Abstract. In the article author writes about Indonesia’s foreign policy, strategies and its links with ASEAN. Historic observes to Indonesia’s foreign policy, the state ideology. Besides these author draws attention to the directive of the state since the beginning of the new century, Indonesia aims to achieve a strong foreign policy and diplomacy; increase foreign economic cooperation; to participate in the bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation. The article also analyses the role of politicians in developing foreign policy of Indonesia. Their qualities played main role in formulization of Indonesia’s foreign policy. Various factors which led Indonesia to determine its foreign policy are shown by author. Moreover, legal basis of foreign policy of Indonesia made the government’s goals possible to reach which are identified as measures of achieving directives. In whole, this article is an attempt to explore how Indonesian diplomacy is seeking to strengthen collective efforts of ASEAN member states to establishing a bridge between developed and developing countries which serves to mutual prosperity.

Keywords: foreign policy strategy, ASEAN, the directive of the state, bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation, regional "players", inter-religious dialogue.

As proclaimed in the mid 1940s The Indonesian state was able to finally complete its institutionalization process as an independent actor, despite the fact that Indonesia's Sukarno proclaimed independence on 17 August in 1945, which was mainly caused by a desire to reach a compromise between secular and Muslim nationalists.

Many of the ideas and views expressed by Indonesian leader significantly outperformed the period. He was the architect of the non-aligned movement and the peaceful coexistence of States with different political systems. In 1955, in Bandung, Sukarno offered one of the global projects of the twentieth century – the Bandung Code of peaceful coexistence, in which visible similarities with the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 were examined. In Belgrade on September 1, 1961, Sukarno had outlined its new vision of international relations and the global balance of power. He proposed the concept of new "emerging forces", considering world is not divided into three camps - Eastern, Western and non-aligned countries, but two – the "old established forces" and the "new emerging forces". Sukarno Foreign Policy indicated the continuation of the "third way" development. On April 11, 1965 he made a speech entitled "self-reliance", in which he noted that Indonesia has become "a beacon of hope vanguard" to the third-world countries. In essence, he was against the bipolar world, calling for a multi-polar

Referring to the sources of foreign policy of Indonesia, it is important to note that, as in any other country, it was formed as a result of various factors, including nation’s history, geographical conditions, demography, security and national interest. In 1948, these factors led Indonesia to determine its foreign policy as independent and active. In this context, the word "independent" meant that Indonesia itself is able to decide and determine its own position in relation to the world's problems without any external forces or influences. The word "active" meant that Indonesia is engaged in constructive efforts that help to establish and maintain peaceful relations. Due to the fact of being under control of colonial power for more than 300 years, Indonesia has had a foreign policy that was anti-colonialist.

The Russian researcher V. F. Urlyanov notes that, in its foreign policy, Indonesia abides by the following guidelines:
- Pancasila, the state ideology
- Wawasan Nusantara, (archipelagic meaning)
– National resilience
– Clear outlines of state policy.

The adoption of these guidelines in the Indonesian foreign policy was provided for by law No. 37/1999 "Foreign Relations" and by law No.24/2000 "Agreement". According to the directive of the state since the beginning of the new century, Indonesia aims to achieve a strong foreign policy and diplomacy; increase foreign economic cooperation; to participate in the bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation.

In order to achieve these objectives or directives, the following measures were identified: to establish Indonesia's international relations with the countries of the world; to develop economy and improve public welfare; provide assistance in strengthening national unity, stability and integrity to maintain national sovereignty; to develop bilateral relations, especially with countries that can support stable and beneficial trade relations in Indonesia by investing in order to help in the revival of the economy; as well as to promote international cooperation, which helps to build and maintain peace in the world.

In order to provide assurance for the fulfillment of the objectives, the foreign ministry is emphasizing the diplomatic relations with the countries that are within a series of concentric circles.

The main one which Indonesia regards as a priority in its foreign policy is the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN). In addition, Indonesia similarly understands the importance of promoting the relations with its eastern and southern neighbors, in the occurrence of Indonesia in the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), the South-west Pacific Dialog, and the Tripartite Consultation among Indonesia, Australia and East Timor.

The second concentric circle is ASEAN + 3 (ASEAN + 3, in the top three include Japan, China and South Korea). Indonesia is banking on the development of the relations with the United States and the European Union, which are the main economic partners of Indonesia.

In the next concentric circle, Indonesia has been cooperating with developing countries through various forums, such as the Non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Group of 77 (G77) and the Group of 15 (G 15), in which Indonesia has played an active role. Indonesian diplomacy in this circle is seeking to strengthen collective efforts of developing countries to establishing a bridge between developed and developing countries.

At the global level, Indonesia seeks to strengthen multilateralism through the United Nations, consistently stressing the central role of the UN and its collective responsibility of Member States in matters of world peace and security issues, respectively, rejecting all unilateral decisions that taken outside the UN.

Indonesia is trying to play an active role in the development of inter-religious dialog: since 2004 in the Asia and Pacific region and in 2005 Asia and the European region. In its activities in this direction, Indonesia has organized and sponsored the International Conference of Islamic theologians and Global dialog, 1-2 September 2006 in Bali.

The main challenges of Indonesian diplomacy at the modern stage is the creation of favorable external conditions for the security of the country, the strengthening of statehood and national unity, the preservation of the territorial integrity of Indonesia, as well as the promotion of social and economic development of the republic. The given problems are designated by realization of Indonesia’s inner policy which includes constant struggle with terrorist organizations and an increase in crime, as well as attempts to eradicate poverty as one of the sources of terrorism. The policy of Indonesia has been able to achieve the required level of security, including its security in touristic areas.

The analysis of the studied literature has shown that Indonesia's cooperation with the United States and the countries of the European Union is quit ambiguous and contradictory. For example, noting the crucial importance of political, trade and economic ties with the US, which is the main investor and the largest market for Indonesian goods, expresses negative reactions to attempts of interfering with the internal affairs of the country under the pretext of combating terrorism and the protection of human rights. The US, in turn, express their dissatisfaction with the position of Indonesia on the issues of Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran, which is in direct condemnation of unilateral action of Washington DC and defending thesis on the primacy of the role of the UN in the fighting against international terrorism. Jakarta residents met U.S. President Barack Obama with protest demonstrations, who arrived on a visit to Indonesia in late 2010. Obama refused to lay wreath at the memorial cemetery "Kalibata" to the monument's heroes, which is typically included in the visit programs of other heads of states.
On the other hand, the President of Indonesia S.B. Yudhoyono, with the support of the White House, has won the past presidential election in October 2004 and won a temporary lifting of restrictions on military-technical cooperation with the United States of Indonesia for a period of 1 year. U.S. President Barack Obama spoke at the University of "Indonesia" in the suburbs of Jakarta, addressing the Muslim world, which was delivered on the development of the June 2009 speech in Cairo.

In our point of view, the main complexity in the process of normalization of bilateral relations is the fact that the Indonesian leadership is forced to seek a compromise between the interests of Muslim majority of Indonesia, which is followed by pronounced anti-American positions while demonstrating its loyalty to Washington policy.

Development of cooperation of Indonesia with the EU is mainly based on attracting investments, financial assistance and procurement of military equipment. However, as in the case of the United States, countries of Western Europe are directly linked to the improvement of relations with Jakarta in the normalization of the situation in the sphere of human rights in Indonesia, the elimination of corruption at all levels of government and to the deepening democratic change in the society. With this in mind, the president continues to pursue the course of previous leadership of the republic, aimed at the expansion of contacts with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Russia and CIS countries, which are viewed by Jakarta as alternative sources of investment, high technology, and relatively low-cost modern weapons and military equipment.

In recent years, Indonesia has significantly improved its relations with China. During the visits in 2005 with heads of state, the parties had been able to move significantly in the deepening bilateral political and economic relations, removing many contradictions and to sign a number of important documents, including the Treaty on strategic partnership. In Jakarta, PRC is considered as a meaningful political, military and strategic and economic force, capable to compensate for trends to enhance the impact of the US in East Siberia. From these positions it is necessary to consider the visit of Indonesian delegation, led by the Coordinating Minister of the economy Aburizal Bakrie in China, held on June 2005. This visit was a direct continuation of bilateral agreements reached in 2005, during the visit of the President of China Hu Jintao in Indonesia, and was designed to prepare a response four-day visit by President of Indonesia, S.B. Yudhoyono to China. The key point of this event was to further strengthen political, economic and trade ties between the two countries, which has resulted in the signing of agreements to increase the amount of the next phase of the investment tranches from 300 to 400 million U.S. dollars on the same favorable terms (at a rate of 3% per annum for 15 years). In addition, the Government has expressed its willingness to accept a significant reduction in taxes and duties under the special investment projects, as well as the establishment of free-trade areas.

During the visit, Coordinating Minister called on the Chinese side to hold a proposal to establish a joint Sino-Indonesian Investment Forum, whose members shall be representatives of government agencies as well as representatives of private capital. In turn, the Chinese leadership has promised to consider and approve all of the proposals and initiatives of Indonesian side, expressing the thesis that with the signing in 2005, the "joint declaration on the strategic partnership China and Indonesia" has led to a new era of China-Indonesian relations.

Indonesia welcomed the outcome of President S.B. Yudhoyono's visit to China, during which the Presidents of the two countries signed a series of agreements, the most important of which are: "Agreement on Cooperation in the field of research and development of defense technologies," "Agreement on bilateral cooperation in the field of economy and industrial production" as well as "The agreement on bilateral cooperation in the development and deployment of an early warning of earthquakes and tsunamis." According to Western and Russian experts, the entire set of actions from the Chinese is aimed at expanding political and economic cooperation with Indonesia, points to the desire of the Chinese leadership to weaken the position of Japan in Southeast Asia. Moreover, given the recovery of former Indonesia's leading position in ASEAN, Beijing regards Jakarta as the most suitable partner in the implementation of its long-term plans. At the same time, the rapid growth of the Chinese economy and the rapid increase in available funds on the background of a significant weakening of the U.S. currency allows Beijing to pursue a flexible investment policy. Traditional lenders to Jakarta, which include the members of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), such as the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, Japan, the U.S. and others, can not compete with Chinese banks, and can not, in turn, offer loans on the same concessional terms. Another important result of
his visit was the signing of the decree by President of Indonesia on the development of the Chinese language in Indonesia. During the visit, the Chinese delegation stressed that the further deepening and development of relations will be possible only with the lifting of all restrictions on ethnic Chinese living in Indonesia, which were limited to their rights at the legislative level since the days of President Suharto. In Jakarta and Beijing believe that signed decree will represent a further step toward the normalization of the situation of the ethnic Chinese community.

One of the main trade partners of Indonesia continues to be Japan. As mentioned above, Japan is cooperating with Indonesia in the framework of the ASEAN 3. However, much attention is paid to the development of the bilateral dialogue. In 2009, the Government of Japan provided Indonesia a loan of $400 million to help implement the measures against global warming, at the end of 2007, Japan gave three patrol vessels to Indonesian marine police to increase security in the Malacca Strait, which is famous for its pirate attacks. In March 2011, the Japanese government officially referred to Indonesia with request to increase the supply of liquefied natural gas and crude oil in the wake of the devastating earthquake and tsunami that caused serious problems in the nuclear power plant "Fukushima-1" and "Fukushima-2."

The Indonesian government pays serious attention to the development of bilateral relations with Russia, which is seen in Jakarta as an influential political and military-strategic point of power, as well as a potentially important energy, trade and economic partner. In addition, the similarity of positions on key international issues, including the problems of Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, the fight against terrorism and separatism, the settlement of the situation in the Middle East, the role and place of the UN in the modern world, promotes a closer relationship between the two countries. Indonesia also welcomes the position of the Russian Federation, which consists in recognizing the importance of deepening regional economic development in ASEAN, leading role of ARF in the establishment of security in Southeast Asia. Russian-Indonesian relations have good prospects for expanding cooperation in various international organizations, especially in the interest of the world community underlined by the internal situation in Russia and Indonesia, and continuous attempts of the West to use the issue of human rights to put pressure on the leadership of the two countries. In this regard, it should be noted that pro-Russian position of Jakarta on Chechnya, which is clearly understood by the Indonesian side as a purely internal affair of the Russian Federation. In turn, the Indonesian leadership expresses its appreciation for the support of the Indonesian efforts, aimed at the preservation of the territorial integrity of the republic, the settlement of the situation in the "hot spots" and the fight against separatism. Priority is given to the continuation of bilateral military-technical cooperation, regarding the impact of the actions of the United States embargo on the supply of arms and military equipment to Indonesia, which has seriously undermined the fighting capacity of the Indonesian armed forces. In this matter, Russia is seen as an alternative source of modern, relatively inexpensive and easy to use weapons and military equipment. Fundamental importance to Jakarta is the fact that Russia, unlike the West, does not seek to link military supplies to the political requirements of violating the sovereignty of Indonesia.

The Indonesian leadership is a consistent supporter of the UN in the resolution of international problems and expressing the need to reform the organization, by increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council. Jakarta believes that, due to the chronic inability of the UN to resolve crisis through political means, the problem of increasing the credibility and effectiveness of the organization has acquired special urgency and calls for increased efforts by the world community.

As already mentioned, one of the priorities of the foreign policy efforts of the Government of Indonesia is the development of relations with partners in the Association of South-East Asia. Indonesian leadership is seeking to restore its traditional leading position in ASEAN undermined as a result of political and economic crisis in 1998 by broadening and deepening of regional cooperation. In this regard, Indonesia has put forward a number of initiatives in the area of regional security and the fight against terrorism, including the proposal to establish the ASEAN Security Community, which provides for the formation of a 2020 single operational and legal environment in Southeast Asia. The main point of this initiative was the idea of a peacekeeping mechanism in ASEAN to ensure security and stability in the region. At the same time, Indonesia responded to the Malaysian proposal to establish an East Asian Community (EAC), which, in the opinion of Jakarta, leads to the "blurring" ASEAN’s role, and generates additional regional structure with a duplicate existing mechanisms function as in the ASEAN 3. In the understanding of Indonesians, this leads to a weakening of the overall position of the Southeast Asian countries in establishing relationships with other international organizations of a regional nature.
Confident and consistent policy in the past to unite Indonesia Southeast Asian countries has led to the establishment of ASEAN as an organization. In the beginning of 2011, Indonesia received a great opportunity to enhance their role in ASEAN, when it officially became chairman of the Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN. The Secretary General of this regional organization Surin Pitsuwan mentioned: "This year Indonesia is going to lead ASEAN, with an official motto," One ASEAN Community in the global community of nations ", thus reflecting their willingness to further promotion of the association in the world." In turn, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Marty Natalegawa, said that "The contemporary world is radically different from the one in which the Association has existed previously, challenges of the second decade of the XXI century are complex and multifaceted, they occur simultaneously and have supranational nature. That’s why they require such decisions, which are by their comprehensive nature of cooperation both within regions and between themselves".

Today, the internal political and economic crisis in Indonesia, ASEAN’s largest country in terms of population, area and size of GDP, has a negative impact on the economic cooperation in the region. Despite the fact that the current foreign policy of the "new order" is characterized by a modest regional hegemony in ASEAN (in which Indonesia makes up 60% of the population), Indonesia continues to be a consistent supporter of development and strengthening the position of ASEAN in Southeast Asia and in the world, while also having a fear of losing their traditional role as a regional leader due to the dominance of economically more developed regional "players". Thus, the government of Indonesia opposes the transformation of ASEAN from economic to military-political bloc.

References