



Indonesia's Foreign Policy Towards The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)

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Article Info

ABSTRACT

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This study tried to decipher the facts about Indonesia's foreign policy towards the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In Indonesia the nuclear nonproliferation treaty has been signed since the beginning of the emergence of this agreement. Indonesia with the principle of free and active political uphold international security. As related to Indonesia's foreign policy, there are three alternative policies that can be taken by Indonesia to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty that is being proactive by ratifying the treaty, the second is a policy alternative abstained or even a third policy alternative is a nuclear nonproliferation treaty by refusing to participate did not ratify this agreement. The theory used to explain the problems is the theory of foreign policy rational choice theory. To see more clearly that the actions or measures taken related to nuclear nonproliferation Indonesia state of rationality that is not only internationally but also think about the interests of national interest. By using literature as a primary method of data collection, this study relies on the analysis of data obtained from books, journals, magazines, newspapers and internet sites and their relevance to the theory used. Indonesia's Foreign Policy related indicators of national interests that Indonesia always the national interest in international level. Associated with national capabilities, in this study found that Indonesia has not found the domestic political framework that is relatively permanent, which is relatively permanent when domestic politics, this is the best to build national capabilities as the basis for the implementation of free and active foreign policy that is more solid. Related to diplomacy that in the era of democratization and globalization implementation of foreign relations and diplomacy is no longer a government.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In foreign policy, a basic value held by a country when interacting with other actors is reflected. These values serve as guidelines for behavior in international relations (Sudirman, 2007) (DAVID, 2013). "Foreign policy is a policy instrument owned by the government of a sovereign state to establish relationships with other actors in international politics in order to achieve its national goals."

The emphasis contained in foreign policy is the action or action in which a state policy towards its external environment is to fight for the national interest (Krasner, 1978). The study of foreign policy basically covers a very broad field because various aspects of a country's policy or action will be discussed systematically and critically to find out how these countries can achieve their national goals in the external environment (Anggara, 2012). Apart from discussing the objectives of foreign policy, this study also examines the orientation, strategy and implementation of foreign policy.

The main foundations or basics of Indonesian foreign policy are listed in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The first paragraph states that: "Independence is the right of all nations and therefore colonialism in the world must be abolished because it is not in accordance with humanitarian and judicial principles." Furthermore, the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution states in paragraph 4 that: "... The government/state is obliged to protect the entire Indonesian nation and for all the blood of Indonesia and promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. " One of the important goals of having a legal basis is to ensure the security of state laws when formulating, producing and implementing foreign policies (Herrmann, 1986).

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) is an agreement signed on July 1, 1968 which aims to limit the possession of nuclear weapons. There are 189 sovereign states that are parties to the NPT and are divided into 2 categories, namely nuclear countries (Nuclear Weapon States / NWS) and non-nuclear countries (Non-Nuclear Weapon States / NNWS) (Haryadi, nd) (Rachmawati, 2011). The NPT is basically a commitment from the five NWS countries to realize general and complete disarmament, and the commitment of the NNWS countries not to develop or acquire nuclear weapons (Nabil, 2014). In addition, the NPT also emphasized protecting the rights of all states parties to develop nuclear for peaceful purposes (Haryadi, nd).

Indonesia's foreign policy of terror towards the nuclear nonproliferation agreement is quite interesting to discuss, especially at this time because Indonesia has to decide on a concrete action against the NPT that involves the government at home (Sipahutar, 2012). The nuclear weapons nonproliferation agreement is related to the international world because it is a multilateral agreement involving many countries (Prमितasari, nd) (Ferawati, 2012). This agreement concerns the security of the international community because it is related to the development and development of nuclear weapons and technology (Prमितasari, nd). The participation of the parties that signed this agreement had a considerable influence on the country's consistency in maintaining world peace (Sihbudi, 2007).

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) is one of the most ambitious attempts to expand civilization's range of rule-of-law capacities. Even the NPT is perceived by many as an indispensable treaty for international security and world order (Altando, nd).

The Indonesian Constitution clearly mandates that national goals and interests must be achieved in the interests of the nation itself. State parties to the NPT and the international community hope that the NPT is a multilateral agreement that can provide international security guarantees and maintain international security stability by preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, increasing nuclear disarmament and increasing cooperation for the use of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes (Haryadi, nd). The NPT itself has been implemented since 1970 in which 187 countries have ratified the agreement (Prमितasari, nd) (Here, nd). Indonesia strongly supports NPT because this agreement is in line with Indonesia's free and active foreign policy (Rachmawati, 2011).

The nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT) itself is reviewed through conferences held every five years since the agreement entered into force in 1970 (Prमितasari, nd). Each NPT review conference has sought to find agreement on a final declaration that will be able to provide an assessment of the

implementation of the provisions contained in the NPT and make recommendations on steps to further strengthen them (Kusumastuti, 2008).

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in May 2010 in New York represents an international effort to achieve nuclear disarmament and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. After a month of intensive negotiations, 189 countries agreed to the NPT in the final document that put forward 64 actions. Major actions include official talks on eliminating nuclear weapons in the Middle East, an issue that has stagnated at a conference to review the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and an extension of the conference since 1995 (Sipahutar, 2012).

Given that a 10-year stalemate occurred when the NPT review conference in 2000, including a 2005 meeting that failed to produce agreement on substantive issues, this is an unprecedented success and a glimmer of hope for nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. The NPT review conference which took place in 2010 aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology and to increase cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, which in turn aims to achieve general and complete nuclear disarmament and disarmament. This is a binding commitment to a multilateral agreement for the purpose of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation (Haryadi, nd) (Hasan, 2009).

Indonesia, as stated by Minister of Foreign Affairs Marty Natalegawa at the NPT review conference which took place in May 2010 emphasized the need for states with nuclear weapons to uphold their commitment to disarmament. Marty Natalegawa as Indonesia's Foreign Minister said that "Delaying the elimination of nuclear weapons in its entirety is a matter that provides negative security guarantees for a country without nuclear weapons." In this case, it can be said that the problem is how Indonesia's actions are towards the nuclear nonproliferation agreement (NPT).

From what Marty Natalegawa said, it can be explained that if there is a delay in the elimination of nuclear weapons by the state parties, including Indonesia. One of them is by not ratifying the NPT at the NPT review conference, countries that have implemented and respected the NPT agreement will receive negative security guarantees because there are still countries that use nuclear weapons (Müller, 2010). Indonesia itself as a sovereign country has options or various foreign policy alternatives to the nuclear nonproliferation agreement (NPT) (Gilang, nd). Indonesia can support the NPT by ratifying the agreement and respecting and implementing the contents of the NPT, namely using nuclear weapons only for peaceful purposes,

In relation to the issue of nuclear nonproliferation, Indonesia is faced with foreign policy choices that can be taken. However, every foreign policy making has consequences, therefore it must be based on national interests. In this case, it can be said that the problems faced by Indonesia related to the NPT are what actions should be taken by Indonesia as a sovereign country towards agreements that involve many countries and are related to international security.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, analytical descriptive research is used, which describes or describes the facts that occur about Indonesia's foreign policy (Endraswara, 2006). The descriptive method is a research method that is intended to describe a particular situation or event (Nazir, 1988) (Nugrahani & Hum, 2014). The purpose of descriptive research is to make descriptions, descriptions, paintings, systematically, factually, and accurately regarding the facts and the relationship of the phenomena under study. The method of analysis in this research is descriptive in the direction of providing an overview of the situations and conditions that occur. The data collected will be explored in depth and will then produce conclusions that explain the problem under study. This research is library research (library research), that is, this method is done by collecting data and theories from various literatures and can be used to analyze the data obtained (Zed, 2004). Secondary data collection is data derived from books, scientific journals, newspapers related to Indonesia's foreign policy and nuclear nonproliferation (NPT) as well as Indonesia's foreign policy and position on the NPT.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Basic Position of Indonesian Foreign Policy.

Basically, Indonesia's foreign policy is inseparable from the national interests that are embedded in the constitution and legislation. The basic position of Indonesia's foreign policy is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which are contained in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. In Indonesian foreign policy, there are interactions with international relations actors both at the state and non-state level, regarding international agreements and the basis for referring to the constitutional reference article 11 amendments to the 1945 Constitution which confirm the following (Ibrahim, 2008):

- a. The President with the approval of the House of Representatives declares war, makes peace and agreements with other countries.
- b. The President in making other national agreements that have broad and fundamental consequences for the lives of the people related to the financial burden of the state and / or requiring amendments or formation of laws must be approved by the House of Representatives.
- c. Further provisions regarding international treaties are regulated in law.

In connection with Article 11 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution, it states that there are provisions of international agreements which are regulated by law. In connection with these provisions it has been stipulated in legislation, namely Law No. 24 of 2000 concerning International Treaties. In this law, it is explained that before an international agreement is valid and binding in Indonesia, the agreement needs to be ratified. The ratification referred to in Article 1 number 2 Law no. 24 of 2000 is a legal act to bind itself to an international agreement in the form of ratification, accession, acceptance and approval. Article 9 paragraph 2 Law no. 20 of 2000 states that the ratification of international treaties is carried out by law or a presidential decree. The elucidation of article 9 paragraph 2 of the International Treaty Law states that: Ratification of international treaties by law requires the approval of the DPR; the ratification by a presidential decree is then notified to the House of Representatives. After the promulgation of Law no. 10 of 2004 concerning the Formation of Legislation, especially in the provisions of Article 46 paragraph 1 letter c point 1, the ratification of agreements between the Republic of Indonesia and other countries or international agencies can no longer be carried out by Presidential Decree (Kepres) but by Presidential Regulation.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in his inauguration speech as president of the Republic of Indonesia said that the vision of foreign policy will continue to uphold the principle of free and active Indonesian foreign policy which is determined to be a voice to promote peace, improve welfare and defend justice. The principle of free and active reaffirms a constant element in the rhetoric of Indonesian foreign policy. First articulated in 1948 by Mohammad Hatta, vice president of Indonesia, namely in the context of the Cold War it said about the Indonesian non-aligned movement. Operationally, "free and active" defines foreign policy in the national interest determined by the incumbent regime.

However, in reality the complex situation in the international world has resulted in Indonesia's position of wanting to implement a foreign policy based on the principles of free and active politics to raise the question of whether this principle is still in accordance with the complex conditions in the international world. Because if it is related to the principle of free and active, there will be a position where Indonesia's leadership in the international world is still questionable because of the dominant role of developed countries in the international world.

3.2. Position and Indonesian Foreign Policy on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Agreement (NPT).

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Iranian president Mahmud Ahmadinezhad have accused each other of non-compliance with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Hillary accused Iran of wanting to develop nuclear weapons and endanger world peace while Ahmadinezhad called on the US to uphold its disarmament commitments and respect the rights of signing the NPT to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Indonesia, as stated by Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa, said the absolute rights of all parties involved in the NPT, namely conducting research, producing and using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes as stipulated in Article IV of the Agreement must be respected. (Azhar, nd).

The United States welcomes Indonesia's ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which provides a powerful example of the positive leadership role Indonesia can play in global efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a critical element of international efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and President Obama is encouraging all countries to sign and ratify the agreement so that it can take effect.

Basically, Indonesia is faced with a problem where Indonesia has to determine its position as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council since January 1, 2007. Where the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has predicted this problem because it has become a global political discourse in various international forums and mass media long before. The problem faced by the Indonesian government as one of the signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime is how to maintain Indonesia's commitment to the regime so that there is no snowball effect in the Middle East in general through a UN security council resolution. Another interpretation also states that Indonesia is faced with a situation that is testing Indonesia's dignity as one of the leading members of the Non-Aligned Movement and ASEAN which has consistently opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons. By defining the problem as such, the aim of the Indonesian government is to demonstrate its consistency in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons that is contrary to the NPT regime. Of course, there are various policy options available at the same time with different implications.

- a. The first option is to support this resolution and its implication is that Indonesia's prestige in the eyes of international countries is maintained or even increased. In addition, Indonesia's position as an opponent of nuclear weapons proliferation in Southeast Asia was also strengthened.
- b. The second option, Indonesia chose to abstain from voting with the consideration that traditional relations with Iran and the Islamic world in general are well maintained, but on the other hand Indonesia is considered indifferent to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- c. The third alternative, Indonesia chose to oppose the resolution at the risk of possibly being the only one of the 15 member countries to do so. As a result, Indonesia is considered inconsistent with its foreign policy which has supported the NPT regime so far. In the end, Indonesia chose the first alternative which seemed to have been calculated by the government when there was resistance from the people's representatives through interpellation to support the accountability of the government.

Indonesia continues to carry out its role as a bridge builder to bridge various groups with different views on disarmament and non-proliferation issues. This role can be carried out well because of the recognition from UN member countries of Indonesia's position which is considered moderate and Indonesia's commitment which is considered high to the prevailing principles of multilateralism. Key players recognize this position of Indonesia who wants to engage with other developing countries that are often seen as having a hard line.

Indonesia always supports the efforts of the international community in efforts to promote nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. In this regard, Indonesia emphasizes the importance of multilateralism as a "core principle" in non-proliferation and disarmament negotiations, and emphasizes that achieving the goals of non-proliferation and disarmament needs to be pursued through "lawful" methods based on applicable international law and in under the UN framework.

Indonesia is of the view that the three pillars of the NPT must be implemented in a balanced, transparent and comprehensive manner. Indonesia considers that the NPT has been able to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, but has not completely succeeded in preventing vertical proliferation. Therefore, Indonesia requests that all parties to the NPT, including nuclear countries, are bound by a commitment not to develop nuclear weapons, either vertically or horizontally (non-proliferation in all its aspects).

Regarding disarmament, Indonesia always emphasizes that nuclear countries fulfill their commitment to disarm their nuclear weapons as part of the implementation of Article VI of the NPT with a clear time limit. In addition, Indonesia wants the nuclear disarmament process to be verifiable, irreversible and transparent. (Altando, nd).

Regarding nonproliferation, Indonesia wants the universality of the NPT to continue to be a top priority and urges countries that are not parties to immediately accede to the NPT as non-nuclear countries. Regarding the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, Indonesia wants the right of every country to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes as stipulated in Article IV of the NPT to be respected. When the UN Security Council has passed Resolution No. 1747/2007 concerning the Iran nuclear issue whose design was initiated by the permanent member states of the UN Security Council plus Germany (P5 + 1), the Indonesian Foreign Minister stated that Indonesia voted in favor of the Resolution because it was deemed to have contained four proposals put forward by Indonesia, namely: (1) There are references to areas free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East; (2) the elimination of nuclear weapons by nuclear power states; (3) guarantees the right of all countries, including Iran, to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and; (4) so that all negotiations are carried out in good faith ("in good faith").

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa, said that so far the Indonesian government has maximized the consultation process both with relevant leaders and in the UNSC forum. President Yudhoyono has previously held contacts with Iranian President Ahmadinejad, South African President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa is the chairman of the UNSC this year), and US President George Bush. In addition, Indonesia, South Africa and Qatar have maximized consultations so that the UN Security Council can produce a balanced resolution for all parties.

Marty Natalegawa added that President Yudhoyono had even held three talks with President Ahmadinejad on various occasions (the Iranian President's visit to Jakarta, the UN session in New York, and the OIC session in Kuala Lumpur).¹⁸⁷ The Indonesian Foreign Minister stated that Indonesia's attitude was actually consistent in the nuclear issue of Iran, namely ensuring that the countries parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), including Indonesia and Iran, still have the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. According to the Indonesian Foreign Minister, actually UN Security Council Resolution No. 1747/2007 concerning imposing sanctions against Iran prioritizes achieving a peaceful solution rather than imposing sanctions. This is because in the Resolution there is a principle of "termination to termination", that if Iran stops its uranium enrichment process, the UN Security Council will also stop the discussion process on the Iranian nuclear issue.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister stated that Resolution No. 1747/2007 should be seen as a continuation of the previous UNSC resolution namely Resolution No. 1737 / 2006. The 2006 resolution imposed limited sanctions for Iran to stop enriching uranium and ensuring the peaceful use of its nuclear energy. With the ratification of the NPT Bill, Indonesia has officially ratified the agreement that regulates the prohibition of all types of explosive and nuclear weapons testing. Prior to its ratification, the government and the DPR have been discussing the Draft Bill in the last two years. Chairman of Commission I DPR in charge of foreign affairs and defense Mahfudz Siddiq said the ratification must continue to guarantee Indonesia's efforts and access to take advantage of research, development and peaceful use of nuclear energy.

This ratification, said Mahfud, can strengthen Indonesia's image in the international arena as a country that wants peaceful conditions and avoids the use of nuclear which can harm humans. Mahfud Siddiq said, "By ratifying the CTBT or Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Indonesia has given a clear and concrete signal to the international community, as well as asking for the seriousness of the commitments of nuclear countries under the Treaty Non-Proliferation Nuclear Weapons to move towards disarmament. In this way, Indonesia has participated in preventing the efforts of a country to become a new nuclear state from violating legal norms and preventing the development of qualitative advancement of new types of nuclear weapons." Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa in his speech at the DPR Plenary Session stated,

The abolition of nuclear weapons, said Marty, must be carried out unconditionally, legally binding, not discriminatory and not using double standards that apply to all countries without exception.

According to Marty Natalegawa, Indonesia will get many benefits by ratifying the treaty. He explained, "the benefits that can be obtained from cooperation, capacity building, because now we have

signed this CTBT, we can all carry out activities to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in accordance with applicable international provisions and norms. So in our opinion this is a very important step, showing back Indonesia's leadership but the hard work is just starting. We must work to ensure that Indonesia's move creates momentum towards disarmament, towards similar ratification by countries that have not yet. "

After witnessing the ratification by the DPR, Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Organization of the Nuclear Test Prohibition Treaty (CTBTO), Tibor Toth congratulated the DPR and the Indonesian government for ratifying the agreement on a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. This is the moment where Indonesia shows its leadership at the ASEAN and global level, by saying no to nuclear. Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa added that countries that have not ratified the treaty on the comprehensive ban on nuclear testing include the United States, Israel, North Korea, China, India, Pakistan and Egypt.

3.3. Indonesia ratifies the NPT supported by the United Nations in the Pact to Ban Nuclear Experiments.

Signatory to the 182 CTBT, which has been ratified by more than 150 countries. Since Indonesia signed the agreement in 1996, current Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa told reporters in New York that "Indonesia has been absolutely clear in expressing Indonesia's support for achieving the lofty goals of the CTBT. According to Marty Natalegawa, in previous years Southeast Asian countries deliberately have not ratified the agreement "with the aim of encouraging others, especially countries with nuclear weapons to take steps to bring it into effect in their countries.

Natalegawa said that Indonesia has recorded. We feel that right now, what is needed is positive encouragement rather than pressure of a different type that we are "serious efforts on the part of the current United States Administration in promoting disarmament." It's been trying to instill in the past, "said Marty Natalegawa voicing hope that the US would follow suit from Indonesia's actions. In an interview with journalist Tibor Toth, Executive Secretary of the CTBT Organizational Preparatory Commission, praised Indonesia for its" leadership role "in ratifying the treaty and for its contribution. to global monitoring.

At the start of the nearly month-long meeting, Secretary General Ban Kimoon urged countries to take decisive action to build a safer world. "We have a choice: leave a legacy of fear and not act or act with vision, courage and leadership," he told the conference. "We all know it is possible," he said of disarmament and non-proliferation, which have been among top priorities since taking office in 2007. Marked the NPT, the cornerstone of the world's nuclear nonproliferation regime, as one of the most important global agreements ever. reached.

4. CONCLUSION

From the results of the presentation that has been presented in the previous chapter, it can be concluded that: Indonesia's foreign policy towards Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) is that Indonesia supports the NPT because this resolution and its implications can give Indonesia's dignity in the eyes of international countries is maintained or even increases. . In addition, Indonesia's position as an opponent of nuclear weapons proliferation in Southeast Asia was also strengthened. Regarding disarmament, Indonesia always emphasizes that nuclear countries fulfill their commitment to disarm their nuclear weapons as part of the implementation of Article VI of the NPT with a clear time limit. In addition, Indonesia wants the nuclear disarmament process to be verifiable, irreversible and transparent. Regarding nonproliferation, Indonesia wants the universality of the NPT to continue to be a top priority and urges countries that are not parties to immediately accede to the NPT as non-nuclear countries. Regarding the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, Indonesia wants the right of every country to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

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