INDONESIAN DIPLOMACY OF SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS 2030

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Abstract

South-South Cooperation has played an important role in encouraging development in various countries through strategic programs, such as training, sending experts, providing grants, scholarships, infrastructure, as well as empowering women. Indonesia as one of the countries that plays an active role as a donor country is expected to increase its role in strengthening Indonesia's position as a new emerging donor so that it can improve Indonesia's image in international forums. Diplomacy carried out by Indonesia is part of a constructivism approach in the study of international relations related to the formation of perceptions and values that Indonesia will share with its cooperation partners. South-South Cooperation is not only part of Indonesia's national priority in The National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020-2024, but also provides benefits as a bridge between the needs of beneficiaries and Indonesia's interests, improves Indonesia's positive image in the region and globally, and is part of Indonesia's economic diplomacy. In the recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic, South-South Cooperation is expected to be a part of development cooperation form that can be one of the instruments for restoring conditions and building back better in achieving the goals of Sustainable Development Goals 2030.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Indonesia, South-South Cooperation, Sustainable Development Goals 2030
1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The South-South Cooperation (SSC) program was featured as one of the instruments of Indonesia’s economic diplomacy. At the same time a discourse was initiated towards the formation of a single agency for the management of Indonesia aid. This shows Indonesia’s dedication to responding to the dynamics of international politics and to playing a significant role in these dynamics. This article will show Indonesia’s constant involvement in various SSC programs, the policy dynamics that underlie this involvement and achievements of Indonesia’s SSC, as well as the direction of Indonesia’s SSC in the future, including in achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030. This article also describes Indonesia’s participation in the development of SSC. Furthermore this article also details out the challenges faced by Indonesia’s SSC both domestically and globally and the direction and future of the Indonesia’s SSC.

The historical journey of Indonesia's South-South Cooperation began with the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in Bandung in 1955. The Asian-African Conference produced 10 (ten) agreements in the Bandung Dasasila where the 9th item stated "Advancing Common Interests and Cooperation" which became the basis for increasing solidarity and cooperation between countries in the Asian and African regions for the common interest. The implementation of The South-South Cooperation of Indonesia itself has always experienced an evolution since the holding of the Asian-African Conference. Indonesia's institutionalized SSC program has been implemented regularly since the 1980s. Since 2010, SSC has been part of Indonesia's foreign policy under the Medium-Term Development Plan (RPIMN) 2010-2014 (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020; 2015; 2010). In the same year the strengthening of SSC institutions was carried out through the establishment of the National Coordination Team of Indonesia’s South-South Cooperation (National SSC Coordination Team) and inaugurated through the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas No. 67 of 2011 concerning the Coordination Team for the Development of South-South Cooperation. The National SSC Coordination Team at that time consisted of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Development Planning Agency, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of the State Secretariat.

In 2019, the International Development Cooperation Fund (LDKPI) or also known as the Indonesia Agency for International Development (Indonesian AID) was formed. The Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia at that time, Jusuf Kalla in the inauguration of the LDKPI stated that the establishment of the LDKPI was a form of embodiment of "diplomacy of the hands above" which would strengthen Indonesia's role as a country providing international assistance. LDKPI through Government Regulation No. 57 of 2019 was in charge of carrying out the management of international development cooperation funds (endowment funds) and funds in the context of providing grants to foreign governments/foreign institutions.

The diplomacy carried out by Indonesia in the South-South Cooperation is also part of the constructivism approach as Alexander Wendt explained the behavior of the state in international relations (Nugroho, 2021; Bakry, 2017; Hadiwinata, 2017; Ruggie, 1998). Constructivism was defined by Alexander Wendt as:
“a structural theory of the international system that makes the following core claims: (a) states are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (b) the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material; and (c) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics” (Griffiths, 1999:201).

The implementation of SSC for Indonesia is a self-identity built by Indonesia as a form of solidarity with fellow developing countries. In addition, it also provides sharing of experiences and what Indonesia has to its cooperation partners with other developing countries. This effort will also improve Indonesia’s positive image in contributing to global development, especially in an effort to realize the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (Hakim, 2021; Pujayanti, 2015). Indonesia’s interests are not only related to image, but also further national interests, including in the context of economic diplomacy (Haryono, 2019; Hutabarat, 2018; Lee & Melissen, 2012).

UN Secretary-General António Guterres in 2021 stated "the world seeks to ramp up COVID-19 response and recovery and tackle the existential threat of climate change, South-South and triangular cooperation is more essential than ever". Indonesia’s SSC is one of the solutions in efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic will affect the direction of Indonesia's SSC development in the future (Dinnata, 2020; Lestari 2020; Zakaria, 2020). This paper seeks to provide an understanding of the SSC and explain how the direction of Indonesia's SSC development after the COVID-19 pandemic in the future so that it still has relevance in the context of efforts to achieve the 2030 SDGs.

2. Literature Review

South-South Cooperation is a manifestation of cooperation between developing countries based on other principles of solidarity, non-conditionality, mutual benefit and non-interference (Kementerian Luar Negeri 2020; 2015). Internationally in the Nairobi Document (2009) it is stated that South-South Cooperation is different from Official Development Assistance (ODA): as “a partnership among equals, based on solidarity”, and must be guided by principles of respect for national sovereignty and ownership, free of any conditionality. The broader concept of South-South Cooperation is mentioned by the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC) as: “a broad framework for collaboration among countries of the South in the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and technical domains”. Involving two or more developing countries, it can take place on a bilateral, regional, sub regional or interregional basis. Developing countries share knowledge, skills, expertise and resources to meet their development goals through concerted efforts. Recent developments in South-South cooperation have taken the form of increased volume of South-South trade, South-South flows of foreign direct investment, movements towards regional integration, technology transfers, sharing of solutions and experts, and other forms of exchanges” (Tim Koordinasi Nasional Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan, 2019). South-South Cooperation is a form of cooperation initiated independently by developing countries. In the early stages,
SSC is more of an instrument of collective diplomacy as well as solidarity-raising activities that emphasize mutual benefits for developing countries (Suryokusumo, 2004).

Furthermore, KSS is moving towards economic and development cooperation aimed at spurring the development and competitiveness of developing countries (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2021; 2020). In this case, SSC serves as a collective leverage in international forums and supports national development to optimize existing development potential (Fitriani & Panduwinata, 2018; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). At its core, the SSC underwent a gradual shift from a political struggle towards achieving economic interests. In subsequent developments, the rapid economic growth in the Southern countries then gave rise to a new phenomenon called emerging economies through middle income countries. These countries then played a very important role in building a new architecture of aid for development effectiveness. Middle income countries also want to play a role as providers in development funding that encourages the formation of a Triangular cooperation model. Interdependence between countries and the current international political system causes many countries to have a perspective of pluralism or liberalism.

3. Research Method

This paper uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a scientific research mechanism to understand human problems in their social context by creating a thorough and complex description under natural conditions. The dynamics of human problems are inseparable from the social and cultural context that surrounds them (Creswell, 2008). This paper aims to understand phenomena in a social context naturally by prioritizing the process of deep communication interaction with the subject. This qualitative research method is also an interpretive method because the research data is more related to the interpretation of data and facts. In addition, this method is also referred to as a constructive method because with qualitative methods data can be found and constructed in a more meaningful theme to be easier to understand (Yusuf, 2014; Sugiyono, 2006). Qualitative methods with exploratory observational and descriptive analytical approaches used in this paper also use data that is primary and secondary. Meanwhile, the literature study (Sudaryono, 2021) is part of the secondary data. Data triangulation is carried out with focused group discussions in order to gain a deeper understanding and produce useful recommendations.

4. Results and Discussions

Since the holding of the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in Bandung in 1955 which gave birth to 10 agreements contained in the Bandung Dasasila, the agreement has become the basis for cooperation and solidarity between developing countries in the Asian and African regions, and subsequently developed into the basis of cooperation and solidarity in the world. The implementation of SSC Indonesia itself has continued to experience evolution since the holding of the the Asian-African Conference. South-South Cooperation Indonesia continues to evolve and experience institutional development and strengthening. This makes SSC Indonesia more transparent, accountable, directed and
strategic. Indonesia has always viewed SSC as a manifestation of solidarity and cooperation in order to achieve common prosperity and independence on the basis of solidarity, common interests and mutual benefit of fellow developing countries. Indonesia always wants to become a true partner for development through SSC Indonesia for developing countries. South-South Cooperation has become a vital modality and strategy tool for Indonesia to contribute to realizing the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and then developed into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for Indonesia and developing countries.

For a decade from 2010 to 2020, the Directorate of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs has identified more than 400 SSC programs with the number of recipients reaching more than 6,500 people. The SSC program consists of various training programs, workshops, internships, sending experts, scholarships for degree and non-degree programs, granting, and providing infrastructure in leading sectors such as agriculture, marine and fisheries, energy, democracy and good governance, Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), entrepreneurship, infrastructure, disaster risk management, and women's empowerment.

In the past decade, the SSC National Coordination Team has always made improvements to improve the quality, effectiveness and accountability of SSC Indonesia by, among others, preparing guidelines (guidelines and standard operating procedures) for capturing demand, involvement of non-state actors, communication strategies, as well as monitoring and evaluation instruments for training programs, workshops and expert dispatch. SSC has also become part of Indonesia's foreign policy and is included in national priority 7 regarding political, law, defense and security stability and transformation of public services in the Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020-2024 (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020).

Since becoming a middle-income country, Indonesia's role in SSC has begun to change from a recipient country to one of the "new emerging donors" by consistently providing technical cooperation assistance and grants. In 2019, the International Development Cooperation Fund (LDKPI) or also known as the Indonesia Agency for International Development (Indonesian AID) was formed. Currently, SSC Indonesia's flagship programs include: (a) agriculture, food security, and social security; (b) disaster management; (c) nuclear energy; (d) trade and industry; (e) human development; and (f) infrastructure. The role of SSC at the global level is increasingly important. As a form of solidarity, Indonesia also helps friendly countries that are facing difficulties caused by pandemics, natural disasters, crises of primary needs, and situations due to conflicts. Indonesia has sent 12.9 tons of humanitarian aid in the form of food and beverages and several other items such as platoon tents, squad tents, towels, blankets for victims of Tropical Cyclone Harold in Fiji in 2020. Indonesia has donated 100 thousand doses of vaccines made by Bio Farma to Nigeria in 2022 to overcome the COVID-19 pandemic.

The involvement of Indonesian SOEs as implementing agencies in terms of infrastructure development assistance in the beneficiary countries, also increases the profile of Indonesian business actors in the recipient countries. Indonesia also provides grant support for capacity building in an effort to improve the welfare and economy of the recipient countries through both the South-South and Triangular Cooperation mechanisms. Therefore, the implementation of the Indonesian SSC supports the
implementation of policies, diplomacy and the improvement of Indonesia's positive image in accordance with Indonesia's strategic interests (Sukma, 2012).

KSS Indonesia's milestones include, among others: (a) Colombo Plan 1948; (b) Asian-African Conference 1955; (c) Conference on Technical Cooperation for Developing Countries/BAPA 1978; (d) Establishment of the 2010 SSC Indonesia National Coordination Team; and (e) Establishment of LDKPI 2019. The establishment of the International Development Cooperation Fund (LDKPI) or also known as the Indonesia Agency for International Development (Indonesian AID) in 2019 was a historic milestone in Indonesia's efforts to play a more role as an international aid provider country.

4.1. Development of Indonesia's SSC Program to Achieve Global Challenge Goals

South-South Cooperation has become a vital modality and strategic tool for Indonesia to contribute to realizing the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and then developed into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SSC program in the SDGs over the past decade can be divided into 4 (four) categories of SDGs orientation or cluster, namely: people (SDGs 1-5), prosperity (SDGs 6-10), planets (SDGs 11-15), peace and partnership (SDGs 16-17). In the people category, the first program that contributes the most is to SDG 4 (Quality Education) through a scholarship program with the number of participants reaching 496 from 219 countries. While the second program is in SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-Being) through training with a total of 126 participants from 30 countries. The second program is in SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-Being) through training with a total of 126 participants from 30 countries.

Table 1. SSC Program in People SDGs

In the prosperity category, the first and second programs with the most participants in SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth). The total participants of the first program of training reached 730 people from 125 countries, while the second program was a workshop with participants reaching 436 people from 40 countries. In addition, it can be seen that SDG 9 (Infrastructure, Industry, and Innovation) is quite prominent in the number of participants through training programs and workshops. The total number of participants in the training program reached 427 people from 57 countries. Meanwhile, the total workshop participants reached 237 people from 48 countries.

Table 2. SSC Program in Prosperity SDGs

Source: Center for Multilateral Policy Strategy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022
The planetary category shows fairly even significance in each SDG. However, the highest significance is in SDG 15 (Life on Land) through training programs with a total of 299 participants from 77 countries. In addition, SDG 14 (Life Below Water) also through the training program has the second highest significance with 142 participants from 55 countries.

Table 3. SSC Program in Planet SDGs

The achievement of SDGs 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions) and 17 (Partnership for the Goals) is still dominated through workshop and training programs. The total participants of the two programs were the most at SDG 17 with a total of 559 workshop participants from 47 countries, while the total trainees were 473 people from 131 countries. However, another significant program besides workshops and training is the sending of experts in SDG 17. The total number of experts reached 285 people to 7 countries.

Table 4. SSC Program in Peace & Partnership SDGs
From the explanation above, SSC Indonesia has become an important strategic modality and instrument in achieving the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were later developed into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). South-South Cooperation Indonesia's flagship programs include: (a) agriculture, food security, and social security; (b) disaster management; (c) nuclear energy; (d) trade and industry; (e) human development; and (f) infrastructure. Indonesia's SSC program is prepared to provide direct political and economic benefits, especially during the economic recovery period due to the COVID-19 pandemic which is a major challenge for the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by every country in the world (Brands & Gavin, 2020; Zakaria, 2020). In this case, a match must be made between the needs of the recipient country and the interests of Indonesia.

Indonesia must develop its own way of providing assistance to developing countries in need, not necessarily always following the example of other countries when helping Indonesia when it was still a beneficiary country. The key is to be in the recipient's position and see what kind of quality you feel will be satisfactory when Indonesia gets assistance/grants. In the future, the implementation of SSC programs is expected to not only provide political benefits such as support for the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, but also can have direct economic benefits such as opening market access and investment opportunities for Indonesian business actors in developing countries. Increasing the role of non-government and the private sector needs to be continuously encouraged to support the SSC program. During the decade of SSC Indonesia, the products of non-government and private actors are increasingly playing an important role, so in the future the collaboration of these actors needs to be developed with government actors.

4.2. Challenges Ahead

LDKPI as the forerunner of the Single Agency for SSC Indonesia will play an increasingly vital role. The role of LDKPI as a Public Service Agency (BLU) is expected to become an independent international development institution and has the capacity of institutions, Human Resources (HR), and finance. Thus, it is hoped that the source of funding for SSC Indonesia will no longer depend on the State Budget (APBN). The source of funding for the SSC program in the future is planned to use an independent and self-sustained pattern, where the budget for the implementation of the SSC program will be sourced from an endowment fund for international development cooperation (endowment fund). The fund is invested in a number of financial instruments, among them government bonds. In 2020 and 2021, a budget of Rp. 3 trillion has been allocated and will continue to be added until it reaches Rp. 10 trillion in 2025. This will open up opportunities for Indonesia to provide assistance/cooperation of considerable value, as well as variations in forms of assistance/cooperation that are not limited to the implementation of capacity building programs. In the formulation of the program, economic cooperation can be a top priority while continuing to strengthen the technical, political and socio-cultural cooperation sectors, as well as science and technology. With these priorities, the expansion of the program can be given several elements to directly increase economic cooperation with short, medium, and long-term targets. The implementation of SSC programs is expected to not only provide political benefits such as support for the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, but also can have direct economic benefits such as opening market access and investment opportunities for Indonesian business actors in developing countries. Going forward, the role of non-governmental actors in SSC Indonesia needs to
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continue to be developed. This has more or less been done through the use of Indonesian products and the involvement of Indonesian SOEs/companies in several SSC Indonesia programs. Increasing the role of SSC Indonesia will require strengthening autonomous institutions that can specifically coordinate and use the combination of capacities of ministries/agencies implementing the SSC program. Other challenges ahead are how to strengthen the SSC communication strategy so that it is better known to the public (including branding), identifying the needs of partners and the potential of the Government of Indonesia so that it requires the grand design of the Indonesian SSC, matching demand and supply, program enrichment), and monitoring and evaluating integrated benefits.

The challenges ahead are how to do: (a) strengthening SSC's communication strategy to be better known to the public (including branding); (b) identification of the needs of partners and the potential of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia so that the grand design of the Indonesian SSC is needed; (c) the shuffling of demand and supply; (d) program enrichment); and (e) integrated monitoring and evaluation of expediency. One of SSC Indonesia's partners, the Non-Aligned Movement-Center for South-South Technical Cooperation (NAM-CSSTC), stated that NAM CSSTC is one of Indonesia's development partners for South-South and Triangular Cooperation, by providing a number of scholarships to developing countries to continue their studies at partner universities (UI, UGM, Telkom University, University of Bangladesh, University of Sao Paulo). In addition, NAM CSSTC in collaboration with the Government of Indonesia provides capacity building training with accredited certificates.

NAM-CSSTC was established at the 11th NAM Conference in 1995 in Cartagena, Colombia, at the initiative of Brunei Darussalam and Indonesia, and with the vision of strengthening the collective capacity and independence of developing countries. The number of SSC programs that NAM-CSSTC has implemented is 130 programs involving universities both at home and abroad and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2012-2017 the program was attended by 985 participants from 52 countries with the following achievements: (a) publication of scientific articles indexed by Scopus; (b) democratization; (c) reduction of unemployment; (d) increased awareness of the existence of medical technology; and (e) the transfer of technical knowledge to enhance tourism. In 2018-2020 there was an increase of 69% participation, namely 1,580 participants from 75 countries. What has been achieved: (a) increasing the management capacity of fishery products; (b) increased yields of fruit and vegetable farming, especially those that require little water, space, and hydroponics; (c) dissemination of technology database platforms in Asia-Pacific to connect investors with potential users; and (d) increased preparation and preparedness of Timor-Leste health workers. Achievement of activities in 2021: 13 programs were followed by 58 countries (the most frequently participating in the Solomon Islands, India, Bangladesh, and Fiji).

The SSC and Triangular schemes can be an alternative to strengthening soft power for Indonesia to increase its role in fellow developing countries. This was also revealed by the triangular cooperation partner SSC Indonesia. Advisor for Capacity Development for South-South and Triangular Cooperation, JICA, Tomoyuki Tada in one of the national webinar activities stated that since becoming a middle-income country, Indonesia has developed into a "new aid donor" by providing technical cooperation assistance and grants. In addition, it was also conveyed that Japan as Indonesia's traditional development
partner is currently also focusing on triangular cooperation for developing and least developed countries, using Indonesian expertise.

4.3. The Future of South-South Cooperation Indonesia

South-South Cooperation has become a very strategic tool for Indonesia as a new emerging donor to be able to carry out a dual role, as a recipient and provide assistance at the same time. Increasing Indonesia's role as a provider of assistance is expected to provide benefits for Indonesia. This will open up opportunities for Indonesia to provide assistance/cooperation of considerable value, as well as variations in forms of assistance/cooperation that are not limited to the implementation of capacity building programs. Indonesia's SSC programs can be expanded so that they can meet the increasingly complex needs of developing countries. Economic cooperation can be the top priority of the SSC program while continuing to strengthen the technical, political and socio-cultural cooperation sectors, as well as science and technology. The implementation of SSC programs is expected to not only provide political benefits such as support for the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, but also can have direct economic benefits such as opening market access and investment opportunities for Indonesian business actors in developing countries. Going forward, the role of non-governmental actors in SSC Indonesia needs to continue to be developed. This has more or less been done through the use of Indonesian products and the involvement of Indonesian SOEs/companies in several SSC Indonesia programs.

Increasing the role of SSC Indonesia will require strengthening autonomous institutions that can specifically coordinate and combine the capacities of ministries and implementing agencies of the SSC program. The increasing role of SSC Indonesia is expected to strengthen Indonesia's position as a new emerging donor so that it can improve Indonesia's image in international forums (Wæver & Newmann, 1997).

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

South-South Cooperation is one of the national priorities in the 2020-2024 RPJMN. The benefits of South-South Cooperation for Indonesia include: (a) as a bridge between the needs of beneficiaries and the interests of Indonesia; (b) efforts to improve Indonesia's positive image in the region and globally; (c) implementation of Indonesia's economic diplomacy. The implementation of South-South Cooperation cannot be separated from the work of Indonesian diplomacy through the Asian-African Conference in 1955 which resulted in the Bandung Dasasila. South-South Cooperation aims to share knowledge, skills, expertise, and resources with each other to achieve the development agenda and achieve mutual independence based on the principles of solidarity, equality, and mutual benefit. The COVID-19 pandemic that has plagued around the world since 2020 has impacted most sectors of people's lives, such as the economy, health, tourism, education, technology, and so on. This condition is certainly a big challenge for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 by every country in the world. As a form of solidarity with south-south countries, south-south cooperation is expected to create a form of cooperation that is beneficial for all parties. In the recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic, South-South Cooperation is expected to be a form of development
cooperation that can be one of the tools for restoring conditions and building back better in achieving the targets of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The development of the South-South Cooperation program in Indonesia in the future is expected to be more effective and have a positive impact and strengthen Indonesia's relationship with the receiving country and community. The South-South Indonesia Cooperation Program will continue to grow and it is hoped that we can get new ideas regarding cooperation schemes that can be implemented with development partners. Areas such as: (a) agriculture, food security, and social security; (b) disaster management; (c) nuclear energy; (d) trade and industry; (e) human development; and (f) infrastructure can become the flagship program of SSC Indonesia in the future. Socialization of South-South Cooperation of Indonesia to universities is still seen as one of the important socialization strategies for South-South Cooperation in order to obtain a broader understanding of Indonesia's contribution to developing countries through The South-South Cooperation activities of Indonesia. In addition, from this socialization, it can also be hoped that support from academics can provide input for the development of South-South Cooperation in Indonesia in the future. From the practices and best practices so far as well as the programs and results of the South-South Cooperation of Indonesia to achieve the global sustainable development goals, it is hoped that it can further increase public awareness of the South-South Cooperation of Indonesia. In addition, it is hoped that the public can know the various programs of South-South Cooperation in Indonesia that are in line with the global sustainable development agenda. In addition, as part of the constructivism approach in carrying out Indonesian diplomacy and economic diplomacy efforts in Indonesia's national interest, efforts are also needed to further increase the role of more active non-governmental actors and public support for the Indonesian South-South Cooperation program. It is hoped that the community, especially academics, can play a more active role in Indonesia's South-South Cooperation, including the development of the South-South Indonesia Cooperation program in the future.
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