



**BALI DEMOCRACY FORUM AS INSTRUMENT
IN ENHANCING THE IMAGE OF INDONESIA AS
THE ROLE MODEL OF DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY**

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THESIS ADVISER RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis entitled “**Bali Democracy Forum as Instrument in Enhancing the Image of Indonesia as the Role Model of Democratic Country**” prepared and submitted by Fairuz Alhamdi in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of bachelor in the Faculty of Humanities has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, April 9th 2015

Dr. Endi Haryono, M.Si.
Thesis Adviser

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis, entitled **“Bali Democracy Forum as Instrument in Enhancing the Image of Indonesia as the Role Model of Democratic Country”** is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, April 9th 2015

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PANEL OF EXAMINER APPROVAL SHEET

The Panel of Examiners declare that the thesis entitled “**Bali Democracy Forum as Instrument in Enhancing the Image of Indonesia as the Role Model of Democratic Country**” that was submitted by Fairuz Alhamdi majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examination on April 13th 2015.

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ABSTRACT

Title: Bali Democracy Forum as Instrument in Enhancing the Image of Indonesia as the Role Model of Democratic Country.

The transformation of democracy in Indonesia since *Reformasi* in 1998 has transformed Indonesia into the third largest democratic country in the world. This change influenced the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy to more emphasize the success of democratic transformation of Indonesia. The government of Indonesia intended to promote the positive image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country by establishing Bali Democracy Forum and partnered it with Institute of Peace and Democracy. The government of Indonesia involves Indonesia's soft power, first track diplomacy, and second track diplomacy approaches to optimize its effort. BDF is proven as the right instrument to obtain the national interest of Indonesia as evidenced by many remarks or recognitions from many country's leaders in the world.

Keywords: Bali Democracy Forum, democracy, Indonesia's government, Indonesia's image, Indonesia's foreign policy, diplomacy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ASEAN	: Association of South East Asia Nations
BDF	: Bali Democracy Forum
DPD	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah</i>
DPR	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i>
DPRD	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i>
DPR-GR	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong</i>
EVP	: Election Visiting Program
IO	: International Organization
IPD	: Institute of Peace and Democracy
NGO	: Non Governmental Organization
PILKADA	: <i>Pemilihan Kepala Daerah</i>
PKB	: <i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i>
RPJMN	: <i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional</i>
RPJPN	: <i>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional</i>
SBY	: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UUD	: <i>Undang-undang Dasar</i>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Background of the Study

International Relations is a multi-discipline study about the behavior of actors in the world. The actors are divided into state actor and non-state actor. Countries in the world with their head of state and their governments are known as state actor while Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), International Organization (IO), civil society, and the individual are the examples of non-state actor. International relations study related with politics, economics, law, culture, and military. The interaction among actors in international relations is dynamic and changeable, due to the existence of interests of every actor. The interaction could be in form of cooperation, conflict, and competition. The existence of national interest in every country is becoming a reason why countries need to interacting each other. This leads countries to create their policies regarding the pursuing their national interests.

Image is one of examples of national interest every country pursued. A particular positive image of the country could give a positive recognition from others and will enhance the rank of a country in the eyes of the world. With the positive recognition from others, a country could get a trust which this will affected in building relationship with others. Image of a country is a result of how a country defining itself. To define itself, a country must have an aspect that considered as a plus value which this aspect will be promoted and utilized as the image of the country. In addition, the image also has to be reliable and supported with a reality fact. In practice, the implementation of image building is likely formulated by countries into their foreign policy. Foreign policy decided the destination and activity of a country in pursuing national interest.

Indonesia is a country that has orientation to values of democracy as reflected in the principles of Pancasila. Comprehensively, it emphasized that sovereignty is belong to the people which the codes of implementation has been arranged in the constitutional law of Indonesia 1945. In its journey, democracy in Indonesia has been occurred through up and down process, this affected by external and internal factor. One of the examples of internal factor that affected is leadership.

In new order regime, Indonesia was led by president Soeharto. New Order regime was known by practicing a repressive governance system relying on bureaucratic apparatus and military as its major power. The governance system that was not transparent in New Order regime triggered a lot of fraudulent practices and corruptions in the government. Moreover, there were a lot of human rights violation issues also happened in New Order regime. This circumstance caused the fading of Indonesia's image and Indonesia received a lot of critics from the international community. Monetary crisis and riot that happened in 1998 inside the country was the climax of deterioration of the image of Indonesia which resulted to the collapse of Soeharto regime afterward and marking the beginning of Indonesia's Reform.

Indonesia's *Reformasi* in 1998 was a milestone for Indonesia. At this time under president B.J Habibie administration Indonesia focused to reform and restoration in various aspects, including political system's reform and image restoration. This continued by president Abdurrahman Wahid and president Megawati. Under President Abdurrahman Wahid administration, the image of Indonesia as a democratic country is back on the right track, this caused by the changes that done by President Abdurrahman Wahid. President Abdurrahman Wahid was truly aware of the condition of Indonesia that plural. He continued to fight for the rights of minorities in Indonesia and instill the democratic values that once had faded in Indonesia, so he earned a nickname *Father of Pluralism*.¹ President Abdurrahman Wahid was present in the middle of the Indonesia's people and revived that democracy should be a reflection of Indonesia's people. At this time, the journey

¹ "Your letters: Gus Dur's legacy" (The Jakarta Post), retrieved by <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/01/06/your-letters-gus-dur-s-legacy.html>, accessed on 25th March 2015.

of democracy in Indonesia is believed already on the right track. Furthermore, under President Megawati administration, Indonesia managed to carve a gold ink in its democratic journey history. It was the first time Indonesia held the presidential election directly in 2004. President Megawati also became the first woman as Indonesia's president where this marking the progress in democracy of Indonesia.

Under President Megawati administration, precisely in 2002, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia also formed a unit specifically handled about Indonesia soft power policy.² This managed under Directorate of Public Diplomacy as a part in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia's management. The establishment of this directorate shows that the government of Indonesia is being more serious in the practice of public diplomacy and soft power, which the objective of this directorate is to show the face/image of Indonesia as moderate, democratic and progressive country, and build constituencies diplomacy to cooperate and embrace all stakeholders in foreign relations.³ The point of implementation of this policy is because of three reasons, which based on the power of idea of Indonesia, noble values of Indonesia, and positive achievement of Indonesia.⁴ This indicates Indonesia's foreign policy is started to focus on the use soft power. According to Nye, Soft power is the approach that more emphasizes in using soft way, this kind of soft way such as co-opting and it is not by coercing. The focus of Indonesia's soft power diplomacy policy is to give the influence of Indonesia in international arena as well as promote the value and achievement of Indonesia's democracy.

Under SBY administration, Indonesia's image as a democratic country resurfaced with the success of Aceh's conflict settlement by using soft way.⁵ This shows the consistency of Indonesia in adopting democratic values, because genuinely democracy is all about non-violence practice, dialog, and deliberation. Since then, the efforts of Indonesia in consolidating democracy fairly regard as success.

² Sutiono, P. (2012). Soft Power dan Strategi Diplomasi Indonesia. *Jurnal Diplomasi*, p. 98.

³ The book of *Diplomasi Publik Indonesia*, www.deplu.go.id

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 99.

⁵ Darmansjah Djumala. "Soft Power dalam Penyelesaian Konflik: Dimensi Politik Luar Negeri Konflik Aceh". Published by *Jurnal Diplomasi* (March 2012), p. 83

Indonesia itself claimed in the world as the third largest democratic country.⁶ Under SBY administration, Indonesia began to make efforts to demonstrate its roles and influences to the regional or wider as a democratic country. Positive changes that has been took place in the country not only create a positive image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world, but also affected the behavior of Indonesia in the international arena. A positive image of Indonesia is continued enhanced and improved in the SBY administration. It is marked by the establishment of Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) by the Indonesian government under President SBY administration, which the implementation is appropriate with SBY's mission and the direction of foreign policy that has been set.

BDF is a forum for cooperation among the countries in the Asia-Pacific which held its annual meeting in Bali. The Forum aims to strengthen the capacity of democracy and democratic institutions and to promote political development through dialogue and exchange of experiences among countries and form a platform for cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of democracy and political development. As a forum annual meeting, the representatives of the countries in Asia-Pacific that join BDF are country's leaders, ministers, as well as important figures that inclusive. This forum open to all countries in the Asia-Pacific region that have embraced democracy or that inspirational to become more democratic. This forum is principled with homegrown democracy, meaning based on the real practices of democratic values by the state participants with no pretensions to blame or justify the actual practice.⁷ This forum was first implemented on 10th – 11th Desember 2008 with the theme *“Building and Consolidating Democracy: A Strategic Agenda for Asia.”*⁸ This marked a new step for Indonesia to show its role and influence in the international arena, particularly in the aspect of democracy development.

⁶ Editorial board (2014, July 25). Indonesia decides: World's Third-largest Democracy Picks a New Chief. Retrieved January 14, 2015, from post-gazette.com: <http://www.post-gazette.com/opinion/editorials/2014/07/25/Indonesia-decides-World-s-third-largest-democracy-picks-a-new-chief-Joko-Widodo/stories/201407250023>

⁷ Forum Demokrasi Bali. Retrieved from: <http://www.setneg.go.id>, accessed on 22 January 2015.

⁸ “Buka Bali Forum Demokrasi, SBY Singgung Persoalan Demokrasi”, retrieved by <http://www.news.detik.com>., accessed on 25 March 2015.

Democracy in Indonesia believed has its own style/pattern where Islam and democracy go hand-in-hand. This circumstance makes Indonesia one step ahead in terms of democratic development in comparison with other countries that have Islamic backgrounds tends to be difficult in accepting democracy. Indonesia has shown itself as a country that keeping for democratic values and it is consistent with its position of principle in addressing the development of democracy and political transformation in the Middle East and North Africa, this has been widely recognized in many global forums.⁹

BDF is an Indonesia's soft power approach, which is Indonesia playing its role by persuading and influencing, not by using coercion way, in this case is promoting democracy. In delivering Indonesia's soft power in form of BDF, the government of Indonesia framed it as its diplomatic activities. Diplomacy used by country as instrument to communicate in the regulation of international politics. Diplomacy is also likely used by country as instrument to pursue national interests and political objectives, spread its values, as well as promoting image of a country in international's eyes. As diplomacy is used by the state actors as communication tool to pursue their interests and objectives, BDF here becomes a contributive agenda of Indonesia to pursue its national interest.

I.2 Problem Identification

Based on the explanation of the background of the study, it is found that after *Reformasi*, Indonesia has been successfully showed a good transition in democracy. *Freedom House* announced that Indonesia is the only ASEAN country which is free in terms of political and civil liberties¹⁰, and Indonesia has been known as the third largest democratic country in the world. This marked the positive image of Indonesia as a democratic country has been recognized in the world.

⁹ Teras Diplomas (2012). Tabloid Diplomas Januari 2012. p. 3.

¹⁰ Freedomhouse.org. Retrieved from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/indonesia>, accessed on 25th March 2015.

Nevertheless, in 2008 during the administration of President SBY, Bali Democracy Forum was established. Bali Democracy Forum in 2008 by the government of Indonesia with the theme “*Building and Consolidating Democracy: A Strategic Agenda for Asia*” as an embodiment of the Indonesian government's effort to promote the positive image of Indonesia through the advancement of democracy as stated in the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy.¹¹

The summary of Indonesia's foreign policy also stated the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy must reflect the success of democratic transformation in Indonesia after *Reformasi*. Indonesia's foreign policy emphasized the promotion of democracy is becoming a pivotal aspect for Indonesia to strengthen Indonesia's role and position in international, and to get international recognition regarding Indonesia's role and position.¹² The government of Indonesia is trying to get the positive image of Indonesia by showing the role and the influence of Indonesia in the construction and development of democracy in the regional area and moreover in the wider of regional area. Based on the objective of Indonesia's foreign policy and the strategic agenda of the implementation BDF, the further interest of Indonesia in implementing BDF is, in other words, trying to enhance the positive image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country. This is not merely as a promotion of Indonesia's positive image as democratic country regarding the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation, but there is a higher level of positive image to be enhanced. Democracy and Indonesia has been something that cannot be separated, and Indonesia is going to take advantages of this in its foreign policy implementation.

¹¹ “Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri – Arah Kebijakan Luar Negeri”. Retrieved from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=21&l=id>, accessed on April, 4th 2015.

¹² “Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri – Ringkasan”. Retrieved from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=1&l=id>, accessed on April, 4th 2015.

I.3 Statement of Problem

Departed from the problem identification, it is found the puzzle to be answered by this research. The question is:

How does the government of Indonesia utilize Bali Democracy Forum (2008 – 2012) as instrument to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country?

By providing overview and description of how BDF is implemented by the government of Indonesia in frame of first track diplomacy, and also connecting the positive image as national interest of Indonesia. Writer also will further elaborate the involvement of IPD in tandem with BDF which helping the implementation through the second track diplomacy. With this scientific mechanism, the puzzle of the identified problem in the research is expected will be answered.

I.4 Research Objectives

According to statement of problem, the objectives of this research are:

1. To explain about how the government of Indonesia utilize BDF as instrument to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.
2. To explain there is change in Indonesia's foreign policymaking affected by new Indonesia's democracy identity building which this resulted to the BDF implementation in order to enhance Indonesia's image as the role model of democratic country.

I.5 Significance of Study

1. Show the readers about the utilization of BDF in enhancing the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.

2. Make the readers discover that the government of Indonesia is trying to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country by implementing BDF.

I.6 Theoretical Framework

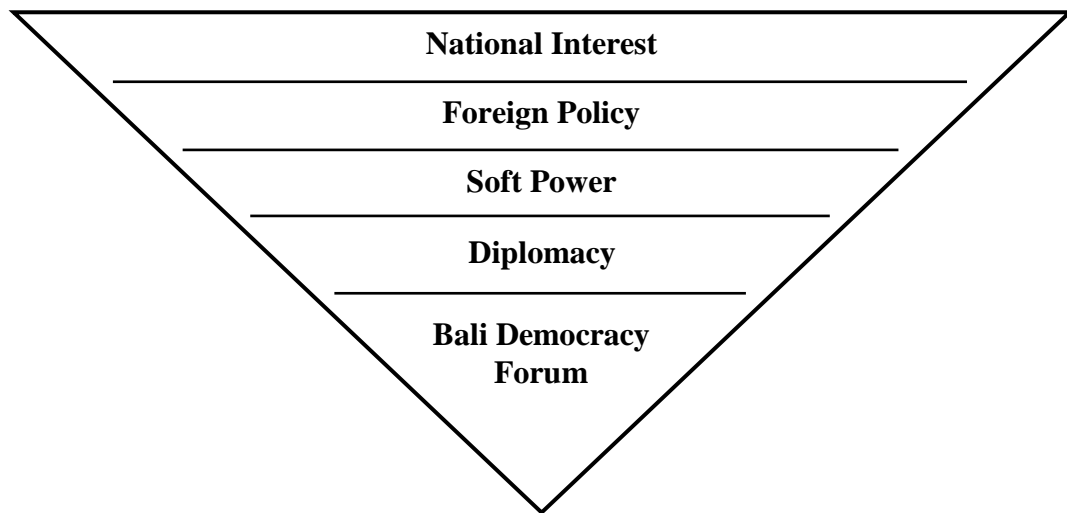
To provide answers, it needed to formulate the problem. The research uses several theories and concepts in order to make the research clear, systematic and scientific. According to Singarimbun Masri, theory is a set of assumptions, concepts, definitions, and the proportion which describe a social phenomenon systematically by formulate the relationship between concepts.¹³ On the other hand, according to Mochtar Mas'oeed, concept is an abstraction that represents an object, the nature of an object or a particular phenomenon.¹⁴

Writer believes that in achieving its national interest, the government of Indonesia utilizes BDF as an instrument in soft power approach. To deliver that, the government of Indonesia utilizes BDF in frame of diplomacy practice. This is the picture of theoretical framework designed by the writer:

¹³ Masri Singaribun and Sofian Effendi. 1983. *Metode Penelitian Survey*, Yogyakarta: LP3S, p. 32

¹⁴ Mochtar Mas'oeed. 1999. *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*, Yogyakarta: LP3S, p. 93-94.

Figure 1.1 Research Theoretical Framework



I.6.1 National Interest

The theoretical framework designed by the writer in this study starts from the national interest of Indonesia. National interest is as an umbrella that oversees all the movements of a state. National interest is a basis to explain how the characteristic of the country in international relations. According to Jack C. Piano and Roy Olton, national interest is:¹⁵

“The national interest is a fundamental goal and the most decisive factor that guides decision-makers in the formulation of foreign policy, national interest is a common conception, but an element that becomes a vital necessity for the country.”

National interest known as the highest level in domestic politics, meaning a government that represents the interest of the people. Based on interest scope, national interests can be divided into universal interests, minority interests and specific interests. Universal interests are those interests pursued by every sovereign state, such as state sovereignty, international status/image, the people’s security and so on.¹⁶

¹⁵ Jack C, Piano and Roy Otton (1982). “The International Dictionary”. Third Edition. Translator: Wawan Jiianda. England: Clio Press Ltd, p. 7

¹⁶ Selected Works of Mao Zedong, vol. 5, People's Press, 1977, p. 274.

In the variety of national interests of a country, one of it is the image/status in international. Image is an aspect that learned relevant to the situation and the actions that can happen in it. Image helps to provide an acceptable reason subjectively about why everything is present as it seems on the political preferences. Image comes from inside, but judged by outsiders about the increasing or not of an image that has been built. The definition of image building according to Prof. Aleksius Jemadu is:¹⁷

"The effort of a country to define himself both in his own people and in the international arena"

A response of other country or other society can be in form of respect, a good impression, and beneficial to the image of a country where the basis of that image building was typically from the values of trust or achievement of a country.¹⁸ Obtain a positive image is one of the national interests of Indonesia. This stated in the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy number five (5):¹⁹

"Improving the positive image of Indonesia through the promotion of democracy, human rights, the environment, and the protection of cultural property"

Indonesia is known as the third largest democratic country in the world.²⁰ The action of Indonesia in promoting democracy outside can be a pivotal aspect for Indonesia, regarding the enhancement the image of Indonesia in the international eyes as the role model of democratic contry. The positive recognition from the view of the world towards Indonesia would be able to build a trust for Indonesia itself which this can useful in Indonesia diplomatic activity and relations building.

¹⁷ Vivi Feriany (2009). Memperkuat Diplomasi Pencitraan Indonesia. Jurnal Diplomasi, p. 148.

¹⁸ Dan Nimmo. 2006. Komunikasi Politik Khalayak dan Efek. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya. p. 4.

¹⁹ Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri (Arah kebijakan luar negeri) - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia official website. Retrieved from: <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=21&l=id>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

²⁰ Meningkatkan citra positif Indonesia melalui pemajuan demokrasi, HAM, lingkungan hidup, dan perlindungan kekayaan budaya. Freedomhouse.org. Retrieved from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/indonesia>, accessed on 25 March 2015.

I.6.2 Foreign Policy

To achieve its national interests, a country must formulate the guideline which is manifested in the form of foreign policy. This has been explained by Padelford and Lincoln which according to them:²¹

“Foreign Policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain these objectives and pressure its interests.”

Transformation of democracy in Indonesia after *Reformasi* has changed the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia's foreign policy after *Reformasi* must be reflected the successful of Indonesia in its democracy transformation. This is stated in the Indonesia's foreign policy:²²

“Indonesia's foreign policy must reflect the democratic transformation in the country. In the coming period, it should be emphasized the importance of the support and participation of all stakeholders for the effectiveness of Indonesia's foreign policy to strengthen Indonesia's position in the international order.”

Its also has been emphasized that Indonesia needs to promote its positive image by promoting the democracy, and this is to strengthen Indonesia's position in international system. The principle of Indonesia's foreign policy is *Bebas Aktif* (free and active), which is a mandate of the opening of the *UUD 1945* (Indonesia's Constitution Laws 1945). The realization of Indonesia's foreign policy principle *Bebas Aktif* is continued experiencing interpellation process from time to time. However, the embodiment of Indonesia's *Bebas Aktif* foreign policy is always on the track of consistency. During President SBY administration, Indonesia's *Bebas Aktif* foreign policy principle interpellated in a form of *A Million Friends, Zero Enemy*.

In strengthening its position and role, during SBY administration Indonesia's foreign policy shows about the implementation of BDF, which this can be an

²¹ Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, “The Dynamics of International Politics,” p. 197

²² Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs website. “Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri – Ringkasan”. Retrieved from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=1&l=id>, accessed on 4 April 2015.

instrument for Indonesia to obtain its national interest. This is reflected in the Indonesia's foreign policy direction on number five (5) and first point, which is:²³

“The implementation of Indonesia's role to encourage democratization in Asia, among others, through implementation of the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) on a regular basis in an effort spreading the positive image of Indonesia to the international community and as a framework for exchange of experiences regarding the implementation of democracy in each participating country.”

Regarding Indonesia's foreign policy above, it clearly shows that positive image in the aspect of democracy promotion becomes one of Indonesia's national interests. Based on the formulation of Indonesia's foreign policy, at this extent, has been known that Indonesia's national interest is enhancing its positive image by the promotion of democracy to strengthen its role and position in international system, or in other words is enhancing the image of Indonesia as the role model of democracy by using the BDF. This also emphasized by the president SBY:²⁴

“We (Indonesia) can be model for Islam and democracy.”

I.6.3 Soft Power

In getting national interest runs smoothly, there is a pivotal tool that country should have, it called power. Power absolutely related with the practice of diplomacy. Joseph Nye described that power as the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants.²⁵ Nye also explained that there are several ways to affect the behavior of others, which are coerce them with threats, or attract and co-opt them to do what you want.²⁶ The method that is using

²³ Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri (Arah kebijakan luar negeri) - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia official website. Retrieved from: <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=21&l=id>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

²⁴ CNN – Talk Asia. Indonesia's president: 'We can be model for Islam and democracy'. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/06/15/indonesia.president.yudhoyono/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

²⁵ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs Press, 2004).

²⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs Press, 2004), p. 2.

threats and coercions is called hard power. The example of hard power is using the military power to influence the behavior of other country to get the outcomes that is wanted.

Nye describes soft power as the ability to shape the preferences of others.²⁷ Based on Nye statement, it is matched with the principle of BDF. BDF that implemented by is trying to promote democracy based on experience sharing, and not by coerce other countries to adopt democracy. Soft power becomes effective in used as the approach in enhancing the image of a country, and build country's influences to other as part of pursuing national interests.²⁸ Writer includes the concept of soft power in this research because the writer see the efforts undertaken by the government of Indonesia is using a soft power approach, and is in accordance with what is trying to do by the government of Indonesia which utilizing BDF as an instrument to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.

Nye explains soft power owned by the country basically depends on three main sources, which are:²⁹

“Culture (in which people feel attracted to it), political values/country’s values (when the people feel, both inside and outside the country), and the last is foreign policy (when people see it as a legitimate and having moral authority).”

This indicates BDF which contains the values of democratic that is used by the government of Indonesia part of *political values/country’s values* that explained by Nye. Indonesia’s political values/country’s values have known as democratic, which this will be useful in promoting democracy of Indonesia in BDF. Indonesia categorized "political values/country values" of Indonesia as the positive achievements of Indonesia, and is highlighted to support Indonesia's soft power. This is emphasized by the president SBY:

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Wagner, J.-P. N. (2014, May 14). The Effectiveness of Soft & Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations. Retrieved January 13, 2015, from E-International Relations Students: <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations/>

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

“Indonesia’s positive achievements such as democracy, human rights enforcement, economic growth, and the role of Indonesia in the Internasional (G20) also need to be promoted as a tool of soft power projection of Indonesia.”

The characteristic of the use of soft power itself can be seen by the formulation of Indonesia’s foreign policy regarding the implementation of BDF where the government of Indonesia emphasized in using the practice of diplomacy.

I.6.4 Diplomacy

In order to make soft power applied successfully, it needs diplomacy practice. This can be analyzed by the diplomacy concept which according to Kishan S. Rana, diplomacy is:³⁰

“A system of interstate’s communication and issue resolution. As world affairs have evolved, diplomacy as the process of dialogue and accommodation among states, has adapted, responding to opportunities.”

In other meaning, generally, diplomacy is an art of communication between representatives of groups or countries. It usually refers to international stage’s diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through diplomats with regard to deliver that has been formulated by country’s foreign policy. Diplomacy is essentially talking about the image and used to pursue the national interest and political objectives of a country. The aspect that is important to this practice is showing that soft power is a conscious effort to make other country becomes attracted in order to provide the chance of understanding, cooperation, or negotiation. Diplomacy also has connection with soft power, because its practice is using such soft way.³¹

In implementing BDF, Indonesia’s government designed it in form of first track diplomacy. The term of first track diplomacy refers to official government to government diplomacy, or a technique of the country’s action which is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the

³⁰ Rana, K. S. (2011). 21st Century Diplomacy. In K. S. Rana, 21st Century Diplomacy (p. 16).

³¹ Kobayashi, Tetsuaki. Interviewed by Spencer James Oscarson, M.A.. 14 Nov 2008.

decision-making apparatus of another. Thus, first track diplomacy is conducted by official representative of a country involved in interaction with other country's representative such as head of state, state department or ministry of foreign affairs officials, and other governmental departments and ministries.³²

This concept can be used in explaining the implementation of BDF which BDF showed a pattern of government to government that represented by head of the states and the other state actors. Nevertheless, the implementation of BDF is also cannot be separated from the role of the IPD, which established by the government of Indonesia to support the BDF. IPD is an institution to carry out the idea, concept or program that to be and has been designed by BDF.³³ IPD also helped in expanding the range of programs and activities of the BDF.³⁴

The IPD is active in practicing second track diplomacy's efforts, such as make an approach to the civil society, NGOs, and other institutions to further introduce the action that has discussed in BDF. These efforts are realized by conducting dialogues, seminars, workshops, researches, meetings, and publications in the field of democracy.³⁵ Second track diplomacy according to McDonald is:

“Non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individual sometimes called non-state actors.”

³² Nan, S. A. (2006, June 18). Track One Diplomacy. Retrieved January 27, 2015, from CSS Forum: <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-optional-subjects/group-f/international-relations/4113-track-one-diplomacy.html>

³³ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). “Institute for Peace and Democracy Refleksi Keajaiban Demokrasi Indonesia”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issue/42-januari-2009/232-institute-for-peace-and-democracy-refleksi-keajaiban-demokrasi-indonesia.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

³⁴ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). “BDF, Kontribusi Indonesia Untuk Dunia Global”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/component/content/article/181-4-article/1548-bdf-kontribusi-indonesia-untuk-dunia-global.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

³⁵ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). “Institute for Peace and Democracy Refleksi Keajaiban Demokrasi Indonesia”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issue/42-januari-2009/232-institute-for-peace-and-democracy-refleksi-keajaiban-demokrasi-indonesia.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

McDonald also added:

“The second track diplomacy is to support the first track diplomacy in opening the way for negotiations and an agreement made by the Government.”

This concept is matched with the IPD actions which IPD serves as an institution specialized in helping the process of democratization in countries who want a development in democracy.³⁶ This indicates that second track diplomacy efforts are also applied by Indonesia in order to maximize the utilization of BDF as instrument to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country. Therefore, the concept of diplomacy that suitable to explain the utilization of BDF by Indonesia’s government is through the first track diplomacy, and this research also explain IPD as supportive instrument of BDF which work as second track diplomacy.

I.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research focuses on the BDF utilization in order to enhance Indonesia’s image. The image that is Indonesia trying to enhance as mentioned in this research is as the role model of democratic country. In regard to the very first BDF was implemented, the scope and limitations of this research covered the period of 2008 until 2012, which 2012 is the year when the image of Indonesia has been enhanced and recognized in the eyes of the world. This research is just trying to explain the utilization of BDF by Indonesia’s government in effort to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country, and is not focus in explaining the success or the failure of the implementation of BDF. However, a preview of the successful of BDF implementation in enhancing Indonesia’s image will be displayed in the research, in order to fulfill the research supporting data.

³⁶ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). “IPD Akan Memberi Dukungan Negara-Negara Yang Pemerintahnya Ingin Perubahan”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issue/167-januari-2012/1314-ipd-akan-memberi-dukungan-negara-negara-yang-pemerintahnya-ingin-perubahan.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

I.8 Literature Review

Literature review is one of important parts in doing research. Creswell said that the study of literature has several purposes, such as to inform readers the results of other studies that are closely related to the current research, linking research with the existing literature, and fill the gaps in previous researches.³⁷

The first book to be reviewed is *“Indonesia and the Quest for Democracy”* by Maribeth Erb & Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (2009). Erb is an associate professor for Sociology at the National University of Singapore, and Sulistiyanto is a lecturer at the School of Political and International Studies at Flinders University. This book presented an explanation of the democratization process in Indonesia that began since the end of Soeharto’s era or since the reform of Indonesia in 1999. The book concludes that the political reform in Indonesia has put Indonesia in a stage of democracy consolidation. This is characterized by the implementation of the first presidential election in 2004, and then followed by the *PILKADA* (local election). Regarding these political events, Erb & Sulistiyanto emphasized that the democracy consolidation in Indonesia is becoming stronger. Local autonomy and the increase of space for local political participation as a further support the process of democratization in Indonesia. Erb & Sulistiyanto also explain at this stage Indonesia has changed from the previous political system that is authoritarian centralist model become one of multi-party and multi-level electoral democracy model. Erb & Sulistiyanto doubted about how far democracy in Indonesia will be consolidated because there are a lot of same political elites that controlling Indonesia’s politics. However, they expressed their optimism in the local election process that they believe can help to end a political parties monopoly, and also the election process in Indonesia has been taken place without any serious crises.

Second, to be reviewed a journal by Dr Avery Poole, a lecturer at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne. The title of the journal is *“A ‘Democratic’ Process? Change and Continuity in Foreign Policymaking in*

³⁷ Creswell John W., 2010. “Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches”, 3th, translated by Achmad Fawaid, Yogyakarta. p. 40.

Indonesia” which explains of Indonesia's efforts to incorporate democracy in its foreign policy during the administration of President SBY and this becomes a new identity Indonesia that is 'democratic identity'. Poole said Indonesia's foreign policy has changed substantially since the fall of the administration of President Soeharto in 1998. In the early post-Soeharto administration was the time when Indonesia began to focus on the democracy's transition, put away the military from politics, and prevent any threat to Indonesia's *Reformasi*. In the administration of President SBY, Indonesia's foreign policy has sought to enhance its image in the eyes of the world and increase its role in Southeast Asia and in the broader area of the world. Poole stated 'democratic identity' Indonesia has become an important factor in Indonesia's foreign policy. The process of democratization in Indonesia determined Indonesia's foreign policy-making and influenced the decision of the political elites, where foreign policy is a wider range of domestic actors in determining the role and image of Indonesia in the world. Poole also explains that part of Indonesia's 'democracy identity' foreign policy establishment is projected image development for some instrumental reasons, as well as identity projection regarding the political values in Indonesia. In addition, Poole doubts about the sustainability of the implementation of this 'democratic identity' foreign policy, because of considering the possibility of different leadership styles that will be implemented by the elected president in the next period.

Third, is a book “*Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*”, edited by Mirjam Künkler & Alfred Stepan (2013). Künkler is an assistant professor in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, and Stepan is the Wallace Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University. In their book, they highlight the opportunity of Indonesia in becoming a model for Muslim countries. Künkler & Stepan explain since Indonesia military's government collapse in 1998, Indonesia is heading to democratic transition. They show a data tha in every year since 2006, Indonesia has received high marks from international democracy-ranking organizations and Indonesia also known as the most populous Muslim country in the world. Künkler & Stepan give Indonesia a comparison with similar scenarios that happened in Tunisia, India, Spain, and Chile, and also with the failed transitions of Iran, Yugoslavia, and Egypt. The book explore the relationship

between politics and religion and the ways which Muslims became supportive of democracy even before the change occurred, and the book describe how innovative policies prevented the voices of disagreement from military groups, violent religious activists, and the people who are in secession from disrupting democratic transition in Indonesia. Furthermore, in the book that is well-written and is engaging in theoretical volume, Künkler & Stepan bring together both the leading figures from political science and the Indonesian studies to address both of these intellectual shortcomings. The result of the book is the best volume on the role of Islam and Muslims in explaining the democratic transition of Indonesia. Künkler & Stepan are emphasized that Indonesia can provide an example of both the transition of democracy and the democratic consolidation in a major Muslim country.

Fourth, is a dissertation by Muhammad Hadianto Wirajuda with title *“The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia’s Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, dan Conflict Management”*. In the dissertation, Wirajuda explains to what extent Indonesia's transition to democracy has been giving impact on Indonesia’s foreign policy, especially in the aspect of foreign policy-making, the promotion of political values, and management of the conflict. Wirajuda found that Indonesia’s democratization has affected the Indonesian foreign policy in a wider range of Asia. A similar expression with other books that have been reviewed by the writer, Wirajuda on his dissertation said Indonesia's democratization process began since the fall of President Soeharto's administration on 21 May 1998. Quoted words from Huntington, Wirajuda explain in his dissertation that the commencement of the process of democratic transition is characterized by three stages. The first stage is the ending of a non-democratic regime, the second stage is the inauguration of democratic regime, and the third stage is the process of consolidation of democracy (Huntington, 1991). Furthermore, Wirajuda explain, in addition of utilizing ASEAN as an instrument for the promotion of democracy and political values of Indonesia, Indonesia also has take advantage of the BDF which was established in 2008. BDF is a forum of Indonesia to conduct cooperation in wider regional level and bilateral level in terms of views exchange and experiences and best practices sharing. Wirajuda

argued, the weakness of Indonesia in BDF is a lack in the promotion of human rights and also the lack of Indonesian policy towards Myanmar who is currently experiencing a political instability. Wirajuda also explained in his dissertation that the BDF which was founded by Indonesia is a form of Indonesia's diplomacy in the first track and the second track. While BDF is more focus on government to government interaction, there is also IPD in pair with BDF who is more interacting and approaching to the public and the group of civil society from other countries. Wirajuda also explain the shortcomings in Indonesia's foreign policy that promote the values of Indonesian politics, which is lack of promotion of the human rights aspect because of the consideration of Indonesian domestic condition.

Last, is a journal with title "*BDF and the Indonesia's Democracy*", written by Azyumardi Azra. Azyumardi Azra is a Director of the postgraduate School of UIN Jakarta and also an Advisory Board to the International IDEA, Stockholm and BDF. In his writing, Azra present an explanation of Indonesia as a country that remains in a better position to play its role more towards the growth and the development of democracy in regional level, Asia-Pacific, and even in the wider of international level notwithstanding Indonesia still face many problems in its democracy. Azra said Indonesia has realized one of those roles by implementing BDF since 2008. Azra also expressed optimism because from year to year, the participants of BDF continue to grow and continue to be known by the world. In BDF, implying declaration of Indonesia that there is no single model or the ideal form of democracy, therefore the democracy that promoted must emerge from the within of the country itself rather than coerce it from outside. To bring it up is with the exchange of experiences and sharing best practices of a country in democracy, which in this case Indonesia already owned it and it is used by Indonesia as its commodity in the BDF regarding the promotion of democracy. Azra also explain about the need of Indonesia's foreign diplomacy that is more active and the democratic reform in internal Indonesia itself where it could make Indonesia has a more powerful influence on the democratization process in the region or in a wider range, and of course this can enhance the image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world.

I.9 Definition of Terms

- 1. Bali Democracy Forum (BDF):** a forum established by Indonesia with the aims to strengthen the capacity of democracy and democratic institutions and to promote political development through dialogue and exchange of experiences among countries and form a platform for cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of democracy and political development.
- 2. Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD):** a non-profit organization that support Bali Democracy Forum by conducting research and studies, organizing workshop, networking with related organizations and institutions, and publishing papers and periodicals.³⁸
- 3. Soft Power:** the ability in influencing others to do the things what we want them to do. Soft power is done by bringing up the attraction and it is not done by coercion.³⁹
- 4. Image building:** "the effort of a country to define himself both in his own people and in the international arena by highlighting the excellence of cultural values that has been held with the aim of creating an international influence which is indispensable in achieving the goals of foreign policy and diplomacy in general."⁴⁰

³⁸ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). "Institute for Peace and Democracy Refleksi Kejayaan Demokrasi Indonesia". Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-isuue/42-januari-2009/232-institute-for-peace-and-democracy-refleksi-kejayaan-demokrasi-indonesia.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

³⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Benefits of Soft Power," *Compass*, Harvard Business, August 2, 2004

⁴⁰ Vivi Feriany (2009). *Memperkuat Diplomasi Pencitraan Indonesia*. Jurnal Diplomasi. Aleksius Jemadu. Op.Cit, p.120.

I.10 Research Methodology

I.10.1 Research Method

The method used in this research is a qualitative method. According to Strauss and Corbin (2003), qualitative research is a type of research that the findings are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of counting. Furthermore, qualitative methods can provide more details about the complex phenomena that are difficult to reveal by quantitative methods.

Qualitative method is more emphasizing the meaning quest aspect behind the empirical reality of existing social reality, so a deeper understanding of the social reality can be achieved. Qualitative research is more easily understood as a research which its data is formed as descriptive data about the subject that is being researched, it is in the form of words both written and oral.⁴¹ The selection of qualitative methods considered appropriate to provide a comprehensive understanding and exposure regarding problems of this research question.

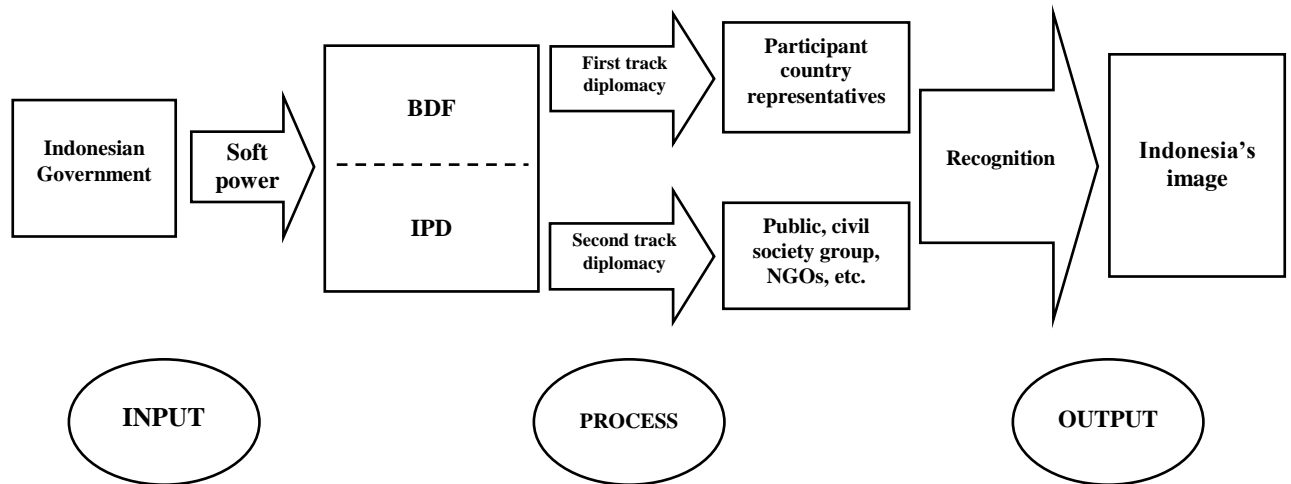
Data collection technique in this study is conducted through library study and documents study, from both primary and secondary sources. Document study is a study that focusing on analysis and interpretation of written material based on its context.⁴² With this method, researcher is seeking for documents and articles that are relevant to the issues of this research.

⁴¹ Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, (Jakarta: Press of University of Indonesia, 1992), page 15

⁴² Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si, "Kind and Method of Qualitative Research", Available at <<http://www.mudjiahardjo.com/artikel/215.html?task=view>>; [Accessed February 4, 2014]

I.10.2 Research Framework

Figure 1.2 Research Frameworks



The research is conducted by analyzing the Indonesian's foreign policy that has been affected by democratization in Indonesia, which in one of Indonesia's foreign policy direction is to show the image of Indonesia in the world as a democratic state. This foreign policy is implemented through soft power approach in the form of the BDF which pairing with the IPD. Bali democracy Forum implemented with first-track diplomacy practices which its interaction is government to government, while IPD as the second track diplomacy in which more conduct interactions with the public, civil society groups, NGOs, etc. From this process creates an output that is the recognition of the stakeholders involved. This becomes an image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.

I.10.3 Research Instrument

Data collection technique in this study is conducted through library study and documents study, from both primary and secondary sources. Document study is a study that focusing on analysis and interpretation of written material based on its

context.⁴³ With this method, researcher is seeking for documents and articles that are relevant to the issues of this research.

I.11 Thesis Outline

This research will be divided into five chapters, which every chapter contained as following:

1. Chapter I

This chapter consists of background of the study, problems identification, statement of problem, research objective, significance of the study, theoretical framework, scope and limitations of the research, literature review, and the research methodology. This chapter provides the readers with the large picture of the main idea of the research. This chapter is trying to help the readers to understand the discussion of the research in order to avoid any misperceptions as they continue to the following chapters.

2. Chapter II

This chapter explains about the background of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country. Here, writer is showing the readers Indonesia's journey from once known as the authoritarian country, reformed, and until now known as the third largest democratic country. At this extent, writer will elaborate information that showed Indonesia to become the role model of democratic country.

3. Chapter III

This chapter is main part of this thesis. Here, the writer explains all about BDF, started from its first establishment in the year of 2008 until its implementation in 2012. This chapter also explains Bali Democracy Forum as Indonesia's soft power approach used by the government of Indonesia.

⁴³ Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si, "Kind and Method of Qualitative Research", Available at <<http://www.mudjiaahardjo.com/artikel/215.html?task=view>>; [Accessed February 4, 2014]

4. Chapter IV

This chapter is a pivotal part of the thesis that consists of analysis of the use of BDF as an instrument to enhance Indonesia's image in frame of first track diplomacy and the role of Institute of Peace and Democracy as second track diplomacy practice. In this chapter, writer is trying to connect the image that the government of Indonesia intended to build with the BDF as its instrument.

5. Chapter V

This is the last chapter. Here, the writer concludes the research that contains the essence of the points that have been described in previous chapters in accordance with the specified research purposes.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDONESIA AS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

II.1 Democracy in the History of Indonesia

The founders of the Republic of Indonesia have generally agreed that Indonesia has to be built as a country that adheres to democratic values. There is a common view and the political consensus of the Indonesia's founding father that Indonesia should be based on people's statehood or sovereignty of the people which this is also one of the values of democracy. Indonesia's future goals or the ideas of democracy have been conceptualized by the founding fathers of Indonesia.⁴⁴

According to Mohammad Hatta, as one of Indonesia's founding fathers, democracy has been rooted in the social life of Indonesia's people. Indonesia's people since the beginning actually have been practicing the idea of democracy, although still in modest and not at the state level. It is said that the villages in Indonesia have been conduct democracy's practice, for example the election of head of the village and there is also there is village's consensus. This is what called as the 'genuine democracy' of Indonesia. This genuine democracy has five (5) elements such as: meeting, consensus, *gotong royong* (mutual assistance), right to state a protest together and rights to be away of the royal absolute power.⁴⁵

At that time, Mohammad Hatta preferred to use the term of *kerakyatan* (populist) term, in order to distinguish it from democracy from the West which tend to be individualistic. Nevertheless, the democracy that has been conducted in the Indonesia's villages cannot be a pattern of democracy for the modern of

⁴⁴ Suseno, Franz Magnis (1997). "Javanese Ethics and World-view: The Javanese Idea of the Good Life". Gramedia Pustaka Utama, p. 9-10.

⁴⁵ Hatta, Mohammad (1953). "Kumpulan Karangan". Jakarta: Penerbitan dan Balai Buku Indonesia, p. 39-41.

Indonesia. The five elements of the Indonesia's genuine democracy need to be developed and updated into the modern concept of Indonesia's democracy. Democracy of modern Indonesia, according to Mohammad Hatta, must include three aspects which are: democracy in the economical system, democracy in the political system, and democracy in the social system.⁴⁶

Indonesia's democracy in the political system basically is no different from the Western's democracy. But the democracy in Indonesia needs to include the economic democracy and social democracy, something that does not exist in Western societies. Nowadays, the idea of democracy in Indonesia is revealed in the fourth principle of Pancasila which is: *The democracy that led by the inner wisdom on the representatives' deliberation* (Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan) and article 1, paragraph 2 of the *UUD 1945* (Indonesia's Constitution Laws 1945) that emphasizes sovereignty belongs to the people and carried out under the *UUD 1945*. Therefore, the *UUD 1945* is a derivation of *Pancasila* as the Indonesia's state philosophy. So normatively, the democracy in Indonesia is a democracy based on the principle of Pancasila, particularly reflected at its fourth principle. Therefore, Indonesia's democracy known as Pancasila's democracy, in which democratic principles are conducted based on the values of Pancasila. Pancasila's democracy can be interpreted broadly or narrowly, as follows: ⁴⁷

- a. *In broad, Pancasila's democracy means people's sovereignty based on the values of Pancasila as well as implementation's guidelines and goals.*
- b. *In narrow, Pancasila's democracy means people's sovereignty that implemented according to the inner wisdom of representations' deliberation.*

Pancasila's democracy in the broader meaning is the sovereignty or supreme power in the people which the implementation is inspired by the values of Pancasila. Pancasila's values are the value of the divinity, humanity, unity,

⁴⁶ Hatta, Mohammad (1953). "Kumpulan Karangan". Jakarta: Penerbitan dan Balai Buku Indonesia, p. 39-41.

⁴⁷ Sukma. Academia.edu. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/7014074/DEMOKRASI_INDONESIA, accessed on 28 March 2015.

democracy and equity which are very supportive to democracy. Pancasila values againsts authoritarian or dictatorship.⁴⁸

II.2 Democracy Implementation in Indonesia's Political System (1945 – 1998)

Indonesia's democracy practices associated with the periodicity of democracy that once has been occurred in the history of Indonesia. Afan Gaffar (1999: 10) divided the periods of Indonesia's democracy implementation as follow:⁴⁹

“Period of Independence revolution (1945-1949); Period of Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1959); Period of Guided Democracy (1960-1965); Period of Pancasila's Democracy (1966-1998)”

During the independence revolutionary period (1945-1949), the implementation of democracy is just limited to political interaction in parliament and the press serves as the supporter of the revolution of independence. The other elements of democracy have not been fully realized yet, because of the circumstance that was not allowing. At that time the Indonesian government was still preoccupied with defending for the independence which just proclaimed.

Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1959) was the era of democracy is becoming better in Indonesia, because almost all of the democracy's elements found in its implementation of democracy in political system in Indonesia, which is marked by five main points which are: “⁵⁰

- a. *People's representative institutions or parliament plays a role that is very high in the political process running.*
- b. *Accountability incumbent and politicization at generally high.*
- c. *Life of the party can be said derived a maximum opportunity to develop optimally. This evidenced by a multi-party system so that at that time there were about 40 parties were formed.*

⁴⁸ Sukma. Academia.edu. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/7014074/DEMOKRASI_INDONESIA, accessed on 28 March 2015.

⁴⁹ Afan Gaffar (1999). “Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi”. Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, p. 10.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*

- d. *Election in 1955 conducted with democratic principles.*
- e. *Fundamental rights of the civil society are protected.*

Guided Democracy period (1960-1965) was a period in which democracy is understood and implemented based on policies of the great leader of the revolution in this case is president Soekarno. Learning from the failure of Parliamentary Democracy that was considered as 'liberal', president Soekarno put forward the idea of democracy in accordance with the personality of the Indonesia's people. The characteristics that appeared at the time which are: ⁵¹

- a. *Blurring the party system.*
- b. *The role of the DPR-GR as a legislative institution in political system became weak.*
- c. *Basic human rights are very weak, which Soekarno easily got rid of his political opponents that were not in accordance with his policy.*
- d. *The climax of the spirit of anti press freedom, evidenced by suppression of the Harian Abdi from Masyumi and Harian Pedoman from PSIN.*
- e. *Centralization of power increasingly dominant in the process of central and local government relations.*

Democracy implementation during the era of President Soeharto (1966-1998) was known as Pancasila Democracy. However, at that time, the implementation of democracy gives symptoms which are: ⁵²

- a. *The rotation of executive power never existed except at the local level.*
- b. *The closed political recruitment.*
- c. *Elections are still far from the spirit of democracy.*
- d. *Basic human rights are very weak.*

II.3 Democracy Transformation in Indonesia's Political System after *Reformasi*

The period of reform that occurred in Indonesia since 1998 is referred as a transition to democracy, because in this period is the starting point of regime

⁵¹ Sukma. Academia.edu. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/7014074/DEMOKRASI_INDONESIA, accessed on 28 March 2015.

⁵² *Ibid*

change, which is of an authoritarian regime or regimes that are not running optimally democratic system to a democratic regime. Indonesia's Reform in 1998 has been a milestone for Indonesia. This circumstance made Indonesia started its democratization process. From 1998, Indonesia underwent to the initial stage of democratisation, marking the end of the non-democratic regime.⁵³

Indonesia's democratic period began when the new president, Baharuddin Jusuf (B.J) Habibie, Soeharto's former vice president, was inaugurated as president on 21 May 1998. Under president B.J Habibie administration Indonesia focused to reform and restoration in various aspects, including political system's reform and image restoration. Immediately after took office, Habibie took the substantial step of removing the Anti-Subversion Law and government regulation regarding Pancasila as the sole basis of Indonesia's political life. Essentially, both regulations were provisions used by Soeharto's regime to curb the political freedoms.

As opposed to Soeharto's centralised politics, through Law No. 29/1999 on Regional Autonomy (later amended by Law No. 32/2004), Habibie catered to public demand for more regional autonomy, essentially allowing the regions to be self-regulated on all matters apart from foreign policy, security and defence, the judiciary, fiscal and monetary matters, and religious affairs. This gives a good signal to the Indonesia's democracy.⁵⁴

Indonesia's democratization process continued when Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as president following the rejection of Habibie's accountability speech by parliament. Wahid was in office from 1999 to July 2001. In the manifestation of his democratic mind-set, President Abdurrahman Wahid decided to revoke Soeharto's Presidential Instruction No.41/1967 on the restriction of Chinese religious practices and traditions in January 2000 as a means to promote religious freedom in Indonesia. President Abdurrahman Wahid was truly aware of the condition of Indonesia that plural. He continued to fight for the rights of

⁵³ Wirajuda, Hadiano (2014). Dissertation. "The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management". Accessed on April, 1st 2015.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*

minorities in Indonesia and instill the democratic values that once had faded in Indonesia, so he earned a nickname *Father of Pluralism*.⁵⁵ President Abdurrahman Wahid was present in the middle of the Indonesia's people and revived that democracy should be a reflection of Indonesia's people. At this time, the journey of democracy in Indonesia is believed already on the right track.

Further, in his attempt to implement democratic principles, Wahid restored civilian supremacy over the military. It was during his term that civil-military relations improved, marked by the separation of the police from the military and the appointment of Juwono Sudarsono as the first civilian defence minister since the 1950s. Wahid maintained his commitment to civilian supremacy by installing Machfud M.D, a civilian and cadre of PKB, as Sudarsono's replacement following a Cabinet reshuffle in 2000. It was also under Wahid's presidency that the Indonesian military decided to abolish the doctrine of *dwifungsi* concept as a means for justifying the Indonesian military's expansion into socio-political life, popularised in the mid-1950s (Honna 2003). As such, the renunciation of the *dwifungsi* doctrine provided a pathway for the military's gradual withdrawal from daily political and social affairs, marked by the readjustment of its position in parliament to becoming a 'professional Indonesian military'. Additionally, the Indonesia's media, for the first time since Soeharto's fall, enjoyed greater freedoms, evidenced by the increased number of publishers from 289 during the thirty-two years of Suharto's administration to 1,389, while the number of TV stations multiplied ten times to 60, including local networks.⁵⁶ Under President Abdurrahman Wahid administration, the image of Indonesia as a democratic country is back on the right track, this caused by the changes that done by President Abdurrahman Wahid.

After the president Abdurrahman Wahid administration, it was president Megawati took over Indonesia's presidency due to her capacity as Wahid's vice

⁵⁵ "Your letters: Gus Dur's legacy" (The Jakarta Post), retrieved by <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/01/06/your-letters-gus-dur-s-legacy.html>, accessed on 25th March 2015.

⁵⁶ Wirajuda, Hadiano (2014). Dissertation. "The Impact of Democratisation on Indonesia's Foreign Policy: Regional Cooperation, Promotion of Political Values, and Conflict Management". Accessed on April, 1st 2015

president. During Megawati's presidency (2001-2004), Indonesia attempted to develop a better, more stable political landscape through which it might consolidate its democratisation. One of Megawati's achievements was promoting good governance and transparency by establishing the *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (Corruption Eradication Commission). Furthermore, under President Megawati administration, Indonesia managed to carve a gold ink in its democratic journey history. It was the first time Indonesia held the presidential election directly in 2004. President Megawati also became the first woman as Indonesia's president where this marking the progress in democracy of Indonesia.

In presidential election 2004, Megawati was made herself again as the president candidate. It was also during the final year of Megawati's tenure that Indonesia assumed the ASEAN Chairmanship in 2003, a year in which for the first time Indonesia took the bold step of promoting democracy abroad. Megawati's defeat in the 2004 direct presidential election led to the rise of a former general, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Under SBY administration, Indonesia's image as a democratic country resurfaced with the successful of Aceh's conflict settlement by using soft way. This shows the consistency of Indonesia in adopting democratic values, because genuinely democracy is all about non-violence practice, dialog, and deliberation.⁵⁷ Under SBY administration, Indonesia began to make efforts to demonstrate its role and influence to the outside as a democratic country. Positive changes that has been took place in the country not only create a positive image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world, but also affected the behavior of Indonesia in the international arena. The positive image of Indonesia is continued enhanced and improved in the president SBY administration. Numbers of domestic and achievements, such as relatively peaceful conflict resolution, and promises to improve Indonesia's human rights situation, strengthen democratic institutions, including the implementation of local elections in the provinces, districts, cities and eradication of corruption. The election of Indonesia on several important International Organizations with high average of supporting states, such as non-permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)

⁵⁷ Darmansjah Djumala. "Soft Power dalam Penyelesaian Konflik: Dimensi Politik Luar Negeri Konflik Aceh". Published by Jurnal Diplomasi (March 2012), p. 83

2007-2008, member of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR) 2006-2007, member of the UN Commission on the Advancement of Peace 2006, member of the United Nations Habitat Governing Council 2007-2010, member of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) 2007-2009, and member of the International Law Commission (ILC) 2007-2011.⁵⁸ Indonesia's positive image has been widely reported by the media, served as indicators of Indonesia's democratic potential country.

II.4 Criterias of Indonesia's Democratic System

Democracy is a method by which a group, organization, society, or country is governed. Determining its nature requires asking what its fundamental elements are. Robert Dahl has defined the specific criteria of democracy, such as: “⁵⁹

1. *Control of the agenda: the public must have the opportunity to decide which political issues and initiatives should be brought up for deliberation by the government.*
2. *Enlightened understanding: before the decision making process begins, citizens must have ample and equal opportunity to discover and affirm the new policies and their consequences, with full disclosure of all details.*
3. *Effective participation: during the decision making process, citizens must have adequate and equal opportunity to form preferences on each topic and make others aware of them.*
4. *Voting equality: as the decision making process reaches its final stage, each citizen must have an equal opportunity to vote, with the assurance that his or her vote will be given equal weight.*

Based on these criteria, democracy can be defined as a process which grants all citizens equal opportunity for enlightened understanding, effective participation, voting power, and control of the agenda. Those criterias are generally matched with the criterias of democracy in Indonesia after *Reformasi*. Indonesia as a country that has been experienced transformation in its democratic system after

⁵⁸ A. Saefudin Ma'mun (2009). "Citra Indonesia di Mata Dunia". Asosiasi Ilmu Politik Indonesia (AIPi), Bandung, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Gozaar.org. Retrieved from: <http://www.gozaar.org/english/articles-en/The-Essential-Elements-of-Democracy.html>, accessed on 24 April 2015.

Reformasi showed an essential criterias for democracy. Therefore, the criterias of Indonesia's democracy can be promoted.

II.5 Indonesia's Foreign Policy on Bali Democracy Forum after *Reformasi*

The dynamics of the development of democracy in Indonesia showed better progress since the Reformation. An overview of the implementation of democracy in the *Reformasi* era can be known by the manuscript of Long Term Development Plan or known as (*RPJP*) 2005-2025. In the manuscript expressed about the condition of democratic development, as follows:

- a. *The development of democratization since 1998 up to the conduction of elections in 2004 has provided an opportunity to end the period of democratic transition and go towards democratic consolidation process.*
- b. *The existence of the direct election of president and vice president, direct election of members of DPR, DPD and DPRD, as well as the direct election of the head of local goverment is the initial capital that is important for further development of democracy in Indonesia.*
- c. *The development of democracy has been marked with the determined new format of center-local relations; strengthening decentralization and local autonomy.*
- d. *The development of democracy is also characterized by the consensus regarding new format of civil-military relations that uphold the supremacy of civil and the relationship between Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) regarding the authority in implementing defense and security systems.*

Democratic progress has also seen by the development of consciousness of the rights of the people in the political life, which in the long run is expected to further stimulate community to more actively participate in taking the initiative in the management of public affairs.

Indonesia's foreign policy is also changing because of Indonesia's democratization, where the Indonesian foreign policy focus towards the development and strengthening of democracy, and also makes democracy as one

of the priorities of Indonesia in the lead role in the international community. This is reflected in the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy on number 5 (five), which is:⁶⁰

(5). *“Improving the positive image of Indonesia through the promotion of democracy, human rights, the environment, and the protection of cultural property”.*

The efforts to enhance the positive image of Indonesia in the promotion of democracy and human rights, and the protection of cultural property held by, among others:

(i) *The role of Indonesia to encourage democratization in Asia, among others, through the implementation of the BDF routinely as an effort to disseminate the positive image of Indonesia to the international community and as a framework for exchange of experiences regarding the implementation of democracy in each participating country;*

(ii) ...

(iii) ...

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia website (www.kemlu.go.id).

⁶⁰ Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri (Arah kebijakan luar negeri) - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia official website. Retrieved from: <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=21&l=id>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BALI DEMOCRACY FORUM (2008 – 2012)

III.1 Bali Democracy Forum Objectives

Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) is a forum for cooperation on democracy among countries in the Asia-Pacific which has been held annually in Bali since 2008. The Forum aims to strengthen the capacity of democracy and democratic institutions and to promote political development through dialogue and exchange of experiences among countries and formed a platform for cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of democracy and political development. BDF attended by representatives of the countries in Asia-Pacific, both government leaders, ministers, as well as inclusive important figures (prominent figures). This forum open to all countries in the Asia-Pacific Region who have embraced democracy or inspirational to become more democratic country. This forum is based on *homegrown democracy* principle, meaning based on the real practices of democratic values by participats countries with no pretensions to blame or justify the actual practice.⁶¹

Until 2012, BDF has been successfully held five times. At each meeting of the BDF, Indonesia as the country seeks to solicit participation initiator countries outside the Asia-Pacific region to share experiences related to the experience and the application of democratic values.⁶² BDF meeting is being interesting because it involves countries that are still in early stages of start applying the principles of democracy, as well as countries that are committed to applying the principles of democracy, although considered not democratic. Implementation of the BDF then expected to produce more concrete commitments regarding the application of the

⁶¹ “Forum Demokrasi Bali”. Retrieved from <http://www.setneg.go.id.>, accessed on April, 2nd 2015

⁶² “Buka Bali Forum Demokrasi, SBY Singgung Persoalan Demokrasi”. Retrieved from <http://www.news.detik.com.>, accessed on April, 2nd 2015.

principles of democracy at the global level, as well as the more involved the participation of heads of states/governments in order to share experiences, as well as best practices regarding the implementation of democracy in the country. The non-Asian countries can apply for observer status in this forum. This should be seen as an important southern contribution to global governance, and is a message for a more balanced approach towards development.

The BDF is not only offers the various participants the opportunity to share and learn from each other's best practices and democratic failures, it also tries to build cooperation on human rights and the rule of law. By using this approach, the BDF tries to convince others that democracy is also Asian. In addition it improves positive image of democracy in Indonesia itself. In this sense the forum can be regarded as proof of the fact that countries can learn from each other thus contributing to peace and security in Asia.

Democracy is more than merely institution building, a form of governing or elections. It is also a way of dealing with public matters, a sense of belonging of the people, and the state's willingness to protect its people. The concept 'democracy' might be considered as a Western invention, but in terms of substance, non-western countries might associate themselves with the concept as a continuing dialogue, where public opinion and public interest matter. One of the strengths of the BDF is that it does not exclude the 'other'. The main purpose is to get everyone around the table and speak on subjects of importance. The BDF is meant as and still is a forum for intergovernmental dialogue. However, the BDF does include NGOs, the media and Anti-Corruption Watch. Regarding prospects on BDF, development seems to be maneuvering towards another level, namely the requirement of a pluralistic society, including the strengthening of 'civil society'.

III.2 Bali Democracy Forum Implementation

This sub-chapter is previewed the implementation of Bali Democracy Forum started from 2008 until 2012. The previews are including the dates of implementation, participant countries, and a brief of executive summaries which was agreed during forums implementation.

III.2.1 Bali Democracy Forum I: Building and Consolidating Democracy as a Strategic Agenda for Asia

Bali Democracy Forum I is conducted on 10th – 11th December 2008. This marked the inauguration of the forum and also the first time the forum was held. The participants in BDF I are: Indonesia, Afghanistan, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, China, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Lao PDR, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, Timor Leste, Vietnam.⁶³

BDF I theme is “Building and Consolidating Democracy: A Strategic Agenda for Asia”. This forum was attended by four Heads of State, namely the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Prime Minister of East Timor, and the President of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the forum also attended by participants from 32 countries and also 8 observers.⁶⁴

In the implementation of the first BDF, Indonesia as the initiator emphasized BDF principles in which an inter-governmental forum and not an organization. An inclusive intergovernmental forum; open to all countries in the Asia Pacific region, and those who share the desire to become more democratic; An initiative of the Indonesian state to enlarge the common desire among participating countries: based on equality, respect among others, tolerance, mutual understanding, and mutual benefit.

⁶³ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-i>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

BDF I agree that this forum should be based on the results and common goals, principles and strategies as well as priority areas for cooperation, such as the following are the objectives resulting from BDF I: To put democracy as a strategic agenda in the discourse in the Asian region, forge understanding and closer cooperation among the participating countries other BDF, lay the foundation for regional cooperation forum that promotes political development, through dialogue and sharing experiences, and aims to strengthen democratic institutions and national capacities, initiate and build a foundation for mutual support and cooperation in the field of democracy and political development, and serve as a resource base and a center for research and learning infromasi and various other fields related to democracy.⁶⁵

The important role of Indonesia by the Indonesian government in the implementation of the first BDF is emphasizing the important role the Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD) as the executive organ of the BDF to organize a seminar/workshop on engineering, research, teaching, training, and joint missions for high-ranking government officials and figures experts to share ideas and experiences. On this occasion the IPD inaugurated by Indonesia and witnessed by the participating countries that follow the BDF. Indonesia gained support from the government and other partners outside the region. Indonesia began with the development of regional networks and relevant international organizations, including the MNC and the mass media.

Priority areas were agreed in BDF I as follows: “”⁶⁶

1. *Strengthen and develop the electoral process.*
2. *Increase the role of political parties.*
3. *Uphold the rule of law and strengthening judicial integrity and capacity.*
4. *Develop and maintain a check and balance/supervisory bodies among administrators.*
5. *Promoting good governance (transparency and accountability).*

⁶⁵ Institute of Peace and Democracy Website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-i>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

6. *Promoting democracy and socio-economic development, including national and regional economic resilience.*
7. *Ensuring access to public information base.*
8. *Ensuring access to public needs.*
9. *Fertilize the role of women and gender equality.*
10. *Fostering a culture of democracy, peace, and harmony.*
11. *Fertilize civic groups and youth participation.*
12. *Promoting the role of mass media in the community demokrasiMemajukan use of IT to promote political communication.*

III.2.2 Bali Democracy Forum II: Promoting a Synergy between Democracy and Development

Bali Democracy Forum II was held on 10th - 11th December 2009 with the theme "Promoting Synergy between Democracy and Development in Asia: Prospects for Regional Cooperation". In BDF II, Japan participated as a joint organizer. The participant of participants who attended were as many as 35 countries, namely Indonesia, Afghanistan, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, China, India, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao PDR, Lebanon, Malaysia , Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Timor Leste, Uzbekistan, Vietnam.⁶⁷

The forum was attended by four heads of state/government, the president of Indonesia, prime minister of Japan, the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam, and the prime minister of East Timor. There were also presented delegates from 35 countries of the Asia-Pacific region and 13 observer countries from America and Europe. BDF II also introduces two interactive sessions between the ministers. The theme of this session is "Democracy and the Role of Law" and "Democracy and Development in the information age".⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Institute of Peace and Democracy Website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-ii>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*

Collective agreements in the BDF II contain the following results: ⁶⁹

1. *Despite the development of democracy and development are two distinct but related concepts, but processes can strengthen both between one and the other.*
2. *The Forum agreed that to develop the priority areas for cooperation in democracy as a strategic agenda and to promote synergy between democracy and development in Asia and in other forms of regional cooperation.*
3. *Forum underscored the need for joint efforts to enhance capacity building in the field of democracy and the integral role of women in democracy.*

In BDF II, SBY emphasize though democracy and development are two different but interrelated. Democracy and development are two processes in a mutually reinforcing each other. That democracy can take place by way of a diverse and growing stage. BDF II discussed about the importance of joint efforts of Asian countries to maintain cooperation in all aspects of democracy through the pelangalamn and best step in the effort to strengthen national capacity, which it is the spirit of the BDF. BDF II was also agreed to develop cooperation in the priority areas of democracy as a strategic agenda, and encourage synergy between democracy and development in all countries. BDF II underscores the need for joint efforts in the development of capacity in the realm of democracy and recognizes the integral role of women in democracy. In BDF II, it was held two interactive sessions with the theme "*Democracy and the Rule of Law*" and "*Democracy and the Development in the Information Age*".⁷⁰

III.2.3 Bali Democracy Forum III: Democracy and Building of Peace and Stability

Bali Democracy Forum III was held on 9th – 10th December, 2010. The theme is "*Democracy and Building of Peace and Stability*". The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, delivered the inaugural speech and officially opened the BDF III. The president of Republic of Korea, Lee Myung-

⁶⁹ Institute of Peace and Democracy Website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-ii>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

Bak, became co-chair. BDF III attended by 44 participants which are Afghanistan, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, China, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Qatar, Russia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Vietnam and Yemen.⁷¹ BDF III also involved three international organizations (IO) in its implementation, which are: European Union (EU), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and World Bank. This marked the BDF has become important forum with the increase of the amount of participants.⁷²

BDF III added a form of leader session and general discussion. In the leader session, president of the Republic of Korea accepted the fact that the BDF has established itself as a significant forum for sharing experiences on democratic development and to explore ways to enhance cooperation in this field. He also stressed that the joint growth through development cooperation will contribute significant results to expand democracy.⁷³

Some of the leaders, ministers, and heads of delegations to share their experience in matters relating to the resolution of internal conflicts, among them, political struggles and disputes among the various factions in particular countries. They stressed the importance of political dialogue for a peaceful transition to democracy. To that end, a democratic peace must always be firmly promoted in areas of conflict. Agreement of BDF III was agreed about the invitation proposals made by the participants in promoting the agenda of BDF in priority areas, including workshops, seminars, Electoral Visiting Program (EVP), election training programs, policy-oriented research and studies regarding the current

⁷¹ “Chairman's Statement of the Third Bali Democracy Forum”. Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/indonesia/bdf/state101210.html>, accessed on April 2nd 2015.

⁷² Institute of Peace and Democracy Website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-iii>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁷³ *Ibid*

theme “Democracy and the Promotion of Peace and Stability”, both at national and regional levels.

It was agreed that BDF has made significant progress since its first opening in 2008 and is solidly gave trust among the participants. To capture this positive momentum, Indonesia discussed the possibility to implement the BDF meeting in 2012. In line with this idea, then it is time for a forum to develop further substance than BDF in the form of concrete programs and promoting the role of the IPD. Forum to exchange views on a program run by the IPD in 2011, which centered on cooperation for the development of democracy and the promotion of regional peace and stability.⁷⁴

III.2.4 Bali Democracy Forum IV: Enhancing Decmocratic Participation in a Changing World and Responding to Democratic Voices

Bali Democracy Forum IV was held on 8th – 9th December, 2011. The theme is “Enhancing Decmocratic Participation in a Changing World: Responding to Democratic Voices”. Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina is a Co-chair in the BDF IV. BDF IV attended by 40 participants which are Indonesia, Afghanistan, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, China, Fiji Islands, Georgia, India, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Kuwait, Lao PDR, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Palau, Palestine, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor Leste, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Yemen.⁷⁵

The observers in BDF IV has been increased, there are 45 observers were attended in BDF IV which are Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kenya, Morocco,

⁷⁴ Institute of Peace and Democracy Website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-iii>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁷⁵ “Chair's Statement of the Fourth Bali Democracy Forum”. Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/indonesia/bdf/state1112.html>, accessed on April 2nd 2015.

Mexico, Namibia, Nigeria, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Somalia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Venezuela, ASEAN Secretariat, European Union Representative to Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, UNDP Regional, UNDP Country Representative.

Bali Democracy Forum IV summarized that Focused on deepening democratic processes through providing avenues for people's participation. Bringing participation to the processes of governance made for better citizens, better decisions and better government. It is important because engaged citizens were better able to understand and exercise their political agency. Participation promoted an accountable and responsive government as the norm and made the citizens as partner-making-policy effective and sustainable. It also created authenticity by enabling autonomous and competent actors to assess government processes.

III.2.5 Bali Democracy Forum V: Advancing Democratic Principles at the Global Setting

Bali Democracy Forum V was held on 8th – 9th November, 2012 with the theme “Advancing Democratic Principles at the Global Setting”. The co-chairs of BDF V are Lee Myung-bak, President of the Republic of Korea, and the Julia Gillard, Prime Minister of Australia.⁷⁶

BDV attended by 38 participants, which are: Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, Fiji Islands, India, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Lao PDR, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Papua New

⁷⁶ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-v>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

Guinea, the Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Yemen.⁷⁷

BDF V summarized that the democratic development at the national level must be followed by a parallel development at the global level. It is the time for the international community to move forward to effectively address the challenges of the time. Therefore, the international community must make sure that the system of global governance reflected the reality of the present time by reforming the United Nations Security Council without further delayed; must ensure that global governance would be equipped with a mechanism that could address the issue of intolerance that threatened harmonious relations among civilizations; and must give a bigger role to regional organizations in the global decision-making process, because they were in a better position to understand and assess the root causes and particularities of the multi-dimensional challenges that had arisen from their perspective regions.

The Leaders attended in BDF V welcomed Indonesia's initiative to sustain the Bali Democracy Forum as a robust proof of Indonesia's own remarkable democratic transformation since 1998. Leaders congratulated Indonesia on the fifth anniversary of the Bali Democracy Forum, underlining that since the first time it was held, the Forum had served as a useful platform that provided an inclusive venue where countries could share their experiences and best practices in advancing and enhancing democracy.

III.3. Institute of Peace and Democracy Involvement

In tandem with the BDF, the government of Indonesia also established Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD). Knowing well that democracy is always a work in progress, this institute tries to implement ideas that are based on democratic practices. Through organizing different training programs and workshops, it tries to maintain a sustainable network of countries and other actors, like

⁷⁷ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-v>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

representatives of civil society and NGOs, who want to work with Indonesia on democracy issues.

The program of IPD is based on the agenda that has been agreed in the BDF. Indonesia's government utilize BDF as a platform in sharing experience about democracy practice, and then, the IPD is used by the government of Indonesia as the implementing agency. IPD was established to support the goals of the BDF, specifically by making peace and democracy function in practice.⁷⁸

III.3.1 Missions of Institute of Peace and Democracy

The mandate of Institute of Peace and Democracy is to make peace and democracy function in practice. IPD focus on supporting and equipping those who work for stakeholder groups engaged in the implementation of peace and democracy. IPD mandate is delivered through the following framework: “”⁷⁹

1. *Developing and managing programs.*
2. *Sharing experiences and lessons learned on democracy and peace.*
3. *Building knowledge and developing skills on democracy and peace.*
4. *Designing and consolidating democracy and peace institutions*
5. *Making democracy deliver: leadership, initiatives and networking.*
6. *Building institutions: institutional development and support systems.*
7. *Networking, publications, and developing initiatives.*

IPD is conducting its mandate through five programs and activities, namely: “”⁸⁰

1. ***Sharing Experiences and Lesson Learned on Democracy and Peace:*** *provides opportunities for reflection and sharing on the significant lessons learned in Indonesia's and other Asian nations' journey of democratic reform.*

⁷⁸ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available on: <http://www.ipd.or.id/about-ipd/why-ipd>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁷⁹ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available on: <http://www.ipd.or.id/about-ipd/who-we-are>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*

2. ***Building Knowledge and Developing Skills on Democracy and Peace:*** trains and equips the broad range of individuals who are actively engaged with democracy including those that work for parliament, media, and civil society.
3. ***Designing and Consolidating Democratic and Peace Initiatives:*** strengthens effective, democratic institutions that can respond to popular debate and social movements and supports the processes of democracy.
4. ***Making Democracy Delivers:*** builds the capacity of democracy to deliver on its promises of welfare, social justice and peace while giving citizens a voice in democratic processes.
5. ***Institutional Development and Support System:*** focuses on the development of IPD to be a strong, professional institution with sound and accountable financial management systems, a firm legal basis, and a clear vision and strategy to implement.

III.3.2 The Activities of Institute of Peace and Democracy as Implementing Agency of Bali Democracy Forum

The examples of activities/programs that conducted by IPD are:

1. Asian Political Leadership Program (APLP).

Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD), with support from the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI), conducted the Asian Political Leadership Program (APLP). It was a leadership training program for young emerging political party leaders from Asian and Pacific countries. The event, held at Nusa Dua, Bali, Indonesia, was attended by 15 political party members and activists from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Pakistan, Iraq, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Solomon Islands. The training objectives are:

1. *To expose and train the emerging political party leaders and activists to be competent and potential leaders who understand their mandates.*
2. *To promote political parties becoming democratic institutions that are effective in representing constituents' aspiration, in*

governing or in taking opposition roles, and enabling the state to deliver public services

3. *To strengthen political parties in guaranteeing people's political rights, representing people's aspiration into the policy process, and enabling citizens to demand state accountability.*

2. Workshop on Egypt – Indonesia Dialogue on Democratic Transition.

In 2011 IPD carried out a comprehensive program to support Egypt's democratic transition. Program took the form of a series of three work-shops, the first of which was held in Jakarta on 24-27 May 2011. It provided a forum for sharing the experiences and lessons learned from Indonesia's of Indonesia and Discussion was focused on "Setting the Agenda" which included identifying important tasks to be accomplished to smooth the political transition in Egypt. 20 participants from Egypt attended, representing political parties, the media and civil society. The workshop was jointly organized by IPD, CDI and NDI.

The second meeting in the Egypt-Indonesia Dia-logue on Democratic Transition took place in Cairo on 25 — 26 July 2011. Discussion focused on upcoming elections in Egypt, with a small group of Egyptian participants drawn from political parties and the media, and comparative perspectives and lessons learned offered by four expert speakers from Indonesia. Discussion was lively and focused to a large extent on technical issues relating to the upcoming elections.

The third workshop focused on "Empowering the Electoral Management Body" (EMB) and it included a training and electoral visiting component. Sixteen participants from Egypt and partici-pants from Indonesia shared their knowledge on EMBs, both theoretical and practical. Participants visited three polling stations in the Tangerang for the Banten's gubernatorial election. The partici-pants also had a dialogue with members of Tangerang communities. This workshop was funded by the Government of Japan and supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and the President Advisory Council. IPD plans to continue its program of supporting democratic transition in Egypt in 2012.

3. Indonesia – Egypt Dialogue series on Constitutional Reform and Constitution Building.

IPD conducted this dialog on 5th – 7th November 2012 in Bali, Indonesia. Twenty participants from Egypt have been invited to the program. Experts and practitioners from the Indonesian side will work with their Egyptian counterparts to discuss topics including constitutional foundations for sustainable democracy, building democratic institutions and building constitution, building effective multi-party democracy and constitutional reform, developing a responsive state through constitutional reform, harnessing rule of law and reforming judicial systems, building accountability mechanisms, developing capacities to eradicate corruption, and citizens' aspirations and engagement in constitutional reform.

4. Electoral Visiting Program (EVP)

IPD conducted several electoral visiting programs (EVP). EVP provides opportunities for participants to learn about the host country's electoral system and observe their election processes. IPD has been conducted EVP in Bangkok, Thailand (1-5 July), Tokyo, Japan (14-20 July 2012), etc. These EVPs were supported by the government of the countries that IPD conducted. In this program, IPD gave a presentation to all EVP participants during the orientation program and led the discussion after visiting polling stations. The EVP was highlighted in the Chairman's Statement of the Bali Democracy Forum III in 2010, in which the Chairman's Statement stated that 'the Forum welcomed the constructive proposals made by Participants for promoting BDF Agenda in priority areas of cooperation, including workshops, seminars and election visits.'⁸¹

⁸¹ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/electoral-visiting-program.htm>, accessed 9 April 2015.

Chapter Summary

During its first implementation in 2008 until 2012, BDF has set 14 priority areas of cooperation which are: strengthen and develop the electoral process, increasing the role of political parties, law enforcement and strengthen the integrity and capacity of law enforcement agencies, to develop and maintain a check and balance between government institutions, improve governance good, public access to information, access to public needs, enhance the role of women and gender equality, uphold religious freedom and religious tolerance, increasing the role of civil society and youth, encouraging democratic culture, peace and harmonious life, enhance the roles of mass media in democratic society, using information & technology to improve communication and encourage democracy and socio-economic development.⁸² Since its first implementation in 2008 the participation in the BDF has expanded to include more than 50 participating countries.⁸³

From the explanation in this chapter is also known that the BDF is a stage which is provided by Indonesia, as initiator, to exchange experiences and ideas about democratic practices. Indonesia with its achievements in the transformation of democracy that has been successfully has a very important role in the BDF to convey the experiences of its best practices. The results that have been agreed in the BDF then followed up by IPD, where IPD is as implementing agency of the BDF. As example is the BDF V in 2011, which was agreed to held Electoral Visiting Program (EVP), and then IPD who follow up the EVP.

⁸² "Forum Demokrasi Bali". Retrieved from <http://www.setneg.go.id.>, accessed on April, 2nd 2015.

⁸³ Halans, M. (2013). Indonesia's Rise and Democracy Promotion in Asia: The Bali Democracy Forum and Beyond. Clingendael, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS ON THE BALI DEMOCRACY FORUM AS INSTRUMENT TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE OF INDONESIA

This chapter focuses to explain the process of Indonesia's government in utilizing Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) to become instrument to enhance Indonesia's image as the role model of democratic country. Writer will connect the BDF with other aspects that related to the implementation of BDF that done by the government of Indonesia in order to make BDF can be optimal as instrument in enhancing Indonesia's image as the role model of democratic country. In the end, writer also will put a matrix that showing the implementation of BDF successfully enhance Indonesia's image as the role model of democratic country.

IV.1 Understanding Indonesia as the Role Model of Democratic Country

In chapter I, has been showed the data about Indonesia's foreign policy concept that emphasizes the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation should be reflected in the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy. Therefore, the implementation of the BDF is a manifestation of the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation. BDF helps to promote a positive image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country, in order to get the recognition from the world regarding the position and role of Indonesia.⁸⁴ In other words, BDF becomes an instrument for Indonesia to get such positive image, and help to strengthen Indonesia's position in the international system. Then, to what extent

⁸⁴ "Landasan, Visi, Misi Polugri – Ringkasan". Retrieved from <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=1&l=id>, accessed on April, 4th 2015.

Indonesia can be measured as the role model of democratic country? This puzzle will try to be answered by the writer through the role theory.

Role theory is a theory analyzes the role of a country was first introduced by K.J. Holsti in his book “*National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy.*” The role theory explains the behavior of a country’s foreign policy by examining the role played by a country in the international system.⁸⁵ Therefore, this theory is suitable to analyze the positive image to be obtained by Indonesia as the role model of democratic country through the BDF.

According to a research conducted by Sofiane Sekhri, countries in the world play some roles. Sekhri divided these roles into thirteen roles, which are: “”⁸⁶

1. **Liberation supporter:** A state feels that it has a duty to support liberation movements and export revolution as a result of a horrendous colonial experience, a revolutionary background, or a victorious war for independence.
2. **Regional leader:** A state perceives itself to have sufficient resources and capabilities to enable it to dominate a regional sphere.
3. **Regional protector:** Due to its regional standing or various capabilities, a state feels that it has a duty to protect its regional arena.
4. **Active independent:** A state takes on the task of pursuing an independent and active foreign policy, that is, a foreign policy which serves state interests rather than foreign pressures and aims to increase and diversify interactions with different international units.
5. **Anti-imperialist agent:** A state adopts the stance of being anti-imperialist as a result of its historical background, such as having been a victim of colonization, or as a consequence of supporting certain ideologies such as communism.
6. **Defender of the faith:** A state feels that it has a duty to protect and promote certain principles and beliefs. These beliefs can be political such as the protection and promotion of democracy and freedom or religious such as the protection and promotion of Christianity, Judaism or Islam.

⁸⁵ Le Preste, P.G. (1997a). “*Role Quest in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition*”, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, p. 3-4.

⁸⁶ Sofiane Sekhri (2009), published by Academic Journal. “*The role approach as a theoretical framework for the analysis of foreign policy in third world countries*”. Available online at: <http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir>.

7. **Mediator:** *A state perceives itself as capable of carrying out specific tasks in order to reconcile conflicts and misunderstandings between states, blocs and individuals.*
8. **Developer:** *A state feels that it has a duty to assist and develop the underdeveloped world.*
9. **Model:** *A state pursues certain policies in order to promote its prestige, to gain influence and to be a role model either in the international system or in a particular region or regions.*
10. **Peace maker:** *A state takes on the task of promoting peace and concord in the world.*
11. **Policeman:** *A state feels that it has a duty to fight and punish evil states and regimes.*
12. **Faithful ally:** *A state known by its lasting and absolute support for another state or a bloc of states.*
13. **Anti-terrorism agent:** *A state takes on the task of fighting terrorism due to experiences of terrorist threats or experience in combating terrorism.*

Based on the roles of country above, the writer found that role number nine (9) named “model” is an appropriate concept to explain the role of Indonesia in promoting its positive image through BDF. According to Sekhri, role model is a country pursuing specific policies to promote its prestige, where the prestige is used to get the influence and to be a role model for the regional or international area.⁸⁷

This concept can explain the embodiment of Indonesia's foreign policy formulation which established the BDF to obtain a strong Indonesia's position in the international system. Indonesia intended a positive image as the role model of democratic country. Therefore, the background of a role model for Indonesia as a role model of democratic country can be measured by the success of the democratic transformation of Indonesia after *Reformasi*, which with all of Indonesia's experiences in successfully transformed to become a democratic country as it is today. It is also supported by the background of the basic principles of Indonesia, *Pancasila*, and also the democratic values that have been embedded in the history of the development of Indonesia by the founding fathers of the Republic of Indonesia. This also supported by the status of Indonesia as the

⁸⁷ Sofiane Sekhri (2009), published by Academic Journal. “*The role approach as a theoretical framework for the analysis of foreign policy in third world countries*”. Available online at: <http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir>.

third largest democratic country in the world. This is the reason why Indonesia intended to get a role in the international as the role model of democratic country.

IV.2 Soft Power Dimension in Utilizing Bali Democracy Forum

In the implementation of the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) which is conducted by the government of Indonesia to promote a positive image of Indonesia that cannot be separated from the use of soft power. When a country intends to promote a positive image and get a strong position in the international order as the role model of democratic country, the use of soft power should be done. This is because a positive image as the role model of democratic country itself reflected by the behavior of the country in its efforts to spread the image. Democracy itself is identical with the *soft* values which are discussion, opinion exchange, tolerance, and also tenderness. Therefore, the use of soft power is the matter that pivotal to do, and it is impossible to achieve the interest if conducted by using hard power, because hard power is identical to the coercive approach (ex: the use of military infrastructure or economic sanction).

In the implementation of the BDF, the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation used by the Indonesian government as an element of soft power to promote the image of Indonesia and also to gain a strong position in the international system, as has been stated in the foreign policy of Indonesia. The government of Indonesia itself aware about the importance of soft power utilization, this evidenced by the emphasizing on the use of soft power in Indonesia's diplomacy activities. Here is a statement from the president SBY related the message to use soft power in Indonesian diplomacy activities, the president said:⁸⁸

“...although soft power is still controversial in the U.S. alone, there are pros and cons, but we apply (soft power) in international relations today, in the diplomacy that we run ... soft power is

⁸⁸ Cited by: Tabloid Diplomas, February 2010 Edition. “Presiden RI: Soft Power Memperkuat Formula Diplomas”, p. 4. Also available at: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issuue/79-februari-2010/712-presiden-ri-soft-power-memperkuat-formula-diplomasi.html>.

something different, which is supposedly more attractive to run. And again, that all is to achieve the goal, to depend national interest”.

The exposure from president SBY above shows Indonesia should be able to maximize the use of soft power, where it is important to achieve the national interest of Indonesia. The definition of the soft power that was introduced by Joseph Nye is, can be said as the ability of a country to obtain things it wants in a way of attractive and does not use coercive way.⁸⁹ Nye described three elements which can be utilized as a soft power of a country, which are:⁹⁰

“Culture (in which people feel attracted to it), political values/country’s values (when the people feel, both inside and outside the country), and the last is foreign policy (when people see it as a legitimate and having moral authority).”

With these elements, a country can affect other countries and what it wants without having to use military infrastrucutres or economic threat.

This research connects the three elements described by Nye to the Indonesia’s non material/intangible resources. Indonesia has a large potential in term of the elements of soft power. Some of the elements that showed on the table are utilized by the government of Indonesia, and also can be supporting input, to promote its positive image as the role model of democratic country through implementing BDF. Below is a table that describes the relevant elements that could be soft power Indonesia.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs Press, 2004), p. 2.

⁹⁰ Wagner, J.-P. N. (2014, May 14). *The Effectiveness of Soft & Hard Power in Contemporary International Relations*. Retrieved January 13, 2015, from E-International Relations Students: <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/14/the-effectiveness-of-soft-hard-power-in-contemporary-international-relations/>

⁹¹ Cited from the research journal by Renita J. Moniaga (2015). *“Indonesia's Past, Present and Future Power, Image and Foreign Policy”*, p. 13-14.

Table 4.1 Indonesia's Non Material/Intangible Resources

Non Material/ Intangible Resources	Facts/Figures	Capabilities
Political Values/ Country Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presidential Representative Democratic Republic • Multiparty and independent judiciary • Free and fair direct election • Pancasila • Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third largest democratic country in the world • Freedom House ratings: “Partly Free” from 1998 to 2005, “Free” from 2006 to 2013 • Press Freedom Index 2014: 132/180 countries. Considered one of the most free among ASEAN countries. • The Indonesian state’s guiding philosophy in political and social life • Represents the pluralism, tolerance and openness of Indonesian society towards one another’s religion and traditions.
Foreign Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 131 diplomatic missions abroad, consisting of 95 embassies, 2 permanent missions for United Nations in New York and Geneva and one permanent mission for ASEAN in Jakarta, 30 Consulate General and 3 Consulate as well as 64 honorary Consul. • Established the Directorate General for Information and Public Diplomacy in 2001. • Started the Bali Democracy Forum in 2008. • Conducts interfaith dialogues around the world. • Indonesia has been elected three times as non-permanent member to the UN Security Council (1974-1975, 1995-1996, 2007-2008) and as a member to the UN Human Rights Council (2006-2007, 2007-2010 and 2011-2014). • Indonesia has been a member of ECOSOC for eleven periods and was elected twice as the President of ECOSOC in 1970 and 2000. • Indonesia has ratified around 200 international treaties, including all the major human rights conventions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independent and Active foreign policy posture • Million friends zero enemies doctrine (under president SBY administration) • Sets regional agenda in ASEAN • A respected player in a number of international organizations, namely NAM and OIC. • Believes in multilateralism and rejects actions taken outside of UN framework • Respects international norms and institutions. • Tries to bridge the gap between developing and developed nations. • Tries to be a bridge builder between Islam and the West • Tries to increase South-South Cooperation • An ally of major powers on the War on Terror, having successfully tackled domestic terrorist threats through their elite anti-terrorism squad Detachment 88.

Sources: CIA.gov, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia website (www.kemlu.go.id). Asian Development Bank (ADB) website, Freedom House website, World Bank website, Wonderful Indonesia website (www.indonesia.travel).

From the table, can be indicated that Indonesia has a huge potential which can be used as a soft power. Regrettably, in the pre-*Reformasi* era, the leaders of Indonesia were not optimal in utilizing those resources to influence other countries or obtain the foreign policy that supportive to maximize Indonesia's resources of soft power because at that time the condition in Indonesia was not reflecting the values that Indonesia's owned.

Based on a research named "*Indonesia's Past, Present and Future Power, Image and Foreign Policy*" conducted by Renita J. Moniaga, that the way a country converts their national resource of soft power elements into a strategic foreign policy outcomes and can adapt into dynamic environments is more important than the resources itself.⁹² Moniaga connect to the case of Indonesia, and assumes that the post-*Reformasi* leaders of Indonesia are reflecting what Nye refers to as "*power conversion strategies.*" Moniaga assumption is based on the explanation of Nye:⁹³

"Power resources are simply the tangible and intangible raw materials or vehicles that underlie power relationships, and whether a given set of resources produces preferred outcomes or not depends upon behavior in context."

In the Indonesia's democratization phase, Indonesia's leaders have democratized its foreign policy so that reflecting the success of Indonesia's democracy transformation and added by the power resources that are being used to generate an image of Indonesia which would strengthen Indonesia's position in international, as stated in the Indonesia's foreign policy. Regarding the utilization of Indonesia's soft power, writer found it is related to the vision of Indonesia's foreign policy, which is:⁹⁴

"Advancing Indonesia's National Interest through Total Diplomacy."

⁹² Cited from the research journal by Renita J. Moniaga (2015). "*Indonesia's Past, Present and Future Power, Image and Foreign Policy*", p. 14.

⁹³ *Ibid*

⁹⁴ "Visi Kementerian Luar Negeri", retrieved from: <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Pages/Polugri.aspx?IDP=20&l=id>, accessed on April, 5th 2015.

The meaning of total diplomacy as stated in the vision of Indonesia's foreign policy is to utilize all the power components of Indonesia in terms of the constructive ways to reach the Indonesia's national interest. So in this case, based on the table, the achievement of Indonesia's national interest will be optimized with the use of soft power through Indonesia's diplomacy.

In this case, the BDF is the embodiment of Indonesia's use of soft power in the aspect of 'political values/country's values'. Indonesia's political values/country's values can be reflected in the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation. The 'foreign policy' aspect can be a supporting component in the implementation of the BDF, where the values of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (diverse in unity) also has the democratic values that can be used by the government of Indonesia in the implementation of the BDF. In addition, Indonesia is a country with the highest level of diversity in the world and with all of its diversity Indonesia's people able to live in harmony with each other, and also, Indonesia is a country with the largest of population of Muslim the world and Islam in Indonesia is able to go hand in hand with democracy, this could strengthening Indonesia's soft power in its the foreign policy implementation of Indonesia. This stated by president SBY during his speech regarding the direction of Indonesia's soft power:⁹⁵

“...between Islam and democracy in Indonesia, it is also something we can sell (as a soft power), we can prove the real issue between Islam and democracy in Indonesia ... It is the ideas and can still be found values of unity and diversity (of Indonesia).”

Based on the explanation, it has been clear about the dimension that describes the contribution of soft power in the implementation of the BDF in order to achieve Indonesia's national interest. Therefore, it can be know that the implementation of the BDF to promote a positive image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country is cannot be separated from the use of soft power.

⁹⁵ Cited by: Tabloid Diplomasi, February 2010 Edition. "Presiden RI: Soft Power Memperkuat Formula Diplomasi", p. 4. Also available at: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issuue/79-februari-2010/712-presiden-ri-soft-power-memperkuat-formula-diplomasi.html>.

The speech of SBY in BDF showed that Indonesia utilize the forum to promote Indonesia's soft power regarding the political values/country values. This can be seen in the SBY opening statement in a BDF:⁹⁶

“As a nation rich in diversity, Indonesia is a reflection of the pluralism that marks the Asia-Pacific region. Over the centuries, various civilizations, races, faiths and cultures found a home in our archipelago. Today, we are a nation of a quarter of a billion people, comprising more than 300 ethnic groups; speaking some 700 languages; professing various faiths; an spread out in no less than 17,000 islands. Thus, for generations we have lived by the motto: “Binneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity).” We have worked hard to build an inclusive and democratic nation state in a pluralistic society. However, we are deeply conscious of the continuing challenges in consolidating democracy in such a society. How we can strike the right balance between democracy and freedom on the one hand, and the rule of law on the other hand. In this regard, I would like to share with you some views based on Indonesia's experiences in consolidating democracy.”

The promotion of democratic values of Indonesia to countries in the region is very important to foster the perception and understanding that Indonesia could also play a role in creating a more democratic world order and peace. Indonesia initiated the notion that learning democracy should not be oriented to the West that had been voiced about democracy. Indonesia through the BDF promote democracy based on the experience of the best practice that has been run, especially reflect to the successful of Indonesia in its democratic transition. This can be said the soft power of Indonesia in the promotion of democracy through the BDF.

IV.3 Bali Democracy Forum Implementing Agency: Institute of Peace and Democracy as Second Track Diplomacy

I Ketut Putra Erawan, the Director of Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD) in a briefing speech said that:⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Institute of Peace and Democracy website. Available at: <http://www.ipd.or.id/bdf/bali-democracy-forum-vi>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

“There are four principles of BDF, such as it is an: intergovernmental forum and not an organization; inclusive entity for democracies and those aspiring democratic; Indonesian initiatives to garner shared-ownership among participating countries; and initiative based on equality, mutual respect, understanding and benefits, and tolerance. Strategies of the forum are conducting annual high level forum; supporting the role of IPD as implementing agency; attracting support from government and other partner outside the regions; and establishing networks with relevant regional and international organization, including NGOs and the media.”

From the explanation that presented by Erawan, can be understand that BDF is a forum characterized the intergovernmental relation, and not organizational. It is also can be kown that, BDF supporting IPD as the agency of the implementation BDF. Therefore, the implementation of BDF is also cannot be separated from the role of the IPD. IPD is an institution to carry out the idea, concept or program that to be and has been designed by BDF.⁹⁸ IPD also helped in expanding the range of programs and activities of the BDF.⁹⁹

The intergovernmental approach that showed by BDF can be known as the term ‘first track diplomacy.’ The term of first track diplomacy refers to official government to government diplomacy, or a technique of the country’s action which is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the decision-making apparatus of another. Thus, first track diplomacy is conducted by official representative of a country involved in interaction with other country’s representative such as head of state, state department or ministry of foreign affairs officials, and other governmental departments and ministries.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ I Ketut Putra Erawan, UNDP Briefing. “REFLECTING DEMOCRATIC AND PEACE PROMOTION IN ASIA: The Bali Democracy Forum Framework”, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Tabloid Diplomasia (2012). “Institute for Peace and Democracy Refleksi Keajaiban Demokrasi Indonesia”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasia.org/previous-isuue/42-januari-2009/232-institute-for-peace-and-democracy-refleksi-keajaiban-demokrasi-indonesia.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

⁹⁹ Tabloid Diplomasia (2012). “BDF, Kontribusi Indonesia Untuk Dunia Global”. Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasia.org/component/content/article/181-4-article/1548-bdf-kontribusi-indonesia-untuk-dunia-global.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015

¹⁰⁰ Nan, S. A. (2006, June 18). Track One Diplomacy. Retrieved January 27, 2015, from CSS Forum: <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-optional-subjects/group-f/international-relations/4113-track-one-diplomacy.html>

The Indonesian government also used the opportunity of the first high-level forum (BDF) to launch of the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD). The IPD was intended to serve as the programmatic arm and permanent think-tank attached to the BDF. Indonesia's foreign minister during the first implementation of BDF in 2008, Hassan Wirajuda, described the Institute of Peace and Democracy as:

An independent non-profit organization, the Institute (IPD) will support the Forum (BDF) by organizing workshop, conducting studies and research, networking with related organizations and institutions, and publishing papers and periodicals.¹⁰¹

Based on the statement of Hassan Wirajuda, can be know that the IPD is active in practicing second track diplomacy's efforts, which are make approaches to the civil society, NGOs, and other institutions to further introduce BDF. These efforts are realized by conducting dialogues, seminars, workshops, researches, meetings, and publications in the field of democracy.¹⁰² IPD also serves as a consultant specialized in helping the process of democratization in countries who want a development in democracy.¹⁰³ This indicates that public diplomacy efforts are also applied by Indonesia in order to maximalize the utilization of BDF as instrument to enhance the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.

IPD has been working closely with Australia, Denmark, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United States, and the European Union to promote assistance for initiatives on democracy and human rights. While democracy and human rights initiatives are related to other areas of cooperation such as

¹⁰¹ Journal "Mirage or Reality? Asia's Emerging Human Rights and Democracy Architecture". Retrieved from: https://project2049.net/documents/mirage_or_reality_asias_emerging_human_rights_and_democracy_architecture_currie.pdf, accessed on April, 5th 2015.

¹⁰² Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). "Institute for Peace and Democracy Refleksi Kejayaan Demokrasi Indonesia". Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issue/42-januari-2009/232-institute-for-peace-and-democracy-refleksi-kejayaan-demokrasi-indonesia.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

¹⁰³ Tabloid Diplomasi (2012). "IPD Akan Memberi Dukungan Negara-Negara Yang Pemerintahnya Ingin Perubahan". Retrieved from: <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org/previous-issue/167-januari-2012/1314-ipd-akan-memberi-dukungan-negara-negara-yang-pemerintahnya-ingin-perubahan.html>. Accessed on 27th March 2015.

development, IPD respects mutual ownership of the initiatives with partner countries.¹⁰⁴

In other case, Indonesia considers election fraud and electoral manipulation as internal problems of sovereign states. This is regarding the positive image that Indonesia intended to promote outside through BDF as the role model of democratic country. As a result, the IPD took its part here. IPD and broader civil society have more freedom to directly respond to election fraud and manipulation.

However, the Indonesian government does urge integrity in elections by working in close partnership with other countries. Indonesia has been active in promoting free and fair elections predominately through a focus on norms and sharing experiences, as well as technical assistance in electoral management. Support primarily takes place through engagement with partner countries. The most significant work in this area are election visiting programs, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the IPD have conducted, beginning with the Indonesian presidential election in 2009 and continuing through the 2014 presidential election. The program also includes visiting programs for local and parliamentary elections.

During the Election Visiting Program (EVP), participants from various ASEAN member states and other countries also has visited to Indonesia, where they observed the drafting of election rules, management of the election process in Indonesia, resolution of disputes, and efforts to engage the public in elections. Similarly, Indonesian officials have observed election practices in Japan, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand.¹⁰⁵

The other activity was a presidential election visiting program attended by 30 delegates from Myanmar. The third was the Asia-Pacific Political Leadership Program, attended by 14 delegates from 10 countries in Asia and the Pacific. All

¹⁰⁴ Article by I Ketut Putra Erawan (executive director of IPD). "Supporting Democracy Abroad". Retrieved from: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/democracysupport/indonesia#.VR5bUPyUfg8>, accessed on April, 5th 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Article by I Ketut Putra Erawan (executive director of IPD). "Supporting Democracy Abroad". Retrieved from: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/democracysupport/indonesia#.VR5bUPyUfg8>, accessed on April, 5th 2015.

of the participants from the three programs visited polling stations and witnessed activities from the beginning of the voting process through the vote counting on July 9. These activities were accompanied by dynamic debates on Indonesian politics and election management with relevant representatives from the Indonesian electoral commission, think tanks, the media, and political parties. After directly witnessing previous election processes, participants from Tunisia, Egypt, Myanmar, Fiji, and other ASEAN countries have invited the IPD to provide further support. Working closely with the partner countries, the IPD shares experiences and provides technical assistance on electoral management.¹⁰⁶

IPD program can be traced in detail according to the themes in the Bali Democracy Forum, like Democracy, Rule of Law and its development; Synergy and Democracy Promotion of Peace and Stability. Programs and Activities IPD has taken many forms, including exchanges with the leaders of Egypt as a country in transition to democracy, a visit to the various elections in Asian countries, workshops and training to political parties and the electoral system is different, and participate in the dialogue in favor of countries with emerging democracies.

IPD is also committed to the program for the development of institutions that aim to strengthen its capacity to bring quality work program that is able to fulfill the agenda than BDF and can be more effective in promoting peace and democracy throughout Indonesia, Asia, and the World.

IV.4 Bali Democracy Forum Result and the Recognition of the positive image of Indonesia

This sub-chapter shows the summary of the Bali Democracy Forum from 2008 until 2012, and also the activities that have been conducted by the Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD) regarding the agreement in BDF. This sub-chapter

¹⁰⁶ Article by I Ketut Putra Erawan (executive director of IPD). "Supporting Democracy Abroad". Retrieved from: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/democracysupport/indonesia#.VR5bUPyUfg8>, accessed on April, 5th 2015.

also put overview of remarks and praises from several country leaders regarding the implementation of BDF.

Table 4.2 The result of the Utilization of Bali Democracy Forum

Year	BDF Agreements/Summaries (First Track Diplomacy)	IPD Activities (Second Track Diplomacy)	Comments of Leaders
2008	The inaugural BDF examined the broad themes of building and consolidating democracy in Asia including how to balance economic growth with democratic political development, expanding the role of media, enabling people's participation and how to create a culture of democracy that sustains peace. Strengthening democratic institutions and processes were seen as critical to creating an environment where democracy can flourish. ¹⁰⁷ This also marked the inauguration of Institute of Peace and Democracy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inaugurated on BDF I encouraged participants to support IPD. • Forming an Electoral Visiting Program (EVP), and developed in cooperation with various partner countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Indonesia is an example of a developing country, which embraced democracy and also a role model for Islamic democracy," (Lee Myung-bak, South Korean President).¹⁰⁸
2009	Explored the nexus between development and democracy in Asia. It emphasized the need for, and challenges to, evaluating the impact of democratic rule of law on development. It focused on building the process, organizations and institutions of democracy and on the rules of the game. Democratic institutions that enable sustainable development by serving the people and enable participation were seen as critical. Gender equality and the protection of minority rights were recognized as fundamental to building true democracy and to ensuring sustainable development. ¹⁰⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting event "Reflection on a Decade of Indonesian Reform" on 7-8 September 2009. • Started conducting Indonesian Election Visiting Program (EVP) on 6-9 Juli 2009 di Indonesia. Here the participant countries can learn about the election in Indonesia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Although the country was led by the military before 1998, Indonesia has become a good democracy and a role model after that era," (McDermott, a U.S. Congressman).¹¹⁰
2010	It looked at the ways in which democracy has delivered on its promise to create peace and stability in Asia. The link between strengthening the norms, institutions and practice of democracy and sustained peace were discussed, noting that countries represented at BDF are at varying points on the journey to both democracy and peace. An important contribution of democracy is its ability to create incentives for the state, civil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting workshop "Engaging Citizens in the Budget Cycle and Public Service Delivery Process" on 24-26 November 2010 in Bali. This program involved the representative from civil society group from Bangladesh, Kamboja, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I particularly appreciate President SBY and other leaders talking about the development of democracy in their respective countries. This is important for anyone who wants to develop democracy and

¹⁰⁷ Bali Democracy Forum website. Available at: <http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹⁰⁸ Antara News. Available at: <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/85519/ri-acts-as-role-model-for-islamic-democracy-through-pro-democracy-forum>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Bali Democracy Forum website. Available at: <http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹¹⁰ Antara News. Available at: <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/85519/ri-acts-as-role-model-for-islamic-democracy-through-pro-democracy-forum>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

	society and the population to work together constructively. ¹¹¹	Mongolia, Pakistan, dan Timor Leste. This workshop discussed to learn about the challenges on facing the local government. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting workshop “Electoral Systems, Parties and Parliaments: Making the Connections” 11-12 November 2010 in Indonesia to discuss the composition and process in parlement, especially about political party. 	implement the best possible democratic system in their country," (Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia, Lu Shumin). ¹¹²
2011	Focused on deepening democratic processes through providing avenues for people’s participation. Bringing participation to the processes of governance made for better citizens, better decisions and better government. It is important because engaged citizens were better able to understand and exercise their political agency. Participation promoted an accountable and responsive government as the norm and made the citizens as partner-making-policy effective and sustainable. It also created authenticity by enabling autonomous and competent actors to assess government processes. ¹¹³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting Election Visiting Program (EVP) on 1-5 Juli 2011 in Bangkok, Thailand. • Conducting Election Visiting Program (EVP) on 5-13 April 2011 in Tokyo, Japan. • Conducting Round Table Discussion with Prof. Matthew Shugart titled “Electoral System Reform in Indonesia since 1998: Experiment, Successes and Failure” on 14 November 2011 in Canberra, Australia. • Conducting Public “Lecture on Democracy Building and Constitutional Reform in Indonesia” in Suva, Fiji. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Indonesia’s experience shows that in politics, democracy and Islam are perfectly reconcilable” (Kevin Rudd, Australia Foreign Minister). • Clinton: Indonesia can be democratic role model¹¹⁴
2012	The democratic development at the national level must be followed by a parallel development at the global level. It is the time for the international community to move forward to effectively address the challenges of the time. Therefore, the international community must make sure that the system of global governance reflected the reality of the present time by reforming the United Nations Security Council without further delayed; must ensure that global governance would be equipped with a mechanism that could address the issue of intolerance that threatened harmonious relations among civilizations; and must give a bigger role to regional organizations in the global decision-making process, because they were in a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting Asian Political Leadership Program (APLP), a program purposed to promote the long-term change, modernization, and renewal of political party in Asia region. • Conducting “Making Women’s Political Engagement Effective”, a program discussed about the involvement of women in politics. • Conducting South-South Dialogue: Perceptions & Reflections from the Global South (American University of Cairo, Egypt and Udayana 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "And I am pleased to announce today that Australia will further support the work of the institute through a partnership” (Julia Gillard, Australia PM at this time). • "In the past five years, the BDF has been on a positive path and I hope it will create harmony in the relations among nations across the world," (Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran

¹¹¹ Bali Democracy Forum website. Available at: <http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹¹² Antara News. Available at: <http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/96016/bali-democracy-forum-ends-with-calls-for-continuation>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹¹³ Bali Democracy Forum website. Available at: <http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹¹⁴ The Jakarta Post. Available at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/07/24/clinton-indonesia-can-be-democratic-role-model.html>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

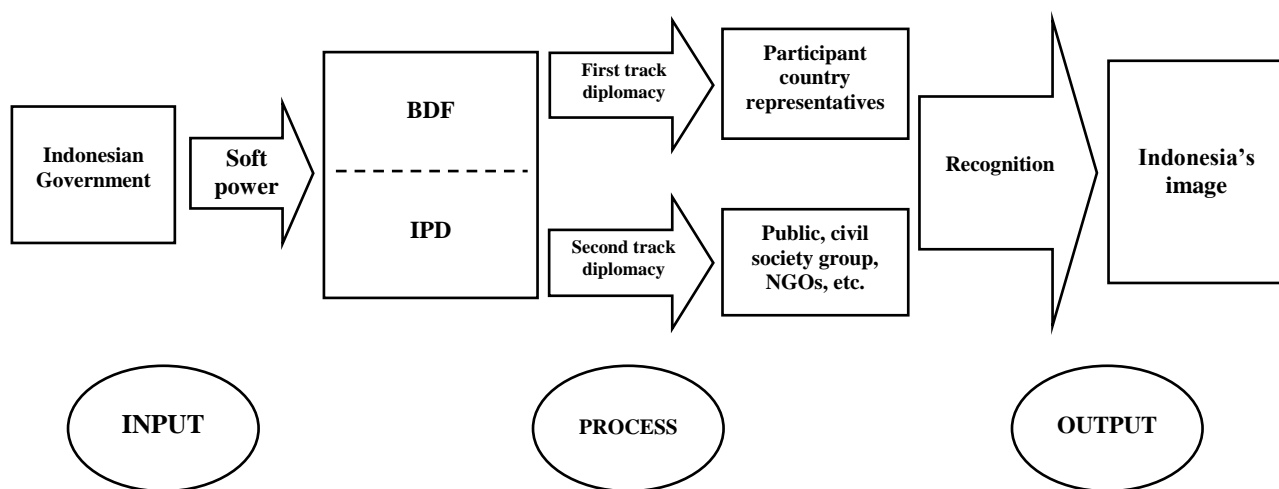
	better position to understand and assess the root causes and particularities of the multi-dimensional challenges that had arisen from their perspective regions. ¹¹⁵	University, Bali, Indonesia).	president). ¹¹⁶
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Sources: Institute of Peace and Democracy website, Bali Democracy Forum website, Antara News, and The Jakarta Post.

Departed from the matrix that showed above, can be seen that the result and progress of the implementation of BDF. This proves the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country has been enhanced. The country leaders mostly recognized Indonesia not merely as a country that experienced in democracy, but also now recognized Indonesia as country that can be the role model of democratic country. There are also many countries support BDF to keep implemented, this indicates that BDF has become an important forum.

Chapter Summary

To conclude this analysis chapter, there is a scheme shows briefly a process of the government of Indonesia utilize Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) as instrument to enhance Indonesia's image as the role model of democratic country. The scheme is can be seen below:



¹¹⁵ Bali Democracy Forum website. Available at: <http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

¹¹⁶ Antara News. Available at: <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/85519/ri-acts-as-role-model-for-islamic-democracy-through-pro-democracy-forum>, accessed on 9 April 2015.

In brief, the process of the utilization BDF by Indonesia's government in order to promote the positive image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country is started by formulating and utilizing Indonesia's soft power (political/country values, culture, and foreign policy), this clearly stated by the presiden SBY and also by the vision Indonesia's foreign policy in order to achieve Indonesia's national interest. Indonesia national interest here is its positive image as the role model of democratic country, which has been stated in the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy draft. Next, in the implementation of BDF, the government of Indonesia was pairing it with the Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD). BDF as intergovernmental approach (first track diplomacy) and the IPD as the approach to the non-government actor (second track diplomacy). The BDF and IPD also are supporting each other to achieve Indonesia's national interest. Finally, the effort that has been conduted resulted to the international recognition regarding the image of Indonesia as the role model of democratic country.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Democracy is an aspect that has been invested in the personality's values of the Indonesia's people. Democracy has been formulated in the *Pancasila* and UUD 1945 (Indonesia's Constitution Laws). In reality, the practice of democracy in Indonesia continues experienced changes, it is influenced by several factors, one of these factors is the governmental regime. Regime in Indonesia in the era before *Reformasi* showed the lack of implementation of democracy, and also the implementation of democracy at that time tended repressive. *Reformasi* Indonesia in 1998 becomes a milestone for Indonesia, regarding the implementation and consolidation of democracy which is getting better and Indonesia has received a lot of praise from the world.

The transformation of Indonesia to be a democratic country has changed Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia's foreign policy after the *Reformasi* emphasized the importance of the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy to reflect the success of Indonesia's democratic transformation. One of Indonesia's national interests after *Reformasi* as formulated in Indonesia's foreign policy is to promote a positive image of Indonesia. The effort of Indonesia's government to obtain national interest is known through the implementation of Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). BDF is an instrument that is not only used to promote a positive image of Indonesia, but also to get the strong role and position of Indonesia in the international system. Based on the result of this research can be known that a positive image to be achieved by Indonesia is as the role model of democratic country.

In the implementation to achieve the national interest of Indonesia through BDF, Indonesia's government also utilize Indonesia's soft power. Soft power used as components to optimize Indonesia's government effort in obaiting Indonesia's national interest. In addition, Indonesia's government also took advantage of the

Institute of Peace and Democracy, which serve as the second track diplomacy in achieving Indonesia's national interests. BDF is a form of approach that is run by the government of Indonesia through government-to-government interaction, or known as the term of first track diplomacy.

BDF, which is in tandem with the IPD as instrument for the government of Indonesia to obtain Indonesia's national interest which is a positive image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world as the role model of democratic country. The implementation of BDF which has proven to enhance the image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world, where Indonesia was once only known as the third largest democratic country in the world, now has been enhancing to the role model of democratic country. This is evidenced by the numbers of recognitions from the world country's leaders, both of which participate in BDF and who did not participate.

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APPENDICES

mendapatkan *access and benefit sharing* (ABS) agar Indonesia tidak hanya sekadar menjadi pasar bagi industri farmasi, tetapi ikut mendapatkan pembagian yang adil karena memiliki virus strain.

- (iii). **Pelaksanaan diplomasi dan fasilitasi kerja sama internasional** dilakukan untuk mendukung integritas dan keutuhan wilayah Indonesia dan pengamanan sumber daya alam Indonesia.
- (iv). **Fasilitasi, koordinasi, dan kerja sama dengan negara asal migran** dilakukan untuk menangani masalah migrasi warga yang disebabkan oleh masalah konflik internal dan instabilitas politik yang terjadi di negara asal migran.
- (v). **Pelaksanaan diplomasi publik**, seperti melalui kegiatan *interfaith dialog* dilakukan untuk mengurangi prasangka antarperadaban.

3. Meningkatkan kinerja diplomasi perbatasan

Upaya untuk meningkatkan kinerja diplomasi perbatasan dilakukan melalui antara lain:

- (i) **Pelaksanaan perundingan perbatasan dengan negara tetangga** dengan penekanan pada batas wilayah, landas kontinen dan zona ekonomi eksklusif; Percepatan penyelesaian isu yang memungkinkan dapat diselesaikan terkait dengan perundingan batas laut dengan Malaysia, Singapura, Filipina, Vietnam, dan memulai perundingan intensif dengan Palau, serta penyelesaian perundingan batas darat dengan Timor Leste.
- (ii) **Fasilitasi penyusunan *ocean policy*** dapat menjadi acuan landasan kebijakan dalam setiap perundingan masalah perbatasan laut dan pengelolaan kawasan laut. Penguatan hukum nasional menjadi penting sebagai landasan bagi perundingan masalah perbatasan dengan negara bilateral.

4. Meningkatkan kualitas pelayanan dan perlindungan terhadap WNI/BHI di luar negeri

Upaya yang dilakukan untuk meningkatkan kualitas pelayanan dan perlindungan WNI/BHI dilakukan melalui antara lain:

- (i) **Penguatan *citizen services* di 24 perwakilan**
Penguatan *citizen services* akan meningkatkan pemberian fasilitasi penampungan, repatriasi, deportasi, serta bantuan dan advokasi hukum terhadap WNI/BHI bermasalah;
- (ii) **Fasilitasi kerja sama dengan negara tujuan WNI**
Sejumlah pertemuan dengan negara-negara tujuan dilaksanakan untuk mempererat kerja sama dalam mengatasi permasalahan dan menjamin perlindungan WNI di luar negeri dengan lebih pasti.
- (iii) **Koordinasi teknis dengan instansi dan pemerintah daerah**
terkait untuk membenahi sektor hulu dalam mata rantai pengiriman tenaga kerja ke luar negeri. Kurangnya koordinasi dan sinergi bagi upaya penanganan WNI/BHI di luar negeri dipengaruhi oleh kinerja instansi terkait di dalam negeri terutama dalam memproses persiapan dan perekrutan calon tenaga kerja yang kerap tidak sesuai dengan Undang-Undang Nomor 39 tahun 2004 sehingga menimbulkan TKI bermasalah (*illegal/undocumented* atau *non-procedural*).
Koordinasi teknik dengan instansi dan pemerintah daerah akan sangat membantu efektivitas sosialisasi tentang pentingnya pelayanan dan perlindungan TKI di luar negeri.

5. Meningkatkan citra positif Indonesia melalui pemajuan demokrasi, HAM, lingkungan hidup, dan perlindungan kekayaan budaya.

Upaya untuk meningkatkan citra positif dalam pemajuan demokrasi dan HAM, dan perlindungan kekayaan budaya dilaksanakan melalui antara lain:

- (i) **Pelaksanaan peran Indonesia untuk mendorong demokratisasi di Asia** antara lain melalui pelaksanaan kegiatan Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) secara rutin sebagai upaya penyebarluasan citra positif tentang Indonesia kepada dunia internasional dan sebagai kerangka saling tukar pengalaman mengenai implementasi demokrasi di tiap-tiap



Kementerian Luar Negeri
Republik Indonesia

A. Ringkasan

Rencana Strategis Kementerian Luar Negeri disusun berpedoman pada Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional (RPJPN) 2005-2025 dan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN) 2010-2014. Selain menjabarkan hasil capaian pelaksanaan tugas dan kewenangan yang telah dilaksanakan pada periode sebelumnya, sebagai dokumen perencanaan jangka menengah Renstra Kementerian Luar Negeri juga memuat visi, misi, tujuan, strategi, kebijakan, program dan kegiatan serta target kinerja dan pendanaan yang akan dilaksanakan oleh seluruh satuan kerja di lingkungan Kementerian Luar Negeri selama periode 5 (lima) tahun mendatang.

Renstra Kementerian Luar Negeri merupakan pedoman bagi pelaksanaan tugas dan fungsi, sekaligus menjadi ukuran dalam upaya peningkatan kinerja Kementerian Luar Negeri yang sejalan dengan prinsip-prinsip diplomasi Indonesia. Berbagai kendala dan permasalahan yang sudah dilalui dalam periode sebelumnya menjadi tolak ukur guna penentuan tujuan dan sasaran penyelenggaraan hubungan luar negeri selama lima tahun mendatang. Dalam konteks intermestik, kinerja diplomasi Indonesia telah menunjukkan penguatan, baik dalam kerangka bilateral, regional maupun multilateral. Upaya-upaya diplomasi multilateral dan regional yang akan dilakukan oleh Indonesia selanjutnya harus tetap diperkuat dengan diplomasi bilateral yang tangguh. Kebijakan luar negeri secara aktif akan berupaya meningkatkan hubungan dengan negara-negara di kawasan Asia Pasifik dan Afrika maupun Amerika dan Eropa ke tataran yang lebih tinggi dan ditujukan pada pencapaian kepentingan nasional. Pengakuan internasional terhadap posisi Indonesia merupakan modal kuat dalam mengimplementasikan politik luar negeri Indonesia pada periode mendatang.

Kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia harus dapat mencerminkan transformasi demokratis di dalam negeri. Pada periode mendatang, perlu ditekankan pentingnya dukungan dan partisipasi dari seluruh pemangku kepentingan bagi efektivitas politik luar negeri Indonesia dalam memperkuat posisi Indonesia dalam tatanan internasional.