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Н. С. Куклин*Российский университет дружбы народов, Москва (Россия)*

ИСТОРИЯ И ТЕКУЩАЯ КОНФИГУРАЦИЯ ДВУСТОРОННИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ МЕЖДУ РЕСПУБЛИКОЙ ИНДОНЕЗИЯ И НОВОЙ ЗЕЛАНДИЕЙ

Рассматриваются основные направления внешней политики Индонезии в отношении Новой Зеландии. Автор анализирует особенности развития политических, экономических и культурных связей, основных направлений сотрудничества и перспектив дальнейшего взаимодействия. Новая Зеландия и Индонезия имеют давнюю историю отношений, однако между этими странами всегда существовали противоречия, которые проистекают из разницы их менталитетов.

Общая динамика отношений на протяжении длительного периода наглядно отображает стратегии во внешней политике как Новой Зеландии, принадлежащей к «западной» цивилизации, так и самобытной древней Индонезии, которая всегда стремится, с одной стороны, сохранить яванскую гармонию, а с другой — избежать невыгодных для себя решений и договоренностей. «Малайский мир» уже очень давно сталкивается во внешнем поле с «западными» странами, а Новая Зеландия является одной из самых близких им географически. Современное взаимодействие этих акторов выглядит уже менее идеологизированным, более прагматичным, однако прагматизм был бы недостижим без прежней конфликтности и столкновения мировоззрений.

Ранее тема двусторонних отношений указанных стран не рассматривалась в российском научном поле, потому представляется необходимым провести общий анализ истории и основных направлений двустороннего взаимодействия этих государств.

Ключевые слова: Индонезия, Новая Зеландия, двустороннее сотрудничество, дипломатия, культурное сотрудничество, экономическое и военное сотрудничество.

N. S. Kuklin*RUDN University, Moscow (Russia)*

HISTORY AND CURRENT CONFIGURATION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND NEW ZEALAND

This paper outlines the main directions of Indonesian foreign policy towards New Zealand. The author analyzes the features of the development of political, economic, and cultural ties, as well as the main areas of cooperation and the prospects for further interaction. New

Zealand and Indonesia have a long history of relations, however, countries have always had contradictions that stem from the differences in the mentality of the two countries.

The general dynamics of relations over a long period of time graphically reflects the strategies in foreign policy, both belonging to the “western” civilization of New Zealand, and the original ancient Indonesia, which always seeks to preserve Javanese harmony, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to avoid non-beneficial decisions and arrangements. “The Malay world” has been facing “Western” countries, for a long time in all external fields, and New Zealand is one of the geographically closest “Western actor”. Modern interaction of these states looks less ideologized, more pragmatic, however pragmatism would be unattainable without the previous conflict and clash of worldviews. Previously, the topic of bilateral relations of these countries was not considered in the Russian scientific field, thus it can be deemed necessary to conduct a general analysis of the history and main directions of bilateral interaction of these states.

Key words: Indonesia, New Zealand, bilateral cooperation, diplomacy, cultural cooperation, economic and military cooperation.

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Introuduction

The diplomatic relations between Indonesia and New Zealand were established in 1958. Having such common interests as democracies and neighbours in the Asia Pacific region, New Zealand and Indonesia are perceived as “natural partners”. Indonesia and New Zealand have a solid foundation of relations.

The bilateral relations between the two countries started from their cooperation in the field of education in the late 1950s, namely from the implementation of English language education for English teachers within the framework of Colombo Plan. New Zealand also contributed to the aid of funds, goods and military personnel for the handling of the tsunami disaster in Aceh and North Sumatra, and also participated in Tsunami Disaster Summit in Jakarta in January 2005.

In 2018, countries will celebrate the 60th anniversary since the establishment of the diplomatic relations. In this regard, the author would like to review the main directions of cooperation as a result of the sixty-year interaction of the two countries that are extremely important for the Asia-Pacific region.

Background

After the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1958, the Indonesian ambassador to Australia became a concurrently ambassador to New Zealand. This post was taken by Alfian Yusuf Hilmi — a famous Indonesian diplomat, who later became a representative of Indonesia in Germany and a number of other European countries. New Zealand has maintained a resident ambassador in Indonesia since 1968, and a resident Head of Mission since 1961.

Earlier, in 1961–63 New Zealand was represented in Indonesia by the consul general and charge d'affaires, both posts were hold by the well-known diplomat Duncan McFadyen Rae,

from NZ National Party. A great contribution to the development of relations has been made by New Zealand intellectual Reuel Anson Lochore. Between 1964 and 1966, Lochore also served as the New Zealand Minister to Indonesia [NZ MFATa, 2018].

In the aspect of bilateral relations, it is important to pay attention to the special status of New Zealand during that period. According to the Westminster statute approved by the New Zealand Parliament in 1947, New Zealand actually acquired independence and its dominion status has become a thing of the past replaced by the concept of Commonwealth realms, sovereign states, members of the Commonwealth of Nations which are sharing the British monarch, as its head of state and reigning constitutional monarch. Thus, New Zealand was perceived by the Indonesian elites at the time as a part of the overall British policy, which was confirmed in the next decade after the establishment of relations between the two countries. During the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation of 1963–66 characterized by the desire of President Sukarno to destabilize the Malay Confederation and to include it in the zone of influence of Indonesia, New Zealand took an active part in military operations in the former British territories in South-East Asia [Smith, 2005: 218].

However, one should not consider such policy precisely in terms of the British intervention supported by New Zealand. The region at that time promptly tried to avoid participation in the processes of the Cold War and the erosion of the sovereignty of the newly independent countries. Many regional leaders had to choose a vector of development in favor of one of the Cold War poles. During that time New Zealand signed an array of regional defence arrangements including the Canberra Pact with Australia, the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve, ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). As many Western countries in the region, it feared an uncertain vector of the regional countries development and especially the penetration of communist influence from continental Asia supported by China and the USSR. Maintaining the influence of Britain and the United States determined the participation of New Zealand forces in all the blocs and their military operations in Southeast Asia. This was all part of New Zealand's "forward defence" regional security strategy, or the strategy to meet, and attempt to curb, any threat from the north [Smith, 2003: 28].

In the meantime, in Indonesia, President Sukarno, despite being adhered to nationalism and independence, maintained good relations with the Soviet Union, especially with regard to procurement of military equipment.

Many scientists believe that at that time the relationship between the New Zealand and Indonesia could not be called active due to the low frequency of interactions and the presence of an indirect confrontation in connection with the participation of the New Zealand forces in British operations in Malaya.

The potential for cooperation was more fully implemented in the Suharto's New Order era. The two governments forged good bilateral ties, involving political ties, support and development, trade and economic contacts, diplomatic coordination on regional problems, military and defence cooperation, and a range of people-to-people contacts. Persistent underlying tensions, reflecting New Zealanders' discomfort with the authoritarian character of the Indonesian government, were generally held in check by realpolitik calculations of New Zealand's interests.

Not until the 1990s did public disquiet about Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, and a sense that stagnation in Indonesia's leadership made engagement less productive, feed a new wave of disillusionment [Sinaga, 2013: 215].

Closer to the period of the Reformation in Indonesia, New Zealand actively participated in resolving the situation around the East Timor by providing mediation services and assisting East Timor through humanitarian assistance, financing elections in 2001 and holding consultations with representatives of the Indonesian elites and the Timorese political forces. The participation of New Zealand forces in the international forces of East Timor under the auspices of the UN in 1999 was the largest operation of the New Zealand's army at that time [Anwar, 2013: 203].

Tensions between the two countries on the issue of East Timor have been observed since 1978, when the New Zealanders provided humanitarian assistance to the Timorese people, and subsequently provided diplomatic support to Timor in relations with Indonesia and in the fields of the United Nations.

However, despite the political aspect of the relationship has not always been positive, in the economic aspect significant progress has been achieved.

From that time bilateral relations and bilateral economic cooperation between New Zealand and Indonesia is based on several foundations such as: The Trade Agreement signed on 19 September 1978 in Wellington; Agreement on the Avoidance of Double Taxation, March 25, 1987 in Wellington; The First Session of the Joint Commission of February 1998 in Jakarta: Approval of Air Relation, signed May 27, 1998 in Wellington.

It is important to emphasise that bilateral relations between Indonesia and New Zealand have generally developed well and have been increasing for more than six decades. In addition to that, each of the leaders of both countries continues to pursue strategic objectives by seeking to enhance their bilateral cooperation, supporting each other in terms of democracy, human rights, security and the integrity of their respective territories. New Zealand has championed the unity of Indonesia and aided the development in various provinces in Indonesia [Bandoro, Bantarto, 1994:18]. It is especially noteworthy that the economic ties with Asia were further strengthened after New Zealand recognized the People's Republic of China in 1972. Its trade with Japan and South Korea grew after Britain ended its trade deal with New Zealand and advocated for New Zealand to join the European Economic Community (MEE) in 1973. Since that the economic need drove the expansion of the New Zealand's foreign policy. It can be called the New Zealand's ability to rise from the stagnation of its economy in the 1980s proves that this country has great power. The achievements gained by New Zealand cannot be separated from the role of the government and society to boost their economic potential at that time.

According to Michael Green, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand for the New Zealanders, the Asian financial crisis and the overthrow of Suharto were in many ways a surprise, while in Wellington it was believed that it could give new opportunities for bilateral ties strengthening [Smith, 2005: 168].

Thus, moving from the historical basis of relations to their present state, it is worth noting that the relations between the two countries often disagreed on the basis of military and political conflicts in South-East Asia, in which the New Zealanders almost never took the side of Indonesia and did not share the political ambitions of its leaders [Callahan, 1999: 38]. On the other hand, economic cooperation, military and humanitarian ties have always been the basis for a good dialogue.

Further, we would like to consider and highlight the main areas of modern interaction between the two countries and pay attention to the most noteworthy aspects of relations.

Indonesia-New Zealand Political Cooperation

It is of paramount importance to note that in 2000, during a visit to the ASEAN Summit in Singapore, President Abdurrahman Wahid announced that a new regional body should be formed to accommodate co-operation with states to the east of Indonesia, including East Timor, Papua New Guinea, and Australia. Though Wahid had unveiled the idea before, in this time Indonesia obtained the support of Australia in following the concept into implementation. In 2002 the idea took shape. The six-member countries of the “Southwest Pacific Forum” — Australia, East Timor, Indonesia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines — held their first annual meeting in Indonesia.

Now it continues to work as a South West Pacific Dialogue (SwPD) and it is always held on the sidelines of the Session of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting/Post Ministerial Conference and ASEAN Regional Forum (AMM/PMC and ARF).

As for bilateral cooperation Indonesia and New Zealand have regular bilateral consultation mechanisms within the Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC). The first JMC meeting was held in Jakarta in May 2007, while JMC II was held on 8–10 August 2009 in Wellington [Syailendra, 2014: 53].

The JMC meeting, where the various fields of cooperation between the two countries was discussed, is expected to strengthen the relations between the two countries both at the level of government and society. Prior to the establishment of JMC, the bilateral cooperation forum owned by the two countries was the Joint Commission on Economic and Trade Relations at the level of high officials established in 1996. In addition to some forms of cooperation above there are many more forms of cooperation undertaken by both countries, Indonesia and New Zealand.

Indonesia-New Zealand Economic and Trade Cooperation

Another key point to remember is that the relations between Indonesia and New Zealand in various fields continue to grow and develop every year, especially in trade. Indonesia is the world's 16th largest economy and is projected to become the seventh largest by 2030. A growing consumer class among the population of 258 million makes it an important market for New Zealand's agricultural products.

According to WTO data in December of 2016, Indonesia is the fourteenth export market in New Zealand and is the largest in Southeast Asia. Dairy products account for about two-fifths of New Zealand's export to Indonesia, beef, intermediate goods, raw materials and wood products are also important export points. The main imports of New Zealand from Indonesia are palm oil, crude oil and electrical machinery.

In 2013, New Zealand commenced WTO dispute settlement proceedings challenging 18 agricultural trade barriers imposed by Indonesia [Santikajaya, 2014]. These barriers are estimated to have cumulatively cost the New Zealand beef sector alone between half a billion and a billion dollars, and have also affected certain horticultural exports. On 22 December 2016, a WTO Panel issued a decision in favour of New Zealand in respect to all 18 challenged non-tariff barriers. Indonesia appealed the Panel's decision to the WTO Appellate Body on 17 February 2017. On 9 November 2017, the Appellate Body upheld the key findings of the WTO Panel, confirming that all 18 of the challenged measures are inconsistent with Article XI:1 of the GATT 1994.

Indonesia and New Zealand are participants of the ASEAN-Australia-NZ FTA — AANZFTA. Apart from that, New Zealand actively promotes and negotiates with Indonesia as one of the parties to this agreement.

Education, socio-cultural interactions and tourism

Apart from cooperating in the field of politics and economy, trade, and investment, Indonesia and New Zealand also collaborate in education, social sphere, culture, and tourism. In terms of education Indonesia and New Zealand have made several collective agreements. The agreements are solely aimed at improving the quality of education in both countries, at least there will be transfer of knowledge, especially for Indonesia as a developing country [Muhammad, 2009: 248].

The main goal of enhancing high-education cooperation between New Zealand and Indonesia is to provide the widest possible opportunity for Indonesian students to continue their education in New Zealand. With this cooperation sides are expecting to improve the quality of higher education [Jemadu, 2014].

Indonesia and New Zealand are also engaged in social and cultural projects and tourism. One such cooperation is that Indonesia, together with Australia and the Philippines, are co-sponsors of the Third Asia-Pacific Regional Interfaith Dialogue in Waitangi, New Zealand, 29–31 May 2007.

In addition, New Zealand was also the host of the Alliance of Civilization High Level Symposium meeting held in Auckland on 23–24 May 2007. At the meeting, the delegation was led by President Ali Alatas's advisor to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono [Syailendra, 2014: 48].

New Zealand has launched the Moslem Youth Leaders Exchange Program by inviting young Muslim scholars from Indonesia to conduct a speaking tour to New Zealand. This program has been in place since 2007. In 2008 three Muslim scholars from Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta have been to New Zealand to participate in the program [Primatama, 2015].

Also, New Zealand has sent an interfaith expert to help developing the curriculum at the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, Gadjah Mada University (UGM). This activity is an implementation of cooperation agreement between Victoria University and UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and UGM signed during the visit of Prime Minister Helen Clark to Indonesia July 2007. In addition to all forms of cooperation stated above, there are many more some common projects between Indonesia and New Zealand e. g. in the fields of human rights and healthcare [NZ FATb, 2018].

Indonesia-New Zealand Defence and Security Cooperation

Indonesia also conducts a lot of defence diplomacy activities through multilateral forums, that New Zealand attends, including the range of ASEAN bodies such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus and Defence Senior Officials Meeting-Plus, as well as the Shangri-La Dialogue.

According to Joint NZ/Indonesia Statement on Defence Relations from the 1st June 2017, Indonesian Minister of Defense, Ryamizard Ryacudu, and New Zealand Minister of Defence, Mark Mitchell reiterated that Indonesia and New Zealand enjoyed a strong bilateral relationship and defence cooperation was an important component of that. Ministers Confirmed the importance that both sides place on the bilateral defence relationship and committed to strengthening it.

Nevertheless, in the 2016 Defence White Paper [Defence White Paper, 2016], Indonesia was not even mentioned. A similar situation was noted in the 2010 document [Defence

White Paper, 2010]. At the same time, defense contacts between the two countries include: bilateral visits and military exchanges, military ship visits, exercises, exchange of intelligence information, training, study visits and regular bilateral talks on the defence issues.

The meeting of ministers in June 2017 can be called as a breakthrough, however New Zealand-based Papua advocacy groups, and around a dozen MPs, have been urging the government to push Jakarta to do more about holding security forces in the region to account for reported human rights abuses. The situation around Papua has been a stumbling block since the days of Suharto's presidency. Similar to the situation with Timor, New Zealand has never approved of the "annexation" of Papua territory by Indonesian forces.

General relations development dynamics over the past decade

Using the methods of event-analysis proposed by the Gdelt system [The Global Database of Events GDELT, 2018], which analyzes the qualitative and quantitative side of interstate interactions one can come to the following conclusions:

The dynamics of bilateral relations over the past decade is characterized by strong fluctuations. The system evaluates such positive and negative events as bilateral contacts, visits, the unity of the expressed positions, or vice versa, contradictions, insults and negative statements.

To give an illustration of what we mean, let's have a look on noticeable differences between the two countries during the Libyan operations of the Western coalition against Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 (Fig.1).

The graph also shows a significant improvement in relations but mostly these are linked to mutual official visits of senior officials.

Conclusion

All things considered, it seems reasonable to assume that the current state of relations between New Zealand and Indonesia stems from a previously formed historical base. Above all, it seems pertinent to remember that the bilateral ties at the initial stage during the presidency of the Sukarno in Indonesia and the offices of the premiers from Peter Fraser to Keith Jacka Holyoake in New Zealand can hardly be called sufficiently stable and it notably deteriorated with the development of Indonesian-Malay confrontation 1963–1966 and the intervention of New Zealand force as part of the British ones. Further, ties with western-oriented Suharto has been importantly improved, but the dynamics of that period can be called spoiled because of the questions of West Irian and East Timor, and the New Zealanders concern about the corruption and authoritarian regime in Indonesia [Dugis, 2017: 253].

Despite this fact during the Reformation of the late 90's and at the present stage significant economic cooperation was beneficial to both parties and in many respects, it is considered as the real bridge and an expression of convergence between the two countries.

Another key point to remember is that countries also cooperate in the military aspect based on traditional methods such as joint exercises, exchange of experience and information, mutual training programs, etc. Nevertheless, having said that, we must not forget the existing political and historical contradictions due to which Indonesia is often not mentioned as an official military partner in the military doctrines of New Zealand.

By contrast the sphere of education and cultural cooperation can be seen at an advanced level. It seems to me to be the most persuasive that Indonesia and New Zealand primarily belong to different political dimensions and, by predicting their relations in the future, we can conclude that they will take the previous unstable but fairly peaceful dynamics.

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