

## SESSION C3

### “Indonesia and the Global South: How do We Position Ourselves and What is Our Game Plan?”

Middle Power Room – Conference on Indonesian Foreign Policy 2024

#### Speakers:

1. **Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**  
FPCI Senior Fellow; Ambassador of Indonesia to Japan (1998-2002) and the USA (2002-2005)
2. **Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**  
Ambassador/Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations in New York (2016–2021)
3. **Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**  
Director General of the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses; Ambassador of India to Mexico (2012-2015) and Japan (2015-2018)

**Moderator: Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**, Professor in the International Relations Study Program at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Kristen Indonesia

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#### Rachel Shannon (MC)

Welcome to the Conference on Indonesian Foreign Policy. We are about to start the last session of the day for the Middle Power Room with the session titled “**C3: Indonesia and the Global South: How do We Position Ourselves and What is Our Game Plan?**” which will be conducted in English. If you need to reach the restroom or prayer room as we are about to start the session, please refer to the signage available in the hall outside the room.

#### Rachel Shannon (MC)

Attendees, we request you not to leave the room during the session as it will disrupt the flow of the session. To start this session, our last session for this room, **Indonesia and the Global South: How do We Position Ourselves and What is Our Game Plan?** I would like to invite the moderator for today, Professor Angel Damayanti, PhD, Professor in the International Relations Study Program of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Kristen Indonesia. The floor is yours, Professor Angel.

#### Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D

Thank you so much, Rachel. I know her because she used to be my student. Okay. So good afternoon, everybody. Are you happy today?

#### Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D

Oh, great. Are you excited about this session? Yes. Can I have your excitement by giving a big applause for you?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Thank you so much. So, yes, good afternoon, honorable ambassadors from various nations, distinguished speakers, dedicated students, and all respected guests. It is with great pleasure that I assume the role of moderator for this particular session dedicated to the topic Indonesia and the Global South: How do We Position Ourselves? Also for our university partner, University Muhammadiyah Professor Doctor Hamka or Uhamka. Can we give a big applause to our university partner, Uhamka.

So today is special Why? As we, gather here in celebration of significant milestones, the tenth anniversary of the Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia, FPCI. Can we give also big applause to FPCI? This event not only marks a decade of dedicated service but also underscores the vital contribution of FPCI has made in shaping Indonesia's foreign policy discourse.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

So, again, I would like to let us take a moment to commend the founder, the chairman, the diligent members of FPCI management, along the organizing committees of the Conference on Indonesian Foreign Policy for your steadfast commitment and remarkable efforts with big applause. Thank you so much, FPCI. So this afternoon session promises to be engaging as we delve into the concept of Global South. Have you ever heard about Global South? Yes?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

No? So so? Okay. So this will be hard work for our panelists to explain about this Global South. So what does this term Global South truly encompass?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Is it a collaborative effort aimed at balancing the dynamic with the Global North in pursuit of a more equitable and fair global order? Or is the presence of an identity reflective of the shared experiences of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania? Nations that have historically, faced colonization or exploitation by Western powers and continue to grapple with economic challenges in contrast to their Global North counterparts? So we will understand about this from our speakers. So how can this Global South effectively contribute to the global economy, politics, and security in the context of the prevailing influence of the Global North?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And moreover, what prospects lie ahead for the Global South given the diverse interests and agendas that characterize its nations? As we know India and Indonesia are two countries that have emerged as prominent advocates for the significant role of the Global South in today's multipolar landscape. To delve deeper into this important dialogue, we are honored to hear from our esteemed panelists. Without further ado, I would like to invite our distinguished speakers to join me on the stage. Please join me in welcoming our panelists.

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**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

First, Ambassador Soemadi Brotodiningrat. I think you are here, sir. And we also have Ambassador Dian Triansyah Djani.

Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D:

We also have Ambassador Sujan Chinoy. Before we engage in our discussion with our esteemed speakers, please allow me to share their brief biographies.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Ambassador Soemadi Brotodiningrat is an FPCI senior fellow. If you attend the session from the very beginning of this morning, we can see his pictures quite a lot on the big screen. It means that he is very senior. He is a distinguished diplomat with a long career in the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was the ambassador of Indonesia to the United States from 2002 to 2005, the ambassador of Indonesia to Japan from 1998 to 2002, and to the United Nations, WTO, and other international organizations in Geneva from 1991 to 1995.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

He also occupied key positions, including Director General of Foreign Economic Relations. He was a graduate of Universitas Gadjah Mada and L'Institut International d'Administration Publique, and he also received numerous honors including it's quite difficult actually to read this. The officials, the law, the is it right? Is it true? I mean, it's quite difficult for me. From Belgium, the government, and good officials in the order found Orange and the National Netherlands.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Too long.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

I know, but it's quite a lot. So can we give a big applause to Ambassador Soemadi, thank you. Ambassador Dian Triansyah Djani or Ambassador Djani, is also a senior Indonesian diplomat. He was just got retired this year. Right?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And I heard some jokes about that. Okay. So he was the ambassador or a Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations in New York from 2016 to 2022, and ambassador of Indonesia to other international organizations including the WTO and other international organizations in Geneva from 2009 to 2012. He also teaches at various universities, but he doesn't want to be a professor. I don't know why. You can ask him later on. He is a professor. Also, he's teaching in various universities as well as a senior advisor in several financial institutions.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

We are so lucky to have Ambassador Djani in our session. Can we give him a big applause? We also have Ambassador Sujan Chinoy. He is a director general of Manohar Parikar Institute for Defense and Analyses. He's been a diplomat for nearly four decades. Quite a long journey.

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He was the ambassador of India to Mexico from 2012 to 2015, and to Japan from 2015 to 2018. He's also a specialist on China, East Asia, and political security issues.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And he headed border negotiations with China from 1996 to 2000 and he worked at the National Security Council secretariat from 2008 to 2012, and he was the Think20 chair for India's G20 presidency. Wow. It's quite a great job, sir. And he's the author of "World Upside Down: India Recalibrates Its Geopolitics" and "Global Tumult: India as a Pole Star." Can we give a big applause to Ambassador Sujan Chinoy?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

So now we will have about 45 to 50 minutes of discussion with our panelists. Afterward, I will give opportunities to all participants in this room for sure to raise some questions to our remarkable speakers for about fifteen to twenty minutes.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

So I would like to initiate the discussion with a fundamental and significant question that serves as a cornerstone for our collective understanding. For three speakers, I would appreciate your insight on the terminology of Global South.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

What is, in your opinion, this Global South, meaning? What is the Global South and how relevant is this Global South to our contemporary situation? So, you will answer first. And then afterward, and then. Yes. Please.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Please.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Good afternoon. And, I think, the way the moderator is arranging this is really, following what people always say, age before beauty. But thank you very much, because we are moderated or chaired by a guardian angel. Angel. She is a guardian angel.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Thank you so much.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Thank you very much for the questions. I think this is, perhaps useful as an opening remark for this discussion because, perhaps for those, of a certain age like me, they have already forgotten what is the south. And for the young, they perhaps don't know yet what is the south at that time before coming to globalism. So I will bring you back to history, the genesis or the origin of the Global South, not recounting the history, but just several points that are relevant to that.

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**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

There are three relevance which, was going to define the genesis of what we later on call the South. One is related to the decolonization process. Decolonization process and at that time, people reflecting on decolonization, at least identify two stages of decolonization. One is political liberation and the second is economic emancipation. And why is it?

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

What is this economic emancipation? In short, we can say it is a reform of a colonial pattern of economic relief whereby the colonies are the land where people are asked to cultivate things, farm things, and then other natural resources. And these are brought to the colonizer, being processed, and come back to be sold in the colony with a course which is burgeoning. All these things that with decolonization, it must be reformed. The second, if you think about this, you recall what happened in Bandung. India and Indonesia are the initiators of the Bandung Conference.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

At that time, it was only Asia and Africa. Who were still colonized, but not Latin America. Latin America has been liberated one hundred years before. So, in joining this phenomenon, there is a famous Latin American economist by the name of Raul Prebisch, who invented the theory of center and periphery in the international economy, whereby the developed countries are centered and the countries developing countries, the newly colonized, and the Latin America, which has been colonized before are included. So in that sense, South comprise already Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

The third is the concept which is made by the South Commission or the experts from developing countries in trying to conceive a new theory to overcome this problem that we are facing. I only mentioned two. One is the term trade, which creates a difficulty in the relationship. Hence, when the international organizations adopted this theory, the first program was got integrated program for commodities. So it's to correct the imbalance term of trade by then.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

The second is financial development. All these two were adopted by the then international organizations while on the arm of trade, it was untapped in Geneva, who were in charge. The financing for the development of the program is, entrusted to the UN in New York. They created what they called the UN Development Decade.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

With that, these countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America organized themselves, and it started with seventy-seven countries at that time. That's why the South organized themselves with the name the G77

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

And they are the ones who are entrusted, selected, or rotated, or whatever by the organizations to negotiate on behalf of us after being consulted and so on. So actually, this is what happened in the north-south dialogue. One more thing about the old days, I would like you to bear in mind, that it was never the aspiration of the South to split the world economy into two. I have a quotation from them.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

It was never the idea to split the development and develop the country. The vision is there not because of making. So the idea is to remain in one world and connect, but in a more fair and just what you call it approach.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

You know, they can do so. The former South now is still the group of them. But then, recently in the last so many years, about three and four, five, ten years, we find or, the South find that this organization becoming less and less effective. Second, there are a lot of new, issues in which it was not anticipated at that time. Okay.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

So, this is a question that perhaps Jani can answer later on. Instead of trying to, make it more effective, there are movements outside these organizations that are trying to, remedy the problem that we are facing. Now last I would like to say that this currently what is happening now within the South is a parallel approach. One is the well organized in the international negotiations, negotiating formally in, various committees or whatever. The second is new initiatives.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

New initiatives? Initiatives. Initiatives. Okay. Working independently, sometimes only one shot, and others are perhaps, several, repeated, and so on, but still, it's not integrated in the democracies. Now the question, and I will stop here, is that what is that this is what is called the global result.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

What is the global result? It is, the, both the formal group of seventy-seven plus the new initiative together, working, separately, and independently. Or perhaps later on, the, new initiative will take over the organizations. We don't know yet. Okay.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Or the third is that we just disbanded it and create a new organization. No one knows. I will stop here first. Thank you. Okay.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Okay. Thank Thank you so much, Ambassador Somadi. So, Ambassador thank you. Ambassador Somadi has raised the global source from the very beginning, the historical, from how the process of decolonization, the Bandung spirit, the Group 7seven, and until now, and see he doesn't really, how to say, have a comment about what is the future of global salt. So So now we come to Ambassador Jenny. Perhaps

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Perhaps he can answer what will happen with this global source. Is it still relevant to the current situation or what? Please, Ambassador Djani.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Assalamualaikum. A very good afternoon. We live with all these young colleagues, and I feel very young. Yeah. As a good diplomat and a good host, I usually, give the floor to my ambassadors who just take the floor first, and then I will follow after that.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

He is more senior than I am if I'm not mistaken. I think you could have the floor first. Me? Okay. Well, Ambassador Soemadi raised a very important prelude to what I'm trying to say. Let me be frank, Bu Angel. As an economist as well as a student of international relations, I find it very difficult to have a definition of the Global South. That's why I find it quite interesting when there are lots of pundits, and intellectuals saying things referring to the Global South. If you're talking about the Global South, then you need to have a Global North. And what the heck is a Global North? So, I'm very blunt.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

That's a good thing, colleagues, of being retired. I can say whatever I want. Now, although there are lots of my colleagues from Cameroon here, they cannot say whatever they want. Right? Right? Now, the way I look at the world nowadays, after the G20, after the non-aligned, there are non-aligned countries that are aligned to certain alliances.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Some are leading toward a certain part of the North. So there are G77 that are as questionable as the G7. They are much more developed than others. So I look at it. I simply try to categorize it in, characterize it in such a very simple type of approach.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

If I'm gonna ask what is Global South, then I would say that, look, if you're talking about developing countries, then you have different types of developing countries. Those that have economic problems, meaning they have the economic might, they have the economic capabilities, and they're being invited to all these groupings, whether it's a G20 type of grouping, whether it's a BRICS type of a grouping, whether it's MIKTA and others. Those that have security and political capabilities. With all due respect, those that have nuclear power

developing countries, are a different type they have different breeds of developing countries. And there's another category again, those that have IT industrial capabilities, very well advanced in terms of producing and research and technology, name to name a few.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Some are in Asia. Some are more developed than even some developed countries. So in other words, you have another category. And there's another grouping that I would say is that those that are very active in regional politics, become the regional leaders in some way or another.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

I'm not going to name those countries. I think, you know, in the Middle East, there is always the lead. Some are in certain parts of the, what you say, I call it the ...(*inaudible*) countries there. You have a certain leadership also in several groupings, Latin America as well as others. And then there are those other category which is quite interesting also.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Aside from being regional leaders, some are still dependent on major powers, whether it's a patronage type of system, whether it's a supporting, whether it's financial contribution type of a thing. Alliances are still there. So they cannot be non-aligned even though they are a member of the non-aligned. Okay. I'm very blunt, and I see my African colleagues are nodding, and I think he knows what I'm trying to say.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

But the sad thing about all this story about the Global South is that some are left behind, not members, not having this categorized of economic powers or political or security, not belonging to any type of grouping. I think this is the thing that we, as Indonesia, that has always been championing the Bandung spirit, the non-aligned spirit should have a look at. So when you categorize all this, then you need to be able to maneuver or navigate, in the old days, Bung Hatta navigated between... karang - what is karang, what? It's a coral reef, a rock, between two rocks in the old days. Now the question is, if I'm a policymaker, I would have to navigate between all these groupings.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

I have to also navigate the Global North, which is quite interesting. Who is the Global North? The Scandinavian? The European? Or is it, the North American?

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

So there are all these categories. I give the following what Pak Soemadi mentioned. Even in the old days, you have the G77 in China. So where is China? And when we go see, we negotiate not as G77.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

We negotiate the G77 and China. And if you ask the question, correct me if I'm wrong, Ambassador. China always considered itself a developing country, but is China a developing



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country? So how do we look at this spectrum? So the relevance of the whole analysis is trying to find out where we can play the game. How can we make sure that, of course, Indonesia has always championed the needs and the interests of developing countries?

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

We will be we'll always become developing countries even though we are in the grouping of G20 and hopefully, Insha Allah, if everything goes well, we will be one of the ten largest economies in the world. So that's where we have to look at it in such a way. So I don't know whether I answer your question, but I'll at least give a platform for discussion. I see a lot of these young colleagues are trying to question me. So I leave it at that and being young, we don't like to talk a lot.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

So with that, I give back the floor to Mister Sujan.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Okay. So I think all the participants should try to understand what is Global South then because it's kinda like a very huge diverse, huge spectrum, many categorized on this Global South. So perhaps we can get a bit more clue from Ambassador Sujan about what is Global South and how it becomes relevant. Perhaps you can give a definition. Okay. Please.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

Well, thank you, moderator. A very good afternoon to all our participants. Let me begin by thanking the FPCI and particularly, Ambassador Dino Djalal for inviting me to participate in this very wonderful conference. I'm so glad to see so many young people here. As far as definitions are concerned let me begin by pointing out that as you all know the Global South was a term first used around 1969, and the world then was one in which the categorization of the Global South generally tended to refer to earlier definitions like for example, the third world which was a category used quite pejoratively during the Cold War or for those matter developing countries, which is something that was associated with a very large cohort of countries that had emerged from the shackles of colonialism that had newly emancipated political systems and were trying to find their place in the international order.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

But beginning the nineteen seventies onwards, particularly with the opening up of China in Asia, we began to see a process that had begun in fact with the rise of Japan from the ashes of the Second World War, the rise of Korea as a manufacturing nation and this relay was continued by China particularly and we saw that the engines of economic growth shifted from traditional areas like North America and West Europe towards Asia and China was a kind of spectacular you know sort of effect on this theory. But later we have also seen in this century that that growth and progress in the so-called Global South is not limited only to China. It has shown considerable progress in countries like Indonesia and India and many others in our part of the world. So the short point here is that the Global South is a dynamic concept. It's evolving.

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**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

It's very hard to define as previous speakers have said and let me very quickly point out that there was an attempt once by Willy Brandt, for example, the chancellor of West Germany to divide the world according to the rich and the poor and that line is called the Willy Brandt line. It simply is a geographical line that divided the world into the northern half which was the rich and the southern half which was the poorer. That particular line is also full of anomalies. For example, Albania is supposed to be in the European part, but as you all know it would much rather be classified as a poorer country of the Global South and in this so-called Willy Brandt, you know, list of countries that were the south, you also had immensely rich countries like Qatar, UAE, Japan and so that is a non-starter. So how you begin to define the Global South is the real question today.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

Now the Global South I think in my view has received fresh impetus as a concept because of the financial crisis that we have seen including in Asia. For example, we saw the Asian initiative, currency swap agreements, *et cetera*. Chiang Mai initiative, currency swap agreements, *et cetera*. And if that were not enough, we also saw the two global financial and economic crises of 2007-2008, lay waste to a very large number of countries. It created new potential members for the Global South. So that's the short point.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

It's evolving, it's dynamic. You could at any point in time have countries that are otherwise regarded as rich, but facing grave difficulties that might want to be defined as the Global South. May I just mention here, very quickly that there are other organizations that typically kind of framed the Global South. One One is obviously as we referred to the NAM, the non-aligned movement, but remember that unlike the Global South, the non-aligned movement was essentially a politically neutral ideological movement that tended to stay away from the machinations of the Cold War and the contradictions and it had a membership, it had a secretariat also which is not the case with the Global South. You also have the G77, which is now a grouping of a hundred and 34 countries plus China and it has a secretariat which is located in the United Nations and that secretariat is funded in fact by the member states.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

In the NAM, it is the chairperson or chairman of the NAM that funds the secretariat but both of them have a secretariat, and both of them have membership. The Global South has neither. So we are in a situation where these definitions don't come very easily and may I end by making one small point. It's very hard to define great powers also it's not just a problem defining the Global South. What is a great power?

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

If it is membership of the United Nations Security Council, well that's the council that's not working. There's nothing great about it today. It's completely dysfunctional. It is fractured. It is holding up peace and progress everywhere. It's not able to address the great challenges over time. So great powers don't come because you have nuclear weapons because there are many

powers outside the UN Security Council like mine that have nuclear weapons. So that's not the definition and so middle powers also are very hard to define. You know there's a huge spectrum out there. What is a middle power?

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

You know is it GDP? I was taking a look at GDP. If it's absolute GDP, do you know what the list of the permanent members of the UN Security Council should look like? It should of course have the United States of America, a very rich country, but it's going to have Ireland, Qatar, UAE, and maybe Luxembourg also. That's your list of the UN Security Council if you go by GDP per capita. So it's very hard to define the Global South. So it's becoming harder to define what is Global South, but at least, we have some clue here. The decolonization process, the G77, and then, it's a dynamic process. So perhaps until now, we are still looking for the Global South itself.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Could be a collaboration organization or could we lose that? Okay. So since, ambassador Sujan, you have also mentioned China and the future of the Global South. Now we can come to my first round of questions. But I'm sorry. I think due to time constraints, perhaps we can only have one question each because it's almost sixteen. So, yeah, I try to manage the time here. So you, the participant, will have the opportunity to raise questions. So, Ambassador Sujan, what are your predictions for the future of the Global South with the dynamics process, with the evolving process, especially considering the rise of economic and geopolitical powers like China and India since you are an expert in China and China's relationship with India? So could you please explain this?

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

So I'm going to sound like a disruptor here, contrarian, questioning kind of line. I don't believe that any permanent member of the UN Security Council has any moral right to be part of the Global South. Because you cannot run with the hares and hunt with the harms frankly as we say in English. So by what yardstick would you have any country that's in a privileged position in the UN Security Council sitting in the Global South that's like I'm sorry to say this bluntly, it's like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop as we say in English. So, minus the privileged powers of the UN Security Council, I think you have to see what kind of you know definition or membership fits the Global South.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

Now it has no permanent membership, it has no permanent secretariat, and I don't advocate one because you already have a plethora of you know organizations that are running parallel. Some have outlived some of their kind of you know vigor like the NAM is now seen as slowing down. The G77 sputters along. You now have the G20 that's come up as a more representative format that has all the major groupings in it including some of us who consider ourselves India and Indonesia among others to be members of the Global South. It has for example the permanent members of the UN Security Council, it has the G7, it has the original BRICS

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country, it has IPPSA in it, and therefore I think the G20 is a place where we should all be focusing our energies.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

It has the right mix of what you call the rich and the not-so-rich and the ability for each one of us to play a bigger role without any one country having veto power. So permanent membership, of a Global South is not advocated. After all, no one wants to remain in the Global South forever. Do we? We all want to graduate out of it. So keep it aspirational. Why do you want to put the permanent label on Global South?

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

With all its pejorative implications, on a large number of countries. Essentially, you're trying to say that look you are all relatively poor countries and a membership of that that you pay for is like saying I pay to be permanent, you know, the also-ran type of country. So, I don't believe in that and I think nobody wants leaders either today. Let me tell you very frankly. It's It's a much flatter world. Why is it flat? It is flat because the international order as we know it represented by the UN Security Council is dysfunctional. There is something called strategic autonomy that's available to all powers today big or small. Even the smallest of powers are exercising their strategic autonomy and thumbing their nose at larger powers. We've We've seen that. We've

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

We've seen it in political terms. We've seen it in military terms as well. It's an economic term that there is still a new kind of neo-colonialism that is shaping up and if you're not careful about that as we've seen at COP 29, this total inability of the rich to acknowledge that climate finance requires a lot more to be done by the rich countries, that kind of attitude if it's also further going to be seen in what we call the age of digital, you know public infrastructure, artificial intelligence, and data also moving into the hands permanently of the rich. You will have neo-colonialism also in terms of information technology, in terms of data. So we have to worry about that but short of that there is strategic autonomy today that everyone has.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

It's a flatter world and in a flatter world, I think without looking for permanent labels like Global South, it is countries like India and Indonesia that should seek to do good by their regions not necessarily as leaders but as partners working at the comfort level of their neighbors including in the extended neighborhood perhaps even setting up what you call Global South cells in their government. This is my suggestion to you today for consideration let's not look for a permanent secretariat, let's look to set up Global South centers within the governments and these centers if set up in several so-called middle powers like Indonesia, India and some others could be talking to each other in the future, a conversation between them. They should pay for their activities, they should try and do as much as possible for their regions without as I said trying to take a leadership role which is generally not welcome in any part of the world today. We know of some examples where countries try to be leaders and then there is pushback. There's a pushback against debt trap diplomacy, there is a pushback against what you call environmentally unviable

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projects, and degradation of the environment When the conversation and the decision-making are run from some other capital, it usually meets with a lot of resistance in the region over time.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Okay, excellent. So it is quite interesting to understand, to note that Ambassador Surgeon mentioned, you know, Indonesia, India, and some other countries, not including China since he's a permanent member of the UN Security Council, become partners, more on the partnership pattern. So I will go to, the ambassador. So with this, you know, dynamic, then, let's say, the loose pattern about Global South, all the various spectrum, what is the core advocacy of this Global South?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And amid the Global South's effort to create a more multipolar work order Ambassador Sujana has mentioned, how can countries like Indonesia, India, and some others that are categorized as Global South balance out the economic development with the core advocacy of Global South? How can we understand about this?

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Thank you very much. Let me start by, reminding all of us that Indonesia, since the very beginning. Is always but at least committed. To the South and then the Global South also. We were once the largest contributor to the South Center during my time in Geneva, and I don't know why he stopped. Stop the contribution of Indonesia in South Africa because perhaps, like others, not only us, is rather disappointed with the performance. More and more, ineffective performance of the South Center. Now the second question is how to do this. I would like to say again first that in the last how many years, fifty years, it doesn't mean that, those are in vain. Those are a waste. I will tell you the result with this sum up to now still being recognized as a principle.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

One is the principle of different levels of development, which has a principle of special and differential treatment. Up to now, they have been negotiating with the north, with developed countries. This is still applied. Then there is again, a principle called Syria, common but differentiated responsibility. This is also a result of the struggle, negotiating struggle of us at that time.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

And, of course, in New York, in the UN development decade, the limit of or the target of ODA is 0.7 percent, which is still and becomes a target even though there are only several developed countries that can fulfil it. This is also a result of the long struggle of the South at that time. So it was not a waste, but now things have changed. One is already mentioned now. What is called development now is competing with survival. We develop or we survive. And so far, we haven't yet found the right way because one of the most important, which has now become a link between, between linkage between the problems are one, of course, financing. Financing of development. The second is, of course, technology. As long as technology is still something that

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we have to pay a lot, This will be very difficult to reconcile between the development side the financing side and the development side.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Thank you so much, ambassador Soemadi. So I'm going to Ambassador Djani since you are the economist. Under the new leadership now, Indonesia is expected to fully leverage its role within the Global South, especially given its consistent economic growth of around five percent in recent years. Right? But with the global economic uncertainties and Indonesia's need for, let's say, export diversification or the foods of sufficiency and many other, issues in Indonesian Indonesia itself. So do you think how can president Prabhuh position Indonesia as a regional and global leader, particularly in this context of a Global South? Could you please as an economist, of course, know about our economy? Right? So do you think our new leadership will bring Indonesia to become the leader or, as Ambassador Soemadi mentioned, survive first?

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Well, thank you for giving me a very fun question as compared to those on my right and left. And to put it on the record also, it's very hard for me to speak when I have my mentor, my teacher on my right. But before answering this, that question, I beg to differ with Ambassador Soo Jian when he mentioned that, it's better to graduate from the South. If I have a choice, the North is always cold. The South is always warmer. I'd rather be in the South than in the North, to be frank. Now coming to the question, I say we should look at our comparative advantage as a country. First, our comparative advantage is we're a large country, like it or not, and sometimes I tend when I teach in the university, I ask a very simple question to my Indonesian student or American student when I teach in Columbia and NYU, how big is Indonesia? Not many people know how big Indonesia is. I simply put it on a map. If you put it on a map, Indonesia is as large as from Florida to Seattle. If you don't believe me, look at your Google Maps, and you find out. It's as big as from Scotland to Turkey. Forty-four European countries. That's how large and how big Indonesia is.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

That is our comparative advantage. Our comparative advantage is also we have always been principled in our position. We have always been committed to international law and international rules. We are members of almost every organization, whether regional or international. We're accepted everywhere. We're not a Muslim country. We're the large Muslim population, but we are the creators of the OIC. We are a member of ASEAN, definitely the founder. We created the ARF, ASEAN Regional Forum. We link ASEAN with the Middle East and with the IMF. We link ASEAN with Europe, with with the ASEAN. We link ASEAN with the Pacific Bay Basin, which is APEC, and we are also a member of many organizations, whether it's a MIKTA, G20, or others. So we are well situated in playing a leading role. But I agree with Ambassador Soemadi.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

But the main thing is that you have to have a proper mix and balance, mixing between the need to grow, but also taking into account the environmental climate change sustainable approach, mixing between the interest of the global and the national interest in the sense. So it's a very

simple proper balance type of thing. So for instance, when we try to grow, coming up with your question on Prabhu or where he should go, We still have to principle in trying to preserve the international norm. WTO rules, we have to make sure that it's there. But of course, there are other interests that we can play.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

For instance, when we're talking about critical minerals, we're talking about food self-sufficiency, Unless the rules say differently, so be it. Now the question is, can we create negotiators, as money as possible, that can play the game? I don't know how many people here are lawyers or liars for that instance. I'm sorry. Pardon the pun there.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

But I'm making it quite clear. We need more lawyers who know the WTO rules. We need more economists and financiers who know the IMF World Bank rules. And that is what is lacking in developing countries, except maybe some developing countries like India, others that have the expertise, they're knowledgeable to be able to negotiate. And that's why I come together my last point is that there is another category of developing countries or Global South, which is the category of those countries that are team or issues-oriented.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

A simple case is climate change. Some groups are called SIDS, Small Island Developing States. They are ganging together, collaborating and working to address these issues because, once again, if you're in Indonesia, if I ask an Indonesian how many islands we have if they can answer that simple question, I will say hallelujah. Alhamdulillah. It cannot be out because if you're at the Ministry of, Fishery, they will say seventeen thousand eight hundred eighty-four.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

You ask the Navy, it's different. And And it's not their fault. Yeah. Simply if there's a tide going up, we lose one hundred islands. And then if it goes down, we have another one. So my question is if I'm asked to come up with the policies on how to build, Indonesia's positioning vis a vis international first, we have to play with the global norm and rules. Because once we disrupt, all the agreements, all the international rules, whether it's in USNCC, whether it's in line with WIPO or WTO rules, everything will be in chaos. And if there are trade wars, to be frank, we will be fighting Indonesia because we have all the natural resources, we have the expertise, we have the growth, we have everything. But what happens with other developing countries? And we have a moral obligation Pak Soemadi says. It's in our constitution. It's in our blood. We started with the Asia-Africa Conference, we started by creating an online. We need to keep on fostering collaboration in the developing world. I don't want to define it as a Global South, but we need to work together. At the end of the day, we're in the same world, like it or not. Sorry, I'm very sentimental and philosophical on this, but I believe as a negotiator unless we work together, the world will go to ruin.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

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Wow. Excellent. Excellent. Can we give a big applause to our three remarkable speakers? So, they are still, like, twenty minutes. So maybe I will go to the second round, but please answer the question in a very short, answer because we only have two or three minutes.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And then after we can go to the our participant. Okay. So just the last, the second round question to Ambassador Sujan. You You mentioned about cooperation, about partnership. And now, can we explore the BRICS, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

This become a crucial platform for economic and political collaboration collaboration among the Global South. So, how can this Global South utilize minilateralism through BRICS, for example, to maintain regional and global stability without getting entangled with the power dynamics of major players like the United States and China? You mentioned about partnership. Right? So how we can do this in two or three minutes?

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

Just one word. Impossible. And you know why? As I told you, it's very difficult to prevent the BRICS and we must all prevent it from getting to being an anti-West platform. That's the last thing the BRICS wants to do. If it becomes an anti-West platform, if it is run on an agenda that leads to that direction it's a non-starter that the Global South and its cause its priorities will be lost in any case. To start with there is a contradiction because you already have two permanent members of the Security Council that are currently engaged in confrontation with the West. Mhmm. Ideological, Ideological, political, economic, and military that could potentially be guiding it in a particular direction, where if it takes on an anti-West hue, it's not going to serve the purpose, of the large majority of others, many of whom like us, consider ourselves to be part of the Global South.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Okay. Excellent. Thank you so much, Ambassador Sujan. Although it's quite like a bit, you know, very competitive situation in this current, yes. So I come back to Ambassador Sujan. With this situation, like, just ambassador Sujan has mentioned, that it's kinda like impossible to to have this mini lateral corporation without, you know, kinda like have a competition with the western part. So how then does Indonesia, Indonesia's agency and game plan to establish its position among other Global South without, you know, losing it, let's say, collaboration or partnership with the Global North or the Western part? What do you think about this? How to balance this position?

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

You know, we face reality. That is the interest of South the South. The ambassador has mentioned between the small island countries. And the producer of petroleum is different. There are so many other examples of that. Because of this difference of interest, genuine, we usually choose which big thing we can struggle with, with which we can fight together. Just leave the particular interest, each country or group of mini-lateral. You know we are at the forefront of our



negotiation with the West when it comes to the UN on these very basic, things of principle like financing for development. But in ASEAN, we created a network of institutions, economy included, that is, and we invited our partners from developed countries also. And of course bilaterally. Of course, we are cooperating with our friend from the South. But we have the IGGI at that time, which is a cooperation with the north. We do it as long as we don't take harm to our friends. So let us see what is not the current situation, what issues we are, we are facing, which issues we can work together as a principal, and what we better leave at the discretion of the Eastern country, depending on their interest.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Wow. Excellent. Thank you so much, Ambassador Soemadi. We can give a big applause to Ambassador Soemadi.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Now I come back to Ambassador Djani, talking about BRICS, and the minilateral cooperation. So as an economist and as a professor as well, what would be the threat if Indonesia prioritized joining BRICS over joining OECD? Which one is more a benefit for Indonesia? Joining BRICS or OECD or both or none of them? What do you think?

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

As a diplomat, my answer will be, that there's no prioritizing because we join lots of regional and retain. The beauty of Indonesia is we can join any grouping. Because our positioning has always been right in the first place at the start of our history as a non-aligned country. Okay. Okay. We are trusted partners. We are credible. That's why we can be an honest broker. We can meet it. I'll give a simple example. We are the only country during the Ukraine war, but Jokowi can go to Ukraine and Russia back to back. Because we're trusted, we're trusted in trying to bridge a lot of conflicts in lots of parts of the world. It's not a choice. For me, I would look at it. If we join OECD, the beauty of joining OECD is not becoming a grouping or not, not that we're aligning with any developed countries per se. But what we're doing is by joining the OECD, we have to force ourselves to make sure our regulations and our laws are in line with the economy, the universal standard, and the high standard of the OECD. And this will lead to further investment. This will lead to being able to produce, to be able to export. We become more competitive than others. By joining BRICS, we are saying, I agree with our Ambassador Sujan here. It's not with the intention of trying to alienate the West, we're trusted by the West, by the way. Maybe other countries joining BRICS would be looked at differently. But for Indonesia, we're the good guys. I might be frank in saying this. As a diplomat, Indonesia is a good guy.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

There's an okay. But we only have ten minutes. So perhaps I can only give time to two participants to give questions, concisely. So, yeah, I think okay. First, another guy that and I'm sorry because our partner from Africa here already raised up his hand.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

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Can we give our opportunity to our African partner? So, is there any mic organizer, please, committee? Or you can speak loudly so everybody can hear?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Mention your name and a very concise question, please.

**Question 1**

Yes. Thank you very much for the opportunity for me to ask the question. I'm from the Indonesian Defense University or Unhan. My question for Ambassador Djani is that you mentioned some, a lot of issues about the Global South corporations. It historically began in the colonial era in the developing country. And then in recent times, we faced a lot of more crucial issues such as economic challenges, climate change, and also not to mention, border issues. But, one of the most important things, as Indonesia, which is the opportunity and also the comparative advantage is the carbon trading. How do you see carbon trading in the future for Indonesia? Does it look promising or has it become a problem for Indonesia? And the second question is for your excellency, ambassador Sujan from India.

**Question 1**

I feel honored to ask a question for you. As we know, in Indonesia or the southern part of the globe, there are a lot more issues, especially about the border country issue. I see Indonesia and a few countries have border disputes, especially in the Southern China Sea. But I've also noticed that in your country, India also has a border issue. And Indonesia took the initiative to do a joint statement, between Indonesia and China. Without the discussion or the determination of other countries in the ASEAN, how do you think about this? Thank you very much indeed.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Thank you. We go to the second, participant. Yes. Is there a mic?

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

What was this question? Mention your name, please, and then the panelist that you want to address the question.

**Question 2**

Thank you. My name is Dauda Tule from Ghana. It will be difficult to direct a question to one person. I want to say that I'm happy being here because, of the issues discussed here, I always think over it, and it'll be like, am I the only person that thinks this way that people don't see? The issue is why do we waste our time seeking validation from people who will never validate us? The issue is that let's reflect a bit on our history of non-aligned movement and everything that has been discussed. My first president, Kwame Nkrumah, was one of the founding members of the nonaligned movement. We were able to emulate each other Yeah. To to seek for decolonization. We can emulate each other to make sure we do not align with the major blocks that existed then.

**Question 2**

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Why don't in recent times, we emulate to develop ourselves without emulating people who will never validate us? Okay. Okay. And it stems from how we teach our people. What is being taught about? How do we describe Global South to our students? That is where the problem comes from. You will see that there is a missing trend in the way we perceive ourselves.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Yeah. We lose the focus on ourselves whilst we intend to focus on how people see us rather than how we see ourselves. Thank you. Okay. Excellent. Wow. Such Such a question. Why do we need validation from others?

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

Let me answer the first question on carbon trading. Let me make it clear. I was a negotiator for the UNFCCC in 1992 when I was a young diplomat, and I believe when I negotiated in the old days until now, climate change was a necessity for us to work together. You can develop any kind of tools, whether it's carbon trading, whether it's your emission, or whether you go to just energy transition. But the question is, how can we manage it? How can we ensure that we also get the bulk of the profit from carbon trading? But to put it simply, climate change is an issue, is a necessity to be dealt with together.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

You can develop any kind of tool. You can develop any kind of way. Can I, before giving full on, I'll just go directly to our my brother from Ghana? I completely agree with your statement. And that's why we have been championing Indonesia since the old days because we have been championing on how to South-South collaboration. We have pushed for resilience. We have pushed to make sure that the South did not become dependent on others. And until now, we continue. That's why when we negotiate climate change, now we are changing our attitude also. We are not asking, but we are giving.

**Amb. Dian Triansyah Djani**

And Russia has changed dramatically in other ways. Mentalities do not rely on the West. You have to rely on your turf, your capability. And I can assure you, once Ghana has the highest growth in Africa, I know for sure you have around nine to ten percent growth compared to other African countries. But we also have to make sure that we are in good governance. We have to make sure that we're efficient. We're competitive. We are working together to address all these issues. Otherwise, we will be dependent and Indonesia is one of those few countries that fought for our independence. We didn't get our independence, and that's why our motto has always been, look, we will survive without any help if necessary, that's what we're trying to do. Sorry, I'm very, once again, emotional when it comes to this thing.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Yes. Thank you, Ambassador Djani. Now, Ambassador Sujan, you want to answer the Indonesian guy's question. Sure.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

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Sure. So, you know, countries like India, Indonesia, China, we are large countries in Asia. We have a great legacy, a civilizational legacy also, and it's incumbent on countries like India, Indonesia, and others to show the way forward. My prime minister, Mr. Narendra Modi has said on several occasions that now is not the time for war. These differences should be settled through peaceful dialogue and negotiations, and above all we should take a human-centric approach to the resolution of problems.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

So relations whether between India and China or between Indonesia and China, must be built based on mutual respect, equality, and reciprocity. There is no space at all for any kind of neo-colonial attitudes. There is no space here for unilateralism or what you call military coercion. This is not acceptable. We have to together build not just a world that is multipolar, but also in Asia that is multipolar.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

You cannot have a world that is multipolar and in Asia that is unipolar. What's good for the goose is equally good for the gander as we say in English and as for you sir the short answer is that you're right. We should not seek the validation of others including the North. What we have to do as the Global South is to formulate our own unique identity, one that puts values above all else. One that puts what you call a shared, humanity above all others.

**Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy**

So values-based future for humanity is what the Global South is capable of doing despite not having the same amount of resources as the developed North. We can point a new moral path to the world because the world is in dire need of a new fulcrum. That fulcrum is not going to come from mercantilism, from a new digital or AI colonialism. It's going to come from a values-based future and I think we are all capable of doing that.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Okay. Thank you so much. From Ambassador Soemadi, but I'm sorry we have very limited time. So one or two minutes, please.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Okay. Just very shortly on this volatility and business. It will depend as I told you before, now we are still in what is called global law, Global South. It's still in the process of evolving and we don't know as yet what will happen. But in the end, we will determine what we intend to have. If we intend to have something as, a common aspiration of struggle or political principle among ourselves, I don't think that we need validation. But if we aim to have a rule, that will govern all the, not only the south, but all the countries in the world so that we can get something out of this rule, then whether you like it or not, you need a validation. For rule-based countries for rule-based, governance, you need validation.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

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Wow. Thank you so much. I know it's quite interesting to talk about Global South, and it seems like still a long journey about Global South and how it will evolve, in the next journey. We don't know yet. So because of the time limit, I have to conclude this session, and I would like to extend my gratitude to the distinguished panelists who joined us this afternoon, please join me in giving big applause to Ambassador Soemadi Brotodiningrat, Ambassador Dian Triansyah Djani, and Ambassador Sujan Chinoy.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

And let us also show our appreciation to all the participants for your valuable contribution to our discussion. Please give a big applause to all of us here. Finally, let us take a moment to express our thanks to God Almighty for his blessings which have guided this event from start to finish, enabling it to proceed smoothly. I'm Angel Damayanti, and I respectfully conclude this session. Thank you so much.

**Amb. Soemadi Brotodiningrat**

Please don't forget to thank our guardian angel, the moderator.

**Prof. Angel Damayanti, Ph.D**

Thank you so much.

**Rachel Shannon (MC)**

Thank you to our panelists for such an engaging and insightful session. Before the session ends, I would like to invite all the panelists to stand in front of the stage. We're going to have a photo session together with the speakers and also the moderator. And, please, stand in front of the stage. As a token of appreciation from Dr. Dino Patti Djalal and FPCI, we'll also provide souvenirs to all panelists.

**Rachel Shannon (MC)**

We sincerely thank you for your contribution and participation in CIFP 2024. For the photographer, please be ready. On three, one, two, three. One more time. One, two, three.

**Rachel Shannon (MC)**

Yes. Thank you once again to our distinguished panelists. For everyone, ladies and gentlemen, you can now proceed to the main hall or the citizen diplomacy hall because we're going to have the closing ceremony where we celebrate the tenth anniversary of FPCI.