Reviewing the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Indonesia Through President Jokowi's Visit to South Africa in 2023

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ABSTRACT

In August 2023, President Joko Widodo visited several African countries i.e. The Republic of Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, The Republic of Mozambique and The Republic of South Africa. It was his first visit to Africa during his term since 2014. While the visit covered four African countries, this article discusses only his visit to South Africa where he attended the BRICS forum. In particular this article focuses on Indonesia’s multilateral diplomacy in the BRICS’ forum, the position of Indonesia in the global political stage and its role both at the global and regional levels. Despite Indonesia not yet becoming a member of BRICS, its presence in the BRICS forum in South Africa in 2023 shows that Indonesia’s position in the global political stage has been increasing. Moreover, the presence also opened an opportunity for Indonesia to establish the new direction of its foreign policy and diplomacy not only among BRICS member states but also with South Africa and other African countries for achieving the future objective and global interest which has been very dynamic.

Keywords: President Joko Widodo; Indonesia; South Africa; Africa; BRICS

ABSTRAK


Kata Kunci: Presiden Joko Widodo; Indonesia; Afrika Selatan; Afrika; BRICS.

Introduction

From the perspective of historical relations, since a long time ago Indonesia and many African countries have established and bound themselves to very close relations. In the 1950s, they initiated a new movement which would later be called the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This movement contained many countries from Asia and Africa continents which at that time had just or already declared their independence and freedom from colonialism by Western countries such as the Kingdom of Netherlands,
United Kingdom, Republic of France, Kingdom of Spain, Etc. This includes Indonesia which had just become an independent nation after being colonized by the Netherlands and Japan. NAM was born approximately at the same time of the rise of the Cold War in the 1950s which divided countries into the Western Bloc (led by the United States) and the Eastern Bloc (led by the Soviet Union).

The main objective of Non Alignment Movement (NAM) is, among other things, to declare and ensure that they will not side with, follow, or tie themselves to any bloc as previously mentioned. The NAM movement further emerged into the Asia-Africa Conference which was held in Bandung City, West Java on 18-24 April 1955. In this historic meeting, Indonesia and other member countries later produced an agreement called "Dasa Sila Bandung" also known as the Bandung Principle or the Spirit of Bandung as it released during the conference in the same year, with the following contents:

1. Respecting basic human rights and the goals and principles contained in the UN Charter,
2. Respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations,
3. Recognizing the equality of all ethnic groups and the equality of all nations, large and small,
4. Not interfering or intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries,
5. Respecting the rights of every nation to defend itself individually or collectively following the UN Charter,
6. Not using the rules of collective defense to act in the special interests of one of the major countries and not doing so against other countries,
7. Not carrying out acts or threats of aggression or use of violence against the territorial integrity or political independence of a country,
8. Resolving all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, agreement, arbitration, or other peaceful means, according to the choice of the parties concerned following the United Nations Charter,
9. Promote common interests and cooperation,
10. Respect international law and obligations.¹

With the history of the NAM among Asian and African countries which went side by side with decades of the Cold War, the Member States of Asia and Africa were able to carry out their commitments in line with the Bandung Principles. They stood independently and did not take sides in either bloc throughout the Cold War period, apart from establishing mutual bilateral relations with any countries from the two blocs as mere strategic partners. Specifically for Indonesia, in its decades of independence and membership in the Asia-Africa Forum, its status as a developing country made it relatively difficult to play a foreign policy role in economic area in the regional and global arena. On the other hand, Indonesia played a significant role in the political arena as it was one of the leading countries in the Asia-Africa forum.

There are several characteristics of a developing country, such as dependence on donors, import rates are much higher than exports (despite it having abundant resources) and its role in foreign policy is

not significant in the regional and global arena. These characteristics applied to Indonesia for decades, from President Soeharto’s New Order regime until SBY’s term in the Reformation era. Up to the time of SBY’s presidency, Indonesia gradually improved its status from a developing country into a developed country. It became a member and played a more significant role in international forums such as Group of 20 and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation.

Even though Indonesia had hosted several ASEAN and APEC summits during President SBY’s tenure, Indonesia’s status was still limited to being a developing country. The host’s role was merely ceremonial, and it could be said that SBY was not able to bring Indonesia to a higher level, especially regarding the status of partnership relations with African countries during his reign. Indonesia can only align itself with them as fellow countries receiving donors or aid and more as a spectator of the dynamic role of developed countries. When SBY’s reign ended, it left behind some big notes that would be the task of the next government under President Joko Widodo.

President Jokowi’s administration began in 2014. It only took one year for him to immediately bring Indonesia to become more advanced in terms of its foreign policy towards African countries. If previously Indonesia’s foreign policy priorities towards Africa were considered to be lacking, since the beginning of President Jokowi’s administration, its foreign policy towards Africa has been further developed through strengthening both bilateral and multilateral corporations, improving the status of partnership relations and membership in various forums, including improving the status of Indonesia’s relations with South Africa.

Although Indonesia became the host of the Asian-African Summit in 1955, it was late in enhancing its relations with the African States than with other developing countries around the world. In reaching the target through a dynamic bilateral relationship under President Jokowi, Indonesia then decided to prioritize Africa in its foreign policy. At the beginning of Joko Widodo’s presidency, he started by optimizing the “Inward Looking” Style meaning that Indonesia’s domestic situation was more important than the overseas affairs. One of the proofs here was the establishment of the Indonesia-Africa Forum in April 2018 in Bali. “Jokowi wants to use the Asia-African Summit Spirit to reach an economic advantage with Africa as it orders strong economic relations between the two continents. This helps simplify the complex problems and pragmatism passing the bureaucracy blocking.”

Apart from being a member country of the Asian-African Conference, Indonesia is also a member country of the G20 representing South East Asia considering its status as the most developed country in the region.

While President Joko Widodo’s first visit to African countries in August 2023 covered Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, and South Africa, this article discusses his visit to South Africa only where he attended BRICS forum as part of Indonesia’s multilateral diplomacy under his administration.

**Literature Review**

This article will discuss the above issue using Multilateral Diplomacy theory as follows:

Multilateral Diplomacy refers to relations involving more than two countries outside the boundaries of a particular region. These relations regulate various patterns of cooperation between countries, they tend to be carried out in the form of official forums such as the UN at the global level & ASEAN at the regional level. In the context of Europe, multilateral diplomacy gives a bigger chance for negotiation success as the actors get more focused on one issue for reaching an agreement in fast decision-making and also to identify and promote the membership status. Following the development of the theory in the 1950s, 1970s, 1990s and in the 20th century, Multilateral Diplomacy can be defined as a way for the states to be respectful of each other including with the benefit of increasing their negotiation for the agreement in more powerful ways.

With regard to Indonesia’s Multilateral Diplomacy, the focus was on the United Nations, Non-Alignment Movement, Islamic Cooperation Organization and the G20. Via those international forums, Indonesia is strongly involved with cooperation in almost every kind of global matters. Every government's programme in cooperation with the international organizations must prioritize its national interest as it is the foreign policy’s foundation to be a sovereign state. In the context of multilateral diplomacy, The Government of Indonesia has stated that its involvement in any international organizations must be beneficial for itself and also considering the states’ financial condition.

In the context of Jokowi’s attending the BRICS Summit as part of his visit to South Africa, this theory of Multilateral Diplomacy is relevant to analyze President Joko Widodo’s foreign policy. I use these theories to see how he implemented his foreign policy during his visit there.

**Methodology**

The method which is used in this article is the qualitative method which places more emphasis on analytical or descriptive methods with matters from the subject's perspective. The theoretical basis is used by the researcher as a guide so that the research process matches the facts in the field. The aim of this method is, among other things, to explain a phenomenon by collecting data in as much depth as possible. This method also prioritizes a phenomenon through substantive research related to the meaning of the phenomenon. Then the results of the analysis and the sharpness of qualitative research are greatly influenced by the strength of the words and sentences used. The attention of researchers will focus more on human elements, objects, institutions, and relationships between elements to understand an event, behavior, or phenomenon. The reason why this method is used is because all of the issues discussed in this article are exactly qualitative, and the resources are qualitative as well.

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3 Satya Wacana Christian University (UKSW) Repository. Chapter II. "Kajian Literatur." ("Literature review.") [https://repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/123456789/36794/2/T1_372018020_Bab%20II.pdf](https://repository.uksw.edu/bitstream/123456789/36794/2/T1_372018020_Bab%20II.pdf). Accessed December 16 2023 at 09.00 AM.


More specifically, I apply documentary studies including referring to related online and offline resources including mass media news concerning President Joko Widodo’s visit to Africa in August 2023. In citing and using the news as references for this article I ensure all of them are from credible sources.

I also used books which discuss issues in international relations, scientific journals, thesis, and websites of related government agencies to collect and analyze data on Indonesia’s foreign policy.

Analysis

In the era of President Joko Widodo, Indonesia's bargaining position over foreign policy is more well developed. During the 2nd period of his presidency (2019-2024), Indonesia plays a more significant role internationally as it hosts the 2022’s G20 Summit and the 2023’s ASEAN Summit. In these occasions Indonesia's status is more than just a mere ceremonial hosting, it is also trusted to further voice the country's aspirations as well as those of other developing countries to the world.

Today Indonesia is no longer a developing country, it succeeds to improve its position as an upper middle-income country with characteristics are as follows:\footnote{Kompas.com. 2023. "Indonesia Kembali Masuk Kategori "Upper Middle Income Countries, Apa Artinya?" ("Indonesia Back to the Category of Upper Middle Income Countries, What Does it Means?") https://www.kompas.com/trm/read/2023/07/03/193000865/indonesia-re-categoris-upper-middle-income-countries-apartinya-aq4mb-text-quoted%20from%20page%20Bank%20World%20countries%20income%20middle%20(MIC). Accessed 17 December 2023 at 05.20 AM.}

1. Having a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Per Capita between 4,046 to 12,535 United States Dollars,
2. Representing 75% of the world's population, including 62% of the poor,
3. Representing one-third of global GDP as its main engine of growth,
4. Its sustainable growth and development have a positive impact throughout the world,
5. The economic class is divided into two categories, namely economies with lower middle income (lower middle income countries) and economies with upper middle income (upper middle-income countries),
6. The respective challenges are eradicating corruption, improving governance, and providing essential services to its citizens.

Politically this improved status leads to Indonesia to be able to play a more foreign political role at regional and global level, including with African countries.

Prior to his visit to Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, and South Africa which was also his first visit to the continent while serving as President of the Republic of Indonesia, in a press statement President Jokowi emphasized that Indonesia and Africa have a long historical relationship. He referred to the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung Indonesia in 1955, which gave birth to the Bandung spirit and its important role in initiating the Non-Aligned Movement. This spirit would be brought to Africa and strategically played to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with them.

While in South Africa, President Joko Widodo was invited to attend the BRICS Summit as well as a bilateral meeting with the heads of member states and other relevant partners there.\footnote{Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. 2023. "Pernyataan Presiden RI Mengenai Kunjungan Kerja ke Afrika di Bandar Udara Kuala Namu, Kabupaten Deli Serdang, Provinsi Sumatera Utara, 20 Agustus}
President Joko Widodo’s press statement indicates that the current situation in Indonesia’s foreign policy has changed. From a country previously playing a passive role towards developed countries, it now plays a more active role.

South Africa is known as one among others well-developed countries in Africa. The BRICS forum consists of five countries with upper-middle-income economies consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. BRICS was established only a few years prior to the Group of 7 (G-7) which also consists of developed economies. Both forums are alternative axes of world power. According to its member countries’ statues, the mostly alternative axes of world power here was actually their own selves due to their status as an emerging countries economically and politically. Some of them, especially Russia and China, are likely to fight together in scrambling their hegemony in the world with the United States of America and its allies on the other side. Meanwhile Russia has a long history with the United States of America since the Cold War era when it was still named as the Soviet Union, but China has successfully risen up its hegemony in contemporary times mainly during the trade war era a few years ago. With these two uprising superpower countries, In the future BRICS may become stronger to fight other great powers.

At the beginning of its existence, BRICS was known as an organization that accommodated countries with potentially growing industrialization. This term was first popularized by an economic expert from the United States of America, Jim O'Neal, who in 2001 worked at the Global Financial Company Goldman Sachs. As the name suggests, BRICS is an acronym for Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa which is also claimed as a force for change by its leaders who want their countries to channel the aspirations of developing countries while representing almost a fifth of the global economy.

During the period of 2003 to 2008, BRICS Member Countries recorded extraordinary economic progress with an average growth of around 8% per year. During the global financial crisis, they were able to boost the global economy while preventing the world from economic depression. BRICS member countries have a large population, a large geographical area, and above-average economic growth. As of 2015, their area covered a quarter of the world's territory, 40% of the population, and 18% of the economy. BRICS is regarded as one among other factors which reshaping the global economic panorama. As of 2012, their economic growth rate per average GDP was able to reach 4%, beating the G7 as an advanced economy by 0.7%. This economic growth rate would continue for the next 15 years and was considered a very impressive figure during the global financial crisis.

This occurred in a global transition from the managerial pattern of capitalism to free trade. BRICS are countries that can take advantage of this situation to encourage economic progress. Their emergence is also considered a consequence of the internal dynamics of capitalism. They show that the movement of the world economic-political system is transforming from the economic hegemony of the United States which was once very dominant to being increasingly eroded along with the globalization of free trade, making the relations between each country dependent on each other.

BRICS is also an indication of the world situation which is currently in a major fault which can also lead to a new world model. According to data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), BRICS trading volume increased by an average of 28% per year between 2001 and 2010, or the equivalent of US
$230 billion. BRICS wants to appear as a spokesperson for developing countries, representing almost a fifth of the global economy. Its total GDP as of early 2015 was in the range of US $11 trillion and is still growing and is even predicted to be able to exceed the United States GDP of around US $15 Trillion.\(^9\)

Following the change of era after the main great powers have been dominated the world, every new uprising countries include BRICS may started to establish their new roles to dominate the world or replacing all main great powers hegemonic before as they have the opportunity to maintain economic stability from the negative impact of the global economic crisis, bring quantitative change throughout the world, and play an important role in the G20-G7 dialogue. They also tried to create a peaceful international environment, promoting democracy and equality in international relations as opposed to the confrontational mentality of the Cold War. Then they also hope to build a world order that is just globally economically and financially with the strategic goal of building a democratic balance on a multipolar system, equitable development, and ensuring the UN can play a central role in world affairs.\(^10\)

This also takes into account China and Russia's status as permanent members of the UN Security Council. If India, Brazil, and South Africa can join as permanent members as well, they will be able to further improve BRICS status in terms of its influence on the global economy. Considering its status as a different coalition from several other international organizations, BRICS seeks to further improve the new world order based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the "Spirit of Bandung."\(^11\)

Hence the "Spirit of Bandung" which was echoed by President Joko Widodo when he visited South Africa is relevant here. This can also be a reflection that this message has now truly become a reflection of the improvement in Indonesia's foreign policy bargaining position in the global arena.

At the end of 2017, Vice President Jusuf Kalla representing President Joko Widodo in the United Nations General Assembly held in New York, United States of America, states that as a former developing country Indonesia that has now been transformed into a middle-income country, should be able to become a driver, donor, or contributor to other countries that are still left behind economically. Furthermore the Vice President said that it's been the time for Indonesia to help other countries that need help. For the first time in the history of foreign policy, aids have been prepared for them which are allocated from the state budget, with amounts larger than those of Turkey’s.\(^12\)

Indonesia also happens to be in the midst of and has experienced an increase in its foreign political bargaining position on the world stage by becoming Chair of the G20 in 2022 and Chair of ASEAN in 2023. This development leads Indonesia to be taken into account to lay a leading role in the global stage.

Despite Indonesia's achievements as previously mentioned as well as its attendance at BRICS Forum in South Africa in 2023, Indonesia is not yet becoming a member of BRICS. However, its

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10 Ibid.
11 Ade Priagani, loc. cit.
12 Ade Priagani, loc. cit.
presence in the forum indicates Indonesia’s potential membership status of BRICS in the future along with Egypt, Iran, Argentina, Kazakhstan, Algeria, Turkey, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Meanwhile, as Indonesia is waiting to become a new BRICS member, it also calls for BRICS to fight for the development of rights and economic justice of developing countries.

This is because the world situation is now increasingly divided into opposing blocks and the rules of the world order have lost their meaning due to each country pursuing its interests. If this situation continues, then developing countries will be the ones who will suffer the most, and fixing it is the responsibility of all parties, including BRICS, which has the potential to be a source of positive strength, while simultaneously fighting for the development rights of every country, including the developing countries.

With regard to multilateral diplomacy theory as formerly written, it is hoped that BRICS can become a milestone for inclusive multilateralism by reforming the global order so that it can take into account the voices and interests of developing countries. Multilateralism can only develop if all parties consistently respect international law without double standards in the foundations of global order. In the BRICS forum in South Africa in 2023, the member countries as well as the guests there agreed that six guest countries would be appointed as their new members. The six countries that are considered eligible and have met these requirements include Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. They officially become new BRICS members effective on January 1, 2024. In this way, the arrival of six countries as new members is clear evidence that membership expansion is happening.

So what will happen to Indonesia's membership status in BRICS? During the forum in South Africa, President Joko Widodo revealed that currently Indonesia is not yet a new member of BRICS. The reason, according to the President, is that to be able to join as a new member of BRICS, a country must first send a letter of expression of interest. Currently, Indonesia has not sent such a letter to BRICS. The reason is because the Indonesian government wants to first study the status of membership in BRICS and calculate various related matters there. That is why the Indonesian government stated that it did not want to rush to propose itself as a new member of BRICS. Despite this, Indonesia's relations with Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa as BRICS Member Countries remain very well established, especially in the economic sector.

Overall the above situation reflects the "Bandung Spirit" of 1955 Asian-African Conference in particular: points number 3 (Recognizing the equality of all ethnic groups and the equality of all nations, large and small), number 7 (Not carrying out acts or threats of aggression or use of violence against the

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territorial integrity or political independence of a country), and number 9 (Promote common interests and cooperation). These points were once promoted by President Joko Widodo in the BRICS forum in South Africa and were part of Indonesia’s foreign policy towards those countries.

Conclusion

Although Indonesia hasn’t become a member of BRICS yet, President Joko Widodo has made significant progress in his foreign policy, especially towards Africa. Starting with some bilateral visits and meetings in the Republic of Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania and Republic of Mozambique then heading towards the BRICS Forum in the Republic of South Africa, President Joko Widodo has actually started to opening a new straight way for Indonesia’s foreign policy and diplomacy direction in the future.

This article concludes some important points, Such as:

1. **Indonesia's Economic Development Progress:**
   President Joko Widodo's efforts, particularly in infrastructure development, are seen as crucial for Indonesia's advancement towards becoming an upper-middle-income country. Despite facing significant challenges, such as those encountered by countries like The People’s Republic of China, South Korea (Republic of Korea/ROK), and Republic of Singapore in their development journeys, Indonesia's progress is evident. The potential for Indonesia to achieve a level of economic growth similar to China's is emphasized, particularly through active participation in the global economy. In the context of BRICS attendance and its potential membership status in the future, although Indonesia has not become a member yet, it has significantly established the process to be at the same level with other states in the forum of BRICS.

2. **Indonesia's Foreign Policy Role Development and Progress:**
   Indonesia's participation in international summits like the BRICS Summit reflects its growing influence in global politics. With its improving economic status, Indonesia's bargaining power in foreign affairs is increasing. This is a stepping stone for Indonesia to play a more strategic role in global diplomacy, particularly in the context of becoming a donor giving as compared to the past when Indonesia was merely a donor recipient country. This improved status was also another significant indication of the foreign policy’s strengthening in terms of making Indonesia into a higher position economically and politically. In the future the BRICS forum may become the new direction of Indonesia’s foreign policy and diplomacy.

3. **The Spirit of Bandung on the 1955 Asian-African Conference:**
   President Jokowi's visit to Africa and his adherence to the principles of the 1955 Asian-African Conference, which emphasized independence and neutrality in foreign affairs, have been highlighted. This summit which was the beginning of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) establishment, led to Indonesia being able to reach the leading position among Asian and African countries.
4. The Role of Indonesia’s Foreign Policy towards the Diplomacy with Africa and BRICS:

President Jokowi's visit to African countries is a significant achievement in Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia should continue to strengthen its ties with African nations, transitioning from a more passive to an active role, particularly considering Indonesia's evolving status from a developing to a middle-income country. All of those progresses can be increased higher and more significant for Indonesia in the future.

Overall, the significant progress of Indonesia’s domestic situation under the administration of President Joko Widodo depends on his “Inward Looking” foreign policy orientation, and has been able to bring Indonesia to a higher position with a more significant influence in global standing. Economically within the last 10 years, Indonesia has been able to change its status from a developing country into a middle-income country and take the role as a donor country including for Africa. Indonesia could be one step closer to being a newly developed country in the future, standing together with another great nation.
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