

## 15.1 Speech jongerenevent Jakarta

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Speech title: *Membangunan relasi* (Building relations)

*Saudara saudara, ladies and gentlemen,*

[*Opening*]

*Sekolah di luar negeri bukan hanya menimba ilmu demi selemba ijazah, yang lak kalah penting adalah membangun relasi.*

*(Going to school abroad is not only about obtaining a diploma; the most important thing is learning to build relationships)*

I was struck by this line in a recent film, *Negeri Van Oranje* [*Het land van Oranje*], which has been a big hit in your country. It's about a group of five Indonesian students in the Netherlands and is based on a true story. A story about friendship, love, and life of young people in the Netherlands, which resulted in an increase of interest of Indonesian students to study in the Netherlands. The students of *Negeri Van Oranje* got a fresh take on the country of their former coloniser – a country that was otherwise unknown to them.

The quote shows the importance of interaction and contact between different cultures. The importance of building relations, not only between people but also – and here I'm speaking as foreign minister – between

countries and regions. At international and regional level, at national and local level, we have to seek inspiration from each other, from personal encounters. That is something students and young people do very well; government ministers and political leaders do well to follow their example – building relations through international contacts.

The line also touches on education. Did you know that, since the 1950s, more than 20,000 Indonesians have studied in the Netherlands, including – I might add – my counterpart, foreign minister Retno Marsudi? In any given year, around 1,500 Indonesians are studying in my country, and that number doesn't even include the diplomats from Kemlu [*Indonesisch BZ*] following courses at the Netherlands Institute for International Relations at Clingendael.

We have a saying in my country: the future belongs to the young [*Wie de jeugd heeft, heeft de toekomst*]. This young crowd at the Erasmus Huis bodes well for Indonesia's future. It also reflects the youth of its population, around 40% of which is under 24. This so-called youth bulge can reap huge dividends, as we have seen ourselves in the Netherlands in the sixties and seventies: income per capita can increase rapidly if the economy manages to employ these youngsters in productive activities. The opposite is also true: if a large

group [cohort?] of youngsters remain unemployed or underemployed, they might act as a source of political and social instability. We have seen in the Middle East and Northern Africa what can happen next...

Governments should take heed and make sure adequate investments take place, both public and private, to create sufficient jobs. They should take your example, because I'm sure that you have come so far because of your energy, your enthusiasm and your hard work (quite apart from your efforts to 'build relations'!).

The Erasmus Huis offers a great forum for the meeting and exchange of Indonesian and Dutch cultural expression, such as art, music and theatre.

This ambience and our shared interest in building relations provide the perfect setting for me to present some ideas on the relationship between our two countries and our future partnership, as well as on the importance of regional organisations like ASEAN and the EU in addressing today's security challenges. I also look forward to an exchange of views later, so that I can learn from your ideas.

### [*Geschiedenis*]

But before that, I would like to touch briefly on our past. The Netherlands and Indonesia are closely linked. Our histories are interwoven and go back over 400 years. Our shared past is why so many people in the Netherlands still feel so connected to Indonesia today.

In my country the impact of our shared history has been immense. Many generations of Dutch people lived and worked here, so Indonesia has had an enduring influence on our literature, our cuisine and our people.

There have also, however, been painful periods and events in this long relationship. And we must have the courage to confront them if we want to move forward.

Novelists like the Indonesian Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the 19th-century Dutch writer Multatuli and the 20th-century Dutch writer Hella Haasse have all touched on different elements of this period and the colonial system. We should read them, we should follow Multatuli's appeal in his book *Max Havelaar* where he writes: *'Ik wil gelezen worden' – 'I want to be read by politicians who are obliged to keep an eye on the signs of the times'*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>[Tekst uit de *Max Havelaar*: Ja, ik wil gelezen worden! Ik wil gelezen worden door staatslieden, die verplicht zijn te letten op de tekenen des tijds ... door letterkundigen, die toch ook eens 't boek moeten inzien waarvan men zoveel kwaad spreekt ... door handelaren, die belang hebben bij de koffieveilingen... door kameniers, die me huren voor weinige centen ... door gouverneurs-generaal in ruste ... door ministers in bezigheid ... door de lakeien van die Excellentiën ... door bidpredikers, die more majorum zullen zeggen dat ik de Almachtige God aantast, waar ik slechts opsta tegen 't godje dat zij maakten naar hun beeld ... door duizenden en tienduizenden van exemplaren uit het Droogstoppelras, die -- voortgaande hun zaakjes op de bekende wijze te behartigen -- 't

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After the birth of the Republik Indonesia [17 augustus 1945, uitroeping Onafhankelijkheid door Soekarno], we experienced a painful separation, a process marked by terrible violence. Many people have lost their lives or have been wounded in that period. The deployment of military force in 1947 put the Netherlands on the wrong side of history. If a society wants to go into the future with its eyes open, it must have also have the courage to confront its own history.

The years after the *Proklamasie* had lasting consequences for those who suffered during that time – both Indonesians and Dutch. It is striking to see how new topics and findings related to this dark page of our history have arisen over the years and how interest in this subject – certainly in the Netherlands – continues to grow. I believe this is a history that we should have the courage to examine and discuss, lest we forget. And we preferably do this together. History teaches us lessons for the future, it confronts us with sometimes a very difficult past, but also liberates our mind for the future. For a Indonesian-Dutch relationship 3.0, for a new generation.

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hardst zullen meeschreeuwen over de mooiigheid van m'n geschrijf... door de leden der volksvertegenwoordiging, die weten moeten wat er omgaat in 't grote Rijk over zee, dat behoort tot het Rijk van Nederland...]

I strongly believe that acknowledging and learning from the past, positions us so much better for creating the bright future our people deserve. Because even with all its ups and downs, our shared history offers a sound basis for building a shared future. It's heartening to see that, with this new, young generation here in Indonesia, a renewed interest in the Netherlands has taken root. I started my speech with the film *Negeri van Oranje* and the many Indonesians studying in the Netherlands. I'm also delighted about the success of the Dutch language programme here at the Erasmus Huis. Many Indonesians are now learning Dutch. Their curiosity is a great gift and bodes well for the future of our relationship.

We need this relationship, because we face a growing number of similar challenges, or outright threats, like migration, global warming, terrorism, and cyber threats. To deal with these issues we need to work together.

[EU]

And this brings me to my second point, which is the importance of regional and interregional cooperation. Let me start with the European Union. Because there's an interesting parallel between European cooperation and the Dutch-Indonesian experience I just mentioned: shared history and shared future.

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As you know, Europe and Asia emerged from the Second World War devastated. Their economies and infrastructure were in ruins, millions of people were dead, and countries were in dire need of funds to rebuild the economy. It took the vision, commitment, courage and original thinking of great statesmen to convince other leaders that there was a new way forward out of the ruins of two World Wars.

The countries that eventually signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957 – starting what we now call the EU – were very different in size, outlook and economic systems, but they realised they were bound by shared history and values, and that they could grow their economies by joining forces. They also were aware of the need to work together in the face of the challenge posed by the Soviet bloc.

Today, the need for international cooperation is greater than ever. Whether the issue is climate change, security, trade, migration, energy or fighting inequality, promoting inclusive growth, no country can go it alone. And this is highlighted by the three priorities of the Dutch EU Presidency: security, migration and economic resilience.

*[Common EU and ASEAN challenges]*

*These issues are* equally relevant in the ASEAN region. ASEAN also arose from the need for cooperation on common challenges. It has gained in strength and momentum over the years. At the end of 2015 ASEAN became an economic community [ASEAN Economic Community, AEC]. This is a big step towards further regional integration. In Europe we continue to strengthen and deepen the EU, but not without debate, controversy and finding the right balance between the local, the national and regional interests.

In today's world many of the challenges we face transcend national borders and even continents. In our globalised world, distances mean less and less. This has highlighted the need for closer interregional cooperation. This is essential for confronting challenges and developments that affect our security. Let me briefly mention some of them.

Both Europe and Asia Pacific are dealing with migration crises. In both regions an integrated approach is needed in countries of origin, transit and destination; an approach that combines security, humanitarian relief and economic development. This is also what I discussed at the Conference on the Bali process on people smuggling, human trafficking and related transnational crime



yesterday, under the chairmanship of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi. Just last Friday [18 March] the European Council agreed with Turkey to work on stemming the flow of migrants from Turkey to Greece, breaking the business model of smugglers and offering migrants an alternative to putting their lives at risk. To achieve this,

- (i) Turkey will take back all new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into the Greek islands.
- (ii) For every Syrian being returned to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled from Turkey to the EU.

This conveys the clear message that there is no use in making the dangerous trip overseas. Once the irregular influx of refugees is substantially and sustainably reduced, a humanitarian admission scheme will be activated. In both our regions governments need to work together constructively.

Both our regions have to deal with terrorism. I was shocked to hear the news last Tuesday on the bombings in Brussels Airport and the Maalbeek subway station, and about the many dead and wounded victims. This case shows once again the importance of cooperating in the area of counterterrorism.

Both our regions face increasing instability through the movements of foreign terrorist fighters – FTFs – and

domestic violent extremists. Preventing the departure of FTFs must go hand in hand with exploring the options for reintegration or prosecution on their return. We can only do this if we work together and learn from each other. At the same time we have to complement repressive measures with a broader preventive approach. One that offers an alternative narrative for youngsters who feel attracted to violent extremist ideology. That is the only way to defeat terrorism and prevent radicalisation. As co-chair of the Global Counterterrorism Forum [GCTF] the Netherlands actively promotes sharing best practices. And we are helped greatly in these efforts by our close working relationship with Indonesia and Australia as co-chairs of the Working Group [*within GCTF*] on the Detention and Reintegration of Convicted Terrorists. Therefore, I am very pleased to announce that the GCTF training programme on the identification, anticipation and prevention of radicalisation in prisons will be delivered to Indonesia in May. This programme aims at training practitioners and officers that could become mentors and trainers assisting fellow staff in identifying radicalisation to terrorism. Traditional repressive measures – like detention – need a complementary preventive approach to ultimately and effectively prevent convicted and detained terrorists from straying on the wrong path. In order to do this, we need well-trained and knowledgeable

people to carry out this difficult but necessary work and we must give them the tools that they need.

Stability can't be taken for granted, in Europe we are confronted with a circle of instability on our eastern and southern borders. In Asia the situation is different. Many countries are increasing their military budgets, including in Asia. Rising tensions in the South China Sea are a grave concern. Freedom of navigation and maritime security are absolutely vital, not only for your safety and prosperity, but also for the rest of the world. The Netherlands does not take a position in territorial disputes. We believe in peaceful resolution based on dialogue and international law. We encourage countries to recognise the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Or to consider the benefits of alternative ways to peacefully settle conflicts, like arbitration and mediation. Indonesia is a crucial player in the region and may even become a decisive actor. The increasing interest in international law is encouraging, and it forms a substantial part of the Dutch scholarship programme StuNED. It's important to establish mechanisms to facilitate and promote dialogue.

Our legal consideration of the high seas finds its parallel in cyberspace: the digital domain should be treated as a global commons, open to all, free from domination. Like the high seas, it is under threat, and we become more vulnerable to cyber incidents and attacks as we grow more dependent on cyber infrastructure. So we need to develop a normative framework that defines the boundaries of what states can and can't do in cyberspace. Only by bringing together all stakeholders can such a framework be successfully developed.

The Netherlands has started several initiatives [*such as the Hague process*] in which Indonesia is participating actively and enthusiastically. Their main focus is to keep the internet open and secure. This is essential: preserving internet freedom is a prerequisite for reaping its full benefits, in terms of the economy, education, entertainment and every other field of human endeavour. In Indonesia the number of internet users is among the highest in the world, so it stands to benefit tremendously if and when respect for human rights online – and offline – becomes the norm.

### [Global Strategy EU]

These examples show the importance of countries, as well as regions, working together to confront challenges and threats. And by acting on the basis of shared values, European countries can achieve much more than they could by acting alone. In a dangerous world, there is safety in numbers.

Achieving stability, security and sustainability does not come easily: it comes with a price tag and requires a constant effort. Above all, it requires a sense of common purpose backed up with a common strategy.

So it will come as no surprise that the Netherlands is in favour of a strong European Foreign and Security Policy. Within the EU we are now drafting a Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy. The arc of instability around our continent affects all member states. The threat of terrorism shows how closely our internal security is linked to external security. We have already seen what the EU can achieve if it acts as one. When it comes to climate change, Europe plays a leading role – as shown in Paris. And when it comes to international trade, the EU remains the world's largest economic bloc. With that comes the responsibility to look at the impact of trade. Trade is about more than profit alone. Trade should

create added value for society. Globally operating companies increasingly recognise that. We therefore promote the sustainability agenda of global value chains in the European market. But at the same time we collaborate with Indonesia on sustainability of production, for example in palm oil: avoiding deforestation and forest fires, respecting land rights. For example through the Dutch initiated Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH), working with the province of South Sumatra on landscape management and planning and, on a larger scale, training Indonesian smallholder farmers in better practices, linking them to sustainable supply chains. Dutch and Indonesian research institutes work together on better management of peat lands and share that knowledge with one of your largest pulp and paper companies [APP]. Climate change, forest conservation, inclusive growth, it is a true global challenge not just for my generation, but so much the more for your generation. We need you! Urgently to save the planet with sustainable palm oil!

The EU was founded on the fundamental values of freedom, the rule of law, equality and solidarity. As a multilateral actor, the EU is well placed to uphold these common values – and the rules that go with them – in our global institutions. As other powers emerge we should redouble our efforts to find common ground. We need to shape a rules-based system that guarantees a

level playing field for all. A system built not by the EU alone, but together with other regional organisations, such as ASEAN.

### [Netherlands-Indonesia]

I hope I've made clear how important it is to think globally, because many of the world's problems and challenges need a global response. And that calls for concrete cooperation between our two countries.

A prime example is maritime security: The Global Maritime Fulcrum is a centrepiece of President Joko Widodo's administration. It represents a national vision and development agenda to rebuild the country's maritime culture and expand its economy. The Fulcrum policy is based on five pillars, and aims to make Indonesia a maritime power. President Widodo's maritime doctrine is about maintaining national sovereignty, maritime safety and regional security.

Both the Netherlands and Indonesia depend heavily on safe and secure sea lines of communication, and both countries are committed to international and regional peace and stability.

In Europe we are facing challenges which I am sure you will recognise: piracy threats against our vessels, illegal migration, increased concerns about terrorism, and the trafficking of persons, drugs and arms into Europe. Not to mention pollution and illegal fishing. A comprehensive approach is required to deal with these issues, both at national and at EU level. In the EU, a Maritime Security Strategy has recently been approved. At national level, the focus is on agencies joining forces and sharing information.

I am glad to see that Indonesia and the Netherlands are working together too, and exchanging best practices. For example, the Navy and Coastguard of both countries are sharing information and holding joint training exercises. And we are discussing and sharing expertise on issues of international law and the Law of the Sea.

[Afronding]

Ladies and gentlemen,

I hope I've identified the main problems and challenges that our two countries are facing in our respective regions. There are many opportunities for us to deepen our friendship and collaboration even further, for example in the areas of trade and investment, the judicial sector and counterterrorism. Our relationship



should be forward-looking. It should be an equal partnership. We should build on our common past, not be hostages to it. As the Indonesian novelist Ayu Utami put it in her foreword to the book *Bitter Spice: Indonesia and the Netherlands from 1600*, 'Transcending the past involves experiencing the pain and pleasure, accepting and letting go without yet forgetting, and then going beyond it by placing events in a wider context.'

People-to-people contacts are as important as governmental contacts in deepening and broadening our relationship. For you young people, there are many challenges ahead. As young leaders, a big responsibility awaits you. Be it in the area of security, the environment, the climate or the Sustainable Development Goals.

I look forward to an even closer relationship with Indonesia. I want to learn from our mutual exchange, and I would encourage all of you to do the same. I look forward to hearing your views and questions.

*Terima kasih*