
By
Lia Margaret Silalahi
016201100023

A thesis presented to the
Faculty of Humanities
President University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Bachelor’s Degree in International Relations Major Concentration in Diplomacy Studies

2015
THESIS ADVISER
RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis entitled “Strengthening Bilateral Relations through Revitalizing the Political and Economic Cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of South Africa (2004-2008)” prepared and submitted by Lia Margaret Silalahi in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in International Relations in the School of International Relations, Communication and Law has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 28, 2015

Recommended and Acknowledged by,

Teuku Rezasyah, Ph.D
Thesis Adviser
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis, entitled “STRENGTHENING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP THROUGH REVITALIZING THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (2004-2008)” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 28, 2015

Lia Margaret Silalahi
Panel of examiners stated that the thesis entitled “Strengthening Bilateral Relations through Revitalizing the Political and Economic Cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of South Africa (2004-2008)” that was submitted by Lia Margaret Silalahi majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of International Relations, Communications & Law was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on February 6, 2015.

Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Ph.D
Chair Panel of Examiners/Examiner I

Hendra Manurung, MA
Examiner II

Teuku Rezasvah, Ph.D
Adviser
ABSTRACT

Title: Strengthening Bilateral Relations through Revitalizing the Political and Economic Cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of South Africa (2004-2008)

Diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and South Africa was officially began after the signing of Joint Communique on Diplomatic Relations on August 12, 1994. Nonetheless, the relation between these two countries can be traced back to their shared historical background, from Shaikh Yusuf, a national hero who fought for human rights in both Indonesia and South Africa in the 17th century, to Asian African Conference in 1955. This long-built relationship is expected to open up opportunity for both countries to share their common goals, overcome challenges, and work together toward development of the countries. In order to achieve this, Indonesia has exercised some approaches to strengthen its bilateral relations with South Africa. This thesis attempts to analyze Indonesia’s approaches in building stronger relations with South Africa by focusing on the revitalization of their political and economic cooperation from 2004 to 2008. Using the theory of complex interdependence, the concept of bilateral relations of international relations and the concept of common goals, this thesis seeks to explain the mechanism and process by which Indonesia revitalize its political and economic cooperation; namely by establishing both Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) and Joint Trade Committee (JTC). Qualitative methodology is used in writing this research. The writer used internet and library research to gather and utilize data. For further confirmation and exploration on research topic, the writer also interviewed some Indonesian and South African officials. The result of this research shows that Indonesia and South Africa agree to strengthen the bilateral relationship through the establishment the strategic partnership marked by the signing Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future on March 17, 2008.

Keywords: Bilateral Relations, Common Goals, Complex Interdependence, Revitalization, JCBC, JTC, Strategic Partnership
ABSTRAK


Kata Kunci: Hubungan Bilateral, Common Goals, Complex Interdependence, Sistem Kerja Bersama, Komite Dagang Bersama, Kemitraan Strategis
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Jeremiah 17: 7, “Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is”.

It is amazing grace when I am given opportunity to study International Relations in President University, in order to pick the phone calling from my hearty passion. I cordially thank my Lord Jesus who bestowed me unending love and spirit during my whole life and to finish this thesis in order to get my bachelor degree; that is how I can enter the new path of life. I am not working alone finishing this thesis, I also have honor to address my most precious gratitude for:

1. My Incredible Beloved Parents; Osdin Silalahi and Magda N Siagian (1954-2008) who become my first hope and teacher. Thank you for giving me life mom-dad, thank you for always become the reason for me to survive especially in finishing this 100s pages of research; as you said me, “Karena memang dia siappadan kami”. Let me inform you, even if I have opportunity to choose other famous and rich man in parenting me, I will wholeheartedly never do that. Cause you both is one complete package that God ever gave me in life;

2. My Lovely Siblings; one and only brother, Bang Ronalven Silalahi & Fam; sweet sisters Kak Melva Silalahi & Fam and Kak Ice Silalahi & Fam. You all mean so much to me. Thanks for loving and supporting me;

3. My Adviser; Mr. Teuku Rezasyah, Ph.D, what a fortune that would be when I heard that my adviser is you. Please accept my honor and gratitude Sir. Your patiently assistance and helpful supervision really make this thesis possibly done. You are truly astonishing adviser for me;

4. My Gurus; Prof. Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Mr. Teuku Rezasyah, Mr. Hendra Manurung, Mr. Eric Hendra, and all my amazing lectures in IR President University. Thank you for all knowledge, helpful supervision and assistance that you have given me. I just really feel the IR. I heart it;

5. My Inspirations; The Director for African Affairs in MoFA RI, Mr. Lasro Simbolon, the Deputy Head of Social Culture for African Affairs in MoFA RI, Mr. Nelson Simorangkir, the Deputy Head of Political Affairs, Mr.
Musurifun, Mr. Toary, Mr. Aris, Mr. Aldy, Mr. Syahlani, Mrs. Eneng, Mrs. Nurika, Mrs. Mamah, Mrs. Wanti, Mrs. Subarni and all the diplomats and staffs in the Directorate of African Affairs in MoFA RI. I do feel blessed knowing you all and thanks for all the fruitful discussion and helpful assistance given to me in finishing my thesis;

6. My Supervisors in the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa: Indonesia; the Ambassador H.E, Mr. Agustine Pakamisa Sifuba, the First Secretary for Political Affairs, Mr. Moses Phahlane, and all the diplomats and staff in the embassy who really welcome me so friendly. I thank you so much for all helps that you give me to finish this thesis;

7. My Every Season Best Cousin, Friend, and Family; Dianita Saragih and Oktaviana Kale, Thanks for always being there for me whom I share the happiness, confusion and sadness with, especially in struggling to finish this thesis. To Bou Gia & Fam, Kian Adel & Fam, thanks for supporting and nursing me like your very own daughter;

8. My Lovely Comrades; Uswatun(Nanna), Novitri, Rienta, Hitach, Affi, Yaya, Sry, Nova, Wana Sipayung, Elisabeth Sihotang, and beloved ‘Mrs. Itha’. Thank you for coloring my life and holding my hand when the road is too slippery. All President University Model United Nations’ members, all International Relations Batch 2011; you are all really rocking fantastic;

9. My Abang Cian; Jan Rio R Purba. I truly being blessed by your sincere and patient heart in loving and supporting me. Honestly, a “big thanks” would not enough to express how I thank you for becoming a best partner of my journey. Even, this thesis will be not possibly done without you. I pray for God always bestow His love and blessing on us; and

10. Others. You are all important, I thank you so very much.

I hope this thesis will be useful to the International Relations field of study and to other future related research.

Lia Margaret Silalahi
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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAC</td>
<td>Asian-African Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AASROC</td>
<td>Asia-Africa Sub-Regional Organizations Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAPPENAS</td>
<td>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIDA</td>
<td>Batam Industrial Development Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIFZA</td>
<td>Batam Indonesia Free Zone Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPO</td>
<td>Crude Palm Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRCO</td>
<td>Department of International Relations and Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPR RI</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEA</td>
<td>European Economic Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPG</td>
<td>Eminent Persons Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIA</td>
<td>Garuda Indonesia Airways</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJEPA</td>
<td>Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>International Corporations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IORA</td>
<td>Indian Ocean Rim Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPPA</td>
<td>Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>JACC</td>
<td>Joint Agriculture Cooperation Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCBC</td>
<td>Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSE</td>
<td>Johannesburg Stock Exchange</td>
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<tr>
<td>JTC</td>
<td>Joint Trade Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Local Organizing Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>LORI</td>
<td>Liaison Officer of the Republic Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multi-National Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPR RI</td>
<td>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAASP</td>
<td>New Asian-African Strategic Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Nam-Aligned Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLTPD</td>
<td>National Long Term Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMTDP</td>
<td>National Medium Term Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMC</td>
<td>Preparatory Committee Meeting</td>
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<td>PoA</td>
<td>Plan of Action</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>Preferential Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPJMN</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPJPN</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACU</td>
<td>Southern African Cooperation Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANDP</td>
<td>South Africa’s National Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEDA</td>
<td>South Africa’s Small Enterprise Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEZ</td>
<td>Special Economic Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMEs</td>
<td>Small Medium Enterprises</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMI</td>
<td>Small Medium Industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSSD</td>
<td>World Summit on Sustainable Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>JDSP</td>
<td>Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership</td>
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

By holding the principle of free and active foreign policy, Indonesia has proven itself of being able to carry depth and harmonious relationship with countries all over the world; not only in bilateral relationship and regional relationship but also in multilateral relationship. This become the basic root to deliver Indonesia to play a greater role in international fora especially in conducting the bilateral relationship diplomacy.

Indonesian bilateral relationship with vary countries in Asia, Africa, America, and Europe continent is transpiring dynamic. In fact, the implementation of Indonesian bilateral relations in Asia Pacific region has achieve some significant result. According to the report of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (MoFA RI) in 2013, some achievement in Indonesian bilateral relations are including-but not limited to; (a) Indonesia-Malaysia that has established Eminent Persons Groups (EPG) in the sphere of consultation forum and senior technical meeting in order to lift the relations up in many areas of cooperation; (b) Indonesia-Philippine has been become the chairman of Peace Community in order to maintain the security in the South East Asian Region all at once to assist the settlement of the security matters in the region; (c) Indonesia support Myanmar in order to accomplish the Seven Steps Roadmap to Democracy in democratizing the land of Myanmar; (d) Indonesia-Japan has signed the Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA) in 2007 making the both countries become more interconnected each other; (e) Indonesia-China has signed the Strategic Partnership in 2005 and as the implementation, both countries have established the Plan of

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1 The free and active foreign policy principle was introduced by Indonesia’s first Vice President, Mohammad Hatta in 1948 as a response to existence of the cold war. He underlined that, free meant Indonesia should act independent in international affairs while active meant stipulated need for Indonesia to partake in the creation of world peace. That is why in the globalization world, Indonesia has to be more active in engaging with countries all over the world and exploring cooperation in all sector (Wirajuda, 2010)

Action (PoA); (f) Indonesia-Australia has signed Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership and the Plan of Action for the Agreement between Indonesia-Australia on the Framework for security Cooperation in 2008, this even has bring a depth relations between the two countries; and (g) Indonesia-Pakistan has agreed to establish the Joint Working Group on Combating International Terrorism which share a mutual benefit to both countries.3

Some of agreements has also been signed and ratified with countries from American and European continent, they are including—but not limited to; (a) Indonesia-Brazil Strategic Partnership in 2008; (b) Indonesia-US Comprehensive Partnership in 2009; (c) Indonesia-Netherland Comprehensive Partnership Agreement in 2009; and (d) the establishment consultation forum Indonesia-UK and Indonesia-Argentina. These agreements prove that Indonesia really has done several effort to implement the principle of free and active foreign policy.4

Upon holding the commitment of have free and active Indonesia’s commitment does not stop with countries from Asia, America, and Europe. It also has to set the strategies to conduct harmonious bilateral relationship with various countries in African continent. Indonesia again has to able to seize on what is now happening in African continent. Bilateral relationship with African countries should not become a “second-later agenda” since African continent now has been moving on to prominent continent.

However, it can be so hard to say that every nations should be optimist on Africa’s future when only one considers the political pathologies and the traditional issues that stand in the way of improving its human capital. According to the Economist, it is true that many of African countries now being recorded as the top growth countries in the world. There were many events happening inside the Africa, triggered by the debt crisis in 1980s, the Soviet Union collapse’s impacts, and the political liberalizations of the 1990s which led to the regional consensus

3 Ibid., Pg. 4-6
4 Ibid., Pg. 6
formed in favor of macroeconomic policies. Regional integration actually become the main factors to deliver growth to the region reformation.\(^5\)

The Chief economist of the World Bank’s Africa Region, Shantayanan Devarajan argued that,

“Whether one sees Africa’s glass as half-full or half-empty depends on one’s belief in the possibility of political change. The obstacles to durable growth in the region are primarily political. That hardly means that they will be easy to be solved, as even a cursory glance at troubled record of governance in post-independence of Africa makes clear. Sub-Saharan Africa’s recent history of political change and reform leading to growth justifies positive outlook. Believing in a more prosperous African future requires a healthy dose of optimism, but not leap of faith” \(^6\)

Nowadays, as the region find itself in another point of inflections. The combination of democratization, demographic changes, rapid urbanizations, and the increasing level of education has substantially altered the betterment of policy making processes. Besides, the better economic policies supported by the presence of the donors enhance the economic performances and reforms. In additions, the spread of communications of technology not only has made it easier for policy makers to discover the citizen voices in national development but also has made the country easily connected to the rest of the world for establishing various cooperation.

Hence, Africa is now one of the fastest growing region in the world. In fact, there are now many of African countries that had implemented democratic system in their politic. Beside, seventh out of 10 top growing countries in the world in 2011 is coming from African countries (Ethiopia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Congo, Ghana, Zambia, and Nigeria) and other three are China, India, and Vietnam. \(^7\) The transformation that is happening in Africa awarded them designation of the “lion of the century” as promoted by the Dean of African Diplomatic Corps in Indonesia, Mrs. Alice Mageza. \(^8\)

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6 Ibid., Pg. 81


One of the “lions of the century” is South Africa, the African leading market. South Africa is now become the most advanced country in the region. From political perspective, South Africa has become a democratic country since 1994 under the governance of the Rolihlahla Mandela (Nelson Mandela) after fighting the country’s freedom under the Apartheid party. From economic perspective, South Africa is possessing abundant natural resources and arable land. It has sophisticated and promising market, offering a combination of a well-developed economic infrastructure with a vibrant emerging market economic. South Africa represented 25% of African Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and being clarified as upper middle income economy by the World Bank. Hence, it is the only one of African representative in BRICS and G-20.9 In addition, it also has an advanced modern financial system, laws, telecommunication service, and energy infrastructure.10

Indonesia and South Africa relations can be traced back historically. Dutch anti-colonialism fighter from Makassar, Indonesia, Shaikh Yusuf had been exiled to the Cape Town in 1694. During his time being exiled, he had actively spread the value of Islam to the surrounding community. He has become a unifying factor behind the indigenous people slave’s struggle for the equal rights through the Islamic value. Shaikh Yusuf had been acknowledged as a national hero by the government of Indonesia and government of South Africa because had shown a significant role in fighting the freedom and human rights who established first Islamic community in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, the world-known freedom fighters also has been inspired Shaikh Yusuf in fighting for his country freedom under the pressure from Apartheid party. Nelson Mandela had witnessed the spirit projected by Shaikh Yusuf to spread the value of equal rights though he was not originated from South Africa.11

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Indonesia has shared the same views towards the eradicating the power of colonialism, that’s why in 1965, Indonesia initiated the ever first Asia-African Conference (AAC) in Bandung, Indonesia. As, Indonesia really concerned for what was happened in South Africa, President Soekarno later invited the delegation of African National Congress (ANC) led by Mandela to that conference. The AAC then produced the *Dasa Sila Bandung* that promoting the solidarity of the two region. It has clearly created a mutual understanding of the 29 represented countries regarding the eradicating of the colonialism. Soon after the conference, many countries in Asia and Africa declared their independence.\(^\text{12}\)

Furthermore, the diplomatic relations between the Indonesia and South Africa has been intertwined since August 12, 1994. Indonesia open Liaison Officer of the Republic of Indonesia (LORI) in Pretoria, the capital city of South Africa in 1994 and later changed the official name to the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia after South Africa officially opened its embassy in Jakarta in 1995\(^\text{13}\). The Presidential visit had been carried out several times since the reign of President Soeharto until President Megawati Soekarnoputri, vice versa, President Mandela had been at four time visited Indonesia; in 1990, 1994, 1997, and in 2002. This official visits also being continued by the next official of the two countries. From economic prospective, the relations of both countries also grow thought it was not as significantly it should be. The export of Indonesia to South Africa in 2002 is US$ 167.20 million decreased from 176.62 million in 2000. While the import of Indonesia from South Africa in 2002 totaled US$ 126.10 million decreased from US$ 162.55 in 2000.\(^\text{14}\)

Unfortunately, this aforementioned relationship dimension that carried out by Indonesia and South Africa has not shown a significant impact to each countries compare to what has Indonesia did with other countries mention above. Indonesian has not yet benefited South African as a gateway to penetrate the African market.


especially in the southern part of Africa which has many potentials for Indonesian economic market. Thus, Indonesia need to revitalize its bilateral relations with South Africa.

To some extent, the writer choose the topic of this thesis because of the importance of the revitalization of the bilateral relations will not only bring harmonious relationship between the two countries but also bring a closer and depth relations to rejuvenate the Indonesia-Africa relation. According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Indonesia, Marty M Natalegawa that,

“Indonesia will do a consolidation to strengthen bilateral relationship with various country. Not only in the political sphere but also Indonesia need to enhance the people-to-people contact and sharpening the economic diplomacy in the bilateral relations dimension in order to dedicate real contributions to national development”.\textsuperscript{15}

This is such an alarm for Indonesia to urgently revitalize its bilateral relationship with Africa countries. As what the Ambassador Indonesia to Senegal, H.E. Adrajati stated that,

“Indonesia need to pay a greater attention on its foreign policy in order to translate the transformation in Sub-Saharan Africa which has great potentials in the sphere of politics, economic, and social-culture, on this regard Indonesia should also develop strong bilateral diplomacy to countries in vary countries in Sub-Saharan African continent”\textsuperscript{16}

Towards the historical relationship between South Africa, Indonesia should able to transform the bilateral relations in order to share a mutual benefits as what Director for African Affairs, MoFA RI has stated that,

“It is the time the political strong political attachment between Indonesia-South Africa should be transformed to mutually-productive economic bilateral relations”.\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{17} Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI. (2012). \textit{RI-Afrika Selatan Optimalkan Kerja Sama Sektor Pertambangan}. Retrieved from http://www.theglobal-
In revitalizing the bilateral relation, therefore Indonesia-South Africa has made consecutive bilateral agreements which are; in Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Establishment of a Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation; in 2005, Joint Statement on the Establishment of the Joint Trade Committee and MoU on Agricultural Development Cooperation; in 2006, MoU on Cooperation in the Exchange of Financial Intelligence Related to Money Laundering and Financing Terrorism; in 2008, Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for Peaceful and Prosperous Future, Co-Chair Statement on the NAASP, MoU on Cooperation on Culture, MoU on Cooperation in the Field of Defense, and Declaration of Intent on Cooperation between Batam Industrial Development Authority and Coega Development Corporation; in 2012, MoU on Cooperative and Small and Medium Enterprises Development Cooperation; in 2014, MoU on Mutual Cooperation on Policy Research and Development.

This thesis then will be focus on analyzing the political and economic bilateral revitalization between the both countries in order to deliver the bilateral relations into strategic partnership. This bilateral relations has taken a new level after both countries signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Establishment of a Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation in 2004. This joint commission was formed to facilitate the consultation and cooperation between the two countries especially in the field of economic, trade, cultural, and technical cooperation field, all at once this is become the mechanism of Indonesian political cooperation revitalization in strengthening the bilateral relationship. In 2005, the both countries established Joint Statement on the Establishment of the Joint Trade Committee aimed for a place to exchange the economic information, to review and identify opportunities to expand the relationship, and to review other matters concerning bilateral trade and economic cooperation, all at once this is become the
mechanism of Indonesian economic cooperation revitalization in strengthening the bilateral relationship.\textsuperscript{20}

Thus, the writer will further analyze on what the assessments are used by Indonesia in strengthening its bilateral relations with South Africa. The thesis will not only analyze on what the challenges facing by Indonesia but also explore on what opportunities which are offered in the relations of both countries in the sphere of politics and economic cooperation. Next, the writer will also analyze how has Indonesia revitalized the bilateral relations due to the elevating its bilateral relations with South Africa to a strategic partnership in 2008.

However, there is no much literature that analyze this bilateral relations which creating limited source of information to the Indonesian people who really interested about Indonesia-African relationship. That’s why the writer would like to dedicate her thesis to the storehouse of literature about Indonesia-African issues especially the revitalization of bilateral relationship between Indonesia-South Africa.

1.2. Problem Identification

Indonesia and South Africa has carried out the strong historical relationship and political attachment. However, the relations between the two countries have not yet seen as good as other Indonesian bilateral relations to other continent. Not only referring to the principle of Indonesian foreign policy- \textit{free and active} and the other internal assessment but also seeing the great potentials of South Africa as emerging market and as a gateway to penetrate southern African market, Indonesia need to revitalize its bilateral relations with South Africa.

There are several challenges that faced by Indonesia strengthening its bilateral relations with South Africa. Politically; there has been decreasing of senior officials’ visits between the two countries and the lack implementation of the formal agreements that have been agreed upon. While economically, lack of understanding and acknowledgement from the both countries on the trade and

investment process and information, the lack of facility in trade payment, high import tariffs and barriers, and some dumping issues on Indonesian products.  

Although many challenges that Indonesia has been facing in strengthening the bilateral relations with South Africa, there are some potentials that lay upon the two countries, it is somehow proven by the trade between the two countries has increasingly every year specially in 2004-2008. In addition, the two countries has also shared the common goals in enhancing their domestic development, regional development, and multilateral development which urge them to build stronger bilateral relationship. Therefore, the thesis will be focus on analyzing how Indonesia has strengthened its bilateral relations with South Africa from 2004 through the revitalization political and economic cooperation until the culmination of into strategic partnership-bounding in 2008.

1.3. Statement of Problems


b. Research Questions:
   - How has Indonesia strengthened its bilateral relationship with South Africa?

1.4. Research Objectives

This research will analyze based on exploratory, descriptive, and diagnostic approach. Referring to the definition by Kothari (2004), exploratory research means “to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insight into it”, while descriptive approach means “to portray accurately the characteristics of a particular individual, situation or a group”, and diagnostic approach means “to determine the frequency with which something occurs or with which it is associated with something else.”


Therefore, these are the following objectives of the research:

a. To describe and analyze the historical bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa
b. To explore and analyze the internal and external assessment on why Indonesia need to revitalize its bilateral relations with South Africa
c. To analyze Indonesian tools in revitalizing its bilateral relations with South Africa

1.5. Significance of the Study

The significance of the thesis may offer;

a. Providing the Indonesian foreign policy towards Africa transformation
b. Describing the bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa
c. Analyzing the tools used by Indonesia in revitalizing the bilateral relationship with South Africa

1.6. Theoretical Framework

As we see that the main concern of this thesis is about the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa which promote a complementary relationship and share the common goals. Thus, the writer will firstly use the bilateral concept in describing the diplomatic relationship that being established. Besides, and the common goals approach will be used to explain the factors of revitalizing the bilateral relationship. Furthermore, the writer believe that complex interdependence theory may be substantially used to explain the analysis of the revitalization.

1.6.1. Bilateral Concept

Bilateral relationship can be understood as the relationship between two nations. Bilateral relations between countries often refer to political, economy, cultural and historic ties. Strong bilateral relations are characterized by cooperation between institution and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia, and civil society. Other bilateral relations’ elements could be trade and investment, cultural exchange as well as general knowledge, understanding and public awareness about other country and the ties existing
between them. Hence, the writer has emphasize the bilateral relations is the most foremost concept to conceptual the relationship between Indonesia and South Africa, since its only involved two sovereign state. The bilateral concept that will be used in this thesis is the bilateral concept that introduced by Perwita and Yani in 2005. Referring to the bilateral relation concepts introduced by Perwita and Yani the interaction between two countries can be understood by this following process; (1) stimulation or actual policy from the initiative country, (2) perception for the stimulation come from the policy makers of the receiving country, (3) respond from the receiving country, and (4) respond come from the policy makers of the initiative country. This concept will be further discussed in Chapter II, and will be applied in describing the establishment of bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa in Chapter IV.

1.6.2. The Principle of Common Goals

As said earlier, both Indonesia and South Africa share the common goals in politics and economic areas which actually become one of the main reasons why the revitalization is needed. In some instances the set of goals of two countries may overlap, thus creating a common objectives is really urgent. The cooperation then becomes the tools of achieving those common objectives. Such a common objectives may come from the need of emerging market, the expansion of economic diplomacy, and the mutual support in international fora. Referring to the Manissier, the common goals between two countries (in this case, Indonesia and South Africa which will be analyzed in the Chapter V) may be reflected on these following figures;

According to the figures, it can be understood that each country has three important elements in process of setting common goals including; vision in international relations, strategic goals, and foreign policy. Thus, each country need to firstly revitalize its mentioned important elements before they could find another partnership to share their common goals to reach a mutually benefited cooperation. In this case, Indonesia and South Africa has already revitalize its own vision, strategic goals and foreign policy before they can cooperate with one another to realizing the common goals and creating mutually benefited cooperation. Then, the both country can find ways (JCBC, JTC) to revitalize their political and

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26 Ibid.,
27 Ibid.,
economic cooperation in order to strengthen the bilateral relationship by establishing the strategic partnership.

1.6.3. Complex Interdependence

There have been a lot of innovations in neoliberal theory which are reflected in a number of distinctive strands of neoliberal thought within international relations. They are complex interdependence, transnationalism, liberal peace theory, neo-liberal institutionalism and world society approach.\(^{28}\) Neoliberals believe that democratic society in which civil liberties are protected and market relations prevail, can have an international analogue in the form of peaceful global order, include in bilateral relations translation.\(^{29}\)

On the level of this bilateral relationship between Indonesia-South Africa, complex interdependence theory will be used to understand how this relationship will be revitalized into common goals in both political and economic sphere. Based on Keohane and Nye (2001), Complex interdependence is

“A structural theory of international politics building on political bargaining in cases of asymmetrical power distribution in different issues areas that compels state to cooperate much more extensively than they had before”.\(^{30}\)

Under the condition of complex interdependence, Keohane and Nye introduce five political processes, including; (a) influence of the international structure on goals of the actors may offer on how has international/global environment has affect the states in reform their goals in conducting such an international relations; (b) instrument of state policy may offer that military power is not the foremost instrument of state policy anymore rather than economic power, technological knowledge, diplomatic resources may be more relevant; (c) agenda formation means there is no clear hierarchy of issues making the state goals being vary influenced by national interest, international regimes, and other issues; (d) linkage of the issues means; because the absence of the clear hierarchy power so it will be define on what and how issues interconnected influencing the

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\(^{29}\) Ibid.

interdependence of states; and (e) roles of international organizations may offer on how has non-state actors affected the international relations between/among states.  

This theory later will become the ground for explaining the revitalization that occurred in the Indonesia and South Africa bilateral relationship. It will be explored how the bilateral relations should be revitalized to reach the cordial and beneficial relations based on political process of complex interdependence. Furthermore, this theory will later have a further explanation in Chapter II.

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This introduced thesis will limit its study on the revitalization of bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa on the year of 2004-2008 especially in the political and economic sphere. The phenomenon in 2004 is the agreement on Establishment of a Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) as the mechanism for political revitalization, in 2005 is the Establishment of the Joint Trade Committee (JTC) as the mechanism for economic revitalization, while as the culmination of all is in 2008 is the Establishment of the strategic partnership. This thesis will be analyzed by political processes introduced by Keohane and Nye in complex interdependence theory. Since the level of analysis will be conducted in state to state level, the political processes that will be used in this thesis- will be limited to the only first three political processes namely; goals of actors, instrument of foreign policy, and the agenda formation. While the last two political processes; linkage of issues and the IO will be not included since both of them can only be applied in a multilateral level of analysis.

1.8. Definition of Terms

*Bilateral relationship*

Bilateral relationship can be understood as the relationship between two nations. Bilateral relations between countries often refer to political, economy, cultural and historic ties. Strong bilateral relations are characterized by cooperation.

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between institution and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia, and civil society. Other bilateral relations’ elements could be trade and investment, cultural exchange as well as general knowledge, understanding and public awareness about other country and the ties existing between them.32

Revitalization

Revitalize means “imbue something with a new life and vitality”.33 Revitalization bilateral relations may offer a strong desire of the involved countries to imbue the bilateral relations with a new and vital relations in accomplishing each own national interests and promoting such a common goals that lies in that particular relations.

Strategic partnership

Strategic partner means “cooperative relationship between parts that share the desire to reach common high-priority goals”.34 Strategic partnership are commonly associated with defense or security related issues, but a survey of formal strategic partnership around the world reveal theory they can also be quite a hold-all, covering a wide range in bilateral relations, from defense to education, health and agricultural, and quite commonly, economic relations, including trade, and investment and banking. Strategic partnership is usually formed in a long term relations among the respective parties.

Complex interdependence

Based on Keohane and Nye (2001), complex interdependence is “A structural theory of international politics building on political bargaining in cases of asymmetrical power distribution in different issues areas that compels state to cooperate much more extensively than they had before”.35

The cost of complex interdependence can be grouped into two terms namely sensitivity cost and vulnerable cost. Sensitivity cost means how quickly changes in

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one country bring changes in another country within a given framework include the cost of the changes themselves. Vulnerability cost means the country’s ability to offset these costly effects created by other countries by making policy changes within its own states.36

The main thoughts in complex interdependence are firstly, multiple channels connect the societies can be determined by informal ties among government elites, transnational actors and organizations, and other formal international channels. Secondly, the agenda of international politics consist of multiple issues which are not arranged in a clear hierarchy. Thirdly, military force is not used when complex interdependence prevails on a set of issues. 37

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the mechanism of the representation, communication and negotiation through which states and other international actors conduct their business. 38 Diplomacy also can be understood as “the art and practice of conducting negotiations and maintaining relations between nations; skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility”.39

Free and Active Foreign Policy

The free and active foreign policy principle was introduced by Indonesia’s first Vice President, Mohammad Hatta in 1948 as a response to existence of the cold war. Hatta underlined that, free meant Indonesia should act independent in international affairs while active meant stipulated need for Indonesia to partake in the creation of world peace. Wirajuda argue that,

“In globalization era, the principle of free and active foreign policy sounds a troublesome doctrine knowing that strategic partnership-a loose term currently used often to replace “alliance”- with countries or single country becoming an inevitable manifestation in Indonesia’s interstate relations”. 40

36 Ibid., Pg. 50-51
1.9. Thesis Outline

I. CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION

The first chapter will introduce the reader to the topic being discussed in the research/thesis. The chapter then depicts and elaborate the introductory elements of the thesis, including; the background, problem identification, statement of the problem, the objective of the research, significant of the study, conceptual framework, scope and limitation of the study, definition of terms, and the thesis outline.

II. CHAPTER II- THEORITICAL REVIEW

This chapter will analyze the previous literature and research that assist the writer to construct the thesis. This chapter highlight the theoretical framework that theorize the research which is the complex interdependence. In addition, the chapter also examine the previous literature and related research on bilateral relations concept, the distant historical event in the bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa.

III. CHAPTER III- RESEARCH METHODODOLOGY

This chapter will describe on what kind of research methodology being used by the thesis. However, research methodology will be used in this thesis is a qualitative approach rather than quantitative approach since it has been less number is used as indicator of variable to answer the research matters. In addition, the research will be assessed based on the descriptive-analytic level of analysis which provide the facts, data, and information in a systematic arrangement. This chapter also provide the research framework, research time and place, and the research instrument that being used in this thesis.

IV. CHAPTER IV-ANALYSIS: THE PATH TOWARDS A BETTERMENT OF INDONESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

This chapter will further explore the country profile of both Indonesia and South Africa. The chapter also will describe the establishment of the diplomatic
relationship and provide descriptive-analytic approach on the political and economic cooperation between the two countries before 2004.

V. CHAPTER V- ANALYSIS: THE INDONESIAN EFFORTS IN STRENGTHENING BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION

This chapter provide analysis on the topic and research question in order to fulfill the promising objective of the research, including; the assessments that encourage Indonesia to strengthen its bilateral relationship with South Africa. Then, the research will analyze the mechanism or tools being used on how the Indonesia revitalized the political and economic revitalizations during the year of 2004-2008. Then, as the result the both countries established strategic partnership in 2008. In addition, this chapter also provide analysis of Complex Interdependence theory to the topic of the thesis.

VI. CHAPTER VI- CONCLUSION

This last chapter will provide the conclusion of the Indonesian effort in strengthening its bilateral relations with South Africa through the political and economic revitalization during 2004-2008.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In this particular chapter, the writer will try to explain the theoretical grounding of the thesis which is complex interdependence. This chapter will also analyze the concept of bilateral relations since the actor of the thesis is between two countries. In addition, this chapter will provide previous literature in regards to the bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa in order to know about the issues in this bilateral relationship. For those purposes, the writer will examine several books, journals, and e-publication related to the essence of this thesis.

2.2. Complex Interdependence

Two prominent scholars of complex interdependence, Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye define complex interdependence theory as,

“A structural theory of international politics building on political bargaining in cases of asymmetrical power distribution in different issues areas that compels state to cooperate much more extensively than they had before”.

International politics, according to Keohane and Nye, is an arena in which there are multiple channels that connect societies and where the agenda of interstate exists, while military force is not present to address the relationship. These are the three elements that are considered the main characteristics of the complex interdependence in relationship between countries. Using these characteristics as foreground, Keohane and Nye afterward build on to five most important political process of complex interdependence, namely; the influence of the international structure on goals of the actors; instruments of the state policy; agenda formation; linkages of the issues, and; the role of international organizations. To explain the

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five political process of complex interdependence and its relevance in international relations, the core ideas of complex interdependence theory will be covered first.

2.2.1. Ideas of Complex Interdependence and International Relations

Complex interdependence is part of neoliberalism theory of international relations. It was first introduced by Keohane and Nye whom later translated their thoughts into a book entitled *Power and Interdependence* in 1977. The publication of the book has contributed a new way of thinking in understanding the international relations. The ideas of complex interdependence itself is inspired by complex issues rising in international relations, such as the spread of democracy, the growing importance of international organization, and globalization. By looking at the situation, Keohane and Nye suggest that countries around the world are about to be connected and interdependent one and another in conducting their foreign relations.

Keohane and Nye introduce the complex interdependence as the theory to understand the phenomenon of international relations especially in the complex national interest in globalized arena in gaining power which particularly differ from realist perceptions. Realist view that the state is the dominant actor in world politics and that military force and violence are the primary means by which state achieve their goals. That is why power will be possessed by the strongest military force nation because they can attain their will by using force. In realist assumption, political integration among states is slight and last only as long as it serve the national interests of the most powerful state. The system according to realists will be stable if it is only the adept exercise of the force or threat permits states to survive, and only when statesmen succeed in adjusting their interests, as in a well-functioning balance of power, it is not quite surprise that the states is the main player here.43

In another hand, as the post-cold war era, what realists proposed has been not inadequate to explain the complex phenomenon in international affairs. The explosive growth of issues in international relations such as economically

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intertwined, transnationalism and globalization era, even other complex non-military issues has given more spaces to asymmetrical power distribution in different issues areas that compels state to cooperate much more extensively than they had before without the majority of military-security issues anymore.

Keohane and Nye define power as “the ability of an actor to get others to do something they otherwise would not (and at an acceptable cost to the actors) and control over resources”. Meanwhile, when states intertwined in an international system they will be tied up by specific agendas/goals and rules which force them to interdependent one another, each state remains important to not breaks the rule and they will share the goals even though there is an absence of the hegemony state. In addition, the rising of the non-state actors like Multi-National Corporations, International Organizations, and etc. bring great impact into the international affairs especially in the economic and social sector which will decrease the dominant of state’s role in conducting their foreign relations. It means in complex interdependence, power distribution cannot be controlled by only military force but rather by asymmetrically relationship in a particular system.

In complex interdependence no state will not matters. It is because the actors involved in complex interdependence will face costs, which are called by the term sensitivity cost and vulnerable cost. Sensitivity cost means how quickly changes in one country bring changes in another country within a given framework include the cost of the changes themselves. Vulnerability cost means the country’s ability to offset these costly effects created by other countries by making policy changes within its own states. These costs will create situation where states are intertwined and affected one and other in the same time because they share common goals in particular system of international grouping or organizations; by then, what happen in a particular country can affect other country since they are in the same system.

45 Ibid., Pg. 50-51
The complex interdependence is seen as a theory or concept in this globalization world that have to involve those develop, developing, and under-developing countries in world’s political bargaining situation. Each states remain important and matters in complex interdependence because they are all once again share the same goals in the same issues in a particular international system. The developing state and under-developing states may have coalitions in such issues that developed states could not break off. It is referring to Michalak that explained this condition under the complex interdependence,

“When such condition exist, Keohane and Nye expect discontinuities between the overall distribution of military power and the outcomes in bargaining situation. They hypothesize that in issues areas so characterized, outcomes will be shaped by the distribution of the resources and vulnerabilities within each separate areas; issues and agendas will have little relation to traditional security concern or the overall configuration of power; transnational relations of all types-international bureaucratic coalitions, nongovernmental transnational actors and coalitions-will become crucial factors in decision making processes; and international institutions, broadly defined, will set agendas, act as catalyst for transnational coalitions, and enable under developing states to undertake initiatives and form coalitions.”

Ongoing, complex interdependence as mentioned before has three characteristics which will be further explained in this section namely; multiple channels connect societies, the agenda of interstate relationship, and absence of the military force to address the relationship.  

Furthermore, Keohane and Nye explain the characteristic of complex interdependence as follows; firstly, the existence of multiple channels connect societies which means contact among societies expands the range of policy instruments that limit the government’s control over foreign relations. It will recognize the present formal and informal ties and connection not only in government official but also in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and transnational organization. Secondly, the agenda of the interstate relationship which reflected on the multiple issues that are not arranged in a clear or consistent hierarchy. It means that military-security does not considered dominate the

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47 Ibid., Pg.21-23
agendas. Issues come from several government departments and at several levels. That is why inadequate policy coordination on the issues may involve significant cost since the distinction between domestic and foreign policy becomes blurred. Thirdly, absence of the military force to address the relationship. It means military force is not used by government toward other governments within the region, issues, when complex interdependence prevails. However, the scholars did not deny the importance of the military force in general terms, but they argued that due to the multilevel hierarchy of issues and policy goals, military force is seem less effective to be rely on under the complex interdependence.

Hence, it can be seen that complex interdependence established different political processes as to what realist has introduced. The processes include, the goals the influence of the international structure on goals of the actors; instruments of the state policy; agenda formation; linkages of the issues, and; the role of international organizations. These five of political processes will be used to deeply understand the revitalization of bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa. Indonesia and South Africa address the same circumstances. When, Indonesia and South Africa committed to tied up in a bilateral relationship, there has been a lot of issues rising. The cooperation between the two countries is not only on political attachment but rather than to transformed it into the economic cooperation which will share mutual benefit. Government-to-government contacts has been often made in order to bridge the business-to-business and people to people contact. By the time the goal of relationship become more complex proven by the agreements in many areas such as agricultural, technology, defense, trade, good governance, and etc. which require contact in all level of the both countries. In addition, revitalizing political and economic cooperation done by both countries become the sign of strong willingness to strengthen the bilateral relations, whether they engage in domestic and international goals.

As it has been stated before that the main research question to be answered in this research is how Indonesia has strengthened the bilateral relationship with

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South Africa. Since the level of analysis will be conducted in state to state level, the political processes that will be used in this thesis- will be limited to the only first three political processes namely; goals of actors, instrument of foreign policy, and the agenda formation. While the last two political processes; linkage of issues and the IO will be not included since both of them can only be applied in a multilateral level of analysis. The political processes will be analyzed through the following explanation;

- **Goal of the Actors**

  Each actors or bureaucracy will pursuit its own concern although several agencies may reach compromises on issues that affect them all, they will find a consistent pattern of policy is so difficult to maintain. Some scholars did argue that, complex interdependence has not satisfy the international relations on how the actor’s goal are going to be ordered. This is because complex interdependence was designed as a framework which would to analyze variety of coming issues, where goals are determined in different ways. Keohane and Nye again emphasize that under complex interdependence, it is allowed to have different actors, power structures and goals in different areas. As the result, it may encourage the actors pursue different interest and coalitions depend on the issue area. In another hand, the present of the transnational actors will also pursue their own goals in such interaction and may contribute to the complication of determining the actors’ goal.\(^{49}\)

- **Instruments of the State Policy**

  As what has been explained before that, under the complex interdependence, military power is not the primary instrument of the state policy anymore. Thus, the upcoming various aspect such as economic power, ecological sphere, technological knowledge, and other diplomatic resources might be more relevant to be applied in different issues and areas. In this situation, the Keohane and Nye stated that the employment of organizations and transnational actors will be major instrument of state policy.\(^{50}\)

\(^{49}\) Ibid., Pg. 26

\(^{50}\) Ibid., Pg. 26-27
- Agenda Formation

It has been clearly argued that not only military-security agenda seems as the head of all agenda setting but also other issues such as economic cooperation, Multi-National Corporations (MNC), the issues of food, oil, trade, and other updated form of agenda of cooperation have been important. This complexity is making the line between domestic policy and the foreign policy becomes blurred. Under complex interdependence, we can expect the agenda to be affected by international and domestic problems created by economic growth and increasingly sensitive interdependence. Power distribution on the issues may affect the policy of nations and there is recognition for a state to the power of other important rules such as MNCs.  

- Linkages of the Issues

Keohane and Nye has argued that when military force largely immobilized, strong states will find the linkage is less effective. It means that the militarily and economically powerful states might not be able to use their overall power to ensure a congruence of patterns in every issue area. Then it will make the linkage of the instruments and issues used by under-developed and under developing states and international organizational actors is available, this even can be establish inexpensive as to what the strong state has done. In addition, the scholar argued that

“Less vulnerable states will try to use asymmetrical interdependence in particular group source of power, they will also try to use international organization and transnational actors and flows.”

- The Role of International Organizations

International Organizations (IO) help set the international agenda and act as catalyst for a coalition-formulation and as arenas for political initiatives and linkage by developing and under developing states. Yet, the government must organize themselves to cope with the flow of business generated by international organizations. By defining salient issues, the actors may decide which issues can

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51 Ibid., Pg. 26
52 Ibid., Pg.27-28
be grouped together, organization in this term may help to determine governments’ priorities and the nature interdepartmental committees and other arrangements within the government. Notably, IO also hold the principle of *equality of states in one vote-one country* which later can help to address the demand of the developing and under developing states.\(^5^3\)

**2.3. Bilateral Relationship**

**2.3.1. Bilateral Relationship Concept**

International relations (IR) involves vary kind of interaction among state actors and non-state actors across the international system. It represents the study of foreign affairs and global issues among states within the international system. It make international relations being complex and interdependence in pursuing and sharing goals of actors. According to Perwita and Yani (2005), international relations can be understood as:

“The study of international relations has been interpreted as a study of the interactions between actors across their sovereignty. The occurrence of international relations has been categorized an absolute as result of the existence of interdependence and growing complexity of human life in the international community, so, interdependence is not allow any of country closed itself unto the external world outside.”\(^5^4\)

As what have mentioned before that interdependence may bring countries across the globe to conduct relations that can address each of states’ complex demand. In addition, international relations also include so many aspect of study include diplomacy, international organizations, international law, foreign policy in politics, economics, socio-cultural sphere.

Under the international relations, the form of interaction can be categorized based on the involved actors, the intensity of the interaction, and the form of the interaction. Based on the intensity of the interaction, the actors may result many kinds of respond to particular bargaining cooperation, include accommodating, ignoring, pretending, procrastinating, bargaining, and resisting. While based on the involved actors, it can categorized as bilateral relations (two countries)- as to

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\(^{53}\) Ibid., Pg. 30-31

\(^{54}\) Perwita, Anak Agung Banyu and Yanyan Mochamad. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: Rosda, Pg. 3-4
another extent will be used in this research, trilateral relations (three countries), regional relations (among the member state of particular region), and multilateral relations (worldwide). According to Keohane, this international relations may be reflected into three different result namely conflict, competition, and cooperation. Keohane further explain that,

“Conflict is goal-seeking behavior that strives to reduce gains available to others or to impede their want satisfaction; competition is a condition where actors strive for gaining some notably agendas in their interaction with others; cooperation basically should lead to rewards, but everyone should benefit.”55

Bilateral relationship can be understood as the relationship between two nations. Bilateral relations between countries often refer to political, economy, cultural and historic ties. Strong bilateral relations are characterized by cooperation between institution and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia, and civil society. Other bilateral relations’ elements could be trade and investment, cultural exchange as well as general knowledge, understanding and public awareness about other country and the ties existing between them.56 Hence, the writer has emphasize the bilateral relations is the most foremost concept to conceptual the relationship between Indonesia and South Africa, since its only involved two sovereign state.

Basically, there are three motifs that be attached in conducting bilateral relations namely, to protect the national interest, to maintain peace and to increase economic prosperity. 57 In addition, the interaction between states especially the bilateral relations can be depicted as follows; (1) stimulation or actual policy from the initiative country, (2) perception for the stimulation come from the policy makers of the receiving country, (3) respond from the receiving country, and (4)

respond come from the policy makers of the initiative country. \textsuperscript{58} It can also view from the following figure;

![Figure 2.1. The Process of Bilateral Relations\textsuperscript{59}](image)

Source: Processed by the Writer

From the figure above it has clearly explained that the bilateral relations will be exist if there is only reciprocal relationship between two countries. Where firstly country A give stimulation and received by country B to be processed by the policy makers within, next country B will translate their respond to country A to be processed by the policy makers within than if both country has find that they are mutually interdependence one another, both countries are engaged in a bilateral relationship. This figure also can depict the historical bilateral relations of Indonesia and South Africa established ever since.

Thus, this chapter will also analyzed how previous researcher has conducted their respective research on bilateral relationship issues which later will help to understand the importance of the revitalization of bilateral relations notably between Indonesia and South Africa as what this research may try to analyze.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., Pg. 42
2.4. Distant Historical Event in the Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa

In this particular section, the writer also will described and analyze the previous literature by several scholars and authors regarding the historical events and issues in the Indonesia and South Africa bilateral relationship.

The historical relationship between Indonesia and South Africa can always trace back into the era of Dutch colonization. Both of Indonesia and South Africa were become the part of the Dutch’s trade expedition areas which later established the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) in 1601-1799. The expedition to Indonesia was led by Cornelis de Houtman in 1596 and to South Africa under the Jan Van Riebeck in 1652. Riebeck on that time brought many of farmers from Dutch (Boer), France, Germany to evolve plantation as what the VOC did in Indonesia. Unfortunately, VOC defied by the British Army in 1795 and in 1799 VOC broke down into bankrupt in Indonesia; this made the Dutch expropriate the administration in those VOC’s colonies to fight the British Army.  

In fact, the Dutch (who take the reign) had not yet expelled the British Army in South Africa that is why, many of British lived in Cape Town, South Africa since 1806. Ongoing, Dutch was defeated under the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte by the Coalition of Army in 1815. It means that all the colonies area under the Dutch had to hand over to the British. British in Indonesia reigned since 1808-1811 under the Sir Stanford Raffles since in South Africa this event made the British in Cape Town even stronger. The British continued their reigns in South Africa through the Apartheid political party since in Indonesia it has been more complicated with by re-establishing the Dutch power and the Japan Colonization. The both countries has experienced tough and long colonization by the Dutch and the British though they have settled different strategy in reaching their independent, however, this even enable both countries to continuously share the solidarity in human rights and freedom from colonization. In pre-colonial times, Indonesia seafarers even

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travelled as far west as Madagascar and the Malagasy are at least partially descended from these early navigator.  

2.4.1. The Shaikh Yusuf and His Role in Establishing the Muslim Community in Cape Town by Nabilah Lubis (2004)

Shaikh Yusuf was born in 1626 at Gowa, a part of South Celebes which now has known as Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Shaik Yusuf started to learn Arabic language and traditional Islamic studies like *fiqh*, *tafsir*, *hadith*, and even memorize the *al-Qur’an* since he was young. He was live as relatives in the palace of the Sultan Gowa. In the age of 18, he left for Mecca to perform pilgrimage and continued his study. In his trip to Mecca, Shaikh Yusuf stopped in Bantam, the largest Muslim kingdoms at that time and learned Islamic studies some time to famous Ulama Nuruddin ar-Raniri in Aceh. Then he went to Yemen and Mecca.  

Shaikh Yusuf stayed for a long time in Mecca, during his study he showed a great performances until he got the *ijazah* (appellation granted for him by his peers in the order) of *sufi* order, especially of the of *Khalwatiyyah*, though which he bestowed the name of “The Crown of the Khalwatiyyah Shaikh Yusuf at-Taj al-Khalwatiyyah al Makassari” from the Imam of the Ibn Arabi’s mosque in Damascus, Syria. After finishing his study in Middle East, he came back into Gowa, the home where he belong. Unfortunately, he has found Gowa so different, then he left Gowa for Banten in 1669.  

Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa welcome d Shaikh Yusuf in his kingdom of Banten, because of his great versed in *Shari’ah* (Islamic law), Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa then appointed him into his spiritual advisor (*mufti*). Shaikh Yusuf has dedicated his great contribution make Banten as the center of Excellence in Islamic Studies and Culture. Seeing the Dutch monopolize the trade areas in Indonesia, yet, Banten and Southern Sumatera were still under the control of the Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, he

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63 Ibid., pg. 2 Shaikh Yusuf has shown that the Sultan of Gowa did not prevent gambling and other non-Islamic activities among the society, then he chosen left Gowa for Banten.
then broke the Dutch commercial monopoly and blockaded the trade route of Banten. In 1679, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa was compelled to conclude humiliating peace with the Dutch. This led into the war between them and finally Banten was defeated in 1682.

Shaikh Yusuf was captured in 1683 and firstly detained in Cirebon and Batavia. After that he was exiled to Ceylon for five years, during, he wrote many books named ‘Rasail’ in Arabic language and some in Bugisnese letter. The Dutch understood that his influence was very dangerous to the society then Shaikh Yusuf was finally exiled to Cape Town, South Africa in 1694.64 This was also the way from Dutch to keep him away from the community where he belong to though there were 49 people that the attached to him being exiled to Cape Town.

In Cape Town, Shaikh Yusuf was never stop to spread the Islamic values to the society. He emphasized that slaves and indigenous people were not inferior to the others. He said that, “Islam does not differ between indigenous people and European decedent people. All people are equal in front of God.”65 Therefore, so many people in Cape Town found Islam very easy and near to comfort their souls. Even, in less than five years, Islamic values has disseminated to all over the Cape Town. Yet, during his time in Cape Town, Shaikh Yusuf has not written any books instead of teaching and preaching because of he has been old and preventing all the threats from Dutch. Shaikh Yusuf than succeeded in establishing Muslim community which consisted of the exiled people from India, Malay Peninsula, Arab, and other countries. He was well-respected by the Governor of the Cape Town and gave them freedom to do their Islamic rituals and ceremonies.

The growth of Islam in Cape Town actually has tremendously grew in the late of 18th century, the active propaganda of the faith by the imams from the same premises was become the most factors into this growth. They were much triggered though had to face challenges from many ruling governor. In the advent of the 19th Century, changes in Cape Town were very necessary if there is a French revolutions. It had undergone tremendous changes to a spirit of liberalism that spread across the Europe that the Governor in Cape Town could not ignore. In

64 Ibid., Pg. 3
65 Ibid.,
1803, the Cape Town was handed over to the Batavia Republic under the Jassens and De Mist. They were willing to accept the value of liberalism especially in the religious freedom on 25 July 1804. The parliament finally granted in terms of new constitution of 1853 allowed the Cape Muslim to vote. This led the Cape Town into a cape of “Good Hope” where multiracial existed.

Shaikh Yusuf died in 1699 in Cape Town, his grave is very famous and sacred, called Keramat. Every year on the May 2-4, the Muslim in South Africa celebrate the day of Shaikh Yusuf’s death. In 1994, Cape Town held a big and merry festival to celebrate the 300 years of the Shaikh Yusuf’s death. Nabilah (Indonesia) who was invited to that festival said that,

“People come from all over South Africa come to the fair. The place, is called ‘Keramat’ where the grave of Shaikh Yusuf had been found. The area was very crowded by thousands of people. The festival included the long march of hundreds of cars and horses passing around the city. A lot of people welcomed the festival by standing on the side of street to give applause. All grouped arranged big program.

In the 1995, Nabilah Lubis was again invited to “The National Muslim Women Organization” to share in the celebration of establishing the “Tuan Yusuf Learning Center” for girls. This learning center was for skill development of girls in the areas of cooking, handicrafts, learning Arabic, and learning Indonesian language and culture. It again prove that, the prominent Shaikh Yusuf has planted “seeds” of cultural relations between Indonesia and South Africa.

Hence, According to Nabila (2004), there are three vital impact of Shaikh Yusuf has promoted and disseminated to the Muslim and non-Muslim people in Cape Town as South Africa, include; firstly, by strengthening and encouraging the Islam thought of the Muslim at the Cape, he contributed to rebuild of their dignity as human beings in a society which, having enslaved and exiled them had virtually destroyed that dignity. Secondly, by encouraging the creation of socio-religious structures amongst Muslims, he laid the foundations for the establishment of what was possibly one of the first socially responsible Muslim in the country. Thirdly, by his missionary work and the winning over people to Islam, he gradually gave

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66 Ibid., Pg. 5
67 Ibid., Pg. 7
the community the numerical strength and the “fresh blood”, it needed for stabilization and growth. Since then, in the year of 1990s many of delegations from South Africa came into Makassar, Indonesia to learn more about the history Shaikh Yusuf. In 2000s, group of art and culture from Cape Town visited Jakarta to have cultural mission and exhibition.

In addition, Nelson Mandela in his spirited struggle against apartheid said that he was greatly inspired by Shaikh Yusuf. What Shaikh Yusuf did truly awakened South African communities to fight racism. Mandela described him as one of the best sons of Africa and later honored him as a national hero. According to Former Director General of Human Rights at the Law and Human Rights Ministry, Indonesia, Hafid Abbas (2013), there are four reasons why Mandela named Shaikh Yusuf as his inspirations, includes; firstly, Shaikh Yusuf had resisted the domination of Apartheid regime which led to the loss of his life. Secondly, his struggle was to fight discrimination even though it would benefit people entirely different backgrounds to his own. Thirdly, his struggle took place thousands miles away from his country but he had been always spirit. Last but not least, he gained no reward or compensation from his struggle, and he did not get to taste the fruit of his efforts to support South Africans. Thus, it can be understood that if Shaikh Yusuf as a foreigner had dedicated his life to fight the human rights movement in South Africa, surely a citizen should equally be spirited in erasing the discriminations in his own land. Shaikh Yusuf has always seen as the connector between Indonesia and South Africa.

2.4.2. Issues in South Africa and Indonesia Relations by David Burrows

The author in his research was trying to explain some issues that interlinked in the relationship between Indonesia and South Africa. As Indonesia and South Africa just establish its diplomatic relations on 1994, the author believed that each countries need to know those issues that can enhance the bilateral relationship.

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68 Ibid., Pg. 8  
70 David Burrows is the scholar from South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)
Thus, the author divided his analysis into several sections namely; parallel between Indonesia and South Africa, trade links, the Indonesian Economy which reflected to the inside of the Indonesia, issues confronting contemporary Indonesia, and how South Africa deal with Indonesia.

- There are Many Parallels between South Africa and Indonesia
  
  Both countries have had disagreements with the United Nations (UN) over neighboring territories which they controlled. The case for South Africa was over South West Africa, or Namibia as it is called today and Indonesia over the East Timor. The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to the controversial clerics in both countries. It was Archbishop Desmond Tutu was a critic of Apartheid and used the platform which the prize provided to call for sanction against South Africa. Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo of East Timor also been awarded the prize with exiled activist Ramos-Horta.\textsuperscript{71}

  Indonesia independence struggle begun under the charismatic leader, Soekarno who later progressed towards a conservative anti-communist state in 1940s. South Africa started the conservative anti-communist government since 1950s with a charismatic leader, Nelson Mandela. In South Africa, many organizations opposing Apartheid were automatically branded ‘communist’. Then in Indonesia, groups opposing the political system are also compared to the banned Indonesian Communist Party (ICP) or called \textit{Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)}. Later in 1990s, both countries also had the leaders who were getting years, President Soeharto on that time was 75 and President Mandela was 78.

- Trade between South Africa and Indonesia
  
  During the Apartheid regime, the trade between the two countries was virtually non-existent, it because Indonesia as the prominent of Non-Align Movement (NAM) member adhered strictly to sanctions against Apartheid in South Africa. Since the end of the Apartheid, there had been a dramatic turn around and

trade between the two countries which totaled R94 millions in 1994 and R228 millions in 1996. According to the former Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas that, “there is still much room for improvement in the relationship between Indonesia and South Africa”.\textsuperscript{72} That is why the cooperation between the two countries still ongoing developed.

In fact, there are two areas of cooperation that being promoted namely mining and tourism. Indonesia has vast mineral resources to be tapped and South Africa was a world leader in mining technology. The countries could cooperate together to share the development of cultivating mining sectors. The both countries had the amazing nature sight and places to be visited, thus they can cooperate in order to promote each tourism and the visa enhancement for the betterment of economic growth. In addition, South Africa is also linked to Indonesia through the Indian Ocean Rim Initiative which will tie together 14 countries around the Indian Ocean Rim. It could promote greater relations between the two countries and other respective countries.

- Inside Indonesia

In 1996, Indonesia was the biggest economy in South East Asia with GDP of $207.5 billion (R825, 85 billions). Its economic growth was impressive with averaging 7\% annually for the past two decades. Comparing to the South African economic growth was only about 3\%. The South African former Finance Minister, Mr. Trevol Manuel said that, “South Africa should achieve a growth rate of 6\% by the turn of the century and that is considered optimistic”.\textsuperscript{73} That is why it is very important for South Africa learn how their economic performance will growth as Indonesia did.

Much of this economic growth has taken place under the reign of late President Soeharto. His rule has been largely autocratic and repressive, but his policies have been enormously successful on the economic front and for this reason, many believe that authoritarian rule has hugely benefited the country. Indonesia was the most remarkable economic growth in South East Asia. During

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., Pg. 21
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., Pg. 22
his reign, Indonesia experienced tremendous growth; reduction of poverty, massive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), high employment, and more welfare society. According to former Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas that, “Indonesia’s economic “miracle” is founded on the concept of “trilogy of development”. The concept prescribed three inseparable and mutually supportive conditions: stability makes growth possible, growth in order to create to create new wealth the share, and equitable sharing of the responsibility for and the fruits of the development”.  

The author also provide what were events happening inside Indonesia such as the case of human rights and the process of democratization. In human rights circles, Indonesia is regularly roundly denounced for its brutal annexation of the territory in 1975 and subsequent suppression of any dissent. It is estimated that between 100.000-200.000 people out of a population of about 650.000 lost their lives at this time. Some have even asserted that if this can be called genocide, it is proportionately comparable in scale to Cambodia under Pol Pot. Rwanda also comes to mind in this regard. In addition, Indonesia repression on the East Timor case was also become the main questions by the South Africa.

The reign of the late President Soekarno has been replace by the late President Soeharto by introducing the ‘New Order’. Some argued that while repression under the President Soeharto might brought positive impact in terms of economic growth but it is argued that continued repression would act as a potential destabilizing force. Pent up anger and frustration could erupt into violence, these threatened to end the reign of Suharto following by the issue of corruption. By then, if Indonesia wish to continue to be stable and possessed sustainable economic growth, Indonesia need a political reformations. According to political scientist, Dewi Fortuna Anwar that, “We feel what is at stake is our national survival. The format of ‘New Order’ designed to answer the challenges of the 1960s and 1970s is no longer capable of dealing with challenges ahead”.  

There was also argument that the link between authoritarianism and economic growth in Asia was in fact false and was used as an excuse for non-

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74 Ibid., Pg. 23  
75 Ibid., Pg. 28  
76 Ibid., Pg. 39
democratic forces. It was held by someone economists that far from being a Western invention inappropriate to Asia, democracy holds the best opportunities for the region.

- How should South Africa deal with Indonesia?

The major potential obstacle in South African and Indonesian relations concerned in human rights and democracy. Since the end of the Apartheid regime, South Africa has made it principle of foreign policy to promote human rights worldwide. Therefore, the question of human rights in Indonesia could affect the future relationship of the two countries. In the very beginning, South Africa actually doubted Indonesia for its human rights performances, but after Indonesia donated a bunch of amount to the African National Congress (ANC) for the first election in South Africa, then it was led to the agreement of the country to build a diplomatic relationship.

However, South Africa was happily to continue its foreign policy unto the highlighting of the human rights concern. The author than provided a critical analysis on this foreign policy, because it was difficult to only limited the cooperation only to country that promote the human rights. According to a study by Freedom House that,

“It is only about a third of the world is considered is free”. The rest is either partly free or not free. Thus, if South Africa were limit its relations to those countries that were free, it would severely limits its foreign relations. This would inevitable have economic re-percussion.77

This should not simply be used as cover to ignore human rights issues and carry on business as usual. Despite its diplomatic links, the government should support international condemnation of countries abuses human rights and opposite to these policies. This is how South Africa approach its relations to Indonesia.

Hence, in its relation, Indonesia and South Africa can benefited one and other. South Africa can learn how to build economic growth from Indonesia. Indonesia also keep its track into the respect of human rights like what South Africa has promoted. Further, the both country can ever establish a democratic country

77 Ibid., Pg. 40
within each territory. So that, again, the bilateral relations between South Africa and Indonesia can benefited economically (mining and tourism) and politically (human rights and democratization). These aspect will bring the bilateral relationship unto a more comprehensive and mutually benefit relationship future and beyond.

2.5. Chapter Conclusion

The review on the complex interdependence and the bilateral concept has become the main basic to analyze the topic in this thesis. The literature above also has shown that the issues in the both countries’ relations have been being complex since the beginning even more it proven that Indonesia and South Africa has strong socio-political attachment. These reviewed literature have enlighten the writer in conducting her research on the revitalization the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa. However, the writer believe that are many data and information need to be updated over the review of the literature on the issues in the relations between Indonesia and South Africa.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This introduced thesis will be conducted based on the qualitative approach rather than quantitative approach because it has been less number is used as indicator of variable to answer the research matters. Assessing the research proses could be in the level of descriptive-analytic which provide the facts in systematic and rational arrangement.

3.2. Qualitative Approach

Complementing the thesis, the writer try to design the thesis through qualitative approach of research methodology. The qualitative research is in one particular setting which intend to investigate and understand the phenomenon as what it is happening, why it is happened, and how it is happened. Berg remarked that qualitative and quantitative approach are not distinct. However, to differentiate between these two types of research methodology, he indicates that the notion of quality is essentially tap to the nature of things.\(^78\) Other, quantity is elementally an amount of something. Berg further explain that quality research can be understood to the terms of what, how, when, and where of a happening thing. While, quantity research can be understood to the terms of meanings, concept, definitions, characteristic, metaphors, symbols, and description of things.\(^79\)

Hence, qualitative method is fit with this research because firstly, the bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa analyzed in this thesis has multidimensional elements especially in politics and economic sphere. This bilateral relations also having complex and interdependent factors to be assessed on how the bilateral relations has bring such mutual benefit to both countries. It


\(^{79}\) Ibid.,
will be easier to understand the phenomenon by considering the policy, norms, values, and specific behavior that happened around the research on revitalizing the bilateral relation between Indonesia and South Africa. Secondly, it is pretty clear that not all behavior, values, policy, and social interaction will be able to be quantified.

In applying and assessing the qualitative approach of research methodology in this thesis, the writer lay on descriptive-analytic research. According to Khotari, “descriptive research includes surveys and fact-findings enquiry to explain the state affairs as it exists at present”. The characteristic of descriptive research is that the researcher has no control over the variables presented and he can only report what is happening and the causes of the particular event. The researcher may use survey methods including comparative and correlational methods in conducting their research. On the other hand, analytical research required the researchers to use the available facts, data, and information to provide a critical evaluation of the happening event or provided materials.

Therefore, the descriptive-analytic approach is congenial with this research. In order to explore the interests in revitalizing the bilateral relations and to analyze how has the Government of Indonesia show significant efforts revitalized its bilateral relationship with South Africa, this kind of method can really guide the research design into a comprehensive thesis. Later on, this thesis will analyze the facts, data, and information so that it can finally answer the research questions.

3.2.1. Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Approach

The terms of validity and reliability in the qualitative approach can be seen as the credibility itself when it applied to a certain research. Different with quantitative approach, the qualitative approach has not been able to interpret to a certain numbering result; that is why, many of scholars questioned for the credibility of this research. The debate come from several scholars. Huberman and

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81 Ibid.,
Miles (1994) quoted that quantitative researcher, Fred Kerlinger emphasized that “there is no such thing as qualitative data”. Everything is either 1 or 0.” Responding this argument, D.T. Campbell has argued that, “all researcher ultimately has a qualitative grounding during the research”. Thus, this arguing views is less-effective for the world of research because every research has a different approach to be explained. It seems more beneficial to consider the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative approach in research methodology.

Moreover, there is called popular qualitative research which includes such a methods of experimental or observation natural settings, photographic techniques (including video tapping), historical analysis (historiography), document and textual analysis, socio-metric, socio-drama, and similar ethno-methodological experimentation, ethnographic research, and a number of unobtrusive techniques.

This particular research will use triangulation method in qualitative research methodology. It seems important because the writer, during the research for the thesis, utilizes all data sources, theories, method, and investigation in order to present a valid and legit information. The originality of triangulation method has been applied in surveying activities, map making, navigation, and military practice. According to Campbell, “triangulation method was first used in the social science as metaphor describing a form of multiple operationalism or convergent validation.” In this case, the use of triangulation is to describe collective data-collection technologies formed to measure a concept or construct.

In addition, Denzim (1978) has clearly introduced an additional metaphor, lines of action of triangulation technique, which characterizes the use of multiple

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data collection technologies, multiple theories, multiple researchers, multiple methodologies, or combination of these four categories of research activities; which described into this following figures;

![Diagram](image)

Figure 3.1. Multiple Lines of Action in Triangulation

According to the figure above that, the core all research is *idea* which in this research could be the research title. Then, in order to translate and transform the idea into a research finding, in the same row the researcher need to pay attention on the multiple theories- the number of theories that come and suit the idea, multiple researchers- who become sources of references for the previous research, and multiple data technologies- including data retrieval and collection in order to gain legit data. After adjusting those variables, the introduced idea can finally gain its finding research.

Moreover, Berg insists that triangulation actually represent varieties of data, investigators, theories, and method. Denzim (1978) cited in Berg (2001) outlined these four categories as follow;

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86 Ibid.,

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1) Data triangulation has three subtypes: (a) time, (b) space, and (c) person. Person analysis, in turn, has three levels: (a) aggregate, (b) interactive, and (c) collectively;

2) Investigator triangulation consists of using multiple rather than single observer of the same object;

3) Theory triangulation consists of using multiple rather than simple perspective in relations to the same set of objects; and

4) Methodological triangulation can entail within-method triangulation and between-method triangulation.  

3.3. Research Framework

Strengthening bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa through revitalizing the political and economic cooperation can be further be linked in this following framework:

Figure 3.2. Revitalizing bilateral relations between Indonesia and South Africa
Source: Processed by the Writer

Historical relations between Indonesia and South Africa (the same views towards eradicating the colonialism) making both countries upholding the human rights and holding tight the solidarity; has basically become capital and solid foundation to build a relationship. However, the demand and support from the both

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countries development boost the spirit of establishing deeper cooperation between the two countries. However, both Indonesia and South Africa need to revitalize its own domestic environment (vision, strategic, and foreign policy in conducting international relationship). In fact, after each country has revitalized its own domestic environment, they have found themselves intertwined in sharing the common goals. Indonesia and South Africa share the common goals of realizing and enhancing the domestic development, regional development, and multilateral development which become the basis for the two countries in strengthening the bilateral relationship.

Therefore, in strengthening the bilateral relationship, the two countries agreed to revitalize their political cooperation through establishing the Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) in 2004 and their economic cooperation through establishing the Joint Trade Committee (JTC) in 2005. As the result, Indonesia and South Africa continuously share the common goals making them established strategic partnership in 2008.

3.4. Research Time and Place

There is such period of time and places in conducting a research. Timeline is needed to guide the processes and achieve the target for a specific period, in the other hand places are needed to searching comprehensive source of valid facts and information related to the topic in the research. Thus the writer will further describe on how this particular thesis/research will be conducted.

3.4.1. Time of the research

This research will be conducted based on the timeline of the research below;

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• September 2014

During this month, the writer did lot of research regarding to the idea of the topic chosen of this thesis. The writer started the research by analyzing the report of the seminars and events she experienced during the internship program in March-July 2014 in the Directorate for African Affairs of MoFA RI in order to choose topical issue to be explored. It was followed by reading books, news article, and journal related to the focused issue. The writer during this research was assisted by the thesis adviser which finally led into a final chosen topic of this thesis.

• October 2014 – December 2014

Ongoing, the writer still conduct series of research to write the thesis. During this time, the writer will design the thesis comprehensively along with the guidance of the thesis adviser. Not only reading books and journal of the topic but also the writer will conducted the series of interview and discussion with the prominent informants in order to gain accurate information.
January-February 2015

Moreover, during this month, the researcher will submit the final draft of the thesis and prepare for the thesis defense. After facing the thesis defense, the researcher will revise and fix the matters of the thesis that had suggested and directed during the thesis defense. Finally, in the end of the February 2015, the writer will submit the final thesis to the authorized institution.

3.4.2. Place of the research

There are many place that will be visited to conduct and complete this thesis, including;

- Adam Kurniawan Library, President University at Jababeka Education Park, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Cikarang 17550, West Java, Indonesia
- Ali Alatas Library, MoFA RI at Taman Pejambon no. 60, Jakarta 10110, Indonesia
- Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI at Gedung Utama, 4th Floor, Taman Pejambon No.6, Jakarta 10110, Indonesia
- Indonesia University Library in Depok, Indonesia
- Information Resource Center (IRC), the Embassy of United States of America in Jakarta at Jl.Merdeka Selatan No.3-5, Jakarta Pusat 10110, Indonesia
- The Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Jakarta at Suite 705, 7th Floor, Wisma GBKI, Jend. Sudirman. No.28, Jakarta 10210, Indonesia

3.5. Research Instrument

In this qualitative research, it is important to emphasize that the quality of the research depends on the quality and the completeness of the data. Thus, in complete the research the researcher will used two method of the gathering data namely, document analysis and interview.

3.5.1. Document Analysis

Biklen and Bogdan (2007) explained that document is another form of data, which categorized into three parts, namely; personal documents, official documents, and popular culture documents. These scholars than further describe that,
“Personal documents are document documents created by an individual being studied, and might include diaries, letters, autobiographies, and in more recent time e-mails and blog. Official documents are documents produced by institutions, like schools or districts, either for internal use or external dissemination. They include memos, minutes of meetings, press releases, brochures, and etc. While popular documents can allow a researcher to interrogate popular culture or ask how individuals and groups engage with and make meaning of the message found there. It can be found from movies, music albums, books, advertisements, and other mass-consumed materials.”

This research will use personal document, official documents, and popular culture documents during the research. Personal documents is documents that utilized by the researcher by himself. While official documents are the documents that readily available to the researcher, although some are protected as private or secret. Based on the Biklen and Bogdan, “the official documents are divided into internal documents- can reveal information about official chain of command and internal rules and regulation; and external documents- materials produces by organization for public consumption.” And popular documents gained from some videos-advertisements presented by prominent persons and institution regarding to the topic of this research.

Thus, the writer will analyze various type of data, such as; personal documents can be gained from the researcher findings during the seminars and events, report and articles during the class session, prominent persons’ publication through social media, and important power point presentations; official documents and popular documents can be gained from books, journals, official reports, previous research (thesis and dissertation), newsletter, and e-publication.


3.5.2. Interview

Other than document analysis, interview is seen as a prominent tool in order to gather information to help this thesis. Interview is conversation with particular purposes on specific issues. Based on Merriam (2001) and Nieswiadomy (2002) cited from Berg (2004), there are three major categories of interview called as interview structure continuum formality as describing unto this following figures:

![Figure 3.2. Interview Structure Continuum Formality](image)

Referring to the type of interview above, the writer will choose the second type of interview for several reasons, namely; firstly, the questions during the interview will be provided by the researcher along with the thesis supervisor guidance. Yet, it is important to adapt the questions (without decreasing the introduced topic and purposes) during the conversation to have productive interview. Secondly, the interview sometime meet a bilingual (Indonesian-

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English) conversation, it is positioned to the adjustment of the language. And thirdly, the interviewer need to be flexible during the conversation and make necessary clarifications responding the answer of the informant in order to avoid any misunderstanding and information absorption.

Regarding to the topic of the thesis, strengthening the bilateral relations through revitalizing the political and economic cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Indonesia South Africa, the writer may list the informants who are; the officials from the Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI- in order to get deep understanding on why and how the bilateral revitalization been conducted from the perspective of Indonesia; the officials from the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Jakarta- in order to understand the inside of South Africa and their perspective on its bilateral relations with Indonesia. This interview will be conducted by face-to-face interview and record the conversation on the recorder which later translate into a written result/report. Here are some of the conducted interviews;

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| October 16th, 2014 | Suite 705, 7th Floor, Wisma GBKI, Jl. Jend. Sudirman No.28, Jakarta 10210 | Senior Diplomat from the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Indonesia | *South Africa at glance
                              *Historical relationship
                              Indonesia and South Africa                                           |
| November 17th, 2014 | Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI – Gedung Utama Lt.4, Jl. Taman Pejambon No.6, Jakarta 10110 | Aulia Rinaldi Ahza, Chief of Economic Section II-1 for African Affairs, MoFA RI | *Indonesian foreign policy towards Africa
                              *Revitalization of the bilateral relationship                          |
| December 23rd, 2014 | Suite 705, 7th Floor, Wisma GBKI, Jl. Jend. Sudirman No.28, Jakarta 10210 | Senior Diplomat from the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Indonesia | *South African foreign policy towards Indonesia
                              *Revitalization of the bilateral relationship                          |
Table 3.2. The Lists of Interviews during the Research

| January 9th, 2014 | Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI – Gedung Utama Lt.4, Jl. Taman Pejambon No.6, Jakarta 10110 | Musurifun, Deputy Head of Political and Security for African Affairs, MoFA RI | *Revitalization of the bilateral relationship |

3.6. Chapter Conclusion

The research methodology being used in the thesis is qualitative approach since qualitative methodology. Qualitative research can be understood to the terms of what, how, when, and where of a happening thing. That is why, the writer believe that qualitative approach will be suit to this thesis in analyzing the topic. The data gathering will be conducted through both document analysis and interview. Thus, the thesis is completely done in 5 months. During the 5 months, the writer has been visiting several places (MoFA RI, South African Embassy, Library of President University and University of Indonesia, and the Information Resource Center) in order to gathering the data and conducting the interview itself.
CHAPTER IV
THE PATH TOWARDS A BETTERMENT OF INDONESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

4.1. Introduction
This chapter will mainly analyze the path towards the betterment of Indonesia and South Africa bilateral relationship. The chapter will provide the country profile of both countries and description on the establishment of the diplomatic relationship. In addition, the chapter also discuss the political and economic relationship growth between the two countries before 2004.

4.2. Country Profile
4.2.2. The Republic of Indonesia

The Republic of Indonesia (Indonesia) is the largest country in South East Asia with total area of 1,904,569 km². It is the fourth most populated country in the world after the China, India, and USA with total population of 253,609,643 people. Indonesia has shown good economic growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of $1.285 trillion and GDP per capita is $5,200 in 2013. Some of its agriculture products are rubber, palm oil, poultry, beef, forest products, shrimp,

cocoa, coffee, medicinal herbs, essential oil, fish and spices. While its industrial sectors are petroleum and natural gas, textiles, automotive, electrical appliances, apparel, footwear, mining, cement, medical instruments and appliances, handicrafts, chemical fertilizers, plywood, rubber, processed food, jewelry, and tourism. The labor force in Indonesia are approximately 120 million in 2013.93

In the early 17th century, the Dutch began to colonize Indonesia for 3 and half century by implying the slogan of de vide et impera which means provoke and separate to occupied the plurality of Indonesia. Dutch power in Indonesia was unstable after Dutch East India Company – Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) gone bankrupt. Indonesian freedom fighters were never giving up to fight the Dutch regime94. Until then Japan came to the nationalist leader of Indonesia, Soekarno and offer to help to fighting the Dutch. As it turned out, Japan then occupied Indonesia during 1942-1945 by promoting the slogan of Nippon Pemimpin Asia, Nippon Pelindung Asia, and Nippon Cahaya Asia which means that Japan is the Asian leader who is brother to Indonesia will free the Asian countries from the Western colonization, while actually they just aimed to occupy the land of Indonesia.95

In the end of the World War II, the West bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. This event forced Japan to admit defeat and agreed to leave its occupied countries, including Indonesia. There was a vacuum of power in Indonesia. Indonesian leaders at that time saw the opportunity to set free from colonization and declare their independence on 17 August 1945. On behalf of Indonesians, President Soekarno and Vice President Mohammad Hatta, the first president and vice president of Indonesia, proclaimed Indonesia’s independence through a secret radio broadcast to all Indonesian.

In 1945, Indonesia then ruled by President Soekarno but it required four years of another military confrontation, intermittent negotiations, and UN

mediation before the Dutch agreed to transfer sovereignty to Indonesia in 1949. President Soekarno step down from power after an abortive coup by the alleged communist sympathizers and thus the era of President Soeharto began in 1965. After 30 years of ruling Indonesia, President Soeharto announced his resignation because of the rioting toppled from the Indonesian people which finally led Indonesia to a free and fair legislative election in 1999. Indonesia is now the world’s third most populous democracy, the world’s largest archipelagic state, and the world’s Muslim-majority nations. 96

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was the first president to be elected directly by all citizens of Indonesia. Under his regime, Indonesia set the National Long Term Development 2005-2025 which was about the means to realize the prosperous, democratic, and just country. The missions are to continue the development towards a prosperous Indonesia, to strengthen the pillars of democracy, and to strengthen the justice dimension in all fields. Some of the formulated priority actions in 2009-2014 that employed to achieve the vision and mission are; (a) program of action in education sector, (b) program of action in health sector, (c) program action for poverty reduction, (d) program of action in employment creation, (e) program of action on basic infrastructure development, (f) program of action in food security, (g) resistance and energy independence, (h) improvement and implementation of good governance, (i) enforcement pillars of democracy, (j) law enforcement corruption, (l) inclusive and equitable development, (m) field environment sector, and (n) cultural development.97

Thus the foreign policy of Indonesia will be set to support the accomplishment of the nation’s vision above. The main vision of Indonesian foreign policy is to advance the national interest through total diplomacy. This vision is in accordance with the national vision enlisted in the Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional/RPJMN (National Medium Term Development Plan) for the period of 2010-2014 which indicates the relevancy of

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establishing relations and implementing policy using the ‘total diplomacy’ technique as a strategy to realize the national vision of “Indonesia that is Prosperous, Democratic, and Just.” The MoFA RI has 9 (nine) exclusive mission to be reached by the entire working units during the period of 2010 to 2014 with the following details:

1. To improve bilateral and regional relations and cooperation in various sectors to promote the national interest;
2. To take on a more significant role and leadership in ASEAN cooperation, participate in the process of integration of ASEAN Community 2015 which benefits Indonesia that is independent, advanced, united, democratic, safe, just, and prosperous;
3. To increase multilateral diplomacy to achieve Indonesia that is safer, more peaceful, independent, advanced, just, and prosperous;
4. To create a more positive image of Indonesia through Public Diplomacy;
5. To optimize diplomacy by confirmation of legal instruments and international agreements, in an effort to protect the national interest;
6. To provide better services which are prompt, courteous, simple, transparent and accountable in protocol, consular, diplomatic facilities and protection of Indonesian citizens/Indonesian legal entities overseas;
7. To formulate foreign policy to achieve the national interest;
8. To improve internal supervision in order to create clean and organized apparatus in the Ministry; and
9. To improve the management of the Ministry which is transparent, accountable and professional in order to support the implementation of the foreign policy. 

As for the strategic objectives of the Ministry, all of which are in accordance on the identification of potentials and issues to be faced along the way to realize the vision and carry out the mission of the Ministry. The objectives to be reached are:

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1. To improve and strengthen the bilateral and regional reactions and cooperation in various sectors in Asia-Pacific and Africa;
2. To improve the bilateral relations and cooperation with countries and organizations from America and Europe;
3. To demonstrate Indonesia’s role and leadership of ASEAN cooperation, to participate in the process of integration of ASEAN Community 2015 which benefits Indonesia which is independent, advanced, united, democratic, safe, just, and prosperous;
4. To take on a more active role in creating international peace and security, advancement and protection of human rights, and development of economy, socio-culture, finance, environment, trade, industry, investment, and protection of intellectual rights by strengthening regional and multilateral cooperation;
5. To create a more positive image of Indonesia through provision of accurate information and better understanding of Indonesian foreign policy among stakeholders in the country and the international community;
6. To optimize diplomacy through the management of law and international agreements which are safe in terms of political, legal, and technical and security aspects;
7. To provide better services in protocol, consular, diplomatic facility and protection of Indonesian citizens/Indonesian legal entities overseas;
8. To improve the quality of foreign policy through review and development policy, making it more effective in advancing the national interest;
9. To improve the quality of internal capacity of the Ministry to enforce the applicable laws and regulations; and
4.2.2. The Republic of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa (South Africa) is one of the emerging economic countries in Africa which subject to one of the member of the rising economy, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). In 2013, the total of South African population is 52,982,000 people in totaled area of 1,219,090 km², with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US$ 353.9 billion- the GDP per capita of the South African is US$ 11,500. South African agriculture products are corn, wheat, sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, beef, poultry, mutton, wool, dairy products. While industry sectors are in mining, automobile assembly, metalworking, machinery, textiles, iron, steels, chemicals, fertilizer, foodstuffs, and commercial ship repair. South Africa is the largest economy in Africa, which represent 25% of the total GDP and produces approximately 50% of electricity in the continent. South Africa is the largest gold producer in the world (70%), in addition to platinum, gems, asbestos and uranium. South Africa abuts on Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Lesotho.

South Africa is a multiethnic country. This country has experienced the Apartheid regime that established a huge racial conflict and human rights violations. There are three of main pillars of the Apartheid regime under the 1910 Constitution, including; firstly, Land Act 1913 which not allow the indigenous

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people possess the land except the land that has been intended for them. It also banned the indigenous people to rent the European decedent people’s land. Second, *Native Urban Areas Act 1923* which banned the indigenous people to stay in urban city unless they were labors working for the European decedent people. Third, *Group Areas Act 1950*, the indigenous people have to stay in the “homeland”- area that been intended for them.\(^{103}\)

The Apartheid regime has made South Africa being condemned by international community and even got economic sanction from the United Nations (UN). However, the regime ended because the end of the Cold War decreased political bargaining of South Africa in the international politic economy. That is why under President Fredrick Williem de Klerk, South Africa established the multiracial political system and held the first general election. Rolihlala Mandela (Nelson Mandela), leader of freedom fighter, win the election and become president in 1994. Later on, in the same year, both Mandela and Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. To end the Apartheid regime in his country, the late President Nelson Mandela created a slogan of *Rainbow Nations* for South Africa.\(^{104}\) South Africa then aimed to be a stable, democratic and prosperous country.

On June 26-29, 2012, the ruling party African National Congress (ANC) held a conference on national goals and policies. The purpose of this conference is to discuss and analyze the strategic goals run by the ANC party to transform South Africa for next 30-50 years. This conference decided to establish the economic transformation especially for the indigenous people. The points of decision areas which being established during the conference, included; (a) government intervention on economic transformation, (b) establishing the program which involve more indigenous people, (c) women empowerment in economic transformation, (d) establishing the state-owned enterprises and privatization on


mining sectors, (e) acceleration on defense transformation, (f) developing the infrastructures, (g) decreasing the unemployment.

Current President Zuma delivered his presidency speech in 2013 to express the national goals and interests of South Africa which focus on developing the infrastructure with create the massive employment within the country. The government also addressed the issues of development of human resources, residences and public health service quality to improve the quality of citizen life. In conclusion, the current priority of the national goals and policies are including; education, health, the fight against crime, creating decent work as well as development and land reform.105

Moreover, the government set the South Africa Long Term Development throughout the year 2030. The South Africa’s National Development Plan (SANDP) entitled Our Future- Make It Work seeks to eliminate poverty and reduce the inequality within the country by drawing on the energies of the country’s people, growing inclusive economy, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnership throughout the society.106 There are six interlinked priorities that the SANDP try to carry on in the next two decades, including:

a. Unifying all South Africans around a common program to achieve prosperity and equity;
b. Promoting active citizenry to strengthen development, democracy, and accountability;
c. Bringing about faster economic growth, higher investment, and greater labor absorption;
d. Focusing on key capabilities of people and the state;
e. Building capable and development state; and

f. Encouraging strong leadership throughout society to work together to solve problems.\(^{107}\)

Thus, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) of South Africa set the objectives of the foreign policy prior to that that SADNP. The main mission of South African foreign policy is to promote South Africa’s national interest and values, the African Renaissance, and the creation of a better world for all. This is based on the vision of South African foreign policy which is to establish African Continent which is prosperous, peaceful, democratic, nonracial, nonsexist and united, and which contributes to a world that is just and equitable. This vision and mission are accomplished through several strategic objectives that are including:

a. Through bilateral and multilateral interactions protect and promote South African national interest and values;

b. Conduct and coordinate South Africa’s international relations and promote its foreign policy objectives;

c. Monitor international developments and advise government on foreign policy and related domestic matters;

d. Protect South Africa’s sovereignty and territorial integrity;

e. Contribute to the formulation of international law and enhance respect for the provision thereof;

f. Promote multilateralism to secure a rules based international system;

g. Maintain a modern, effective and excellence driven department;

h. Provide consular services to South African national abroad; and

i. Provide a world class and uniquely South African State Protocol\(^{108}\)

There are some programs that reflect key priority areas that the South Africa’s DIRCO has set to achieve those strategic objectives, including:

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a. Enhance African agenda and sustainable development;
b. Strengthen political and economic integration of South African Development Community (SADC);
c. Strengthen South-South relations;
d. Strengthen relations with strategic formations of the North;
e. Participate in the global system of governance;
f. Strengthen political and economic relations;
g. Enhance the organizational support;
h. Enhance the state protocol services, and
i. Enhance the public diplomacy.109

4.3. The Establishment of the Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa

Referring to the bilateral relation concepts introduced by Perwita and Yani (2005), the interaction between Indonesia and South Africa can be understood by this following process; (1) stimulation or actual policy from the initiative country, (2) perception for the stimulation come from the policy makers of the receiving country, (3) respond from the receiving country, and (4) respond come from the policy makers of the initiative country. 110 This bilateral relations process will be applied to describe the bilateral process between Indonesia and South Africa.

Firstly, the stimulation or actual policy from Indonesia. Indonesia continuously support the freedom of South African people from the Apartheid regime because Indonesia has firstly experienced the 350 years being colonialized by Dutch before it reached its independence in 1945. Hence, Indonesia, the based on its 1945 constitution emphasized that,

110 Ibid., Pg.42
“Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nation, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is not in conformity with the humanity and justice”.

This principle, has always endorsed Indonesia to support all form of fighting against colonization. In addition, Apartheid regime has created discrimination in Africa where the minority European descendent become the superior to the indigenous people and treat them as country slaves. Before 1994, the Apartheid regime did not allow Indonesia dignitaries and officials visited the country by putting official stamp on their passport the sign of “not allow to enter South Africa”. It made Indonesia even more triggered to support the South Africa freedom fighter in multilateral forum.

Furthermore, witnessing the colonization in the Asia and Africa, Indonesia under the President Soekarno pioneered the Asian-African Conference (AAC) in 1955 in Bandung. The conference later established the Dasa Sila Bandung which was mainly promoting the solidarity of the two regions and mutually agreed upon the colonialism eradication. Indonesia concerned for what was happening in South Africa. President Soekarno later invited the delegation of African National Congress (ANC) - the anti-apartheid freedom fighters led by Mandela to that conference. It has created a mutual understanding of the 29 represented countries regarding the eradicating of the colonialism. Soon after the conference, many countries in Asia and Africa declared their independence.

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Secondly, perception for the stimulation from South Africa. During the Apartheid regime, South Africa received protests from international community and not to mention that they even got the economic sanction from the United Nations (UN) that worsen the domestic’s politics and economics in 1977\textsuperscript{114}. However, the minority European decedents -Apartheid still continued their regime because of its strategic bargaining position in international political economy during the cold war\textsuperscript{115}. Both current super power, USA and Soviet Union made South Africa as one of their sources to enhance and develop their each power and technology; it was because South Africa was acknowledged as a rich mineral and natural resources country.

In the end of the cold war, the bargaining position of South Africa in international political economy was decreasing. International protests against

Apartheid regime became a threat to the country. This event led President Fredrick Willem de Klerk getting support from the National Party to end the Apartheid regime by establishing the multiracial political system. It was the first general election in South Africa with the triumph of African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela in 1994. Under the reign of President Nelson Mandela, South Africa known as the Rainbow Nations, it was opened its country to the reformation of its domestic and foreign policy. Through President Nelson Mandela, South Africa was brought to a new development and to the path of an open gate of cooperation with many countries include Indonesia.  

Fourthly, respond by Indonesia after the Rainbow Nations raised in 1994. Indonesia directly opened its Liaison Officer of the Republic Indonesia (LORI) in Pretoria, South Africa on February 10, 1994. As the result, Indonesia and South Africa then committed to establish diplomatic-bilateral relations in order to share development in many areas of cooperation in future and beyond. The establishment of the diplomatic-bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa can be depicted through this following figure;

Figure 4.1. The Establishment of Bilateral Relationship between Indonesia and South Africa

Source: Processed by the Writer

Ibid., Pg. 12
Indonesia opened its Liaison Officer of the Republic Indonesia (LORI) in Pretoria, South Africa on February 10, 1994. Then, both countries agreed to sign the Joint Communique on the Commencement of Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and South Africa by each of their diplomatic representative to the United Nations (UN) on August 12, 1994. Through the Joint Communique, Indonesia finally establishes its embassy in Pretoria, South Africa by baptizing the LORI unto the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Pretoria, South Africa.

Later, Indonesia also opened its Consulate General on September 15, 1994 in Cape Town, South Africa and also led South Africa to establish its embassy in Jakarta on January 17, 1995. The first Indonesian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Rahadi Iskandar, presented his credentials to President Nelson Mandela on May 23, 1995. In vice versa, the first South African Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. B.S. Kubheka, presented his credentials to President Soeharto on March 28, 1996.

4.4. Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa before 2004

4.4.1. Political Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa

The first President of South Africa (since the general election), President Nelson Mandela visited in Indonesia visited Indonesia in 1997. He surprised the late President Soeharto because of his wearing uniform batik (an Indonesian traditional fabric dyed in wax and designed with patterns that reflect the culture of Indonesia). Mandela loved the Indonesian batik and started wearing batik in 1990 after he was released from the Roben Island jail. Mandela, who is regarded by South African people as Madiba (hero) has made the Indonesian Batik become his uniform when attending international forum and official visits. South African people know batik as Madiba’s shirt. Replying the previous visit from President

Mandela, President Soeharto also paid the visits to the South Africa in 1997. From these visits, both countries had agreed to build a stronger bilateral relationship.

![Image of Mandela and Soeharto](image.jpg)

**Picture 4.3. President Mandela (Left) visited his Indonesian counterpart, President Soeharto (Right) in Jakarta on July 15, 1997**

The political bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa is more frequent. Moreover, in enhancing the political bilateral relationship there have been a number of dignitaries’ exchange-visits holding between the two countries. In April 9-10, 2000 President Abdurrahman Wahid (also known as Gusdur) visited South Africa for improving the cooperation between the two countries especially in the airways areas which will make it easier for both countries’ businessman to carry out their business effectively. On this matter, President Gusdur highly encouraged Garuda Indonesia Airways (GIA) and the

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South African Airways to establish the formatted cooperation within written agreements.\textsuperscript{122}

President Megawati visited South Africa on World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, South Africa on September 1- September 4, 2002. In this multilateral forum, Indonesia and South Africa firstly served as co-chair. In preparing that event, both countries’ dignitaries intensively cooperate and discuss the summit’s preparation by holding Preparatory Committee Meeting (PCM) in May 2002, Bali.\textsuperscript{123}

There were three main outcomes from the Summit: first, Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development where Heads of States and Government committed to taking the action needed to accomplish the real development; second, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, negotiated by governments which set out in more details the specific actions areas; third, commitment by governments and other stakeholders to broad range of partnership activities and initiatives that will implement the sustainable development at national, regional, and international level.\textsuperscript{124} This means that, the relations between Indonesia and South Africa has brought the image of being partners as both were in charge committee to held the historical Summit of the world on sustainable development issues that until now still remain important.

The relationship between the two countries get closer since the President Megawati Soekarno Putri sparked the ideas of holding the Asia-Africa Sub-Regional Organizations Conference (AASROC). It was aimed not only to strengthen the relations between the regional organizations between Asia and Africa but also to enhance the contacts and cooperation among the countries (bilaterally). The ideas was very welcomed by the government of South Africa which offering themselves as the co-chair for that conference. The AASROC initiative draws inspirations from the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference (AAC) in

Bandung and the ten principle of Bandung (*Dasasila Bandung*) for mutual cooperation enunciated thereof.\textsuperscript{125}

By then, Indonesia become the co-chair as the representative of Asia and South Africa as the representative of the Africa to co-chairing the event. AASROC was firstly held in Indonesia on July 29-30, 2003 and secondly in Durban, South Africa in August 20, 2004.\textsuperscript{126} The principles and ideals of independence, peace, justice, and common prosperity are more relevant to be discussed in that event as they addressed half century ago in AAC. There were many countries that attended the conference who recognize the Indonesia and South Africa significances in arranging the event, one of them is Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Mr. Khurshid Kasuri who stated that,

“I must also convey our deep appreciation to both the governments of South Africa and Indonesia for their outstanding leadership as AASROC Co-Chairs in injecting a new direction and vigor to Asia-Africa cooperation.”\textsuperscript{127}

That is why the relationship between Indonesia and South Africa has strong political attachment since both countries are in partnership to promote the development and cooperation in the both region even in the world.

Other dignitaries’ visits may be included, Minister for Foreign Affairs visited South Africa during the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Movement in Durban. In May 2002, the representative of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) Commission I and the People’s Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) visited South Africa to learn about the reconciliation process in South Africa. In the same year, technical delegation from the House of Representatives Cooperation Agency between Parliaments (BKSAP DPR RI) visited to South Africa to strengthen the parliamentary cooperation between the two countries. In addition, in 2003, the


\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.

Minister of Justice and Human Rights of Indonesia met the Minister of Justice and Human Rights of South Africa for enhancing the cooperation in the human rights promotion and protection issues.  

In vice versa, some of the South African dignitaries’ exchange-visits were including, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Dr. Nkosazana D. Zuma visits Indonesia to enhance the cooperation in political and economic sector in June 7, 2002. In October 1-3, 2002, President Mandela paid a visit to Indonesia as the President Megawati invited him during the WSSD to discuss the agenda of development of cooperation in both countries and in each region. The dignitaries’ visits are remaining exchanged in order to enhance the cordial relationship between the both countries.

4.4.2. Economic Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa

Economic relations between Indonesia and South Africa was running well though not as much as potential that should be done. Some of the bilateral agreements has been established between the two countries in order to enhance the economic relation sphere. In 1997, there were three agreements that signed by the two countries namely; first, Trade Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in Cape Town on November 20, 1997. It was made to strengthen the relations already existing between the people of the two country in accordance with the principles as enshrined in the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement. It was also aimed to promote, develop and strengthen trade relations between the two countries on the basis of equality, reciprocity, and mutual benefit. The MoU mandate Indonesia and South Africa to establish a Joint Trade Committee (JTC) in order to facilitate trade relations between them and ensure the implementation of this agreement.

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129 Ibid., Pg. 46
Secondly, the Air Transport Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in Cape Town on November 20, 1997. It was established to conclude an agreement, supplementary to the Convention on International Civil Aviation in 1944, for the purpose of establishing scheduled air service between and beyond their respective territories. This agreement later on expected to make government, people, and businessmen between the two countries can easily move and connect each other.\textsuperscript{131} Thirdly, The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect of Taxes on Income in Jakarta on July 15, 1997. It was established to conclude an agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income and to promote and strengthen the economic relations between the two countries.\textsuperscript{132} The trend of economic of the two countries shown its positive impact though once more there has not yet a big number amount of transaction as it should to be.

In 2003, there has been MoUs that established between the two countries in order to boost their economic relations. It was The MoU Regarding Cooperation and Exchange of Information between Bank Indonesia and South African Reserve Bank in Pretoria on March 11, 2003. It was established to bridge the trade payment between the two countries and to exchange information towards banking system. Other will be the MoU on the Small Medium Enterprise (SMEs) of the Republic of Indonesia and the Agency for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises Ministry of Economic and Development in Kwazulu Natal Province on August 2003. It was aimed to promote and expand the economic relationship especially in the SMEs areas between the two countries.\textsuperscript{133}

Thus, the agreements above has significant impact towards the trade between the two countries. The trade trend will be depicted by this following table;

*Thousand US$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>340,060</td>
<td>301,200</td>
<td>292,930</td>
<td>-2.82</td>
<td>249,411</td>
<td>328,550</td>
<td>31.74</td>
</tr>
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<td>Migas</td>
<td>0.990</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.380</td>
<td>22.74</td>
<td>0.360</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>-56.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Migas</td>
<td>339,070</td>
<td>301,080</td>
<td>292,920</td>
<td>-2.84</td>
<td>249,050</td>
<td>328,400</td>
<td>31.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EKSPOR</td>
<td>176,620</td>
<td>160,100</td>
<td>167,210</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>143,920</td>
<td>197,240</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.007</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>160,100</td>
<td>167,200</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
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<td>197,240</td>
<td>37.06</td>
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<td>141,100</td>
<td>126,100</td>
<td>-5.30</td>
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<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.380</td>
<td>29.90</td>
<td>0.350</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>-54.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>140,980</td>
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<tr>
<td>NERACCA</td>
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<td>65,93</td>
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<td>38,77</td>
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</table>

Table.4.1 The Balance of Trade between Indonesia and South Africa in 2000-2003134

The balance of trade between Indonesia and South Africa during the 2000-2002 showed a surplus point for Indonesia. The total export of Indonesia to South Africa in 2001 was US$ 160, 100 thousand or decreased about 9.35% compared to 2000 which was US$ 176.620 thousand. While total Indonesian export to South Africa in 2002 was increased about 4.43% compared to 2001 (US$ 167.200 thousand). While in 2003 it was significantly increased about 37.06% or US$ 197.240 thousand compared to 2002. The total import of Indonesia from South Africa in 2002 was US$ 126.100 thousand decreased from US$ 163,440 thousand in 2000.135

135 Ibid.,
The main Indonesian export commodities to South Africa are; (a) Fixed vegetable fats and oils solid, crude, refined/fractioned, (b) fabrics woven of manmade fibers, (c) natural rubber latex, natural rubber, and similar natural gums, (d) sound recorder or reproducers, (e) textile yarn, (f) paper and paperboard, (g) furniture and parts thereof, (h) automatic data processing machines and unit thereof, (i) glassware, and (j) footwear. While the main Indonesian import commodities from South Africa are; (a) pulp and waste paper, (b) aluminum, (c) cotton, (d) textile yarn, (e) sugar, molasses, and honey, (f) ingots and other primary forms of iron or steel, (f) fertilizer and manufactured, (h) flat rolled product not clad, (i) waste and scrub metal of iron or steel, and (j) pig iron and sponge iron.\textsuperscript{136}

There are some challenges and obstacles that may hinder the trade cooperation between the two countries, among others; the lack of cruise ship frequency; the lack of willingness of each countries’ businessmen to travel across the country to invest in expanding the business and market diversification; South African import taxes are remain high; the issues of internal conflict within South Africa also may threaten the businessmen that can hamper the economic relations.\textsuperscript{137} In which, there is a big room for revitalization.

\textbf{4.5. Chapter Conclusion}

Diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and South Africa has established on August 12, 1994. Since then, both interaction in political and economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa increased. Nowadays, Indonesia and South Africa has common strategic goals are in people prosperity, poverty reduction, democracy, employment creation, and development; those goals are reflected in both National Long Term Development Plan of Indonesia in 2005-2025 and South Africa’s National Development Plan by the year of 2030. However, the challenges lay upon the cooperation especially in economic sector making a revitalization needed.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., Pg. 60
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., Pg. 61
CHAPTER V
THE INDONESIAN EFFORTS IN STRENGTHENING
BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH
AFRICA THROUGH THE POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION

5.1. Introduction

Historical relationship between Indonesia and South Africa has been tied since 17th Century ago when Sheikh Yusuf being exiled from Makassar, Indonesia to Macassar, South Africa. He became hero for both Indonesia and South Africa because his meritorious service in fighting the freedom within the both countries through the spreading of Islamic spirit. Indonesia and South Africa just established a diplomatic relationship in 1994. There have been many events, activities, agreements, and contacts interlaced between the two countries since that day. The historical and political attachment in the bilateral relationship has encouraged Indonesia to revitalize its relations with South Africa, all these in order to strengthen the bilateral relations. However, we need to know what the Indonesian assessment in strengthening the bilateral relationship. This chapter also analyze the mechanism that has been used by Indonesia in revitalizing the bilateral relations in political and economic sector. By then, the chapter also analyze how the bilateral relationship being strengthened through the establishment of the strategic partnership.

5.2. The Indonesian Assessment in Strengthening Its Bilateral Relationship with South Africa

5.1.1. Internal Assessment

The internal assessment of Indonesian efforts in strengthening its bilateral relationship with South Africa can be understood from this following figure;

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Since its establishment in 1945, Indonesia has foreign policy principle which is *free and active*. It means Indonesia in formulating each foreign policy does not based on any interference of any country. Besides, Indonesia will always actively engage the international cooperation to create prosperity in domestic environment and peace in international environment. Hassan Wirajuda\(^{139}\) emphasize that,

“Remaining faithful to a free and active foreign policy, Indonesia will continue to play a constructive role in world affairs and building bridges of cooperation and partnership to all direction. It is our constitutional mandate to participate actively in maintaining a world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice”.\(^{140}\)

Generally, Indonesia has been struggling to lift its foreign relationship with every countries around the world. It is in accordance with the Indonesian foreign constitutional legitimation which stated that,

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\(^{139}\) Hassan Wirajuda is the Minister for Foreign Affairs RI in 2004-2009  
“Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nations, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is in conformity with humanity and justice.”\footnote{1945 Constitution. \textit{Preamble}. Indonesia. Pg. 1}

It means that Indonesia should be able to form and perform its foreign policy which will support the abolishment of any form of colonialism in this world to create the peace.

Besides, in the Preamble of 1945 Constitution it is also stated that Indonesia has been established ideological goals include to,

“Protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve the public welfare, to educate the life of the people and to participate toward the establishment of a world based on freedom, peace and social justice.”\footnote{Ibid.,}

It means that Indonesian foreign policy always being conducted based on the principles that against all form of colonialism, increasing the nation independence and promote international cooperation to improve the people prosperity, and build solidarity among developing countries even create mutually beneficial cooperation with developed countries. So, this can be the main Indonesian assessment in strengthening the bilateral relationship with South Africa in order to enhance international cooperation, establish peace, and contribute to the prosperity of the Indonesian people.

Moreover, since the reign of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the government of Indonesia has established its Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional /RPJPN-National Long Term Development Plan (NLTDP) - 2005-2025 based on the Law No. 17/2007. RPJPN was set as a tool to actualize the ideological goals of Indonesia as stated above. The ideas of RPJPN are firstly, to support the coordination among development actors in achieving national goals. Secondly, to ensure the creation of integration, synchronization, and synergy between regions, spaces, and time, even among the functions of central and local government. Thirdly, to ensure the relevance and consistency between planning, budgeting, implementing, and controlling. Fourthly, to ensure the using of resources effectively, equitably, and sustainably. Fifthly, to optimize the people......
and community participation.143 There are four phases of *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (RPJMN)-National Medium Term Development Plan (NMTDP) under the RPJPN which are RPJMN I (2004-2009), RPJMN II (2009-2014), RPJMN III (2014-2019), RPJMN IV (2019-2025). It will be conducted once in five year and arranged based on the reigning president administration.

This RPJPN become one of the assessment of Indonesian revitalization towards its bilateral relationship with South Africa because it is in line with the legitimation constitutional of foreign policy of Indonesia. It mandates all development actor in Indonesia to achieve the mentioned national goals, including the MoFA RI. In another hand, the RPJPN become the sign of the birth of National MediumTerm Development Plan and the Strategic Plan of the MoFA RI which later will explicitly open ways to give more efforts in conducting foreign relations with many countries especially South Africa.

Yet, before its establishment based on the Law No. 25/2004 regarding to the National Development System, the Ministry of National Development Plan of Indonesia (*Kementerian Negara Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/ BAPPENAS*) has firstly established the *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (RPJMN)- National Medium Term Development Plan 2004-2009 which issued by Presidential Decree No.7/2005.144 There are three visions of RPJMN 2004-2009, namely to create the society that is safe, unified, harmonious and peaceful. Other, to create Indonesian people’s life that respect the law, equality, and human rights. The last, to create job vacancy, decent life, and strong foundation for sustainable development. 145

Referring to the visions on the RPJMN 2004-2009, Indonesia then need to establish policy to build economic growth. Economic growth is one of the indicators in national development goals. Good economic growth also can create prosperity and narrow the social disparities within the Indonesian citizen. Furthermore, good economic growth requires good trade and investment, besides

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145 Ibid.,
boosting the economic growth, trade and investment also can create job vacancy,
the advancement of technology. That is why, it is needed to widen the
industrialization, cultivating the natural resources, minimize the production cost,
and expand the market.\textsuperscript{146} On this matter, Indonesia need to build stronger
cooperaion with other countries. That is why Indonesia should revitalize its
bilateral relationship with South Africa, mainly to transform the political
attachment relationship to economic mutually benefit cooperation even to a
strategic partnership.

However, the RPJPN also mandate every department/ministry in Indonesia
to form their policy that support the implementation of the RPJMN and to achieve
the mentioned visions. The department/ministry also should set Strategic Plan to
become guideline of the policy making and policy implementation inside the
institution. Pursuant to that, the Department of Foreign Affairs (which now we
called Ministry of Foreign Affairs/MoFA RI) established the Strategic Plan under
the reign of Hasan Wirajuda\textsuperscript{147}. The Strategic Plan had three foreign policy
orientation, namely; (a) enhancing the quality of Indonesian diplomacy in
achieving the national interest, (b) continuing the commitment of Indonesia
towards regional identity, and (c) continuing Indonesian commitment towards
efforts to establish the world peace.\textsuperscript{148}

Based on the orientation, the vision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
the Republic of Indonesia in 2004-2009 is:

‘Through total diplomacy, realizing Indonesia which is more
unity, peaceful, just, democratic, and prosperous’. It means that
\textit{Total Diplomacy} is an instrument or method employed in
diplomacy which involves all components of stakeholders and
makes the best use of all networks of power (multi-track
diplomacy). \textit{Realizing} is a desire to actualize or to finish ideas and
other things that is un-done or being done yet. \textit{Unity of Indonesia}
is description of a strong desire to keep maintaining the unity of

\textsuperscript{146} Hutagalung, Erma. (2012). \textit{Hubungan Kerjasama Indonesia dengan Afrika Sub Sahara.}
Indonesia: Academia Education. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/8373063/Hubungan_Kerjasama_Indonesia_dengan_Afrika_Sub_Sahara
on January 6, 2015

\textsuperscript{147} Hasan Wijaruda is the Minister for the Department of Foreign Affairs (MoFA RI) during 2004-2009

\textsuperscript{148} MoFA RI, (2005). \textit{Rencana Strategis Departemen Luar Negeri RI.} Indonesia: Ministry of
Foreign Affairs. Pg. 8
the Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/NKRI). More peaceful, just, democratic, and prosperous is main concept that is envision by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration in 2004-2009.\(^{149}\)

These vision is in accordance with the national vision enlisted in the National Medium Term Development Plan for the period of 2004-2009 which indicates the relevancy of establishing relations and implementing policy using the ‘total diplomacy’ technique as a strategy to realize the national vision of “Indonesia that is Prosperous, Democratic, and Just.” This commitment of the ministry are to be fulfilled and realized through the performance and implementation of duties and roles or its core competency as a government institution which establishes diplomatic relations and implements foreign policy.\(^{150}\)

Thus, to actualize that vision, MoFA RI also has set sevenths mission which are called “Sapta Dharma Caraka”, they are;

a. Maintaining and enhancing the international support towards Indonesia’s sovereignty;

b. Creating the prosperous Indonesia through cooperation in area of development and economy, trade and investment, job opportunities, and technology;

c. Improving the Indonesia’s role and leadership in the integration process of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and in Asia Pacific, and also establishing new strategic partnership between Asian-African even among developing countries;

d. Strengthening bilateral, regional, and multilateral relations and enhancing Indonesia’s initiatives in building the world peace;

eh. Improving the image of Indonesia in international community as a country that is democratic, pluralist, respects human rights, and supports the world peace;

f. Improving the quality of Indonesian citizens service and protection abroad and also using charity diplomacy in order to assist the reconstruction of Tsunami and earthquake in Aceh and Nias; and

\(^{149}\) Ibid.,

Continuing the internal reconstruction, hardworking, and professionalism among the diplomats and enhancing the coordination in performing the Indonesia’s foreign policy and foreign relations.\footnote{MoFA RI, (2005), \textit{Rencana Strategis Departemen Luar Negeri RI}. Indonesia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Pg. 29}

Based on those mission, the main objective of the Indonesian foreign policy in 2004-2009 are; firstly, maintaining the territorial and integrity of Indonesia. Secondly, establishing economic growth and building Indonesian image in international environment. Thirdly, conducting the total diplomacy in making Indonesia more prosperous, unity, and just. Fourthly, to enhance the cooperation and integration in the regional level, ASEAN that called as \textit{Concentric Circles Formula} for Indonesian foreign policy. Fifthly, to establish a more active foreign policy bilaterally, regionally, and multilaterally.\footnote{Jemadu, Alexius and A.Kristian Pakpahan. (2004). \textit{Democratization and Indonesia’s Foreign Policy in the post Soeharto Era}. Bandung: Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Parahyangan. In Banyu, A.A, Perwita. (2009). \textit{Demokrasi dan Politik Luar Negeri Bebas Aktif}. Indonesia: Jurnal Diplomasi Vol. 1, No.1. Pg. 11-12}

Grounded on those objectives of Indonesian foreign policy, MoFA RI also set the priority program which are called as \textit{core competency} of MoFA RI in 2004-2009, including; firstly, strengthening the foreign policy and optimizing the diplomacy of Indonesia. The main ideas is to give contribution in creating the democracy, political stabilization, and the unity of nations. Secondly, enhancing the international cooperation in order to use a maximum potentials of foreign relationship especially to the most \textit{concentric circle} of Indonesian foreign relations, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Thirdly, conforming the world peace commitment in order to build and develop multilateralism spirit in solving various international security issues in line with the international law.\footnote{MoFA RI, (2005), \textit{Rencana Strategis Departemen Luar Negeri RI}. Indonesia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Pg. 13}

Pursuant to the vision, mission, and objectives of the Indonesian foreign policy, Indonesia should revitalize its bilateral revitalization with South Africa for several reasons, namely; (a) to establish prosperity to the people of Indonesia through political, social, and economic cooperation. (b) To building Indonesian image and improving Indonesian roles and leadership especially in Southern African region and in Africa continent generally. (c) To give protection and service
to the Indonesian people in South Africa as well as to bridge the contacts between the business actors and people between the two countries. (d) To address Indonesian contribution in conforming to the world peace through building strategic partnership with South Africa.

5.2.2. External Assessment

In order to know why Indonesia need to strengthen its bilateral relationship with South Africa, we also have to understand the external assessment including solving the challenges that is hampering the cooperation between the two countries even between Indonesia and Southern African, responding the South African potentials, and adapting the Africa rising.

There are many challenges that hamper the cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa, including; firstly, the lack of attention by Indonesia (business actors) on the southern African market because of the long distance and the difficulty to obtain the information on the southern African market. Secondly, Indonesia see southern African as a region that is vulnerable to the conflict, harshness, poverty, and disease. Thirdly, Indonesia (business actors) regards the traditional market such as European countries, USA, Japan, and etc. as the only market to be accessed while the southern African market (non-traditional market) is a market that has no potentials. Fourthly, the lack of credibility of Indonesia (business actors) in penetrating the southern African market. They tend to send products that are not in accordance with the order’s number and quality, the products being sent often late, and the worst, when there is a transaction deception. Fifthly, Indonesian products having less competitiveness with other countries’ products. It is because the transportation cost is very high since Indonesia has no direct transportation to southern Africa; using the “third actors” or other countries’ infrastructure (such as the transportation and infrastructure of Singapore) to enter the market. In order to reduce those issues, Indonesia need to revitalize the

cooperation with South Africa and building mechanism to resolve those kind of issues.

In fact, beside those challenges, South Africa is remain important for Indonesia. Based on Center for Policy Analysis and Development on Asia-Pacific and African Regions that,

“South Africa is considered become a gateway to open cordial relation to the Southern part of Africa because it’s strategic geopolitical economic.”¹⁵⁵ South Africa is one of the member of Southern African Development Community (SADC)-which possess 14 member countries include; Angola, Botswana, DR. Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.¹⁵⁶

South Africa’s role as a gateway to the Southern Africa can be described by several aspects; firstly, the location and physical geography in Southern Africa provide constraint and physical barriers that hamper the cooperation among them. However, Southern African countries depend upon South African transport infrastructure, ranging from railways lines and roads to airports and harbors in order to connect to world markets. Secondly, South African investment dominates throughout Southern Africa, most likely channeling oversees capital to the region. It also serves a hinge joint for commodity chains and the Johannesburg Stock Exchanges (JSE) is a conduit for financial flows from the rest of the world to the entire African market, although data constraint limit analysis regard.¹⁵⁷ Thirdly, South Africa is one of the leading member Southern African Cooperation Unity (SACU) whose countries members are South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, and Namibia. SACU, the members agreed to remove the excise tax which later easier Indonesian product flows from South Africa to other member countries of SACU. Those elements above also become the main reasons create a wide opportunity to make South Africa a hub or entry point for Indonesian products to penetrate the regional market. Therefore, revitalizing the relations in order to

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., Pg. 32
¹⁵⁶ Ibid., Pg. 33
have cordial relations with South Africa means that Indonesia is taking opportunity to build relations with countries ranging in Southern Africa.

To abroad views, South Africa is one of the leading country to the African continent. One always aware of the historical and political background between Indonesia and African continent. In fact, Africa is one of the place where Indonesia can penetrate to expand the economic cooperation. Africa is one of Indonesia’s the non-traditional markets which possess 30% of energy reserve of the world, including; diamonds (57%), gold (22%), cobalt (70%), copper (9%). It has about 1 billion people in 54 countries who have positive trend of economic growth which make their purchasing power increased. It can be understood that Africa is one of the important markets for Indonesian market expansion. Thus, Indonesia need to engage South Africa into a strategic partnership through revitalizing the bilateral relations in order to penetrate the African market. To some extent, it can be categorized as bilateral diplomacy of Indonesia foreign policy towards African market.

5.2.3. The Principle of Common Goals between Indonesia and South Africa

Indonesia need to revitalize its bilateral relationship with South Africa not only because of the existence of the internal and external assessment from Indonesia but also the present of the common goals between the two countries. Based on the principle of common goals introduced by Manissier (2010), the process of setting common goals approach between the two countries can be understood through this following figure:

Based on the figure 5.2., the writer analyze the international vision, strategic goals, and the foreign policy between Indonesia and South Africa, as become the assessment in strengthening the bilateral relationship in this following figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Indonesia</strong></th>
<th><strong>South Africa</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vision in International Relations</td>
<td>Creating Indonesia that is more peaceful, just, democratic, and prosperous through total diplomacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Goals</td>
<td>Enhancing the welfare of the Indonesian people and committed to maintain the regional and world peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy a. Maintaining the territorial and integrity of Indonesia b. Establishing economic growth and building</td>
<td>Foreign Policy a. Protecting South Africa’s Sovereignty and territorial integrity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historically, Indonesia and South Africa has possessed strong relationship in against the colonialism. Sheikh Yusuf was indeed a symbol of Indonesia and South Africa’s fight against colonialism and Apartheid. When he has banished to South Africa he never wavered in his courage to resist inhuman and unjust practices. His contribution to fight colonialism was acknowledged by the first democratic President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, who inspired by his teachings. Mandela referred to Sheikh Yusuf as one of the best sons of South

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\[^{160}\text{Described and analysis from various resources}\]
Africa.\textsuperscript{161} Indonesia also has seen Nelson Mandela as a global prominent figure in fighting the freedom and human rights.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Africa, Nomaintdya Mfeketo stated that,

“Syekh Yusuf was posthumously awarded \textit{The Order of the Companions of OR Tambo-Gold}\textsuperscript{162} by President Thabo Mbeki on September 27, 2005. In fact, on September 10, 2005, the University of Hasanuddin, Makassar, Indonesia has awarded an Honorary Doctor to the South African’s own Syekh Yusuf, Nelson Mandela”. There are no coincidence. This is a relationship built on a solid foundation, we have to maintain it closer.” \textsuperscript{163}

Referring to the Strategic Plan of MoFA RI in 2004-2009, the Indonesian foreign policy vision is to realize Indonesia which is more peaceful, just, democratic, and prosperous trough total diplomacy. In another hand the South African foreign policy vision is to create South Africa in a better Africa and in a better world.\textsuperscript{164} It can be understood that Indonesia and South Africa share the common goals on creating a better domestic environment through foreign relations and cooperation.

Furthermore, the strategic goals of Indonesia in conducting the foreign relationship is mainly to enhancing the welfare of the people and to hold its commitment to maintaining the regional peace especially and the world peace generally. Again, South Africa also commit to maintain a better region and continent through their foreign relationship. In addition, Indonesia and South Africa based on their own vision in international relations has shared mutual values in their foreign policy including the maintaining the territorial and integrity, enhancing the economic growth, building good image in international environment, and enhancing the bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation and integration.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{161}Mfeketo, Nomaintdya. (2014). \textit{Lecture by Deputy Minister Nomaintdya Mfeketo to Celebrate the Relevance of Syekh Yusuf to the Bilateral Relations between South Africa and Indonesia}. Indonesia: Hasanuddin University. On November 28, 2014

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{162}This award is given to foreign citizen who have promoted South African interest and aspiration through cooperation, solidarity and support

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{163}Mfeketo, Nomaintdya. (2014). \textit{Lecture by Deputy Minister Nomaintdya Mfeketo to Celebrate the Relevance of Syekh Yusuf to the Bilateral Relations between South Africa and Indonesia}. Indonesia: Hasanuddin University. On November 28, 2014

The senior diplomat in South African Embassy in Indonesia explained that there are some issues that Indonesia and South Africa have mutually addressed namely; firstly, political freedom in both country has been recognized by general election and voting by the society. Secondly, economic challenges such as poverty eradication and job vacancy creation have been promoted through the trade agreement. Thirdly, the issues of education, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), money laundering, banking information sharing, and cooperation of regulatory framework have been promoted to share mutual development.\(^{165}\)

However, “the trade between South Africa and Indonesia has lot of potentials, though it always increasing year by year but up to know there is no Indonesian big company investing in South Africa and vice versa, we need more of efforts in revitalizing the bilateral relationship”, said the diplomat.

Yet, the bilateral relationship of the countries is not only intertwined in the bilateral issues but also in multilateral issues. It is the reflection of the strategic goals of both country that not only ensuring their domestic interest but also the respective regional and continent interest, that is why the revitalization is needed. Musurifun\(^{166}\) also aware that Indonesia and South Africa need to revitalize their bilateral relation into strategic partnership. He explained that,

“In multilateral level, the both countries also show their mutual support for example Co-Chairing Asian-African Sub-Regional Organizations Conference (AASROC), New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), and Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). We also share experience in building regional integration as Indonesia in ASEAN and South Africa in SADC, those make us even more interdependence one another and commit to lift the bilateral relationship through the strategic partnership signed by President SBY (Indonesia) and President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa) in 2008.”

Thus, based on the common goals approach both countries need (particularly Indonesia in thesis) to revitalize its political and economic cooperation in order to strengthen the bilateral relationship and creating a strategic partnership that will bring mutually benefited cooperation towards the both countries.


\(^{166}\) He is currently serve as the Deputy Head of Political and Security for African Affairs, MoFA RI
5.3. Political Cooperation Revitalization

Indonesia and South Africa agreed to establish Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) by signing the MoU in Durban, March 23, 2004. This JCBC is a consultation forum for bilateral cooperation in various areas of cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa. Beside with South Africa, Indonesia has established other 10 MoU of JCBC with many countries in Sub Sahara, namely with Gambia, Nigeria, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Uganda.\(^{167}\) The purposes of the JCBC are; firstly, to expand and enhance bilateral relations and cooperation on a lasting and long term basis. Secondly, to convince the necessity of lasting and effective cooperation in the interests of the both countries. Thirdly, to confirm the both countries’ interest in strengthening of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and full respect of sovereignty.\(^{168}\)

Indonesia and South Africa established the JCBC which will facilitate consultation and cooperation especially in the economic, trade, culture, and technical fields. The JCBC that is conducted at the level of Senior Officials from both countries, shall consider and determine ways and means to promote the aforesaid consultation and cooperation and ensure the proper coordination and implementation of its decision. The JCBC mandate that both countries should meet (holding a Joint Commission) in time agreed upon them in order to monitor issues and explore cooperation within the bilateral cooperation. It is why the JCBC is the main mechanism in revitalizing the political bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa.

Pursuant to the JCBC, the government of Indonesia and the government of South Africa held the first meeting of the Joint Commission in Batam, February 25-26, 2008. It was led by the Director General for Asia Pacific and Africa, MoFA RI (2004), Mr. Primo Alui Joelianto and the Deputy Director General for Asia and

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Middle East, DIRCO of South Africa, Mr. J.M Matjila. This is the forum where Indonesia and South Africa address their commitment to explore and enhance cooperation in political, social, and economic sector; and to solve any issues that hamper the bilateral relationship. Below, the writer try to describe the discussion on the first Joint Commission meeting based on the document of the first Joint Commission\(^\text{169}\);

Both leaders underlined the importance of Indonesia and South Africa combining their efforts in various fields. They pledge to support each other in all areas of cooperation that benefit the people of both countries. The dignitaries’ visits flowed among when President Thabo Mbeki visited Indonesia in April 2005 followed by Vice president Jusuf Kalla in September 2005, and the deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka also visit Indonesia in April 2006. The dignitaries mainly discuss that the cooperation should be expanded and deepened to the benefit of both countries in all area of cooperation.

Both Indonesia and South Africa agreed to prioritize the areas of cooperation that has been identified by President Yudhoyono and Mbeki in 2005 namely, trade, finance and banking, tourism, agriculture, science and technology, education, arts and culture (people to people contact), and security. It was also agreed to further develop cooperation in areas of fisheries, minerals and energy, transport and communications, bio-technology, investment and institutional cooperation such as chamber of commerce, economic free zones, and etc. it can be understood that the JCBC provide a strong foundation for the attainment of common objectives of the two countries. Not only discuss the bilateral matters, but the meeting also become the place to exchange views on the regional development between the two countries (ASEAN and SADC).

Here are the agenda and result of the Joint Commission that recorded into the agreed of meeting:

In the area of defense and security matters, both countries agreed to explore areas of defense cooperation, especially intelligence, high ranking official visits,

\(^{169}\) Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI. *Agreed Minutes of the First Meeting of Joint Commission between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of South Africa in Batam, February 25-26, 2008*. Indonesia: MoFA RI. Pg. 1
training and education. They also agree to developed cooperation in areas of counter terrorism and transnational crime. In the area of technical cooperation, both countries agreed to identify the suitable areas and scope of technical cooperation, including extending the relation in the frame work of training programs, capacity building, and sharing best practiced in mitigating natural disaster. In education sector, both countries agreed to promote the cooperation in education through exchange programs. However, Indonesia has proposed Dharmasiswa Universities and cooperation in mathematics and science teaching as the initiative towards the agreement. 170

In the area of health, both countries agreed to develop further health cooperation include capacity building for health personnel and health resource management and the management of communicable disease such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and TB. In the area of women empowerment, they agreed to share experiences and best practices in the field of women empowerment, with a focus on the promotion of gender equality, prevention of women and children abuse, economic empowerment, as well as the role of women in legislative, judicial, and executive bodies. Besides, in the information sharing area, they reiterated the need for the two countries to expedite their commitment towards the eradication of money laundering and terrorist funding through the existing cooperation of sharing financial intelligence information. They also welcomed the new initiatives in promoting staff exchange between Indonesia and South African Financial Intelligent Unit.171

In mineral and energy area, they discussed the proposed MoU made by Indonesia that awaited response from South Africa. It was also initiated the proposed dialogue and consultation forum in the exploration and development of new alternative energy sources, which includes cooperation in Coal to Liquids (CTL) technology. In transport and communication area, they agreed to promote transport links, exchange of information, and best practices in public transport development and management. The meeting also reiterated the Air Transport Agreement in 1997 which is yet to be implemented, but, it can also explore other

170 Ibid., Pg. 3-4
171 Ibid., Pg. 4
agreement in both public and private level. In the science and technology (biotechnology) area, they also reiterated the MoU on Science and Technology Cooperation in March 2007 where South Africa has proposed proposal to establish a Joint Working Committee to enhance cooperation in the fields of energy and biotechnology.\textsuperscript{172}

In the area of trade and industry, both countries reiterated the MoU on Trade Agreement in 1997, both countries also agreed to further encourage the promotion of mutually beneficial trade cooperation and to diversify the structure of trade. They also reiterated common understanding and strong determination of work together in maximizing the use of great trade potentials of both countries for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation and for the betterment of both people welfare by exchanging views and information on existing tariff and non-tariff barriers. Even, on the meeting, South Africa proposed a meeting with the Department of Trade and Finance to address the present obstacles in export of wine to Indonesia. Both countries also discussed how to improve the trade volume by participating in trade mission or exhibition activities and mutual visits for inviting buyers in exhibition activities. By then, both countries committed to promote the industrial sectors relationship particularly in transferring technology, joint marketing initiative as well as cooperation in handicraft and food safety.\textsuperscript{173}

In finance and banking area, they agreed to enhance business community relationship and increased trade and business relations though continuing exchange of views and information on institutional cooperation and to make easier for each other’s business including banks established in each other’s markets. In Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) area, Indonesia particularly expressed the interest of becoming the one of the sponsors in Soccer World Cup in 2010 holding in South Africa since Indonesia has some manufacturing industry in paraphernalia and souvenir sector. Yet South African Local Organizing Committee (LOC) agreed to find out what South African SME’s are on FIFA list and revert back to Indonesian about the possibility of joint venture in the World Cup souvenir. Then, both countries agree to further establish MoU in between South Africa’s Small

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., Pg. 5
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., Pg. 5-6
Enterprise Development (SEDA) and the Indonesian Ministry of SME’s and Cooperatives.\textsuperscript{174}

In the area of agriculture sector, both countries agreed to promote cooperation on agricultural sector particularly in areas of cash crops (cotton, tea, rubber, cacao, Quinine (plant for malaria prevention) and Crude Palm Oil (CPO), fruit, sugar) and livestock. In that meeting, Indonesian proposed proposal regarding technical training program cooperation (training on agriculture extension methodology, training on dairy poultry technology, training on rural horticultural post-harvest handling technology, training on rural development, training on animal quarantine, and training on animal health). South Africa responded this matter by proposing a Joint Agriculture Cooperation Committee (JACC). In fisheries areas, they also committed to enhance the fisheries cooperation particularly in the area of aquaculture development (breeding of the groupers fish species, shrimps, seaweed). The both countries agreed to establish MoU regarding this initiative. In tourism sector, both countries also agreed to establish the MoU in order to promote each other’s competency in tourism sector.\textsuperscript{175}

In the area of Chamber of Commerce, they initiated a Business Reference Group to facilitate cooperation between South African and Indonesian business in setting up new mechanism and concreted business interaction. In Economic Free Zone (EFZ), they committed to expedite the process of finalization of the MoU on Economic Free Zone Cooperation between Batam Industrial Development Authority (BIDA) and COEGA Industrial Development Zone so that it can signed in March 2008 during the state visit of President of Indonesia to South Africa. In the area of investment they also agreed to establish an Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investment (IPPA). On this matter, South Africa raised concern regarding delays experience in obtaining required approval and license to operate business in Indonesia. Indonesia undertook to look into the matter and revert to South Africa with valuable feedback.\textsuperscript{176}

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., Pg. 7-8
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.,
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., Pg. 8-9
Other initiated cooperation that both countries trying to explore are; (a) Sister Province, they agree to establish a MoU between Eastern Cape Province and Riau Island Province on Sister Province. (b) Decorative Wood Carving, the meeting welcomed Indonesian proposal to conduct training on decorative woods carving for selected South African participant.\(^{177}\)

This meeting has always remained become the foundation to the establishment cooperation within the bilateral of Indonesia and South Africa in all sector. It made both countries become more interdependent one and other. However, in implementing the ideas of the meetings, both Indonesia and South Africa need to employ many stakeholders, such as government to government contact, business to business contacts, and people to people contacts. Furthermore, this Joint Commission also become the sign for the establishment of strategic partnership between Indonesia and South Africa.

5.4. Economic Cooperation Revitalization

Indonesia has commitment to strengthen its bilateral relationship with its counterpart, South Africa. Indonesia always seek opportunity to develop cooperation with South Africa. In maximizing the potential of economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa, the government of Indonesia has initiated the establishment of Joint Statement on the Establishment of the Joint Trade Committee (JTC) to be signed by the two countries’ authority in April 19, 2005. It is chaired jointly by the Minister of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia and the Minister of Trade and Industry of the Republic of South Africa.\(^{178}\) The JTC is the main mechanism in revitalizing the economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa.

The establishment of the JTC was a pursuant to the Article 12 in the Trade Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa signed in Cape Town, November 20, 1997. The article stated that:

\(^{177}\text{Ibid., Pg. 9}\)

“(1) In order to facilitate the effective implementation of this Agreement, to further extend the trade relations between their countries and to review the working of this Agreement, the Parties shall establish a Joint Trade Committee. (2) The Joint Trade Committee shall consist of representative of the Republic of the Indonesia on the one hand, and of representative of the Republic of South Africa on the other hand. (3) The Joint Trade Committee shall formally adopt its own rules of procedure. (4) Each Party shall preside in turn over the Joint Trade Committee, in accordance with the arrangements to be laid down in its rules of procedure. (5) The Joint Trade Committee shall act by mutual agreement. (6) The Joint Trade Committee shall meet at such times as agreed by the Parties and as such venues alternately designated by the Parties.”  

Based on the Joint Statement of the JTC, both Indonesia and South Africa will meet regularly to:

a. Oversee the implementation of the Trade Agreement;
b. Review the bilateral trade relationship and identify opportunities to expand the relationship;
c. Exchange information and views on the economic situation of both countries, global economic issues and any other economic subjects for the mutual benefit and prosperity of both countries;
d. Review other matters concerning bilateral trade and economic cooperation of common interest to both countries; and
e. Review progress of the scope of work program as set out by the JTC¹⁷⁹

Moreover, Indonesia and South Africa also agreed to set the work program of the JTC which including:

a. Promoting trade between the two countries;
b. Encouraging of industrial cooperation between the two countries;
c. Facilitating cooperation between the business community of Indonesia and South Africa;
d. Exploring ways of encouraging direct banking and leveraging existing payment arrangement among commercial banks of both countries;

e. Exploring ways of encouraging SMEs development;

f. Exploring ways of cooperation to realize the aims of the New Strategic Partnership for Africa’s Development;

g. Cooperation in multilateral for a as the World Trade Organization (WTO); and

h. Exploring other areas of economic cooperation to be agreed upon. \(^{181}\)

Adopting the implementation of the JTC, Indonesia and South Africa have held two times joint working on the JTC; both in 2006 and 2012. Generally, both joint working on the JTC had discussion on the matters of economic cooperation, such will be further explained below:\(^{182}\)

In the trade area, they agreed to exchange views on the need to enhance the trade between the two countries. They agreed to upscale industrial development. In the market access area, it was decided that both countries will do two way trade. On this issues, Indonesia expressed its interest that hoping for lowering tariffs for product over tires, palm oil, textiles, etc. South African then responded that duties applied to the product cannot be remove unilaterally since there are more procedure on this matters. In other side, South Africa also raised concern over its demand on the exemption on the ports of entry for imports of fresh produce agriculture products and import license of horticultural products. Indonesia then responded that the matter could be done through sending the formal request to the Ministry of Agriculture of Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia also initiated the ideas of the study of Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) by the both countries. It was proposed so that the market access between Indonesia and South Africa can be increased significantly.\(^{183}\)

In the SMEs area, Indonesia and South Africa agreed to establish MoU on SMEs cooperation since 2008 in the first meeting of the Joint Commission in Batam. Thus, the both countries during the second joint working on the JTC came to force in signing the finalized MoU. In the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) area, South Africa stated the idea of holding technical cooperation such as the strategy

\(^{181}\) Ibid., Pg.2

\(^{182}\) Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI. The Joint Working Report on the Joint Trade Committee Meeting. Indonesia: MoFA RI

\(^{183}\) Ibid., Pg. 1-2
in the SEZ, managerial capacity, and skills development in order to acknowledge the opportunities and challenges in establishing the SEZ. In that meeting Indonesia and South Africa also followed up the MoU between the Batam Indonesia Free Zone Authority (BIFZA) and the Coega Development Cooperation of South African which signed in 2008.\footnote{Ibid., Pg. 2}

Moreover, Indonesia and South Africa agree to promote the products between the two countries by exchanging information on available opportunities. Some of the mechanism will be working visits, exhibition, trade and investment seminars and missions. They also raised the issues of Capacity Building on Small and Medium Industry (SMI) Jewelry Design where Indonesia addressed its initiative in developing a capacity building program for SMI on jewelry design.\footnote{Ibid., Pg. 3}

Additionally, the JTC also allowed Indonesia and South Africa to establish ad hoc working groups to facilitate the work of JTC and also to deliberate on the specific themes or issues pertaining to the work of the JTC. Besides, the ad hoc working group may have their meeting separately with the JTC and can be assisted by the other stake holders such as private sector and other related institutions.

The JTC has enhanced the bilateral economic cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa, it is proven that the trade volume between the two countries increased significantly from 2004 to 2008. It can be understood through this following table,

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
TOTAL TRADE & 471,404 & 517,218.4 & 591,153  & 809,947.1 & 978,760.6  \\
\hline
EXPORT & 308,642 & 313,910 & 381,505  & 557,358.2 & 624,204.5  \\
\hline
IMPORT & 162,762 & 203,308.4 & 209,648  & 252,588.9 & 354,566.1  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

The total export Indonesia to South Africa in 2008 has significantly increased from 308,624 thousand US$ to 624,204.5 thousand US$. While the total

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., Pg. 2
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., Pg. 3
import Indonesia from South Africa also increased from 162,762 thousand US$ in 2004 to 354,566.1 thousand US$ in 2008. In conclusion, the total trade between Indonesia and South Africa increased more than 100% from 471,404 thousand US$ in 2004 to 978,760.6 thousand US$ in 2008.

5.5. The Establishment of the Strategic Partnership

As a result, after establishing the JCBC (the mechanism in revitalizing the political cooperation) and the JTC (the mechanism in revitalize the economic cooperation) with South Africa, Indonesia now strengthen the bilateral relationship through initiating the strategic partnership with South Africa. The strategic partnership can be seen as the culmination of the Indonesian effort in revitalizing its bilateral relation with South Africa.

Strategic partnership is “cooperative relationship between parts that share the desire to reach common high-priority goals”. Strategic partnership are commonly associated with defense or security related issues, but a survey of formal strategic partnership around the world reveal theory they can also be quite a hold-all, covering a wide range in bilateral relations, from defense to education, health and agricultural, and quite commonly, economic relations, including trade, and investment and banking. Strategic partnership is usually formed in a long term relations among the respective parties.

In fact, there are only 15 countries in the world that intertwined as strategic partnership to Indonesia. They are divided into two classified area namely one in Asia Pacific and African continent and the other one is in American and European continent. Indonesian strategic partnership in Asia Pacific and African continent are South Africa, Australia, India, Japan, South Korea, and China. While the Indonesian strategic partnership in American and European continent are USA, Russia, Brazil, Netherlands, England, German, France, Turkey, and European Union. 


188 MoFA RI. (2013). Diplomasi Indonesia 2013. Indonesia: MoFA RI, Pg.1
South Africa is the only country in Africa continent that has a strategic partnership agreement with Indonesia. The strategic partnership was established since the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki signed *the Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa* in Tswane South Africa on March 17, 2008 - during the presidential visit of the Indonesia to South Africa.  

![Image of Presidents signing the declaration](http://proxies.ap.org/all/9/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c_THUMBNAIL_23.jpg)  

**Picture 5.1. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Left) and President Thabo Mbeki (Right) signing the Joint Declaration of Strategic Partnership in Tswane on March 17, 2008**

President Thabo Mbeki addressed his pleasant and hope in signing the Joint Declaration on Strategic partnership. He stated that,

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189 Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI. (2008). *Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous future between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of South Africa*  
190 Courtesy of AP Television in 2008 Retrieved from [http://proxies.ap.org/all/9/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c_THUMBNAIL_23.jpg](http://proxies.ap.org/all/9/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c/9ea626a50953fba568e66c6835d58e9c_THUMBNAIL_23.jpg) January 26, 2015
“I am pleased that today, among others, we signed the Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future. These important developments underline our shared determination further to strengthen our relations in many areas of human activity. As we have agreed, we will do everything we can to give practical effect to these agreements, to ensure that our economic and other relations reach the level of excellence we have attained at the political level.”\textsuperscript{191}

Responding the President Thabo Mbeki remarks, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in his remarks also emphasized his optimism towards the cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa. He said that,

“I am very pleased to visit South Africa in this 17-18 March. I find South Africa is very beautiful, warm, and friendly. I am very optimistic about the future cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa which will be splendid significantly especially after signing the Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future”\textsuperscript{192}

Both Indonesia and South Africa has seen the strategic partnership as a culmination of bilateral revitalization. Indonesia see that the strategic partnership with South Africa is the highest commitment in strengthening the bilateral relations in all level of actors between the two countries and in all sector of cooperation. It can be understood from what Aulia Rinaldi Ahza\textsuperscript{193} explained that,

“There has been a culmination, in 2008, Indonesia and South Africa revitalized their relations by establishing the Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership (JDSP) which means we have bound in the highest level of commitment in conducting the bilateral relationship. It was signed by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Indonesia) and President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), which means all the actors between the two


\textsuperscript{193} He is the chief of economic section II-1 for African Affairs in MoFA RI. This senior diplomat has dedicated himself to work in the Embassy of Indonesia in Pretoria, South Africa since 2009-2011.
countries should support the implementation of the strategic partnership and need to explore cooperation in all sector.\textsuperscript{194} Being a strategic partnership, Indonesia and South Africa has elevated their bilateral relationship which based on the mutual benefit where they are interdependence each other. Indonesian foreign policy is to realize Indonesia which is more unity, peaceful, and democratic, and prosperous.\textsuperscript{195} It also focus on how to enhance the international cooperation and support the world peace and give contribution to welfare of the world especially its regional circle. In other side, South Africa foreign policy orientation is to build a better South Africa in a better Africa and also in a better world. It means that South Africa cannot be an island of prosperity in the sea of poverty, its approach in diplomacy is not to compete but to channel its national goals into complementary foreign relations. Hence, South Africa also commit to lift their relationship to complementary interdependence partnership.\textsuperscript{196} It can be said that both Indonesia and South Africa address the same interests.

In addition, South Africa also argue that a good bilateral relationship can be formed in the strategic partnership that not only address issues within but also beyond the actors. They understand that the strategic partnership has bring this bilateral relationship discuss and solve the issues beyond their interest. The strategic partnership has encouraged Indonesia and South Africa to have mutual understanding in regional and international issues. Thus, this strategic partnership not only bring good impact to the both countries but also to their respective region and to the rest developing countries in the world. One of the senior diplomats\textsuperscript{197} in the South African Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia stated that,

“South Africa is the role player in Africa and Indonesia is a role player in Asia, as a result, the both countries come to work together in order to facilitate the issues within those areas. That is why we need the strategic partnership in order to address the common challenges beyond our common interest and resolve them together.

\textsuperscript{194} Ahza, Aulia Rinaldi Ahza. (2014). Interviewed by the Writer in the Directorate for African Affairs, MoFA RI on November 17, 2014
\textsuperscript{195} MoFA RI, (2005). Rencana Strategis Departemen Luar Negeri RI. Indonesia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Pg. 28
\textsuperscript{197} He has dedicated himself to serve the South African Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia since 2009-Present
Besides, we can also support each other in the level of International Organizations (IO) such as in Human Rights Commission, Nuclear Agency, and so on. We need actors who can represent the interest of developing countries in those organizations, and South Africa and Indonesia, with the strategic partnership are able to become the voice of the developing countries. I can imagine that if we are strategic partnership, surely, we have to share strategies and ways to resolve issues, and we find our common position in international issues.”

Then, below are the review of the strategic partnership agreement:

It has been agreed that the partnership serves as a mechanism to build the enormous economic, social, and cultural potentials of Indonesia and South Africa. As such, it will also be a deeply rooted relationship that is driven by people-people contacts in the 21st Century setting. In the area of cooperation in the field of science and technology, the two presidents agreed to speed up the establishment of the Joint Working Committee and noted that there was good progress in the identification of concrete proposals in the field of energy and biotechnology and other areas. On this issues, both presidents agreed to enforce the **MoU on scientific and technological cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa in 2008**. In cultural cooperation, the two presidents were signing the MoU on cultural cooperation during the visit. They hope this would promote cultural exchange activities; develop cooperation links in the areas of preservation of historic, artistic and culture heritages as well as the enrichment of experience in the field of culture. In addition, in the minerals and energy cooperation, the two leaders agreed to encourage the development of concrete cooperation in the field of minerals and energy.

In economic and trade cooperation area, the two president expressed their desire to expand and diversity economic cooperation considering that the economic reform and liberalization programs pursued by both countries have opened up new opportunities. It was include but not limited to SMEs and the role of private sectors. However, the cooperation in the defense field would relate into the exchange of information on the defense establishment, reciprocal training, joint research,

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200 Ibid., Pg. 1-3
exchange scientific data, and the exchange of provision of defense equipment and join production. To address the issues, during the meeting Indonesia and South Africa also enforced the MoU on the cooperation in defense sector. Therefore, the two national leaders reviewed progress in cooperation in trade, finance, banking, tourism, agriculture, education, arts and culture and security. It was further agreed upon to develop cooperation in the areas of fisheries, transport and communication, investment and institutional cooperation. Yet, since the strategic partnership has been established, Indonesia and South Africa not only engage issues between their interests but also explore the cooperation in regional and multilateral level.

The president reiterated their commitment to sustain the momentum of NAASPI and scheduled the second NASSP meeting in South Africa by 2009. There are three areas of cooperation of NASSP promote for a concrete actions between the two countries namely political solidarity, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation in order to accelerate South-South cooperation. In regional level, the two national leaders exchanged views on development their respective regions, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) for the benefit of the two regions in general, the two countries in particular. Moreover, in the multilateral level, the presidents also reiterated the need for the two countries to continue developing and promoting closer cooperation in multilateral level such as UN, NAM, Group of 77, and IOR-ARC.

Furthermore, the strategic partnership was established to become the guideline and basis for the cooperation in all sectors between Indonesia and its counterpart, South Africa. That is why, the both countries agreed to form a Plan of Action (PoA) to the strategic partnership which will signed in the second JCBC meeting in 2015. The PoA is also act become an insurance to the implementation of the strategic partnership. The areas of cooperation that will be included in the

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201 Ibid., Pg. 3-4
202 Ibid., Pg. 4-5
PoA will be very complex ranging from the political-security issues, socio-cultural issues, economic issues, and other related issues that concern both countries. Thus, it can be stated that the strategic partnership will give significant impact to both countries in particularly and to the region and international environment generally.

5.6. The Analysis of Complex Interdependence towards the Strengthening Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and South Africa

There are three political processes introduced by Keohane and Nye that will be applied in the Indonesian efforts in strengthening the bilateral relationship through the political and economic revitalization with South Africa, namely; the goal of actors, the instrument of foreign policy, and the agenda formation.

Firstly, the goal of actors. As what Keohane and Nye have mentioned that under the complex interdependence, it is allowed to have different actors, different power structure, and different goal in different areas of relationship. On this matter, it has been found that Indonesia possess different goals, actors, and power structure in revitalizing its bilateral relationship with South Africa. The goals are mainly to enhance and transform the political bilateral relationship into mutually benefit economic relationship; in order to bring more prosperity to the Indonesian people. In addition, Indonesia want to penetrate the southern African market in order to expand the trade cooperation. Indonesia also want to have complex area of cooperation with South Africa including in the area of trade, culture, agriculture, SMEs, technology, and etc. in order to enhance the bilateral relationship.

However, because it is a foreign relations, it does not mean that it is only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA RI) responsibility to set the goals. Since the goals are really complex so, the actors and power structure in this revitalization also complex. For example, in terms of trade cooperation, the Ministry of Trade include the business actors will be more active in exploring the area of cooperation and in the sector of agriculture, the Ministry of Agriculture will be in charge, the same condition applies to other related cooperation. Yet, the ministry does not have to work separately instead of set a coordination themselves. Hence, the actors in
this bilateral revitalization have multi-track power structures. The cooperation may be held in the intra-ministries and inter-ministries contacts between both countries.

Secondly, the instrument of the foreign policy. Realizing the complex of Indonesian goals in strengthening its bilateral relationship with South Africa, Indonesia initiated the political and economic revitalization through establishing both Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) in 2004 (as the main mechanism in political revitalization) and Joint Trade Committee in 2005 (as the main mechanism in economic revitalization). JCBC and JTC become the main instrument of Indonesian foreign policy in this matter. Based on the JCBC, Indonesia and South Africa agreed to elevate the relationship by conducting a Joint Commission in a certain period of time to facilitate consultation and cooperation between the two countries in all area of cooperation. While based on the JTC, Indonesia and South Africa agreed to a meeting in particular time in promoting the trade relationship and decrease the barriers in the trade relationship between the two countries.

Thirdly, the Agenda Formation. Keohane and Nye explained that in complex interdependence, the line of domestic and foreign policy is possibly blurred. Let us visited the internal and external assessment being used by Indonesia in revitalizing its relationship with its counterpart, South Africa. Internal assessments are mainly adopted from the national vision in National Long and Medium Term Development Plan namely, to create Indonesia that is more prosper, peaceful, unity, democratic, and harmony. This national vision is also reflected in Indonesian foreign policy which stated in MoFA vision (2004-2009) that, “through total diplomacy, realizing Indonesia which is more unity, peaceful, democratic, and prosperous”. It can be understood the foreign policy of Indonesia is set to actualize the national vision.

In regard to the external assessment, Indonesia also has perceived South Africa as a hub to enter southern African market. In this circumstances, Indonesia also set effort to solve the challenges that hamper the relationship with South Africa. It can later benefit Indonesia in expanding its market and economic relationship to southern African market.
Therefore, as the instrument of the foreign policy, JCBC and the JTC set the agendas for multi-area of cooperation that to be enhanced between Indonesia and South Africa. The area of cooperation mainly being explored and enhanced in the JCBC are including; defense and security matters, technical cooperation, education, health, woman empowerment, information sharing, minerals and energy, transport and communication, science technology, trade and investment, finance and banking, SMEs, agriculture, fisheries, culture and tourism, sister province, and decorative wood carving. While under the JTC, Indonesia and South Africa agreed to enhance and explore the area of trade, market access, capacity building in SMEs, and Special Economic Zone cooperation.

As the result, on behalf of Indonesia and South Africa, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Thabo Mbeki agreed to sign *the Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa* in 2008. It has been becoming a new path for Indonesia and South Africa bilateral relationship where now both countries can employ more actors (across government level, business actors, people to people contacts) to explore more areas of cooperation between the two countries and implement the established MoUs.

### 5.7. Chapter Conclusion

There are three assessments areas in encouraging Indonesia revitalize its political and economic relations in order to strengthen its bilateral relationship with South Africa, namely; internal assessment (the constitutional legitimation, the National Long Term Development Plan 2005-2025, the National Medium Term Development Plan 2004-2009, and the Strategic Plan of MoFA in 2004-2009) which has been serve as the linkage factors that is to create the Indonesia that is more unity, prosperous, and peaceful and to establish the world peace. External assessment are mainly come from the willingness of Indonesia to reduce the barriers and solve the challenges that hamper the bilateral relations, to adapt the potential geopolitical strategic of South Africa where it can be the hub for Indonesia
in penetrating the southern Africa, and to respond the transformation of Africa continent.

Thus, the mechanism of both Indonesia political and economic revitalization towards South Africa is the establishment of the JCBC and the JTC. These mechanism has been enhancing the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa which making them intertwine in a strategic partnership. Being Strategic partnership Indonesia and South Africa not only can explore the cooperation and resolve the problems in bilateral level but also beyond, regional and multilateral level. Hence, the three political processes of Complex Interdependence (goal of actors, instrument of foreign policy, and agenda formation) has successfully applied to the Indonesian efforts to strengthening its bilateral relations with South Africa.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Bilateral relationship is the relationship intertwined between two countries. The commitment to strengthen the bilateral relationship is a sign to a revitalization. Revitalizing the bilateral relations may offer a strong desire of the involved countries to imbue the bilateral relations with a new and vital relations in accomplishing each own national interests and promoting such common goals that lies in that particular relations. Indonesia and South Africa that established their diplomatic relationship since 1994 therefore acknowledge the importance of revitalization to the bilateral relationship.

Tracing back the historical relationship between Indonesia and South Africa, one would remember the prominent figure of Sheikh Yusuf who born in Makassar in 1626, Indonesia and died in 1699 in Macassar, South Africa. He has been exiled in 1694 by the Dutch to Macassar, Cape Town, South Africa because of his influence in against the colonization. Yet, his influence did not stop right there, he continuously encouraged slave community in Cape Town to fight for their freedom by spreading the Islamic thought. He fought for freedom, independence, development, peace, and welfare for people of Indonesia and South Africa. Shaikh Yusuf therefore, is regarded as the founder of Islamic faith in the Cape Town and in South Africa. Pursuant to the 1945 Constitution mandate that all form of colonialism should be abolished in the world, that is why Indonesia also initiated the Asian African Conference in 1995 in Bandung, Indonesia to support the countries in the two region in fighting the colonialism, including South Africa.

Moreover, Indonesia has shown significant efforts to elevate its bilateral relationship with South Africa by initiating and exploring cooperation through the establishment agreement in the areas of politic, social, and economic. Not only in bilateral level but also in regional and multilateral level, Indonesia and South Africa often entrusted by the two continent, Asia and Africa co-chairing related international forum such as the Asian-African Sub-Regional Organizations
Conference (AASROC) and the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP).

Thus, Indonesia has been continuously showing its commitment in building cordial relationship with South Africa through revitalizing its political and economic cooperation. The main reasons why Indonesia revitalize its bilateral relation with South Africa can be categorized into three assessment, namely internal assessment, external assessment, and the common goals approach.

The internal assessment on why Indonesia need to revitalize its bilateral relationship with South Africa are including; (a) the constitutional legitimation of Indonesian foreign policy. (b) The National Long Term Development Plan 2005-2025. (c) The National Medium Tem Development Plan 2004-2009. (d) The Strategic Plan of MoFA RI 2004-2009. The external assessment are the South African potentials to Indonesia and the bilateral approach to penetrate the African market. Additionally, the common goals approach explain that both Indonesia and South Africa have the same view in national development, regional development and the international peace.

Referring to those, Indonesia understand that revitalization to the leading African continent, South Africa is more than needed. Thus, the government Indonesia initiated political and economic revitalization towards its counterpart, South Africa. The political revitalization mechanism is through establishing the Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC) on March 23, 2004. The JCBC is served as a consultation forum for bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa that will be held in time agreed by the two countries. The purpose of the JCBC are firstly, to expand and enhance bilateral relations and cooperation on a lasting and long term basis. Secondly, to convince the necessity of lasting and effective cooperation in the interests of the both countries. Thirdly, to confirm the both countries’ interest in strengthening of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and full respect of sovereignty. Pursuant to the JCBC, Indonesia and South Africa has made Joint Commission for the JCBC in 2008. So, by establishing this JCBC the cooperation of both countries may be mutually enhance.
Furthermore, the main mechanism in economic revitalization is the establishment of the Joint Trade Committee (JTC) on April 19, 2005. The JTC is a forum that can facilitate both Indonesia and South Africa in enhancing their economic cooperation. In the JTC, Indonesia and South Africa will meet regularly to; firstly, to review the bilateral trade relationship and identify opportunities to expand the relationship. Secondly, to exchange information and views on the economic situation of both countries, global economic issues and any other economic subjects for the mutual benefit and prosperity of both countries. Thirdly, to review other matters concerning bilateral trade and economic cooperation of common interest to both countries. And, to review progress of the scope of work program as set out by the JTC. Pursuant to the JTC, Indonesia and South Africa has made joint working for the JTC in both 2006 and 2012. By then, the JTC can be the way to transform the political attachment to the economically mutual benefit cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa.

After establishing the JCBC and the JTC, Indonesia initiate the strategic partnership ideas to South Africa. Strategic partnership is cooperative relationship between parts that share the desire to reach common high-priority goals, (Luis, 2011). This has been understood as the culmination of Indonesian revitalization towards its bilateral relationship with South Africa. Since then, South Africa become the 15th of out 15 Indonesian strategic partnership around the world. Not to mention, South Africa also is the only Indonesian strategic partnership in Africa continent. The strategic partnership was born since the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki signed the Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership for a Peaceful and Prosperous Future between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in Tswane South Africa on March 17, 2008- during the presidential visit of the Indonesia to South Africa. Indonesia and South Africa therefore become more interdependence one and other to address and explore the cooperation not only between their interest but also beyond, including the regional and international issues and cooperation.
Shorten, the road of Indonesia and South Africa historical relationship until the establishment of the strategic partnership, can be depicted through this following figure;

Figure 6.1. The Scheme of Indonesia and South Africa Bilateral Relationship
Source: Processed by the Writer
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**Interview**


INTerview Session 1

Strengthening Bilateral Relations Through Revitalizing The Political and Economic Cooperation Between The Republic of Indonesia and The Republic of South Africa

(2004-2008)

Informant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Senior Diplomat</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>The Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Jakarta, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Time</td>
<td>October 16, 2014&lt;br&gt;Suite 705, 7th Floor, Wisma GBKI, Jl. Jend. Sudirman&lt;br&gt;No.28, Jakarta 10210</td>
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</tbody>
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The list of questions

1. Q: What are they inside the South Africa, Sir?

   A: There are so many things are in South Africa that you will not find out there somewhere else in other places. It can offer beauty and tourism in all across the land. Basically, South Africa has 9 provinces namely; Free State, Gauteng, Limpopo, Pumalangka, Northern Cape, North West, Western Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal, and Eastern Cape. Those nine provinces are all have each unique elements. Free State is called as the Golden Heart in South Africa simply because of the wonderful pure nature. Gauteng is called the Place of Gold because it is the capital economic, business, and technology head in South Africa. Limpopo named as the great land of history where the kingdom of Africa firstly ever established. Pumalangka named as the landscape of incredible scene of beauty since it is the third largest canyon in the world. Northern Cape named as the home of beauty and real adventure because you will find it as the largest and wildest province along with the real wild, real people, and real flora and fauna with less people stay within. Northwest marked by the cradle of human kind and
its famous heart balloon creature. Western Cape marked by the home of beautiful islands possesses suite table of mountain. Kwa-Zulu Natal marked by the home of Zulu Kingdom. And the last, Eastern Cape which marked by the birth place of Nelson Mandela.

2. Q: Would you please describe and explain the culture inside the South Africa?
   
   A: Let me bring you closer to South Africa to several explanations. Firstly, South Africa is located in the very southern part of Africa Region. That’s why when international community fear of us regarding to the Ebola issues, they should not. Imagine the Ebola now is in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone and it takes time about 7 hours by plane reaching South Africa. From the map views, it is closer to Brazil and other European countries. In addition, we has also make a scanner technology of Ebola to prevent the Ebola entering our home, so we are rather to say that, “we are clean of Ebola”. Secondly, the capital of South Africa economic activities is in Gauteng Province, because if you go there you will find a real business climate and busy people moving around. Most of economic activities is there in Gauteng Provinces. Thirdly, we have experienced the horrified Apartheid Party who separated us from the human rights and accept the judgment from international community until the Madiba, Nelson Mandela fighter for freedom in South Africa, the Rainbow Nations. Thus, now we have the democracy begun in 1994 and established what so called trias politica- executive, legislative, and judicative as an insurance for the effectiveness we separate them in different places within the country. Fourthly, South Africa has a number of various total of population with total is 51,770,560 including; 76.6% are black, 9% are colored, 8.9 are white, 2.5% are Indian Asian. Uniquely, in our home male and female are closely balance. In addition, we do have an ubuntu which means ‘mutual caring’, it is as same as ‘kepo’ if it is in Indonesia. It is valid for every people to serve other as their brother and sister. We also love a straight to the point statement and ideas, it make us directly understand and effective in using
3. Q: How has the South Africa and Indonesia relations begun?
A: South Africa and Indonesia just celebrated its 20 years of bilateral relation which means 20 years of freedom also in South Africa. It was begun in 1952 where white people traveled around the world to seek national interest South Ceylon, India, and Indonesia and most of them stopped at Cape Town, South Africa. It created new history in South Africa. It was the prominent Islamic figure Shaikh Yusuf from Makassar Indonesia in 1960s exiled from Indonesia to Roben Island, South Africa the place of Mandela prisoning. That’s why Mandela given Roben Island as the symbol of liberalization, come in as a prisoners- come out as hero. Thus, South Africa and Indonesia relation bridged by the Shaikh Yusuf with strong historic events especially in the liberation fighting in South Africa.

4. Q: How is the current the bilateral relations carrying out?
A: At the very beginning, we have to know the point of view of the International Relations (IR) of South Africa- we want a better South Africa in a better Africa and in a better world. That is why the relations offering by the South Africa to the rest of the world is a complementary relationship especially with Indonesia. All the historical relationship has actually become a foundation to this bilateral relations from the Apartheid Party regime until the liberations in all level. There are lots of issues in this bilateral relationship namely; firstly, political freedom in both country has been recognized by general election and voting. Secondly, economic challenges that both country has fight for namely poverty. Thirdly, the issues of education, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), money laundering, banking information sharing, and cooperation of regulatory framework have been promoted to share mutual development. Fourthly, the
trade between South Africa and Indonesia has lot of potentials, though it always increasing year by year but up to know there is no Indonesian big company investing in South Africa and vice versa, we need more of efforts in revitalizing the bilateral relationship. In Pretoria, there is only one Indonesian Shop, *Indomaret* since in Indonesia there is no South African’s, at least for the cuisine menu. How can we are good friend while we cannot find each other. These are the main problem that the both countries should tackle including; the lack of information about trade opportunities and challenges in both countries, and the lack of dignitaries and businessman exchange visits to build stronger relationship. Actually, we are the embassy are opened to help.

Moreover, in international level the two countries also support one each other; as the member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), we have gotten regulatory to be developed and ready to share with Indonesia, our complementary partner. As the democratic country, Indonesia can lead Asia and Islamic country development views in the forum of G20 as to what South Africa can lead its region Africa, too. Regarding to development issues, both countries also has the common challenges in accomplishing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and agreed to support the Post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This all to create a better world.

5. Q: How is about the significant of the strategic partnership?
   A: Strategic partnership is made in order to strengthen the relationship which established in 2008. Honestly, there is no many progress on that, but we are happy to welcome any initiatives from our counterpart.

6. Q: How about the significant of the Indonesia’s International Trade Expo (IITE)?
   A: It is actually really good in order to promote the Indonesian business climate in South Africa, yet there is no significant promote by the media on that in order to create public awareness and recognitions.
7. A: What is your suggestions to improve the bilateral relations?
Q: There are several suggestions that could improve the bilateral relations, including; (a) improving the dignitaries and businessmen exchange visits in order to bring experiences and knowledge to create agreement and insure actual implementations, (b) improving the bilateral information whether in politic, economic, and culture views within the people so that in can increasing the people-to-people contacts, (c) bringing South African most rich person to meet Indonesia’s prominent figures is such a good step to be taken, since this prominent person has seen as philanthropist in South Africa it would create massive public awareness. It can later also bridge the village community development to be implemented through certain agreement, and (d) the improving the media significances, any of activities in both relations will be better if we can promote through the media in order to inform the both countries citizens and also to the rest of the world.
INTERVIEW SESSION 2


Informant

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Aulia Rinaldi Ahza</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Kepala Seksi Ekonomi dan Pembangunan II-1, Direktorat Afrika, Kemeterian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Place and Time | November 17th, 2014
               | Direktorat Afrika, Kemlu RI – Gedung Utama Lt.4, Jl. Taman Pejambon No.6, Jakarta 10110 |

The list of the questions

1. Q: How has the development of Indonesian foreign policy towards African continent?
   A: Generally, Indonesian foreign policy has being transformed towards Africa. Indonesia and Africa has long historical. Indonesia has supported the colonialism eradication in Africa through the Asian African Conference (AAC) in 1955. Indonesia also pioneered the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) where Indonesia could help Africa continent politically. That is why story there is always political attachment in the relations of Indonesia and African countries. In the recent time, we all seek to transform the political attachment to mutually beneficial economic relations. This point of view make Indonesian government to dig deeper the Africa potentials including in market and natural resources potentials and deal with them through several agreement.
2. Q: since when Indonesia see Africa as an important continent (non-traditional market)?
   A: there is no such a specific timeline for this. But since the reign of
   President Susilo Bambang, it is a mandatory for the Ministry of Foreign
   Affairs (MoFA) to implement the economic diplomacy strategy in any
   foreign relations especially under the reign of Mr. Marty Natalegawa, the
   Minister for Foreign Affairs Indonesia. It is also supported by the current
   president.

3. Q: Which part of Africa is seen as the most important?
   A: Actually all Africa countries are important and have each own potentials
   and challenges. However, in economic perspective, Indonesia has done so
   much effort to enter the African market, it is proven by there are so many
   Indonesian companies (around 20 companies including Indofood,
   Indorama, Wings Group, etc) investing in those countries especially. Major
   of these companies are investing in Western Africa as in Nigeria, in Eastern
   Africa as Ethiopia and Kenya while in Southern African is absence yet it is
   begun to start by Indonesian Oil and Gas Company in Mozambique. In
   addition, in November 2014, President Jokowi signed the first
   Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Vice President Angola in
   regards to the energy cooperation between Pertamina (Indonesia) and
   Senangol (Angola).

4. Q: How does Indonesia see South Africa so important to enter Africa?
   A: The key role players in Africa are Nigeria from the Western Africa,
   Besides, there is also a new player who experiencing the “oil boom”,
   Angola which now its economic performance is in oil sector. Yet, if we
   determine from the GDP, South Africa is the most advanced of all.
   Politically, Indonesia has a special political attachment with South Africa
   especially when we help them fight the Apartheid regime. Economically,
   Indonesia sees South Africa as a hub to enter Southern African market
because, firstly, it possess the most advanced infrastructure in Africa. They have two big harbors in Durban and Cape Town, major Indonesian product entering Africa through these harbor. Secondly, South Africa is a member to Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU) - (South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, and Namibia) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) possess 16 countries. In SACU trading activities, the members agreed to remove the excise tax which later easier Indonesian product flows from South Africa to other member countries of SACU. Even, if Indonesian can penetrate the South African market it become easier to expand the market of SADC member countries that is why we call them as a hub.

5. Q: Why has Indonesia and South Africa committed to bilateral relations?
A: Besides, Indonesia support South Africa liberalization from the Apartheid regime, there is also called the impact of the Indonesian prominent Islamic figure, Shaikh Yusuf and the establishment of Cape Malay in Cape Town consisting of around 1.2 million Indonesian descent. That is why not only political attachment but also emotional bound has spread between the two countries. When, I was in-service in Indonesian Embassy in Pretoria, there was once official visit by the Former Minister of Trade RI, Mr. Gita Wirjawan. He said that, “there are 1.2 million people Indonesian people here, I was certainty that the food we eat are majority same, so if we sell the Indomie here it must be in demand”. Seeing lot of potentials, the Ministry of Trade RI committed to increase the trade between the two country and set total trade target by US$ 6 billion in 2016.

6. Q: What are the opportunities and challenges in this bilateral relations especially in political and economic sphere before 2004?
A: If we talk about the challenges, it will be applied generally to African countries. Before 2000s, Africa continent was associated with a poor continent marked by civil war, disease, and conflict. By dictating that image in Indonesian mind, we become more reluctant to open relations and
economic activities with African countries. It different with China and Brazil who has not political attachment with Africa but now especially China become the main player in African market because of its ability to firstly foreseen the great African market. Honestly, we are late to catch the signal- entering the African market. Moreover, Indonesia is comfortable with its traditional counterparts such as USA and European Countries. We are revisiting African market only in this 5-10 years, we can see from the total trade especially with Sub-Saharan is only US$ 4 billion in 2009 increase more than 100% in 2013 with total US$ 11 billion. It is the mark that Indonesian businessmen has shown their interest in penetrating African market and as the government, we keep supporting the economic players to trade and invest in African market.

7. Q: Why there is no Indonesian company investing in South Africa as in vice versa?
A: In South Africa, there has been a big China Mall consists of Chinese product and even the workers are Chinese. Why makes China capable of establish such a big mall? According to experts, China is fully supported by its government to penetrate the African market especially they have lots of budget to do so; these are the potentials that we missed. In the last time the Indonesian government only encourage the Indonesian businessmen to expand their market in South Africa without provide clear assistance. But now, there has been a number of transformation including the establishment of policy for bringing businessmen along with the dignitaries exchange visits to Africa (political and economic missions). It later can create knowledge and experience for the businessmen to concretely carry out economic relations with African countries.

8. Q: How has Indonesia revitalized its bilateral relations with South Africa?
A: In 2004, we have established Joint Commission for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC). In 2005, we established the Joint Trade Committee (JTC). There has been a culmination, in 2008, Indonesia and South Africa
revitalized their relations by establishing the Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership (JDSP) which means we have bound in the highest level of commitment of in conducting the bilateral relationship. It was signed by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Indonesia) and President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa), which means all the actors between the two countries should support the implementation of the strategic partnership and need to explore cooperation in all sector. Bear in mind that, Indonesia has signed JDSP with only 15 countries around the world. Major of Indonesian Strategic Partnership are coming from traditional counterparts including USA, Australia, Japan, Netherland, and etc. while with the non-traditional counterparts, Africa, we have only with South Africa. Actually, every Strategic Partnership need its Plan of Action (PoA) as the framework to strengthen the bilateral implementation in all level. Indonesian government (the Director for African Affairs, Mr. Lasro Simbolon, the Deputy Head for Political and Security Affairs for African Affairs, Mr. Musurifun, and me (the chief of economic section II-1 for African Affairs Mr. Aulia Rinaldi Ahza) has visits South Africa to discuss the draft of PoA itself in October 2014. The PoA with South Africa will be finalized and signed in the second JCBC 2015.

9. Q: What kind of improvement to be needed in revitalizing the bilateral relations?

A: The MoFA RI always support other institutions and businessmen to play a greater role in strengthening the cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa. And we always support and assist to implement the written commitment among the actors. Some of the business sectors (PT. Wika and PT. KHS), consumer goods industries has been brought to join the exhibition in South Africa. Now we have only have distributors of Indomie in several of shops and market in South Africa, and we looking forward to seeing more economic activities in our relationship.
INTERVIEW SESSION 3

STRENGTHENING BILATERAL RELATIONS THROUGH REVITALIZING
THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
(2004-2008)

Informant

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Senior Diplomat</th>
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<tr>
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<td>23 December 2014</td>
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<td>Suite 705, 7th Floor, Wisma GBKI, Jl. Jend. Sudirman</td>
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The list of the questions

1. Q: How has the development of South African foreign policy towards Indonesia?

   A: The pillar of South African foreign policy is to build a better South Africa in a better Africa and also in a better world. South Africa cannot be an island of prosperity in the sea of poverty, thus our approach in diplomacy is not to compete but our approach is channeling our national goals into complementary foreign relations. It is a friendly foreign policy towards Indonesia, we have started from long historical relations as a result we do honor our relationship as a complementary interdependence partnership. Indonesia like South Africa have common challenges like poverty and unemployment rate, and economic development. In that case we are building a complementary relationship with Indonesia which can address and solve the common challenges. Let us visit, the document of Strategic of Partnership, where we can see our own challenges and potentials bond us as partner, we can learn from one and other to share the mutual
development including in the areas of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), energy and environmental sustainable, and etc. Broadly, we are looking now to the Indian Ocean Rim Associations (IORA), promotion of democracy, peace keeping and peace building. South Africa is very active in the terms of peace keeping and peace building in Africa and Indonesia is also active in Asia. The both countries also try to find solutions in international conflict including Syria, Iran, and the issues of South China Sea. Hence, as the strategic partnership both South Africa and Indonesia have to able to address the issues beyond our own issues. Our relationship will build upon mutual understanding in international issues that is how we become a strategic partner. Strategic partnership is such a key to unlock any issues within and beyond the actors, it means we are coming together to solve problems. I can imagine that if we are strategic partnership, surely, we have to share strategies and ways to resolve issues, and we find our common position in international issues.

2. Q: What are the achievements of the bilateral agreements between the two countries?
   A: Actually, diplomacy is not a something that be measured and put down in figure and also if we invest in diplomacy we cannot how much we can pay for peace. But we are trying to measure the outcomes rather than the output because many times we say that good bilateral relations are trade must go up by billions, people must travel in each countries, export and import flourished but it not the only measure. A good bilateral relationship can be formed in the strategic partnership that not only address issues within but also beyond the actors. As a result the achievement is feasible. Politically, the relationship is more historical relations but we need to move again to the same path to revitalize the relationship. We need more dignitaries exchange visits (Seniors Official Meeting/SOM and ministerial level, president), it will work better to our relationship. Realizing that all the Memorandum of Understandings (MoUs), Joint Bilateral Cooperation Committee, Joint Trade Commission that we signed are all the instrument
that manage the relationship, we have to work hard to pursue the goals in the content in those agreement. Signing of agreements is not enough, we need to bring them to the level of implementations- we find the loopholes and solve those loopholes- we also need to link business sectors and linked stakeholder to implement the agreements. Economically, years to years there is much improvement. The most challenges is the lack information sharing between the two countries.

3. Q: What are the opportunities that the bilateral relation offers especially for political and economic sphere of cooperation?

A: Actually there are many areas of cooperation that can be explored including in the sector of agriculture products but we do need technology to meet the certain quality to serve the demand in each countries. In education sector, both Minister of Education can meet together in order to address the issue of curriculum that will ensure the quality of education in both countries. In tourism sectors also existing as one of the main opportunities in this relations. For the case of Indonesia, if people travel to Indonesia they more like to recognize only Bali rather than Indonesia as a whole. That is why we need to work to inform the people about our great potentials of tourism. In addition, artist sector also may be counted. It is a big potentials to be promoted and we encourage them to have an exchanges views and learn from one and other for the artistic sectors. We have lots of potentials but we have to work hard to bring them into outcomes. We have done serials movement, we visit the universities in order to create understanding about South Africa to the students and somehow challenge them to do research on South Africa. The same goes to our students who come here to study Indonesian language and culture. However, we need more. We are promoting the scientific cooperation among the students of each countries. Example, South Africa and Indonesia can work together in producing the herb (jamu) that may be become the medicine to overcome diseases that hard to be healed. So, we need to come working together so that we can understand each other.
4. Q: What are the challenges that the bilateral relation offers especially for political and economic sphere of cooperation?
A: According to me the main challenges is the lack information to the business people, the academic world, and the media sector. Especially in the media sharing, we need to acknowledge concrete and right information to educated public in certain issues, as a result we can create a better public awareness on our relationship and international issues. The other challenges is we need to narrow our scope of focus. There are many issues that both countries interlinked each other, making many agreements but lack of implementations. As a strategic partnership, we need be able to finding on the key issues and work on them vigorously. Because if we are not able to deal with strategic issues, we are not able to achieve a lot. Besides, I highly appreciate the improvement of the dignitaries exchange visits, and of course we hope make it better in the future. In trade sector, when we have diplomatic lunch with former Minister of Trade, Mrs. Marie Elka Pangestu. I indicated that South Africa and Indonesia has lot of potentials in trade. I have seen in the textile industries sector and cuisine sector. We need to find each other in our home land.

5. Q: How has the bilateral relations being revitalized? (The impacts of the Joint Bilateral Committees and the Joint Trade Commission?)
A: Those agreements are seen as the instruments that we have. We have done well to pushing the establishment of the agreements but we have to pursue the goals by cooperating with the other stakeholders and department. I wish that one day we can expose our relationship in terms of the sport, artistic, etc. Our national sport team (football) need to visits and play together and let them spread through the media, regardless to the winners, people will see the closer relationship between the two countries. It not only can revitalize the relationship but also enhance the bonds between the two countries.
6. Q: Why has Indonesia and South Africa committed into strategic partnership?

A: I think political attachment such Indonesia and South Africa relationship in Asian African Conference (AAC), New Asian and African Strategic Partnership (NAASP), the Non Aligned Movement (NAM), South-South Cooperation, the G-20, and etc. South Africa is the role player in Africa and Indonesia is a role player in Asia, as a result, the both countries come to work together in order to facilitate the issues within those areas. That is why we need the strategic partnership in order to address the common challenges beyond our common interest and resolve them together. Besides, we can also support each other in the level of International Organizations (IO) such as in Human Rights Commission, Nuclear Agency, and so on. We need actors who can represent the interest of developing countries in those organizations, and South Africa and Indonesia, with the strategic partnership are able to become the voice of the developing countries. Especially, to share the common position and understanding in international issues, that would be our strength.
STRENGTHENING BILATERAL RELATIONS THROUGH REVITALIZING
THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
(2004-2008)

Informant

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<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Kepala Sub-Bidang Politik, Direktorat Afrika, Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia</td>
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| Place and Time| 9th January 2015
               | Direktorat Afrika, Kemlu RI – Gedung Utama Lt.4, Jl. Taman Pejambon No.6, Jakarta 10110 |

The list of the questions

1. Q: How has the development of Indonesian foreign policy towards African continent?

   A: The Indonesia foreign policy towards Africa region has tremendously transform since 2009. Yet Indonesia and Africa Region have been tied in strong political attachment since the 17th Century, especially when Indonesia pioneered the Asian-African Conference (AAC) in 1955, Bandung, Indonesia. In 2009, Indonesia has a strong commitment to transform the political attachment into economic cooperation which later bring mutually benefit towards Indonesia and Africa. On this matter, Indonesia has been focus to apply economic diplomacy and bilateral diplomacy in penetrating the Non-Traditional Market (NTM) including Africa.
2. Q: Would you please briefly explain the strategic plan (Rencana Strategis/Renstra) MoFA RI in 2004-2009?
   A: The vision of strategic plan of MoFA in 2004-2009 is “through total diplomacy, realizing Indonesia which is more unity, peaceful, just, democratic, and prosperous”. This vision is in accordance with the national vision in RPJMN 2004-2009. Thus, MoFA has its three core competency to accomplish that mentioned vision, namely; optimizing Indonesia’s foreign policy and diplomacy, enhancing the international cooperation, and improving more contribution towards world perpetual peace.

3. Q: What are the common goals between Indonesia and South Africa in dealing with one and another?
   A: Historical relationship between Indonesia and South Africa has been begun since 17th Century when Sheikh Yusuf become hero in both countries in fighting for the freedom through Islamic views. Then we had joint communique in 1994 to establish the diplomatic relationship. There are many areas cooperation that we both has been explored including in area of human rights promotion and protections, good governance, political, economic, trade and investment, eradicating poverty, and so on. In multilateral level, the both countries also show their mutual support for example Co-Chairing Asian-African Sub-Regional Organizations Conference (AASROC), NAASP, and IORA. We also share experience in building regional integration as Indonesia in ASEAN South Africa in SADC, those make us even more interdependence one another and commit to lift the bilateral relationship through the strategic partnership signed by President SBY (Indonesia) and President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa) in 2008.

4. Q: How has Indonesia revitalized its bilateral relations with South Africa?
   A: There has lots of mechanism that being used to strengthening the bilateral relationship, including dignitaries exchange visits, MoUs, Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation (JCBC), Joint Trade Commission
(JTC), and the strategic partnership. In implementing this mechanisms, the government of Indonesia cannot work alone, we need stakeholders’ contribution (business actors, experts, and society).

5. Q: What are the backgrounds of the formation on of the Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation and Joint Trade Committees?
   A: The JCBC and JTC is formed to facilitate the consultation and cooperation between Indonesia and South Africa especially in the area of economic, trade, cultural, and technical. JCBC and JTC also can establish a working group to exchange views and information and solve any barriers in the bilateral relationship in order to maintaining the strong bilateral relationship between the two countries.

6. Q: How has the Joint Committee for Bilateral Cooperation run and impacted the bilateral relationship?
   A: There has been meeting in order to implement the ideas of the JCBC in 2008, Batam, Indonesia. The agenda in that meeting was exchange of views on bilateral, regional, and international cooperation. Especially in bilateral relation level, the meeting has discussed issues in the areas of defense and surety matters, technical cooperation, education, health, women empowerment, information sharing, minerals and energy, transport and communication, science and technology, bio-technology, trade and industry, finance and banking, SMEs, agriculture and rural development, fisheries, culture and tourism, chambers of commerce industry, economic free zone, investment, and other matters. It can be understood that the areas of cooperation between the two countries is more than complex, since we interdependence each other, that is why the meeting has given us a form of policy making to strengthen the bilateral cooperation.
7. Q: How has the Joint Trade Commission run and impacted the bilateral relationship?
   A: There have been two meetings of the JTC; the first was in 2006 the second was in 2012. The meetings have discussed the trade relations, market access, and sectorial cooperation. The meeting has produced MoUs between the Batam Indonesia Free Zone Authority (BIFZA) and the Coega Development Cooperation of South Africa in order to enhance the trade and investment cooperation between the two countries.

8. Q: What is strategic partnership and why has Indonesia and South Africa committed into it?
   A: Strategic partnership is the highest level commitment of bilateral relationship signed by the president of the two countries, it does not only discuss matters within the two countries but also in the regional and international matters that concern them. South Africa is the only Indonesia’s strategic partnership in Africa region. This commitment was born since the strong historical and political relationship. It even made to become the guideline for the other cooperation sectors with an assurance of implementation through the Plan of Action (PoA) which later will be signed in the second JCBC meeting, 2015. The both countries also agree to support the developing countries interests in international fora.

9. Q: How has the strategic partnership affected the bilateral relations?
   A: The all mechanism of bilateral relationship between Indonesia and South Africa has facilitated the cooperation between them in all sectors though some of the agreement still need more of implementation. The significant result is the trade between Indonesia and South Africa in 2009-2014 is increasing even up to now. The dignitaries, businessmen, and people exchange visits has begun flourished, it can be an indicator that there has been good things happen in this bilateral relationship that we both need to keep and boost it up.