Index

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” denote endnotes

A
Abbott, Tony, 207, 219–23
Abdullah Badawi, 181, 185
ABIF. See ASEAN Banking Integration Framework (ABIF)
ABMI. See Asian Bond Market Initiatives (ABMI)
abuse of migrant rights, 113, 114, 116, 126
Aceh conflict, 232. See also Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM)
Malaysia, Acehnese diaspora in, 233–34
Special Military Operation Zone, 233
Tiro, Hasan, 233, 234
Acehnese refugees, 250n3
Aceh peace process, 11–12, 231. See also Law on the Governing of Aceh (LoGA)
Helsinki process, 237–39
Aceh tsunami recovery, 89, 91
ACIA Reservation List. See ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) Reservation List
ADB. See Asian Development Bank (ADB)
Adhuri, D.A., 187
AEC. See ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)
AFC. See Asian financial crisis (AFC)
African Union, 30
Afro-Asian Summit, 43
Agus Suhartono, 166
Ahtisaari, Martti, 235, 238
AICHR. See ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)
AIF. See ASEAN Infrastructure Fund (AIF)
“all directions foreign policy”, 33
Aly Ghufron (Mukhlas), 141
Ambalat dispute, 178, 187–89, 193
AMRO. See ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (AMRO)
Anti-Corruption Working Group, 63
anti-Malaysia chauvinism, 178
Anti-Subversion Law (1963), 138
antiterrorism
Detachment 88 and, 139
infrastructure, 148
Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programme, 140
Anti-Terrorism Law No. 15/2003, 139, 140, 147
antiterror strategy, 138–39
Anwar, Dewi Fortuna, 5, 6, 35, 212
APEC. See Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)
Arab Spring, 50, 51
Ardiansyah, F., 197
Armed Forces Law (Law 34/2004), 246
ASEAN. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
ASEAN Banking Integration Framework (ABIF), 66
ASEAN chairmanship, 27
Bali Concord III, 27
Myanmar, 17
post-2015 vision, 29
ASEAN Charter, 39, 40
ASEAN–China Code of Conduct framework, 164, 168
ASEAN Community, 20–21, 27, 29
ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) Reservation List, 63
ASEAN Declaration (2002), 23
“ASEAN Development Goals”, 29
ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), 62, 64, 65, 67, 78, 93, 102
ASEAN Free Trade Area (FTA), 63
ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (2012), 16
ASEAN Infrastructure Fund (AIF), 66
ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR), 16, 39
“ASEAN minus X”, 40
ASEAN Plus, 8
ASEAN+3 framework, 28, 64, 79
ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (AMRO), 65
ASEAN+3 Research Group, 65
ASEAN Political and Security Community, 16, 27
ASEAN Regional Forum, 161
ASEAN Summit, 47, 64
ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA), 67
“ASEAN Way”, 21, 40, 163
Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), 30
Asian Bond Market Initiatives (ABMI), 65
Asian Development Bank (ADB), 66
Asian financial crisis (AFC), 60, 88, 90, 107, 117, 120, 184
Asia-Pacific Community (2020), 214
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 30, 47, 62
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 4, 61, 180, 188
centrality, 27, 160–61
China and, 160–61
consensus-based diplomacy, 42
economic agenda, 62
financial integration, 79n6
Foreign Ministers’ Meeting (2012), 40
Indonesia as primus inter pares, 33, 38–42
Indonesia’s regional economic cooperation, 63–68, 77
regional economic cooperation, 63–68
during SBY’s presidency, 63–64
security community, 38–39
“security shield of friendship”, 161
Six-Point Principles on the South China Sea, 164
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, 38, 47
unity, South China Sea conflict and, 23–25
asylum seekers
Australia, 206
in Indonesia, 215
Papua, 210–11
and people smuggling, 219, 220
ATA programme. See Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programme
Athukorala, P., 128n6
ATIGA. See ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA)
Australian Federal Police, 140
Australian–Indonesian relationships, 11
Abbott, Tony, 219–23
arrest and trial, 206
asylum seekers, 206, 215
Bintan island, 215
climate change cooperation, 213
defence white paper (2009), 217
domestic constraints, 215, 218, 223
engagement with Asia, 218
Gillard, Julia, 216–19
government-to-government ties, 205, 208, 217, 224
Howard, John. 207–12
Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist network, 209, 211
legal system, 211
Oceanic Viking incident, 215, 216
people smuggling cooperation, 206, 210, 219, 221–23
refugee policy, 207
Rudd, Kevin, 212, 213–16
security treaty, 205
smuggling cooperation with, 210
transnational crime, 206
2013 election, 206
white paper, 217, 218
automotive sector
Japan’s investment, 86, 93
Korean brands, 87–88

Autonomy Law 18/2001, 247, 248
Avrist Assurance, 93

B
Ba’asyir, Abu Bakar, 145, 211, 212, 224
Bachelard, Michael, 218, 223
Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT), 145–46, 149
Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BNP2TKI), 116, 117, 120, 121, 126, 129n17, 132n43
Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial (BPJS), 96
Bali bombings, 10, 136, 137–39, 147, 211
Bali Concord II, 38
Bali Concord III, 27, 29
Bali Democracy Forum (BDF), 17, 48–49, 214
Institute for Peace and Democracy, 51
Bali Principles, 29
Banda Aceh
IAIN Ar-Raniry in, 241
and Jakarta, 242, 243
bangsa serumpun, 185
Bank Central Asia, 89
Bank Century, 91
Bank Danamon, 89
Ban Ki-moon, 52
Bank Indonesia, 89
banking sector
Indonesia, 88–89, 91
Japan, 92–93
Bank International Indonesia (BII), 89
Bank Mandiri, 88
Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI), 88–89, 93
Bank Niaga, 89
Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), 88
Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN), 89
Bank Tabungan Pensiun Nasional (BTPN), 93
Basri, Chatib, 53, 74, 75
BDF. See Bali Democracy Forum (BDF)
bebas aktif foreign policy, 3, 5, 34–35
beef production, Indonesia, 94
BII. See Bank International Indonesia (BII)
bilateral relationships, Indonesia, 184–87, 209
development, 207
institutions and frameworks, 19
personal dimension to, 179
security cooperation, 199
in Southeast Asia, 176
Yudhoyono’s desire for, 205
Bishop, Julie, 220
blue collar workers, movement of, 107, 108
BNI. See Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI)
BNPT. See Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT)
BNP2TKI. See Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BNP2TKI)
Boediono, 53, 144, 220
border diplomacy, 20
Borneo, territories in, 178
Boxing Day tsunami (2004), 12
BPJS. See Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial (BPJS)
Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS), 68
British colonial authorities, 181
Brown, C., 178
BTN. See Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN)
Bush, George W., 52
C
Cambodia
ASEAN chairmanship, 160, 164
Jakarta Informal Meetings on, 4, 41
Cambodia–Thailand border dispute, 21–22
Carr, Andrew, 213, 217
Celebes Sea, 183
Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA), 232, 234–35
Chiang Mai Initiative Bilateral Swap, 64, 65
Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM), 47, 65, 76
China
and ASEAN, 160–61
assertiveness, 154, 160
disputed territories, 92
infrastructure projects, 100
as key trading partner, 84
low-end manufacturing activity, 93
“nine-dash line”, 153, 156, 165
South China Sea policies, 161
Suharto and, 85
China–Indonesia relationship, 45, 154, 159–60, 162, 170n15
infrastructure projects, 100
trade ties, 8, 9, 90, 97, 100
Chong, J.W., 190
Christensen, Juha, 238
CIMB-Niaga Bank, 143
Ciorciari, John, 7
Citibank, 86, 87
Clark, Marshall, 11
climate change, G20 commitments on, 70–71
CMI. See Crisis Management Initiative (CMI)
CMIM. See Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization (CMIM)
Index

Code of Conduct (COC) framework, 164, 168
COHA. See Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA)
commodity-driven economies, 92
comprehensive law (Law Number 39), 116
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), 30, 52
Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (2013), 45
“concentric circles” concept, 34
Conference of the New Emerging Forces (CONEFO), 179
contract migrants, 107, 117
Corby, Schapelle, 209–10, 217
Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), 2
counterterrorism, 210
agency, 145
cooporation, 44
efforts, 18, 30, 137–39
during SBY era, 147, 199
Cribb, R.B., 178
criminal justice system, 141–43
courts, 142, 148
prisons system, 143, 148
prosecution service, 141–42
rehabilitation programme, 143
terrorism trials, 142
Criminal Procedure Code, Article 85, 142
Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), 238, 248
cross-border environmental issues, 181
CTBT. See Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)
cultural contestations, 189–91
cultural heritage, 177, 178, 181
Cyclone Nargis crisis, 39

D
Dai Ichi, 93
Darul Islam, 138
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC), 25, 161
defence white paper (2009), 217
democracy instinct”, 5
democratic institutionalization, 2
democratization, 15, 34, 38, 118
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 210
Desk Koordinasi Pemberantasan Terorisme (DKPT), 145
Detachment 88, 139, 140, 146, 148, 150n6
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), 37, 139
Djalal, Hashim, 164
Djuanda Declaration (1956), 157
DKPT. See Desk Koordinasi Pemberantasan Terorisme (DKPT)
“doughnut proposal”, 164
DPR. See Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR)
DPR-RI, 241
Dulmatin, 145, 151n15
Dulsani-Lamiem tragedy, 197
dynamic equilibrium, concept of, 33–35, 154, 169n1

E
East Asia Summit (EAS), 28–29, 161, 208, 217
Bali Principles, 29
Indonesia and, 46–47
East Timor crisis, 4, 38, 40, 44, 48, 205, 207, 236
Economic Review and Policy Dialogue (ERPD), 64–65
Emmerson, Donald, 35, 50
Endriartono Sutarto, 232
era Reformasi, 233
ERPD. See Economic Review and
Policy Dialogue (ERPD)
European debt crisis, 75
European Union (EU), 30
development programme, 240
financial integration, 73
rotating presidency of, 235
eurozone debt crisis, 72
Evans, Gareth, 52
democratization in, 15–16
human rights policies, 16–18
Palestine issue, 31
South China Sea conflict, 22–27
Forests 11, 30
Forum for East Asia and Latin
America Cooperation (FEALAC), 30
Free Aceh Movement (GAM), 12, 233
Freeport McMoran, 86, 94
fuel subsidies, 91, 92

F
“fair dinkum partnership”, 224
Fajarina, Daisy, 192, 200n4
Farallon Capital Management, 89
FEALAC. See Forum for East Asia
and Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC)
Fealy, Greg, 212
female labour migration, 108, 112
Fernandez, Irene, 130n29
financial crisis, G20 commitments on,
72–74
Financial Inclusion Peer Learning
Program, 72
Fitriani, Evi, 3, 6, 216
foreign debt, Indonesia, 86, 90, 91
foreign diplomacy, 178, 187
foreign economic policy, 8–9
foreign policy, Indonesia, 3–4, 15
ASEAN chairmanship, 27–29
ASEAN Community-building, 20–21
ASEAN Political and Security
Community, 16
Bali Democracy Forum, 17
border diplomacy, 20
Cambodia–Thailand border
dispute, 21–22

G
Gaddafi, Muammar, 234
GAM. See Gerakan Aceh Merdeka
(GAM)
“Ganyang Malaysia”, 177
Garnaut, Ross, 71
GDP. See gross domestic product
(GDP)
G7. See Group of Seven (G7)
G8. See Group of Eight (G8)
G20. See Group of Twenty (G20)
Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), 12,
91, 233, 234. See also Majelis
Pemerintahan Gerakan Aceh
Merdeka (MP-GAM)
memorandum of understanding,
238–39, 242
negotiations with, 235–37
SIRA and, 247
Special Autonomy Law, 236, 239
Sweden, leadership, 235, 237, 238
“terrorist organisation”, 236
Undang-Undang Pemerintahan
Aceh, 240–44
Unrepresented Nations and
Peoples Organisation, 234
GFC. See global financial crisis (GFC)
Gillard, Julia, 216–19, 221
Index

global financial crisis (GFC), 9, 61, 65, 75, 78
  global monetary coordination, 76
  post-GFC period, 67–68, 75, 78
  structural reform, 75–76
Goh, Evelyn, 36
Graham, Euan, 35
gross domestic product (GDP), 60, 90, 91
Group of Eight (G8), 69–70
Group of Seven (G7), 52–53, 79n7
Group of 77 (G77), 30
Group of Twenty (G20), 31, 52–54, 61, 68, 77, 185, 213
  agenda, 8, 62, 69, 73
  Anti-Corruption Working Group, 63
  climate change, 70–71
  Financial Inclusion Peer Learning Program, 72
  infrastructure, 69–70
  managing financial crisis, 72–74
  policy coordination, 74–76
  “Guidelines for the Implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea”, 164
Gyngell, Allan, 208, 209

H
Habibie, B.J., 1, 88, 167
  aircraft industry, 102
  referendum policy, 4
Habir, Manggi, 8, 9
Hamas, 50
Hatta, Mohammad, 2, 3, 43, 186
HDC. See Henry Dunant Centre (HDC)
Helsinki peace process, 12, 237–39
Henry Dunant Centre (HDC), 235, 238
Hidayah, Anis, 121
Hishammuddin Hussein, 193
Holst, F., 186
  “honest broker” status, Indonesia, 153
Howard, John
  Australia–Indonesia relationships, 207
  government, 210
  Lombok Treaty (2006), 208–9
  memoir, 208
  “Pacific Solution”, 215
  undiplomatic approach, 212
  Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 207–8
Hugo, Graeme, 107
Humanitarian Pause, 234, 237
  human rights promotion, 48
Husain, Farid, 12, 238
Husna, F., 129n21
Hussein Onn, 180

I
IAMM. See Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (IAMM)
IBRA. See Indonesia Bank Restructuring Agency (IBRA)
ICITAP. See International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP)
ICJ. See International Court of Justice (ICJ)
IGGI. See Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI)
  illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing, 157, 159, 170n9
ILO. See International Labour Organization (ILO)
IMET programme. See International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme
IMF. See International Monetary Fund (IMF)
IMF-linked Regional Financial Arrangements, 76
“independent and active” doctrine, 161
Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), 30
Indonesia as primus inter pares, 33, 38
institution-shaping, 38–41
mediating role, 41–42
Indonesia Automatic Fingerprint Identification System (Inafis), 139
Indonesia Bank Restructuring Agency (IBRA), 88
Indonesia Infrastructure Guarantee Fund, 70
Indonesian armed forces (TNI). See Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)
Indonesian Constitution, 242
Indonesian diplomats, 39, 48
Indonesian economy, 88
Yudhoyono’s first term, 89–91
Yudhoyono’s second term, 89, 92–94
Indonesian Employers’ Association, 73
Indonesian Ministry of Defence, 158
Indonesia Raya, 186
Indonesia’s Communist Party (PKI), 85
Indonesia’s global position, under Yudhoyono administration, 47–48
bridging democratic and non-democratic states, 48–49
bridging Muslim world and West, 49–51
prominence in global institutions, 51–54
“Indonesia solution”, 215
Indo-Pacific region, 42–43
dynamic equilibrium, 28
regional institutions, 46–47
steering between great powers, 43–46
Indo-Pacific Treaty, 29, 42, 47
Indrayana, Denny, 141
Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (IAMM), 41
infrastructure investment, G20 commitments on, 69–70
infrastructure projects, China, 100
Institute for Peace and Democracy, 48
Institute of Ecosoc Rights (2007), 129n16
Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), 86
Internal Security Act, 138
International Court of Justice (ICJ), 181, 183, 188
International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), 140
international economic cooperation
Asian financial crisis, 60
Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 63–68
global financial crisis (2008), 61
Group of Twenty. See Group of Twenty (G20)
international labour migration, 9
abuse of migrant rights, 113, 114
bilateral agreements, 106
blue collar workers movement, 107, 108
changing number of, 110
in China, 123
contract migrants, 107
economic and social policy, 106
female domestic workers, 106, 118
feminization process, 112
flow and stock, 110, 128n10
gender-differentiation trends, 111–12
government policy on, 112, 115
Hong Kong, 117
Japan, 117
“labour surplus” economies, 107
Law 39/2004, 115
Malaysia. See Malaysia–Indonesia relationships
management of, 115–18
moratorium policy, 112
national and international tensions, 108
Saudi Arabia. See Saudi Arabia–Indonesia relationships
South Korea, 117, 123
Taiwan, 112, 117
trends and pattern, 109–14
unregulated migrant labour, 113–14, 128n7, 128n9
and Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 106
International Labour Organization (ILO), 105, 123, 130n24, 131n32
International Maritime Bureau, 158
International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme, 44
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 4, 88
International Organization for Migration (IOM), 108
IORA. See Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)
Iraq War, 232
Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) terror group, 137, 148
IUU fishing. See illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing

J
Jakarta, 40, 161
Banda Aceh and, 242, 243
in boundary disputes, 157

K
kafala contract system, 125, 126
Kahin, George, 180
Kalla, Jusuf, 2, 12, 144, 232, 238
Kassim, Y.R., 187
Khalid, K.M., 193
Khazanah, 89
Konfrontasi (confrontation), 5, 179, 194
Ambalat dispute, 188
military and diplomatic elements, 179
post-Konfrontasi rapprochement, 180
Sipadan and Ligitan islands, 181–84
Sukarno’s subsequent policy, 178
KPK. See Corruption Eradication
Commission (KPK)

L
Labor Opposition, 212
labour migration, Indonesia, 110–13.
See also international labour
migration
labour standards, 10, 117, 121
Laksmana, Evan A., 5, 10
Land Fund, 70
Laskar Merah Putih, 192
Law on the Governing of Aceh
(LoGA), 12, 239–40
Article 11, 243
Article 156, 245
Article 7, 243
Article 251, 247
Article 203, 246
Article 228, 246–47
Article 202, 246
Banda Aceh and Jakarta, 242, 243
criticism of, 248–49
drafting team, 241
and Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, 240–44
implementation process, 240
Indonesian Constitution, 242
legislative process, 241–42
May, Bernhard, 240
memorandum of understanding,
231, 238, 239, 242, 244, 246, 248
shortcomings of, 248
SIRA and, 244–45, 248
Law 39/2004, 115, 126
Lehman financial crisis (2008), 91
Liddle, R. William, 3
Lippo Bank, 89
Lombok Treaty, 208, 209, 214
Los Cabos Summit, 70–72
M
Mahathir Mohamad, 178, 180, 184–87
Majelis Pemerintahan Gerakan Aceh
Merdeka (MP-GAM), 235, 251n5
Malari (Malapetaka Lima Belas Januari)
riots, 84, 87
“Malay blood brotherhood”, 177
Malaysia
Acehnese diaspora in, 233–34
Federation of Malaysia, 178
GAM representatives in, 235
“Ganyang Malaysia”, 177
Malaysia–Indonesia relationships, 11,
118, 184, 191, 194
Ambalat, 187–89, 193
Asia–Africa bloc, 178
bilateral trade, 198
border zone, 187
confrontation (1963–66), 177
cultural contestations, 189–91
cultural heritage, 177, 178, 181
democratization, 118
diplomatic sphere, 178
domestic workers in, 112, 114, 123
female domestic workers, 112, 118
foreign workers in, 184, 199
fundamental problem for, 185
government-to-government
relationships, 119
“guest worker” regime in, 130n30
income and wages, 121–23
independence, 186
investments, 184
Konfrontasi. See Konfrontasi
(confrontation)
labour force, 184
labour legislation, 120
labour migration, 199
labour standards and rights, 117
language and religion, 198
liberal mass media, 177
“Malay blood brotherhood”, 177
“Manodrama”, 192–95
manufacturing sectors in, 119
migrant workers in, 113, 118–20
moratorium, 115, 121
national identity, 195
New Order period, 116, 119
Non-Aligned Movement, 179
non-government organizations movement, 118
physical abuse of migrants, 119
prosaic/pragmatic approach, 177
regional and extra-regional connections, 185
registered and unregistered migrants, 114
serumpun, notion of, 177
“sibling” identity, 176, 184
Sipadan and Ligitan Islands, 182, 184, 188, 200n2
territorial disputes, 181, 183
and Thailand, 108–9
transnational forest fire haze, 195–98
undocumented migrants, 108, 113–14, 123
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 176
Malaysian “business tourists”, 184
Malaysian national anthem, 190
Malik Mahmud, 235
Manning, C., 9, 128n6
“Manodrama”, 192–95
Manohara Odelia Pinot, 192
Mapson, L., 190
Marriott Hotel bombing (2003), 136, 144
Marsudi, Retno, 198
Master Plan of ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC), 66–67
Master Plan on the Expansion and Acceleration of Indonesia’s Economic Development (MP3EI), 71
Mattangkilang, T., 189
May, Bernhard, 240
Mbeki, Thabo, 53
McRae, David, 11
Medium Term Development Plan, 2010–15 (RPJMN), 115
MEF. See Minimum Essential Force (MEF)
Megawati Sukarnoputri, 1, 88, 147, 207, 232, 236, 237
“government regulation in lieu of legislation”, 137
presidential instruction No. 4/2002, 138
prioritized domestic affairs, 4
Meiji Yasuda Life, 93
Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), 30
Melayu Raya (Greater Malaya), 186
Merkel, Angela, 73
micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), 72
Mietzner, Markus, 54
Migrant Worker Convention (1990), 120
MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia), 30–31, 53–54
Milner, A., 185, 209
Minimum Essential Force (MEF), 158, 167
mining industry, 93–94
Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Affairs, 159
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 163
Ministry of Manpower work plan (RENSTRA), 115–17
Missbach, Antje, 11
Mitsui Sumitomo Insurance Group (MSIG), 93
Mizuho Bank, 93
“More Jakarta Less Geneva” foreign policy, 221
Morrison, Scott, 222
MPAC. See Master Plan of ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC)
MP-GAM. See Majelis Pemerintahan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (MP-GAM)
MP3EI. See Master Plan on the Expansion and Acceleration of Indonesia’s Economic Development (MP3EI)
MSG. See Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG)
MSIG. See Mitsui Sumitomo Insurance Group (MSIG)
Muadz, Yahya, 247
Mujani, Saiful, 5
Murphy, Ann Marie, 47
Muslim world and the “West”, 49–51
Myanmar
ASEAN chairmanship, 17
Indonesia’s approach to, 39
liberalization, 39
national oil assets, 86
Natuna waters, 157
defence infrastructure, 165–66
government initiatives, 167
illegal fishing in, 159
Negara, Siwage Dharma, 8
Neilson, Jeff, 219
New Colombo Plan, 220
Newmont Mining Corp, 94
“New Order”, 4, 85, 86, 95, 102, 158, 180
“nine-dash line”, China, 153, 156, 165
Nippon Life, 93
Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 4, 30, 31, 53, 179
non-claimant status, Indonesia, 153, 154
non-government organizations, 109, 235
Noordin Top, 145, 146
Norway
Acehnese refugees in, 250n3
addressing deforestation, 96
Nusantara, 186
Najib Razak, 181, 185
NAM. See Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)
Nasir, Zulhasril, 191
Natalegawa, Marty, 6–7, 50
in ASEAN (2011), 39
dynamic equilibrium, concept of, 35
Indo-Pacific treaty, 42, 47
mediation efforts, 41
Natalegawa Doctrine, 35
and Obama, 44
“Six Principles”, 42
and Yudhoyono, 164
National Agency for Disaster Management, 197
Obama, Barack, 39, 44, 47, 73
Oceanic Viking incident, 215, 216
OECD. See Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
OIC. See Organisation of Islamic Conference/Cooperation (OIC)
“omnidirectional amity”, 34, 36, 43, 55
OPDAT programme. See Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT) programme
OPEC. See Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
Index

Organisation of Islamic Conference/Cooperation (OIC), 4, 31, 50
Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 4
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 62
Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT) programme, 140

P
Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF), 30
Pacific Island Forum, 30
Palestine, 31, 50
pan-archipelagic proposal, 187
Pancasila, 50, 150
Pangestu, Mari, 64
Panin Bank, 93
Panin Life, 93
pan-Malay imaginaries, 176
Papua
asylum seekers, 206, 210–11
Free Papua Organisation, 234
Partai Aceh, 241
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI), 88
Partai Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (PKMM), 186
PDI. See Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI)
Pendet, 190
People’s Liberation Army, 160
people smuggling cooperation, with Australia, 206, 210, 219, 221–23
Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang (Perpu), 137–39, 145, 147
Permata Bank, 89
Peru. See Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang (Perpu)
Pertamina, 86
Philippines Overseas Employment Agency (POEA), 117, 127, 130n24
PIDF. See Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF)
Pietsch, Juliet, 11
Pittsburgh Summit, 71
PKI. See Indonesia’s Communist Party (PKI)
PKMM. See Partai Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (PKMM)
POEA. See Philippines Overseas Employment Agency (POEA)
post-ASEAN foreign policy, 40
post-Konfrontasi rapprochement, 180
Preah Vihear dispute, 41, 42
prison system, Indonesia, 10

Q
quantitative easing (QE), 74
“quintessential labour surplus economy”, 107

R
Razak, Abdul, 180
RCEP. See Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)
reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+), 30, 96
Reformasi
era, 48, 84, 88–89, 103, 138, 233
foreign policy process, 15, 37
post-period, 39, 60
Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), 64
rendang, 190
Reog Ponorogo dance, 190, 191
“Responsibility to Protect”, 52
RIAFin. See Roadmap for Monetary and Financial Integration of ASEAN (RIAFin)
Richardson, Michael, 210
Ricklefs, Merle, 207
Roadmap for Monetary and Financial Integration of ASEAN (RIAFin), 79n6
Roberts, Chris, 213
Rudd, Kevin, 47, 212, 213–16, 221
defence white paper (2009), 217
and Gillard, 216–19
policy approach, 215
rumpun Melayu, 185
Ruyati Binti Sapubi, 105, 125

S
Sabah–Kalimantan border, 119
Saddam Hussein, 207
saudara serumpun, 185, 198
Saudi Arabia–Indonesia relationships, 123–26
bilateral agreements, 112, 124
death penalty cases, 111
documented migrants, 124
domestic workers in 2010, 125
economy, 124
female domestic workers, 112, 124
investments, 124
joint working committee, 125
kafala system, 125
labour standards and rights, 117
large-scale labour migration, 124
migrant workers in, 111, 113, 124, 125
moratorium period with, 115, 124
Ruyati Binti Sapubi, 125
SBY. See Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang (SBY)
sea-lanes of communication (SLOC), 156
Sebatik Island, case of, 189
Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh (SIRA), 244, 248
criticism, 245
and GAM, 247
statement, 248
serumpun, 177, 185–87
Sinapad River, 189
Singapore, 128n6
air pollution, 196
ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office in, 65
defence agreement with Indonesia, 37
Indonesian migrant workers in, 113
Internal Security Act, 138
JI network, 140–41
smoke-related deaths, 197
Singapore Strait, 20
SIRA. See Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh (SIRA)
Siregar, Mahendra, 69
“Six-Point Principles on the South China Sea”, 164
SLOC. See sea-lanes of communication (SLOC)
SMBC. See Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation (SMBC)
Snowden, Edward, 221
Solahudin, 10
“Sonora”, 166
South China Sea (SCS)
armed robbery and piracy in, 158
boundary disputes, 157
China’s policies on, 161
hydrocarbon and fisheries resources, 155
Jakarta’s concerns, 158
as “litmus test”, 159
peace in, 156
sea-lanes of communication, 156
South China Sea (SCS) disputes, 10, 41–42
ASEAN unity, 23–25
claimant states scenario, 25–26
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, 25, 26
diplomatic inaction, 26–27
overlapping claims, 22–23, 26
strategic objectives, 23–24
“zero draft” Code of Conduct, 25
South China Sea policy, Indonesia, 154–55, 162, 166–69. See also
Jakarta’s policy responses
ASEAN centrality and cohesion, 160–61
elements of contestation, 155–56
Indonesia–China bilateral relations, 159–60
military and security concerns, 157–59
sovereignty and resources, 156–57
Special Autonomy Law (2001), 236, 239, 240
Sri Mulyani Indrawati, 52
Stange, Gunnar, 11
stock markets, 75, 88
St. Petersburg Summit, 74
Straits of Malacca, 186
Suharto, H. Muhammad, 4, 7, 84, 178–80, 184–87
advocacy for “Asian values”, 48
“concentric circles” approach, 7
“cooling-off” period, 41
military for political violence, 138
New Order, 85, 95
relations with China, 84–85
Sukamdi, 9
Sukarno, 2, 3, 85, 177–80

Konfrontasi (Confrontation) under, 11
Sukma, Rizal, 38, 48
Sumantipal River, 189
Sumitomo Life, 93
Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation (SMBC), 92–93
Suramadu bridge, 100
Suriadjaya, William, 86
Suryadarma Ali, 144
Susilo, Wahyu, 126
Suu Kyi, Aung San, 39
Sweden, GAM leadership in, 235, 237, 238

T
TAC. See Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)
Tanaka, Kakuei, 87
Tan, Paige Johnson., 5
Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), 130n24
Temasek, 89
Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), 44, 158, 166, 246
territorial disputes with China, 92
maritime, 183
in South China Sea, 26
Suharto and SBY eras, 187, 188
terrorism, 10, 136–37
Aceh training camp, 145
antiterrorism infrastructure, 148–49
Anti-Terrorism Law No. 15/2003, 147
antiterror strategy, 138–39, 146
Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme, 145–46
Bali bombings (2002), 137–38
causes of, 147
counterterrorism operations, 146–47
Detachment 88, 139, 140, 146, 148
hard approach, 136–37
hotel bombings, 144
incentive structure for antiterrorism units, 148
international cooperation to handle, 139–40
Kalla’s efforts to combat, 144
national counterterrorism agency, 145
Noordin Top, 145
plot against president, 145
police force capacity, 139–40
regional intelligence sharing, 140–41
soft approach, 137, 144–47
Terrorism and Transnational Crime Task Force, 148
TESDA. See Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA)
Teuku Don Zulfahri, 235
Thailand
Cambodia and, 21–22
Malaysia and, 108–9
Tiro, Hasan, 233–35, 250n4
Togar, Toni, 143, 151n14
Tokyo Conference (1966), 86
Toyota Motors, 86
transnational crime, 206
transnational forest fire haze, 195–98
Transparency International, 103
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), 29, 38, 47
turn-back policy, 221

U
UMNO. See United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)
UNCLOS, 157, 160, 168
Undang-Undang Pemerintahan Aceh (UUPA). See Law on the Governing of Aceh (LoGA)
undocumented migrant labour. See unregulated migrant labour
United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 186, 187
United Nations (UN), 162
climate change conference, 213
Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf, 162
Convention on the Law of the Sea, 169n2
General Assembly, 50
Human Rights Council, 16–17, 49, 52
Millennium Development Goals, 29
Palestine’s admission to, 31
Security Council, 21, 22, 37, 41, 49, 51, 52, 179, 232
United States
Anti-Terrorism Assistance programme, 140
Central Intelligence Agency, 221
Crisis Response Team, 140
Energy Information Administration, 155
foreign banks, 86–87
naval deployment, 44
oil companies, 86
trade ties with Indonesia, 84, 85–86
United States–China relations, 154
United States–Indonesian relations, 44
Universitas Malikussaleh, 241
Universitas Syiah Kuala, 241
unregistered migrants, 114
unregulated migrant labour, 108, 113–14, 128n7, 128n9
Index

V
Viability Gap Fund, 70
Victim Identification team (DVI), 139
Visser, L.E., 187

W
Wahid, Abdurrahman, 1, 4, 40, 51, 88, 235, 236
Weiss, M.L., 179
Wibisono, Makarim, 232
Widodo, Joko, 89, 92, 97, 218, 223
deradicalization and counter-radicalization efforts, 149
fight against terrorism, 147–48
incentive structure for antiterrorism units, 148
strengthen BNPT, 149–50
strengthen forces to handle terrorism, 148
Wihardja, Maria Monica, 8, 78n1
Wirajuda, Hassan, 37–39, 49, 50, 236
Wirjawan, Gita, 72
Wong, D., 130n30
Workshops on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, 163
World Movement of Democracy, 5
World Trade Organization (WTO), Indonesia in, 53
Wright, Josephine, 219

Y
Yacob, S., 193
Yamin, Muhammad, 186
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang (SBY), 1, 14, 60, 84–85, 105, 176, 205, 249
Aceh peace process, 232
“all directions foreign policy”, 33
antiterror strategy, 138–39
armed conflict, resolution to, 231
ASEAN+ monetary and financial cooperation, 64
Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, 116, 117, 120
Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial scheme, 96
Bali Democracy Forum, leadership of, 48
bebas aktif principle, 5, 34–35
bilateral relations, 177
challenges, 34
critique, 51
democratization and, 38
domestic policies, 6
dynamic equilibrium, concept of, 33–35, 154, 169n1
economic challenges during, 60–61
electoral competition, 37
fight against corruption, 95, 103
force development plans, 166
foreign investment, attraction towards, 36
foreign policy approach, 3, 6, 7, 33–38, 61, 232
forestry moratorium agreement, 96–97
global position. See Indonesia’s global position, under Yudhoyono administration
government, takeaways from, 101–3
handling of terrorism. See terrorism Indo-Pacific centrality, 42–47
international economic cooperation, 62
international labour migration. See international labour migration
international migration and, 9
interrelated policy concepts, 153–54
Law 39/2004, 115, 126
micro, small and medium enterprises, 72
migrant workers, rights of, 116
“million friends and zero enemies”, 33–34, 43, 61, 83
Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Affairs under, 159
omnidirectional amity, 34, 36, 43, 55
policy and performance, 107
policy initiatives, 96–97
positioning Indonesia as primus inter pares, 33, 38–42
presidency of, 9, 60–63, 176, 177
Presidential Advisory Council, 158
presidential elections, 90
“realpolitik” style, 177, 184
REDD+ agency, 96
security ties, 36–37
South China Sea initiatives, 154, 162, 166. See also South China Sea policy, Indonesia
sovereignty and solidarity, interests in, 49
state-owned enterprises, 95
strategy and diplomatic approach, 55
strengthening of democratic institutions, 1–2
structural challenges, 116
tenure, negatives and positives in, 95
territorial disputes, 187, 188
“total diplomacy”, 37
Yusron Ihza Mahendra, 193
Z
Zainal Abidin Mahama Zain, 193
“zero draft” Code of Conduct, 25