

Analysis of Indonesian Policy as Middle Power towards North Korea

Lolita Deby Mahendra Putri

Universitas Singaperbangsa Karawang

Email: Lolita.deby@fisip.unsika.ac.id

Hasri Ainun Hakiem

Sun Moon University Graduate School of International Relations, Republic of Korea

Email: hasriainun1009@gmail.com

Fadhlan Nur Hakiem

Universitas Singaperbangsa Karawang

Email: fadhlan.nur@fisip.unsika.ac.id

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia sebagai middle power dalam mempertahankan hubungan dengan Korea Utara. Kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia tersebut berada di tengah tren global yang cenderung menjauhi Korea Utara. Pemerintah Korea Utara dijauhi oleh dunia Internasional karena kebijakan luar negerinya yang kontroversial khususnya menyangkut tentang senjata nuklir. Berlawanan dengan pemerintah negara lain, Pemerintah Indonesia memiliki kebijakan untuk tetap mempertahankan hubungan baik dengan Korea Utara. Indonesia dan Korea Utara telah memulai hubungan yang harmonis sejak pemerintahan Presiden Soekarno. Hingga saat ini, Indonesia tetap berusaha untuk mempertahankan keharmonisan hubungan tersebut. Kerangka teori pada penelitian ini adalah konsep middle power. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode kualitatif. Penelitian ini bersifat deksriptif-analitis. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah dengan menggunakan kajian kepustakaan. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah dengan melakukan reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil yang diperoleh dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia untuk mempertahankan hubungan baik dengan Korea Utara merupakan bentuk dari middle power. Pemerintah Indonesia memiliki kebijakan sebagai *developing country voices, a regional leader, a bridge-builder, dan an advocate of democracy*.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan, Pemerintah Indonesia, Middle Power

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the policies of the Indonesian government as a middle power in maintaining relations with North Korea. The Indonesian government's policy is in the midst of a global trend that tends to stay away from North Korea. The North Korean government is shunned by the international community because of its controversial foreign policy, especially

regarding nuclear weapons. Contrary to governments of other countries, the Government of Indonesia has a policy of maintaining good relations with North Korea. Indonesia and North Korea have started a harmonious relationship since President Soekarno's administration. Until now, Indonesia is still trying to maintain the harmony of this relationship. develop the theory in this study is the concept of middle power. The method used in this research is a qualitative method. This research is descriptive-analytical in nature. The data collection technique used in this research is to use literature review. The data analysis technique used in this study is by reducing data, presenting data, and drawing conclusions. The results obtained from this study are that the Indonesian government's policy to maintain good relations with North Korea is a form of middle power. The Indonesian government has a policy of being the voice of developing countries, regional leaders, bridge builders and advocates of democracy.

Keywords: Policy, Indonesian Government, Middle Power

INTRODUCTION

While many countries around the world are aiming to distance themselves from North Korea diplomatically, Indonesia is moving closer to North Korea as an emerging nuclear power yet isolated. Maintaining relationship between the two countries as the founding fathers did, Indonesia has not followed international trends to distance itself from North Korea.

Sharing a history since 1961 in the establishment of Non-Aligned Movement which formally aligned by states group against the majority of power bloc, Indonesia and North Korea maintain the good relationship., Soekarno as the first president hosted Kim Il-Sung including a tour to Bogor Botanical Garden during the 1960s. Soekarno named the newly bred flower after Kim as the result of his admire expression for one of the orchids in the Botanical Garden (Cook, 2018). Kimilsungia orchid become a beautiful and powerful symbol of North Korea and often during the celebration every April as Kim Il Sung's day and explicitly features in flower concatenation by state (Manurung, 2020).

Since the era of Soeharto, who replace Soekarno in 1967 coup, even though the main office of Non-Aligned Movement was still in Jakarta, Indonesian's policy under Soeharto regime as a state confidentially became closer to the US and South Korea (Cook, 2018).

Under President Megawati Soekarnoputri, the relationship between two countries reconfirmed by her visiting Kim Jong-Il in 2002 in order to reinforce the connection that built since the era of their fathers. Maintaining of the relationship between both countries occurred while George W. Bush, US president, addressed on a speech in 2002 and branded

North Korea as a “malicious spindle” (Cook, 2018). Megawati attempted to advocate Kim Jong-II to participate more in the relationship with South Korea based on the Indonesia’s foreign ministry report, whereas the diplomatic suggestion didn’t have any impact after Megawati’s arrival in Jakarta (Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, 2019).

The good relations were maintained during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidency. Yudhoyono planned two official visits to North Korea in 2006, but postponed them due the different causes. Marty Natalegawa, Indonesia’s Foreign Minister at that time, visited Pyongyang in 2010 (Keck, 2013). On October 2013, Marty visited Pyongyang for the second time, delivering a letter from President Yudhoyono. In the letter, President Yudhoyono underlined the importance of the good relations between the two countries that have existed so far. However, there is still huge room for enhancing mutually beneficial cooperation (SBY Kirim Surat Untuk Pemimpin Korea Utara, 2013).

In addition, the President also emphasized the importance of stability and peace in the region, especially on the Korean Peninsula, as a prerequisite for continuing economic development and improving people's welfare, both in Indonesia and in North Korea as well as in the region (SBY Kirim Surat Untuk Pemimpin Korea Utara, 2013). In order to respect Kom Yong-Nam in his visit to Jakarta, Yudhoyono guested Yong-Nam in a state dinner. Kim Yong-Nam himself met Marty Natalegawa on a trip and maintaining the relations by visiting Jakarta in many chances through the years.

During Joko Widodo (Jokowi)’s administration, Dino Patti Djalal, the late Indonesian Ambassador to US, in April 2018 took a trip to Pyongyang. This trip was a symbol that Jakarta wishes to keep in touch to Pyongyang while US and North Korea tossing nuclear menace towards each other. The expert of ASEAN and Koreas relations of National University of Malaysia, Hoo Chiew Ping, explained that Jokowi movement indicates the Indonesian inclination to have a major role in precide intimate relations with North Korea (Cook, 2018).

Kim Jong-Nam, the alienated step-brother of Kim Jong-Un high-level premeditation murder in Kuala Lumpur airport in 2016 showed the reluctance of Indonesia to suspense North Korea-Indonesia relationship. That is also despite the fact that in the case involving a nerve agent which is banned by the UN as WWD, an Indonesian citizen was involved and faces the death penalty (Cook, 2018).

In Kim Jong-Nam murder, Vietnam earnestly react that its citizen is a fall guy in the case that they strongly believe sponsored by North Korea itself. In the other hand, Indonesia supported its citizen, an household assistant who believe that it was a part of a prank, but Indonesia did not show an intense standing on the court (Cook, 2018).

Despite the fact that many countries under the United Nations are giving economic and political sanction to North Korea. Not only sanctions, but also within the relations of Indonesia and North Korea, there were problems occurred during the last few decades, from the North Korean missile test to the case of Kim Jong-nam assasination which caused Indonesian citizen to receive death penalty. Despite all of the aforementioned events, Indonesia still becomes one of the closest countries to North Korea and does not seem to take some distance anytime soon. Thus, the main purpose of this paper is to analyze the reasons why Indonesia still keeping the good relations with North Korea despite all the problems using middle power as a theoretical approach. However, understanding middle power concept alone apparently being inadequate in explaining the behavior of one country toward its middlepowerness. Thus, as suggested by Moch. Faisal Karim, incorporating role theory into the concept of middle power would enhance our understanding of the concept better.

There is a hypothesis that can be drawn from this problem. While implementing the viable and active foreign policy, as a country, Indonesia has a great attitude and willingness to highlight the state of affairs as a middle power. This is because, first, Indonesia has been acting as a regional power in ASEAN since its establishment and recently Indonesia can be seen trying to broaden its influence to the Asian region. Second, Indonesia has an experience in solving problems within ASEAN countries, namely the Vietnam-Cambodia war through 1988-1989 Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) and the conflict involving the border of Thailand and in 2011. Thus, Indonesia that has a good relationship with both North and South Korea, may have a good chance to soothe the Korean Peninsula circumstances.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The Middle Power Status

We might understand middle power, in a simple word, as those countries who are literally in the middle. They are not great or major powers that are powerful enough to change the international order because they still do not have the capability to do so. However, it is

also ambiguous to categorize them as a small or minor power because they quantitatively have more capability, and qualitatively more power to create some changes internationally.

Giovanni Botero, Italian Renaissance philosopher put forward the concept of "middle power" at the end of the sixteenth century by providing a definition of three types of states in the world, namely *grandissime* (imperial), *mezano* (middle power), and *piccioli* (small power). This division is based on the role of a country, whether large, medium or small according to the status assigned to them. If seen specifically, it can be marked the ranking of a country in the international hierarchy related to the national strength of that country. The ranking is characterized by military and economic power as keywords of a country's strength. The other rank markers of the states—for example, in the eighteenth century's dynastic marriages — stay more or less impressionistic and vary with cultural context and historical era (Schweller, 2017)

The definition of middle power is referring to the state that placed in the midst of minor and major power. It described specifically in the featuring character of those states. Middle power is categorized as having mixed criteria of big power and small power. They are defined not by what they have versus what they don't have. In this case, a country with a large power is characterized by a developed country while a small power is a developing or non-developing country with a small territory, population, or a combination of both. Middle powers can be characterized as a mixture of these characteristics, small highly developed countries (Singapore, Denmark, Israel, Finland), medium-sized developed countries (Australia, Spain, South Korea, South Africa, Canada, Argentina, Ukraine), and large developing countries such as Indonesia, Iran, Philippines, Egypt, Mexico, Nigeria. The late Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evan expressed: "The attempt to explain "middle power" is not easy because of the precision with which we want to define the concept resulting in a list of twenty, thirty, or more countries. As universal traits, physical capability and military strength, GDP, and population are used to describe the concept. If applied, Australia, which is included in the list, is in the fifty sequence all over the world even though based on GDP and population, Australia is ranked thirteenth (Cooper & Jongryn, 2012)."

Jordan concluded that a middle power country is a country that has neither great nor small international strength, capacity and influence, and usually provides support for world cohesiveness and stability (Jordaan, 2003).

Middle Power as a Role

There is a need to make a conceptual distinction between “middle power status” and “middle power role” as a step towards incorporating role theory into the literature. The clarity of the relationship between role and status is essential because the concepts of “role” and “status” are often found in various kinds of literature. However, more literature mentions that middle power tends to be a status rather than a role (Karim, 2018). It means that the indicator such as, GDP, population, geography, etc become a benchmark whether one country concluded to be a middle power or not. In the other hand, middle power’s role is different with its status. One country can be considered a middle power when we categorize it by its size only, but the country may not have any willingness to act like one. Thus, Faisal explains that differentiating status and role can be useful for better understanding of middle powers.

There is a lot of literature on role theory in international relations, but these literatures do not take role theory seriously to explain the behaviour of middle powers. Several literatures have been found that try to use role theory (Easley, 2012), but do not provide a thorough analysis of middle power seen from the role theory.

In the international relations literature, role theory is not a new theory. Students have used this theory to analyse foreign policy. In the 1970s K. J. Holsti introduced the analysis of foreign policy behaviour to international relations scholarship. The concept of the national role is one of the basic concepts introduced by Holsti. The role conception is explained as a set of norms that shaping the foreign policy (these norms include attitudes, decisions, responses, functions, and commitments made by the government (Holsti, 1988). In the international system, the role conception refers to the views of policy makers on the state's position in the system. Related to the behaviour of the state in the international world, the conception of the role becomes an explanatory variable as the embodiment of the independent variable. When it is seen as the dependent variable, the conception of the role formed based on the dynamics of interaction between the country and the international world and the changing political situation inside of the country. In conclusion, the role conception is essential in linking the foreign policy agenda and status seeking activities (Karim, 2018).

Moreover, in an international system it is possible for a country to have multiple roles. The dual role played by a state is possible to have conflict with each other. The dissimilarity

of these roles will lead to the role conflict (Karim, 2017). The role conflict is a condition where a country has several different roles that are contradictory. The roles that seem contradictory in regional and global arrangement is an explanation of role conflict (Karim, 2017).

METHODS

This research used qualitative research methods. Alan Bryman asserts that an emphasis on words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data constitutes a qualitative research strategy (Bryman, 2012). This is analytical descriptive research. This research strategy uses qualitative descriptions to analyse the social phenomena. The social phenomenon in this research is Indonesia foreign policy towards North Korea. Information and data from secondary sources are used as analytical material in this study.

Literature study is a data collection technique used to obtain information related to the object of study. To answer the questions that have been determined, this study uses data analysis. Data analysis is an attempt to simplify the presentation of data using grouping as a way of obtaining data that is easier to analyse (Moleong, 2014). According to Silalahi (2012) data analysis activities are a series of data reduction activities, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Indonesia as a Middle Power

As an implication of the development of political, economic and material capabilities, Indonesia is encouraged to have a bigger role at the global level like other developing countries. For the record, Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia and is ranked fourth as the most populous country in the world. The significance of Indonesia's economic development has been seen since 2004. During the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era, which had a favorable democratic climate, Indonesia experienced economic growth and political stability. Indonesia is increasing its position as a democratization role model for other Islamic and developing countries amidst the fact that Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. The international community's expectations of Indonesia's role at the global level have increased due to these achievements.

Indonesia has made great efforts to improve and strengthen its international status by engaging massively in multilateral forums and global governance during the Susilo

Bambang Yudhoyono era (2004-2014). Indonesia succeeded in hosting several international meetings such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Thirteenth Session of the Conference of the Parties in 2007, The Ninth World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference in 2013 and exerted its influence on the outcome of the high-level meeting. Indonesia's main role in the Asian-African strategic partnership as a form of active involvement in developing countries forums is also evidenced in its success as the organizer of the 2005 and 2015 Asia-Africa Conferences. This fact illustrates that Indonesia has status-seeking behavior as evidenced by its massive involvement in governance. manage the international community (Karim, 2018).

Even though it is classified as a country with medium material capabilities, Indonesia has a foreign policy that implies a major role in its involvement in global governance. Marty Natalegawa, former Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that Indonesia is a country with regional power but has global interests and global concerns in its foreign policy.

The term of middle power has finally been officially included in the official medium-term development plan for the 2014-2019 during Joko Widodo era. Indonesia's foreign policy aims to enhance Indonesia's role in the world as a middle power and strengthen Indonesia's position as a regional power and selectively involve itself in the implementation of global relations by prioritizing issues with domestic interests (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

Based on Faisal explanation, in the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency, the middle power status was pursued through four main conceptions namely as a regional leader, leader of democracy, voice for developing countries, and as a liaison. This is caused by domestic conditions that are starting to change, expectations from the international community, and the past history.

Indonesia is given *primus inter pares* status by member countries and other external actors who are actively involved in the Southeast Asian region. This status was obtained as an impact of changes in the democratic political system, Indonesia's strategic position in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia's material capabilities. Based on these conditions, there is great hope for Indonesia to be able to play its role as a regional leader in managing and developing the Southeast Asia region.

In the Yudhoyono era, Indonesia's role was not only aimed at being a regional leader in Southeast Asia but also as a trigger for increasing Indonesia's status in the global world as

a middle power. In several important forums in the world, Indonesia is increasing its influence. For example, at the G-20 forum, Indonesia became a representative for countries in the Southeast Asia region. Indonesia coordinated with other countries in 2009 to form a contact for the G-20 ASEAN region in order to giving voice of ASEAN's interests in the G-20 forum. Furthermore, ASEAN under the Indonesian presidency used the Bali Concord III in 2011 which provided an important role for ASEAN to be involved in the global community as an international actor. ASEAN's involvement in the UN framework as an international actor not only strengthens its representation in the G-20, but also strengthens Asia-Pacific economic cooperation and engagement with other global institutions such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization, and IMF (Nguitragool & Rúlund, 2015).

The rise of China and the reduced influence of the United States which resulted in various changes, Indonesia has the opportunity to become a balance of power in the Asia-Pacific region (Karim & Chairil, 2016). Therefore, Indonesia must involve external actors in ASEAN multilateral activities, for example the ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Plus Three, the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting and the East Asia Summit. Based on this, it is understandable that Indonesia is not trying to reassemble its role in the international world through its foreign policy according to the characteristics of the emerging middle powers. Furthermore, Indonesia is strengthening itself as a regional leader and using this label to gain a place on the global stage. It was concluded that Indonesia's foreign policy uses the concept of role as a regional leader in order to deepen the characteristics of a middle power that has grown since Yudhoyono's second term even though this conception had appeared long before (Karim, 2018).

Along with its role as a carrier of developing countries voices, Indonesia continues to strengthen its position as a link in solving various problems at the global level. Indonesia is strengthening efforts to build consensus, respecting differences, demonstrating the importance of unity over differences in interests, and paying special attention to the problems faced by developing countries. Indonesia which acts as a liaison can be categorized as one of the middle power characteristics. Although in some cases the role as a liaison contradicts with other roles (for example: as a supporter of the democratic system). Karim explained that Indonesia's role as a defender of democracy was hampered by its role as a liaison between democratic countries and non-democratic countries. As a supporter of democratic systems in

the region, Indonesia, which become voices of developing countries interests is forced to support the authoritarian regimes of developing countries.

Joko Widodo's leadership, which is known as a regime that promotes populist ideas, pays more attention to nationalism and domestic problems. Joko Widodo's government tends to block efforts to seek status as a middle power, even though this concept has been adopted as a policy during his reign. Indonesia is increasing its role as a voice for developing countries, but the contradiction occurs because its role as a strengthened of democracy weakened during Jokowi's leadership due to the few advantages of this role. This explanation supports the idea that the role of supporting democracy as a new role for the middle powers is less established when compared with a more institutionalized role, namely a voice for developing countries which has become a routine in the history of the Indonesian nation. During the Joko Widodo era, Indonesia took more revisionist actions considering its role as a channel for developing countries' aspirations and tended to reject liberal ideas from the west as defenders of democracy (Karim, 2018).

Indonesia Foreign Policy Towards North Korea

Good relations between Indonesia and North Korea continue to run well despite changes in leaders both in Indonesia and in North Korea. Indonesia as much as possible maintain good relations with North Korea by carrying out various cooperations that can strengthen relations between the two countries, and promote prosperity in each country.

The strongest and most developed relationship between Indonesia and North Korea occurred during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency. In 2012, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Presidium Kim Yong Nam held a bilateral meeting. This meeting discussed many cooperations that were agreed upon and would be carried out by the two countries in the fields of economy, trade, investment, as well as social and cultural fields (Dianpuri, 2016).

In 2012, Indonesia agreed to provide aid worth US\$2,000,000 to North Korea. The assistance was manifested in the form of shipments of 1465 tons of palm oil. This palm oil will later be used as a mixed food ingredient and then will be distributed directly to the poor people of North Korea. Cooperation between Indonesia and North Korea does not only provide mutual assistance but also manifests in several collaborations in other fields such as:

1. Memorandum of Understanding Between the Pyongyang City People's Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the Capital City of Jakarta of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning Sister City Cooperation (2007);
2. The arrangement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning Cultural Exchange Programme 2007-2009;
3. Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Field of Information (2009);
4. Arrangement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Concerning Cultural Exchange Program (2010);
5. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Concerning Joint Information Committee (2011) (Dianpuri, 2016).

During Joko Widodo's presidency, he himself stated in an interview with Al-Jazeera that Indonesia is ready to become the mediator regarding North Korea. He expressed Indonesia's willingness to solve this problem directly to the Vice President of the United States. In the interview, he explained that during his meeting with the United States Ambassador for Indonesia, Indonesia wants the problem with North Korea to be solved through dialogue, not with military power. Because it will disturb the economic growth in this region. He further said that Indonesia is ready to deal with any problem regarding North Korea. In 2018, when President Donald Trump was looking for a peaceful place to hold a meeting with Kim Jong-un, Jokowi pleasantly offered him Jakarta to be the host of the North Korea Summit.

On April 30th, 20 2018, Jokowi invited two Korean Ambassadors to sit and talk about the peace agreement between the two. Jokowi said that the agreement between the two Koreas will affect the peace process in the region. He stated once again, that Indonesia is ready to provide assistance in the peace process if needed (Jokowi invites two Korean ambassadors, 2018). During Asian Games in 2018, Jokowi let South and North Korea became

united delegations. And recently, Jokowi sent flower bouquets for Kim Jong Un to Mark North Korea's 72nd birthday. In turn, Kim Jong Un also congratulated Indonesia's 76th birthday. Kim Jong Un stated,

"I take this opportunity to express my belief that friendly and cooperative relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Indonesia will become stronger and develop in accordance with the aspirations and desires of the people of the two countries. (Kim Jong Un Ucap Selamat Kemerdekaan RI, Beri Pesan Ke Jokowi, 2021)"

CONCLUSION

Going back to our main purpose on why Indonesia still maintains a good relationship with North Korea can be seen through its attitude as a middle power. First, not only Indonesia is expressing its willingness to take a bigger role as a middle power, but also Indonesia perceives itself as a bridge-builder which oftentimes clashes with its role as an advocate of democracy. This means that despite its position as a democratic country, Indonesia is also maintaining its relationship with more abusive governments, including North Korea.

In this conflict between North and South Korea, Indonesia is using its free and active foreign policy, created by Indonesia's very first Vice President, Mohammad Hatta, so that Indonesia can maintain diplomatic relations with the two disputing parties. When several countries began to stay away from North Korea because they considered North Korea too dangerous, Indonesia was not affected. Indonesia continues to maintain good relations with North Korea. When North Korea was sanctioned by the UN Security Council through several resolutions it issued such as Resolution 1874 in 2009 and Resolution 2087 and Resolution 2094 in 2013, Indonesia continued to cooperate with North Korea. Looking at the aforementioned agreements that were signed by both countries, all of those were conducted during the same period as sanctions given to North Korea by the United Nations.

Indonesia has also repeatedly expressed its concern to the major power, the US, regarding the disturbance of peace and economic growth not only in South East Asian region, but also in overall Asia if the tense in the Korean Peninsula does not ease. In this case, Indonesia acts as a voice for developing countries, since the majority of Asian countries are still developing. For Indonesia, instead of taking a big role in the global level as a middle power, Indonesia is active regionally. This is due to its national role perception that perceives

itself as a regional leader. Thus, Indonesia is taking a bigger role in the region to prove itself in the global level.

Furthermore, it was concluded that Indonesia applies four conceptions of the state's role as a middle power; as a channel for the aspirations of developing countries, regional leaders, democracy advocates, and liaisons.

REFERENCES

- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Cook, E. (2018, September 2). Why Indonesia loves North Korea. *Asia Times*. <https://asiatimes.com/2018/09/why-indonesia-loves-north-korea/>
- Cooper, A. F., & Jongryn, M. (2012). The Middle 7 Initiative. In M. Jongryn (Ed.), *Middle Powers and G20 Governance* (pp. 103–121). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dianpuri, S. R. (2016). Inisiasi Indonesia Menjadi Mediator Bagi Terwujudnya Perdamaian Antara Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan [Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta]. <https://etd.umy.ac.id/id/eprint/25923/10/Naskah%20Publikasi.pdf>
- Easley, L. E. (2012). Middle Power National Identity? South Korea and Vietnam in US-China Geopolitics. *Pacific Focus*, 27(3), 421–442. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1976-5118.2012.01090.x>
- Holsti, K. J. (1988). *Politik Internasional: Kerangka untuk Analisis* (H. Sinaga, Ed.; M. T. Azhary, Trans.; 4th ed.). Erlangga.
- Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang. (2019, October 5). Serahkan Surat Kepercayaan, Duta Besar RI Gencarkan Kerja Sama Indonesia dan Korea Utara." Kementerian Luar Negeri. Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. <https://kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id>
- Jokowi invites two Korean ambassadors. (2018, April 30). *Republika Online*. <https://republika.co.id/share/p7zy18414>
- Jordaan, E. (2003). The concept of a middle power in international relations: Distinguishing between emerging and traditional middle powers. *Politikon*, 30(1), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0258934032000147282>
- Karim, M. F. (2017). Role conflict and the limits of state identity: The case of Indonesia in democracy promotion. *The Pacific Review*, 30(3), 385–404. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2016.1249908>
- Karim, M. F. (2018). Middle power, status-seeking and role conceptions: The cases of Indonesia and South Korea. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 72(4), 343–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2018.1443428>
- Karim, M. F., & Chairil, T. (2016). Waiting for Hard Balancing? Explaining Southeast Asia's Balancing Behaviour towards China. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 15(1), 34–61.

- Keck, Z. (2013, November 2). Why is Indonesia Courting North Korea? <https://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-is-indonesia-courting-north-korea/>
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2020, December 30). Rencana Strategis 2015-2019. Rencana Strategis. <https://www.kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/2033/akip/rencana-strategis>
- Kim Jong Un Ucap Selamat Kemerdekaan RI, Beri Pesan ke Jokowi. (2021, August 18). CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/lifestyle/20210818091515-33-269191/kim-jong-un-ucap-selamat-kemerdekaan-ri-beri-pesan-ke-jokowi>
- Manurung, H. (2020). Hubungan Diplomatik Indonesia – Korea Utara: Upaya Mewujudkan Kepentingan Nasional dan Menciptakan Perdamaian Regional. *Politica*, 11(2), 223–244. <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v11i2.1466>
- Moleong, L. J. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Rosda.
- Nguitragool, P., & Rúland, J. (2015). ASEAN as an Actor in International Fora. Cambridge University Press.
- SBY Kirim Surat untuk Pemimpin Korea Utara. (2013, October 22). Tempo. <https://dunia.tempo.co/read/523812/sby-kirim-surat-untuk-pemimpin-korea-utara>
- Schweller, R. L. (2017). *The Concept of Middle Power* (The Korean Pivot, pp. 3–9). Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep23175.4>
- Silalahi, U. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Sosial* (3rd ed.). Rafika Aditama.