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DOMESTIC PERFORMANCE AND FOREIGN POLICY

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An independent and active foreign policy imbued with the spirit of fighting diplomacy endures as the maxim of Indonesia's foreign relations since independence. During the 1970s, President Suharto's notion of total diplomacy was the logical extension of President Soekarno's exhortation in the early 1960s to "apply the full force of the entire nation" in support of Indonesia's foreign policy initiatives.

More recently, cyber diplomacy—integrating cell-phone, lap-top, website and virtual or real-time diplomacy has been utilized in support of traditional public diplomacy conducted through radio, television and the print media. Whatever the terminology affecting style and substance, the success of Indonesia's foreign policy ultimately rests on the quality of domestic political, economic and social performance. The scope and intensity of globalization in all of its dimensions makes imperative that Indonesia adopt a comprehensive framework, "Vision 5/3." The framework comprise the seamless-web of 5 levels of policy interaction (global, regional, national, provincial, local) with the 3 inseparable governmental dimensions of Polkam, Perekonomian, Kesejahteraan Rakyat/Kesra (Politics-Security, Economics Social Welfare)

The current focus on the Aceh issue, for example, underscores the instantaneous and inseparable nature of Aceh as global, regional, national, provincial and local issues. Aceh incorporates elements of global concern (human rights in Geneva, Washington DC, European Union), regional interest (ASEAN, Japan's interests in oil and gas in Aceh), national resolve (Jakarta's determination to maintain the integrity of Indonesia), provincial commitment (Special Autonomy on Aceh) and local sensitivity (the importance of culture, custom and religion as vital aspects Acehnese identity).

Aceh is an inescapable part of the "perennial trinity" of Polkam, Perekonomian and Kesra which can only be successfully resolved through the judicious application of an integrated policy framework. Although the Special Autonomy provisions in Aceh is viewed primarily as a Polkam issue, its success will depend on the overall effort of national as well as Acehnese economic recovery. No less importantly, Aceh is a Kesra problem, as it affects the vital issue of Acehnese pride and identity encompassing ethnic, religious and local values; success in this area is inseparably related to corresponding progress in the Polkam and Perekonomian

Adoption of the 5/3 framework would facilitate coordination among relevant government agencies. Every office within the authority of each Senior Minister in charge of Polkam, Perekonomian and Kesra must take into account its individual policy framework, matching the vigor of local, provincial and national impulses with regional and global pressures. The very challenge of contemporary globalization demands such an integrated "national interests - foreign linkages" outlook.

Above all, Indonesian diplomacy at all international settings must be supported by the "80/20" nexus. The "80" dimension comprise the prime responsibility of the domestic performance of the Polkam, Perekonomian and Kesra. The credibility of Indonesian diplomats abroad ultimately rests on the performance at the "Polkam-Perekonomian-Kesra trinity" at the home front. If domestic stability improves, economic recovery is sustainable and social welfare across the country reduces poverty and mitigates civil violence, the Indonesian diplomat abroad can present the country's official position with added confidence, clarity and credibility.

The constant bane of Indonesian nationals and diplomats abroad is when global and regional satellite and cable television recycle the "media rock circus" of domestic political violence; or when economic

exposed in global media reports; and, worse, when communal, ethnic and religious conflict are given prominent play.

"Vision 20" is the domain of the Indonesian diplomat abroad in explaining the context of the problem in Aceh as well as in other troubled regions throughout the archipelago. The persistence and skill of the diplomat in as the "brains, eyes, ear and mouth" in presenting and defending Indonesia's national interests can to an important extent determine the outcome of diplomatic acceptance. Yet, however skilled, persistent and versatile the diplomat, in the final analysis nothing can quite substitute successful domestic political, economic and social performance on the ground in Aceh, Papua or the Moluccas. Domestic performance ultimately must match the diplomatic formulation.

The credibility of Indonesian diplomats in New York, Geneva and Brussels on human rights, for instance, ultimately depends on the firm and measured professionalism of the soldier and policemen on the ground throughout Aceh's nine districts. The integrity of Indonesian diplomats in New York, Tokyo, Paris, Berlin and London depend on the successful performance of Indonesia's state enterprises and private companies in sustaining comprehensive and rules-based economic and business reforms. First

to Indonesia's commitment to social justice, public welfare and cultural resilience. The virtuous circle of political stability, economic growth and social reconciliation constitute our national commitment.

It is incumbent on every Indonesian diplomat abroad to devise his or her own individual framework, integrating the interests of the country of accreditation within the overall context of Polkam, Perekonomian and Kesra policy priorities in Indonesia. He or she has to balance and at the same time match pressures from the regional (ASEAN, Asia Pacific) and the global (UN-New York, UN-Geneva, UN-Vienna, EU-Brussels). The "mind map" of linear thinking has to be complemented by the ability to visualize political, economic and cultural dynamics emanating from all corners of the world and whose real-time nature as threats to or opportunities for Indonesia's national interests constantly changes with circumstances.

Likewise for the Indonesian diplomat posted in the cities of Asia, Africa, Middle East, North and South America and the Middle East. Each posting in these continents has its unique feature that constantly affects Jakarta's bargaining position through the web of intersecting interests

defining Indonesia's political and economic standing. Websites in Indonesia can be accessed to provide preliminary information on how best to formulate and present Indonesia's national interest prior to receiving formal instructions from the presidential palace or from the foreign ministry in Jakarta.

The "domestic performance-foreign policy framework" provides a comprehensive outlook for every Indonesian diplomat whenever and wherever he or she may be posted abroad.

Contemporary political, economic, cultural, technological and military globalization are but intensification of the multiple challenges to be met by Indonesia's fighting diplomacy since the birth of the republic in 1945. Constantly striving against all odds remains the guiding principle in the conduct of Indonesia's foreign relations.

But the iron law of diplomacy remains timeless and unforgiving: it is domestic performance that remains the bedrock of Indonesia's foreign policy and diplomatic credibility abroad. In a globalized world, that credibility is always at stake "24/7", twenty four hours a day seven days a week.****

DOMESTIC PERFORMANCE - FOREIGN POLICY FRAMEWORK
Integrated Policy-Making : the Case of Aceh
The "5/3" Dimension

	<i>Reform</i>	<i>Recovery</i>	<i>Reconciliation</i>
	POLITICS- SECURITY (POLKAM)	ECONOMICS (PEREKONOMIAN)	SOCIAL WELFARE (KESRA)
GLOBAL	UN-New York, UN-Geneva/Vienna, Swiss COHA, NAM, OIC, Stockholm, US Congress, EU-Brussels.	World Bank/IMF, UN-Geneva, UNDP <i>World business, financial and market environment</i>	UN -Geneva, Henri Dunant Center, ICRC, Human Rights Watch, ICG, Save the Children Fund
REGIONAL	APEC, ASEAN Regional Forum, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Manila	Tokyo Donor Group (EU, Japan/USA/World Bank), ADB Manila	ADB Humanitarian support Tokyo/Manila
NATIONAL	"Integrated Operations" Interior/ Foreign/ Defense, TNI-HQ, Presidential Advisory Panel, Chief Negotiator, Parliament	Economic Recovery Program// Central-Provincial Budget Appropriation/Aceh Support Programs	Social Safety Net Programs, Aceh Special Support, national and foreign NGOs, Indonesian Red Cross
PROVINCIAL	Aceh Governor, Special Autonomy Law Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, Police/Military Command	Aceh Governor, Bupati, Lurah, Central-Provincial Budget Allocation; SMEs, (<i>ExxonMobil</i>)	<i>Shariah</i> law, Special Program for Aceh, Basic needs, food, education, health, agriculture and fisheries
LOCAL	Local leaders, District/Sub-District governance, police/military sub-district	Agriculture, cooperatives, fisheries, small scale enterprises	Local social cultural leaders: <i>ulama</i> /women/religious/yo uth leaders, schools, madrasah

Integrated Policy-Making : the Case of Papua

	<i>Reform</i>	<i>Recovery</i>	<i>Reconciliation</i>
	POLITICS-SECURITY (<i>POLKAM</i>)	ECONOMICS (<i>PEREKONOMIAN</i>)	SOCIAL WELFARE (<i>KESRA</i>)
GLOBAL	UN-New York, UN-Geneva/ Swiss, EU Brussels, The Hague/Netherlands Dutch Parliament	World Bank/IMF, UN-Geneva, UNDP, EU Brusels, <i>Freeport/New Orleans; BP London</i>	UN-Geneva, Human Rights Watch, ICG, CARE, ICRC, RMS and church groups in Europe/Netherlands , USA, Australia
REGIONAL	APEC, ASEAN Regional Forum, Australia-Canberra, South Pacific Forum	Tokyo Donor Group/ World Bank)	ADB Humanitarian support, church groups in Australia, Melanesia Spearhead Movement
NATIONAL	"Integrate Policy" Interior/ Foreign/ Defense, TNI-HQ, (Papua Coordinator), Parliament	Economic Recovery Program// Central-Provincial Budget Appropriation/Aceh Support Programs	Social Safety Net Programs Papua Special Support, national and foreign NGOs
PROVINCIAL	Papua Governor, Special Autonomy Law vs. "Enlargement", Police/Military Command, Papua People's Council (MRP)	Papua Governor, Bupati, Lurah, Central-Provincial Budget Allocation, SMEs. (<i>Freeport/Timika, Tangguh/ Bintani</i>)	Special Program for Papua, Basic needs, food, education, health, agriculture and fisheries, local NGOs
LOCAL	Local leadership, District/Sub-District governance, police/military sub-district	Agriculture, cooperatives, fisheries, traditional farming enterprises	Local custom, <i>adat</i> , church/women/youth leaders, schools