and power of the government must be maximized so that it does not happen like Timor Leste.</li> <li>• The approach to political power through the South West Pacific Dialogue Forum can be an organization of pressure, media voice and government advocacy related to Papuan issues.</li> <li>• Forum Milenesian Spread Goup is a negotiating forum that can be used as Indonesia to spread power and influence to the Southwest Pacific countries with an unconventional</li> </ul>

economic cooperation approach. This forum can also be a voice media for Indonesia to strengthen Papua as part of Indonesian Identity.

- Indonesia's diplomacy and negotiations in regional forums such as ASEAN and global such as the United Nations that Papua is a unity of identity, history, territoriality with Indonesia. Other countries should not interfere and discuss this issue in multilateral forums because it only creates local, national and regional political chaos. States should respect the UN charter to be consistent with the power of states in maintaining the stability of their countries
- 

**Attitude Security**

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- Papua is a unitary territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and the disintegration of the nation is a negative matter that must certainly be resolved.
  - Criminal threats to officers and civilians have the potential to create casualties.
  - The potential for civil war between the KKB and TNI Polri troops and local communities who disagree with the KKB
  - Threats to economic freedom and the pursuit of economic security will disrupt Papua's economic stability.
  - HudsMintIf it continues to get polarized and the media provokes more and more, Papua may be separated from the Republic of Indonesia with proposals on issues of justice, poverty, equity, or other issues of a social nature that have implications for politics and security.
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Based on the results of the analysis above, it is clear that Indonesia's foreign policy in the Southwest Pacific region is very important. This is based on the orientation of Indonesia's national interests, especially securing and ensuring that the political and security fields become the top priorities in foreign policy. The emergence of the issue of Papuan stagnation and identity politics in the region must be an important part of the national agenda. Because Papua is often a polarized issue, a number of countries in the Southwest Pacific have separated from Indonesia.

Looking at the history of Indonesia's foreign policy since the time of Gusdur and then in the government after, it seems that it is not a top priority because of its economic approach. Whereas orientation in the Southwest Pacific region must be directed to the political and security spheres through organizational approaches and rationalization. Thus, the Jokowi administration must make this issue the main agenda because the emergence of Armed Criminal Group (KKB) movements not only threatens the political and security fields but also the social and humanitarian fields.

The emergence of these organizations or dialogue forums can have negative consequences for certain countries as well. This becomes a gap and a tool for certain groups to join the fórum or organization. The goal is to get votes, alliances, donors, and other support. As well as the joining of some South-West Pacific countries in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), led by Vanuatu and several other South-West Pacific countries. The organization, or forum, is a means for its member states to always question and discuss issues of human rights violations that occur in Papua Province, Indonesia.

Then, there are also several other forums that are also suggestions for discussing Papuan issues, such as the Pacific Island Forum (PIF), the Organization of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States (OACPS), and the Organization of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States (OACPS). In addition, there is also the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the United States. Even the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), makes delegates and the Government of Indonesia feel uncomfortable, this is because a number of these forums have become a means for the Free Papua Support Community to voice issues of sovereignty, justice, human rights, and other sensitive issues. This means that an organization, either on a regional or global scale, can be a positive or negative medium for a country.

Archer (Archer, 2001) further said that international organizations function as a) instruments, b) arenas, c) independent actors, d) existence control, independent decision-making, and without peacekeeping facilities. From a number of these roles, the international organization will function to create norms, become a place of socialization, be a place of articulation and aggregation, information, recruitment, rule decisions, rule application and adjudication, and execution. Based on these theoretical arguments, it shows that MSG can potentially be an opportunity and a challenge for Indonesia and

supporters of an independent Papua. This means that seeing the MSG as a regional organization in the Southwest Pacific is seen from Indonesia or by supporters of Papua Merdeka (Archer, 2001).

For Indonesia, MSG is an arena instrument that becomes a forum for Indonesia to formulate its independent and active foreign policy. This means that MSG can be a rule for Indonesia to form norms and a place of information related to the development of quality supporters of Free Papua in the Southwest Pacific. Thus, MSG can be an articulation and segregation for Indonesia to consistently and independently defend state sovereignty before MSG members themselves. This means that Indonesia must be free from foreign intervention that threatens the country's political, economic, and social stability.

On the other hand, supporters of Free Papua in the Southwest Pacific region who are members of the MSG make the MSG an instrument, an arena, an independent actor, and an independent decision-maker. Why different views because of Free Papua Supporters of the MSG use the MSG as a tool to articulate information, socialization, and the rule that Indonesia is a country that oppresses the Papuan nation. Supporters of Papua Merdeka consider that the MSG formed by the countries of the Western Pacific regions that mostly supportive of Papua Merdeka. The implication is that MSG is expected to be an independent actor and be able to decide whether Papua must become a separate state. This has been seen when, during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era, MSG made recruitment norms and systems that required Indonesia to be an observer, not a member. The implication is that Indonesia does not have the right to vote on independent decisions. Because the plague of MSG is not an organization without a purpose that has a vision to support an independent Papua, So in the Jokowi era, with polyheuristic foreign policy considerations, it must make the issue of the Southwest Pacific a priority issue. This means that Indonesia must be able to be sovereign as an independent country without intervention from any organization or country.

## CONCLUSION

The author concludes several important points based on the above analysis, namely: a) Indonesia's foreign policy must be directed at a rational reorientation and psychology of cognition, especially in the field of politics and security in the Southwest Pacific region; b) the foreign policy orientation must be able to use a cosmopolitan identity approach so that Papua becomes part of Indonesia that is not disturbed by anything; c) the role of institutions in both regional and global contexts must be able to listen and focus on issues that must be solved. Split in the sense that the organization can understand domestic issues that are internationalized or simply part of the national, and d) diplomatic approaches to resolve these issues so as not to be provoked by a number of external actors who create identity politics divisions in a country and take advantage. For this reason, there is a need for communication, coordination, collaboration, and advocacy on this issue so that it is not polarized.

This means that this reorientation of Indonesia's foreign policy must be realized maturely with scientific calculations. Because overcoming the issue of Papua is different from overcoming other provinces, In the Soekarno era, there was a Tritura operation to liberate West Irian from the clutches of NICA. By addressing this issue, Indonesia must assess Papua as an inseparable part. Because the upheaval in Papua has been going on for a long time and foreign interference is very strong, it is very difficult to separate Papua from Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia must view its foreign policy in the MSG as a means of mediation, collaboration, and coordination. Because Pacific countries led by Vanuatu will assess the MSG as an instrument to voice the rights of Papuans who have been considered oppressed by Indonesia, So the role of MSG should be a solution-focused forum, not a confrontational forum. Thus, an active and independent Indonesian foreign policy can be protected from the incitement and rebellion of other countries that want to divide Indonesia. And the result is separating Papua from Indonesia. Indonesia considers Papua a priority province, giving it special autonomy rights to advance Papua on par with other provinces. And a number of other programs that prioritize the Papuan people as an inseparable part of Indonesia.

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