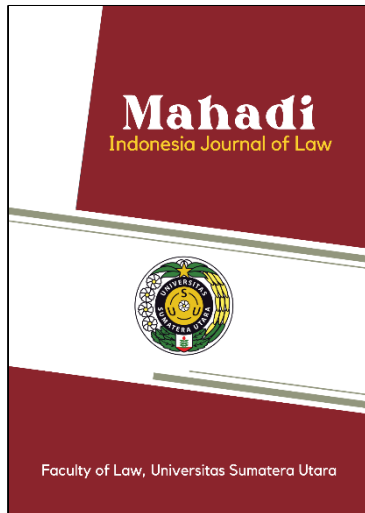




National Interest and National Identity Affect The Behaviour Of Foreign Policy

Syaravina Lubis

*University of Bristol
saphirenah@gmail.com*



Abstract: There was a time when national identity influenced foreign policy, as in China, which has its Buddhist impermanence derived from its cultural identity. It has the identity of, and is derived from Japan's experience of the war in its own country. National interests on foreign policy actions are stronger than that of national identity. It targets countries without strong national identity clout, such as Western European countries such as Germany, and other countries such as the United States and Indonesia. The existence of strong national identities therefore only reinforces the influence of national interests influencing foreign policy, as has happened in China and Japan. Indonesia has Pancasila as its national identity. It has influenced its foreign policy by recognizing external threats. Moreover, Pancasila's national identity influences Indonesia's interior rather than its foreign policy. During the New Order era, China was known to be a communist threat to Indonesia, and Indonesia cut ties with China. In Europe and the United States, where societies have become multicultural societies, national interests influence foreign policy more than national identity. We should have more influence on our foreign policy to unite our national interests and multicultural societies.

Keywords: : National Interest, National Identity, Behaviour of Foreign Policy.

INTRODUCTION

In order to realize the ideal of one country, cooperation between nations is necessary. The need for alternative national interests and diplomatic relations to realize the national ideals is dictated by the country's foreign policy. But we must not forget an equally important element of foreign policy: national identity. Initially, national identity often influences the formation of a country's national interests and its foreign policy.

A situation in which national identity is well developed is found in the context of China and Japan. China's cultural understanding of Buddhist impermanence—the rejection of eternity as an identity—has a profound impact on the development of China's foreign policy. Understanding impermanence leads China to believe that good relations between nations fluctuate over time and that there is no such thing as a permanent situation, and that China will always maintain military power as its primary national power. Much like Japan, a strong anti-military national character had a major impact on Japan during the 1990 Gulf War when it refused to provide troops to the United Nations. Even so, there are cases where the Japanese do not use national identity in certain states, but when the situation in the country improves, national identity remains on top again. I will explain by illustrating Japan's response to the US-Iraq War. The paper then discusses the period when states applied less national identity in foreign policy. This is explained by using Indonesia's foreign policy in the Pancasila-based New Order as a national identity effect to fend off a communist threat from China. But things

changed when Indonesia went through reforms, Pancasila was used for internal relations, and the national interest of stabilizing the country's economy further influenced Indonesia's foreign policy.

Using the examples of the United States and Europe, he also described situations in which national interests lead to the establishment of foreign policy in multicultural contexts. The next chapter will show how national interest or national identity influences foreign policy actions.

METHOD

There are several stages carried out in this research. This study discusses three matters related to national identity, including:

1. National Interest and National Identity in Theory
2. National Identity Affecting Foreign Policy Behaviour
3. National Interest Affecting Foreign Policy Behaviour

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

National Interest and National Identity in Theory

Cooperation between countries is essential for countries to realize their ideals. This clearly shows that countries often cannot meet their needs through the domestic dimension alone. Countries should therefore work together to reap the benefits of such cooperation for their own sake. This points to the emergence of realist theories that are now focused on attaining higher state power than other nations. National interest is a manifestation of a country's ideal of enhancing its national strength. Foreign policy is based on the national interest of the country. This is how foreign policy between nations is shaped when one nation has national interests that need to be achieved through cooperation with others. The relationship between national interests and foreign policy, national goals, can be found in systematic studies such as: B. Finding elements of history, geography, resources, population size, and ethnicity. National goals are commonly used as a guide by foreign policy decision makers because they take the form of tenacity in achieving foreign policy goals, and this national goal as a national action. The nature of national interest is to maintain the political importance of the country, its physical and cultural intervention in relations with other countries

National interest is also interpreted as a term that describes the ability of a country's economy and strategy to remain in the realm of international politics. A country's foreign policy actions are therefore directed to its national interests. National interests themselves seem to be motivated by the ability of a country's economy and security to compete in world politics. National interests determine the direction of a nation's transition. In addition to national interests, there is also national identity, which is the characteristic of a country shaped by its ethnicity, history and culture. National identity is therefore more likely to be influenced within the country. However, it is likely that a country has a national identity strong enough to affect its national interests and international relations.

National identity is unique to every individual, group, or state. Several types underlie the formation of national identities) such as first, the historical areas that people feel are a big part of their lives. Second, to have the same memories of the past. Third, understand similar myths about their origins. Last but not least is the common culture implemented and enforced by the inhabitants of the country. In relation to foreign policy, national identity plays a role in how a person or country is viewed by the world. A national identity is therefore associated with a country. The aspects of national identity that influence the thoughts and ideas of action that lead to foreign policy stem entirely from the same roots as the shaping of national interests. The socio-cultural aspects of a country that are part of its national identity are the most pertinent

aspects that can influence the behavior of a country's foreign policy. Culture tends to shape the character of a nation, which is essentially within the territory of the nation. The aspect of cultural identity is also very strong, which is still applicable in some countries and thus endures to the present day and without these aspects of cultural identity, a country's social life tends to be fragile. This proves that the social importance of culture in a country influences the formation of that country's foreign policy.

National Identity Affecting Foreign Policy Behaviour

Japan and China are countries with strong national identities that determine the direction of their national interests and their foreign policy.

China National Identity on Foreign Policy

The strong influence of Buddhist culture on the Chinese people's social life and understanding of impermanence is the example of a strong national identity that can influence national leadership. The impermanence of Buddhism, the eternal rejection of Buddhism, is still practiced in China. This leads China to believe that each state has relative national power, and that security relations between states are constantly changing, sometimes high, and always declining. China's elites often think that cooperation between countries and organizations is just one of her ways to invade and violate China's sovereignty. This suspicion is supported by China's claim to the impermanence of Buddhist culture. This will lead to China continuing to maintain its military power as a national power. The cultural impermanence that affects China's relations with other international actors and sustains its military power has a significant impact on China's foreign policy actions toward other international actors to resolve sovereignty issues with respect to interference.

Japan National Identity on Foreign Policy

In this context, we speak of cases in which national identity has considerable influence in foreign policy, but in exceptional circumstances national identity may not be applicable. You can see this by looking at the differences in Japan's foreign policy in response to the 1990 Gulf War and the US war in Iraq. 2003. Until the events of the Gulf War in 1990, Japan was content to have a peace-loving identity derived from its wartime experiences. This state of affairs was brought about by the Yoshida Doctrine in the 1950s, which focused Japan on economic development and empowered Americans to maintain national security. This leads Japan to increasingly maintain an anti-participation identity in military activities and to influence its foreign policy to refuse to engage in military activities. However, Japan is often accused of neglecting its responsibilities in the international community and exploiting it. This is because Japan does not recognize its military contributions and severely criticizes military activities that actively participate in the international community. Yet, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in the Gulf War, Japan can no longer be a passive state because of unexpectedly faced American pressure and the United Nations asked Japan to provide troops, so Japan responded to the pressure of the United States to support the United Nations demands.. Despite this, Japan was not ready to provide defense forces, so it was unable to send defense forces to the United Nations, and their pacifist identity against peacekeeping and military non-intervention remains a powerful force. Therefore, the Japanese would rather contribute financially than send their own security forces to the scene. This situation proves that Japan's national identity is at its peak yet to join the military.

However, with the outbreak of the US-Iraq war in 2003, the role of the pacifist identity in Japan diminished and another concept emerged that offered a more positive response. This made up a discussion on why Japanese identity was changed in response to the Gulf War era in

1990 and US Iraq war in 2003, which shows that pacifist identity role in Japan has been diminished while Japan dealing with US Iraq War. Two different situations were where during the time of the Gulf War in 1990, Japan simply could not send its defence forces to the United Nation to follow the US led multinational combat, but during the US-Iraq war in 2003, Japan were willing to send its defence force to assist in the field of logistics on the area of war .

The reason why Japan reacted differently was because, in US Iraq war 2003, Japan's national interest has been threatened, and it made Japan reduced the effect of pacifist identity. Then, Japan decided to changed their concept to the role of centric identity that focuses on looking for a solution for that particular situation, where Japan had to fight for their country in order to protect their national interests. However, this central identity is only used when the situation is in line with Japan's national interests. This is therefore how Japan abandons its identity as a pacifist, moves out of the threat of its national interests, and instead uses its centric identity to seek solutions to recover from its endangered national interests. Threatening situations can therefore limit the impact of the role of pacifist identity in shaping foreign policy.

The identity-role statements above can be used to explain and predict the behavior of Japan in certain situations. Differences in Japanese responses between the Gulf War and the US-Iraq War suggest that if a nation's national identity is a strong national identity, the role of anti-military pacifist identities influences the formation of foreigners. indicates that it may not be possible to give policy. Therefore, Japan uses its central identity to focus on solutions when its national interests are threatened. However, once the situation returns to normal, the Japanese will reuse their pacifist identity in establishing foreign policy.

National Interest Affecting Foreign Policy Behaviour

National Identity Shifted to National Interest on Affecting Indonesia's Foreign Policy

This chapter looks at situations in which national interests, rather than national identity, influence a country's foreign policy actions. Indonesia provides examples that illustrate the process of how foreign policy is influenced from national identity to national interests through the difference in influence of Pancasila as a national identity on Indonesian foreign policy during the New Order and Reform eras. One.

Pancasila is an identity that has become the ideological of the Indonesian nation. Indonesia is known for its cultural diversity, and Pancasila, the country's internal philosophy, is the unifying tool of Indonesian society. Pancasila is a rule that has a broad meaning and encompasses all Indonesian classes.. Pancasila, without questioning the unity of Indonesian ethnic groups, in the sense that Pancasila prescribes all discussions to continue to use the main principles of maintaining unity, harmony and balance. paves the way for debate between. Pancasila offers opportunities for cooperation to achieve the future of the nation. This shows that Pancasila is highly regarded by Indonesian people.

The situation in which Pancasila as a national identity influences Indonesia's foreign policy emerged during Indonesia's New Order era. During the New Order era, Indonesian foreign policy used Pancasila as a tool to identify threats from outside Indonesia who came from China at that time from the crisis of communism. As a means of fending off the threat of communism, Indonesia has boycotted all Indonesian-Chinese relations during the past two decades of the New Order, including boycotting communist-related books, magazines, and films. From 1965 to her 1979, Vietnam was also identified as the source of communism in Indonesia. This makes it clear that Pancasila as Indonesian national identity has a very strong influence on Indonesia's foreign policy towards China and Vietnam.

But when Indonesia became a dictatorship, the new order came to an end, leading to injustice, high political pressure and economic instability. As a result, the Indonesian people no longer aligned with the government, and the government formed social movements to

destabilize . This situation explains how the Pancasila brainwashing failed to keep its promise of Indonesian integration.

After the riots at the end of the New Order, Indonesia succeeded in reforming its government. However, the chaotic events of the past have proved Pancasila's failure to build and unify Indonesia, making it difficult to restore the trust of the Indonesian public in Pancasila and its government. On the other hand, Indonesia's foreign policy focused on restoring and maintaining national interests in the field of interstate economic relations in order to stabilize Indonesia's position. Pancasila as an Indonesian national identity therefore tends to ultimately have a greater impact on Indonesia's internal politics than its foreign policy.

Multicultural Society in America and Europe and How National Interest Affect their Foreign Policy Behaviours

America is one example of a country that can have multiple identities and still maintain strong national interests. Because a country can survive without a specific national identity. It is also because a nation must continue to exist alone with strong national interests in that nation. I made it a country with Nevertheless, Americans still believed that common ethnicity, race, and religion had the ability to improve the economic life of the country. It is also in America's national interest to provide all communities with a non-discriminatory and equitable education. The United States remains a strong economy and is often cited as the engine of global economic growth. Americans see the growth engine of the world economy and use that economic power to help other countries develop fragile democracies. The American situation shows that national interests tend to shape American foreign policy.

Another example where national interests derive from national identities in relation to foreign policy influence are European countries, where national identities change frequently and have no influence on foreign policy. This proves that a country can continue to rule without a distinct national identity. can no longer be maintained. The use of national identity therefore becomes a matter of foreign policy implications in countries with multicultural societies. After all, in a multicultural nation, foreign policy is ultimately directed to the national interests of the country that has become such a multicultural nation. Germany, for example, struggles to continue to prioritize its own ancestry when determining citizenship. This is due to the increasing number of immigrants within the country, often resulting in multicultural societies. It seems impossible to give priority to the real indigenous people of the country.

The impact of national identity on foreign policy is also questionable in a third world country where minorities are angry with the country because of the fate of their kin. State governments cannot eliminate minority situations. Thus, when discussing war, minority groups are no longer able to unite to pursue national interests in place of those actions based on national identity, and to assert national identity. I got Examples of governments claiming to use national identity as the basis for their actions have won many critics from protesters against the wars their governments are waging. B. Demonstrations with the slogan "not in my name slogan" against the war in Iraq in Britain, Italy and Spain. They explained that war was not the name of the people of the countries that were at war.

Diversity initially a matter that requires a blend of intellectuality and practices. A foreign policy that has many useful and diverse values should be enabled to act according to the state's multicultural society. Therefore, foreign policy remains appropriate to apply to the situation of a multicultural society.

Foreign policy literally cannot be separated from the issue of public domestic, civil peace, and identity, and therefore it still needs to be considered as the diversity of a country and the values that emerge from such diversity in the establishment of foreign policy. It is clear that diversity continues to be a factor of consideration in the foreign policy establishment. This multicultural situation show that this will lead to the influence of national interests in foreign

policy because national identity can no longer take over. The example is what has happened in some of European countries that have multicultural society, such as, Netherlands, Germany and France. Community citizens reflect their interest based on how they look and assess who they are and with whom they feel comfortable and have the vision, the same fate, where the similarity makes them to have the relationship between each other. Therefore, the situation in which multicultural society is part of a country cannot be neglected, and a country need to prioritize the national interest in order to unite the multicultural society. So that it can be stated that national interest influence more on the formation of foreign policy in countries with multicultural society.

CONCLUSION

From the results of this finding, it can be concluded that the influence of national interest on the behaviour of foreign policy is more than of the national identity. It is because a country is still able to continue to run only with the influence of national interest as the goal of a country without a strong influence of national identity -- for example, country in west Europe, such as Germany, and other countries like America and Indonesia. Thus, the existence of strong national identity would only reinforce the effect of national interest with regard to its influence on foreign policy, such as what have happened in China and Japan.

REFERENCES

- Björkdahl, A., 2002. Norms in international relations: Some conceptual and methodological reflections. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 15(1), pp.9-23.
- Burchill, S. (2005) *The national interest in international relations theory* (Vol. 38), Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Catalinac, A. L. (2007) Identity theory and foreign policy: explaining Japan's responses to the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 US war in Iraq. *Politics & Policy*, 35(1), 58-100.
- Chotimah, H.C. 2016. National Identity and International Norm as Indonesia's Political Consideration In Response with Actions and Network of Global Terrorism. *Politica* Vol. 7 No. 2 November 2016
- Clarke, M. and White, B. (1981) *An Introduction to foreign policy analysis: the foreign policy system*, California: GW & A. Hesketh.
- Clunan, A.L. (2009) *The Social Construction of Russia's Resurgence: Aspress irations, Identity, and Security Interest*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Ch.1 & 2.
- Dugis, V. (2015) *Level of Analysis: Culture and National Identity*.
- Ehrlich, Paul R. dan Jianguo Liu, "Some Roots of Terrorism", *Population and Environment* 24, No 2, 2002.
- Finnemore, Martha dan Sikkink, Kathryn, "International norm dynamic and Political change", *International Organization* 52, 4,
- Frankel, J. (1970) *National Interest*, London: Pall Mall Press.
- Ganjar Widhiyoga; Setyasih Harini. (2019). Identitas Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Masa Reformasi (1999-2014). *Research Fair Unisri*, 3(1), 568.
- Gelar Nanggala W.S.P. 2018. Cultural Diplomacy In Supporting The National Interest And National Defense: The Study Of Indonesia Arts And Culture Scholarship Program By The Ministry Of Foreign Affairs Of Indonesia. *Jurnal Diplomasi Pertahanan* | Desember 2018, Volume 4, Nomor 3
- Hill, C. (2013) *The national interest in question: Foreign policy in multicultural societies*. OUP Oxford.
- Hill, C. and Wallace, W., 2013. Introduction: actors and actions. In *The actors in Europe's foreign policy* (pp. 1-16). Routledge.
- Li dan Karakowsky. (2001). "Do We see eyeto-eye? Implication of Cultural Differences for Cross-Cultural Management Research and Practice". *The Journal of Psychology*
- Lynch, A.C., 2001. The realism of Russia's foreign policy. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53(1), pp.7-31.
- Mila, Nasihatul, Fatma Vida, dan Depict Pristine Adi. Sejarah Perkembangan Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia Masa Pasca Reformasi. Dalam *Jurnal Pendidikan PKN Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* Vol. I No. 2 November 2020.
- Moravcsik, A. (1997). Taking preferences seriously: A liberal theory of international politics. *International Organization*, 51(4), 513-553. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081897550447>
- Muzakki, Fadlan. (2017). Theory, Practice, and Analysis of Indonesia's Foreign Policy. Dalam *Jurnal Translitera* Edisi 5/2017.
- Nye, J. (2008). *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*. SAGE Journals
- Nye, Joseph S (Jr). (1999). Redefining the National Interest. Dalam *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (Jul. - Aug., 1999),

- Pham, J.P. (2008) What Is in the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 30(5), pp.256-265.
- Rice, C. (2008) Rethinking the national interest: American realism for a new world. *Foreign Affairs*, 2-26.
- Smith, A.D. (1991) *National Identity*. Nevada: University of Nevada Press.
- Smith, S., Hadfield, A., & Dunne, T. (2012) *Foreign policy: theories, actors, cases*. Oxford University Press.
- Sukma, Rizal . (1995). The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy: An Indonesian View. Dalam *Asian Survey*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Mar., 1995). University of California Press.
- Umar, Harun & Irma Indrayani. (2020). State Political Behavior: (Foreign And Domestic Policy, Diplomacy And Cooperation, International Political Dynamics). Dalam *Journal of Social Political Sciences (JSPS)*, Vol. 1, No. 2, May, 2020.
- Tow, W. T. (2001) *Asia-Pacific strategic relations: Seeking convergent security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Trubowitz, P. (1998) *Defining the national interest: conflict and change in American foreign policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Utarti, H. M. (2000) *The wise eagle?: Indonesia's foreign policy and the politics of national identity* (No. 3956). University of Hawaii.
- Wijayanti, A. 2022. Pengaruh Kepentingan Nasional Dalam Pelaksanaan Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif. *Kybernology : Journal of G*