

## State Fundamental Consensus in Indonesia's Foreign Policy Implementation Amid Contemporary Global Geopolitical Dynamics: A Normative-Strategic Analysis

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### ABSTRACT

This research conducts an in-depth examination of the relationship between Indonesia's four fundamental state consensus: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945), Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) within the Wawasan Nusantara framework in the implementation of an independent-active foreign policy amidst increasingly complex and multipolar global geopolitical dynamics. This research employed a normative-strategic analytical approach integrated with Kenneth Waltz's Domestic Level of Analysis and middle power diplomacy conceptualization. Using literature study, the research finds that Pancasila as the ideological foundation functions as an ideological filter providing humanistic value orientation alongside a normative conflict resolution mechanism in diplomatic decision-making. Furthermore, the 1945 Constitution affirms the constitutional mandate of the independent-active principle, which in the multipolar era must be operationalized as strategic autonomy, namely Indonesia's capacity to maintain strategic maneuverability between major powers. Additionally, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika promotes an inclusive diplomatic approach that positions Indonesia as a unique bridging actor between the Islamic world, Asian democracy, and the global community. Finally, NKRI through Wawasan Nusantara shapes a maritime geopolitical identity that forms the basis for Indonesia's legitimate interest claims in the Indo-Pacific region. This study identifies five critical geopolitical arenas: the South China Sea dispute, Indo-Pacific rivalry, Middle East conflict, Myanmar crisis, and post-COVID-19 global governance and analyzes how fundamental state consensus provide normative guidance across each. The original contribution lies in developing the Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (PGF), a new analytical model that systematically connects domestic ideological foundations with Indonesia's foreign policy behavior.

**Keywords:** state fundamental consensus; foreign policy; geopolitics; wawasan nusantara; independent-active; strategic autonomy; middle power; pancasila-geopolitics framework.

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### INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century international relations arena, the relationship between a country's ideological identity and its foreign policy behavior is one of the most productive and controversial academic discourses. The question of whether the values and norms on which a country is founded really shape the orientation of foreign policy, or whether foreign policy is solely determined by the calculation of material interests and the distribution of power in the international system, has been a long-standing debate among constructivists, liberalists, and realists. For Indonesia, this debate is not just academic, but touches the core of national identity and the strategic direction of the nation on the global stage (Arasy & Nelwati, 2023; Jordan, 2022; Purnomo & Kurniawan, 2025; Solehudin, 2023).

Indonesia is a country with unique geopolitical characteristics: the largest archipelago in the world with more than 17,000 islands, a population of around 278 million people (BPS, 2024), the largest economy in Southeast Asia with a GDP of USD 1.37 trillion in 2023 (World Bank, 2024), as well as a geographical position that brings together two large oceans of the Pacific and the Indian and two continents of Asia and Australia. This uniqueness makes Indonesia not only an object of global geopolitical dynamics, but an actor that has the capacity to shape the architecture of the region significantly.

The ideological and constitutional foundations that shape Indonesia's national identity are manifested in four basic state consensus known as the Four Pillars of Nationality: (1)

Pancasila as the basis and philosophy of the state; (2) the 1945 Constitution (1945 Constitution) as a written basic law; (3) *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as a motto of unity in diversity; and (4) the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) in the framework of the Nusantara Insight as a national geopolitical perspective. These four consensuses are not merely a symbolic legacy of the nation's founders, but are a normative framework that is constantly referred to in the process of national policymaking, including foreign policy.

The contemporary global geopolitical context gives special urgency to this study. The world is undergoing the most dramatic power transition since the end of the Cold War: the rise of China as a global power challenging the hegemony of the United States, rising tensions in the South China Sea that directly intersect with Indonesia's sovereign interests in Natuna waters, the escalation of conflicts in the Middle East that test Indonesia's commitment to universal humanitarian principles, a global governance crisis marked by weakening of multilateral institutions, as well as the emergence of non-traditional security threats such as climate change, pandemics, and cybersecurity (Mearsheimer, 2019; Ikenberry, 2023; Allison, 2017).

In the midst of this complexity, Indonesia has taken a historically consistent path: a free-active foreign policy. The free-active principle formulated by Mohammad Hatta in 1948 and later codified in the 1945 Constitution rejects involvement in power blocs while proactively contributing to international peace and order. However, in the increasingly bipolar geopolitical landscape between Washington and Beijing, maintaining such strategic autonomy requires more than just the rhetoric of neutrality that requires a strong ideological foundation, consistent political will, and skilled diplomatic capacity (Wirajuda, 2021; Laksmana, 2019).

This research is here to fill a significant academic gap. Previous studies of Indonesia's foreign policy have generally been divided into two mainstreams: first, a structural-systemic approach that places Indonesia as an actor that responds to the pressures of external power distribution (Laksmana, 2019; Thayer, 2021); and second, an economic-interest approach that analyzes foreign policy solely as an instrument for achieving economic development goals (Karim, 2019; Ravenhill, 2021). Both tend to ignore the ideological-normative dimension that comes from the basic consensus of the state as a significant independent variable.

By using a normative-strategic analysis approach combined with the framework of the Waltz Domestic Analysis Level (1959) and the concept of middle power diplomacy (Cooper, 2011; Carr, 2014), this study argues that the basic consensus of the Indonesian state is not just domestic legitimacy, but rather a cognitive framework that substantively forms: (a) Indonesia's perception of geopolitical threats and opportunities; (b) the definition of long-term national interest; (c) the preference of policy instruments in multilateral diplomacy; and (d) the boundaries of coalitions and alliances acceptable to Indonesia.

The research proposes one central proposition: Indonesia's ability to maintain the relevance and consistency of its foreign policy in the midst of increasingly intense geopolitical pressure depends largely on how deeply policymakers and diplomatic practitioners understand and operationalize the values embodied in the country's four basic consensuses not as symbolic mantras, but as lively and adaptive strategic guidance.

This research fills a significant academic gap. Previous studies of Indonesia's foreign policy have generally divided into structural-systemic approaches focusing on external power distribution (Laksmana, 2019; Thayer, 2021) and economic-interest approaches analyzing

foreign policy as an instrument for development goals (Karim, 2019; Ravenhill, 2021). Both tend to ignore the ideological-normative dimension stemming from the state's basic consensus. Departing from predominantly descriptive prior studies, this research employs a normative-strategic analytical approach integrated with Kenneth Waltz's Domestic Level of Analysis and middle power diplomacy conceptualization. Using literature study, the research finds that Pancasila functions as an ideological filter providing humanistic value orientation and normative conflict resolution in diplomatic decision-making. The 1945 Constitution affirms the independent-active principle, operationalized as strategic autonomy in the multipolar era. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika promotes an inclusive diplomatic approach positioning Indonesia as a bridging actor between the Islamic world, Asian democracy, and the global community. NKRI through Wawasan Nusantara shapes a maritime geopolitical identity forming the basis for Indonesia's legitimate interest claims in the Indo-Pacific region. This study identifies five critical geopolitical arenas—the South China Sea dispute, Indo-Pacific rivalry, Middle East conflict, Myanmar crisis, and post-COVID-19 global governance—and analyzes how fundamental state consensus provide normative guidance across each. The original contribution lies in developing the Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (PGF), a new analytical model that systematically connects domestic ideological foundations with Indonesia's foreign policy behavior.

**Table 1.** Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (KPG): Transmission Mechanisms and Policy Implications

<b>Consensus Dasar</b>	<b>Transmission Mechanism</b>	<b>Geopolitical Functions</b>	<b>Example of Policy Implementation</b>
São Paulo	Value Orientation & Ideological Filter	Setting policy moral goals; Determining Ethically Acceptable Instruments	Support for Palestinian independence; active participation in UN peacekeeping missions; Rejection of biological-chemical weapons
Constitution 1945	Constitutional Legitimacy & Legal Mandate	Providing a legal basis for the principle of freedom of activity as a state obligation, not just a government choice	Refusal to join AUKUS; participation in the G20 as a strategic platform; South China Sea CoC negotiations through ASEAN
Bhinneka Tunggal Ika	Diplomatic Identity & Bridging Capital	Building legitimacy as a mediator across civilizations; Strengthening Soft Power Based on Pluralism Values	Forum Bali Democracy Forum; the G20 2022 implementation; Interfaith diplomacy through moderate Islamic organizations
NKRI / Wawasan Nusantara	Geopolitical Framing & Maritime Identity	Define areas of legal interest; form a defensive-active defensive posture; Claiming the status of an archipelago	Enforcement of the sovereignty of Natuna's EEZ; strengthening the Indonesian Navy in the Indo-Pacific region; ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP)

Source: Construction of the author's analysis based on the synthesis of the literature (2025)

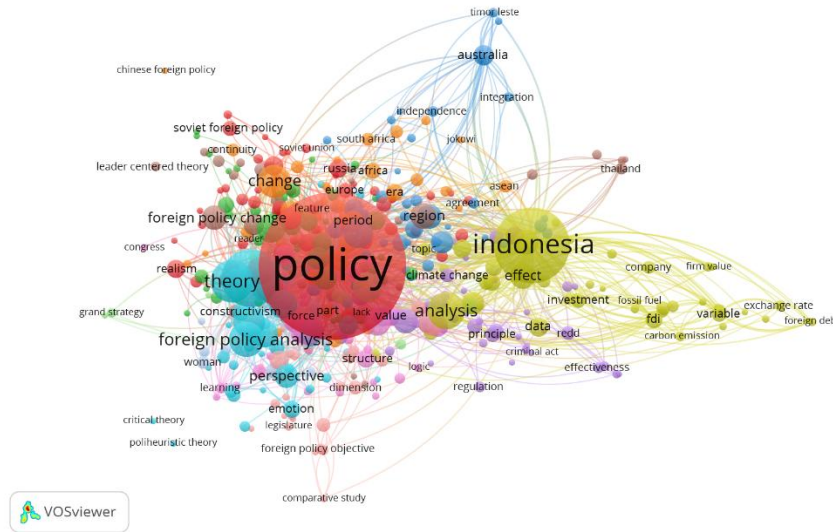
This research aims to analyze the transmission mechanisms through which Indonesia's four fundamental state consensuses Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and NKRI within *Wawasan Nusantara* shape foreign policy in the multipolar era, examine the operationalization of the free-active principle as strategic autonomy amidst US-China rivalry, evaluate Indonesia's diplomatic performance across five critical geopolitical arenas (South China Sea, Indo-Pacific, Middle East, Myanmar, and post-COVID-19 governance), and develop the Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (PGF) as a new analytical model. Offering both practical and theoretical benefits, this research provides policymakers and diplomats with an operational framework for utilizing ideological foundations as strategic assets, while contributing to academic literature by integrating domestic level of analysis with middle power diplomacy in Indonesia's context. Using literature study, the research finds that Pancasila functions as an ideological filter, the 1945 Constitution mandates strategic autonomy, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* enables Indonesia's role as a bridging actor, and NKRI through *Wawasan Nusantara* shapes a maritime geopolitical identity, with the original contribution being the PGF that systematically connects domestic ideological foundations with Indonesia's foreign policy behavior.

## **METHOD**

This study used a qualitative method with a Literature Study approach combined with normative-strategic analysis. The selection of the draft is based on the epistemological consideration that the study of the relationship between the ideological foundation of a country and its foreign policy orientation requires a comprehensive synthesis of various theoretical perspectives and empirical findings scattered in various academic sources.

The analysis was carried out through four systematic and sequential stages. The first stage is thematic codification, which is the grouping of sources based on the main themes relevant to the focus of the research. The second stage is in the form of conceptual mapping to identify key concepts, operational definitions, and relationships between concepts in the literature. The third stage is a cross-case comparative analysis to find patterns of consistency and contradiction in the application of the country's basic consensus in various Indonesian foreign policy contexts. The fourth stage is an interpretive synthesis that aims to formulate a new theoretical proposition in the form of the Pancasila-Geopolitical Framework (KPG). The internal validity of the research is maintained through the triangulation of sources from a variety of different academic perspectives, while external validity is sought through the selection of representative cases and the use of tested analytical frameworks.

This research is also supported by previous studies that are relevant as reference materials to strengthen the analysis. The literature search process is carried out through the Publish or Perish application using keywords related to "Indonesian Foreign Policy" The data obtained is to provide an overview of the development of an issue and the results will provide an overview to the researcher. In addition, VOSviewer provides knowledge about the most widely published previous research. Here is an image of the visualization using VOSviewer.



**Figure 1.** Visualization of VOSviewer Keyword "Indonesian Foreign Politics"  
 Source: (VOSviewer, 2026)

Based on the results of the research above, the research points were generated from the analysis of 1000 journals with the keyword "Indonesian Foreign Policy". Which is done in searches using Publish or Perish with data sources through google scholar in the last 10 years. The VOSviewer visualization above shows a bibliometric map of the keyword co-occurrence of the literature on Indonesian foreign policy, where the dominant nodes such as policy, Indonesia, theory, analysis, and foreign policy analysis reflect that the existing research has been more revolved around general policy studies and mainstream theoretical approaches such as realism and constructivism, while the fundamental concepts that are at the core of this research are consensus state foundations (Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhineka Tunggal Ika and the Republic of Indonesia), national resilience, and normative-strategic analysis almost do not appear as significant nodes in the map. This directly indicates that there is a real and substantial research gap, where there is not much literature that explicitly links the normative-constitutional foundations of the state with the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy in the context of contemporary global geopolitical dynamics, so the study entitled "Basic Consensus of the State and the Implementation of Indonesian Foreign Policy in the Midst of Contemporary Global Geopolitical Dynamics: This Normative-Strategic Analysis and Its Implications for National Resilience" is here to fill this gap by offering an approach that bridges the normative-ideological dimensions and strategic calculations that have not been adequately integrated in the existing literature treasure.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Pancasila as an Ideological Filter in Humanitarian Diplomacy

The first findings of this study show that Pancasila, especially the second precept of Just and Civilized Humanity, operates as an ideological filter in Indonesia's diplomatic decision-making. This filter works in two directions: first, by setting moral goals that should be prioritized in foreign policy; and second, by rejecting policy instruments that are contrary to human values, even though they may be more tactically effective.

The most illustrative case of this filter function is Indonesia's response to the escalation of the conflict in Gaza post-October 2023. When the international community is divided between those who support Israel's right to self-defense and those who demand an immediate ceasefire, Indonesia takes a position consistent with the values of Pancasila: condemning violations of international humanitarian law by all parties, supporting an immediate ceasefire and access to humanitarian assistance, and pushing for a two-state solution based on international law. Indonesia actively supports processes at the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, sends medical teams, and leads resolutions at the UN Human Rights Council (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2024).

Indonesia is not just a response to domestic pressure from the majority Muslim population. Historical analysis shows that Indonesia has consistently supported Palestinian independence even when there is no significant domestic pressure, and that this position stems from the moral imperative of Pancasila that goes beyond religious, ethnic, or electoral political considerations (Sukma, 2014; Rother, 2021). This fundamentally distinguishes Indonesia from Muslim-majority countries that position themselves based on religious solidarity alone.

Another important aspect is the third precept of the Indonesian Unity which gives a non-sectarian character to foreign policy. Indonesia does not define its national interests through the lens of primordial identity, not as an Islamic country, not as a Malay country, nor as an Asian country but as a Pancasila country committed to universal values. Consequently, Indonesia is able to partner constructively with ideologically different countries: Israel (although it does not have official diplomatic relations, informal economic relations remain), the United States, China, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and so on, because Indonesia's position is not defined by rigid ideological barriers.

**Table 2.** The Implementation of Pancasila in Indonesia's Foreign Policy Response: Selected Case Studies (2019-2024)

<b>Geopolitical Issues/Context</b>	<b>Activated Pancasila Values</b>	<b>Indonesia's Policy Position</b>	<b>Diplomatic Instruments Used</b>
Konflik Gaza 2023-2024	Precept II: A Just and Civilized Humanity	Support ceasefire, advocate for humanitarian access, support ICJ process	UN Security Council resolutions, dispatch of medical teams, bilateral diplomacy, ASEAN joint statement
Myanmar's post-coup crisis 2021	Precepts II & III: Humanity, Regional Unity	Five points of ASEAN consensus, rejecting the legitimacy of the military junta, supporting democratic transition	ASEAN Five-Point Consensus, bilateral diplomacy, mediation through ASEAN Special Envoy
China's violation of Natuna's EEZ (2019-2023)	Precepts III & IV: Association, Sovereignty and Justice	China's firm rejection of China's claim of international law enforcement (UNCLOS) without military escalation	Formal diplomatic protests, TNI-AL patrols, foreign ministry statements through bilateral negotiations
G20 Indonesia Presidency 2022	Precepts I, II, V: Divinity, Humanity, Social Justice	Inclusivity agenda, a Global North-South bridge through global food security & health priorities	G20 Presidency, Bali Summit declaration through Health Track & Finance Track initiative

<b>Geopolitical Issues/Context</b>	<b>Activated Pancasila Values</b>	<b>Indonesia's Policy Position</b>	<b>Diplomatic Instruments Used</b>
AUKUS rivalry and Indo-Pacific security (2021)	Precepts III & IV: Regional unity, Justice of the international order	China's rejection of exclusion; support an inclusiveness-based AOIP through nuclear rejection in the region	Advocacy through ASEAN, bilateral consultations and publication of AOIP's official positions

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (2024); Natalegawa (2018); Anwar (2020); Author's Analysis

### **1945 Constitution and Operationalization of Freedom of Activity as Strategic Autonomy**

The constitutional mandate of the free-active principle contained in the Preamble and Article 11 of the 1945 Constitution faces the toughest test in the context of the intensifying U.S.-China rivalry. This study found that the free-active principle in the multipolar era can no longer be understood simply as passive or non-bloc neutrality in the classical sense of the Cold War. It must be operationalized as Indonesia's active strategic autonomy to maintain freedom of strategic maneuver while remaining constructively engaged with all key actors.

Wirajuda (2021) correctly identifies that the biggest challenge to free and active today is pressure from various parties for Indonesia to choose a position between the United States and China. The establishment of AUKUS in September 2021 into a tripartite security pact between the United States, Britain, and Australia that includes the transfer of nuclear-powered submarine technology to Australia puts explicit pressure on Indonesia to position itself. Indonesia, under President Jokowi, responded consistently with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution: expressing concern about the escalation of the arms race in the region, encouraging inclusive dialogue through ASEAN, and refusing to be categorized as a member of any security bloc.

The South China Sea dispute case provides the most concrete example of how the 1945 Constitution guided Indonesia's policy in a tactically ambiguous situation. Indonesia has consistently pushed for settlements under 1982 UNCLOS as binding international law, including through the 2016 Court of Arbitration Decision rejecting China's Nine Fault Line claims. At the same time, Indonesia strategically avoided being categorized as a claimant state in direct conflict with China, positioning itself as a defender of the international legal order that benefits all parties including small countries.

The most significant policy innovation in free-active operationalization is the pioneering ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) adopted at the ASEAN Summit in Bangkok in 2019 on the initiative of Indonesia. The AOIP represents Indonesia's efforts to define the Indo-Pacific security architecture in an inclusive manner against the Indo-Pacific narrative promoted by the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad: US, Japan, Australia, India) which is implicitly anti-China. Through the AOIP, Indonesia has succeeded in positioning ASEAN as an inclusive leader in regional architecture, not just an arena of great power competition (Anwar, 2020; Karim, 2019).

### **Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and Diplomacy as a Bridge between Civilizations**

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika's contribution to Indonesia's foreign policy is most clearly seen in the soft power dimension which often lacks adequate academic attention. As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world (about 231 million people or 87% of the total

population) and a functioning democracy, Indonesia has a unique position that no other country has in the international system.

Rother (2021) identified that Indonesia actively utilizes this 'bridging capital' through several diplomatic channels. First, through the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) which has been held regularly since 2008 and has become the largest democracy dialogue platform in Asia. The forum represents the argument that democracy and Islam can go hand in hand in harmony, a proposition that has enormous geopolitical relevance in the context of the post-9/11 resurgence of global Islamophobia.

Second, through the role of Indonesian moderate Islamic organizations Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah in the global civil diplomacy network. NU, with about 100 million members and a network spanning more than 80 countries, actively promotes the Islamic narrative of wasatiah (middle-way Islam) that serves as a counter-narrative to radicalism. The Indonesian government strategically utilizes this capacity as a foreign policy instrument that is not available to any Muslim majority country or not (Fitriani, 2020).

Third, through Indonesia's leadership in the Interfaith and Inter-Civilization Dialogue Partnership Forum on various multilateral platforms. Indonesia has consistently encouraged the strengthening of the mechanism of civilizational dialogue in the United Nations, UNESCO, and OIC, making Indonesia a relevant normative actor even in an arena usually dominated by major powers.

The case of the implementation of Indonesia's G20 Presidency in 2022 provides a very concrete illustration of how *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is operationalized as a diplomatic asset. Amid pressure from Western countries to exclude Russia after the invasion of Ukraine, Indonesia managed to maintain the inclusivity of the forum by inviting all members including Russia and Ukraine, while maintaining a focus on the substantive agenda of post-COVID economic recovery, food security, energy transition, and global financial governance reform. The theme of *Recover Together, Recover Stronger* chosen by Indonesia reflects the philosophy of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*: differences do not hinder cooperation for common goals that go beyond ideological boundaries.

### **NKRI and Wawasan Nusantara: Indonesia's Maritime Geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific Era**

The fourth consensus of the Republic of Indonesia in the framework of the Nusantara Insight has the most direct and most operational implications for Indonesia's defense and security policy. This research finds three main dimensions in which the Nusantara Insight shapes Indonesia's geopolitical posture concretely.

The first dimension is the enforcement of maritime sovereignty. The increase in the intensity of the presence of Chinese fishing vessels and coast guards in North Natuna waters since 2019 has tested Indonesia's commitment to the Archipelago Insight directly. In contrast to some ASEAN countries that tend to avoid direct confrontation with China, Indonesia under President Jokowi has taken a firm but measured stance: sending Indonesian Navy ships and defense elements to Natuna, insisting that there are no overlapping claims between Indonesia and China under UNCLOS, and summoning the Chinese ambassador to provide clarification. This response reflects Wawasan Nusantara's belief that the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia is a dead price that cannot be compromised even for the sake of high-value economic relations with China (Wulandari & Pratama, 2022).

The second dimension is the development of maritime capacity as an instrument of national security. The World Maritime Axis Doctrine introduced by President Jokowi at the East Asia Summit in 2014 is the operationalization of the vision of the Nusantara Insight in the national development agenda. With the defense budget increasing from 0.8% to 1.2% of GDP in the 2014-2024 period, Indonesia is systematically developing its naval capacity to procure submarines, frigates, and various other maritime assets not for the purpose of projecting expansive power, but for territorial defense capacity that is in line with the defensive character of the Nusantara Insight (Laksmana, 2019).

The third dimension is normative advocacy for a law-based maritime order. Indonesia has consistently advocated for the 1982 UNCLOS as a binding legal framework for the settlement of all maritime disputes, a position that provides a dual strategic benefit: protecting Indonesia's own interests in Natuna waters, while building Indonesia's credibility as an impartial defender of international law.

### **The Critical Geopolitical Arena: A Cross-Regional Applicative Analysis**

Based on a synthesis of literature and case analysis, this study identifies five critical geopolitical arenas that directly test the relevance of the country's basic consensus in Indonesia's foreign policy. Each arena is analyzed based on: (a) the main challenges faced; (b) activated KPG transmission mechanism; and (c) Indonesia's actual policy response and recommendations.

#### **1. The South China Sea: Between Principle and Pragmatism**

The South China Sea dispute is the most direct test of Indonesia's ability to maintain the principle of free and active in an era of great power competition. China's historical claim based on the Nine Fault Lines has no basis in UNCLOS, coupled with China's increased military presence in the disputed archipelago, creates structural pressures that force Indonesia to choose between economic pragmatism (China is Indonesia's largest trading partner) and normative commitment to international law.

Indonesia's response has so far demonstrated its ability to manage these tensions through a dual-track strategy: maintaining economic ties with China while consistently rejecting its illegitimate maritime claims. The basic consensus of the state provides a basis for legitimacy for this strategy: the 1945 Constitution requires the defense of national sovereignty, while the fourth Pancasila precept leads to settlement through deliberation and multilateral legal mechanisms. Wawasan Nusantara emphasizes that there is no compromise on the integrity of the EEZ guaranteed by UNCLOS.

Policy recommendations: Indonesia needs to build a broader normative coalition among ASEAN countries to encourage the full implementation of the 2016 Arbitration Award and the settlement of the legally binding CoC, while continuing to strengthen maritime defense capacity in Natuna as a credible signal of deterrence.

#### **2. Indo-Pacific Rivalry: Leading Regional Inclusivity**

The concept of the Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical framework has proliferated since the mid-2010s, with the dominant narrative shaped by the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) implicitly positioning it as an anti-China alliance. Indonesia faces a double challenge: on the one hand, the Indo-Pacific actually reflects a geopolitical reality that is relevant to Indonesia as a country that connects two oceans; on the other hand, the QUAD framing has the potential to trap Indonesia in a bloc choice that is contrary to the free-active principle.

The ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) spearheaded by Indonesia represents creative solutions that are sourced from the country's basic consensus values: inclusivity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika), peaceful settlement (Pancasila), and law-based regional leadership (1945 Constitution and the Republic of Indonesia). By ensuring that the AOIP is adopted as the official position of ASEAN, not only Indonesia, Indonesia has succeeded in expanding the legitimacy base of its inclusive conception (Anwar, 2020).

Policy recommendations: Indonesia needs to increase its negotiating and coordination capacity within ASEAN to ensure that the AOIP is not just a declarative document, but a concrete implementation platform that includes connectivity, maritime security, and economic cooperation projects involving all parties including the US, China, Japan, and India.

### 3. Middle East Crisis: Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy

The conflicts in the Middle East/Palestine/Gaza, Yemen, and Syria tested the humanitarian dimension of Pancasila most directly. Indonesia has no vital economic or security interests in the region (although there is a significant Indonesian diaspora in the Gulf countries), but has consistently taken an active and courageous position based on Pancasila's moral commitment.

Indonesia has been instrumental in driving consensus in multilateral forums of the OIC, UNSC UN and UN Human Rights Council to adopt resolutions that prioritize civil protection and humanitarian access. In the 2023-2024 Gaza crisis, Indonesia sent the KRI Radjiman Wedyodiningrat Hospital ship for humanitarian missions, mobilized aid worth more than USD 20 million, and diplomatically supported the accountability process at the ICJ and ICC (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2024). This is not just a reactive response to domestic pressure; it is a systematic expression of Pancasila values in foreign policy.

Policy recommendations: Indonesia needs to build stronger capacity for preventive diplomacy in the Middle East region by deploying defense and diplomatic attachés to conflict specialists in strategic posts, as well as strengthening partnerships with international humanitarian agencies such as the ICRC and UNHCR.

### 4. Myanmar Crisis: Indonesia's ASEAN Leadership Test

Myanmar's military coup in February 2021 put Indonesia in a normatively challenging position. On the one hand, the ASEAN Way based on Bhinneka Tunggal Ika respects diversity and non-intervention in domestic affairs prevents coercive actions against the Myanmar junta. On the other hand, the values of Pancasila, especially the commitment to democracy and humanity, demand a response that cannot simply normalize massive violations of human rights.

Indonesia, under the leadership of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, successfully led the adoption of the Five Points of ASEAN Consensus in April 2021, a significant diplomatic achievement. The Five Points of Consensus include: an immediate cessation of violence, constructive dialogue between all parties, the appointment of an ASEAN Special Envoy, access to humanitarian assistance, and the visit of the Special Envoy to Myanmar. Although its implementation is still limited due to the resistance of the Myanmar junta, this document is proof that the country's basic consensus provides a foundation for Indonesia to exercise normative regional leadership without abandoning ASEAN principles (Natalegawa, 2018).

### 5. Post-Pandemic Global Governance: Indonesia as the Voice of the Global South

The COVID-19 pandemic and the post-pandemic global economic recovery have opened up new spaces for Indonesia to express normative leadership based on the country's basic

consensus. As the largest developing country that has managed the pandemic relatively well and returned to a positive economic growth path, Indonesia has the credibility to speak on behalf of the Global South in multilateral forums.

Indonesia's G20 Presidency in 2022 with the theme *Recover Together, Recover Stronger* represents the operationalization of the value of Social Justice (the fifth precept of Pancasila) in global governance. Indonesia is pushing an agenda that favors developing countries: removing barriers to access to vaccines, reforming the international financial architecture, financing a just energy transition, and strengthening global food security. Indonesia's success in producing a comprehensive Bali Declaration despite the Ukraine war threatening to split the G20 is proof of Indonesia's diplomatic capacity as an effective middle power (Kahler, 2020; Yudhoyono, 2020).

### **Discussion: Challenges, Limitations, and Contemporary Relevance**

The above analysis confirms the validity of the Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (KPG) as an analytical model that has significant explanatory power on Indonesia's foreign policy behavior. However, honest discussions must also acknowledge the implementation challenges and inherent limitations of this framework.

First, the tension between value and importance. As identified by Laksmana (2019) and Fealy (2022), Indonesia's foreign policy is not always consistent with the values claimed as its normative foundation. Considering China's economic investment in the Belt and Road Initiative's infrastructure projects, asymmetrical trade relations with partner countries often create incentives for value compromises. Indonesia's involvement with authoritarian regimes for the sake of trade is a clear example of this tension. The KPG framework does not claim that the basic consensus of the state always wins in the policy process, it claims that the basic consensus of the state provides a meaningful value orientation that shapes the boundaries and tendencies of the policy.

Second, implementation capacity. Indonesia's ability to operationalize the country's basic consensus values in foreign policy depends on adequate diplomatic apparatus capacity, effective cross-ministerial coordination, and adequate allocation of resources for diplomacy. Fitriani's study (2020) shows that the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has limited human resources and budgets compared to other middle power countries such as Australia, South Korea, or Brazil. This creates a gap between ambitious normative aspirations and real implementation capacity.

Third, policy coherence across governments. The change of executive leadership from Yudhoyono to Jokowi, and then to Prabowo, who has been in office since October 2024, could create variations in foreign policy emphasis and priorities. Although the basic consensus of states provides a relatively stable framework, its interpretation and operationalization can differ significantly from one government to another.

The contemporary relevance of this research is increasing considering that the era of President Prabowo Subianto, which began in October 2024, brought new nuances to Indonesia's foreign policy. Prabowo, with his military background and reputation as a leader with a more pragmatic orientation, is expected to maintain his commitment to the country's basic consensus while perhaps adopting a more assertive posture in the defense and security dimensions. How this new administration operationalizes the KPG Framework in the context of increasingly intense geopolitical pressures will be an important topic of follow-up research.

From a comparative perspective, Indonesia's position within the framework of the KPG has interesting parallels with other middle power countries that use domestic ideological foundations as diplomatic assets: India with its Non-Aligned tradition sourced from Panchsheel; South Africa with Ubuntu and African Renaissance; Turkey with nostalgic Ottomanism and Neo-Ottomanism. However, Indonesia is unique in integrating the values of pluralism (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) with the identity of archipelago powers (*Wawasan Nusantara*) and universal humanism (*Pancasila*) in one coherent framework, a combination that gives Indonesia a diplomatic profile that has a distinctiveness.

## CONCLUSION

This research produces four main conclusions that answer the formulation of the problem and confirm the central proposition proposed. First, the four basic consensuses of the Indonesian state have proven to have significant transmission power for the implementation of foreign policy, through the four mechanisms identified in the Pancasila-Geopolitics Framework (KPG): value orientation, constitutional legitimacy, diplomatic identity, and geopolitical framing. These mechanisms work synergistically to shape Indonesia's perceptions, preferences, and policy choices in various geopolitical arenas. Second, in a multipolar era marked by great power rivalries, the free-active principle derived from the 1945 Constitution must be actively operationalized as a strategic step in Indonesia's ability to maintain strategic policy freedom through proactive diplomacy, multilateral leadership, and credible defense capacity building. Passive neutralization is no longer adequate. Third, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* represents Indonesia's most unique and underdeveloped soft power asset with its position as the largest democratic Muslim country that has a position to carry out the role of bridging actor between conflicting civilizations. It needs to be institutionalized more strongly in public diplomacy strategies and formal foreign policy. Fourth, the Republic of Indonesia through the *Nusantara Insight* provides Indonesia with a strong legal and moral basis to defend its maritime interests, including in *Natuna* waters based on international law (UNCLOS), without having to choose a bloc in a great power competition. For policymakers, the study recommends three concrete steps. First, the institutionalization of the KPG Framework in the diplomatic training process: every Indonesian diplomat and negotiator must have a deep operational understanding of how to apply the four core values of the country's basic consensus in concrete negotiation situations not just ideological memorization, but practical decision-making guidance. Second, the development of strategic diplomacy capacity: Indonesia needs to significantly increase investment in the capacity of foreign policy think tanks, strategic research institutes, and alumni networks of diplomatic models that are successfully implemented by middle power countries. Third, the coherence of Indonesia's narrative in international forums: Indonesia's messages about national identity, foreign policy values, and a global vision need to be more coordinated between governments, academics, and civil society organizations to build a stronger and more consistent Indonesian brand on the global stage. This research has limitations that open up a productive follow-up research agenda. First, a more rigorous empirical test of the KPG Framework is needed through case studies that compare the framework's predictions with actual policy outputs over a longer period. Second, a comparative analysis between Indonesia and other Muslim middle power countries Malaysia, Turkey, and Pakistan can lead to a broader understanding of the typical role of the Indonesian state's basic consensus. Third, a study of

public and domestic elites' perceptions of the relevance of the country's basic consensus in foreign policy through in-depth surveys and interviews can provide richer empirical data on the transmission mechanisms of KPG in actual policy processes.

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