ABSTRACT

Turkish-Indonesian relations can be traced back to the 12th century. Turkish Islamic scholars who visited Indonesia during that period played an important influence in Indonesian society. Turkey and Indonesia cooperate in a number of multilateral institutions and forums, including the UN, OIC, G20, D-8, and MIKTA. Turkey and Indonesia’s relationship is close and multifaceted, with a wide range of areas for further cooperation. Indonesia is one of the founding members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Indonesia is the country with the highest percentage of Muslim population. Especially during A.K.P party foreign policy of Turkey shifted to conservatization, therefore Turkey and Indonesia relationship has became significant for foreign policy of Turkey during A.K.P era. Aim of this research is analysis on the relations between Indonesia and Turkey during A.K.P era. Methodology of research analysis of official statements both side, literature review and newspapers which published news regarding to relationship between Turkey and Indonesia.

Keywords: Turkey, Indonesia, Relationship, Muslim leaders.

Turkey Foreign Policy During Justice Development Party

When the AKP government took the office in November 2002, Turkish economic vulnerability was limiting its options in its foreign policy choices. According to Özdemir Ismail Cem, the foreign minister of two previous governments since 1997 signalled the change in the traditional lines of Turkish Foreign Policy. Özdemir notes “Cem’s diplomacy can be traced in the main developments during his foreign ministry and it is impossible to understand today’s Turkish foreign policy and the debates around the axis shift without looking at the preceding foreign policy decisions.” What is the Neo-ottomanism? According to H. Yavuz many commentators believe

that the change in Turkish foreign policy is related with the embracement of the term neo-Ottomanism. It is still not clear what we understand exactly by ‘neo-Ottomanism’.

Thus we can ask that is it a new foreign policy model for Turkey? Does it hide secret “imperialist” ambitions on the part of Turkey? Or is it a nostalgia? Neo-Ottomanism is an exercise of understanding “how the Ottomans did it.” In that regard, according to Sözen “neo-Ottomanism adopting similar approaches to the Ottoman Empire might help to maintain domestic stability and solve foreign policy problems.” According to Özcan “Neo-Ottomanism’ can not be regarded as an alternative foreign policy for Turkey, as it is sometimes argued.

However, it may be used in the sense of a metaphor that indicates Turkey’s interest in regions that were parts of the former Ottoman Empire. The basic underlying implication in this metaphor is that elements of Ottoman civilization had exerted a notable influence on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, including the Middle East and the Balkans. It is clear that the AK Party foreign policy executive attaches substantial importance to Turkey’s Ottoman past, but the term of neo-Ottomanism, since it carries a negative and imperialistic connotation, is not able to explain the AK Party’s interest in former Ottoman territories.

As Bahadır notes AKP’s electoral victory in November 2002 and gradual adaptation of a new approach to foreign relations once again brought foreign policy to the center of public debates. In Turkey’s case, the ideological factors were so much emphasized that we need to delve further into this dimension as well as an outcome of the vision that Cem put forward, the AKP government adopted and interpreted a new foreign policy vision. Therefore, as the Turkish economy gradually became more resilient in the first years of the AKP administration, the previous government’s foreign policy objectives could be advanced. The new government’s main advantage was the fact that it had a majority in the Parliament. Turkish foreign policy is described by Turkish Foreign Ministry in its web page it states that the primary objective of the Turkish foreign policy is to help secure and nurture a peaceful, prosperous, stable and cooperative environment that is conducive to human development at home and its neighborhood. Therefore these objectives are also adopted by AKP administration.

Since the year 2002, Turkey has begun to structure its policies on the basis. Davutoğlu criticized dominant theories on how the international structure will be re-shaped after the collapse of the Cold War order. Davutoğlu argues that the collapse of the Soviet system brought the dissolution of the identities existing within bipolar system but also the end of strategic stability and balance, which characterized bipolar world. Mitrovic notes “Davutoğlu opposed at that time the

\(^d\) Özcan, Mesut, ‘A.Usul, Understanding the ‘new’ Turkish Foreign Policy: Changes within continuity, Is Turkey departing from the west?’, USAK Yearbook, vol.4, 2011, pp. 167.
\(^e\) Özcan, Mesut, A. Usul, Understanding the ‘new’ Turkish Foreign Policy: Changes within continuity, Is Turkey departing from the west? USAK yearbook, 2011, vol.4, pp. 159-185.
\(^g\) Kaynak, Bahadır, ‘Dilemmas of Turkish Foreign Policy’, Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika, Vol.8, 2012, pp. 77-96.
\(^h\) Kaynak, Bahadır, op.cit. pp.77-92.

dominant theory of clash of civilizations presented by Samuel Huntington and the idea that problems of different identities will be a future main incentive for conflicts”

It is true that nowadays we witness this clash. She claims that it is actually a strategic, geopolitical, intracivilizational and intra-systemic competition over the control of power that is behind emerging clashes. She believes that there are particular determinants in the structure of the international system, like global geopolitical parameters, which present realities for its own. These geopolitical areas are of permanent importance for the power configuration in the international system and are in that sense strategically more sensitive. She emphasized that there are certain corridors in the Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East which are the basic problematic strategic areas. Davutoğlu further explains that in a period following the end of the Cold War, because of the structural transition from bipolar strategic stability to a multi-polar balance of power, a geopolitical and geo-economic vacuum emerged in these strategic zones and turned these areas into the zones of clashes and power struggle.

But besides being a source of instability, Davutoğlu believes that this might also be seen as an opportunity for a country like Turkey, who poses strategic depth in all these three regions, to re-establish its influence in these regions and by that in the global system.

What Davutoğlu presented is a new geographic imagination based on the geopolitical position and the role of historical and cultural heritage which he refers to as geographical and historical depth. Turkey, due to its legacy of the Ottoman Empire, possesses a great geographical depth but in the same time the historical depth. Ottoman experience, but at the same time the wish to departure from the Ottoman legacy, is the most commonly presented as a factor, which had a deep and significant impact on the conceptualization of foreign policy of the new Turkish republic.

There are two important legacies coming from the Empire’s experience that influenced the behavior of Turkish Republic in international affairs in the years of its founding. According to Aydin “The first one is the experiences of being reduced from a vast empire to a medium nation state and the second one is having to struggle to save the national homeland and its independence.” Davutoğlu’s speech at the opening ceremony of the conference “Ottoman legacy and Balkan Muslim Communities today” conducted in Sarajevo in October 2009, is meaningful, and in line with his geopolitical approach Davutoğlu defines the Balkan region in geopolitical, geo-economic and geocultural terms.

In geopolitical terms, the Balkans is a buffer zone. From the standpoint of geoeconomics the region presents a transaction area, from sea to inside, land corridor from East to West. In these speeches Davutoğlu once again brings a positive explanation of the Ottoman history and emphasis the multicultural structure of the Empire. He believes that the Ottoman experience might be a positive example for the establishment of the inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations in the region.

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5. Davutoğlu, Ahmet, Speech at the opening ceremony of the conference “Ottoman legacy and Balkan Muslim Communities today” in Sarajevo, 16th October 2009.
Turkey and Indonesia Relations

Turkey and Indonesia relationship has a long period. The nineteenth century colonized by western powers, during that period Sultan Aceh which is located Sumatra island asked help from Ottoman in order to protect as a better alternative to dominion by a Christian power. The first Ottoman diplomatic mission in Southeast Asia was in 1864 in Singapore, and another Ottoman consulate opened in Batavia (modern-day Jakarta) in 1883. These missions were part of Ottoman efforts to promote an Islamic union under the Caliphate. While the Dutch administration did not initially object to the opening of the Batavia office, they became increasingly concerned about its activities and took measures to limit Ottoman influence on the Muslim population to a great extent, they succeeded. When the Ottoman sultan proclaimed a “holy war” at the onset of the First World War and called on Muslims to join the fight, the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul protested by claiming that the Netherlands remained neutral and therefore the holy war must not require the mobilization of Indonesian Muslims. When first World war finished Ottoman empire lost power, control to empire region became much more difficult and began to divide all regions in 1923 M.Kemal Ataturk and some significant commander they established modern Turkey. Indonesia won its independence in 1949 during that time Turkey adopted a multi party democracy system, basically in Turkey there were conservative and secular two main ideology three military coups and several economic crisis, aspire to join European Union. In the meanwhile Indonesia had Soekarno autocracy rule marked by corruption, Asian financial crisis and as a result economic and social troubles, overall Indo-Turkish relationship slowed.

AKP government has drastically transformed the economic and political scene in Turkey, and foreign policy has been no exception. Turkey left its Western-oriented foreign policy paradigm and developed an approach that engages not only with the West, but also and mainly with the developing parts of the world, including the Asia-Pacific region. In 2000 Turkey and Indonesia started increase their relationship. In 2004 Turkey was one of the countries that helped tsunami survivors in Indonesia many donations collected all over Turkey were wired to Aceh some of Turkish volunteers they went to Aceh, relief teams, state agencies, and NGOs poured in to the region, opening food distribution centers, bakeries, medical facilities, and even small schools. After tsunami both countries got closer on their relation opened a chance for Turkish entrepreneurs to enter the large Indonesian market. Trade statistics reveal the growing economic relationship between the two countries. Between 2004 and 2012, the bilateral trade volume increased by an annual average of 14.8 percent, increasing from $623 million to $2.1 billion.

Gülenist movement (FETÖ) started their activities in Southeast Asia when they established school in Cambodia in 1993. Businessmen from special city of Turkey would concentrate their efforts in a particular Southeast Asian city. Gulen community were sent by the movement with aim of making contact with significant companies, bureaucrats and personalities, easily they spreaded in the region. In Indonesia They opened schools they gained many followers. Gulenist movement in indonesia known as Turki-Otmani (Ottoman-Turkish) people from Indonesia they

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9 http://www.mei.edu/content/turkey-and-indonesia-historical-roots-contemporary-business-links
8 http://www.mei.edu/content/turkey-and-indonesia-historical-roots-contemporary-business-links
7 http://www.mei.edu/content/turkey-and-indonesia-historical-roots-contemporary-business-links
6 Trade data obtained from the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TUIK).
feel sympathy to Turkish people because of Islam and historical background thus Gülenist movement spreaded easily in Indonesia. In additionally, Gülenist established PASIAD (Pacific Countries Social and Economic Solidarity Association) that Turkish student and business men who interested in studying or investing in a particular Asia-Pacific country by linking them up with the local Gülen movement operating in a particular country. Also This association gives scholarship for Indonesian students who willing to study in Turkey. In 15 July 2015 failed coup attempt, government claimed that the coup attempt was made by Gülenist group, which they were in military, they organize coup via whatsapp and Bylock applications.

After the coup attempt announced “state of emergency” Erdogan called all citizens that demonstration in every cities centers in order to prevent possibility of second coup attempt, called “sentry of democracy” many people went out for demonstration. In State of emergency government start purge Gülenist civil servants, soldiers particularly who use Bylock applicaiton, because this application Gülenist use it only communicate by themself for corruption and secret information via Bylock application, thousands people purge and jailed and Erdogan have been warned to close Gulenist schools, also he called that all countries leaders around world which they have Gülenist schools. The Indonesian government warned Indonesian students in Turkey, who received scholarships from foundations linked to the Fetullah Terrorist Organization (FETO).

The Turkish Embassy in Jakarta has said that it hopes the Indonesian government will support Ankara’s fight against a “terrorist organization” led by Fethullah Gulen, the alleged mastermind behind the recent failed coup against President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. According to the official Antara agency, the Indonesian government reported that 300 Indonesian students study in Turkey were concerned about the scholarship awarded by the Social and Economic Solidarity Association of Pacific Countries (PASIAD) linked to the FETÖ. Lalu Muhammed Ikbal, Director of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry's Protection of Indonesian Citizens Abroad, warned Indonesian students who were studying in Turkey through FETÖ the Indonesian Student Union that they wanted to stay away from institutions and people who had contact with FETO through our embassy. After that Turkey issued a declaration through its embassies and asked the schools related to the FETÖ, which was considered a terrorist organization, to be closed by the governments of the countries. Turkey asked to close Gülen rostrum in Sarif Hidayatullah University and also Turkey's Jakarta Embassy also appealed to the Indonesian government, demanding the closure of schools affiliated with the FETÖ in the country. While rostrum of Gülen closed and activities stopped in Sarif Hidayatullah University, even though the Cabinet Secretariat and the Ministry of Education had previously explained that all foreign schools were working according to laws and regulations, and Turkey's demands were rejected by the Indonesian authorities. Actually Turkey expexted from Indonesia authorities closure Gülenist schools but as a result Indonesian authorities did not close, they said that it would be difficult for many students and families would be aggrieved. After the coup attempt Turkey and Indonesia relationship slowed, however it did not effected negatively on relations both contrys.

Turkey and Indonesia joined many organization. For instance one of this organization which established in Istanbul. D-8 The first step towards the establishment of D-8 was the agreements and regulations, and Turkey's demands were rejected by the Indonesian authorities. Actually Turkey expected from Indonesia authorities closure Gülenist schools but as a result Indonesian authorities did not close, they said that it would be difficult for many students and families would be aggrieved. After the coup attempt Turkey and Indonesia relationship slowed, however it did not effected negatively on relations both countries.

“Conference on Cooperation for Development” organized in Istanbul on 22 October 1996 with the participation of Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Egypt and Nigeria upon the invitation of Turkey. After this meeting D-8 was officially established in Istanbul. G-20 is another organization that included big economies, Turkey and Indonesia are included G-20. Last meeting of G-20 was in Hamburg (Germany) president of Indonesia Jokowi before he join G-20 Jokowi scheduled to hold a bilateral meeting with the Turkish President. They are scheduled also to launch negotiations to establish an Indonesian-Turkish Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). On 6 September in 2017, Indonesia and Turkey held their annual defense talks. Though the dialogue represented just one avenue through which both sides have been pursuing security cooperation, it nonetheless gave them an opportunity to evaluate where they are in this realm. Indonesia-Turkey defense cooperation is already ongoing. Both sides signed a memorandum of understanding on defense industry cooperation when former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyno visited Turkey back in June 2010, and collaboration had begun in some areas, whether it be on specific equipment, such as radar systems, or more general exchanges of expertise between their militaries.

A memorandum of understanding between aircraft manufacturer Dirgantara Indonesia and the Turkish aerospace industry seeks to establish closer cooperation. The president of Indonesia Jokowi said that "We have also agreed to increase cooperation in the field of submarine and drone production, which will be followed up by teams from both countries." He pointed out that Indonesia and Turkey have proven success in defense industry cooperation with the Kaplan medium tank showcased earlier this year. Jokowi also thanked Turkey for providing floating power stations that currently plug the power gap in eastern Indonesia. The Turkish-built floating power plant Karadeniz Powership Zeynep Sultan is currently anchored off the coast of Amurang in North Sulawesi to provide 120 megawatts of power to the region. President Jokowi said Indonesia and Turkey also agreed to strengthen link in combating terrorism, with the exchange of intelligence information and joint development of an Information Technology intelligence system.

Conclusion

Turkish foreign policy has changed each time a new political party came to power. Turkish foreign policy in times of conservative parties has followed a strong Ottoman discourse through which Turkey tries to recall historical and cultural ties and creates a sense of togetherness and closeness with the Muslim countries. A.K.P era foreign policy shifted to Islamism But their explanation of a common brotherhood mainly communicates with the Muslim population in the world. AK Party’s interest in former Ottoman territories and also all muslim societies. Indonesia has biggest muslim population in the world thus A.K.P interested to having good relationship with Indonesia. Turkey and Indonesia joined many organization, both countries has good partnership in economy, defence industry, Information technology, and military ties.

Overall Turkey and Indonesia relationship developed during A.K.P however after the coup attempt both countries relations slowed because while Turkey warned to close Gülenist schools in

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* https://thediplomat.com/2017/09/where-are-indonesia-turkey-military-ties/
Indonesia even though Indonesian authorities decided to not close to Gülen schools in Indonesia. Before G-20 summit Jokowi scheduled to hold a bilateral meeting with the Turkish President. They are scheduled also to launch negotiations to establish an Indonesian-Turkish Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, an important step was taken to increase the relations between the two countries. Turkey and Indonesia relationship has evolved during A.K.P era however still there might be more cooperations between both countries, because both countries has significant side Turkey is significant actor for muslim countries, as a model and leader country and Indonesia has biggest muslim population.

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