



## International Role Perspective of Indonesia's Participation in the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II) 1975–1977

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### Abstract

This article analyzes Indonesia's envisioned international role as it maintained its deployment of armed forces as part of the Garuda Contingent in the Second United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF II) mission from 1975 to 1977, despite concurrently conducting military operations in Portuguese Timor. This research uses role theory as an analytical framework to explain Indonesia's objectives and role in deploying peacekeepers abroad during the greatest military deployment since independence. By applying a qualitative-deductive approach, the final results of this article indicate that Indonesia has sent the Garuda VIII Contingents to UNEF II as part of Indonesia's commitment to world peace and supporting the principles of the United Nations. In addition, Indonesia is striving to strengthen its diplomatic position and gain legitimacy from international states. Despite the conflict in Portuguese Timor, Indonesia remains consistent in fulfilling its role and responsibilities as a state of international peace and security. This research provides a better understanding of the motivation and role that Indonesia wants to take on one of its peacekeeping missions and its contribution to regional and global stability.

### INTRODUCTION

After World War II, nations had a collective desire to establish an organization that could effectively prevent future conflicts and promote peace and cooperation among countries within the global framework. To accomplish this objective, the United Nations (UN) formed the Office of Special Political Affairs to manage the early military observation missions (the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization/UNTSO and the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan/UNMOGIP) and subsequent peacekeeping operations. The UN Office of Special Political Affairs managed peacekeeping operations until the late 1980s, when Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the then UN Secretary-General, formed the Department of Peace Operations in 1992. Through this

office/department, developing nations such as Indonesia could actively take part in UN peace missions (UN Peacekeeping, 2023). Indonesia began its engagement in UN peace missions in 1956 by deploying its first peacekeepers in the inaugural United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) operation. This mission aimed to uphold peace between Egypt and Israel amid the Suez Canal conflict (Cook, 2014). Eventually, the Indonesian military forces were officially designated as the Garuda Contingent (Kontingen Garuda/Konga).

In 1975, the United Nations deployed a peacekeeping operation known as the Second United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF II) to uphold the ceasefire between Egypt and Israel and maintain peace in the border regions (Harbottle, 1974). Indonesia attempted to carry on its engagement by deploying the VIII/1-9th Garuda Contingent (1974–1979). For five years, Indonesia deployed almost 4000 soldiers from a Garuda VIII/1 Contingent to a Garuda VIII/9 Contingent (Indonesian Ministry of Defense, 2023). Reviewing the transmission of a Garuda VIII/1 Contingent to a Garuda VIII/9 Contingent thoroughly is intriguing because concurrently, Indonesia conducted military operations in Portuguese Timor (now known as the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste) in response to what was known as Seroja Operation. The objective of this military operation was to secure Portuguese Timor from the influence of Fretilin, also known as the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor-Leste (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente), who prevailed in the prior political competition in Portuguese Timor (Arif, 2013). Global geopolitics influenced Indonesia's decision to engage in the political rivalry in Portuguese Timor, and it fulfilled the expectations of Western countries (Schwarz, 1994) to prevent the spreading and consolidation of communist and socialist ideology in Southeast Asia (East Timor Revisited, 2001).

Although Indonesia is simultaneously deploying its forces in military operations in Portuguese Timor, the description above shows that Indonesia is still proactively sending troops from the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission. This military campaign that was executed in Portuguese Timor constituted the most extensive military initiative since the independence of Indonesia (Kurniawan, 2018). Data also indicates significant differences when Indonesia encounters a comparable circumstance thereafter. Similar situations followed, such as several events involving military troops' deployment, such as during the 1998 reformation event, when Indonesia only sent eight TNI officers in the Garuda XVIII Contingent to Tajikistan. Then, in 2001, the Sampit incident occurred, namely the conflict between the Madurese and Dayak tribes. After that, when riots occurred in Aceh in 2002, the Garuda XIX Contingent only consisted of ten TNI officers who were sent in turn to Sierra Leone. Apart from that, when the tsunami hit Aceh in 2004, Indonesia only sent a few military observers to the XXI Garuda Contingent (Indonesian Ministry of Defense, 2023). While Indonesia continues to deploy Garuda contingent troops, their presence is not as extensive as it was during the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor from 1975 to 1977. Each country's involvement in peacekeeping missions is voluntary, and there is no coercion to continue participating, such as the involvement of the Garuda Contingent, which stopped in 1963–1972.

Several prior studies have addressed the engagement of Indonesian forces in global peacekeeping missions. The literature review can be categorized into two main areas: UN peace operations and Indonesia's Garuda Contingent by Rachmat (2016), Kartini (2012), Murwanto (2020), Ardani (2021) and the role of Indonesia in the UN peace operations by Hutabarat (2015), Sirmareza (2017), Timur (2016), and Capie (2016). The study in the first category addresses the role and contribution of Indonesian Garuda Troops in UN peace operations, and it generally concludes that these troops are considered highly trained, professional, and capable of maintaining security and stability throughout their

four assignments in conflict areas. In addition, this study also concurs that Indonesia's unwavering consistency in deploying the Garuda Contingent to various countries for UN peacekeeping missions demonstrates Indonesia's strong commitment to maintaining global peace. The second category contains various studies that analyze Indonesia's emergence as a major contributor to UN peace operations, adopting a policy-oriented approach and focusing on conflict and security analysis. The reference also indicates that Indonesia's engagement in UN peace missions has intensified in recent decades. Given its status as a developing nation and regional power, Indonesia has significantly contributed to United Nations peace missions, although its involvement's pragmatic or revolutionary nature remains debatable. It is evident from each of these categories that Indonesia contributes significantly and plays an important role in UN peacekeeping missions.

Prior research indicates that Indonesia's involvement in UN peacekeeping operations is critical to maintaining world peace and stability. Nevertheless, there is an absence of literature specifically addressing the Garuda Contingent's deployment to Indonesia during a period when Indonesia was grappling with its security challenges. This study attempts to address a research gap in the field of studies regarding Indonesian peacekeeping forces by applying role theory as the analytical framework. This study addresses the question of why Indonesia kept sending the Garuda VIII Contingent to join UNEF II between 1975 and 1977 while simultaneously deploying forces to participate in military operations in Portuguese Timor. At a more conceptual level, this study aims to analyze the international role that a nation aspires to serve by participating in the United Nations world peace mission while simultaneously engaging in military conflicts with its neighbors.

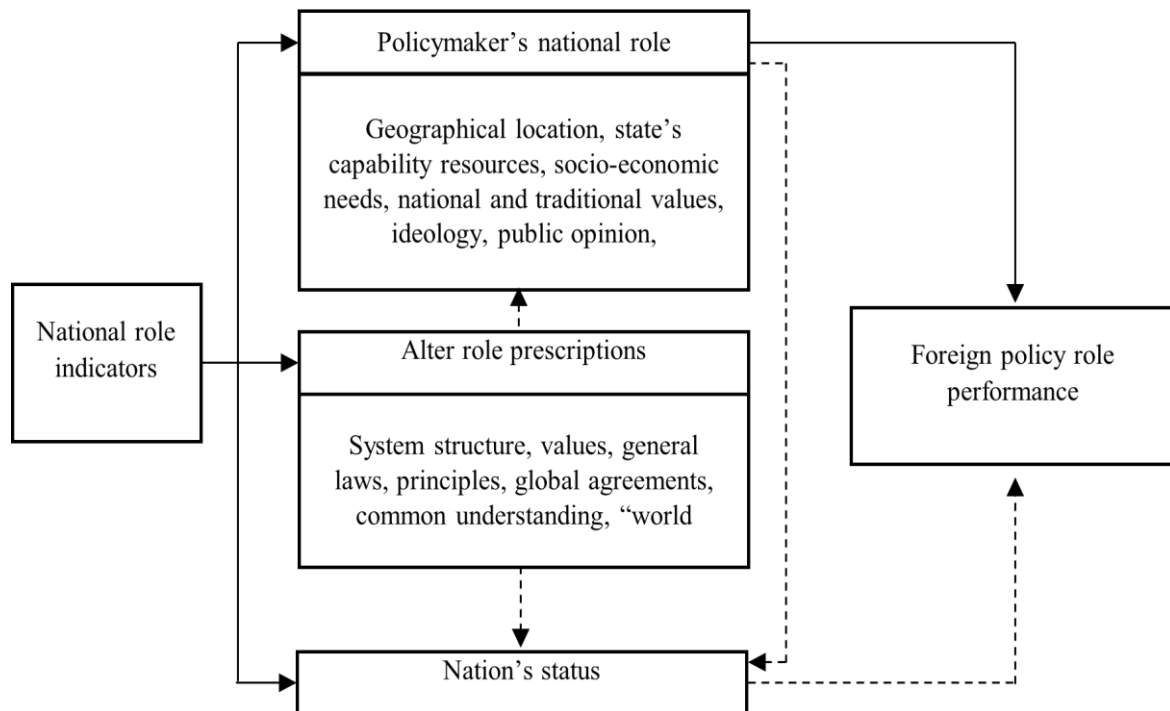
## **METHODS**

This article employs a qualitative approach to examine the reasons behind Indonesia's decision to deploy the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission when the country had to face security turmoil in Portuguese Timor in 1975–1977. Data utilized in this article consists of primary and secondary sources, including official documents, journals, media reports, and relevant literature related to the topic at hand. By integrating multiple data sources, we apply the triangulation analysis method (Neuman, 2014) to enhance the validity of the data and minimize bias in its interpretation. The data-collecting process starts with a comprehensive review of previous literature to gather secondary data from relevant sources (Bryman, 2012). This study then analyzes and presents the collected data through a narrative to address the puzzle being studied.

This study consists of four main parts. The first part includes an introduction, which includes background, a literature review, and problem formulation. The second part contains the analytical framework. The third part contains the research methodology. Subsequently, the next part includes a discussion consisting of a problem analysis. This analysis will provide a clearer picture of the underlying factors that motivated Indonesia to continue to partake in deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission despite the prevailing security turmoil in Portuguese Timor in 1975–1977. Finally, this article will wrap up with a conclusion.

This study employs the national role theory by Holsti (1970) as an analytical framework to clarify the rationale and role of a nation in formulating its foreign policy, the analytical framework (illustrated in Figure 1) is an international relations perspective that arose from concern over the frequently neglected and undervalued role of small and medium-sized countries in the global arena. Holsti emphasized that a nation's national

role, among other internal and external factors, shapes the decision-making process for its foreign policy. Furthermore, Holsti elaborated that three indicators can be identified to determine a nation's position: national role conception, altered role prescriptions, and nation's status.



**Figure 1.** National's Role Theory (Holsti, 1970)

The first indicator, an Alter's role prescriptions, is a reflection of the outside world, which can shape perceptions of a country's position and status. Various aspects include the structure of the system, values across the system, general laws, treaty agreements, informal understanding, and global perception of the country (Holsti, 1970). The second indicator, the policymaker's national role conception, consists of definitions from policymakers about the choices, obligations, standards, and acts that are suitable for their nation, as well as the ongoing duties that must be carried out within the global system or regional subordinate systems. This idea represents how they see the proper orientation or role of their circumstances concerning the outside world (Holsti, 1970). The third indicator, the nation's status, refers to the desired or current position of a state within the global system. When an individual fulfills the rights and responsibilities associated with a certain position, they can be described as performing a role (Holsti, 1970).

Kalevi J. Holsti emphasizes the significance of a country's intention and role in shaping its foreign policy within the field of political decision-making. This is implemented to analyze the impact of these indicators on the foreign policies pursued by the country to determine how these policies can shape the country's global diplomatic ties (Holsti, 1970) This theory may also help us understand how external and internal factors might affect a country's decision-making about its foreign policy and national role.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Indonesia's Role Prescription

The first indicator that can be found from various kinds of external factors is the role of Indonesia in conveying the Garuda VIII Contingent. These factors include system

structure, system-wide values, general laws, treaty agreements, informal understanding, and global perception of the country (Holsti, 1970). The sources of role prescription can intersect and impact a country's national role conceptions and its position in the global system. During the 1970s, the international system comprised three main powers significantly influencing global political dynamics. The three powers are the Western Bloc, the Eastern Bloc, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) (Centre for Science and Technology of the NAM, 2023). Indonesian policies and actions might be impacted by the Western Bloc, which was primarily headed by the United States. During that period, the United States, a prominent global power, had a strong relationship with Indonesia and a strong interest in maintaining political stability and security in the Southeast Asian region (McCloud, 1978). The United States is an observer and an actor capable of exerting significant influence on regional political dynamics. Consequently, the United States may provide support or exert pressure on Indonesia regarding its actions in Portuguese Timor, depending on the strategic perceptions and interests of the United States itself (Schwarz, 2020).

The United States can employ various policy instruments, including diplomacy, military aid, or economic sanctions, to encourage Indonesia to take specific actions or to discourage actions deemed inconsistent with the United States' interests. In its efforts to maintain stability in Southeast Asia, the United States utilized military and economic assistance to influence countries in the region, including Indonesia, in order to contain the spread of communism (Lee, 2022). The United States provided military equipment and training to strengthen Indonesia's military capacity. This support enabled Indonesia to suppress local communist movements. This is evident in the conversation between the United States President Gerald Rudolph Ford and Indonesian President Soeharto on July 5, 1975, from 12:40 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. at Camp David, where they stated that:

"(...)On my trip to Brussels, I told my NATO allies that we were committed to them completely, and I wanted you and the countries in your area to feel the same. We want to continue our assistance programs. As you know, that depends on Congress, which has been cutting our program in recent years. This Congress is interested, but it is my intention to increase aid. We are able to make available some military equipment items to help you in your situation -four naval vessels, which may not be in tip-top condition, some tanks, aircraft such as C-47, and four C-123 transports." (Ford Presidential Library, 1975)

The strengthening of diplomacy was also articulated in the dialogue between the United States President Gerald Rudolph Ford and Indonesian President Soeharto on July 5, 1975, from 12:40 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. at Camp David, where they stated that:

"We were encouraged by the progress of the Law of the Sea Conference, and we hope for further progress. We do understand your problem. We do have reservations, and we would be happy to meet with your people to work it out. We must have maneuverability if we are to carry out our responsibility in the world. I assure you we will work with your people to try to work out a mutual understanding." (Ford Presidential Library, 1975)

Additionally, the United States provided economic assistance for infrastructure development, education, and healthcare, aiming to enhance economic and social stability, which could reduce the appeal of communist ideology. This policy not only improved the military and economic capabilities of recipient countries but also strengthened bilateral relations and ensured the strategic interests of the United States in the region (Bowie et al., 1997). This is evident in the conversation between the United States President Gerald Rudolph Ford and Indonesian President Soeharto on Saturday, July 5, 1975, from 12:40 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. at Camp David, where President Ford stated:

"Our Ex-Im Bank has been working with your people. I expect we will continue to work with you to provide more credits and grants. It is important that we help with everything we can

make available in order to contribute to the essential development you have described." (Ford Presidential Library, 1975)

On the contrary, the presence of the Eastern Bloc, led by the Soviet Union, had the potential to exert influence on Indonesia. The Soviet Union aimed to increase its sphere of influence in the region by assisting independence movements. Potentially influencing international public opinion regarding Indonesia's actions, the Soviet Union could provide propaganda or support to the pro-independence movement in Portuguese Timor (De Magalhaes, 2021). In contrast, the NAM is comprised of nations that maintain a neutral position and strive to preserve their foreign policy autonomy. This movement emerged as a platform for nations desiring to preserve their sovereignty and avoid entanglement with the geopolitical agendas of the two major alliances (Mugabe, 1987).

Apart from that, NAM's existence is also significant in this context. As a participating member of the NAM, Indonesia may utilize this forum to convey its political views and win support for its actions in Portuguese Timor. The NAM allows Indonesia to preserve its political autonomy and prevent itself from being influenced by the geopolitical agendas of the two major blocs. Indonesia's policy decisions and implementation in Portuguese Timor may be impacted by the political, strategic, and national interest considerations of major countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, in addition to dynamics within the NAM. Indonesia must weigh the advantages and disadvantages of its actions on the international stage while taking into account the dynamics of world politics. When Portuguese Timor gains its independence to become the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, these global powers particularly the United States—will have a major role in influencing that development (Nugroho, 2021).

Furthermore, the international community upholds principles like justice, security, and peace, all of which are included in the role prescription for Indonesia. During that period, the projected principles would align with Indonesia's objectives as a nation dedicated to preserving these principles. As an active NAM member and participant in efforts to maintain regional and global stability, Indonesia is expected to promote stability in Portuguese Timor. However, as is the case in Portuguese Timor, there is occasionally tension between peace aspirations and actual action on the ground. Following that, the values formed by the international community can be seen in how the media produces opinions. According to the international media, President Soeharto was the primary decision-maker at the time and exercised extreme caution while deciding how to handle Portuguese Timor. This was published in the international media, *The Age*, on March 3, 1975, under the headline "Press pushing Indonesia for invasion." The article stated that:

Indonesia is being rapidly propelled towards the invasion of Portuguese Timor by its own news machine. Yet despite the clearly inspired press hysteria in Jakarta, the signs are that the Indonesian Government has not yet made any final decision to intervene. This decision was resisted by one deeply cautious man who has a history of resisting the advice of hotheads, President Soeharto (...). (*The Age*, 1975)

Because President Soeharto was carefully considering this decision, Indonesia was not yet certain how it would handle the security turmoil that had occurred in Portuguese Timor.

Against such a backdrop, Indonesia's role in deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent to UNEF II during the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor was an effort to show international actors that the country was still in accordance with fundamental UN principles and devotion to international agreements. Therefore, Indonesia believes that deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission will steer the security

turmoil in Portuguese Timor in a way that complies with international accords, laws, and morality.

Furthermore, Indonesia's actions are significantly influenced by the informal consensus and global perception of the country. The deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent in the UNEF II mission exemplifies how Indonesia's standing on the international stage can significantly affect projections regarding its involvement in managing crises or international conflicts. However, the role prescription for Indonesia can be more severe and restrictive if the country is seen as contentious, has a negative record regarding human rights, or engages in activities that are against international law. Therefore, constructing a prescription for Indonesia's role requires careful consideration of both informal understanding and global opinion regarding the country. To fulfill obligations and address global perceptions, Indonesia needs to weigh the international acceptability of its actions and decisions. Hence, despite confronting global scrutiny regarding its approach to addressing the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor, Indonesia could maintain informal consensus and global opinion on this issue by preserving its active involvement in deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent personnel on the UNEF II mission.

Despite the era of the Cold War, which was characterized by the involvement of three major powers, the values of sovereignty, justice, and peace continued to be the most influential in determining the prescribed international roles, among all other factors. To maintain its positive role prescriptions as a nation that places significant value on peace, justice, and sovereignty, Indonesia must maintain consistency in its actions. However, Indonesia's actions towards Portuguese Timor require steps to convince the global community of Indonesia's role prescription. This role prescription also influenced Indonesia's position and role within the international system, serving as a foundation for strategic decisions made by the government. By actively participating in UN peacekeeping missions, Indonesia not only contributed to global stability but also secured its position within the international community (Hutabarat, 2016).

Overall, Indonesia's actions in sending the Garuda VIII Contingent to Egypt were part of a broader strategy to build and maintain a positive role prescription in the eyes of the world. This move demonstrated that despite facing domestic challenges and international criticism, Indonesia sought to remain committed to global values, ultimately aiming to strengthen its legitimacy and position on the international stage.

### **Indonesia's National Role Conceptions**

The national role conception emerges from policymakers' consideration of the actions, obligations, regulations, and commitments that are suitable for their nation, as well as the ongoing responsibilities that must be fulfilled within the regional subordinate systems or the international system. This idea represents their perspective on an appropriate introduction or function of their circumstances about the outside world (Holsti, 1970). To establish a comprehensive and integrated understanding of Indonesia's national role, the author emphasizes role conceptions derived from the government, society, and variables that impact both internally and externally.

Geographically speaking, Indonesia lies between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, midway between Asia and Australia. Due to its location at the geographic center of numerous major maritime lanes, Indonesia also draws interest from major countries that have the potential to shift the regional balance of power. Moreover, Indonesia holds huge potential and strategic importance due to its natural resources, such as coal, wood, nickel, tin, natural gas, petroleum, and copper (Laksmana, 2011). Given its advantageous

geographical position and natural resources, Indonesia's conception of national role establishes a foundation for the country to pursue international legitimacy and political support. Due to its strategic location at the crossroads of trade routes, major regional influence, and wealthy natural resources, Indonesia holds a competitive advantage in achieving this widely recognized role.

Aside from that, Indonesia's social, economic, and political needs are constantly shifting and unstable due to its recent independence. Due to the trajectory of its nation-state-building process, Indonesia strives to establish a role conception through various initiatives, including national development, alongside fair and balanced global affairs. Indonesia is actively engaged in constructing essential infrastructure, including railways, harbors, and airports, intending to enhance domestic and international connectivity. Additionally, the country strives to establish a unified political stance (McCloud, 1978). With its engagement in numerous regional and global forums, Indonesia also seems to be actively pursuing developing a fair and objective foreign policy. Through its engagement in various international forums, Indonesia has the opportunity to broaden its diplomatic network and gain political support from other countries. Aside from that, engaging in activities is an effective method of becoming part of the global community.

Moreover, the perception of Indonesia's national role is influenced by the Indonesian national character, which is embodied in the constitutional foundations of the country's national values and ideology. According to the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution's preamble, Indonesia is bound to maintain international law and order. This certainly reflects the strong personality of the Indonesian country, as mandated by the state constitution. On another occasion, President Soeharto expressed his views on Indonesia's foreign relations in his speech during the state banquet with the United States President Gerald R. Ford on December 5, 1975, at the State Palace. He stated:

"...For Indonesia, fostering friendship and cooperation on such a basis is a fundamental stance in Indonesia's foreign relations, as part of the implementation of an independent and active foreign policy, carried out with all countries of the world without linking it to differences in the socio-political systems of the respective countries..." (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023)

This statement was specifically addressed to the United States. It underscores Indonesia's independence in international relations, reaffirming its consistency with the constitution in maintaining a neutral stance between the Western and Eastern blocs. This stance demonstrates Indonesia's firmness in facing threats to its constitution while also showing flexibility in addressing national needs and interests, as well as in creating more conducive international relations and cooperation (Ward, 2010). Furthermore, President Soeharto's speech emphasized Indonesia's independent and active stance in international relations, reinforcing that Indonesia consistently applies the Pancasila ideology as the foundation of its diplomacy.

This approach reflects Indonesia's determination to maintain its constitution while remaining adaptable in addressing domestic prerequisites and objectives and fostering more positive diplomatic affairs and partnerships. Indonesia strategically deployed the Garuda VIII Contingent for the UNEF II mission to attract political support and global recognition for its national objectives. Indonesia maintains diplomatic ties with all nations, particularly those in the Middle East region, that contribute to the peacekeeping operations of the UNEF II mission. This is done regardless of distinctions in socio-political systems while also demonstrating a foreign policy that is characterized by openness, inclusivity, and adaptability.

In Indonesia, the construction of the national role predicated on internal factors does not inherently constitute a comprehensive conception of the national role. At the



time, Indonesia's national role concept was indeed shaped by the influence of role prescriptions. However, Indonesia's actions towards Portuguese Timor will impact both the role conception that Indonesia is working on and the current role prescriptions that Indonesia seeks to maintain and improve. On one occasion, President Soeharto expressed his views on Indonesia's foreign relations during a conversation with the United States President Gerald Rudolph Ford on July 5, 1975, from 12:40 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. at Camp David. He stated:

"We are fortunate we already have this national ideology -- Pancasila. The question is, is it strong enough? Here, it is important that we strengthen economic development so we can support our Pancasila. Therefore if we fail in economic development, this will create a lack of confidence in our national ideology and create doubts in the people and leave them susceptible to other ideologies." (Ford Presidential Library, 1975)

This approach was reflected in Indonesia's policy in Portuguese Timor, although it later faced international criticism for allegedly violating human rights. International criticism of Indonesia's policy in Portuguese Timor sparked domestic discussions about the need for reform in foreign policy and a stronger commitment to human rights. However, Indonesia's involvement in UN peacekeeping missions was an effort to build a positive image on the international stage (Ardani et al., 2021).

By deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent to the UNEF II mission, Indonesia not only strengthened its conception of its role as a nation that upholds peace and stability but also bolstered its legitimacy and influence on the international stage. Thus, participation in the UNEF II mission was a concrete step in Indonesia's quest to constructively and strategically build its role conception in the international arena. Indonesia's national role conception has been continually developed through participation in peacekeeping missions like UNEF II, reflecting Indonesia's commitment to the principles that underpin its foreign policy. These principles include justice, prosperity, and peace both domestically and internationally (Wirajuda, 2007). As a result, Indonesia's national role conception continues to evolve through policies and actions aligned with its national and international objectives, positioning it as a nation committed to independence, sovereignty, and social justice, both at home and on the global stage.

### **Indonesia's Status**

The status of a country is a subjective concept that is prone to change based on political circumstances and shifts in the global system. State status refers to the desired or existing position of a country within the international system. The indicator aims to demonstrate the country's level of status, which in turn determines its degree of influence. Greater international status means the country has influence and a higher degree of global dominance (Holsti, 1970). As a developing country, Indonesia has worked hard to improve its economic and political conditions while actively playing a role in regional and international diplomacy. Its membership in various regional and global forums, such as ASEAN, OPEC, NAM, the OIC, and the United Nations (UN), are some examples of Indonesia's efforts to strengthen its status within the international system (Adriansyah et al., 2017). Overall, Indonesia's status in the international system can be described as that of a developing nation with a strong commitment to regional peace and stability. As an active member and key player in regional and international diplomacy, Indonesia is strategically positioned in various global initiatives and organizations. Through active participation in international organizations, Indonesia seeks to strengthen its status and play a larger role in maintaining global peace and security.

Indonesia's commitment to international peace is evident in its participation in the UNEF II mission. This participation not only provided a platform for Indonesia to build

broader international cooperation but also allowed the country to expand its diplomatic network and gain political support from other countries. Indonesia's involvement in the UNEF II mission was an effective strategy for integrating itself into the international system and strengthening its position as an important player in global politics. Additionally, participation in UNEF II enabled Indonesia to develop stronger diplomatic relations with other countries (Djamaluddin, 2012). Through interactions with member states of the mission, Indonesia could expand its diplomatic network and garner significant political support. This participation also helped to enhance Indonesia's reputation as an active promoter of international peace and stability.

Indonesia's commitment to international peace and stability is reflected in its participation in the UNEF II mission and various other multilateral diplomatic initiatives. Indonesia plays a significant role in ASEAN, a regional organization focused on economic, security, and political cooperation in Southeast Asia. As a founding member of ASEAN, Indonesia has contributed significantly to promoting regional stability and cooperation among member countries (Artner, 2017). In addition to ASEAN, Indonesia is also active in various other international organizations such as NAM, the OIC, and OPEC. Indonesia's membership in these organizations demonstrates its commitment to active participation in global diplomacy and strengthening its position within the international system. In NAM, for instance, Indonesia has played a key role in promoting the principles of independence and sovereignty in the domestic affairs of its member countries.

Furthermore, Indonesia's participation in the OIC reflects its commitment to supporting cooperation among Islamic countries and promoting peace and stability in the Islamic world. Meanwhile, Indonesia's membership in OPEC signifies its important role in the global oil market and its commitment to cooperating with other oil-producing countries in regulating oil production and prices. Indonesia's membership in the UN also illustrates its commitment to active participation in international diplomacy and promoting global peace and security. As a UN member, Indonesia has participated in various peacekeeping missions and other initiatives to promote international stability. For instance, Indonesia has sent military and police contingents to participate in various UN peacekeeping missions in countries such as Congo, Sudan, and Lebanon (Firohmatillah & Sudirman, 2019).

Through its participation in these international organizations, Indonesia seeks to strengthen its status within the international system and play a larger role in maintaining global security and peace. Indonesia's participation in multilateral diplomacy clearly reflects a strong commitment to the principles of independence and peace. A tangible example of this commitment is Indonesia's deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent, demonstrating extraordinary dedication to international peace missions despite facing challenges in dealing with security upheaval in Portuguese Timor during the 1975-1977 period. Indonesia's decision to continue actively participating by deploying its best forces during this period reflects its consistency in fulfilling its national role and strengthening its position in regional and international forums.

In conclusion, Indonesia's status as a developing country, an active member, and an important player in regional and international diplomacy has significantly contributed to its influence and role in the international system (Kartini, 2012). The efforts made by Indonesia to strengthen its status on the international stage, whether through participation in UN peacekeeping missions or multilateral diplomacy, reflect a strong commitment to the principles of independence and peace. Indonesia's membership in various international organizations and its participation in various peace missions demonstrate a strong commitment to international peace and stability (Adriansyah et al.,

2017). Indonesia's active participation in multilateral diplomacy strengthens its position in the international system and helps the country build a strong reputation as an active promoter of global peace and stability. Therefore, Indonesia strives to strengthen its status internationally through active participation in various international organizations and multilateral diplomatic initiatives. These efforts not only help Indonesia reinforce its position in the international system but also promote the principles of independence and peace, enabling Indonesia to contribute to global security and peace while strengthening its role as an essential actor in international diplomacy.

### **Indonesia's Role and Motivation**

By examining the principles and indicators that shape Indonesia's national role conception and alter's role prescription, as well as the status it desired to achieve at the time, it is possible to gain insight into the motivation and function that prompted Indonesia to deploy the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission during the period of security turmoil in Portuguese Timor (1975–1977). According to Holsti's national role theory, a country's motivation and role in formulating its foreign policy are crucial factors in the political decision-making process. This is used to assess how these indicators influence the nation's foreign policies and how those policies might impact the nation's diplomatic affairs (Holsti, 1970).

Indonesia's decision-making process is influenced by many indicators that reveal distinct roles and motivations. First, in its role as a supporter of peace, Indonesia adheres to the principle of upholding peace and stability at the international level. As an active member of the NAM, Indonesia supports efforts to maintain peace and resolve international conflicts peacefully (Centre for Science and Technology of the NAM, 2023). Indonesia views the deployment of peacekeeping forces as a tangible instrument in its ongoing efforts to contribute to peacekeeping, particularly in regions fraught with tension, such as the Arabian Peninsula, including Egypt. This step is not merely symbolic but represents a strong manifestation of Indonesia's commitment to contributing to regional and global stability while also demonstrating the seriousness and consistency in supporting and promoting the principles of peace that serve as the foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy (Halim, 2007).

Second, as a regional player, Indonesia aspires to play an active and influential role at the regional level (Kurniawan, 2016). By deploying peacekeeping forces, Indonesia seeks to strengthen its position as a leading power in the region and reaffirm its commitment to addressing conflicts and maintaining stability in its surrounding areas. This action serves as concrete evidence that Indonesia is not merely engaging in rhetoric but is taking tangible steps to uphold regional peace and security. Additionally, Indonesia's participation in such peace missions is expected to enhance the country's legitimacy in the eyes of the international community. By being part of the solution to regional conflicts, Indonesia not only underscores its interest in regional security and stability but also reinforces its image as a responsible and reliable nation in maintaining global order (Alatas, 2007).

Third, the drive for regional support and solidarity emerged from the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor between 1975 and 1977. Indonesia was motivated to demonstrate support for Middle Eastern countries in both the Arab and African regions supporting Indonesia's Portuguese Timor actions. Indonesia aspires to strengthen its status as a country concerned with the challenges of countries opposition to colonialism and draws support and solidarity from countries across the Arabian Peninsula and the

rest of the world by maintaining their active involvement in the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent to the UNEF II mission.

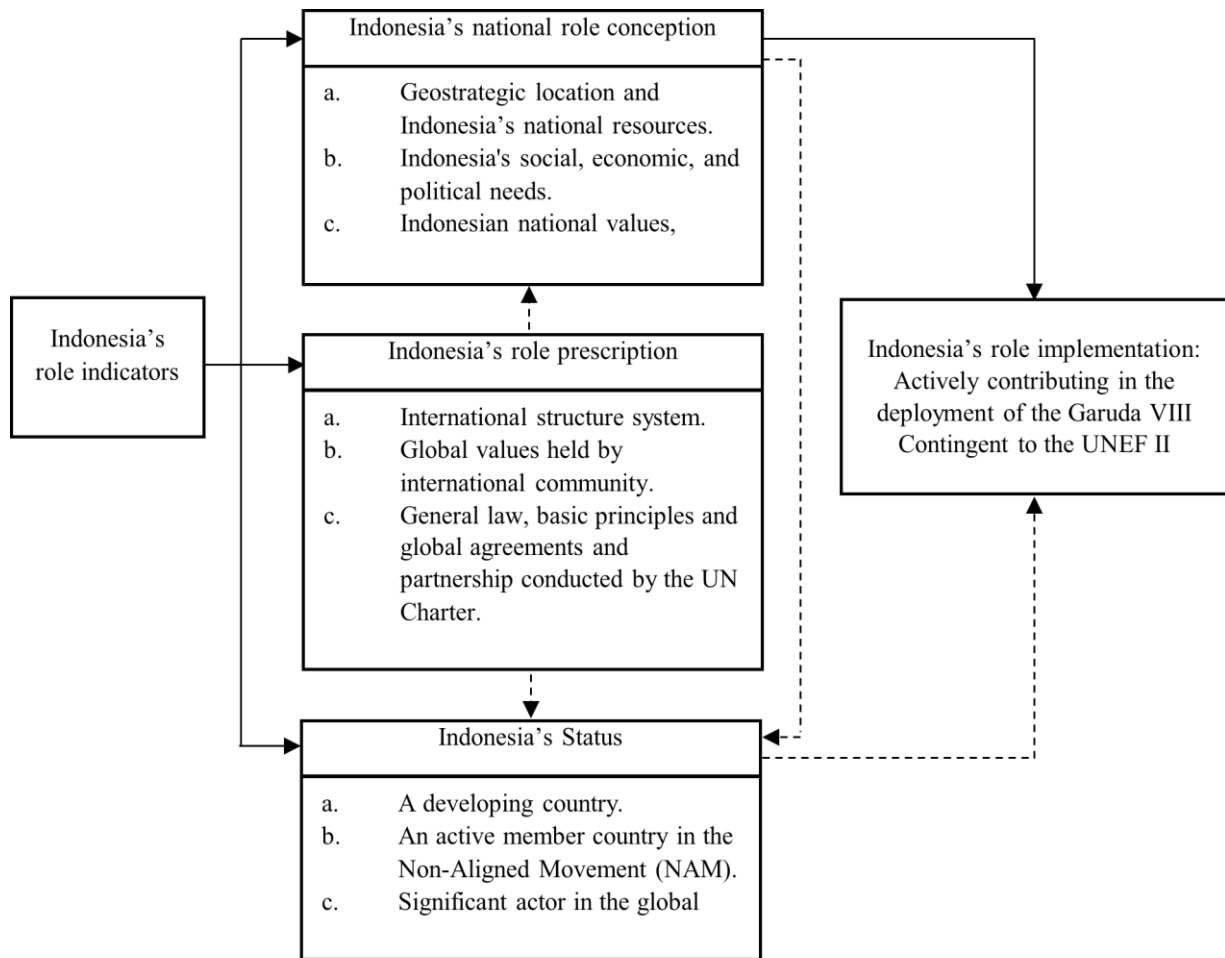
Fourth, the motivation of domestic politics. Domestic political considerations may also be a factor in the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent. As it grappled with the independence of Portuguese Timor, Indonesia encountered domestic constraints and tensions concerning its actions in Portuguese Timor. By persistently engaging in the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent to the UNEF II mission, Indonesia can demonstrate its sense of responsibility and reliability in maintaining peace, as well as redirecting consideration from disputed domestic disputes prevailing at that time.

The roles and motives that drive Indonesia to maintain its active involvement in providing the Garuda VIII contingent to the UNEF II mission can be determined from various viewpoints, such as political and strategic perspectives. Depending on the viewpoint chosen, Indonesia's motivation and standpoint regarding this circumstance can be correctly interpreted in different ways. From a political standpoint, the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent might be interpreted as a diplomatic maneuver intended to enhance multilateral and bilateral ties with the African and Arab regions to promote circumstances within Portuguese Timor. Under these circumstances, Indonesia might use its involvement in UNEF II to gain global credibility and political support for its attempts to overcome the security turmoil that was raging in Portuguese Timor at that time. Furthermore, Indonesia is attempting to address the security turmoil that occurred in Portuguese Timor with measured actions that remain in compliance with relevant global norms through the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent. It is expected that Indonesia's involvement in UNEF II will demonstrate its commitment to peaceful conflict resolution and respect for other countries' sovereignty. By taking this action, Indonesia not only improves its position in global politics but also helps it overcome challenges on both a global and regional level.

From a strategic perspective, the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent holds quite strategic implications for enhancing Indonesia's regional presence and influence in the Middle East region. Indonesia aims to demonstrate proactive engagement in regional initiatives, enhance its political standing, and establish itself as a feasible mediator in addressing the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor. In addition, this action may function as an approach to broadening diplomatic networks and enhancing ties with the Middle East region. Indonesia successfully implemented a strategic approach to enhance its influence and presence in the Middle East by maintaining a proactive position in the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent to the UNEF II mission. Indonesia aims to gain a more prominent role in resolving the conflict in Portuguese Timor while also seeking broad political recognition and assistance from regional and global governments.

In general, the decision to deploy the Garuda VIII Contingent on the UNEF II mission considers Indonesia's political, strategic, and national objectives. However, according to the viewpoint and perspective chosen, the interpretation and understanding of Indonesia's involvement and reason for deploying the Garuda VIII Contingent at the time might vary. A deeper analysis could have furnished a more comprehensive and precise explanation for Indonesia's role and motivations during this period, given the complexity of the factors that may have influenced the decisions and objectives underlying the deployment of these soldiers. Despite Indonesia's concerns about the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor, it considers it necessary to deploy its military forces. Indonesia maintains its devotion to demonstrating its consistency as a country entrusted with promoting global peace and stability within the global governance framework. Indonesia's concrete action is to continue actively participating in sending the Garuda

VIII Contingent on the UNEF II deployment. Indonesia aims to maintain political support and global recognition by taking this measure to address the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor. By doing so, Indonesia will be able to maintain its steadfast commitment as a country that is accountable for preserving global peace and stability.



**Figure 2.** National's Role Theory Operational. Source: Author's Elaboration from Holsti (1970)

## CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

According to the examination of Holsti's national role theory's three indicators, it can be inferred that Indonesia has been making efforts to maintain its role as a country responsible for promoting global peace and stability. This remains true despite the challenges it faces in managing the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor, which requires the deployment of its military forces. An effective measure of maintaining this commitment is to persistently engage in the deployment of the Garuda VIII Contingent to the UNEF II mission. Indonesia is demonstrating its commitment to actively participate in global peacekeeping initiatives.

Indonesia's participation underlines its concern for not only its national interests but also for the broader goals of stability and development. This attempt represents one of Indonesia's measures to maintain political support and global recognition for its efforts to resolve the security crisis in Portuguese Timor. Indonesia strives to demonstrate unwavering dedication to global peace and engage as a reliable partner in maintaining regional security and addressing global challenges. Indonesia has consistently demonstrated its commitment to fulfilling a responsible national role in promoting global

stability. By taking these measures, Indonesia not only promotes its worldwide reputation but also demonstrates its vital role in preserving global security and peace.

The analytical framework of Holsti's national role theory could provide a deeper understanding of Indonesia's motivations. This may contribute to explaining and describing Indonesia's perspective on its responsibility and role in preserving international peace. This theory can help identify political and strategic factors that might motivate Indonesia to actively engage in the UNEF II mission when Indonesia had to overcome the security turmoil in Portuguese Timor. Furthermore, conducting additional research in this area will provide a better understanding of Indonesia's role and motivation in deploying peacekeepers, as well as the surrounding context, providing valuable insights for Indonesia's foreign policy and international relations studies.

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