

**ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN PREVENTING
THE DOMINATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN THE
INDO-PACIFIC**



THESIS

*Submitted as a Requirement to Obtain a Bachelor's Degree at the Department of
International Relations Study Faculty of Social and Political Sciences*

Compiled and submitted by

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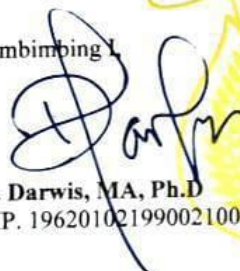
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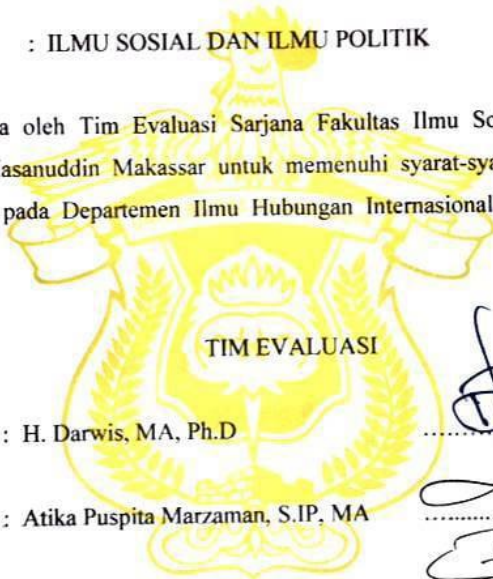
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PREFACE

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Praise and gratitude I give to Allah SWT, Lord of the worlds, for His grace and power so that this final project entitled **“Analysis of Australian Foreign Policy in Preventing the Domination of the People's Republic of China in the Indo-Pacific”** can fulfill the requirements for obtained a bachelor's degree and graduated from the Hasanuddin University International Relations Study Program. Not to forget, after the name of Allah SWT, the writer sends blessings and prayers to the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who is a role model who gives us direction and guidance regarding guidance towards a better life.

This thesis was prepared to fulfill one of the requirements in completing the study at the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University. This thesis is still far from perfect. In the preparation of this thesis, it is undeniable that there are some errors in the preparation so, with all humility, the authors hope that these errors can be input for future writers.

During the process taken by the author, the author got a lot of participation from the closest people who provided assistance, guidance, prayers, and good motivation since the time the author was still in lectures, research, and thesis preparation so that this thesis could be completed. Therefore, with humility and gratitude the author would like to thank:

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Makassar, June 26, 2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ahmad Azhar Rasak', written over a light gray rectangular background.

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ABSTRAKSI

Ahmad Azhar Rasak, (E61181804), “Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri Australia Dalam Mencegah Dominasi Republik Rakyat Tiongkok Di Indo-Pasifik”, dibawah bimbingan **Drs. H. Darwis, MA, Ph.D.** selaku pembimbing I dan **Agussalim, S.I.P., MIRAP** selaku pembimbing II pada Departemen Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Hasanuddin.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui faktor yang mempengaruhi kebijakan luar negeri Australia di kawasan Indo-Pasifik dan mengetahui strategi kebijakan luar negeri Australia dalam meningkatkan pengaruhnya di kawasan Indo-Pasifik di bidang ekonomi-politik. Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam penyusunan skripsi ini adalah metode deskriptif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data berupa telaah pustaka yang bersumber dari buku-buku, jurnal, artikel, situs internet resmi, serta laporan yang berkaitan dengan penelitian ini.

Hasil penelitian ini, menunjukkan bahwa adanya beberapa kebijakan luar negeri yang diambil oleh Australia dalam bidang politik dan ekonomi dalam mencegah dominasi Tiongkok di Indo-Pasifik. Adapun kebijakan luar negeri Australia dalam bidang politik adalah membangun hubungan yang baik dengan Tiongkok, membangun hubungan yang baik dengan ASEAN, membangun hubungan yang baik dengan negara-negara Pasifik, dan juga membangun hubungan yang lebih erat dengan negara-negara aliansi Australia melalui AUKUS dan QUAD. Adapun kebijakan luar negeri Australia dalam bidang ekonomi adalah membentuk kerja sama dengan Tiongkok melalui China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA), ikut terlibat dalam Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), terlibat dalam Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), dan mengadakan kebijakan Australia AID (Australia AID Policy). Selanjutnya, dalam mengambil kebijakan luar negeri tentu Australia menghadapi tantangan seperti bagaimana mempertahankan hubungan diplomatik Australia dengan Tiongkok dan Amerika Serikat di tengah rivalitas Amerika-Tiongkok.

Kata Kunci: Australia, Tiongkok, Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Indo-Pasifik

ABSTRACT

Ahmad Azhar Rasak, (E061181804), "Analysis of Australian Foreign Policy in Preventing the Domination of the People's Republic of China in the Indo-Pacific", under the guidance of **Drs. H. Darwis, MA, Ph.D.** as a supervisor I and **Agussalim, SIP, MIRAP** as supervisor II at the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University.

This study aims to determine the factors that influence Australia's foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region and to determine Australia's foreign policy strategy in increasing its influence in the Indo-Pacific region in the political-economic field. The research method used in the preparation of this thesis is a descriptive method, with data collection techniques in the form of a literature review sourced from books, journals, articles, official internet sites, and reports related to this research.

The results of this study indicate that there are several foreign policies taken by Australia in the political and economic fields in preventing China's domination in the Indo-Pacific. Australia's foreign policy in the political field is to build good relations with China, build good relations with ASEAN, build good relations with Pacific countries, and also build closer relations with Australia's allied countries through AUKUS and QUAD. Australia's foreign policy in the economic field is to establish cooperation with China through the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (ChAFTA), be involved in the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), to be involved in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and be implement the Australia AID policy (Australia AID Policy). Furthermore, in taking the foreign policy, Australia certainly faces challenges such as how to maintain Australia's diplomatic relations with China and the United States amid the US-China rivalry.

Keywords: Australia, China, Foreign Policy, Indo-Pacific

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CHAPTER 1

FOREWORD

A. Background

The Indo-Pacific region is a geopolitical battleground emerging because of the region's function and riches, which has piqued the interest of many countries, including China, Australia, Japan, India, and ASEAN member countries. This region also sees the spread of the influence of large powers such as the United States and its allies. These interests make a significant impact and serve as one of the motivators for countries in determining their foreign attitudes and policies (Haruko, 2022).

Many governments have released strategies and recommendations for the Indo-Pacific region during the last decade to maintain openness and freedom of passage and avoid regional or international conflicts. The United States, with the Free and Open Indo-Pacific, Indonesia, with the ASEAN Indo-Pacific Outlook, and Australia, with a series of discussions in the Foreign Policy White Paper on Indo-Pacific foreign policy (Haruko, 2022).

The area and ensuring the security of connectivity in the economic activities of each country, which are derived from maritime stability and security, have become the foundation of thought behind the emergence of the term "Indo-Pacific" as a new area in the dynamics of global politics and security (Simon, 2013). In most strategic conversations, countries such as China, Australia, India, France, Japan, and the United States frequently use

the term "Indo-Pacific" to express their objectives. According to these countries' translations, the Indo-Pacific is an area that includes the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, which then produces foreign, economic, and defense policies that conform with these countries' interests (Scott, 2019).

Due to the relatively strategic nature of Indo-Pacific geopolitics, the Indo-Pacific region is frequently used as a path that is contested by multiple countries, either through a cooperative approach or other approaches. However, it should be noted that the Indo-Pacific region is dominated by the majority of the world's landmass and oceans, so for countries to interact with the region, a maritime approach or sea and land routes are required. This capability is possessed by the People's Republic of China.

The One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative is a form of international cooperation between China and other nations to reconstruct trade routes that were once used by European merchants traveling to China. OBOR is a globalization phenomenon that generates a borderless effect in each nation it traverses. Infrastructure, construction materials, rail, roads, automobiles, real estate, power grids, and iron and steel are its primary focuses. OBOR is China's ambitious connectivity project involving the construction of infrastructure as well as land and sea transportation links connecting Asia, Europe, and Africa to China (**Kurniawan, 2016**).

One Belt, and One Road are the two main principles upon which OBOR is founded. New railways, roads, and pipelines will support the Silk

Economic Road, or trade route via the mainland-based silk route from China, Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East to Europe. While One Road refers to the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which is a sea-based silk road connecting China with Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, One Belt refers to the Belt and Road Initiative **(Kurniawan, 2016)**.

China uses its comparative advantage in infrastructure development to generate demand for its products and excess capacity, thereby enhancing its economic growth. Building regional manufacturing and distribution supply networks, in addition to constructing and financing infrastructure, conconnectional economies to China's markets and offers opportunities for increased political influence as other governments become increasingly dependent on China for economic growth. Australia faces a difficult choice between joining the OBOR, which would expose it to Chinese pressure to adopt illiberal regulations, or not joining the OBOR, which could lead to new regional isolation **(Allsopp, 2018)**.

China's graph has risen since it implemented the Open Door Policy in 1978, as it exploits invasion for economic reasons. From here, China began to increase its influence and prepare for hegemony by attacking the economic sector. The Chinese invasion targeted countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and it had already begun to expand to Europe. China enters regimes and marketplaces that are controlled by other countries. As a

result, the old ruling countries that feel threatened by China will almost certainly find a way to survive through their policies. China eventually emerged as a new great power in terms of economy, military growth, cooperative relationships with other countries, and so on, to the point that the old great powers viewed China as a new rival attempting to outshine the existing state power (Muhammad Fahrizal, 2019).

Geopolitics and global strategy shape Australia-China ties in considerable part. However, since 1980, the two countries have built a wide range of bilateral and regional relations and interests, including extensive trade ties (Sherlock, 1997). In 2014, Australia's Prime Minister and China's President agreed to refer to their diplomatic relations as a "comprehensive strategic partnership" (Government A. , 2021).

The growth of China as an Indo-Pacific power undoubtedly influences Australia's Indo-Pacific foreign policy, particularly when it comes to Australia's long-standing ally relationship with the United States. Australia believes that China is challenging America's great power status in the region, resulting in a shift in the balance of power. As a result of these changes, some countries, including Australia, have attempted to adapt their strategy to the new international climate (Foreign Policy White Paper 2017).

Australia's strong collaboration with its neighbors is critical to protecting its interests. Strong bilateral and regional links, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) with other Indo-Pacific countries, provide more

economic potential for Australia (Adducul, 2018). Furthermore, AUKUS is one of Australia's foreign policies in response to China's hegemony in the Indo-Pacific. Two alliances already have a defensive foundation, particularly ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) and Quad (Japan, America, India, Australia) (Kamath, 2021).

However, there must be a succession of policy making procedures underpinning Australia's foreign policies aimed at avoiding China's dominance in the Indo-Pacific. Aside from the pattern of Australian foreign policy, which also places a high priority on its primary alliances, especially the United States and the United Kingdom. The presence of global geopolitical-geo-economic dynamics, particularly in the Indo-Pacific area, has become one of Australia's focal points in terms of placing itself. Of course, the dynamics experienced by Australia might be a fascinating topic to examine. Particularly in the Australian policy-making process and how Australia's foreign policy strategy is to strengthen its economic and political influence in the Indo-Pacific area.

As a result of China's predominance in the Indo-Pacific Region, Australia has been making efforts to strengthen its corporations to other countries by expanding its role in the region. This is in response to China's dominance in the region. Therefore, the author intends to investigate the Australian Foreign Policy Analysis about thwarting China's efforts to dominate the Indo-Pacific region.

B. Limitations and Problem Formulation

The limitation of the problem raised by the author is that the author will analyze the dynamics that occur in the indo-pacific region, especially on the domination of China and Australia's foreign policy in the region in the period 2012-2021 in the economic-political field. So, the formulation of the problem raised by the author is

1. What is Australia's foreign policy strategy in increasing its influence in the Indo-Pacific region in the **political** field?
2. What is Australia's foreign policy strategy in increasing its influence in the Indo-Pacific region in the **economic** field?

C. Purpose and Uses of Writing

1. Writing Objectives

The expected writing objectives of this paper are as follows.

- a. To find out the factors that influence Australia's foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region.
- b. To find out Australia's foreign policy strategy in increasing its influence in the Indo-Pacific region in the political-economic field.

2. Usabilities

The usability of writing that is expected from this writing is as follows.

a. For the author, this research is expected to be able to increase understanding regarding Australia's foreign policy in preventing Chinese domination in the Indo-Pacific.

b. For academics, the authors hope that the results of this research can be information and references for International Relations students who discuss Australia's foreign policy in preventing China's domination in the Indo-Pacific.

D. Conceptual Framework

To answer the research question, the author will use the theory of foreign policy analysis. The author uses the theory of foreign policy analysis to analyze how the Australian foreign policy-making process is against the domination of the People's Republic of China in the Indo-Pacific region.

1. Foreign Policy Analysis Theory

Foreign policy decision-making involves several procedures and actors. This is very important in the international affairs of a country. The position and prestige of a country in the world arena tend to decline without a well-established foreign policy, which in the end leads to a decrease in the fulfillment of its national interests, while the opposite is true for countries whose foreign policy is well-formulated. As a result, a thorough understanding of the meaning and meaning of the word foreign policy is very important for policymakers and academics.

Each country's foreign policy is influenced mainly by two factors: 'international'/external and 'domestic'/internal. It is seen as an aspect that helps in shaping and shaping the foreign policy of a country. However, the relationship between foreign and domestic variables has long been a source of debate in the field of international relations, especially in the study of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA). Others think that domestic politics and foreign policy are two 'separate' problem areas, but others believe that foreign policy and domestic politics are 'interdependent' and can overlap (Bojang, 2018).

Since foreign policy is generally about a country's contacts with other countries, this interaction occurs only at the 'international' level and, as such, cannot be neglected in studying a country's foreign policy. As a result, the international system or power structure, international law, international institutions, alliances, and military power or arms race all have an impact on the implementation of foreign policy (Bojang, 2018).

In FPA usually, decisions are taken to explicitly target external entities (Foreign policymakers) in the form of an influence effort, but they can also include actions that target domestic entities but impact external entities. For the most part, a person sees a series of decisions made in response to a particular scenario, rather than a single decision. Indeed, as Brighi and Hill point out, "foreign policy decisions should be viewed in large part as moments of escalating commitment in sequences of actions,

reactions, and incremental actions that are constant at multiple levels and involve a wide variety of actors” (Hill, 2012). Furthermore, the decision-making phase such as reading a problem, framing, perception, Agenda Setting, contingency planning, and evaluating policy options to be taken, may become topics in analyzing foreign policy. Finally, FPA is specifically linked to decisions made by human decision-makers in positions of authority to bind the nation's resources, while decision-makers who do not hold such positions may be included in the data in the analysis (Hudson B. S., 2020).

However, in the area of foreign policy, the actual decisions taken may not be immediately apparent to analysts. Indeed, they can be classified and may remain so for decades due to national security considerations. In many circumstances, this means the analyst is working with historical data, or current data if public sources provide it (which may be incomplete or even incorrect). Another way is to use the artifacts of choice—the traces left by decisions to act in newspapers or chronology, which are eventually merged into history. These artifacts are known as "Events", and the data generated by collecting them is known as "Even Data" (Hudson B. S., 2020).

The FPA pays attention to the interactions that are taking place between actors in a country and their environment. The international environment must be considered to understand and explain foreign policy. Foreign policy is influenced in part by the distribution of power between

countries, as well as the impact of transnational interests and intergovernmental organizations. Foreign policymakers view the international system through their lens, which can be cultural, organizational, or cognitive. To understand and explain foreign policy, it is also necessary to examine the country's domestic dynamics and decision-making processes (Sprout, 1965).

Kenneth Waltz defined three levels of analysis in his (1959) book *Man, the State, and War*, namely at the individual level, the national level, and the international system. As an agent-centered field of study, FPA relies heavily on Waltz's first and second images. It focuses on actor-specific decisions and focuses its attention on the decision-making process. As a result, FPA focuses on subnational elements such as the personalities of government officials, social groups, and the bureaucracy. The field of international relations, on the other hand, is structure-oriented and focuses mostly on Waltz's three descriptions. This branch of study attempts to explain transnational or transnational phenomena at the macroscopic level of analysis, without going into countries. This field of study is results-oriented rather than process-oriented. Key considerations include the distribution of power in the international system and the impact of international rules on state interactions.

Therefore, the author will use the theory of foreign policy analysis through the opinions of experts in looking at data related to policies that

have been taken by the Australian government (Event Data) and the phases in Australian government policymaking proposed by M. Hudson (2020). Then the author looks at the factors of the Australian government's policy-making proposed by Alieu. S. Bojang (2018). Furthermore, the author tries to analyze Australia's foreign policy through three levels of analysis from Kenneth N. Waltz (1959).

E. Research Methods

1. Research Type

The type of research that will be used by the author is qualitative. The author chose the qualitative method because the author wanted to describe or describe the analysis of Australia's foreign policy in preventing China's domination in the Indo-Pacific Region. This method is used because it is following research needs, where the author wants to describe the overall data obtained. Qualitative research methods also focus intensive research on a particular object and study it as a case.

2. Data Collection Technique

The data collection technique used is Library Research. The data on Australian foreign policy, China's dominance in the Indo-Pacific region, and the development of the Indo-Pacific region are obtained through various sources such as books, journals, documents, articles, and newspapers, as well as from electronic media such as the internet.

3. Data Analysis Technique

The analysis technique that the author uses is qualitative. This technique analyzes the problems that are described based on the facts that occur. After that, these facts are linked with other facts to get the desired goal.

4. Writing Methods

The writing method used is deductive. Where in this study the author describes in general and then ends by withdrawing more specific conclusions.

CHAPTER II

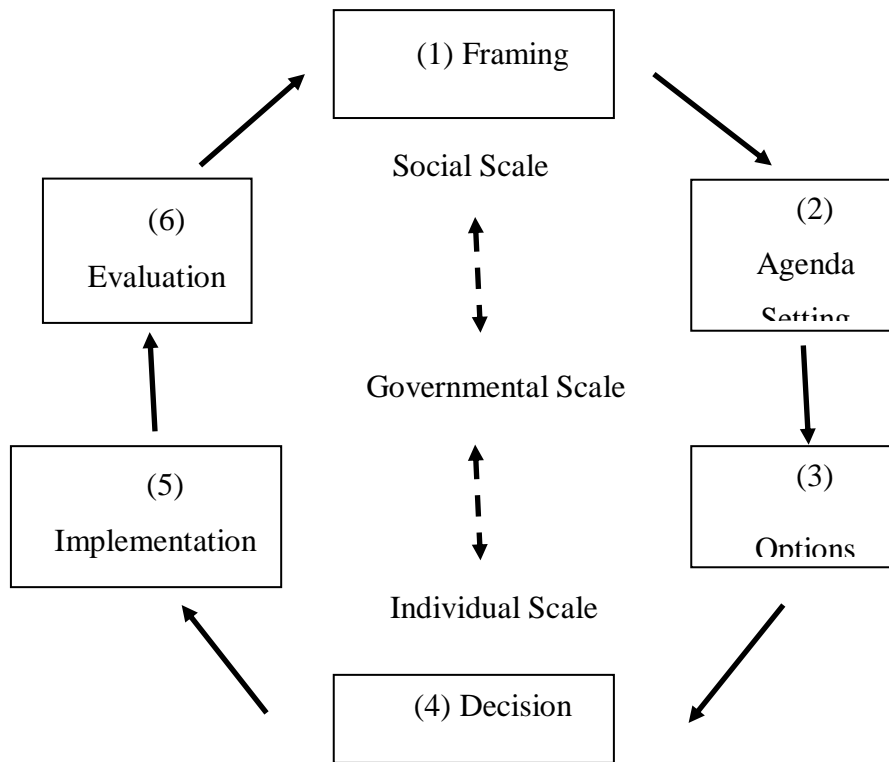
LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Foreign Policy Analysis Theory

Before understanding the theory of foreign policy analysis, we first need to understand foreign policy. According to Joseph Frankel, “foreign policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others”. It relates to how a country can formulate and implement a basic idea of a country to defend and enhance its interests through its interactions with other countries. (Bojang, 2018).

In the words of Padelford and Lincoln, “A State’s Foreign Policy is the totality of its dealings with the external environment”. This is adjusted to the behavior of countries where a country's foreign policy is an inclusive process both internally and externally of their country, of course intended to maintain and preserve its interests (Bojang, 2018).

In the formulation of foreign policy, there is a segmentation that needs to be known in advance.



Source: Paquin, J. F. (2018). *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Tool Box*. Springer Nature.

Figure 2.1 The Cycle of Formulating Foreign Policies

As seen above, there is a scheme of formulation of a country's foreign policy. This scheme is a big picture of the complexity in the process of formulating foreign policy. The diagram goes from the social to the governmental level, then to the individual level, and back to the governmental level, before returning to the social level.

According to this schematic cycle, framing is the first stage in formulating a foreign policy. In this stage, framing is a phase where the process of identifying problems grouped into specific fields of the many problems addressed by a country is then processed further to create an effective and efficient policy (Mintz & Redd, 2003). For a problem to be framed as a political issue and shift from a

world of objectivity to one of intersubjectivity, it must first be shaped by one or more “policy entrepreneurs”. The latter make the makeslem intelligible by giving it a framework—in other words,they name, interpret and simplify it. The way a problem is defined will orient the terms of the debate and determine which actors are called on. Consequently, the actors that set the framework for the debate have a considerable influence, even when they have no direct access to public decision-makers (Busby, 2007)

The second stage in the cycle is agenda-setting. Here, the capacity of non-state actors to mobilize and convince key people, such as civil servants and political advisors, who control access to the leaders, plays a major role. In this case, the government or political leaders need to clarify a problem from various elements in society so that the objectivity of a problem or orientation of a country's interests can be identified (Paquin, 2018).

The framework and the political opportunity largely determine the political authority called on to examine the different policy options, which is the third stage of the cycle. In all cases, when an administration takes on an issue, discussions become more technical and the positions more moderate. The experts, including civil servants, advisors, and scientists, gradually replace the activists, reporters, or lobbyists who initially framed the issue (Morin, 2011). With this, the big picture of problem-solving methods can be identified carefully, both substantially and operationally.

In the fourth stage, decision-makers are called on to give an opinion on a limited number of options. As a result, their decision is broadly structured by the

previous stages. The decision-making unit varies considerably in different countries and for different issues. A significant part of FPA research specifically involves determining the decision-making unit and identifying its particular characteristics. (M.G. Hermann, 2001). Therefore, the process of formulating foreign policy has a long and detailed process because it covers various aspects.

The process of formulating a foreign policy does not stop at the decision-making stage. Other aspects affect and contribute greatly to the formulation of foreign policy, one of which is public administration. This is based on the number of adjustments needed such as how to interpret, implement and adjust it externally. Yet, at this fifth stage of the cycle, the administration does not always have the material capacity, the information, the legitimacy or even the will to ensure that the authorities' decision is perfectly translated into concrete results. These constraints are very real in domestic politics and seem to be exacerbated when a policy is implemented beyond state boundaries (Paquin, 2018).

In Hill's insight, "foreign policy is the hinge of domestic and international politics". In this case, it can be concluded that in the formulation of foreign policy, two determinant factors affect it, namely internal or domestic and external or international. Because, the two scope of these factors influence each other in formulating foreign policy. While others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are two 'independent' arenas of issue, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are 'interdependent' and could spill over into each other.

Undoubtedly, the international environment plays an important role in shaping the foreign policy of every state. In addition, several main external factors determine the foreign policy of a state: the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military strength or arms race.

a. The international system or power structure

The modern state system has been in existence since the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It includes big, middle, and small powers. The existence of such a classification of forces, of course, will cause differences in interaction between several countries because of the inequality of strengths owned by certain countries. As a result, it will also affect international politics. However, the interactions that countries have departed in their foreign policy which is essentially shaped by one's relative power within the international system (Bojang, 2018).

During the 1980s, the international system was characterized by a bipolar system (Uni Soviet and America) and then a unipolar system with the US as the only hegemonic power. But, In recent decades, China has begun to strengthen its power internationally. It can be concluded that every type of power structure at the international level has its particular dynamics and has an impact on the foreign policies of states (Bojang, 2018)

b. International Law

International law is generally defined as a set of rules that regulate relations between states. The existence of international law and international

norms limits the freedom to maneuver of states in the system. It is constituted by interstate agreements and treaties and thus, does not entirely favor every interest a state may have. Moreover, International law regulates the foreign policy of states, and has a binding function in foreign policy as it offers a legal framework through which states should interact. This is related to the interaction between countries under the auspices of international law, one of which is when states often participate in international law by ratifying or agreeing to the results of agreements from the formulation of international law (Bojang, 2018).

c. International Organizations

Many International Organizations (IOs) play an enormous role in the current international system. Such organizations are considered active actors in the field of International Relations, as they facilitate the interaction between states at the global level. As their operations will be guided by the constitution of the organization; the policies of member states will undoubtedly be affected by the nature of the particular institution (Bojang, 2018).

d. Alliances

Alliance formulation is considered to be one of the most curious aspects of international relations. It is regarded as the cornerstone of security policy; however, conventional wisdom holds that its commitments are notoriously unreliable. Alliance formation is considered as a strategy that states use in the formulation and implementation of their foreign policies. In

this regard, the alliance has similarities with international law where in alliances, members are required to respond to their allies and not offend other members (Bojang, 2018).

e. Military strategy/Arm race

An arm race denotes the quantity or quality of instruments of military and naval power by rival states in peacetime. Arm races are a competitive defense spending and military capability building between two states or bloc of states.

As it is known that in achieving the objectives of foreign policy, there are several factors that influence this so that various strategies are needed and one of them is military strategy. One of the most important aspects that support the existence of the state is military compatibility and political will, especially in interaction between countries or international politics (Bojang, 2018).

In addition to external determinant factors, there are also Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy that also influence the nature and course of its foreign policy. Countries differ in size, socioeconomic development and political regime. They also differ in their political institutionalization and societal structures, military and economic capabilities, and strategic cultures. In the same vein, public opinion, national role conceptions, decision making rules and personality traits of political leaders vary from one state to another (Bojang, 2018).

a. Culture and history

Culture provides people with ways of thinking, seeing and interpreting the things around them. It shapes our ideas and serves an instrument for us in analyzing everything happening around us. In Frode Liland's dictum, "the cultural side of foreign policy is a vast and treacherous area." The approach of a nation to the foreign problems is determined by its traditional values and beliefs which have emerged over periods of years. Historical experiences, like culture and traditions of a state, exert influence on its foreign policy. In general, states with unified culture and common history find it easier to formulate effective and consistent foreign policy (Bojang, 2018). Therefore, it can be concluded that culture and history are related to forming a paradigm of a country, one of which is the values embraced by the people of that country.

b. Geography, size and population

The size, geography and population of a state greatly influence its foreign policy implementation. It is generally believed that leaders and people of states with small territory and population do not expect their country to carry out heavy weight in international affairs. On the other hand, leaders of large countries are ready and willing to assume special and larger responsibilities in global affairs.

It's like the leaders of big countries tend to be more offensive in regarding an international issue, especially when they have a great interest in it. Inversely proportional to the leaders of small countries that tend to be defensive in response to international issues.

Geographical location is one of the factors that influence and determine a country's foreign policy. In Amer Rizwan's dictum, "it matters where on the globe a country is located. It matters whether the country has natural frontiers: that is whether it is protected by oceans, high mountains, or deserts. It matters who one's neighbors are and whether a given country is territorially large, populous, affluent and well-governed." (Bojang, 2018)

c. Economic development and natural resources

Economic development is one of the important aspects that influence a country's foreign policy. Many advanced industrialist countries play a dominant role in world politics, and formulate their foreign policies to maintain such superiority in the system. Therefore, it can be seen that developing and undeveloped countries remain dependent on these advanced industrialist countries to a larger extent to get development loans, import of technologies, provision of health care, access to higher education, and even food grains to meet their needs. In addition, economic development is closely related to natural resources and foreign policy of a country or it can be concluded that the three things are interconnected with each other.

Thus, accordingly it has to adjust its foreign policy in these economic terms. The available natural resources that a state has, influences the foreign policy of those states. These resources include minerals, gas, petroleum or crude oil, and water resources.

d. Military capabilities

Military capabilities are one of the components that should be considered by a country, especially in implementing foreign policy. Military capability has many advantages because superior military capabilities can defend the country's borders and other military aggression.

On the other hand, states with weak or low military capabilities tend to be more salient in the pursuit of their policy goals and most often depend on ally seeking with greater powers and international organizations for their protection. While a country with strong military capabilities can independently move as widely as possible in carrying out its foreign policy without relying on the state or international organization.

e. Political system

As it is known that each country has its own political system. Every country has a political system that is influenced by political organizations and institutions located in their country so that it indirectly affects their foreign policy as well. In the system of self-government, there is an authoritarian and democratic system of government. Generally, under authoritarian or totalitarian forms of government, easier and faster foreign decisions are possible because the decision-making power rests with an individual assisted by his clique.

On the other hand, in a state with democratic system, foreign policy implementation tends to be difficult and slow as compared to that of an authoritarian structure. Citizens in this system can freely express and voice their opinion on the domestic as well as foreign policies of their country,

making an impact on the policies their government is pursuing. Democratic leaders tend to respond to these public demands and formulate a foreign policy within it.

f. Personality and character of the leader

Discussing the leadership of a country, of course, is closely related to the leadership of the leader of his country. This is due to the direct influence of state leaders both in formulating and implementing their foreign policy. The personality of a state leader includes the thought process (cognition) and their assumptions in formulating policies are certainly based on the decisions of the "human" not the state.

Rosenau said, "A leader's belief about the nature of international arena and the goals that ought to be pursued therein, his or her peculiar intellectual strengths and weakness for analyzing information and making decisions, his or her past background and the extent of its relevance to the requirements of the role, his or her emotional needs and most of other personality traits these are but a few of the idiosyncratic factors that can influence the planning and execution of foreign policy". Though, the government structure and societal realities are believed to constrain the character of a leader, during crisis time the leader shows the path to the government and society.

g. Political parties and interest groups

In the international world, political parties are one of the important entities in society, especially in the contemporary modern political system

which then forms a representation of the democratic level of a country. Political parties and interest groups are an important means in society to voice their aspirations and voices so that they can form policies that are oriented towards the needs of the people. They have a greater say in the foreign policies of their countries and usually voice their interest directly or through interest groups. Under multiparty system and coalition governments, political parties (i.e., the opposition party) always have conflicting views and interests, which may alter the formulation of foreign policy

In Robert H. Hric's insight, "Interest groups can be viewed as auxiliary actors that stand between the government and the mass public, tied to the government's decision-making system by channels of communication." These interest groups have mobilized a diverse area ranging from business, labor, ethnic, health, environmental, etc. Even in state practice, the government cannot avoid the existence and urgency of political parties and interest groups.

h. Press and public opinion

Public opinion and the media are two inseparable things. The existence of both is supported by the existence and development of globalization and the digital world so that people's accessibility to the surrounding environment is quite high, which of course can affect the formulation of a country's foreign policy. Tomz et al, distinguished two pathways through which the public could shape policy outcomes: which

selection and responsiveness. “First, the public could exert influence by selecting parties or candidates whose foreign policy positions best match their own. This is so important because the existence of a political party can also influence the formulation of a country's foreign policy. Second, after politicians take office, leaders may respond to public opinion out of concern that rebuffing the public could be politically costly.”

The development of freedom of information and expression of opinion has always had an impact on public opinion and the formation of foreign policy. In addition, Rubenzer, in analyzing the role of ‘social media’ (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc.) in foreign policy implementation, argued that the social media as it becomes more accessible, becomes one means by which people, non-state actors and governments can share their foreign policy priorities in an effort to receive feedback, engage in diplomacy, educate people, and attempt to influence foreign policy outcomes.

i. Science and technology

In addition to the previously mentioned, knowledge and technology also influence the existence of foreign policy. Various advantages that can be felt from the existence of knowledge and technology that are increasingly developing, one of which is a variety of things related to international relations. The recent advances in technology have transcended almost all areas of international affairs and indeed open up vast new areas of communication, cooperation and even conflicts among states in their pursuit of security, development and progress. It plays a large role in discussions of

such critical topics as nuclear non-proliferation, use of outer space, population growth, adequate and safe food supply, climate change, energy resources, and competitiveness of industrial technologies. Even with knowledge and technology, foreign policy achievements are more realizable.

As a result of the tremendous impact of science and technology on human civilization and national security, nations and foreign policy professionals utilize it to negotiate international affairs successfully. In this sense, technology can be viewed as a driver of both power and legitimacy in foreign affairs and diplomacy (Bojang, 2018).

Moreover, the study of foreign policy studies was divided into three major phases during its development.

The classic time of the FPA Scholarship (1954-1993), during which there were two major periods of foreign policy studies, the first from 1954 to 1973 and the second from 1974 to 1993.

Alexander George, Harold Guetzkow, Hayward Alker, Arnold Kanter, and James Rosenau are among the first-generation figures. The figures of the first generation have made significant contributions to the study of foreign policy studies. This is because this phase gave birth to a collaborative conceptualization involving data collecting and methodological experiments. Scholars observe that the policy-making process is based on group decision-making at this phase when the foreign policy-making process in small group dynamics is utilized to analyze

policy-making at the organizational and bureaucratic politics levels. Several works created during this period have become FPA references even today:

First, consider the work of Richard C. Snyder, HW Bruck, and Burton Sapin (1954), titled *Decision-Making as an Approach to International Politics*. Second, *Pre-Theories Theories of Foreign Policy* by James N. Rosenau (1966). Finally, Harold and Margaret Sprout's *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics* (1965). The main point of the three studies, which eventually became essential in FPA, is that the process of formulating foreign policy is just as important as making foreign policy decisions (Hudson V. M., 2013).

The second generation, which lasted from 1974 to 1993, built on the foundations already down by the first. During this stage, the subfield of empirical testing is known, which is the answer to James Rosenau's challenge to develop a cross-national multilevel theory of foreign policy, namely *Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP)*. The growing importance of foreign policy has prompted an analysis of how each country decides its foreign policy. This is significant in CFP because there are two important elements: event data and integrated multilevel explanations (Hudson V. M., 2013)..

A collection of event data contains thousands or perhaps millions of lines of code, some of which represent foreign policy 'events' and can be linked to other data. Then, in integrated multilevel explanations, FPA begins

to integrate explanations, using at least three to four variables to affirm or deny the claim through empirical testing.

Aside from CFP, there are values, national conceptions, ideologies, history, geography, and so on that impact decision-makers—the psychological and sociocultural milieu—in making FPA decisions. Individual qualities, as well as national and communal features, become key considerations when a government formulates foreign policy and makes foreign-policy decisions.

The third generation began in 1993 when the cold war ended and continues until the present. The end of the Cold War scenario added a new force to the study agenda for FPA, as understood by neorealist theory and rational choice modeling. In the post-Cold War era, FPA maintains significant theoretical commitments, such as:

1. a commitment to examine actor-specific data at the nation-state level
2. dedication to developing middle-range theory as a bridge between actor-general theory and the world's complexity
3. a determination to pursue multicausal answers at different levels of analysis
4. a commitment to incorporating ideas and data from a variety of social scientific disciplines
5. a commitment to seeing the procedures of foreign policy decision-making as significant as the outcomes.

The summary concludes that the notion of foreign policy does not signify a policy developed jointly by international players between countries, but rather a policy made at the domestic level by the country itself relating to foreign affairs. If foreign policy is regarded as being made jointly by international actors, then this is essentially an implication of a country's foreign policy. Every policy decision made by policymakers has a direct proportional impact on other countries. It is connected that foreign policy is not only about national interests, but also about leaders and how decisions are made. As a result, numerous foreign policy analysis theories can be utilized to understand how domestic actors from international policies, the influencing elements, and the components contained therein.

As for analyzing foreign policy, there are arguments of experts who analyze it, one of which is Kenneth Waltz. In Kenneth Waltz books *Man, the State and War* published in 1959, Kenneth Waltz distinguishes three levels of analysis: the individual level, the national level and the international system (Paquin, 2018).

FPA depends mostly on Waltz's first and second images because it is an agent-centered study field. It focuses on actor-specific decisions and centers its attention on the decision-making process. FPA focuses on subnational elements such as the personality of government officials, social groups, and bureaucracy. In contrast, the subject of international relations concentrates mostly on Waltz's third picture since it is structure-oriented. This branch of study attempts to explain interstate or transnational phenomena using a macroscopic scale of analysis, without looking within the state. Important factors include the allocation of power

within the international system and the influence of international rules on the interactions between states (Waltz, 1959). Instead of structuring our research of explanations that influence foreign policy decision makers and their decisions based on whether they originate at the individual, domestic, or international level of analysis, we prefer to identify nine levels of analysis. Each level of analysis we've discovered might be conceptualized as categories of explanations (i.e., groups of factors) that influence foreign policy decision making and people who make those decisions. (Hudson B. S., 2020).

In International System as an analytical level, By focusing on the system, interactions between countries and phenomena such as the formation and dissolution of coalitions, the frequency and duration of specific power configurations, changes in its stability, its responsiveness to changes in formal political institutions, and the norms and folklore it manifests as a societal system can be generalized. (Singer, 1961)

In addition, the system-oriented model presents some significant challenges. In the first place, it tends to cause the observer to overstate the impact of the system on the national actors and to minimize the impact of the actor on the system. Second, this particular level of analysis nearly necessitates that we assume a high degree of homogeneity in the operational codes of our national players' foreign policy (Singer, 1961).

The next level of analysis is the national government. The nation-as-actor perspective allows us to avoid the erroneous homogenization that frequently results from a systemic perspective, but it may also lead to the opposite form of

distortion—a dramatic exaggeration of the contrasts between our subsystems
(Singer, 1961).