



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

Degree of Master of International Studies
(International Area Studies)

**Mainstreaming South-South and Triangular
Cooperation in Peace and Democracy:
A Case Study of Indonesia**

August, 2017

Development Cooperation Policy Program
Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

STHEVIA IDIRA PUTRI

**Mainstreaming South-South and Triangular
Cooperation in Peace and Democracy:
A Case Study of Indonesia**

A thesis presented

by

STHEVIA IDIRA PUTRI

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of International Studies

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
Seoul, Korea**

August 2017

The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by
Development Cooperation Policy Program
The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

Have examined a thesis entitled
**MAINSTREAMING SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR
COOPERATION IN PEACE AND DEMOCRACY: A CASE STUDY OF
INDONESIA**

Academic Advisor: Professor **KIM TAEKYOON**

Presented by **STHEVIA IDIRA PUTRI.**

August 2017

Candidate for the degree of Master of International Studies
that is worthy of acceptance

Signature

Committee Chairman

Signature

Committee Vice-Chairman

Signature

Committee Member

.....

Professor **KIM CHONG-SUP**

.....

Professor **HAN JEONGHUN**

.....

Professor **KIM TAEKYOON**

Abstract

Mainstreaming South-South and Triangular Cooperation in Peace and Democracy: A Case Study of Indonesia

Sthevia Idira Putri

International Area Studies Major – DCPD

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

Peacebuilding agenda in the goal 16 of sustainable development goals (SDGs) 2030 has strengthened the nexus between peace and development. While involving North traditional actors to provide peace and development assistance, South-South Cooperation (SSC) and also triangular cooperation (TrC) or SSTC are extensively considered to accomplish that goal 16, broadening the SSTC framework from apparently an economic and technical cooperation to be emerged in the peace and security domain. This thesis seeks to justify the importance of the global south in promoting peacebuilding through SSTC, researching the role of the cooperation while

also identifying the challenges ahead. A case study of Indonesia is selected to enrich the potential modality of a southern major democratic power in the efforts of its peacebuilding assistance. Interestingly, this world's third largest democracy embeds the democracy as a key to build and sustain the peace. Becoming a prominent catalyst of the successful democratic transition to the fragile and the conflict affected (FCA) countries has portrayed Indonesia's peace and democracy as its SSTC comparative advantage. Specifically exploring the Indonesia's practices, such a qualitative analysis is conducted to also reveal how the mutual benefit of SSC can be achieved in the area of peace and democracy.

Keywords : South-South Cooperation, Triangular Cooperation, peacebuilding, democracy, fragile and conflict-affected countries, Technical Cooperation for Capacity Building

Student ID : 2015-25097

Table of Contents

Abstract

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Abbreviation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Question	5

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Peace and Democracy Assistance: Traditional North's support	10
<i>An Overview of Peace and Democracy Assistance.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>ODA for Peace and Security: Active Donors and Major Recipients.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Traditional Aid Policies in Peace and Democracy.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Traditional Peace and Democracy Assistance : Challenges</i>	<i>17</i>
2.2 Peace and Democracy Assistance: Global South's support.....	20
<i>The Insurgence of Southern Powers' Engagement.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Active Southern Providers in Peace and Democracy</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>South-South Cooperation in Peacebuilding Approach</i>	<i>25</i>

CHAPTER III

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	27
3.1 Hypothesis and Methodology.....	27

CHAPTER IV

INDONESIA'S SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION	30
4.1 Historical Background of SSC and Indonesia's Commitment.....	30
<i>The Insurgence of SSC : The Institutional History</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Indonesia's Commitment on the SSC.....</i>	<i>33</i>
4.2 Indonesia's SSTC: Policies and Practices	36

<i>Institutional Framework of Indonesia's SSTC</i>	36
<i>Indonesia's Flagship Programs of SSTC</i>	39
4.3 Indonesia's SSTC in Peace and Democracy.....	42
<i>Indonesia's Democratization and Peacebuilding Stories</i>	43
<i>Good Governance and Democracy to Promote Peacebuilding</i>	44
<i>Comprehensive Assistance of Peace and Democracy to Myanmar</i>	48
<i>Indonesia's Peace Facilitation to Southern Philippines</i>	52
<i>Conclusion</i>	54

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS	56
5.1 SSC: Alternative of Peacebuilding and Democratization.....	56
5.2 Mutual Benefit of SSTC in Peace and Democracy: Indonesia's Context	62
5.3 SSTC in Peace and Democracy: Challenges Ahead	66

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION	68
-------------------------	-----------

References	72
-------------------------	-----------

Abstract (Korean)	80
--------------------------------	-----------

ACKNOWLEDGMENT	81
-----------------------------	-----------

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1 A Conceptual Model of the Nexus between Peace and Democracy -----	9
Figure 2 CPS ODA 2005-2014 -----	12
Figure 3 Largest Donors of CPS ODA -----	13
Figure 4 Largest Recipients of CPS ODA -----	15
Figure 5 The Historical Path of Indonesia's SSTC -----	35
Figure 6 The Focal Points of Indonesia's SSTC -----	37
Figure 7 Grand Design and Blue Print of Indonesia's SSTC Framework -----	38
Figure 8 The Framework of Indonesia's SSTC -----	42
Table 1 Peacebuilding and SSC: Partnership Model -----	26
Table 2 Reported Capacity Building Program in Democracy and Good Governance (2010-2015) -----	45
Table 3 Bali Democracy Forum (2008-2015) -----	47
Table 4 Indonesia's Assistance in Peace and Democracy for Myanmar (2013-2015) -----	49
Table 5 Strengths and Shortcomings of SSC in Peace and Democracy -----	61
Table 6 Components of Mutual Benefit of SSTC in Peace and Democracy: Indonesia's Context -----	65

Abbreviation

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BAPA	Buenos Aires Plan of Action
BDF	Bali Democracy Forum
CPA	Caracas Program of Action
CPS ODA	Conflict, Peace and Security Official Development Assistance
DI	Development Initiative
FCA	Fragile and Conflict-Affected
GOI	Government of Indonesia
G20	Group of 20
G77	Group of 77
IBSA	India, Brazil and South Africa
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IMT	International Monitoring Team
IPD	Institute for Peace and Democracy
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MIFL	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NAM	Non-Alignment Movement
NAM-CSSTC	Non-Aligned Movement Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation

NCT-SSTC	National Coordination Team of Indonesia's SSTC
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSC	North-South Cooperation
ODA	Official Development Assistant
OECD- DAC	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development- Development Assistance Committee
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SSC	South-South Cooperation
SSTC	South-South and Triangular Cooperation
TAC	Technical Cooperation
TrC	Triangular Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Conflict, instability and insecurity of countries may hamper the global sustainable development. The fragile and conflict-affected (FCA) countries and countries under democratic transition are mostly trapped in the extreme poverty and underdevelopment, should it be a growing support of Collier's notion of four poverty traps.¹ Collier (2008) emphasizes conflict as the first of the four traps of why countries are remaining poor and suggests a peacebuilding as one of the main poverty solutions.² The pillar of peace and security to be included in the development strategy is also currently ongoing under the framework of sustainable development goals (SDGs) post-2015, in which the peace and justice are included in the agenda.³ This nexus of peace with development is embedded in order to sustain the development.

SDG 16 is designed to reduce any kind of violence and conflicts and work with governments and communities to gain peace and stability. These peacebuilding and peacekeeping are merely achieved through strong participation of all countries, both

¹ Collier's four poverty traps: (i) conflict; (ii) natural resource; (iii) land lock countries; (iv) bad governance

² Collier, Paul, *The Bottom Billion. Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it* (Oxford University Press: 2008) p.37

³ SDG Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions: "*Peace, stability, human rights and effective governance based on the rule of law are important conduits for sustainable development*" <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda/goal-16.html> (accessed on 2016.08.29)

developed and developing countries, whilst the rule of law enforcement and human right promotion are entailed as the key of the process.⁴ When all the goals of SDGs are basically invoking all states' participation, especially encourage the South to contribute on the international development cooperation. And South-South Cooperation (SSC) and also triangular cooperation (TrC) are extensively considered as a principal element of a global partnership to accomplish the SDGs, such as goal 16.⁵ Then, should it be an open path to broaden the SSC-TrC/SSTC framework from apparently an economic and technical cooperation to be also a peacebuilding and democracy cooperation.

Under the traditional framework of SSC, the developing countries generally cooperate in the area of politics, economy, socio-culture, and technical domain, such as capacity building, the knowledge transfer, sharing of solution and experts, and other cooperation to increase the South-South trade volume and Southern FDI flows. SSC is conducted with the basis of solidarity and being guided with a respect to the national sovereignty, full national ownership, equality, non-conditionality, non-interference and mutual benefit.⁶ The importance of SSC is further raised as seeing the sharper economic growth of the Southern countries; it also becomes an alternative modality of nowadays global development that may create a shift in the balance of power between the North and the South, nevertheless, despite substituting the traditional aid pattern

⁴ *ibid*

⁵South-South Cooperation in Peace and Development was discussed within the seminar of role SSC for the attainment of the SDGs, held in November 2015 by UNOSSC in New York. See:

http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/news/articles/2015/southsouth_cooperation_in_peace_and_development.html (accessed on 2016.08.17)

⁶ What is SSC. http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html (accessed on 2015.12.24)

between donors and recipients, the SSC is emerged as a complement to North-South Cooperation (NSC) (Mawdsley 2011). New emerging countries in the global south such as China, India, Brazil, South Africa, Thailand, Malaysia and also Indonesia have shown huge commitment to pursue SSC in their development agenda.

In addition, this insurgence of SSC also appears in the peace and democracy domain, the support of development to the FCA countries is mostly emerged through transferring the alternative model of conflict management and development.⁷ Adapting the developing countries' experience in peace and democracy can be perceived as the compatible solution for developing countries that are under democratic transition or domestic instability. Such an emergence of major democratic power of the global south, e.g. India, Brazil and South Africa have played active roles in this peace and democratic process⁸. They share their successful stories of peacebuilding and democratic transition among other FCA countries. While certain developing countries, particularly Indonesia, the third world largest democratic country,⁹ after India and US, keep playing a pivotal role on SSC. Indonesia, as said to have "good governance" as its

⁷Mathur, Anita, Role of South-South Cooperation and Emerging Powers in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: 2014) p. 6

⁸ *ibid*

⁹ 6 world largest democratic countries: (1) India, (2) US, (3) Indonesia, (4) Brazil, (5) Pakistan, (6) Nigeria. The rank of world largest democratic countries by total population. Referring that democracy is government of the People, by the People, and for the People. See: (i) Epstein, Richard, Direct Democracy: Government of the People, by the People, and for the people (Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy: 2011); (ii) 2016 Freedom in the world report (https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf)

comparative advantage of its SSC flagships, entailing peace building, democracy, law enforcement and peace keeping as its pivotal area of SSC.¹⁰

Indonesia officially announced its commitment to the inclusive partnership of SSC since its active involvement in the Bandung Conference 1955. Pursuing its commitment, the country determined a grand design of the policy guidelines and implementation of its SSTC for the period 2011 – 2025. The country’s successful story of democratic transition and the growing status to be peace broker and mediator have encouraged the country to underline the peacebuilding efforts as part of its SSTC program priorities,¹¹ Alexandra (2006) points out there are at least three areas of Indonesia’s peacebuilding efforts, i.e. “1) *Promotion of democracy and human rights*; 2) *Mediation/facilitation role*; 3) *Humanitarian action, including disaster relief*”.¹² Within SSTC, Indonesia’s peacebuilding efforts are largely emerged through sharing the knowledge and experiences in democracy includes settling internal conflicts. This sharing of lesson learned and best practices is then merged as part of technical cooperation for capacity building.

As result, the potential of Indonesia and other Southern major powers’ SSC/SSTC in peace and democracy has shaped wider view on their capability to

¹⁰ _____, The Changing Aid Landscape in East Asia: The Rise of Non-DAC Providers (The Asia Foundation: 2014) <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/ChangingAidLandscapeinEastAsia.pdf>

¹¹ Indonesia flagship of SSTC

¹² Alexandra, Lina, New Actors and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding: Indonesia (CSIS: 2016) p. 6

become a catalyst for successful peace-building and state capacity.¹³ The growing engagement of developing countries and FCA countries within the framework of SSC could complement the western donor-recipient models of peace and democracy assistance. Nevertheless, the equal partnership for mutual benefit within SSC can be assumed as its comparative advantage to understand that Southern providers have previous same transition experience that could be more compatible to the beneficiaries, hence, contribute positive impact for the peace and development agenda. The complementarity of SSC and its modality to the attainment of SDG 16 have encouraged more engagement of North and multilateral agencies to facilitate SSC within the triangular cooperation in the shared of peace and democracy for the sustainable development,¹⁴ then could it be seen that SSC is completely expanded to peace and democracy areas?

1.2 Research Question

Against such the backdrop, the thesis would discover the following research questions through a descriptive and qualitative analysis:

- *“To what extent South-South Cooperation and Triangular Cooperation can be utilized as a mean to share solidarity and mutual interest in peace and democracy?”*

¹³Mathur, Anita, Role of South-South Cooperation and Emerging Powers in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: 2014) p. 14

¹⁴ Id. At 32

- *“Why does Indonesia promote peace and democracy under the framework of South-South and Triangular Cooperation and how would the mutual benefits for both Indonesia and beneficiaries be finally met?”*
- *“Why should peace and democracy be included in the framework of South-South and Triangular Cooperation even though the cooperation is merely limited on technical cooperation for capacity building?”*

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term of “Peace and Democracy” discussed in this thesis is meant as the area of cooperation to support peacebuilding and democratization in the fragile and conflict affected (FCA) countries and developing countries especially the ones that are still facing conflict and or also democratic process. The concept of peacebuilding in this sense has been raised as the aftermath of post-cold war, and it is mostly understood by several scholars by referring to the UN definition on the peacebuilding as “*the action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict*”.¹⁵ As the time goes by, this peacebuilding requires a wider concept which currently entails democratization, judicial reform and institutionalizing to be such a preventive measure to avoid another further conflict or wars.¹⁶ The OECD-DAC (2008) then defined the peacebuilding as an approach to end violence by transforming attitudes, structures, relationships and behavior, imposing particular development areas: equitable socio-economy development, Good Governance, reforms of justice and security institutions, culture of

¹⁵ Evans, Idris, Jessica Lane, Jessica Pealer, Megan Turner, “A Conceptual Model of Peacebuilding and Democracy Building: Integrated the Fields” (American University: 2013) and U.O Spring, “Sustainable Development with Peacebuilding and Human Security” (UNAM Mexico)

¹⁶ U.O Spring, “Sustainable Development with Peacebuilding and Human Security” (UNAM Mexico), <http://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/c14/e1-39b-24.pdf>

justice, truth and reconciliation.¹⁷ In the case to promoting the peacebuilding, democratization is adhered as a way to assure the peace and support development since the democracy imposes an accountable government, equality, justice, and nonviolent dispute relations (Kinsella, Rousseau 2009).

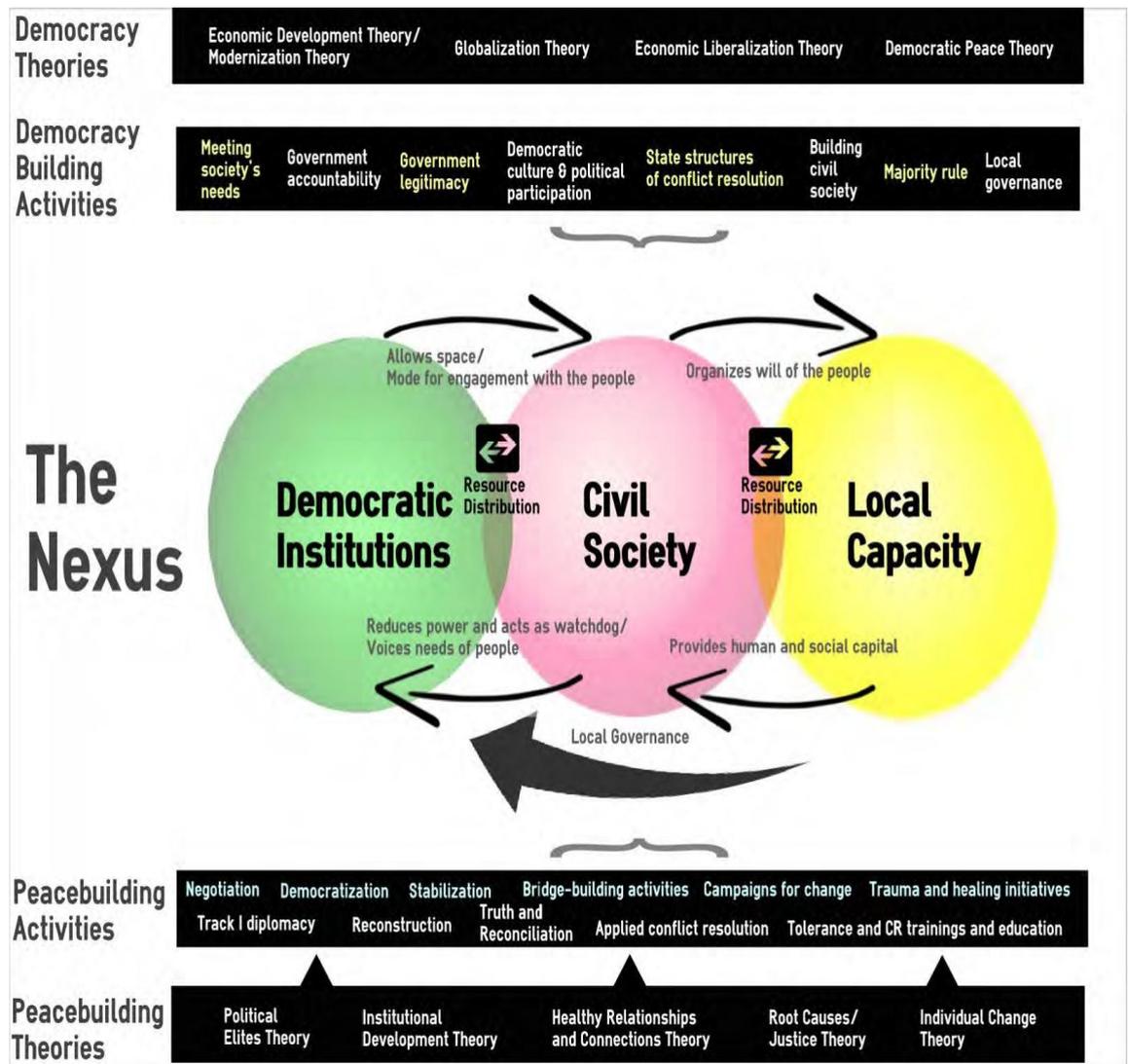
The aforesaid value of democracy in the support of peacebuilding process, has emphasized the growing nexus of peace and democracy which is mainly identified on the comparative advantage of democratic governance, that adheres that democracy enables the government to strengthen the justice, impose the equality and prevent discrimination in sharing power within society, ethnicity and different religions, hence hindering potential conflict between minorities towards the majority.¹⁸ Evan, at all (2013) elaborates three nexus spheres when interlink the peace with democracy, i.e: democratic institution, civil society and local capacity.¹⁹

¹⁷ Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities (OECD-DAC Network on Peace, Conflict, and Development Co-operation and the DAC Network on Development Evaluation: 2008) <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/39774573.pdf>

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ *Id. At 18*

Figure 1: A Conceptual Model of the Nexus between Peace and Democracy



Source: Adapted from “A Conceptual Model of Peacebuilding and Democracy: Integrating the Fields” by Idris Evan, Jessica Lane, Jessica Pealer, Megan Turner, 2013, American University, p. 14

The importance of the aforesaid nexus spheres are mutually reinforced when the nexus appears to assist the accountability, effectiveness and good governance in the

democratic transition. The notion persuasively links peacebuilding efforts with the inclusion of democracy that the FCA and democratic transition countries are suggested to reform the government democratically and impose the good governance or good enough governance process in order to manage the conflict.²⁰

As result with the importance of peace and democracy and with the aim of exploring the role of SSTC in the aforesaid area, this research was then discovering the literature to the traditional North's support to the FCA countries that include their policy and practice, as well as the rise of emerging southern donors within SSC/SSTC in providing assistance in peace and democracy.

2.1 Peace and Democracy Assistance: Traditional North's support

An Overview of Peace and Democracy Assistance

Supporting peace rather than war has been the basis of the international assistance in FCA countries by traditional donors.²¹ 48 countries of being fragile and under conflict²² are concerned to be priority in order not to put the countries to be left

²⁰ Good Governance belongs to the development area concentrated by OECD DAC in assisting the peacebuilding towards the fragile and conflict affected countries. the Good Governance entails democracy, equity, justice and fair resource distribution as methods to secure and sustain the peace (see: Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities - OECD-DAC Network on Peace, Conflict, and Development Co-operation and the DAC Network on Development Evaluation: 2008)

²¹ Donor Aid Strategies in Post Peace Settlement Environment

²² 48 fragile and conflict affected countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Sudan, Nigeria, Cameroon, Palestine, Uganda, Kenya, Congo Dem Rep., Rwanda, Haiti, Liberia, Cambodia, Nepal, Niger, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Laos, Somalia, Mauritania, Chad,

behind and as the effort to alleviate the poverty and sustain the development.²³ The concern is then recalling the importance of aid in peace and security for ending the conflict as part of the poverty traps' solution (Collier 2008). Official Development Assistant (ODA) to conflict prevention and resolution, peace and security (CPS) to the FCA countries is mainly set up as the supporting resource of traditional donors in assisting this peace and security.

For the attainment of goal 16, the northern countries or specifically the OECD-DAC members attempt to align the target of SDG 16 with the aid to CPS, especially in the effort to align with the target 16.6, "*Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels*". The target can be strengthened to the focus of CPS ODA to the government and civil society as the breakdown of peacebuilding assistance (Dalrymple 2016). Understanding CPS and ODA in detail, I specifically refer to the report of Development Initiatives (DI), written by Sarah Dalrymple (2016) to explore this particular aid flow by northern countries through the accurate data, e.g. 2014 and deep analysis on the aid policy and budget data of the traditional North's support to the peace and security.

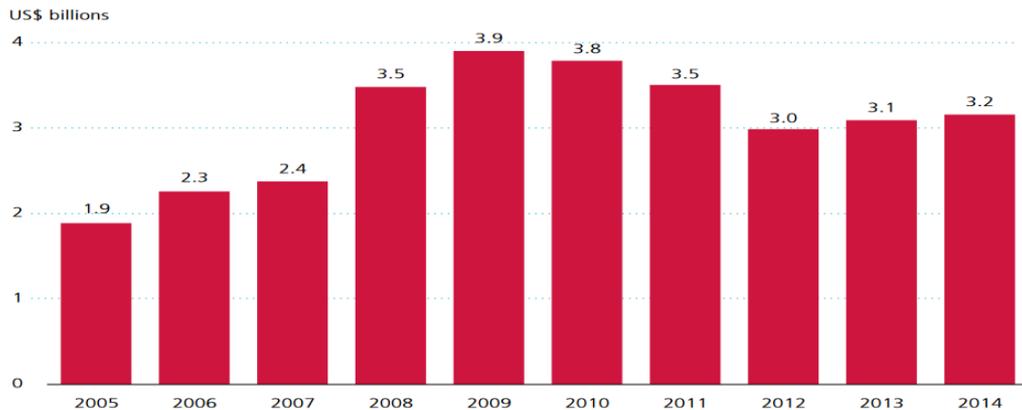
Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, Angola, Solomon Islands, Guinea, Yemen, Tajikistan, Myanmar, Central African Rep., Uzbekistan, Cote d' Ivoire, Eritea, Congo Rep., Guinea Bissau, Togo, Djibouti, Korea Dem. Rep., Gambia, Vanuatu, Cosmos, Sao Tome and Principle, Equatorial Guinea, Tonga, Kiribati. See further on "Ensuring Fragile States are not Behind" (<http://www.oecd.org/dac/43293283.pdf>)

²³ Ensuring Fragile States Are Not Left Behind (<http://www.oecd.org/dac/43293283.pdf>)

ODA for Peace and Security: Active Donors and Major Recipients

The budget of CPS ODA keeps increasing as the more response of northern countries to the emergence of violent conflict and instability in the FCA countries. The CPS ODA funding has increased by 67% since 2005.²⁴ Responding the worsen crisis such as in Iraq and Afghanistan, CPS ODA found the significant rise in 2007 which eventually resulted 38,4% of the total ODA only to the FCA countries in 2007,²⁵ the funding keeps increased and found 2009 as the highest year of CPS ODA, even though it ever declined in 2012.²⁶

Figure 2: CPS ODA 2005–2014 (increased since 2005, “up and down” funding until 2014)



Source: DI Report “investment in peace and security”, March 2016

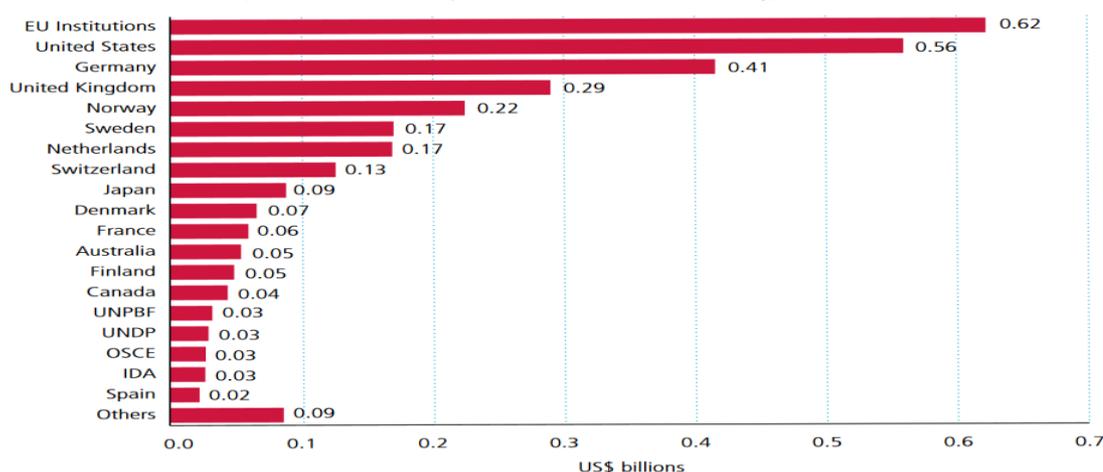
²⁴ Aid Spending on Conflict Prevention and Resolution, Peace and Security (<http://devinit.org/#!/post/aid-spending-on-conflict-prevention-and-resolution-peace-and-security>)

²⁵ Ensuring Fragile States Are Not Left Behind (<http://www.oecd.org/dac/43293283.pdf>)

²⁶ Investment Peace and Security (<http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Investments-in-peace-and-security.pdf>)

Questioning which northern actors provide the most share on the said CPS ODA, the report by Development Initiative / DI²⁷ (2016) regarding the “investment in peace and security”, found out the EU is the largest donor, especially in 2014 with its contribution almost one-fifth of all CPS ODA or US\$0,62 billion, followed by U.S (US\$0,56 billion), Germany (US\$0.41 billion) and the UK (US\$0.29 billion)²⁸

Figure 3: Largest Donors of CPS ODA, e.g. in 2014
(EU, US, Germany and UK were dominating)



Source: DI Report “investment in peace and security”, March 2016

Most donors have fragmented agencies in providing ODA to the peace and security, they mostly have their separated ministries or agencies rather than being aggregate with their national ODA grant agency. In this case, Ministry of Foreign

²⁷ Development Initiatives (DI) is an independent organization working for ending extreme poverty by 2030. Reports arranged by DI are based on their research and analyses which is providing critical data on aid policy and practice as well as information on poverty. Headquarter in UK and branch in Kenya

²⁸ Dalrymple, Sarah. Investment in Peace and Security (Development Initiatives: 2016) p. 14

Affairs and the related development agency are reported as the topmost source of CPS ODA, followed by Ministry of Defense and local government.²⁹ Instead of prioritizing the military technical assistance such as small arms and light weapons (SALW) control, security sector reform (SSR), child soldiers, etc., DI reported the peacebuilding activities as the major aid of CPS ODA (52.5% in 2014).³⁰ The peacebuilding is adhered as the tangible mechanism to support peace process which comprises political negotiations, mediations, and other technical support for state building and capacity building.³¹

Meanwhile most of this ODA should distribute to all 48 FCA countries, based on the similar of DI report in 2014, Afghanistan is generally said as the most beneficiary with total CPS ODA for the country in 2014 (15,4%), followed by Columbia (5,9%) and Syria (4,5%).³² Most ODA in the peacebuilding is concentrated to countries such as Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Lebanon and Palestine, especially West Bank and Gaza Strip³³ (see figure 3). Most donors and recipients mutual relation on this particular aid is conducted bilaterally and directly address to the public sectors. The direct aid flow to the recipient countries is perceived to create higher significant impact, hence, such an aid mechanism through multilateral engagement and direct relations to NGOs or CSOs are seen as another option.

²⁹ *Id. At 15*

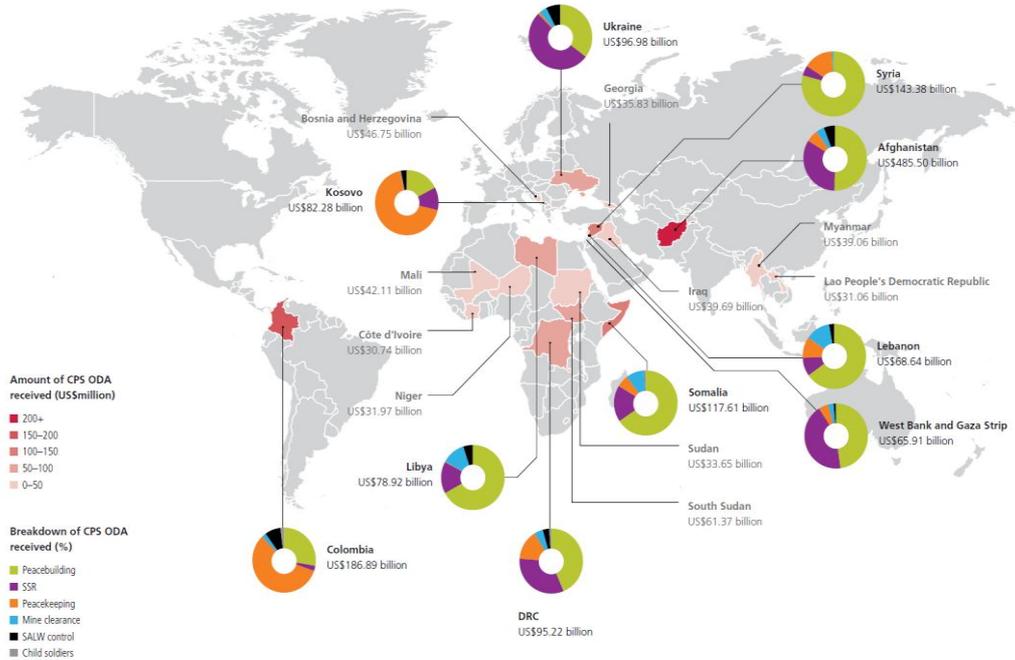
³⁰ *Id. At 16*

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Id. At 19-21*

³³ *Ibid*

**Figure 4: Largest Recipients of CPS ODA, e.g. in 2014
(Afghanistan is the most beneficiary)**



Source: DI Report “investment in peace and security”, March 2016

Traditional Aid Policies in Peace and Democracy

Typical traditional ODA, either grants or loans, is also mainly designed to the CPS ODA. Severe forms of the CPS aid are disbursed through the form of cash grants, soft loans, peacebuilding projects and various kinds of technical cooperation for state building and capacity building. The largest donor, EU, especially France mostly invest their CPS ODA in the form of technical cooperation, while countries such as Japan and Australia transfer their CPS aid for cash grants. Moreover, a mixed grants and technical cooperation are conducted by US, UK and Norway (Dalrymple 2016). Overall, no matter how the donors’ practices in delivering their aid for the conflict

prevention, peacebuilding and democratization are, there should be a balance practice between the demand of the recipients and the donors' objectives. The traditional pattern of the programs and policies in the ODA distribution for this particular area seems to be donors' effort to embed economic development and democracy role in building the peace.³⁴

Exploring further how should the donors practically adjust their policy of their ODA in this area and the benefits obtained by the beneficiaries, OECD-DAC in 2008 published the guidance on evaluating the ODA on the conflict prevention and peacebuilding area.³⁵ In detail, there are four key categories used by the OECD-DAC to focus when distributing their CPS ODA to the FCA countries, i.e. (i) intervention support to promote justice, truth and reconciliation which aims to recovering the aftermath of the conflict and for society reconnection; (ii) capacity building to promote good governance, in order to sustain the peace and facilitate the peaceful means in resolving the conflict; (iii) the policies adoption should invoke a long term project for the attainment of the democracy in governance and institution which entail an inclusive justice and security system; (iv) socio-economic development assistance in both before and after or during the conflicts.³⁶

Furthermore as referring to the nexus between peace and democracy, the donors, particularly the US, obviously embed the democracy when distributing its

³⁴ *Id. At 16*

³⁵ Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities OECD-DAC: 2008 <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/39774573.pdf>

³⁶ *Id. At 17*

ODA for peace and security in the FCA countries.³⁷ Besides the US is the largest donor for the CPS ODA after EU, its policy to the aid on this area is to promote democracy, resilience, fragility solving and humanitarian assistance.³⁸ Meanwhile for the EU, the largest donor of the CPS ODA emphasize the good governance promotion towards the FCA countries in order to support the peacebuilding and statebuilding process while peace is surely adhered as the preconditions of the sustainable development.³⁹ As previously explained, the EU's ODA in this case is distributed in the form of technical cooperation, besides contributing the highest budget for the CPS ODA, EU's human resources and knowledge in particular areas such as military, diplomatic, civilian and owning variant technical expertise, are somehow perceived as EU's comparative advantage. Moreover, EU's historical ties with FCA countries can accommodate the EU's effort in building a trust (or honest broker) when dealing with peacebuilding and peacekeeping in the FCA countries.⁴⁰

Traditional Peace and Democracy Assistance : Challenges

In regards with the growing attention by the traditional donor countries, their aid policies and concern to not let the FCA to be left behind, the peace and democracy

³⁷ US, through the **Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance**, promotes democratic and resilient societies for the attainment of conflict prevention and disaster mitigation, so that peace and prosperity can be met. See: "Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance" (<https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance>)

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹ Furness, Mark, "Let's Get Comprehensive: European Union Engagement in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries" (German Development Institute: 2014), p. 7

⁴⁰ *ibid*

assistance by the Northern actors still face challenges, makes the effectiveness of aid is quite hard to be met.

(i) Huge imbalances in the aid distribution

This might be such a trend of the traditional donors when aid is provided based on their constitution, law or even national interest. Most of the donors are listing the several FCA as their highly priority partner countries. As result, there is such a huge imbalance in the aid distribution for instance, as previously reported in 2014, Afghanistan and Iraq received the largest ODA flow. It seems that even though the CPS ODA budgets has been increased, the imbalance of aid distribution still cannot be ignored. This imbalance should be regarded as a challenge for traditional donor if they are to increase the effectiveness of the aid to the all FCA countries with the equality basis.

(ii) Gap between donors' strategies and the recipients' outcomes

There is such a gap between donors' strategies and the aid outcomes for the recipients. In regards with thousands donors' practices to assist the FCA countries, there is still lack of data of which practice can be delivered as a best practices or even a lesson learned.⁴¹ There is also a necessary to examine the donors' practices in the peacebuilding and democracy area, so that donors can also assure the outcomes for the recipients are met, instead of fulfilling donors' target and strategic interest.

⁴¹ Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities OECD-DAC: 2008 <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/39774573.pdf>

- (iii) Necessitating a correct approach to undertake the conflict prevention and peacebuilding

Recalling the gap between donors' strategies and recipients' outcomes is caused by the lack of data of donors' best practices, indeed, peace and democracy assistance by the traditional donor countries is still not guided by such a blueprint approach.⁴²

- (iv) The assistance on conflict do harm, can be without intending to

Basically aid in conflict can give either an impact to end or even worsen the conflict, and "do no harm" is a foundation to assure the aid is paying attention on the conflict sensitivity, which is part of the main pillar of development policy for FCA countries (Anderson 1999). However, some policies and programs to assist the peacebuilding in the FCA countries do harm, or having impact on the war and worsen the war or the conflict. Evidence of traditional donor countries' policy to assist the peace and promote development in the FCA countries for somehow may worsen the conflict per se, that e.g. the aid to transfer of resource can be misunderstood as intervention to the domestic area and adhered by enemy to support the conflict. Anderson (1999) figures out five predictable ways in which the experience proves the aforesaid aid affect the conflict:

“(i) aid resources are often stolen by warriors and used to support armies and buy weapons; (ii) Aid effects markets by reinforcing either the war economy or the peace economy;

⁴² *ibid*

(iii) the distributional impacts of aid effect intergroup relationships, either feeding tensions or reinforcing connections; (iv) Aid substitutes for local resources required to meet civilian needs, freeing them to support conflict; (v) Aid legitimizes people and their actions or agenda, supporting the pursuit of either war or peace”
(Anderson, 1999:39)

2.2 Peace and Democracy Assistance: Global South’s support

The Insurgence of Southern Powers’ Engagement

While the north countries’ concern in assisting the FCA countries keeps strengthened in order to support the peacebuilding and as the effort of the attainment of goal 16, such a very assistance to the FCA countries is also emerged by the influence of emerging powers in the global south. The insurgence of power in the global south is to recall the significant economic growth and their link of solidarity under the South-South Cooperation (SSC). Particularly countries of the IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa)⁴³ and the Gulf States have been more integrated on the wider policy in the

⁴³ IBSA, founded in 2003, as seeing to be a coordinating mechanism amongst three emerging countries, three multi ethnic and multicultural democracies in the global south. IBSA is committing to be actively involved in the international architecture, providing project assistance to many development partners, esp. LDCs. See more: <http://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/about-ibsa2>

global politics, security and surely economic development.⁴⁴ Even though the merging role of the global south in the peace and development towards the FCA countries are still less known, as well as their approach, which is somewhat still less recognized, however, the Southern assistance towards the FCA countries is important due to several reasons. First, it is confessed that greater engagement by emerging powers in the global south is actually the outcome of their active involvement in the multilateral and their wider influence in the policy framework. Second, recent experiences with democratic transition, economic development and conflict management have been perceived as such an important lesson learnt or even the best practices to the FCA countries that are under democratic transition and also peacebuilding process.⁴⁵ Lastly, the southern assistance is principally conducted under the SSC with the basis policy of respecting the national sovereignty, full national ownership, equality, non-conditionality, non-interference and mutual benefit,⁴⁶ hence, can be perceived as alternative solution of peace and security among developing countries (Marthur 2014).

The insurgence of Southern power engagement, supported by their very emergence of economic improvement, and their solidarity to assist among others by technical cooperation for capacity building as well as the policy transfer, have been further requiring the UN and its affiliates to integrate this SSC programs and approaches into their system. In addition, the growing modality of SSC in assisting the

⁴⁴ Sherman, Jake, Megan M. Gleason, W.P.S. Sidhu, and Bruce Jones, "Introduction and Overview of the New Actors and New Debate", (New York University: 2011), p. 2

⁴⁵ *Id. At. 3*

⁴⁶ What is SSC. http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html (accessed on 2015.12.24)

FCA countries have promoted the major powers of southern countries to be trusted as the peace broker, mediator, conflict management assistance to the similar developing countries:

“The emergence of major economies in the Global South and their eagerness to assist other developing countries, including conflict affected countries, has resulted in the mainstreaming of triangular and South–South cooperation in peacebuilding activities, particularly in the complex task of building state capacity” (Marthur, 2014:18).

In such a point, she further assumes the peace and security, a part of UN’s work pillars, should be included in the application of SSC, while it is also facilitating the improvement of aid policy to the south,⁴⁷ mainstreaming peace and security, include democracy assistance in the framework of SSC could be said as an attainment of development agenda post-2015.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Improving aid policy to the South is adhered as the alternative to promote equality of the global governance, which is Northern traditional donors’ keep facilitating the new emerging donors in the global south. Realizing there is a change in the architecture of aid, Deacon (2007) also perceives it might be as a policy space of the South. See: Deacon, Bob, Global Social Policy and Governance (London: Sage, 2007), ch.7, pp.155-157

⁴⁸ The complementarity of SSC and its modality to the attainment of SDG 16 have encouraged more engagement of North and multilateral agencies to facilitate SSC within the triangular cooperation in the shared of peace and democracy for the sustainable development. See: Mathur, Anita, Role of South-South Cooperation and Emerging Powers in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: 2014), p. 14

Active Southern Providers in Peace and Democracy

The so called South-South Cooperation (SSC) or also South-South Triangular Cooperation (SSTC) in peace and democracy are applicable for in-kind contributions (e.g. human resources, volunteers, products and services), technical cooperation for capacity building and best practices by sharing successful experiences and sending experts in the area of peacebuilding⁴⁹ to the FCA countries in the forms of solidarity and partnership. Number of Southern countries with stable democracies, e.g. India, Brazil, South Africa and Indonesia, has been actively playing a pivotal role in the SSC. For instance, India, the country that calls itself as “*powerful symbol of the potentiality of democracy*” in the global South,⁵⁰ has invested half of its total FDI as its SSC budget allocation to other developing countries. India’s assistance towards FCA countries, e.g., Afghanistan, has allocated USD 1,3 Billion for the technical cooperation for capacity building with the government of Afghanistan.⁵¹ Meanwhile, India is also the second largest contributor to the UNDF (United Nations Democracy Fund) by having partnership with the US, India is promoting democracy as a key essence of the country’s foreign policy in the development cooperation, however, still adheres such a ‘home-grown democracy’. Thus perceiving democracy as an element of peacebuilding in the FCA countries, (for instance) India adheres Palestine should have democracy as the people can defend their right and determine their fate.⁵²

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ *Id. At. 22-23*

⁵¹ *Id. At 14-24*

⁵² *Id. At 23*

India is considered as the first world largest democracy ranked by the population, followed by US, Indonesia and Brazil.⁵³ In addition, India's assistance in the peacebuilding is considered as state building approach. The approach comprises three key elements, i.e.: India's successful experience of modernization and state building as its comparative advantage to be best practice; humanitarian and emergency assistance as the prominent aid to the FCA countries; and India's active involvement in the inclusive SSC in development and security by wider engagement with multilateral agencies in the global south such as IBSA partners and African Union (Sidhu 2011). Whilst, Brazil, said as the most resilient power in the Latin America, the fourth world largest democracy,⁵⁴ promotes democratic values, good governance and inclusive political processes to the FCA countries particularly in the region of Latin America, for instance, through the Rio Group.⁵⁵ Another case of active Southern provider, South Africa, also reported by Marthur (2014), is known by its role in mediation, conflict resolution, the process of reconciliation and justice to the FCA countries, especially in the region of Africa.

Linking the peace and security with democracy is also adopted by Indonesia, another active provider in the global south. Indonesia focuses its peacebuilding

⁵³ 6 world largest democratic countries: (1) India, (2) US, (3) Indonesia, (4) Brazil, (5) Pakistan, (6) Nigeria. The rank of world largest democratic countries by total population. Referring that democracy is government of the People, by the People, and for the People. See: (i) Epstein, Richard, *Direct Democracy: Government of the People, by the People, and for the people* (Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy: 2011); (ii) 2016 Freedom in the world report (https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf)

⁵⁴ *Ibid*

⁵⁵ Rio Gorup, Forum of Democracy in Latin America, discuss conflict resolution and management in the Latin America (Marthur 2014)

assistance on experience and knowledge sharing, mediation and humanitarian actions, while the democracy is seen as the key to sustain peace (Alexandra 2016). Under the framework of SSTC, Indonesia's peacebuilding assistance is considered as its SSTC program priority, while, the importance of democracy is noted in the good governance program that the country embed as its SSTC flagship.⁵⁶ In short, the roles of many southern countries in assisting peace to many FCA countries under the essence of solidarity in the SSC and SSTC have sharpened the importance of SSC in the peace and security area. Furthermore, several aforesaid countries, especially Indonesia promotes democracy value as its element to the peacebuilding assistance, particularly towards the FCA countries that are under democratic transition.

South-South Cooperation in Peacebuilding Approach

The obvious distinction between international assistance through traditional donors, or can be also said as North-South Cooperation (NSC), with the so called South-South Cooperation (SSC) is the principles of the cooperation. Despite embedding the Paris Declaration 2005⁵⁷ like OECD-DAC, the SSC concepts must entail full ownership, mutual benefit, equality and surely non conditionality, however, the SSC is such a complementarity of NSC. Linking the both distinction and

⁵⁶ _____, The Changing Aid Landscape in East Asia: The Rise of Non-DAC Providers (The Asia Foundation: 2014) <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/ChangingAidLandscapeinEastAsia.pdf> and Alexandra, Lina, New Actors and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding: Indonesia (CSIS: 2016)

⁵⁷ Paris Declaration (2005) comprises the principles and the commitment of effective aid by OECD-DAC: Ownership; Alignment; Harmonization; Managing with results; and Mutual accountability

complementarity of NSC and SSC in peacebuilding, table below shows the partnership models of NSC and SSC in peacebuilding.

Table 1: Peacebuilding and South–South cooperation: Partnership Models

Principle	Peacebuilding	South-South Cooperation
Ownership	Multilateral programs, in consultation with national leadership, set peacebuilding priorities across sectors	National leadership articulates need for specific projects and ensures participation of national entities on a long-term basis
Mutual Benefit	Programs are designed to build peace in host societies	Projects are designed for mutual benefit
Equality and Horizontality	Donor-recipient relationship	Partnership among equals; mutual respect for sovereign equality
Non-Conditionality	Extension of programs based on progress achieved towards predetermined benchmarks	Policy conditionality eschewed
Mutual accountability	Greater accountability through targets and indicators	Transfer of skills, knowledge and best practices
Complementarity	Program objectives aligned with the priorities of the country concerned	Demand-driven programs aligned with then priorities of the host country and complementary to North-South Cooperation. Emphasis on the replication and adaptation of successful experiences other developing countries

Source: Adapted from “*Role of South-South Cooperation and Emerging Powers in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding*” by Dr. Anita Marthur, 2014, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, p. 16

CHAPTER III

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Hypothesis and Methodology

The research will explore Indonesia's practices on South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC) for peacebuilding and democratic transition. Indonesia, as said to have "good governance" as its comparative advantage of its SSC flagships, entailing peacebuilding, democracy, law enforcement and peace keeping as its pivotal area of SSC.⁵⁸ Previous studies measures that the SSTC of Indonesia to supply the peace and democracy assistance to FCA countries like Myanmar, Palestine and Arab Spring countries (Tunisia and Egypt) are among Indonesia's projects of SSTC for peacebuilding under the good governance and democracy.⁵⁹ Meanwhile the analysis of significant implication of Indonesia as the provider and beneficiaries (mutual benefit) need to be recalled in order to justify the modality of SSTC in the area peace and democracy as the cutting issue, as well as to identify the challenges of the SSC or SSTC in the peace and democracy. The concern to mainstream the peace and democracy in the SSC can be analyzed and supported by the liberalist theory for the

⁵⁸ _____, *The Changing Aid Landscape in East Asia: The Rise of Non-DAC Providers* (The Asia Foundation: 2014)
<https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/ChangingAidLandscapeinEastAsia.pdf>

⁵⁹ Lina Alexandra (2016) researched the role of global south in peacebuilding through Indonesia's context. She further figures out three areas of Indonesia's peacebuilding effort: (i) promotion of democracy and human rights; (ii) role of mediation and facilitation of the conflict and (iii) humanitarian action, also disaster relief.

SSC which defends that plausibility of cooperation. In this case, the liberalism adheres that cooperation is real that can hinder the conflict and war, and such a SSC can be assumed as one of best options among other developing countries which entail the interest of both parties (providers and recipients).⁶⁰

Defending the aforesaid assumptions, the hypothesis of this thesis is that the essence of solidarity of SSC which entails awareness of peace and stability in the developing countries (fragile, conflict-affected countries and democratic transition countries) could promote sustainable peace and development; hence mainstreaming the modality of SSC in peacebuilding should be more facilitated by north traditional actors and multilateral agencies. Specifically, the study case of Indonesia in promoting democracy as its core notion of peacebuilding can be perceived as one of best practices of justifying SSC as new innovative approach of peacebuilding for the attainment of SDG 16. The role of SSC in peace and democracy would further invoke the necessity to embed the SSC framework as cutting issues of UN, particularly in the effort to promote sustainable development through peacebuilding and peacekeeping,

The Research methodology of the thesis is conducted based on descriptive and qualitative analysis to investigate policies mechanism and projects of Indonesia in assisting peace and democracy towards the priority FCA countries. The main sources of information were official data released by Directorate of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Coordination Team of Indonesia's SSTC

⁶⁰ Jules (2008: 54) points out theories of IR: liberalism as one of the four major disciplinary and theoretical approaches to SSC

(NCT-SSTC). While other source both of official data of the partner countries, such as statements of officials such as head of states, ministers, etc., and also the related news from local or foreign media were researched to determine the significant impact of the cooperation. In addition, other data resource available at UNDP, OECD, and other International Organizations were used to elaborate the importance of SSC as the complement of NSC, can be alternative solution to promote peace and democracy.

CHAPTER IV

INDONESIA'S SOUTH-SOUTH AND TRIANGULAR COOPERATION

4.1 Historical Background of SSC and Indonesia's Commitment

The Insurgence of SSC : The Institutional History

1950s were described as an era of post-colonialism development by most developing countries, a concern to face development challenge through a cooperation among countries were triggered by holding a conference in Bandung, Indonesia. Hosted by Indonesia in 1955, the conference was named as Asia-African conference or well known as Bandung Conference. Topics of peace, decolonization and economic development were discussed in Bandung Conference by twenty nine leaders of Asian and African countries. The conference was concluded by the signing of the Bandung Spirit, emphasized on the importance of cooperation, peaceful coexistence and collaboration among third world countries. At last, the Bandung conference raised voice of third world countries to be powerful in the coming world politics and promoting an effort to reduce their reliance on the westerns. Practically, this conference was many adhered as the first milestone for the emergence of South-South Cooperation, which is for the first time; a sense of cooperation among south countries was raised politically.

Besides, Bandung Conference was also laying the political foundation for the non-aligned movement during the cold war. The emergence of SSC was then enforced by a Non-Aligned Movement conference, held in Cairo in 1961. As the outcome of NAM, the conference promoted a commitment of solidarity to be the principle of SSC. And by far to consider SSC as the good solution for every development issue of developing countries through transfer of knowledge, experience, skills and experts of development. These transfers of knowledge, skills, experiences, etc. were proposed to be implemented on technical and economic cooperation. The emergence of SSC was finally promoted through the establishment of G77 at the first session of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. G77 is then transformed to be the largest group of developing countries in the UN, which is aimed to promote the development of SSC based on collective economic interest.

In 1978, UN General Assembly endorsed a meeting in Buenos Aires, which produced an official document of the SSC the so called as Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) which comprises the principles of SSC as guidelines of SSC: solidarity, mutual benefit, non-interference and non-conditionality. Through BAPA, the grounds of SSC was constituted in nearly coming time, the SSC was institutionalized by the establishment of a special unit for technical cooperation among developing countries by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) or recently so called as UN Office for South-South Cooperation and was further designed through Caracas Program of

Action (CPA) in 1981,⁶¹ Since until the year of 2000s, the talks on SSC has been more intensively discussed in the meeting of G77 and UN and its related agencies, especially UN office for South-South Cooperation. Several major events held by G77 and UN led a success of institutionalization of SSC in the global system, for instance, the first South Summit by G77 was held in Havana, Cuba in the year of 2000. The summit was to identify the new areas of SSC in order to update the existed priority actions which have been identified by CPA. The agenda of this summit was continued to another South Summit held in Doha, Qatar (2005) that also reemphasized an encouragement for G77 members to intensify the SSC, including through triangular cooperation.

Furthermore there were three events of SSC history which contributed its institutionalization, i.e. (i) UN Resolution 58/220 on the establishment of the High Level Committee on South- South Cooperation in 2003; (ii) Bogota Statement: Towards Effective and Inclusive Development Partnerships in 2010; and (iii) Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation in 2011. All three events were to be a useful proof of the importance to enhance SSC practice, recognize the cooperation as a complement to North - South Cooperation (NSC) and perceive triangular cooperation as a linkage bridge between SSC and NSC. As result on this encouragement of the SSC practice, SSC was then becoming a new phenomenon in international development cooperation which led to the presence of new emerging

⁶¹ Caracas Program of Action identifies a set of priority actions of SSC in the fields of trade, food technology, and agriculture, energy, raw materials, finance, industrialization and technical cooperation, <http://unchronicle.un.org/article/financial-support-south-south-cooperation-caracas-programme-action-cpa-and-perez-guerrero/> (accessed on 2016.07.19)

donors in the global south, such as India, China and Brazil as first major Southern donors, while other countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Mexico, South Africa and so forth are said as the second wave of SSC providers (Renzio and Seifert 2014).

Indonesia's Commitment on the SSC

Indonesia has officially announced its commitment to actively involve the SSC since the Asia-Africa Conference (Bandung Conference), 1955, and its active participation on NAM first conference after its establishment in 1961 and Indonesia's founding member of NAM-CSSTC (Centre for South-South Cooperation) in 1998. Particularly, after its admission as a member of G20 and OECD observer, there is an increase responsibility for Indonesia to share knowledge and a more demand to conduct technical cooperation among South.⁶² As the commitment on SSTC, Indonesia planned to create a grand design (GD) of Indonesia's SSC development stages for the period 2011 – 2025 in 2005; this effort was also to be first starting point of the emergency of SSC as part of Indonesian foreign policies. Specifically, the concept of GD entails the policy guidelines of the implementation of Indonesia's SSTC, which is aimed to assure the effectiveness of the implementation, maximize the modality of

⁶² Mauludiah, Siti Nugraha (Director of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia), Indonesia's South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Our Stories, Experience and .. on Moving Forwards, <http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/IDSitiNugrahaMauludiah.pdf> (accessed on 2016.04.05)

Indonesia in the inclusive of stronger partnership of South-South and Triangular Cooperation.⁶³

In 2009, Indonesia held Jakarta Commitment by inviting all donors to justify Indonesian local needs by adopting Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action. This Jakarta Commitment was resulting Indonesia's effort to the development and the effectiveness of aid. Through the Jakarta commitment, Indonesia also announced its SSC as a key pillar of Indonesia's development agenda in the age of globalization. As result, the SSC was embedded into the domestic development agenda of Indonesia, which is further becoming part of the National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN), thus enforced the status of Indonesia as the new emerging donor while is also still a receiver of aid development by the traditional donor (see figure 5).

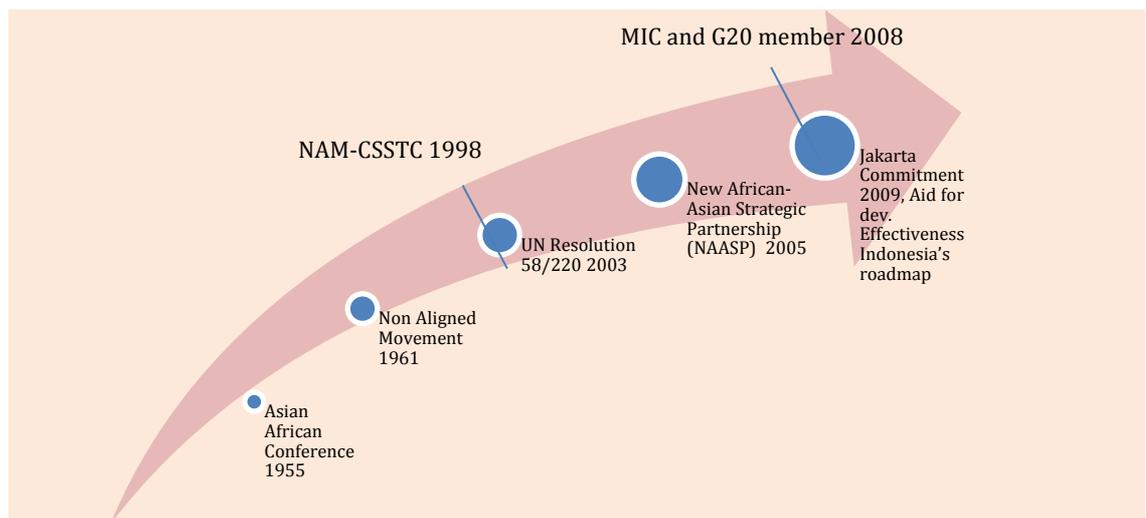
Furthermore, in order to maximize the outcome of the cooperation in the south by Indonesia with beneficiaries, Indonesia perceives triangular cooperation as the good model to enrich the mutual benefit of Indonesia, as the pivotal state of SSC, the beneficiaries and the development partners from traditional donors or other southern emerging donors. Through the mechanism of budget facilitation and also the cost sharing, Indonesia has been conducting triangular cooperation with approximately 16 countries and 8 International Organizations⁶⁴ and adhere the development of the so called South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC) as its modality in becoming

⁶³ Grand Design and Blue Print of SSC of Indonesia (final draft) 2014

⁶⁴ Indonesia's triangular cooperation with 16 countries (US, Australia, Austria, Argentina, Netherland, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, UK, Japan, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, and Turkey) and 8 IOs (Asia Foundation, Colombo Plan, G-15, Islamic Development Bank (IDB), FAO, UNESCO, UNDP, and UNIDO) (Data from Technical Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia)

the middle income country in the international development architecture. At last, a strong commitment of Indonesia to promote SSC is not only for the sake of the sense of solidarity but also to fulfill Indonesian mandate which is stated on its national constitution 1945: “...and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice...”.⁶⁵

Figure 5: the Historical Path of Indonesia's SSTC



Source: prepared by the Author

⁶⁵ The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia: “Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nations, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is not in conformity with humanity and justice;... to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice..”

4.2 Indonesia's SSTC: Policies and Practices

Institutional Framework of Indonesia's SSTC

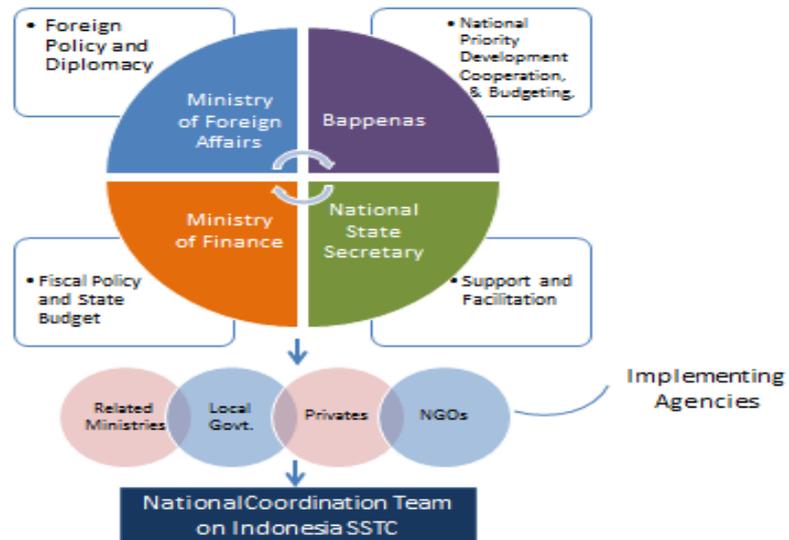
Followed by Jakarta Commitment and in the response of the growing demand for Indonesia's SSTC programs and activities, Indonesia institutionalized SSC/SSTC into stronger coordination by forming National Coordination Team on South-South and Triangular Cooperation of Indonesia (NCT-SSTC) by comprising four Ministries i.e. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *c.q.* Directorate of Technical Cooperation⁶⁶; the State Secretariat; BAPPENAS (National Planning Agency); and Ministry of Finance. The NCT-SSC was established to handle the SSTC more effectively and more coordinately.⁶⁷ Related to the policy and practices of SSTC, i.e., planning, implementation, monitor and evaluation, the four core ministries coordinate and work closely with several related stakeholders such as related ministries, local government, private sectors, NGOs, etc. The coordination of NCT-SSTC is described through the role and function division to the each four core Ministry which is illustrated in the figure below:

⁶⁶ Directorate of Technical Cooperation of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic Indonesia was established in 2006 to handle the issue of development cooperation of Indonesia. The directorate is institutionalized under the Directorate General of Public Diplomacy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia

⁶⁷ Since 1980s, Indonesia's SSTC was implemented by fragmented agencies, which each Ministries separately conducted the SSTC, however, this separate practice was coordinated by CCITC (Coordinating Committee of International Technical Cooperation) under the supervision of State Secretary. The practice was found out as having lack of coordination.

Figure 6: The Focal Points of Indonesia's SSTC

Focal points of Indonesia SSTC



Source: Directorate Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RI

In further applying the effective SSTC, the NCT drafted the Grand Design (GD) and Blue Print (BP) of Indonesian SSTC in 2011. These GD and BP are seen as two living policy documents which entail a long-term plan of Indonesia's SSTC in 15 year- development period (2011-2025), which is in line with the long-term national plan of Indonesia (2005-2025). The GD and BP are divided into three stages of SSTC development for the five-year periods: (i) period I: 2011-2014, the period emphasized the importance to strengthen SSTC domestic coordination mechanism; (ii) period II: 2015 – 2019, stresses the need to intensify and expand Indonesia's SSTC in the global community; (iii) 2020 – 2025, as the last period to strengthen and increase the performance of Indonesia SSTC.

Figure 7: Grand design and blue print of Indonesia’s SSTC framework



Source: Directorate for Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RI

As can be seen in the figure above, the period I (2011-2014) “*Stronger Coordination within Revitalized Institutional Framework*”, was designed to focus on the effort in strengthening the institution and coordination as well as the monitoring and evaluation mechanism. During the period I, the GOI was also attempting to develop the information system and knowledge management. Second period (2015-2019) “*New Emerging Partner in Innovative South-South and Triangular Cooperation for Development*”, is a time of Indonesia’s SSTC development by strengthening Indonesia’s position as middle income country (MIC). During the stage, SSTC starts to involve other crucial stakeholders in the implementation of SSTC, such as NGOs, academia and also private sectors. 2015 was also the first year of the integration of SSTC with the middle term national plan for the year of 2015-2019, and the year to

start embedding the SSTC in the strategic foreign policy. For the coming years within this second period, such a supporting regulation for the implementation of SSTC is further prepared. Eventually the period III (2020-2025) “*Stronger Partnership within Innovative and Inclusive South-South and Triangular Cooperation*” will be emphasized on the improvement and expansion of the SSTC. The integration of the cooperation with the middle term national plan will be continued by embedding the SSTC to the nation plan for the year of 2020-2025, as well as the involvement of NGOs will be also more strengthened.

Indonesia’s Flagship Programs of SSTC

The historical involvement of Indonesia in the establishment of the institutional framework of SSTC since 1955, and also the recognition of the Indonesia’s modality in the knowledge and experience of the political development such as democratization, and also the economic national development especially the experience or the economic recovery after the financial crisis in 1997/1998, have been considered as the modality of Indonesia or the model of best practice to learn by other developing countries. Related to this, Indonesia mainly identified three flagship programs to include: (i) development issues; (ii) good governance and peacebuilding; and (iii) economic issues.⁶⁸ These three main flagship programs are further specified into seven flagship programs of Indonesia’s SSTC: (i) Disaster Risk Management, Agriculture, Food Security and Social Protection; (ii) Democratization and Good

⁶⁸ NCT-SSTC Indonesia, main flagship programs of Indonesia SSTC

Governance, which covers state building and democracy consultation; (iv) Trade and Industry; (v) Infrastructure; (vi) Human Development, entail Health, Education, Population and Gender; (vii) and special commitment for Palestinian development.⁶⁹ The all programs are mainly conducted in the terms of technical cooperation for capacity building such as training, workshop, comparative studies, and internship program. The Indonesia's SSTC is also implemented in the form of project assistance which entails aid equipment and trainings for the project, a partnership development (sending experts and joint project), sharing experiences and good practices and providing scholarship.⁷⁰ Moreover, the flagship programs are identified based on demands and needs by the development partners, Indonesia's ability and modality in the program areas and the country's target to achieve national development.

All the SSTC programs are implemented through bilateral, triangular and multilateral way, in which Indonesia's role as the pivotal state in transferring the experience sharing and lesson learnt. In identifying the beneficiary countries, Indonesia applies such a mechanism of mapping priority. It might be adhered that the mapping is needed in order to implement the SSTC effectively which is based on the beneficiaries demands/request and Indonesia's modalities, so that the mutual benefit can be met and development of SSC can be strengthened through the stronger essence of solidarity. Moreover, Indonesia puts huge commitment to the development of Palestine, which is stated as the one of its flagship program. Indonesia's commitment to the development

⁶⁹ Grand Design of Indonesia SSTC, Information of Indonesia's technical program

⁷⁰ *ibid*

of Palestine is associated with the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.⁷¹ In the case, Palestine is considered as a state under colonization, thus, need to be supported and assisted. Indonesia prioritizes the need of capacity building cooperation as a real support to the development of Palestine. In addition, countries within the same region, Southeast Asia or ASEAN member states can be viewed as Indonesia's stronger partner countries in SSC, recalling the country's concern on ASEAN as the first concentric circle of its foreign policy.⁷² Nevertheless, Indonesia's SSTC is fundamentally based on demand/request of the development partners; hence, the implementation of SSTC is adhered to not diminish the essence of solidarity.

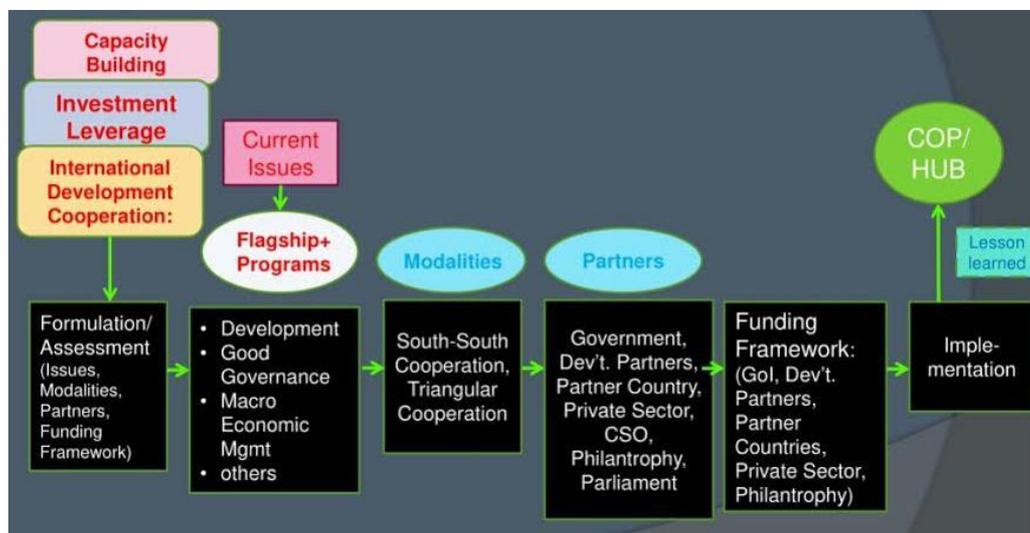
At last, SSTC of Indonesia is supported by the strong triangular cooperation. As explained before, the country is conducting such a triangular cooperation with both traditional donors and new emerging donors in the global south. In this case, JICA's support to the country's SSTC has been found since the establishment of Indonesia's SSTC since the early of 1990s. The role of triangular cooperation for facilitating the SSC is mainly emerged in the funding of the SSC per se. in this regards, such a cost sharing is applied within the Indonesia's SSTC. However, the core fund always comes from the setting of the country's national budgeted, e.g. since 2006 to 2014, Indonesia has allocated nearly US\$ 49.8 million, which was spent to implement more than 700

⁷¹ The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia: "*Whereas independence is the inalienable right of all nations, therefore, all colonialism must be abolished in this world as it is not in conformity with humanity and justice; ... to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice..*"

⁷² ASEAN as first concentric circle of Indonesia's foreign policy, making the member states mutual relations and issues of the region as the first layer of its foreign policy. "Foreign Policy Direction of Indonesia" (MOFA of RI: 2014)

programs to the various beneficiaries in the global south.⁷³ Overall, the inclusive framework of SSTC can be summarized through the figure below:

Figure 8: The Framework of Indonesia’s SSTC



Source: Directorate for Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of RI

4.3 Indonesia’s SSTC in Peace and Democracy

Indonesia is well-known as the largest Muslim country in the world but can also be the third world largest democracy. The both predicates may come to Indonesia by recognizing their nearly 250 million people in the democratic country, which almost 90% of the population are Muslim. Such a unique fact and also another experience of Indonesia in dealing with the democratic transition and conflict resolution, has shaped

⁷³ More than 700 programs have been implemented by one of them through trainings and best practice sharing. The most active beneficiaries are such as Palestine, Timor Leste, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Viet Na, SriLanka, Pacific Countries and other African countries. See: NCT-SSTC of Indonesia, “Indonesia’s Capacities on Technical Cooperation” (<http://ssc-indonesia.org/ksst/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Ebook-INDONESIA-CAPACITIES.pdf>)

the country to have best practice for many developing countries, especially fragile and conflict affected countries (FCA) that are now having the similar challenges as Indonesia had before. Even though, it does not mean to perceive Indonesia as the perfect country, but what so called as sharing experience and solution transfer can be one of alternatives to assist the democratization and conflict resolution in FCA countries.

Indonesia's Democratization and Peacebuilding Stories

It was few decades ago when Indonesia face multiple challenges of conflicts (ethnic tensions and religious conflict), separatist threats such as in Aceh and Papua and economic crisis. The 1998 was found as the hardest year of Indonesia, several observers even predicted the failure of the country. However, the country was not failing but faced challenges by adopting new approach, called as the governmental reform. The aforesaid reform is much dealing with how the country maintained the national unity and supported the peacebuilding through a successful democratic transition. The transition was needed to overthrow the authoritarianism to be a full democracy. One of the success stories of the Indonesia's democratization is also recognized from its first direct election for the President and parliament members back in 2004. With much diversity which includes ethnicities, multicultural, languages and

different religions, Indonesia has been counted as successful country in establishing democracy in the midst of diversity.⁷⁴

Good Governance and Democracy to Promote Peacebuilding

In addition, building good governance is committed to sustain the democratic system in the country. This good governance entails state building through a bureaucracy reform and combatting corruption. Against the backdrop, Indonesia adheres that democracy can actually play a significant role in promoting peace and stability in the country, and this experience of democracy and good governance can be such a way of the approach to FCA countries to support their peace and democracy building.⁷⁵ The efforts to support peace and democracy towards FCA countries can be then perceived in the implementation of Indonesia's South-South and Triangular Cooperation, especially in the flagship program of "Good Governance and Democracy".

The Good Governance and Democracy flagship program can be said as one of the comparative advantages of Indonesia in the cooperation with the Southern countries. In this case, the programs are normally conducted in the terms of workshop, knowledge and experience sharing and training. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *c.g.* Directorate of Technical Cooperation, cooperate with line Ministries and supported by triangular partners such as USAID, NAM-CCST, etc., do regularly several activities of

⁷⁴ Amb. Robert O. Blake, Jr. "Indonesia's Successful Democratic Transition : Adds New Momentum to US-Indonesian Relations" (2014)

⁷⁵ Indonesia's Capacities on Technical Cooperation on democracy (NCT-SSTC, 2014)

democracy consulting and state building training to support peacebuilding and democratization, such as the international workshop of democracy, international training program on good governance and related forums (see table 2). The activities are held either in Indonesia by inviting the participants (officials, decision makers, related stakeholders) from the beneficiary countries, or in the beneficiary countries per se.

Table 2: Reported Capacity Building Programs in Democracy and Good Governance (2010 – 2015)

No	Main Activities	Date & Venue	Beneficiaries
1	International Training Workshop on Democratization	Bali 10 Oct 2010 - 15 Oct 2010	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Fiji, Laos, Maldives, Myanmar, Pakistan, Palestine, PNG, Timor Leste, Vanuatu, Vietnam
2	International Training on Public Administration Reform for Good Governance	Jakarta 18 Sep 2011 - 24 Sep 2011	Afghanistan, Fiji, Cambodia, Laos, Maldives, Myanmar, Timor Leste, Uzbekistan, Vietnam
3	International Workshop on Democracy Sharing Experiences Between Indonesia and Arab Countries	Jakarta, Pekanbaru, Bandung 13 Sep 2013 - 20 Sep 2013	Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Jordan
4	Indonesia-Africa and Middle East Technical Cooperation Program on Good Governance	Jakarta and Surabaya 18 May 2014 - 24 May 2014	Gambia, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Egypt, Mozambique, Palestine, Sudan, Tunisia, Yaman
5	International Workshop on Legislative Election: Indonesia's Experiences	Cairo 3 March 2015	Egypt
6	International Workshop on	Jakarta, Bandung	Fiji, Iraq, Cambodia,

	Democracy and Innovation in Good Governance	07 Jun 2015 - 13 Jun 2015	Laos, Libya, Egypt, Myanmar, Palestine, Tanzania, Thailand, Timor Leste, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Vietnam, Jordan
7	International Workshop Corruption Eradication for Africa and Middle East Countries	Tunis 26-27 November 2015	Tunis

Source: Directorate for Technical Cooperation, MOFA of RI; modification added

Another successful big event that Indonesia held to promote peacebuilding through democratic consolidation and consultation is Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). The forum is held annually by inviting the state leaders or special envoys to discuss the democracy development in the Asia-Pacific region since 2008.⁷⁶ The Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) was formed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be the implementing agency for the BDF. Indonesia adheres that BDF will be such a regional forum that can contribute to the mutual understanding of nations in the region and can further contribute to the world peace and stability in the long run.⁷⁷ The detail of BDF held by Indonesia so far can be seen on the table below:

⁷⁶ BDF is aimed to ‘*promote and foster regional and international cooperation in the field of peace and democracy through dialogue-based on sharing experiences and best practices that adhere to the principle of equality, mutual respect and understanding, with the participating countries sharing its ownership*’ see: ‘What is the Bali Democracy Forum?’ (http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=445&Itemid=106&lang=en)

⁷⁷ Bali Democracy Forum, Information sheet (<http://www.kemlu.go.id/id/lembar-informasi/Pages/Bali-Democracy-Forum.aspx>)

Table 3: Bali Democracy Forum (2008-2015)

No	Event	Year	Theme	Total Participants
1	Bali Democracy Forum I	2008	“Building and Consolidating Democracy as Agenda for Asia”	32 countries from the Asian region and 8 countries from other regions
2	Bali Democracy Forum II	2009	“In Search of Synergy Democracy, Rule of Law, and Development”	35 countries from across Asia and 13 countries from other regions
3	Bali Democracy Forum III	2010	“Democracy and the Promotion of Peace and Stability”	44 countries from Asia-Pacific regions and 42 countries from other regions and IOs
4	Bali Democracy Forum IV	2011	“Enhancing Democratic Participation in a Changing World: Responding to Democratic Voices”	40 countries from Asia-Pacific regions and 24 countries from other regions and IOs
5	Bali Democracy Forum V	2012	“Advancing Democratic Principles at the Global Setting: How Democratic Global Governance Contributes to International Peace and Security, Economic Development and Effective Enjoyment of Human Rights”	83 countries and IOs, including 12 head of states/government
6	Bali Democracy Forum VI	2013	“Consolidating Democracy in a Pluralistic Society”	86 countries, including 6 IOs
7	Bali Democracy Forum VI	2014	“Evolving Regional Democratic Architecture: the Dynamics of Political Development, Socio-Economic Progress and Public Participation in the Democratic Process”	85 countries, including 8 INGOs and observers
8	Bali Democracy Forum VII	2015	“Democracy and Effective Public Governance”	79 countries and 3 IOs

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁷⁸ and other media sources; modified by the author

⁷⁸ *Ibid*

The table above shows that there is increased number of countries that participate in the forum. The number of country was found double in 2011 at the BDF IV “Enhancing Democratic Participation in a Changing World: Responding to Democratic Voices”. At least, the growing number of participants of the forum may show the significant recognition of democratic value to promote peace and stability as the more countries are present to discuss and learn the democracy, thus, may perceive the forum as recap dialogue of the value of ‘homegrown democracy’ which the political will and full aspirations only come from within the country not being forced from the outside,⁷⁹ and the sharing the best practice and successful experience can be perceived as good alternative to assist the democratization.

Comprehensive Assistance of Peace and Democracy to Myanmar

Besides, the practice of Indonesia’s SSC in peace and democracy also appears in the practice of Indonesia’s commitment to invoke the capacity building partnership with Myanmar.⁸⁰ The partnership is listed in the “Blue Book on Indonesia-Myanmar Capacity Building Partnership (2013-2015)”.⁸¹ In this case, Alexandra (2016)

⁷⁹ Adenan, Reza, “Bali Democracy Forum: Why It Matters Even More”, (Jakarta Post: 2015)

⁸⁰ Alexandra (2016:15)

⁸¹ The partnership relation of Indonesia-Myanmar was strengthened by improving the capacity building partnership, is completely associated with the blue book on Indonesia – Myanmar Capacity Building Partnership within 2013-2015), which was designed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia. The activities listed in the blue book comprising efforts to advancing democracy, communal conflict resolution, and economic cooperation. See: <http://www.jpnn.com/index.php?mib=berita.detail&id=176590>

elaborates the informative examples of Indonesia's peacebuilding which were traced from the blue book.⁸²

Table 4: Indonesia's Assistance in Peace and Democracy for Myanmar (2013 – 2015)

Year	Period	Programs/activities	Organizers
2013	October	Training on Promoting National Reconciliation for Social Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoFA (Directorate KST)
	December	Dialogue between Indonesian and Myanmar Parliaments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IPD • MoFA (Directorate of East Asia and Pacific)
	June	Workshop and Training on Chairmanship in ASEAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IPD • MoFA (Directorate of East Asia and Pacific)
2014	March	Workshop on Enhancing Supremacy of Law in the Framework of Protection of Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoFA (Directorate KST, Directorate of East Asia and Pacific, and Directorate of Legal Affairs) • Ministry of Law and Human Rights
	July	Discussion on Strengthening Election Monitoring System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election Commission • Local (Jakarta) Election Monitoring Body • MoFA (Directorate KST and Directorate of East Asia and Pacific)
	October	Workshop on National Action Plan on Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoFA (Directorate KST, Directorate of East Asia and Pacific) • Indonesian Embassy in Yangon

⁸² Alexandra (2016: 16)

2015	July	Training Program on Peacebuilding in the Process of Sustainable Development in Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoFA (Directorate KST and Directorate of East Asia and Pacific) • Ministry of Defense (MoD) • Indonesian Embassy in Yangon
	November	Workshop on Enhancing Capacities in Democracy and Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MoFA (Directorate KST, Directorate of East Asia and Pacific, and Directorate of Legal Affairs) • Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Source: Adapted from “*New Actors and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding: Indonesia*” by Lina Alexandra, 2016, CSIS, p. 16

Myanmar can be said as the only country of ASEAN which has the longest challenge of military misrule since the failure of civilian government in 1962 and conflict of multiethnic which led to the civil war since its independence in 1948.⁸³ The conflict of ethnicity has been much triggered as the failure of the government to honor the Panglong agreement 1947 which stated that all the ethnics groups were united to have independence from Britain with the guarantee of self-determination and autonomy to the 8 minorities such as the Shans, the Kachins, and the Chins.⁸⁴ Moreover, several conflicts have been reported by many global actors include foreign countries, UN agencies and grabbing attention of neighbors and western countries. Kachin conflict, Karen conflict, and other internal conflicts in Myanmar are said to

⁸³ Pertiwi, Sukmawati Bela, “Understanding Reforms in Myanmar: Linking External and Internal Factors”

⁸⁴ Panglong Agreement, signed on 12 February 1947, by Burmese Government, Kachin Committee, and Shan Committee

invoke political instability and hinder development of the country. Another attention also came to the political situation of Myanmar when it was led by junta military since 1988, Myanmar was further challenged with human rights violation and economic sanction by western countries e.g. US and EU.

Recovering from the weakening, the country perceives the need of democracy and good governance to attain the political, economic and socio-cultural stability, particularly political reconciliation between government with opposition and ethnic groups.⁸⁵ The so called as “Road Map to Democracy: A Way Forward”, designed on August 30, 2003, is aimed to guide the Myanmar democratic process.⁸⁶ The democratic era was firstly attached to Myanmar’s governance since March 30, 2011, signed by the election of U Thein Sein as the president of Myanmar and the end of junta military regime. In the case, ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia sees the progress of Myanmar in finalizing its road map as a good sign of the establishment of Myanmar’s political will and deserved to get international support for its further progress to stabilize the country.

In having an assistance from other countries, Myanmar officials, comprises government and other related stakeholders have been asking Indonesia to share its experience of conflict management and democratization both Indonesia’s successful and failure stories. Having demand of Myanmar at the first stage of SSC initiation to

⁸⁵ Ghoshal, Baladas, “Democratic Transition in Myanmar” (ICWA: 2012)

⁸⁶ 7 road map of Myanmar’s democracy: (i) reviving the national convention which has been suspended since 1996; (ii) implementing efforts to establish a democratic government; (iii) preparing a new constitution by the national convention; (iv) Implementing a new constitution through a referendum; (v) succeeding general election; (vi) establishing parliament; (vii) electing new president and vice president by parliament

the country has provoked Indonesia to gain such a trust from Myanmar. Trust building is adhered to facilitate the SSC effectiveness in promoting peace and democracy in Myanmar.⁸⁷ Recalling the stronger partnership of the two countries, that capacity building partnership mention above is also an outcome of two countries' joint commission held in Myanmar 2011 which mentioned Indonesia's commitment to assist Myanmar through various technical for capacity building programs bilaterally and multilaterally.

Indonesia's Peace Facilitation to Southern Philippines

Furthermore, exploring the peace and democracy assistance of Indonesia to other developing countries, particularly FCA countries can be also recalled Indonesia's role and contribution in the mediation, facilitation and monitoring such a conflict management, e.g., Indonesia's participation in the International Monitoring Team (IMT) in the Southern Philippines since 2012.⁸⁸ Together with other countries, i.e. Malaysia, Brunei, Norway, EU and Japan, IMT have been helping to monitor the ceasefire between government of Philippines and separatist group, MIFL (Moro Islamic Liberation Front). This role of mediator and so on in the management of conflict is non-triangular cooperation but such an inclusive South-South Cooperation with the strong essence of solidarity, especially to promote peace and stability in the

⁸⁷ Trust building is the key component of supporting the peacebuilding (Alexandra 2016)

⁸⁸ Indonesia has been sending the Indonesian Observers Team to the Southern Philippine since 2012. The team comprises civil servants and military officials with the assignment of 6 months period. The task is to monitor the peace reconciliation between Government of Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) which is based on the Peace Agreement in 1996 (MOFA of RI :2016)

region. Regarding this, a sincere gratitude has been delivered to Indonesia's facilitation on peacebuilding in the area, not only by the government of Philippines but also stated by the chair of MILF:

"On behalf of the MILF and your brothers and sisters Bangsamoro, we convey to the Government of Indonesia and our beloved Indonesian brothers and sisters our deepest gratitude for the unfaltering commitment and support for the aspirations of the Bangsamoro for lasting peace, justice and self-governance in the ongoing peace process with the Government of the Philippines," (Al Haj Murad Ebrahim, chair of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), cited by Brunei Times, posted on July 11, 2014)

Similar issue with Myanmar, government of Philippines also perceives that the conflict in Mindanao has similarity with Indonesian case when dealing with separatism in Aceh. In the case of the successful story of Indonesia handing the conflict, the government of Philippines through Indonesian embassy in Manila requested Indonesia to share its experience in peacebuilding process in Aceh.⁸⁹ Indonesia was then transferring its experience when dealing separatism in Aceh, constructing good dialogue between government and the separatist group can support the peacebuilding

⁸⁹ Indonesian Embassy in Manila (2014) reported demand from the Government of Philippines to share experience.

process. In this case, Indonesia ended the conflict by awarding specific authority (autonomy) to Aceh.⁹⁰ Good dialogue between the Philippines of government and MILF can happen through several roles of peace broker of other third countries, such as Indonesia.

Conclusion

Despite attempting peacebuilding and democratization to the beneficiaries through traditional development assistance such as economic assistance, financial aid, etc., Indonesia's SSTC in peace and democracy is more focused on the implementation of capacity building and experience sharing. The flagship program of SSTC "Good Governance and Democracy" plays the key role in showing Indonesia's contribution to the peace and democracy within South-South and Triangular Cooperation. This world third largest democratic populated country basically adhere that democracy as a key instrument to promote peacebuilding and sustain the peace per se, thus, sharing best practices in the area of democracy and capacity building to the statebuilding is routinely implemented.

However, other resources of Indonesia's peace assistance to other developing countries or also FCA countries cannot be ignored. Indonesia's strong modality to be the mediator and also capability to monitor the conflict management has been one of the assets to promote peace and stability. Last but not least, just like one of the

⁹⁰ Concept of Self-Governance, which grants to the autonomy was finally settled by Indonesian government, the separatist group GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) and the mediator (Cunfiffe, Eddie Riyad ., et al 2009)

traditional donors' assistances in peace, i.e. humanitarian assistance, is also implemented by Indonesia to assist peacebuilding in FCA countries.⁹¹ Building health facilities, such as hospital, temporary shelters, and schools, providing food and medical supplies, and other humanitarian assistances are conducted by the GOI also with the involvement of volunteers of Indonesian people. In short, this particular assistance is emerged in the term of cooperation of solidarity or SSC but can be also such a humanitarian grant in response with the aftermath of disaster or long-lasting conflict.

⁹¹ Alexandra (2016:9)

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

5.1 SSC: Alternative of Peacebuilding and Democratization

Peace as the precondition of the sustainable development in such a point promotes the need to assure the existence of peace in the development process. This is also concerning to the effort in the attainment of SDG especially for the goal of 16 in reaching the peace, justice and strong institution. The important notice on the process of SDGs attainment is that the involvement of actors are not merely to the developed countries or the always called as traditional donors in the north, but also requiring all countries' participation. Expanding to the exclusive engagement to the emerging donors in the global south is viewed as such a progress to entail global equality and support the effort of the goal attainment. South-South Cooperation is not only an innovative modality of development but it can also be emerged as alternative to promote a peace and democracy. Evidences from active emerging donors in such an area may prove the existing actions of programs in the SSC which contributes peacebuilding effort support democratization.

Specifically, in the context of Indonesia, as the thesis mainly focuses on, the country has been recognized as one of pivotal states in the framework of SSC. Indonesia means the SSC as the country's commitment to fulfill its mandate stated on the 1945 national constitution, perceiving "*..a world order based on freedom, lasting*

peace and social justice..” can be implemented through its active involvement in the SSC. According to Indonesia, supporting peacebuilding process through SSC is adhered to be linked with the essence of democracy support, making peacebuilding and democracy as its SSC core area under the so called flagship program of “good governance and democracy”. Deciding good governance as the element of state building, covering efforts to enhancing accountability, combating corruption and innovating public service, the country is prominently active in designing related activities such as workshop, training, sending experts, etc., while democracy assistance is provided through consolidation process on the related workshop and training, issues of general elections, interfaith dialogue and other process of democratic transition are covered as the module of the programs. Moreover, the country has designed such a Grand Design (GD) and Blue Print (BP) in guiding its SSC implementation, Indonesia is now reaching to the second year of the period II of its GD “*New Emerging Partner in Innovative South-South and Triangular Cooperation for Development*”, practically the country is now attempting to expand its contribution to the stronger partnership of SSC.

Nonetheless, the need of support from the Northern donors cannot be neglected; in fact, the country is still a recipient while now adding the status as new emerging provider. Engaging triangular cooperation, Indonesia can be shown off as such a pivotal state in the Southeast Asia by its active South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC). The so called SSTC is no matter what should entail the principles of SSC which is long-lasting stated in the Bandung Sprit back in 1955. Mulakala

(2015) figures out the need to reaffirm the original principles of SSC which entail mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence in the recent era of SSC after 60 years of existence. She argues that SSC now should embrace democracy, protection of human rights and multilateralism as new principles of SSC.⁹² While Indonesia, the host of the Asia-Africa Summit in 2015, the 60 anniversary of the Bandung Conference, the first milestone of SSC, entail five principles on its SSTC: “(i) *National Sovereignty and ownership*; (ii) *Partnership based on equality*; (iii) *Granted Unconditionally*; (iv) *Non-Intervention (Non-Interference in domestic affairs)* and (v) *mutual benefit*.”⁹³ The will of Indonesia in promoting SSC is also supported by more demands come to Indonesia to share its capacity as a state, especially democratic state and a new middle income country.⁹⁴

It is obvious to find out that such a sharing the best practice and successful experience has become the main instrument of Indonesia’s SSTC. Along with many workshops, trainings, even the big event such as Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) that the country has implemented, becoming the strong evidence that SSC in the area of peacebuilding and democracy is indeed still “knowledge transfer and experience sharing”. Nonetheless, it does not mean limiting the framework of SSC, which this cooperation among southern countries can be also seen into such a humanitarian

⁹² Mulakala, Anthea, “Reflecting on 60 Years of South-South Cooperation: Then and Now” (Asia Foundation: 2015) <http://asiafoundation.org/2015/11/04/reflecting-on-60-years-of-south-south-cooperation-then-and-now/> (accessed on 2016.10.17)

⁹³ Siti Nugraha Mauludiah, Director of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia. 2013. Pelaksanaan Kerja Sama Teknik Luar Negeri-ppt (the Implementation of Technical Cooperation)-ppt

⁹⁴ *Ibid*

assistance, and role of peace broker or mediators. As a matter of fact, Indonesia, a pivotal state in the Southeast Asian countries,⁹⁵ founding its foreign policy to put ASEAN as its first concentric circle, has been proved to be such a mediator and also observer in many cases. Putting example case like the country's involvement in the case of Southern Philippines,⁹⁶ Indonesia's participation on the International Monitoring Team (IMT) since 2012 for such a point can show the evidence of the growing contribution of southern countries in peace mission.

Given the aforesaid evidence which has also been elaborated in the previous chapter, it can be concluded that how SSC can be utilized as a mean to share solidarity and mutual interest in peace and democracy in several points below:

- (i) Technical Cooperation and Knowledge Sharing are indeed a corner stone of the SSC in peace and democracy
- (ii) Non-intervention and respect the beneficiary's sovereignty are basic policy of SSC in promoting peacebuilding with no harm
- (iii) Building state capacity by the use of good governance is the flagship program of SSC for sustaining the peace and promoting democracy

Making it more objective to see how the SSC is playing in the peace and democracy, below is the comparison of the strengths and shortcomings of SSC. When the cooperation is conducted based on the demand or request by the beneficiaries, is

⁹⁵ Ashley J. Tellis, Michael Wills (2007), point out "*Indonesia has again become Southeast Asia's pivotal state – a country poised at a critical point whose choice will strongly affect regional and even global security*".

⁹⁶ IMT is designed to support the peace process between the Philippines Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Mindanao. While Indonesia has assigned a total of 61 personnel to the team (MOFA of RI:2016)

perceived as its strength in planning, showing the SSC is planned to respond the local needs of the beneficiaries, proving full of ownership and non-intervention and respect the sovereignty in the approach of the assistance. In the study case of Indonesia, this demand driven gives the value of Indonesia's role in assisting the peacebuilding by not pushing the beneficiary but believing the country has its own strength to identify its own case, thus demand of assistance to Indonesia need to come from the beneficiary without any provocation from the provider. However, this demand driver can be emerged as the lack of SSC when the provider, e.g. Indonesia is difficult to identify the priority beneficiaries; the country can be challenged to have the tangible benefit in pursuing the SSC, which is in line with the national interest. In this case, the SSC is much demand driven, has been limiting the provider to merely provide the assistance based on the demand/request, instead of embedding strategy in the SSC and selecting the priority beneficiaries.

The SSC is however implemented in such a tangible cooperation. The state capacity building and democracy consolidating which is based on the experience of the provider to be the lesson learnt to the beneficiary is appeared to be strength of SSC in peace and democracy. As being explained in the previous chapter, in the case of Indonesia's democratic transition experience can be a lesson for Myanmar in the transition of changing the junta military to be full democratic country. Indonesia's attitude in respecting Myanmar's domestic affairs but keep supporting the progress of Myanmar home grown democracy is showing the added value of SSC in creating the trust building between the provider and beneficiary. Unfortunately, if to compare with

the traditional north donors' assistance in peace and democracy, the SSC seems to be merely limited in technical cooperation or low cost project, wondering the huge impact like sustainable peacebuilding may affect to the beneficiary.

Nonetheless, the result of SSC is such a mutual benefit, which can be seen as an added value, that both the provider and receiver are benefited in the assistance program. In the case of Indonesia, there is intangible benefit in promoting peace and democracy is to fulfill the commitment of its constitution (1945 national constitution), while peacebuilding assistance can also be describing Indonesia's motivation to enhance its presence in the global development architecture (soft power diplomacy), such a good will and as the concrete essence of solidarity of among southern countries (Alexandra 2016:17).

Table 5: Strengths and Shortcomings of SSC in Peace and Democracy

SSC	strengths	shortcomings
Planning	Demand driven entails full of ownership and equality	Lack of effort to identify the priority beneficiaries and fulfilling the strategic interest
Implementation	Tangible assistance to the state capacity building and democracy consolidating with full of trust building	Limit to the technical Cooperation (TAC), low cost project
Result	Mutual benefit and long term partnership, improving bilateral relationship	Lack of evaluation to the sustainable peacebuilding

Source: prepared by the author

Lastly, as the impact of the active contribution of southern countries in the area peace and democracy, especially in the study case of Indonesia, has been

acknowledged by the UNDP, said by Douglas Broderick, UNDP resident coordinative in Indonesia. The willing of Indonesia to share its experience as the lesson learnt to other developing countries is further claimed as an “excellent job” especially in dealing with the international conflict and democratization happened in its neighbor countries such as Myanmar and Philippines.⁹⁷ Another acknowledgement and complement of soft approach by the southern powers within SSC was also delivered by another northern country. In this case, Australia, was reported through its Minister of Foreign Affairs has congratulated Indonesia’s effort in dealing with Myanmar conflict and democratic transition case, emphasizing the Indonesian policy in promoting democracy to the neighbor while also improving its home democracy.⁹⁸

5.2 Mutual Benefit of SSTC in Peace and Democracy: Indonesia’s

Context

One of SSC’s strengths and also being attached in the principle of SSC/SSTC, the mutual benefit is always designed to emerge when the southern countries are pursuing the SSC. Mutual benefit is also seen as part of distinct aspect when comparing the peace and democracy assistance implemented by traditional donors that

⁹⁷ Regional Leadership and South-South Cooperation, Interview with Douglas Broderick, UNDP resident coordinative in Indonesia (2015). See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZkittwtjU8>

⁹⁸ Australian FM Minister, Kevin Rudd, in 2012 was reported to congratulate Indonesia’s fine diplomacy to Myanmar. See: http://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/indonesia-myanmar-relations-promoting-democracy-south-east-asia/

claim that the assistance is designed to build peace in the beneficiary (see the chapter 2). In the study case of Indonesia, when various technical cooperation for capacity building have been implemented, the concern to identify the impact of the activity can be assumed to justify the existence of the mutual benefit. In the side of Indonesia, it might be needed to support points of Alexandra (2016), she figures out there are categories of Indonesian benefits when applying the peacebuilding assistance to other FCA and democratic transition countries in the global south:

“First, intangible benefits such as showing Indonesia’s good will and solidarity toward other developing countries is emphasized. Second, while helping others, Indonesia can also benefit by learning from the experiences that the beneficiary/host countries go through. Third, while there might be some tangible political and economic benefits, it is always necessary to avoid imposing Indonesia’s interests and agenda and to be as subtle as possible when dealing with this issue.”

(Alexandra 2016: 17)

An interesting point to notice is that in the SSTC, Indonesia is adhered to not only share a lesson learnt or best practice of the experience but also learn something from the experience of beneficiaries. In this case, it can be further emerged as the mutual learning process. Moreover, in the mutual learning process is also perceived as the way of both provider and beneficiary to identify the real problems especially of the

beneficiary, hence can support the way to find the tangible solution.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the benefits of Indonesia in the inclusive partnership of SSC may generally be explored as (i) Indonesian diplomacy tool in the international level; (ii) solution to enhance human resource, technology and knowledge transfer for international development cooperation; and (iii) SSC is to be a path to market penetration.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, in the side of beneficiaries, the principles of SSC per se, like non-intervention and respect sovereignty and granted unconditionally have been the positive side of SSC for the beneficiaries when receiving the technical assistance by the provider. Putting example case of Indonesia SSTC to Myanmar, Myanmar has benefited in receiving the lesson learnt from Indonesia which support its conflict resolution process and democratic transition without having any pressure of dictate from Indonesia, as the provider. In short, program of capacity building also support the process of home grown democracy in Myanmar while it is conducted as to respond Myanmar's demand on Indonesia's technical program. The benefit is once again strengthening the power of "sharing experience" in the framework of SSTC when dealing with peace and democracy assistance that can improve the modalities/capacities of beneficiary to start its democratization and peacebuilding process. Furthermore trainings of good governance which entails the concept state

⁹⁹ Tangible solution can be achieved as the both provider and beneficiary can be open in exploring and discussing the problem (Alexandra 2016: 18)

¹⁰⁰ Siti Nugraha Mauludiah, Director of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia. 2013. Pelaksanaan Kerja Sama Teknik Luar Negeri-ppt (the Implementation of Technical Cooperation)-ppt

building have also given such a benefit for the beneficiaries in improving their officials' human resources and creating expertise on the issue of good governance.

Table 6: Component of mutual benefit of SSTC in peace and democracy:

Indonesia's context

Mutual Benefit	Provider	Beneficiary
Role of international development cooperation architecture	Soft power diplomacy, emphasizing the status of emerging major power and pivotal state in the global south	Soft assistance of peacebuilding and democratization, without having provoked or dictated by provider
Mutual learning of peacebuilding management and democratization	Understanding the multiple case of peacebuilding progress and democratization, enriching the existing experience	Having valuable experience of other country in solving the problems of conflicts, and democratization
Human resource development in the good governance and democracy	Improve the human resources to as the more demands of beneficiaries come to the provider	Having low cost or granted capacity building program to improve officials' human resource as a mean of state building
Shared interest to maintain peace and stability by invoking strong essence of solidarity	Contributing to the stability of peace and security in the country and the region, giving impact of the domestic peace and provider's security	Being supported in the progress of peace and democracy within the beneficiaries, benefited from the strong essence of solidarity

Source: prepared by the author

5.3 SSTC in Peace and Democracy: Challenges Ahead

In response with the shortcoming of SSC and also its triangular cooperation in peace and democracy explained before, in such point creating challenges for SSC:

- (i) Domestic challenge makes it difficult to support democracy abroad

While emerging donors in the global south have been sharing their best stories of democratic transition, it still cannot be neglected that they may be still facing some domestic problems, wondering the story remains to be best practice. Hence, improving domestic situation and development should be prioritized in order to be ready with the more demand by beneficiaries.

- (ii) Sustainability of SSTC's program without northern support?

It seems to be a skeptic when the northern countries are not longer to support the SSC, wondering whether the southern providers can keep sustaining their programs of their SSTC, however, this is not a big challenge as many southern providers are setting part of their national budget specially for improving their commitment on the inclusive partnership of SSC.

- (iii) Expanding the form of assistance to be alike with the traditional aids

While the grants and technical cooperation especially for capacity building still remain as the main components of SSC, the providers are challenged to expand their form of assistance to be alike with the traditional aids such as concessional loan and high cost aid such as infrastructure projects. The concern is actually in responding to

the possibility of low cost programs like technical cooperation can sustain the peace and development of the beneficiary.¹⁰¹

For some degree, the SSC and the triangular cooperation, through the case of Indonesia can be meant to be another research in justifying the role of SSC in peace and democracy, even though still some challenges and the aforementioned shortcomings can limit the essence of SSC in contributing to the promotion of peace and democracy. At last, the evidence of potentiality of SSC in creating peace and promoting democracy is supporting the theory of liberalism, which believes that cooperation is in some context hindering conflict and war (Jules 2008). In this case, mutual benefit can be main point to understand the SSC is essential to be mainstreamed when both provider and beneficiaries can gain the mutual learning of peacebuilding progress and democratization, sharing mutual interest of peace and stability and mutual essence of solidarity which finally also improve the bilateral relationship of the provider and beneficiary.

¹⁰¹ Western donors criticize the framework of SSC as a long process and ineffective aid in the area of peace and democracy (Alexandra 2016:12)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The thesis focused on exploring the roles of South-South Cooperation (SSC) and triangular cooperation or SSTC in promoting peace and democracy in order to be able to seeing the plausibility of mainstreaming the SSTC in peace and democracy. Through the study case of Indonesia, the third world largest democratic country and rich in diversity, has gained such a successful experience in dealing with conflict of ethnicity and democratic transition process from the authority to the full democracy. Indonesia's particular status as emerging southern provider and pivotal state in Southeast Asia has been asked by many developing countries, especially FCA countries and countries under democratic transition to share the experience and bestow the assistance to help their peacebuilding process and democratization. In response with that, Indonesia promotes its contribution to the peace and democracy through its SSTC.

Specifically on the program of good governance and democracy on its technical cooperation for capacity building, Indonesia is fostering its commitment to participate in the global peace and justice which is mainly associated on its national constitution 1945. While the country keeps strengthening the institutional framework of its SSTC with stronger coordination and contribution, Indonesia maintains its soft diplomacy to promote peace and stability, especially within the region of Southeast

Asia, or ASEAN, the first concentric circle of Indonesia's foreign policy. Countries like Myanmar and Philippines were then analyzed to be best practice of Indonesia's SSTC in assisting peacebuilding and democracy consolidation.

Having more demands from the aforesaid beneficiaries, especially through sharing experience and lesson learnt, Indonesia has even strengthened its commitment to assist by designing several specific projects of capacity building, such as training, workshop and dialogue in peacebuilding and democracy for Myanmar and specially designed blue book on Indonesia-Myanmar for capacity building partnership in the period of 2013-2015, while assisting Philippines by actively involved in the International Monitor Team (IMT) since 2012 to Mindanao, the southern part of Philippines. In short, the assistance given by Indonesia is merely based on demands by the beneficiaries, and entailing five principles which also belongs to SSC's principle that include ownership and respecting national sovereignty, non-conditionality, non-intervention and mutual benefit.

Exploring Indonesia's SSTC in peace and democracy has given particular evidence to assume how SSC can be utilized as a mean to share solidarity and mutual interest in peace and democracy. Technical cooperation, knowledge and experience sharing is in fact still a corner stone of the SSC in peace and democracy, but not diminishing the other source of southern assistance such as peace broker role and humanitarian assistance. A political support and demand driven assistance is further perceived to be alternative to promote peacebuilding assistance and democratization without any pressure or dictation by the provider. Making it as the comparative

advantage of SSC when assisting peace process and supporting home grown democracy.

Mutual benefit is also much emphasized when pursuing SSC and the triangular cooperation, which signifies the SSC is designed to support the beneficiaries based on their demands and local needs but may create good feedback to the provider in fulfilling their interest. Even though, such a benefit seems to be less tangible and even needs such a long process to assure the peace and democracy in beneficiaries, the essence of solidarity among the southern countries seems to be the main reason why southern providers, e.g. Indonesia keep pursuing SSC or SSTC.

To sum up, SSC with its strengths and weakness is needed to be encouraged and be facilitated, especially by traditional donors. And the triangular cooperation is the best path to link the southern providers' participation and being as financial solution. However, the SSTC still face some challenges such as domestic instability of provider, even though the country ever had successful experience in conflict management and democratization, for such point, may hinder the strength of experience sharing. Second, the sustainability of SSTC's program can be questioned once there is lack of support by the northern donors to facilitate the SSC through triangular cooperation. However it does not seem to be a big challenge as there have been many southern emerging donors are recently having their own budget for their SSC programs. Furthermore, being merely to technical cooperation for capacity building in peace and democracy, can be challenged when facing a demand to sustain the peace that later can support the development of the beneficiaries. Expanding the

form of assistance of SSC to be much broader is needed to achieve more tangible mutual benefit. In this case, not only the technical cooperation (TAC) or low cost project conducted but also more variation in the patterns of SSC in peace and democracy are expected to emerge in the nearly coming time, regarded as the new challenge.

At last, strengthening the role of SSC as the complementarity of NSC and the growing role of global south in promoting peace and democracy through SSC and TrC or SSTC are acknowledged to be important element to justify the importance of mainstreaming SSTC in peace and democracy. Thus, the thesis supports an idea to keep broadening the framework of SSC/SSTC from apparently an economic and technical cooperation to be also a peacebuilding and democracy cooperation. In such a point, this mainstreaming SSTC in peace and democracy would then enhance the effort in inducing the global partnership for the attainment of the goal 16.

References

Adenan, Reza, "Bali Democracy Forum: Why It Matters Even More", (Jakarta Post: 2015)

Alexandra, Lina, *New Actors and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding: Indonesia* (CSIS: 2016)

Amb. Robert O. Blake, Jr. "Indonesia's Successful Democratic Transition: Adds New Momentum to US-Indonesian Relations" (2014)
https://s3.amazonaws.com/caa-production/attachments/481/C_Pages17to20_Blake.pdf?1412346716 (accessed on 2016.09.29)

Anderson, Mary B, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace--or War* (Lynne Rienner Publishers:1999)

Andrade, Melisa, *Is the South Ready for South-South Cooperation?* (2009),
<http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCOnePager77.pdf> (accessed on 2016.04.13)

Cabana (2014) *Chronology and History of South-South Cooperation*,
<http://segib.org/wp-content/uploads/Chrono-South-South2014.pdf> (accessed on 2016.07.19)

Collier, Paul, *The Bottom Billion. Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it* (Oxford University Press: 2008)

Cunfiffe, Eddie Riyad ., et al, *Country case study: Indonesia: Negotiating Peace in Indonesia Prospects for Building Peace and Upholding Justice in Maluku and Aceh* (IFP-EU: 2009)

Dalrymple, Sarah. *Investment in Peace and Security* (Development Initiatives: 2016)

David Kinsella and David L. Rosseau, "Democracy and Conflict Resolution," The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution, ed. Jacob Bercovitch, Viktor Aleksandrovich Kremeniuk, and I. William Zartman, (London: Sage, 2009)

Deacon, Bob, Global Social Policy and Governance (London: Sage, 2007)

Evan, Idris, Jessica Lane, et al, A Conceptual Model of Peacebuilding and Democracy: Integrating the Fields (American University: 2013)

Epstein, Richard, Direct Democracy: Government of the People, by the People, and for the people (Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy: 2011)

Furness, Mark, "Let's Get Comprehensive: European Union Engagement in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries" (German Development Institute: 2014)

Ghoshal, Baladas, "Democratic Transition in Myanmar" (ICWA: 2012)

Hermawan, Yulius Purwadi, Syurkani Ishak Kasim, Pemenuhan Komitmen Indonesia untuk Overseas Development Aids (ODA) dalam Kerangka Kerja Sama Global, (Jakarta: PKPPIM-BKF), http://www.kemenkeu.go.id/sites/default/files/Komitmen%20Indonesia%20Untuk%20ODA_PKPPIM.pdf (accessed on 2016.05.01)

Hiroshi Kato, Scaling Up South-South and Triangular Cooperation (Tokyo: JICA Research Institute, 2012), ch. 4. Shimoda, Yukimi, Shigeki Nakzawa, Case 4 Flexible Cooperation for Indonesia's Multi-dimensional Challenges for South-South Cooperation under a Shared Vision, (Tokyo: JICA Research Institute, 2012)

Jules, Tavis D, Michelle Morais de Sá e Silva, How Different Disciplines have Approached South-South Cooperation and Transfer, http://www.tc.columbia.edu/sie/journal/volume_5/jules.pdf (accessed May 5, 2016)

- Kang, Minkyung, A Study on Thailand's Strategy of South-South Cooperation towards Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (Seoul: GSIS-SNU,2015)
- Mathur, Anita, Role of South-South Cooperation and Emerging Powers in Peacemaking and Peacebuilding (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: 2014)
- Mauludiah, Siti Nugraha (Director of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia), Indonesia's South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Our Stories, Experience and .. on Moving Forwards, <http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/IDSitiNugrahaMauludiah.pdf> (accessed on 2016.04.05)
- Mauludiah, Siti Nugraha, Director of Technical Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia. 2013. Pelaksanaan Kerja Sama Teknik Luar Negeri-ppt (the Implementation of Technical Cooperation)-ppt
- Mulakala, Anthea, "Reflecting on 60 Years of South-South Cooperation: Then and Now" (Asia Foundation: 2015) <http://asiafoundation.org/2015/11/04/reflecting-on-60-years-of-south-south-cooperation-then-and-now/> (accessed on 2016.10.17)
- Mawdesley, Emma, From Recipients to Donors: Emerging Powers and the Changing Development Landscape (London: Zed Books, 2011)
- Pertiwi, Sukmawati Bela, "Understanding Reforms in Myanmar: Linking External and Internal Factors" https://www.academia.edu/3690672/Understanding_Reforms_in_Myanmar_Linking_External_and_Internal_Factors (accessed on 2016.10.10)
- Purushothaman, Chithra, Foreign Aid and South-South Cooperation: Emerging Powers as Donors, <http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/FLACSO-ISA%20BuenosAires%202014/Archive/fb22e0c3-90e3-4649-87e7-d3de70049593.pdf> (accessed on 2016.04.14)

Renzio, P. de; Seifert, J. (2014) South–South cooperation and the future of development assistance: mapping, actors and options

Sherman, Jake, Megan M. Gleason, W.P.S. Sidhu, and Bruce Jones, “Engagement on Development and Security: New Actors, New Debates”, (New York University: 2011)

Stuenkel (2013) South-South Cooperation Towards a New Paradigm?, <http://www.postwesternworld.com/2013/05/11/south-south-cooperation-towards-a-new-paradigm/> (accessed on 2016.07.19)

Tahalele, Miranda, Indonesia South-South Cooperation: Renewing the Old Message (2015), <http://devpolicy.org/indonesia-south-south-cooperation-renewing-the-old-message-20150910/> (accessed on 2016.04.13)

Tellis, Ashley J. Michael Wills, Domestic Political Change and Grand Strategy, (Washington, the National Bureau of Asian Research, 2007)

U.O Spring, Sustainable Development with Peacebuilding and Human Security (UNAM Mexico), <http://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/c14/e1-39b-24.pdf> (accessed on 2016.09.17)

_____, Aid Spending on Conflict Prevention and Resolution, Peace and Security, <http://devinit.org/#!/post/aid-spending-on-conflict-prevention-and-resolution-peace-and-security> (accessed on 2016.09.27)

_____, Annual Statement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic Indonesia 2016, http://www.indonesiahouston.net/uploads/files/pptm_2016-menlu_-_bam_07_januari_2016_bhs_i_nggris.pdf?x_session=c8cc439bce82ad1f1a7ffed64c00e16 (accessed on 2016.05.03)

_____, Bali Democracy Forum, Information sheet, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/id/lembar-informasi/Pages/Bali-Democracy-Forum.aspx> (accessed on 2016.09.17)

- _____, Bogota Statement: Towards Effective and Inclusive Development Partnerships in 2010 <http://www.oecd.org/development/effectiveness/45497536.pdf> (accessed on 2016.07.19)
- _____, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance> (accessed on 2016.09.17)
- _____, Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation in 2011. <http://www.oecd.org/development/effectiveness/49650173.pdf> (accessed on 2016.07.19)
- _____, Caracas Program of Action (CPA) in 1981. <http://unchronicle.un.org/article/financial-support-south-south-cooperation-caracas-programme-action-cpa-and-perez-guerrero/> (accessed on 2016.07.19)
- _____, Donor Aid Strategies in Post Peace Settlement Environment, <http://legacy.international-alert.org/resources/publications/donor-aid-strategies-post-peace-settlement-environments> (accessed on 2016.09.26)
- _____, Ensuring Fragile States are not Behind, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/43293283.pdf> (accessed on 2016.09.26)
- _____, Financial Support to South-South Cooperation: The Caracas Programme of Action (CPA) and the Perez-Guerrero Trust Fund (PGTF) <http://unchronicle.un.org/article/financial-support-south-south-cooperation-caracas-programme-action-cpa-and-perez-guerrero/> (accessed on 2016.07.19)
- _____, Foreign Policy Direction of Indonesia (MOFA of RI: 2014)
- _____, Grand Design and Blue Print of SSC of Indonesia-final draft (NCT-SSTC: 2014)

- _____, Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities (OECD-DAC Network on Peace, Conflict, and Development Co-operation and the DAC Network on Development Evaluation: 2008) <https://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/39774573.pdf> (accessed on 2016.09.17)
- _____, History and the Structure of Indonesia SSTC, http://ssc-indonesia.org/ksst/index88b6.html?page_id=1095 (accessed on 2016.03.01)
- _____, Historical Background on NAM-CSSTC http://csstc.org/v_ket1.asp?info=21&mn=2 (accessed on 2016.07.18)
- _____, History of Bandung Conference 1955. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/bandung-conf> (accessed on 2016.04.05)
- _____, History of G77 <http://www.g77.org/doc/> (accessed on 2016.07.19)
- _____, Indonesia-Myanmar Relations: Promoting Democracy in South-East Asia http://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/indonesia-myanmar-relations-promoting-democracy-south-east-asia/ (accessed on 2016.10.11)
- _____, Indonesia's Capacities on Technical Cooperation" (<http://ssc-indonesia.org/ksst/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Ebook-INDONESIA-CAPACITIES.pdf>) (accessed on 2016.08.17)
- _____, Investment Peace and Security, <http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Investments-in-peace-and-security.pdf> (accessed on 2016.09.26)
- _____, Marty Bukan Hubungan Indonesia-Myanmar <http://www.jpnn.com/index.php?mib=berita.detail&id=176590> (accessed on 2016.09.17)

- _____, Panglong Agreement, 12 February 1947 signed by Burmese Government, Kachin Committee, and Shan Committee http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/MM_470212_Panglong%20Agreement.pdf (accessed on 2016.10.03)
- _____, Peace, stability, human rights and effective governance based on the rule of law are important conduits for sustainable development, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda/goal-16.html> (accessed on 2016.08.29)
- _____, Policies of Indonesia SSTC, http://ssc-indonesia.org/ksst/index395d.html?page_id=1086 (accessed on 2016.03.01)
- _____, Prioritas KSST Indonesia Tahun 2016 (Indonesia SSTC priority in 2016), <http://pusatklm.setjen.pertanian.go.id/berita-318-prioritas-ksst-indonesia-tahun-2016.html> (accessed on 2016.05.01)
- _____, Regional Leadership and South-South Cooperation (2015), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZkittwtjU8> (accessed on 2016.10.10)
- _____, South-South Cooperation in Peace and Development, http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/news/articles/2015/southsouth_cooperation_in_peace_and_development.html (accessed on 2016.08.17)
- _____, South-South Cooperation: A Challenge to the Aid System? (Quezon City, IBON Centre, 2010)
- _____, Studi Arah Kebijakan Indonesia dalam Kerja Sama Selatan-Selatan (Jakarta, JICA-CEACoS, 2010)
- _____, The Changing Aid Landscape in East Asia: The Rise of Non-DAC Providers (The Asia Foundation: 2014) <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/ChangingAidLandscapeinEastAsia.pdf> (accessed on 2016.03.11)

- _____, The India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum <http://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/about-ibsa2> (accessed on 2016.09.17)
- _____, UNDP, Working with Civil Society in Foreign Aid: Possibilities for South-South Cooperation? (Beijing: UNDP China and AusAid, 2013)
- _____, What is SSC, http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html (accessed on 2015.12.24)
- _____, What is the Bali Democracy Forum? http://bdf.kemlu.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=445&Itemid=106&lang=en (accessed on 2016.09.17)
- _____, 2016 Freedom in the world report, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf (accessed on 2016.09.17)

요약 (국문초록)

지속가능발전목표(SDGs)의 평화구축 의제(목표 16)는 평화와 발전의 연계를 강화시켰다. 선진국(North)의 전통적인 행위자들이 평화발전 원조 제공에 참여하는 것과 함께, 남남협력(South-South Cooperation, SSC)과 삼각협력(TrC)은 남남삼각협력(SSTC) 프레임워크를 경제 및 기술 협력으로부터 평화와 안보 영역으로 확장시키며 지속가능발전목표 16 을 달성하기 위해 광범위하게 고려되고 있다. 본 연구는 SSTC 를 통한 평화증진에서 개발도상국(global south)의 중요성을 정당화하고 협력의 역할과 향후 도전과제를 밝힌다. 평화구축 원조를 위한 개발도상국의 민주적 방식의 가능한 사례로 인도네시아를 선택하였다. 세 번째로 큰 민주국가인 인도네시아에서 민주주의는 평화를 구축하고 유지하는 데 중요한 역할을 한다. SSTC 의 비교우위로서 인도네시아의 평화와 민주주의는 분쟁취약국가(FCA)에 성공적인 민주적 전이의 중요한 기폭제로서 역할 할 것이다. 인도네시아의 실천에 주목하여, 평화와 민주주의 영역에서 남남협력의 상호 이익이 어떻게 획득 될 수 있는가에 대하여 질적 분석을 수행하였다.

주요어: 남남협력, 삼각협력, 평화구축, 민주주의, 분쟁취약국가, 역량
구축을 위한 기술 협력

학번: 2015-25097

