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## Analysis of International Relations Theory Toward the Prospective Foreign Policy in the Vision and Mission of Indonesian Presidential Candidates 2024

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### **Abstrak**

*Semakin dekatnya pemilu nasional di Indonesia, persaingan politik oleh masing-masing calon presiden dan wakil presiden semakin masif. Tahun 2023 menjadi tahun yang sangat penting bagi para kandidat untuk menunjukkan potensi dan perhatian mereka terhadap isu-isu penting. Pada tahun yang sama, banyak hal terjadi di ranah internasional yang mempengaruhi politik lokal Indonesia. Artikel ini berupaya menganalisis arah kebijakan politik luar negeri yang digunakan calon presiden dan wakil presiden Indonesia dalam kampanyenya dalam menyikapi isu-isu global. Pendekatan penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan teknik analisis komparatif. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian kepustakaan, yang datanya dikumpulkan dari visi dan misi calon presiden. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa seluruh calon presiden Indonesia telah membuat beberapa agenda yang berkaitan dengan eko-global, kerjasama dan persaingan di ranah internasional.*

*Kata kunci: analisis kebijakan luar negeri, calon presiden, teori hubungan internasional, visi misi*

## **Abstract**

As the national election in Indonesia is drawing close, the political competition done by each of presidential and vice-presidential candidates is getting massive. The year 2023 becomes pivotal for the candidates to show case their potential and attention to the significant issues. In the same year, a lot has happened in the international sphere that influences Indonesian local politics. This article will seek to analyze the political communication used by Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential candidates in their campaign in responding global issues. The research approach used in this research is qualitative approach using comparative analysis techniques. The type of research is library research, in which datum will be collected from vision and mission of presidential candidates. The result shown that all Indonesian presidential candidates have made some agendas pertaining eco-global, cooperation and competition in the international realm.

Keywords: foreign policy analysis, international relations theory, presidential candidates, vision and mission,

## **Introduction**

Indonesia is a democratic country. The idea of democracy has been stated in several of Indonesian law. In the preamble of national constitution, it regulates the sovereignty of the people twice (Noviati, 2013), first in the opening of the fourth paragraph, "then Indonesia's national independence was formulated in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia which is the sovereignty of the people..." Second, in article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution as a result of the amendment it reads, "Sovereignty is in the hands people and implemented according to the Constitution." Thus, the 1945 Constitution is firmly based on democratic government because it is based on people's sovereignty. People's sovereignty is the basic of democracy. Indonesian will enjoy its biggest democracy celebration in February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2024 in the form of national election. The third largest democratic country in the world will decide the next governmental arrangement ranging from presidential election to legislative representatives.

The presidential candidates in Indonesia 2024 elections have had their share to show down their ability to lead societies through some of their past career choice. Anies Baswedan is well-known academician and politician. His leadership ability was proven when he became the Governor of Jakarta, rector of Paramadina University and Indonesian minister of education. Prabowo Subianto among other candidates is the most experienced figure in

presidential election. In the past, Prabowo Subianto has tried his luck to compete in the presidential election twice and unfortunately, he did not make it into the presidential office. Prabowo Subianto is the only party leader that contest in 2024 Indonesian presidential election. He is also Indonesian minister of defense. The third candidate is Ganjar Pranowo. Compared to other candidates, Ganjar Pranowo is the only candidate that has ever had experience in legislative and executive position. He was the member of house of representative (DPR) in 2004-2009. He was also the governor of Central Java in 2013-2023.

Their experience in leading their society surely becomes a pivotal point that can generate support from society during their candidacy. Nevertheless, leading a country is different from many other experiences that they have had before. There are several major issues that need to be addressed in governing a country as big as Indonesia. Should they be elected, international issue is one of the challenges that they will face.

The year 2023 becomes the year when many global issues happen and needs the skill of world leaders to navigate their society through these challenges. One of the prominent issues is conflict of Gaza and Israel. Other than that, the conflict of Russia and Ukraine is not settled yet. The other issues are the raise of Islamophobia and xenophobia in the global level, and case of Rohingya refugees that also need attention of the world leaders.

Predicting the direction or even result of an election is nothing new in the academic world. There have been many previous research that discuss about the matter. One of which is a research that discuss about presidential result prediction using sentiment on twitter by Kristiyanti et all in 2019. Using Support Vector Machine (SVM) with selection features of Particle Swarm Optimization (PSO) and Genetic Algorithms (GA) to classify algorithm on twitter, the research mine public opinion about the presidential candidates. The result showed that Prabowo Subianto and his vice-presidential candidate, Sandiaga Uno, are supposed to be the champion of the election system. It accounts the positive sentiment, which reach up to 830 out of 1000 tweets (Kristiyanti, 2019). Nevertheless, although it is claimed that the SVM with the combination of PSO is the best method reaching 86.20% accuracy and the AUC value reaching 0.934, the actual result on the ground revealed the flaws of its result. Instead of winning the election, the presidential chair was won by Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin,

and Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno both become ministers in the reign of Joko Widodo. This research differs from the previous one, as it is more to predict the direction of foreign policy of future president instead of predicting the result of the election process.

Despite the inaccuracy of the previous research, recently there is similar research conducted by (Iqbal, 2023) that encouraged the use of SVM for analyzing sentiment in 2024 presidential candidate with claim of 99% accuracy score. Another attempt to predict the result of presidency election also has been done by (Budiharto, 2018) with much more accurate result. The result successfully predicted the winning of Joko Widodo over Prabowo Subianto. The difference from the previous study is that study by Budiharto used twitter API to manage the data. So far, there has not been any research that focuses on the direction of foreign policy by presidential candidates before. Meanwhile, the practice of forecasting foreign policy has been a common study preferences in other countries, such as Britain (Vital, 2021), India (Pant, 2020), Russia (Lewis, 2022), China (Lanteigne, 2020) and many more. Thus, this study will lay a map for future analysis on the direction of foreign policy according to the presidential candidates' vision and mission. This uniqueness of this research will complete the missing connection and research gap that will perpetuate the presidential candidates' vision and mission to the implication in the future year.

The aim of this research will elaborate the nexus of Indonesian presidential candidates' view of global issues and its coherence with the political communication that they do in the mass media. This research argues that it is necessary to keep track on the presidential candidates' view and their consistency towards global issue. Indonesia, as the leader of some prestigious international institutions, must take global issue seriously as it may affects national and regional issue as well.

## **Theoretical Framework**

In this article, instead of merely going about actor-specific theory, the discussion will instead revolve around the context of global issues and the future foreign policy in Indonesia. Actor-specific hypothesis is basic when there are genuine oppose disagreements inside the government approximately the leading outside approach choice to form (Hudson & Vore,

1995). This article tries to analyze the point of the future Indonesian foreign policy according to the theories. When examining the foreign policy of a country, many things need to take into account in the process. The dynamics of fluctuated global issues will influence the policy maker to formulate foreign policy to cater with the situation.

Some key elements in the foreign policy analysis are focusing in the national governance and their responds to the global dynamics (Hutabarat, 2005). The main goal of foreign policy is always the fulfilment of national interest. Essentially, all relations built by the country to other countries or entities, are solely for the benefit of its society's well-being. The kind of idea usually well received from the realist paradigm. Many have voiced their concern that the realism theory might be obsolete in the bygone cold-war era (Więclawski, 2017). Realism might be simply understood by process or mean to generate power and gain interest as stated by (Czaputowicz, 2004). Yet, one of the leading figures of classical realism (Morgenthau, 1948) although he acknowledges the politics nature that is antagonistic and prone to conflict, he rejects the normalization of brutal power politics and promotes moderation, self-restriction and responsibility of the leaders of politics in deescalating any potential radical conflict. In its relations with the countries' struggle to maintain international relations with other countries for its own benefit, there is a common term that is usually used, namely 'state centric realism'. This paradigm puts forward the importance of sovereignty, security and independence to conceptualize national interest (Spies, 2019). Overall, the state centric realism perceives the world as the arena of competition. The states are competing with others not only to get the resources they need but also to show case their power and put them on apex position of hierarchy. Competitive is the word that best describe the perspective of neo-realism. It is not as intimidating as realism, but it conceptualizes the realization of every country to compete with others globally. The range of competitiveness in the global area described in the agenda of presidential candidates are vary from boasting the nation's capacity and capability compared to other countries, any attempt of protectionism of national interest, the eagerness to win over other countries and others.

Other than state centric realism paradigm and its realization that the world is full of competition, there is another realization that cooperation is needed to survive in this global

scope. Cooperation is a salient issue that is tried to pursue both strong and weak countries in order to fulfill their need. In the era of globalization, in which every entity is being connected more than ever, the necessity of society is increasingly getting broader. This becomes the turn out point where cooperation, especially among countries, is needed the most. Many previous researchers believe that idealism is the anti of realism in international relations. The stance of idealism cannot be divided from Wilson's dream to cooperate which is inspired by the Grotius heritage. Wilson also perceived politics is the achievement of common identification (Badie, 2001). There are also some points in the idealism that differs it from realism, such as the priority of individual freedom and supranational structure, the consideration of low politics, moral value and cooperation (Noor, 2022). In this research, the perspective of idealism will be seen only from the willingness to cooperate with other countries or entities. The range of cooperation willingness that will be assessed in this article is ranging from the agenda to cooperate in many aspects with other countries and entities, ease the process of free and fair trade, sharing local cultural values to other countries, and many more attempt to build cooperation and collaboration among countries and entities.

The last one is a paradigm that sees the world from the green perspective. This is said to be the newest theory in the international relation (Patterson, 2005). Although this theory only become popular in 1990, it has been existed long before that. It is in 1960s, the realization of public about global environmental crisis arose and became the tragedy of common (Dyer, 2017). The fact that climate change becomes deteriorate and causes many natural disasters as well as limited resources, has made it into global attention. Green theory belongs in the critical theory. The base of green theory is the interests in environment itself rather than only the interests of humanity in environment. Green theory often loses its popularity compared to other theory in international relations. The greens who have frustrated with the lack of recognition of the nature challenge in international relations turned to the interdisciplinary science of ecology. In the early 1990s the basic of green principle often used to analysis situation that is consistent with it. That is the born of global-ecology which is led by prominent ecologist such as Pratap Chatterjee and Matthias Finger, Vandana Shiva, Wolfgang Sachs, and magazines such as Third World Resurgence and The Ecologist (Patterson, Green Politics, 2005). In the discussion of this article, any attempt in the agenda

of foreign policy by presidential candidates that put significance on nature and renewable energy for global usage regardless the nature of cooperation or competition with other countries will be labelled as eco-global.

## **Method**

This method using qualitative method in the process of data analysis. The data collection is purely using library research that is obtained through some primary resources. The primary resources that are used in this research are vision and mission documents of presidential candidates, Instagram post by presidential candidates from October 1<sup>st</sup> to November 5<sup>th</sup> 2023 (as that was the period from the registration of candidacy to General Elections Commission/Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU up to this article was made), and presidential candidates' view on center of strategic and international studies (CSIS) about direction and strategy of foreign policy. The data were then analyzed using international relation theory to map out the future direction of Indonesian foreign policy.

## **Result and Discussion**

### *Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar*

The pair has made a nick name which is AMIN (Anies and Muhaimin). The vision of this pair is: Just and Prosperous Indonesia for All

Mission:

1. Ensuring the Availability of Basic Needs and Low Costs of Living through Food Independence, Energy Security and Water Sovereignty.
2. Alleviating Poverty by Expanding Business Opportunities and Creating Jobs, Creating Fair Wages, Guaranteeing Economic Progress Based on Independence and Equity, and Supporting Indonesian Corporations to Succeed in Their Own Country and Grow on the Global Stage.
3. Realizing Sustainable Ecological Justice for Future Generations
4. Building Humane, Just and Mutually Developing Area-Based Cities and Villages.

5. Creating Indonesian Humans who are Healthy, Smart, Productive, Moral and Cultured.
6. Creating a Prosperous and Happy Indonesian Family as the Root of the Nation's Strength.
7. Strengthening the National Defense and Security System, as well as increasing Indonesia's role and leadership in the global political arena to realize national interests and world peace.
8. Restoring the quality of democracy, upholding law and human rights, eradicating corruption without favoritism, and implementing a government that supports the people.

From eight missions above, the pair elaborated them into several agendas. These are some agendas of Anies-Imin that concern about global issues:

Eco-Global	Cooperative Agenda	Competitive Agenda
Page 9: Global Climate Crisis	Page 21: Realizing energy production and export planning that is oriented towards national interests, taking into account security of supply and domestic reserves; Establishing cooperation with energy producing countries, including countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Central Asia and the Middle East, to obtain cheap energy; Increasing national fuel oil (BBM) stocks to a safe level, to guarantee fuel availability and enable careful import planning to get the best price; Utilizing green financing with competitive interest rates, and realizing carbon trading and carbon exchange opportunities to obtain cheap funding sources from abroad	Page 17: This will reduce dependence on imports of strategic food products, reducing the risk of a food crisis due to global dynamics
Page 19: Implementing sustainable forest management, and stopping forest deforestation, especially in Kalimantan, Sumatra and Papua, to maintain its function as the lungs of the world.	Page 31: Simplify the process of starting and running a business, including in terms of: (1) obtaining business licenses, (2) managing building permits, (3) obtaining access to electricity, (4) registering property, (5) export-importing, (6) paying taxes, (7) protection for investors, (8) obtaining certainty over contracts, and (9) obtaining credit	Page 18: Agenda 1st mission Minimize imports and increase food production to reduce risks and fluctuations in food supply due to climate change and geopolitical dynamics;
Page 42: Increase the role of NRE in the mixed national energy to withstand the rate of climate change and pollution, save foreign exchange, and break away from dependence on imports energy; Achieve the annual emission target (2030) to succeed the Net Zero Emission (NZE) target by 2060 and support champion projects in collaboration with several local governments to pursue NZE by 2050;.	Page 50: Realizing the potential of urban tourism through the development of facilities, services, activities, branding and other aspects that attract domestic and global tourists;	Page 25: Enforcement of labor regulations to regulate the role of Foreign Workers (TKA), including by eradicating illegal TKA; Encourage the business world to recruit and stimulate more local workers, including by limiting and disincentivizing excessive use of foreign workers;
Page 43: Prioritizing policies and programs that support the fulfillment of Indonesia's commitment to help reducing the rate of global warming.	Page 61: Improve the quality of teachers and school education personnel through various further education trainings and scholarships, both at home and abroad;	Page 29: Ensure that all tax incentives, including tax holidays and tax allowances, are implemented in a planned and controlled manner to generate optimal economic benefits with minimal fiscal risk; Managing foreign exchange traffic towards a competitive and resilient economy to global shocks; Anticipating global geopolitical and economic developments in order to maintain economic stability in the future;
Page 45: Making Indonesia one of the successful examples of economies that optimize recycling in the world; Making Indonesia a B3 waste import ban zone and encouraging Indonesia to become a plastic bag-free region.	Page 63: Expanding access for health workers to improve their competence by increasing training and scholarships for further education (master's/post graduate degree) both at home and abroad;	Page 32: Building industrial estates, especially in various regions outside Java based on local resources and connected to global supply chains; Developing an integrated national infrastructure through careful planning to optimize the double effect for the region's economy; Utilizing Indonesia's strategic position between two oceans and two world economic centers, by developing trade centers in the Strait of Malacca and its supporting industries, including: maritime hubs, container ports, maritime-based industries and services, commodity markets, trade, manufacturing, and property centers; Reforming integrated governance of sea areas to realize the advantages of the "blue economy" underpinned by the security and safety of shipping throughout Indonesian waters, including the protection of waters from foreign intruders; Developing transportation systems and sea ports connected to global maritime hubs and transportation systems integrated with land infrastructure to grow industry in Central and Eastern Indonesia; Improve the quality and economic value of various marine products both produced by cultivation and catch with technological and industrial approaches for domestic consumption and export; Eliminate illegal, unregulated, and unreported (IUU) fishing practices; Increase non-tariff import barriers and supervise business competition in preventing increased imports of creative products (including fashion, hijab, and batik) through digital platforms and predatory pricing practices.
Page 47: Develop international standard carbon economy instruments and best practices in encouraging innovation in environment-based activities and developing the potential value of carbon economy at the international level; Take a central role in	Page 67: Encourage the formation of a new Indonesian culture derived from local cultural heritage and be selective, adaptive and corrective to global cultural flows.	Page 36: Building an industrial design center under the Ministry of Industry that directly serves the needs of research, design, and product engineering for the manufacturing industry with priority



<p>climate diplomacy by applying the value of climate justice, as well as maximizing international financing to finance the climate crisis.</p>	<p>Economics Diplomacy: Initiating, encouraging, and facilitating international cooperation carried out by government and non-government parties to benefit from various world economic activities; Strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation, including agreeing on trade agreements such as Free Trade Agreements (FTA) and Limited Trade Agreements (PTA) to boost the competitiveness and attractiveness of Indonesian products; Strengthening Indonesia's position in various global financial institutions, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Asian Development Bank (ADB), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and Islamic Development Bank (IDB) to maximize international support for Indonesia's development finance; Strengthening Indonesia's economic cooperation with developed countries that provide economic and technological transfers for Indonesia's progress, such as the G20, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the Organization of Asia-Pacific Nations (APEC); Encourage full implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and regional comprehensive economic agreement (RCEP) to advance economic equity in the Southeast Asian region and have a dual effect on Indo-Pacific economic growth; Encourage increased global south economic cooperation with developing countries to create regional economic progress and justice together; Balancing Indonesia's position in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), BRICS, and World Trade Organization (WTO), to take optimal benefits for the Indonesian economy. ((FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON JUSTICE AND PROGRESS)) Implementing Indonesia's foreign policy based on international values and norms; Positioning Indonesia as a balancing force of the global order capable of preventing the domination of certain powers that harm developing and Non-Aligned countries; Affirming Indonesia's position as a regional order power in the Indo-Pacific region; Activate the leadership role of Indonesia and ASEAN in the Indo-Pacific dynamics in order to create peace, economic growth, and justice in the region; Strengthening Indonesia's position as a connecting force for various global connectivity initiatives to realize a peaceful, stable, and conducive Indo-Pacific region to national development; Strengthen defense diplomacy with countries in the Indo-Pacific region to build world confidence in Indonesia's use of force for peace; Strengthening Indonesia's sovereignty in border areas and in the outer islands through modernization of guard posts and border crossings on land, military patrols and Indonesian coast guards at sea according to sovereign boundaries, and economic empowerment of communities on borders/outer islands; Harmonize the spatial planning of national and regional areas with the spatial planning of defense areas and national strategic areas; Optimize the resolution of border issues with other countries and other security issues, through peaceful diplomacy and international trust building. ((BRAND INDONESIA AS SOFT POWER KNOWN TO THE WORLD)) Assign each Ambassador, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia and representative offices around the world to act as an ambassador of Indonesian trade promoting Indonesian products; Starting a wave of culture and creation that showcases Indonesian brands on a global scale through incentives for creative industry players in Indonesia; Initiating performances of Indonesian culture and creations abroad, strengthening cultural diplomacy through international forums, and digitizing databases of Indonesian culture and creations that can be accessed by the world community; Encouraging education as a means of spreading the Indonesian brand through: (1) expansion of cooperation and assistance to study about Indonesia abroad, (2) exchange of Indonesian students to study at leading universities abroad, (3) increase the number of scholarships for students and lecturers for studies, internships and research abroad, (4) encourage scholarships for foreign students to study and research in Indonesia, and (5) intensification of cooperation with universities from countries that are advanced in the field of technology; Making culinary a means of spreading Indonesian brands throughout the world through facilitation and incentive schemes from Indonesian representatives abroad to start an expansion program for Indonesian culinary MSME centers abroad as well as export incentives and offshoring of the Indonesian F&amp;B industry worldwide; Making sports a means of Indonesian brands that are oriented towards improving achievements and reputation in the eyes of the world through coaching, developing, and equitable progress of various sports, especially those competed in world sports events, including by ensuring the welfare of outstanding athletes and full support for sports organizations; Optimizing the role of tourism as the key to Indonesia's brand recognition through the creation of inclusive tourism that accommodates local communities, supported by initiatives to equalize tourist attractions throughout Indonesia; Intensifying Indonesia's role and brand in the humanitarian sector through improving Indonesia Aid operations to countries in need of assistance. (( DIPLOMACY BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE)) Creating international order and regulations that are in accordance with the aspirations and interests of the Indonesian people and the world community through the placement of Indonesian representatives in international forums; Involving the Indonesian diaspora living in all corners of the world as promoters of Indonesian products as well as playing an important role as a pulling-factor for the export of Indonesian products by providing several incentives; Initiating the involvement of Indonesian citizens who want to spread their wings to participate in introducing Indonesian brands abroad through immigration incentives and facilities; Making it easier for non-state actors in Indonesia to carry out transnational cooperation to facilitate economic and social collaboration between countries; Creating an equal labor cooperation framework for all parties to support technology transfer and ensure decent work for each party involved; Initiating support for the Indonesian diaspora that supports the spread of Indonesian brands to people across classes around the world; Intensify legal protection and certainty for Indonesian citizens abroad, especially for migrant workers, underprivileged students, and other Indonesian citizens who face legal and social problems that characterize injustice abroad; Increase the participation of Indonesian women in national foreign policy to create more inclusive diplomacy and cooperation. ((WORLD ORDER BASED ON</p>	<p>products needed by the community while increasing Indonesia's competitiveness in the global market;</p>
		<p>Page 85: Encourage and strengthen the International Relations of the National Police to prevent and solve transnational crimes;</p>

	<p>FREEDOM, LASTING PEACE, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE)) Maintaining the mandate of the Dasasila Bandung KAA 1955 by spreading the values of sovereignty, justice, and human rights, as well as acting as an initiator of peace resolutions and defenders of oppressed countries; Take a central role in economic, political, research and technological cooperation, among developing countries (south-south cooperation) bilaterally, regionally, and globally to create progress and justice in the global south economy; Acting as an important member in international forums, such as the G20, OIC, and OECD, so that Indonesia can contribute directly and participate in determining the world policy framework; Initiating sustainable economic cooperation among countries and the world community in meeting the 2030 SDGs in accordance with the local / regional context and supporting the emergence of other indicators based on national well-being and national environmental boundaries; Initiating green cooperation that accommodates the aspirations and situations of each country in the world through climate change handling programs and mechanisms that meet the principles of climate justice; Initiating the development of the blue economy through economic cooperation, sustainable research and innovation between developed and developing countries in accordance with the SDGs target; Become an important actor in the world peace campaign by playing a role in the UN Peace Force, expanding the role of global conflict peace mediators, affirming Indonesia's leadership in formulating the world peace agenda, and being actively involved in solving world humanitarian problems, including Palestine; Improving Indonesia's position as a country that promotes inclusivity and religious tolerance which is a blessing for the universe and increased interfaith cooperation within the framework of international organizations. ((INDONESIAN NATIONAL ARMY (TNI))) Formulate Indonesia's defense strategy that is relevant to the development of the national and international situation; Analyze the potential world dynamics that affect Indonesia's defense strategy in the post-2045 era and prepare Indonesia's defense forces to deal with it adaptively and by building alertness and competence; Pushing the title of strategic force from Sabang to Merauke, supported by a flexible and adaptive Army, a Navy that became a blue water navy, and an Air Force that was automated and capable of achieving air supremacy; Realizing the professionalism of all TNI through increasing the readiness and combat training of all TNI units according to the duties and functions of each unit, as well as ensuring the welfare of soldiers and their families; Encouraging the availability of contemporary and adaptive defense equipment to opponent capabilities through the completion of the Minimum Essential Force program, the improvement and implementation of the post-2024 Essential Force program, and the procurement of network-centric defense equipment; Increase innovation, production, and defense technology through technology transfer, acquisition of high-tech defense equipment, and strengthening the domestic defense industry; Developing space defense technology in cooperation with national institutions and other relevant Ministries/Agencies, through the development of communication satellites, navigation, remote sensing, and observation and surveillance intelligence; Encourage the number of female TNI to fill high-ranking officer positions and increase the minimum percentage of women in each TNI recruitment. ((ADAPTIVE AND COMPETENT TO NEW NON-TRADITIONAL THREATS)) Creating a comprehensive national resilience strategy for Indonesia to adapt to unconventional threats within the grey zone as well as cross-dimensional hybrid warfare; Improve Indonesia's ability to address cyber threats as part of terrorism or unconventional warfare; Preparing Indonesia to face security threats from the food, energy, environmental, and health sectors that can arise due to natural disasters, political dynamics, economic warfare, pandemics, hybrid warfare, and others; Encourage the strengthening of Indonesia's maritime security through multilateral cooperation to confront non-state threats such as illegal extraction of marine resources, sea piracy, drug smuggling, trafficking in persons, deliberate destruction of the maritime environment, and territorial disputes.</p>	
	Page 82: Provide legal assistance and protection for the poor, vulnerable groups and Indonesian citizens living abroad.	
	Page 91: Sumatra Bridge to Global Community	
	Page 92: Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi) becomes a sustainable and global economic and business center	

From the data shown on the table, it can be concluded that there are several issues that the presidential candidate pairs seen as major concern. In the eco-global group, the pairs address the importance to overcome global climate crisis. In the cooperative point of view, Anies-Imin stresses the importance of cooperation and collaboration in multi layers in economical, educational, and cultural fields. Whilst, in the competitive agenda, it was suggested the need to maintain national interest over global dynamics. The pairs have also stated the precaution measures in the uncertainty level of economic development and geopolitical changes.

*Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo and Gibran Rakabuming Raka*

The vision of Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka for the election is: Together Indonesia Progresses Towards a Golden Indonesia 2045

Mission:

1. Strengthening the movement to eradicate corruption more systematically by strengthening the Corruption Eradication Commission, Police, Prosecutor's Office and Judiciary.
2. Making the Corruption Eradication Committee a center of excellence in efforts to eradicate preventive corruption through collaboration to provide direct education with the primary, secondary and higher education sectors.
3. Guaranteeing not to intervene with the Corruption Eradication Committee, the Police, the Prosecutor's Office and the Judiciary in enforcing corruption cases.
4. Strengthening anti-corruption education programs for the younger generation, as well as collaborating with the private sector to strengthen the synergy of the anti-corruption movement in the private and public sectors.
5. Giving priority to eradicating corruption in sectors that are correlated with improving people's livelihoods and protecting public resources such as agriculture, rural areas, fisheries, education, health, forestry, natural resources and labor.
6. Building corruption control in the National Logistics System which integrates the transportation, trade with agriculture, fisheries, maritime and rural sectors so that it not only encourages ease of doing business but also efficiency in production costs.
7. Guaranteeing and enforcing the process of handling legal issues professionally, transparently and with integrity and prevent the law from being used as a political tool of power.
8. Upholding the supremacy of law without discrimination, fairness and transparency, and preventing the use of law as a political tool of power.

The pair of Prabowo-Gibran also made some agendas in order to reach their mission and vision, the agendas are:

Eco-Global	Cooperative	Competitive
Page 7: This is all we must do in the midst of global economic uncertainty, geopolitical uncertainty, and the climate change crisis that is now in our midst.	International leadership and influence are increasing.	Page 11: Prolonged conflicts in Ukraine and in Palestine could increase food and energy prices by disrupting the smooth running of global supply chains.
Page 45: Reducing dependence on fossil energy while making Indonesia the king of world green energy (super power) in the field of new and renewable energy (renewables) and energy based on vegetable raw materials (bioenergy).	Page 33: Strengthening the defense and security of the country and the maintenance of conducive international relations. Prosperity and peaceful life will be created in a conducive and secure state condition. A strong nation is able to do and create anything that it aspires to and will respect in dignified relations between nations.	Page 12: Rivalry between two superpowers over Taiwan could threaten the smooth supply chain of food, energy, and trade that passes through the Indonesian Seaborne Currents (eg. Strait of Malacca) and the North Natuna Sea. Global Economic Slowdown: Economic weakness and possible recession in advanced countries suppress demand for Indonesia's export products and increase benchmark interest rates, putting pressure on the Rupiah.
	Page 43: Continue to play an active role in creating world peace in bilateral and multilateral forums in accordance with the mandate of the constitution. Strengthening Indonesia's supremacy and leadership at the global level amidst the dynamics of international geopolitics through diplomacy based on the principle of free-active.	Page 37: Cultural preservation programs, increasing the creative economy, and increasing sports achievements will lift Indonesia's image at the international level.
	Page 47: Build a fishing fleet to serve the sea in the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) with the PPPP (Public Private People Partnership) scheme so that fishermen can get capital and larger vessels. Accelerate the completion of Indonesia's maritime boundary agreements with 10 neighboring countries.	Page 40: Strengthening the protection of Indonesian workers, especially abroad.
	Page 48: Accelerate the completion of Indonesia's maritime boundary agreements with 10 neighboring countries and continue to prioritize the principles of sovereignty and people's welfare in the good neighbor policy scheme.	Page 42: Restoring the prestige of Indonesia's foreign policy as a large and sovereign country in the eyes of the international community. Implementing a smart diplomacy strategy in ensuring the needs and unity of the Republic of Indonesia. Improve protection services for all Indonesian citizens abroad. Strengthening maritime diplomacy strategies to affirm sovereignty and improve security throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Strengthening diplomatic support for Palestinian independence and sovereignty efforts, among others, by fighting for the opening of the Indonesian Embassy in Palestine.
	Page 56: Improve the quality of religious education such as Islamic boarding schools and provide scholarships for students to continue their education both at national and international levels.	Page 49: Innovation is also needed in the development of the national creative industry. With its unique culture and wealth of local resources, the creative industry has the potential to become the main driver of the economy and at the same time strengthen the nation's image in the eyes of the world.
	Page 57: Improving the quality of the education system throughout Indonesia, one of which emphasizes the output of creative and innovative individuals who are globally qualified.	Page 50: Tighten the entry of foreign workers (TKA) through the establishment of a TKA Supervision Task Force to protect domestic workers.
	Page 60: Building export-import gateway ports and international transshipment hubs, especially at ports with a significant share of export-import transportation.	Page 55: Strengthening the National Education system to improve the quality of productive and globally competitive human resources.
	Page 67: Improve the quality of service and protection of Indonesian Citizens (WNI) abroad. Actively involve the potential of the Indonesian diaspora in realizing national interests by expanding access and improving facilities for Indonesians abroad which includes former Indonesian citizens, children of former Indonesian citizens, and foreign nationals whose biological parents are Indonesian citizens who live or work abroad.	Page 58: Providing old age guarantees for athletes who excel at the world level. Increase support in the form of infrastructure and finance in the world of sports to increase the achievements of the Indonesian contingent in prestigious events such as the Asian Games, Olympics, and World Cup.
	Page 69: Improve the investment climate with regulatory certainty that is friendly, transparent, and competitive with other countries.	Page 59: Thus, not only being a country producing raw materials, but Indonesia can also become a producer and manufacturer of quality products and can compete in the international arena.
		Page 73: Ensuring the sustainability and advancing the Indonesian traditional art ecosystem so that Indonesia is avoided as a world cultural consumer country. Intensify and expand cultural diplomacy in international forums to fight for national cultural heritage to become world cultural heritage.

The presidential candidate pair of Prabowo-Gibran has some priorities in their agenda. In the eco-global, the pairs put much attention on the climate change and renewable energy. Meanwhile, the pairs found some values need to be uphold and continued such as free-active principle. Furthermore, the pairs highlighted some points in cooperative realm such as cooperation in maritime, education, economy, and sovereignty. Unlike the previous two pairs of presidential candidates, Prabowo-Gibran showed more agendas in perceiving global issues as a competitive realm. Some of the concerns are precaution of global supply chain amidst global conflicts, protection, and support for national interest.

*Ganjar Pranowo and Mohammad Mahfud*

The pair, that is well-known as Ganjar-Mahfud MD, stated their vision in the Indonesian general election as follow: Towards a Superior Indonesia - Fast Action to Realize a Just and Sustainable Maritime Country

Mission:

1. Accelerate the development of superior Indonesian people who are qualified, productive and have personality.
2. Accelerate mastery of Science and Technology through accelerating independent Research and Innovation (R&I).
3. Accelerate independent economic development based on knowledge and added value.
4. Accelerate equitable economic development.
5. Accelerate the development of a national digital system.
6. Accelerate the realization of a sustainable environment through a green and blue economy.
7. Accelerate the implementation of substantive democracy, respect for human rights, just rule of law and professional security.
8. Accelerate increasing Indonesia's role in realizing a new, more just world order through a free and active foreign policy and strengthening national defense.

The third pair of presidential candidates has developed some strategies in order to achieve their vision and mission. The strategies can be seen in the following table:

Eco Global Agenda	Cooperative Agenda	Competitive Agenda
Page 48: Superior Maritime. Strengthening maritime connectivity capacity through improving the quality of maritime human resources, sea transportation facilities and infrastructure, optimizing the use of sea lanes and check points, supported by a sea transportation management system that is integrated with regional and international trade routes; Global Maritime Tourism: Development of marine tourism areas, Special Economic Zones for marine tourism, as well as increasing the investment attractiveness of maritime tourism; Addressing Marine Pollution: Implementing strict regulations to address marine pollution, including pollution that crosses national borders.	Page 1: The global order which continues to move towards becoming a multipolar world demands Indonesia's role in implementing a world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. This has consequences for the defense and security structures that support international solidarity.	Page 30: Made in Indonesia: Increasing domestic production capacity to meet domestic needs and national industrial growth, as well as placing Indonesia in a strategic competitive position in the global market.
	Page 22: Indonesian Arts and Culture, Pride of the World; Real support for all Indonesian works of art and cultural heritage so they can go global through data integration, sharp marketing, and helping local brands partner with big world brands.	Page 32: Indonesia Becomes the Main World Tourism Destination; Integrated, quality, local community-based and sustainable tourism development. Doubling super priority tourism destinations and expanding promotion of typical Indonesian tourist destinations to achieve the target number of foreign tourists of 30 million by 2029; Superior BUMN: Encourage more superior BUMN to compete in global and regional markets;
	Page 32: Optimization of international standardized and integrated national halal market and encourage halal product export with including UMKM in the supply chain of halal industry.	Page 42: Strong, Fast, Cheap Internet: A strong, fast and cheap internet connection will encourage digital activities to develop, be productive and have competitiveness at the international level; Fair Digital Platform Regulation: Regulating digital platforms,

		both national and multinational, for national interests based on the nation's personality.
	<p>Page 58: Accelerate the Increasing of Indonesia's Role in Realizing a New, More Just World Order through Free, Active Foreign Policy and Strengthening National Defense: Progressive Geopolitical Coexistence: Carrying out free, active politics with the principles of the Bandung Principles to fight for Indonesia's interests as the world's maritime axis. Strengthening Indonesia's autonomous global involvement in bilateral and multilateral forums in fighting for world peace. Strengthening commitment to support the struggle of the Palestinian people's movement; Embassy is the Spearhead of Indonesian Citizen Services: Strengthening diplomacy and embassies as the spearhead of exports, PMI protection and responsive Indonesian citizen services abroad: SAKTI Defense Modernization: Defense transformation based on the doctrine of the Universal People's Defense System (SISHANRATA) to form an Indonesian Defense Force that is fearless and equipped with SAKTI (Mighty with Technological Excellence 5.0) defense equipment, as well as strengthening the ability to protect the Republic of Indonesia's homeland by modernizing defense equipment and strengthening capabilities in facing threats and challenges. World Class Defense Security Industry: Encouraging independence as part of the global supply chain to meet defense and security needs which will strengthen the process of technology transfer, building defense power, national connectivity, and strengthening deterrence: Archipelago Defense Fortress: Develop strategic projection capabilities by developing anti-access and territorial deterrence strategies to secure territorial sovereignty and the implementation of sovereign rights in the EEZ, especially in maritime navigation corridors and the continental shelf, Indonesian aerospace and outer space.</p>	

From the datum on the table of Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD vision and mission, there can be some important points to highlight pertaining the global issues. In the realm of eco-global, Ganjar-Mahfud focuses more to the importance of maritime resources and sustainability. For other realms, the candidates pair showed more points in the cooperative realm than competitive ones. They focus on building partnership around international solidarity, global marketing, and sovereignty. The perception on Indonesian's position in the global competition is marked by three agendas that focuses on global market and digital capabilities. In the agenda of vision and mission from Ganjar-Mahfud, the global perspective is elaborated in the page 58, in which the vocal point is accelerating the increasing of Indonesia's role in realizing a new, more just world order through free-active foreign policy and strengthening national defense.

### *Comparison of international relations agenda of the candidates*

Candidates	Eco-global	Cooperative	Competitive
<b>Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar</b>	The pair puts concern on global climate crisis, deforestation, net zero emission, waste control.	Cooperation in fuel energy, business, tourism, education, culture, economy and security	reduce dependence on import; limit and disincentivize excessive use of foreign workers; Manage foreign exchange traffic towards a competitive and resilient economy to global shocks; Eliminate illegal, unregulated, and unreported (IUU) fishing

			practices: Increase non-tariff import barriers and supervise business competition in preventing increased imports of creative products; Encourage and strengthen the International Relations of the National Police to prevent and solve transnational crimes
<b>Prabowo Subianto – Ghibran Rakabuming Raka</b>	Reducing dependence on fossil energy, climate change crisis	International leadership and influence; maintenance of conducive international relations; create world peace in bilateral and multilateral forums; Strengthen Indonesia's supremacy and leadership; Accelerate the completion of Indonesia's maritime boundary agreements with 10 neighboring countries; Improve the quality of religious education; Build export-import gateway ports and international transshipment hubs; Improve the quality of service and protection of Indonesian Citizens (WNI) abroad; Improve the investment climate	Concern about disrupting of global supply chains; Global Economic Slowdown; image at the international level; Strengthen the protection of Indonesian workers; Restore the prestige of Indonesia's foreign policy; Strengthen maritime diplomacy strategies to affirm sovereignty and improve security; Strengthen diplomatic support for Palestinian independence and sovereignty efforts; Tighten the entry of foreign workers; Strengthen the National Education ; increase the achievements of the Indonesian contingent in prestigious events; Become producer and manufacturer of quality products and can compete in the international arena; fight for national cultural heritage to become world cultural heritage.
<b>Ganjar Pranowo- Mahfud MD</b>	Addressing Marine Pollution	Implementing a world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. This has consequences	Placing Indonesia in a strategic competitive position in the global market; Encourage more superior BUMN to

	<p>for the defense and security structures that support international solidarity; helping local brands partner with big world brands; encouraging halal product export with including UMKM in the supply chain of halal industry; accelerate the increasing of Indonesia's role in realizing a new, more just world order through free, active foreign policy and strengthening national defense; Strengthening Indonesia's autonomous global involvement in bilateral and multilateral forums in fighting for world peace; Strengthening commitment to support the struggle of the Palestinian people's movement; Strengthening diplomacy and embassies as the spearhead of exports</p>	<p>compete in global and regional markets;  Strong, Fast, Cheap Internet: A strong, fast and cheap internet connection will encourage digital activities to develop, be productive and have competitiveness at the international level; Fair Digital Platform Regulation: Regulating digital platforms, both national and multinational, for national interests based on the nation's personality.</p>
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From the table and explanation of vision and mission of all presidential candidates, it can be inferred that all of the candidates have given concern about eco-global, the view of world as cooperative realm and competitive one. Nevertheless, they have different and unique agendas to bring in the future of Indonesia if they are elected. The pair of Anies-Imin stated in their agenda many sectors in international relations from climate crisis, tourism, education, economy, international security, and others. One of the topics that will become the pull card from this pair is brand Indonesia as soft power known to the world. This part is rather unique, since the soft power diplomacy was once used and became the character of Indonesian foreign policy under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as Indonesian sixth president. Meanwhile, the pair of Prabowo-Gibran focuses their foreign concern on sovereignty and nation independency. The second pair also adopt the good neighbor policy



which is also the continuation of the foreign policy under Indonesian former president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). On the other hand, the pair of Ganjar-Mahfud showed their utmost attention on building maritime zone. Coming from the party that is also incumbent party of the previous Indonesian presidential election, the agenda is continuing President Joko Widodo's legacy in the first term to build Indonesia to become global maritime axis. The decision of these pairs to continue the former president's agenda is a good sign to build a better sustainable foreign policy that will strengthen Indonesia's stance globally.

## **Conclusion**

Indonesia will undergo the biggest democracy celebration in February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2024. The lineup of presidential candidates have been decided and approved by KPU. Meanwhile, in the international real, there have been many issues that needs attention and may influence the national condition. The three Indonesian presidential candidates, namely Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto and Ganjar Pranowo, have already stated their vision, mission and agendas should they are elected as the 8<sup>th</sup> president of Indonesia. There are some vision, mission and agendas that relates with the global issue that have been addressed by the candidates. The research shown that all Indonesian presidential candidates have made some agendas pertaining eco-global, cooperation and competition in the international realm. This study has also stated the consistency of the candidates in their vision, mission and agendas, and their post and speech in mass media. The limitation in this research is the period to observe any newer statement by the candidates before the election. This research can inspire other research in the future that focuses on foreign policy analysis and using this research to test the consistency of the candidates.

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