

# The Political Economy of Economic Cooperation: The Case of Indonesia in Finding New Non-Traditional Markets

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Date received: 08 June 2023 Revision date: 12 September 2023 Date published: 01 November 2023</p> <hr/> <p>Keywords <i>economic; cooperation; national interest; non-traditional markets</i></p> <hr/> <p>Correspondence Email: <a href="mailto:pakpahan@unpar.ac.id">pakpahan@unpar.ac.id</a></p>	<p>Indonesia strives to achieve its goals of becoming a developed country by 2045 as stated in the Indonesia's Dream 2015-2085, the most influential country in the Asia Pacific region, and to become a barometer of world economic growth. One of the strategies implemented by the Indonesian government to achieve those dreams is to open new economic cooperation in new non-traditional markets or countries that were not previously Indonesia's main trading partners. This research uses a national interest approach through descriptive research and a qualitative approach with data sources of literature studies from books, journals, and research reports that support the search for the analysis result. This study explains how the opening of new cooperation is carried out to achieve Indonesia's national interests, both economic interests to become a developed country by 2045 and political interests to affirm Indonesia's position within the framework of South-South cooperation. This research found that opening new economic cooperation can help Indonesia achieve its goal of becoming a developed country by 2045 and position Indonesia's political position as an important actor in promoting South-South cooperation.</p>

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has a goal of becoming a developed country by 2045. This is based on President Joko Widodo's hope in 2016, that Indonesia must become a developed country by 2045 (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2019). The year 2045 also coincides with 100 years of Indonesian independence. This vision contains not only an ideal picture of Indonesia in 2045 but also provides a roadmap that needs to be achieved by 2045. This vision is known as Indonesia Maju 2045 (Advanced Indonesia 2045). The idea of Indonesia Maju 2045 cannot be separated from the vision and hopes of President Joko Widodo in 2015 regarding the country's image for the next 70-year period which would mark 140 years of Indonesian Independence (Indonesia gained independence in 1945). President Joko Widodo titled it Indonesia's Dream 2015-2085 with the objectives as follows: (1) enhance Indonesia's human capital by developing individuals who are intelligent and can outperform other nations in the world, (2) ensure that the Indonesian people uphold pluralism, cultural and religious diversity, and high ethical values, (3) making Indonesia as the center of education, technology, and world civilization, (4) shape people and government officials to be free from corrupt behavior, (5) achieve equitable infrastructure development throughout Indonesia, (6) position Indonesia as an independent country and the most influential country in the Asia-Pacific region, and (7) making Indonesia as a barometer of world economic growth (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2019).

Those visions and dreams were established to position Indonesia as a high-income country in 2036 (that means Indonesia escapes the middle-income trap) and have the seventh-highest GDP in the world in 2045. Moreover, it is hoped that in 2045, the Indonesian middle-income class will increase to 70 percent in 2045, in which the projected number would be 223 million people who are categorized as middle-income class (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2019).

Indonesia itself has enough modalities to achieve those dreams. In the context of being an influential country in the Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia is currently a member of the G20 – the only country in Southeast Asia region to do so (Larasati and Natasya, 2017, p. 153; Astuti and Fathun, 2020, p. 50) and held two important activities as Chairman, namely in the G20 in 2022 and ASEAN in 2023 (Larasati and Natasya, 2017, p. 149). In addition, Indonesia is also known as one of the pioneers of the Non-Aligned Movement which also focuses on South-South Cooperation (SSC) (Apresian, 2017, p. 189). Indonesia is further predicted to play a central and dominant role in driving the regional and global economy given its strategic location (Santoso and Nafisah, 2017, p. 192). In the context of being a barometer of the world economy, Indonesia is on the right track because it is the 16th largest economic power in the world (Breuer and Kinda, 2018, p. 3) and a member of the G20. These two modalities need to be maintained and developed if Indonesia wants to become a developed country in 2045. In achieving those dreams, strategies and economic policies – both domestic and international – are required.

However, realizing those dreams is not easy. Several international health crises as well as political and economic turmoil, such as the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine War, have forced the Indonesian Government to carry out new strategies and breakthroughs to stay on the right track to achieve the Indonesia Maju 2045's goals. The two events have certainly affected the steps that Indonesia has prepared to achieve the goals of Indonesia Maju 2045. As such, there is a need for acceleration and renewal of economic cooperation by seeking new non-traditional markets, as one of the solutions. Economic cooperation in new non-traditional markets can be seen as Indonesia's strategy for achieving its national interests. In the economic context, there is an opportunity to increase Indonesia's trade value through new economic cooperation. In the political context, South-South cooperation can demonstrate Indonesia's position as an important actor in global politics (Apresian, 2017, p. 190). Various South-South Cooperation programs are also used by Indonesia to dampen the support of Pacific countries for the Free Papua Organization (Organisasi Papua Merdeka/OPM) and improve Indonesia's image among Pacific countries (Dzikri, 2020, p. 181). Thus, this paper attempts to explain how the opening of new cooperation is conducted to achieve Indonesia's national interests, both economic interests to become a developed country by 2045 as well as political interests to be an influential country in the Asia-Pacific and affirm Indonesia's position within the framework of South-South cooperation.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative. John Creswell (1994, pp.1-2) defined qualitative research as: "... an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting." Furthermore, almost any real-world event can be a topic for qualitative research (Yin, 2016, p. 3). Qualitative methods are appropriate to be applied to this research because this research aims to find the political-economic meaning of the opening of new economic cooperation by the Indonesian government to new locations or new non-traditional markets.

Data collection for qualitative research can be collected through: interviewing, observing, collecting and examining, and feeling (Yin, 2016, p. 138). In this study, data collection was carried out through a literature study using official documents such as books, journal articles, and newspaper reports. Creswell (2010, pp. 276-283) stated that qualitative data in book and journal articles are then used as an analysis model with the following steps: collecting and preparing data, reading all data, analyzing data, conducting comprehensive analysis, and presenting it in narrative or report form. Using Yin and Creswell's approach, the author collected written documents, analyzed the documents, and then, presented them in a written report narrative.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The desire to become a developed country in 2045 is not easy. Two major events, namely the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war, are things that need to be considered to achieve the dream of becoming an influential country in the Asia-Pacific region and the center of the world's economic barometer. The global political-economic situation changed drastically when two major events occurred: the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022. These two events had an impact on the world order and international relations activities between countries. When the Covid-19 virus began to spread, the global economy was directly affected (Mishra, 2020, p. 4; Eich, Hanelt, and Kosmehl, 2020, p. 4). Restrictions on human mobility have a direct impact on economic activity (Prawoto, Purnomo and Zahra, 2020, p. 62; Fadli, 2021, p. 278). There are at least three impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on the economic sector: labor market, government support, and demand (Arriola, Kowalski, and van Tongeren, 2022, pp. 8-15). The first impact is on the level of worker productivity where the level of work productivity dropped dramatically due to two things. Firstly, workers who are sick (or even die) are required to stay at home to prevent the spread of Covid-19. Second, healthy workers (not affected by Covid-19) are required to stay at home to be caregivers to those exposed to Covid-19. The second impact is on government support. In a large-scale pandemic situation, the government's concern is the economic situation and people's welfare so that people can survive, including business people. The costs incurred to provide these funds severely drained the state budget. The last impact is on the demand for goods and services.

The pandemic, coupled with restrictions on human mobility, drastically reduced the demand for certain products, for example, tertiary products. The Government of Indonesia provided financial assistance to economic actors and allocated a budget of IDR 70.1 trillion for tax incentives and stimulus for people's business credit from a total budget of IDR 405.1 trillion to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic in the 2020 State Budget (Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian, 2020; Pakpahan, 2020, p. 62). Moreover, the Government of Indonesia issued a National Economic Recovery Program (Program Pemulihan Ekonomi/PEN) to mitigate the negative impact of the pandemic on the economy. The central government has budgeted a National Economic Recovery (PEN) program of IDR 695.2 trillion in April 2020 (Kemenangan and Setiawan, 2021, p. 75). This flow of funds, of course, has an impact on the Government of Indonesia's focus regarding the road map for the preparation of Indonesia Maju 2045.

Another event that disrupted the focus of Indonesia Maju 2045's road map is the Russia-Ukraine War in 2022. The Russia-Ukraine War had an impact on the global economy (Guénette, Kenworthy and Wheeler, 2022, pp. 4-5). It is stated in the report that the war had brought about a global energy and food crisis (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2022, pp. 9-17). Russia and Ukraine are major exporters of several natural and agricultural commodities (FAO, 2023). As a result, large spikes and volatility in commodity prices arose. The invasion resulted in soaring commodity prices such as for wheat, oil, and natural gas, causing inflation and crises in various countries that depend on these

commodities (Mbah and Wasum, 2022, p. 145). The impact of rising commodity prices also affected economic growth in countries in the Southeast Asian region including Indonesia (Bakrie, Delanova, and Yani, 2022, p. 81).

Of course, policies and strategies are needed to maintain the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy and international economic cooperation so that the two big dreams mentioned above can be achieved. George Keenan stated that foreign policy formulation and its implementation must reflect domestic/internal ideals (Nincic, 1999, p.37). This means that the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy must also accommodate its national interests. National interests are usually reflected in a country's foreign policy (Ota and Ecoma, 2022, p. 28). Nuechterlein (1976, p. 247) defines national interests as: "... the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment." Using that definition, national interests underscore the needs of the country, which may differ from one leader to another. National interests are said to be the main reason why countries engage in international relations and cooperate with other countries (Manan, 2015, p. 176). The implementation of national interests in the formulation of foreign policy is expected to increase the political and economic welfare of a country. In the study of International Political Economy, the economic and political dimensions are interrelated. Participation in the global economy by one country is affected by domestic political decisions (Lairson and Skidmore, 2017, p. 5). Economic cooperation is a manifestation of domestic political policies, especially when associated with fulfilling a country's national interests.

Moreover, a sovereign country has the right to determine whether to cooperate for a certain purpose or even use force on a certain issue. Furthermore, Nuechterlein (1976, p. 248) then explained that national interests are divided into four focuses, which are: defense, economics, world order, and ideology. In line with this research, two focuses form the basis of this research analysis, namely economic and ideological interests. Economic interest, according to Nuechterlein (1976), is to improve the country's economic welfare by establishing relations with other countries. Ideological interest is a set of values that are adopted by a country and are believed to be universally good values. As mentioned earlier, Indonesia's economic interest is to become a developed country by 2045, which is why Indonesia is looking for new economic cooperation in new non-traditional markets. Indonesia's political interests are to be an influential country in the Asia-Pacific and to affirm Indonesia's position within the framework of South-South Cooperation. Referring to the political interests above, there are values (ideologies) that Indonesia adheres to, namely the free and active principle and the principle of non-alignment in conducting its foreign policy.

In designing and implementing foreign policy, especially related to the economic sector, we need to understand the characteristics of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia's foreign policy is based on the free and active principle. Therefore, in conducting foreign relations, including economic relations, Indonesia always prioritizes the principles of peace and friendship with all nations (Hatta, 1953, p. 441-442; Abdurofiq, Putra, and Yunus, 2024, p.2). A free and active foreign policy is a foreign policy that is not a neutral policy, which means that it is free to determine attitudes and policies towards international issues and not be tied to just one world power (Hatta, 1953, p. 447). Based on the free-active policy, Indonesia formulates its international economic policy by taking into account the economic and political interests of the economic relations that have been or will be created.

The focus on improving the economy to achieve Indonesia's target of becoming an advanced country by 2045 began when President Joko Widodo (then called the president-elect) gave a speech at the 2014 National Awakening Party (PKB/Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) Congress in Surabaya. The

focal point was improving human resources to be able to compete in the era of the global economy, and the development of science and technology. The emphasis on the economic sector was again mentioned when President Joko Widodo gave a speech at the 2015 Indonesian Trade Expo. In his remarks, the President reminded the audience that the global economic slowdown, the decline of world trade, and a weakening Chinese economy had affected Indonesia's surplus trade balance and thus, it was necessary to look for new non-traditional markets (Hutabarat, 2018, p. 6; Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2015). Hence, the opening of economic cooperation with new non-traditional markets (not countries that are Indonesia's main export markets) through economic diplomacy must be accelerated.

Until 2022, Indonesia has signed various cooperation agreements with countries categorized as new non-traditional markets (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2022, pp. 107-110). Most of them have been ratified and are in effect, while four bilateral agreements are still in the ratification process. They are:

1. Indonesia – Pakistan Preferential Trade Agreement (IP-PTA). The agreement has been ratified through Presidential Decree No. 98 of 2012 and has gone into effect since 1 September 2013. The agreement aims to increase trade between the two countries and contribute to a trade surplus for Indonesia with an average of USD 1.84 billion per year, mainly from the export commodity of palm oil.
2. Indonesia – Palestine MoU on Trade Facilitation for Certain Products Originating from Palestinian Territories. The agreement has been ratified through Presidential Decree No. 34 of 2018 and has gone into effect since 21 February 2019. The initial purpose of the agreement is that Indonesian consumers and industry have alternative sources of dates and olive oil at more competitive prices.
3. Indonesia – Chile Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IC-CEPA). The agreement has been ratified through Presidential Regulation No. 11 of 2019 and has gone into effect since 10 August 2019. This agreement agreed on the abolishment of nearly 89.6 percent of Chile's total tariff posts to increase Indonesia's exports. This cooperation with Chile aims to open new trade routes to the South American region by making Chile the entry point. Chile is also considered a potential partner due to its status as an emerging economy, along with several other countries in the South American region such as Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay (Hutabarat, 2018, p. 163).
4. Indonesia – European Free Trade Area Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IE-CEPA). The agreement has been ratified through Law No. 1 of 2021 and has gone into effect since 1 November 2021. The idea of this agreement is to open market access to EFTA countries through the elimination of import duty rates. Several Indonesian products that receive zero percent tariffs on the EFTA market include palm oil, fish, gold, coffee, and manufactured industrial products (textile, footwear, bicycles, toys, furniture, electrical equipment, machinery, and tires).
5. Indonesia Mozambique Preferential Trade Agreement (IM-PTA). The agreement has been ratified through Presidential Decree No. 90 of 2021 and has gone into effect since 6 June 2022. Mozambique provides reduced tariffs on fishery products, fruits, palm oil, margarine, soap, rubber, paper products, footwear and fabric products. It is hoped that the existence of the IM-PTA will encourage entrepreneurs to optimize the potential of non-traditional markets, especially Africa. Mozambique is also expected to become a hub for Indonesian export products to the Sub-Saharan Africa region as well as increase trade with African countries (Larasati and Aseilla, 2021, p. 51).

6. Indonesia – United Arab Emirates Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IUAE-CEPA). The agreement was signed on July 1, 2022, and ratification is in progress. The United Arab Emirates is one of Indonesia's potential partners which is not only a non-traditional export destination but also has the potential to become an international trade hub in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

There are at least three bilateral trade agreements that are currently in the negotiation stage and in the process of being finalized. They are the Indonesia – European Union Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IEU-CEPA), Indonesia – Bangladesh Preferential Trade Agreement (IB-PTA), and Indonesia – Iran Preferential Trade Agreement (II-PTA) (Sekretariat Kabinet, 2023). Considering the potential of the African and Latin American regions, it is important to expand bilateral trade agreement negotiations with new African and Latin American countries besides Mozambique and Chile. Also, Indonesia and Peru are committed to immediately starting negotiations on the Indonesia-Peru Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IP-CEPA) as a follow-up to the launch of the IP-CEPA in August 2023 (Kementerian Perdagangan, 2024). Peru is a potential market marked by the value of bilateral trade which indicates a surplus value for Indonesia hence making Peru a gateway to reach other countries in the Latin American region (Firdaus and Nurhayati, 2020, p. 2).

The economic cooperation is carried out to fulfill the goal of achieving Indonesia Maju 2045 and becoming the center of the world's economic barometer. Furthermore, the serious response of the Indonesian Government in expanding and being increasingly more open towards economic cooperation is due to the current international situation where the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war are deemed as obstacles in achieving the country's 2045 goals and targets. The immense pressure on the national economy, marked by declining economic growth, rising unemployment rates, and the threat of recession, has drained the state treasury (Umam and Jazuli, 2020, p. 5). Various national economic recovery programs and social subsidy assistance require the allocation of significant funds so that new sources of income are needed for state revenues, as mentioned earlier. In addition, the threat of inflation due to rising prices for various commodities must additionally be addressed wisely. One of the ways to increase state revenue is to widen the scope of economic cooperation while increasing the total value and volume of Indonesia's exports. Referring to the Visi Indonesia 2045 (Vision of Indonesia 2045), a sufficient amount of budget is needed to realize the vision, especially those related to the Pillars of Indonesian Development 2045, namely: human development, sustainable economic development, and equitable development.

Many studies show that opening economic cooperation to non-traditional markets will provide benefits and multiplier effects on the Indonesian economy. Due to its G20 membership, Indonesia can take advantage of its position to gain more open market access to the global economy, improve commodity quality standards following international market demands, and improve Indonesia's bargaining position in international forums (Sushanti, 2019, p. 4). With the improvement of commodity quality standards, it is hoped that Indonesian commodity products will be easier to enter and be accepted in the international market and increase revenue to the state treasury. In addition, as a member of the G20 with stable economic growth of around 5% per year, Indonesia can attract domestic investment interests (Astuti and Fathun, 2020, p. 56). The Indonesia-EFTA cooperation is also predicted to provide benefits to Indonesia, for example, for the exports of jewelry, coffee, and footwear products to Switzerland and Liechtenstein, exports of nickel matte products, sports footwear, and coffee to Norway, exports of shrimp products, crude coconut oil, and coffee to Iceland (Santoso and Moenardy, 2023, p. 279). Market opening and penetration in the Latin American region also show great potential. The total GDP of this region reaches more than USD 5.5 trillion,

including three economies in the G20 group, which are Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina (Hutabarat, 2018, p. 169). The initial cooperation with Mozambique was not considered a potential cooperation, especially considering the disparity in GDP size where, in 2020, Indonesia's GDP reached USD 3,869.6 while Mozambique's GDP was only USD 448.6 (Larasati and Aseilla, 2021, p. 51). However, as mentioned earlier, Mozambique's population and geography are strategic as a gateway for Indonesian products to enter several countries in Africa.

The benefits and potential such as opening new markets, increasing export value, opening job opportunities due to increasing trade volume, and the entry of foreign investment are considered manifestations of Indonesia's economic interests. This manifestation can also support the realization of Advanced Indonesia 2045 where there is an increase in Indonesia's GDP to USD 23,199 in 2045 and escape from the middle-income trap in 2036 (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2019). Should this happen, the economic cooperation carried out can complement Indonesia as the center of the global economic barometer.

In a political context, Indonesia's economic cooperation cannot be separated from its free and active foreign policy. Since the beginning of its independence, Indonesia has emphasized its position in the international order by not taking sides with the big countries (Umar, 2023, p. 1460). Indonesia also pioneered the Non-Aligned Movement, which is defined as a political movement that does not side with the West Bloc and the East Bloc (Akbar, Subagyo, and Oktaviani, 2020, p.124). This movement arose during the Asia-Africa Conference in 1955 out of concern for the feud between the Western and Eastern Blocs after the end of the Second World War. By carrying out the spirit of non-alignment, Indonesia has more freedom to carry out economic cooperation with other countries without being cornered by labels of partiality towards one country or a particular group.

Currently, Indonesia can be classified as a middle-power country (Polanunu and Kusumaningrum, 2022, p. 148). This can be seen through the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015-2019 which emphasized that Indonesia would continue to consistently play the role of a middle power in its foreign political activities. With the status of a middle-power country, Indonesia is considered a (potential) strategic partner for other countries.

Apart from that, as a supporter of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia also wants to strengthen the spirit of the Global South or South-South Cooperation. The OECD defines South-South Cooperation as a form of collaboration and partnership between Southern countries to break away from dependency as aid recipient countries (Task Team of South-South Cooperation, 2011). Indonesia has strong historical ties with the African region. In 1955, Indonesia initiated and hosted the Asian-African Conference (AAC) which created Dasasila Bandung (the Ten Principles of Bandung) which emphasized the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries (Hutabarat and Damayanti, 2023, p. 429). This strong historical bond is Indonesia's capital to strengthen partnerships with African countries. Indonesia plays an important role in implementing its national interests through the SSC. In the African region, Indonesia has shown its consistency in upholding Dasasila Bandung to encourage the process of equitable development in African countries.

In the Pacific region, especially countries in the South Pacific that support Papua's independence from Indonesia, Indonesia has provided various aid programs to the South Pacific region to tone down the issue of Papua's independence (Dzikri, 2018, p. 167). Indonesia's role in providing various assistance in the SCC has the potential to improve Indonesia's position in the international arena. One manifestation of Indonesia's political interest in providing assistance can be seen through the provision of assistance to Vanuatu. Vanuatu is one of the countries that most often

voices its support for Papuan independence (Dzikri, 2018, p.181). In 2014, Indonesia assisted Vanuatu by sending agricultural equipment (tractors) (Apresian, 2017, p.197). If the use of tractors is successful and increases agricultural productivity in Vanuatu, the Vanuatu government may buy tractors from Indonesia. Providing assistance can also be used as a means to introduce domestic products abroad as part of achieving Indonesia's economic interests through economic cooperation. The importance of showing Indonesia as an important actor in the international world is marked by economic cooperation and assistance to third-world countries. The assistance provided by Indonesia is in the form of capacity building through training, for example, sending experts and offering capacity building training (Apresian, 2017, p. 193). This shows Indonesia's position as an influential country. The African and Pacific regions are two examples of how Indonesia tries to implement Indonesia's free and active foreign policy as a form of implementing the mandate of Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 (the 1945 Constitution) to eliminate colonialism and maintain world order.

Looking at several economic cooperation that has been and will be carried out, Indonesia is also targeting countries that are categorized as Southern countries, such as countries in Latin America and Africa. During his visit to the African region in August 2023 to Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, and South Africa, President Joko Widodo stated that this was a historic visit because it was the first time it was being done. It was also to strengthen solidarity among the countries of the global south (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2023). This confirms Indonesia's position as a middle-power and a non-aligned country, namely concerning the tension between the United States and China in gaining influence as a global power. The case of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) demonstrates the United States-China rivalry. The TPP, which was initiated by the United States, has become uncertain since the United States withdrew in 2017, and although it involves many Asian countries, China is not included. Meanwhile, the RCEP, which was initiated by ASEAN countries, is supported by China as an alternative form to the TPP. Through its free and active principle, Indonesia always seeks to build economic cooperation without involving itself in the United States-China feud.

## CONCLUSION

Indonesia's desire to become a developed and influential country in the economic and political context is conveyed in the vision of Indonesia Maju 2045. This vision was then translated into Indonesia's Dream 2015-2045 to become an independent and influential country in the Asia-Pacific region and become a barometer for world economic growth. Of course, policies and strategies are necessary so that the vision and dream can be on the right track. However, achieving this is no easy feat. Two major world events shook the plan, namely the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine War. These two incidents attracted global attention and drained state finances including in Indonesia. As such, if the mandated vision and dream had not been properly guarded, it would have failed. One of the ways the Indonesian government prevented this was by carrying out economic cooperation with new non-traditional markets or new countries that are not Indonesia's main trading partners.

Using the principle of free and active, Indonesia has designed various economic cooperation schemes that also aim to achieve Indonesia's national interests, both economic and political. Indonesia's economic interests are to make Indonesia a developed country and the center of the world's economic barometer while Indonesia's political interests are to become an independent and influential country in the Asia-Pacific region. This study found that economic cooperation with new non-traditional markets has better aligned Indonesia toward fulfilling the vision and dream listed above. In the context of economic cooperation, various cooperation with Latin American, African,

and Middle Eastern regions show the potential for great economic benefits for Indonesia. This can certainly be a modality for Indonesia to show itself as a center of the world's economic growth barometer. In the political context, economic cooperation with countries in Latin American, African, and Pacific regions reflects Indonesia's role as the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement and as a proponent of South-South cooperation. This can also be a modality for Indonesia to strengthen its position as an independent and influential country. Ultimately, the economic cooperation that has been and will be carried out must continue to be developed and expanded to help achieve Indonesia's vision and dream.

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