

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 Ghafur (Mukhlis), 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 investement, 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)

- 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
 - cooperation, 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
- “democratic 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

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, Irine, 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

democratization in, 15–16
 human rights policies, 16–18
 Palestine issue, 31
 South China Sea conflict, 22–27
 Forest Carbon Partnership (2008), 213
 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

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

- 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
- leadership, ASEAN centrality and, 160–61
Natunas and, 157
SCS concerns, 158
Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC), 140
Jakarta Informal Meetings, 4, 41
Jakarta’s policy responses, 162
multilateral responses, 162–65
unilateral responses, 165–67
Japan
automotive sector, 86
banking and insurance, 92–93
electronics, 86
Indonesia’s missed investments of, 89–90, 92–93
insurance market, 93
trade ties with Indonesia, 84–86, 97
JCLEC. *See* Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC)
Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorist network, 140, 150n2, 209, 211
Joint Understanding on a Code of Conduct, 223
Jones, Lee, 37
Jotzo, Frank, 71
JTrust, 93
- 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
- N**
- 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
- 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
- O**
- 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)

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

Perpu. *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 migrants 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

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
Wihardtja, 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
- Yusrion Ihza Mahendra, 193

Z

- Zainal Abidin Mahama Zain, 193
- “zero draft” Code of Conduct, 25