

Indonesia-Africa Relations Through Constructivist Lens: Reinterpreting Bandung Spirit in Contemporary South-South Diplomacy

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ABSTRACT: This study analyses Indonesia's foreign cooperation strategy toward African countries through a constructivist lens, with particular emphasis on the enduring relevance of the Bandung Spirit in shaping South-South cooperation. Since the historic 1955 Bandung Conference, Indonesia has positioned itself as a bridge between Asia and Africa, promoting solidarity, anti-colonialism, and shared development goals. Recent initiatives, including the Indonesia-Africa Forum in 2018 and 2024, demonstrate Jakarta's efforts to expand cooperation in key sectors such as trade, energy, and industrial technology. This study employs qualitative document analysis of Indonesian foreign policy strategies, official statements, and Indonesia-Africa Forum documents from 2015 to 2024. Drawing on Alexander Wendt's theory of Collective Identity Formation, this paper argues that Indonesia's engagement with Africa is driven not only by economic considerations but also by the construction of a shared collective identity rooted in historical struggle and common developmental aspirations. The findings highlight three key dimensions: historical ties, shared norms of solidarity, and sustained social interaction that reproduce Bandung Spirit values and align Indonesia's Africa policy with Africa's Agenda 2063 and Indonesia's middle-power aspirations. Ultimately, the paper underscores the Bandung Spirit as both a normative foundation and a strategic tool for revitalizing Asia-Africa solidarity and enabling the Global South to collectively address contemporary challenges such as inequality, climate change, and sustainable development.

KEYWORDS: Indonesia-Africa, Bandung Spirit, South-South Cooperation, Constructivism, Collective Identity, Global South.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the Bandung Conference of 1955, Indonesia has played a symbolic and strategic role in fostering Asia-Africa solidarity. This historical legacy has re-emerged in recent decades through Indonesia's renewed emphasis on South-South cooperation, particularly with African countries. In an evolving global landscape characterized by shifting power dynamics and increasing multipolarity, developing countries have increasingly pursued cooperative frameworks that emphasize mutual benefit, equality, and partnership rather than hierarchy. Within this context, Indonesia has positioned Africa as a key partner in advancing its contemporary foreign policy objectives (Assie-Lumumba, 2015). The growing emphasis on South-South cooperation reflects a broader reorientation in global diplomacy, in which developing countries increasingly engage one another as equal partners in trade, development, and political coordination. Rather than relying solely on traditional North-South models, Southern states have sought alternative frameworks that emphasize shared experiences and collective advancement (Gülseven, 2022). This trend has been reinforced by the recognition that conventional donor-recipient relationships often reproduce dependency and inequality. Indonesia has adopted this approach by expanding cooperation with other developing countries, particularly in Africa, through economic, technical, and diplomatic initiatives that emphasize reciprocity and capacity-building.

Indonesia's commitment to South-South cooperation has been formally embedded in its foreign policy strategy since 2015. Under the leadership of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, Indonesia has sought to strengthen its role as a middle power by deepening cooperation with developing countries across the Global South. This strategic orientation is grounded in the perception that global development partnerships are shifting away from donor-recipient models toward more equal and reciprocal arrangements (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2015). As a result, Indonesia's foreign policy has increasingly emphasized partnerships that prioritize shared development experiences, technical cooperation, and mutual economic benefit rather than traditional aid-based approaches (BPPK Kementerian Luar Negeri, 2015).

Historically, Indonesia's relations with African countries can be traced back to the presidency of Sukarno, who emphasized anti-colonialism, sovereignty, and solidarity among newly independent states. Through initiatives such as the Asian African Conference, Indonesia sought to forge a collective front against imperialism and support decolonization efforts across Africa (Assie-Lumumba, 2015). This historical engagement laid the foundation for enduring diplomatic ties between Indonesia and African states. In more recent developments, Indonesia has revitalized these relations through institutional mechanisms such as the Indonesia-

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Africa Forum, first held in 2018 and subsequently in 2024, signalling a renewed commitment to strategic cooperation in areas such as trade, energy, and industrial development (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2024; Sari, 2023).

A distinctive feature of Indonesia's engagement with Africa is the persistent invocation of the "Bandung Spirit," referring to the principles of solidarity, equality, and mutual respect articulated during the 1955 Bandung Conference. While Indonesia participates in various South-South cooperation frameworks including the Group of 77 (G77), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and cooperation initiatives with Latin American countries the Bandung Spirit is most explicitly and consistently emphasized in its relations with African states. This selective application suggests that Indonesia-Africa relations are framed not merely as pragmatic partnerships, but as normatively grounded engagements rooted in shared historical experience (Weber & Winanti, 2016).

Despite Indonesia's engagement in multiple South-South cooperation frameworks, the Bandung Spirit discourse remains disproportionately associated with its African partnerships. This suggests the presence of a unique intersubjective relationship grounded in shared historical experience and collective memory. Unlike other South-South arrangements that emphasize technical or economic commonalities, Indonesia-Africa relations are rooted in a specific historical and normative legacy stemming from the 1955 Bandung Conference. This observation leads to the central research question of this study: **Why has Indonesia, over the past decade, relied on Bandung Spirit values specifically to intensify and expand its partnerships with African countries?**

To address this question, the study employs Alexander Wendt's theory of Collective Identity Formation as its analytical framework. From a constructivist perspective, this theory emphasizes how shared historical experiences, norms, and sustained social interactions contribute to the construction of collective identity in international relations (Wendt, 1994). The central argument advanced in this paper is that Indonesia's emphasis on the Bandung Spirit reflects the existence of a shared collective identity between Indonesia and African countries shaped by common anti-colonial struggles and development trajectories which continues to inform Indonesia's contemporary foreign policy strategy toward Africa.

This paper is structured into three main sections. The second section outlines the theoretical framework and operationalization of Collective Identity Formation to analyze the Bandung Spirit discourse in Indonesia-Africa relations. The third section presents the core analysis, examining historical ties, shared norms, and sustained social interactions as dimensions of collective identity. The final section concludes by summarizing the findings and offering recommendations for future research and policy development.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of the Bandung Spirit has attracted significant scholarly attention, particularly as a symbol of solidarity among newly independent states in Asia and Africa. Early scholarship emphasizes its historical role in shaping anti-colonial cooperation and postcolonial identity formation. Assie-Lumumba (2015) describes the Bandung Conference as a turning point that enabled formerly colonized states to articulate a collective political identity beyond Western dominance. Similarly, Eslava, Fakhri, and Nesiah (2017) argue that Bandung was not merely a diplomatic gathering, but a transformative moment that reshaped global norms of sovereignty, international law, and political agency among Global South states.

Beyond its historical significance, scholars have examined the continued relevance of the Bandung Spirit in contemporary global cooperation. Nurhasdy, Nurika, and Yekti (2016) argue that Bandung values remain pertinent in challenging unequal global trade structures and resisting neo-imperial economic arrangements. Tarrósy (2016) further highlights Indonesia's renewed engagement with Africa, emphasizing that Bandung Spirit functions as a narrative and normative framework guiding Jakarta's diplomatic outreach. Together, these studies suggest that Bandung Spirit continues to shape practical diplomatic strategies rather than functioning solely as symbolic rhetoric.

The broader literature on South-South cooperation provides comparative insights into how emerging and developing states operationalize solidarity in foreign policy. Gülseven (2022), for example, analyzes China's Belt and Road Initiative as a contemporary form of South-South cooperation centered on infrastructure development and economic interdependence. While China's approach is often characterized by material and strategic motivations, Indonesia's engagement with Africa places greater emphasis on shared identity and historical solidarity. This comparison highlights the diversity of South-South cooperation models and situates Indonesia's Africa policy within a wider Global South diplomatic landscape.

From a theoretical standpoint, constructivist scholars offer important tools for understanding how ideas, norms, and identities shape foreign policy behaviour. Wendt (1994) introduces the concept of collective identity formation, arguing that shared historical experiences, norms, and social interactions influence state interests and behaviour. Complementary constructivist perspectives, such as Finnemore's work on norms (1996) and Adler's concept of communities of practice (2005), further emphasize the role of social structures and shared meanings in international cooperation. These approaches are particularly relevant for analysing Indonesia Africa relations, where Bandung Spirit functions as a collective identity marker rather than merely a strategic instrument.

Despite this growing body of scholarship, a significant gap remains in literature. Much of the existing research treats the Bandung Spirit primarily as a historical legacy or symbolic discourse, with limited attention to its concrete application in contemporary foreign policy practice. Few studies examine how Bandung Spirit values are actively mobilized in Indonesia's diplomatic strategies, policy documents, and economic initiatives specifically toward African states. This paper seeks to address this gap by analyzing Bandung

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Spirit as both a normative framework and a practical tool shaping Indonesia-Africa cooperation over the past decade.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To analyze the Bandung Spirit discourse in Indonesia's cooperation strategy toward African countries, this study adopts a constructivist approach, which emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and identity in shaping state behavior. Within this paradigm, Alexander Wendt's theory of Collective Identity Formation provides a useful analytical framework for understanding how shared meanings and social interactions influence foreign policy choices. This theory enables a deeper examination of how Indonesia constructs its engagement with Africa not only as a strategic partnership but also as an identity-based relationship rooted in shared historical experience.

Alexander Wendt's theory of Collective Identity Formation, articulated in *Collective Identity Formation and the International State*, emerged as a constructivist response to debates between neorealism and neoliberalism concerning the prospects for cooperation in international politics. Wendt (1994) argues that collective action in world politics cannot be explained solely through material interests or institutional incentives, as identities and interests are socially constructed through interaction. From this perspective, state behavior is shaped not only by power and utility calculations, but also by shared understandings and intersubjective meanings formed at the systemic level. However, a central concept in Wendt's constructivist framework is intersubjectivity, which refers to shared understandings that emerge through repeated social interaction among international actors. According to Wendt (1994), state identities and interests are constituted by these social structures rather than existing prior to them. As states interact over time, they develop shared expectations and norms that shape patterns of cooperation and conflict. In the context of foreign policy, intersubjectivity explains how states come to define one another as partners, rivals, or members of a shared community.

Wendt's theory identifies several key mechanisms through which collective identity is formed. First, social interaction plays a foundational role, as repeated engagement among states through diplomacy, economic exchange, or cultural contact creates shared meanings and expectations. Second, shared norms and values emerge through these interactions and are reinforced through common practices, guiding state behavior within a community. Third, collective identity is historically contingent, meaning that shared identities are shaped by past experiences and historical trajectories that continue to influence contemporary interactions (Wendt, 1994).

Building on Wendt's framework, this study conceptualizes collective identity as the key explanatory factor shaping Indonesia's use of the Bandung Spirit in its Africa policy. The formation of this collective identity is operationalized through three analytical variables: (1) shared historical experiences, particularly anti-colonial struggle; (2) shared norms and values, including solidarity, equality, and non-hierarchy; and (3) sustained social interaction through diplomatic, economic, and people-to-people exchanges. Together, these variables explain how the Bandung Spirit functions as a socially constructed foundation for Indonesia-Africa cooperation. This paper then draws the operationalization of the theory as follows:

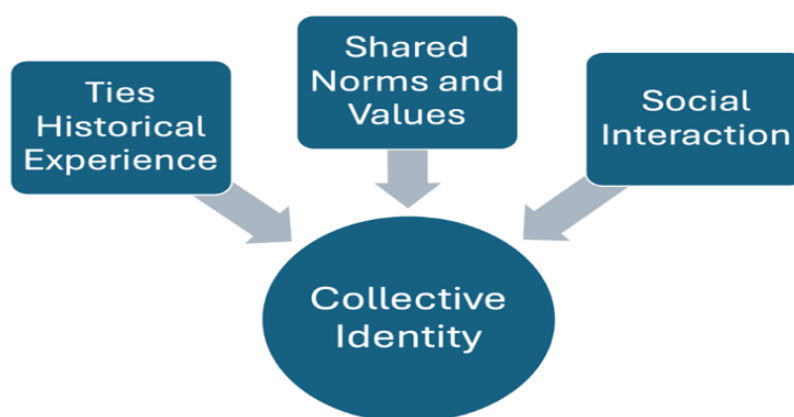


Figure 1 Theoretical Operationalization of Collective Identity Formation (Author, 2025)

In applying this framework to the Indonesia-Africa case, the Bandung Spirit is treated as the dependent variable representing collective identity, while historical experience, shared norms, and social interaction serve as the independent variables. This analytical model allows the study to examine how these factors interact to sustain and reproduce Bandung Spirit discourse in Indonesia's Africa policy. The model also provides a structured lens for analyzing empirical evidence from diplomatic initiatives, policy documents, and cooperative practices.

In the context of Indonesia-Africa relations, these variables manifest as: (1) shared historical experiences of anti-colonial struggle, (2) shared norms of solidarity and equality rooted in the

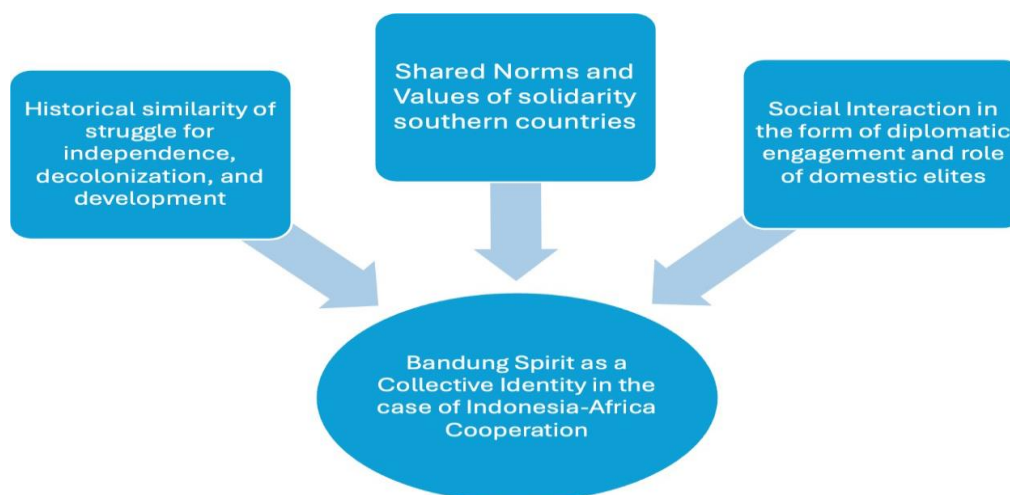


Figure 2 Analytical Model (Author, 2025)

Bandung Spirit, and (3) sustained social interactions through diplomacy, trade, peacekeeping, and people-to-people exchanges. These dimensions form the analytical lens for the discussion and analysis in the following section.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative, interpretivist research design to analyse Indonesia's strategic and normative reliance on the Bandung Spirit in its foreign policy toward Africa. A qualitative approach is appropriate because the study seeks to examine meanings, norms, and identity construction rather than to measure causal relationships or test hypotheses statistically. The interpretivist framework allows for an in-depth understanding of how diplomatic discourse and policy narratives reflect the social construction of collective identity in international relations.

The primary data source for this study consists of qualitative document analysis covering the period from 2015 to 2024. Key documents include Indonesia's foreign policy strategy papers, specifically the *Rencana Strategis* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the periods 2015-2019 and 2020-2024, official statements and concept notes from the first and second Indonesia-Africa Forums, and policy documents related to Indonesia's engagement in multilateral platforms such as the Group of 77 (G77) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). These documents were selected because they explicitly articulate Indonesia's foreign policy priorities, normative narratives, and strategic framing toward Africa. The analytical strategy employed is theory-guided content analysis, informed by Alexander Wendt's Collective Identity Formation framework. The analysis systematically codes and interprets policy documents according to three analytical variables: (1) shared historical experiences, particularly anti-colonial struggle; (2) shared norms and values, including solidarity and non-hierarchy; and (3) sustained social interaction through diplomatic, economic, and people-to-people exchanges. This approach enables a structured interpretation of how Bandung Spirit values are constructed, reproduced, and mobilized within Indonesia's Africa policy discourse.

To enhance the credibility and robustness of the findings, data triangulation is employed by comparing normative claims found in policy documents with observable cooperative practices. These include outcomes from the Indonesia-Africa Forum, implementation of technical assistance programs such as the *Kemitraan Negara Berkembang* (KNB) Scholarship, and Indonesia's participation in peacekeeping and development initiatives in Africa. This triangulation ensures that the analysis captures both discursive and practical dimensions of Bandung Spirit based cooperation.

V. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

This section applies Alexander Wendt's Collective Identity Formation framework to analyze how the Bandung Spirit operates as a normative and strategic foundation in Indonesia-Africa cooperation. Building on the theoretical operationalization outlined earlier, the discussion is structured around three analytical dimensions: shared historical experiences, shared norms and values, and sustained social interaction. Together, these dimensions explain how a collective identity between Indonesia and African countries has been constructed and reproduced over time, shaping contemporary diplomatic engagement.

a. Historical Ties of Indonesia - African Countries that shaped Bandung Spirit Discourse: Struggle for Independence and Decolonization within Asia - Africa Conferences 1955

In the aftermath of Second World War, the hope of continuing the life of human beings within the states became valuable matters. At that period several new emerging countries revived from colonial power and became critical urgent needs for independence and decolonization. Many countries that disperse on Asia and Africa continents are reawakened to foster development for newly

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independence period. In the milieu of Indonesia, the release of the shackles of Dutch and Japanese colonialism has pushed Indonesian elites at that time to seek for self-determination through establishment of Republic of Indonesia as unitary state. This value of self-determination, anti-imperialism, and effort for sovereignty became the cornerstone of Indonesia free and active foreign policy at early independence era to influence other country that still place under colonial power to get independence, especially among the African nations. In this regard, African and Indonesia had been systematically fighting this system of oppression for a long time (Assie-Lumumba, 2015). It then triggers more massive and structured movements for improvising the needs for independence spirit.

The rally later being proposedly made in April 1954, where the Indonesian government led by Soekarno proposed to hold the Asian African Conference. Subsequently in December, the Prime Ministers of five Asian countries-Burma (now Myanmar), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, and Pakistan-gathered in Bogor, Indonesia. At this meeting, they agreed to work together as co-organizers of the Asian African Conference, based on the proposals of the five countries, which resulted in the historic conference (Assie-Lumumba, 2015). This Bandung Conference in 1955 then emerged as a response to the enduring effects of European imperialism, confronting both its historical legacy and its continuing influence on the structures of the modern world (Eslava et al., 2017).

This newly independent countries of Asia and Africa movement sought to find a new path, one that offered an alternative to the world order controlled by the superpowers of the West and the Soviet Union. As the global balance of power evolved, the traditional dominance of First World nations over others started to fade. The Third World succeeded in creating a sense of solidarity among the nations of Africa and Asia, planting the seeds for two important changes, more inclusive representation in international decision-making and a more active role for these nations in global affairs (Nurhasdy et al., 2016). The motivations behind the conference were shaped by the common historical experiences of the member states. In addition to that “Bandung Spirit” also carries the idea of “sovereignty” which seeks to ensure that policymaking is free from intervention from any party (Nurhasdy et al., 2016). This dimension represents the first variables of Wendt’s collective identity formation theory, showing how historically contingent interactions such as shared struggles against colonialism constructed collective identity that continues to shape Indonesia Africa cooperation.

b. Shared Values of Solidarity and Norms of Friendship in South-to-South Cooperation within Bandung Spirit Discourse

Beyond shared history, the Bandung Spirit embodies a set of normative principles that guide Indonesia-Africa relations, most notably solidarity, equality, and mutual respect. From a constructivist perspective, norms function as social facts that shape state behaviour by defining appropriate conduct within a community (Wendt, 1994). In the context of Indonesia-Africa cooperation, these norms underpin a model of partnership that explicitly rejects hierarchical donor-recipient relationships in favour of horizontal and reciprocal engagement.

This normative orientation distinguishes Indonesia’s approach from traditional North-South development cooperation, which has often been criticized for reinforcing dependency and asymmetrical power relations. Indonesian technical cooperation programs, including training initiatives in agriculture, fisheries, governance, and public administration, are consistently framed as the sharing of development experiences among equals rather than as forms of aid. Such framing reinforces the perception of Indonesia and African countries as members of a shared Global South community pursuing collective advancement.

Normative alignment is also evident in multilateral diplomacy. Within forums such as the Group of 77 (G77) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Indonesia and African states frequently coordinate positions on issues including reform of global economic governance, trade justice, and climate finance. These shared positions reflect common normative commitments rooted in the Bandung Spirit and demonstrate how collective identity shapes coordinated diplomatic behaviour (Weber & Winanti, 2016).

Symbolic diplomacy further reinforces these norms. Commemorative events such as the 60th anniversary of the Asian African Conference in 2015 explicitly invoked Bandung principles of sovereignty, friendship, and non-intervention. These symbolic practices function as rituals that reaffirm shared norms and sustain collective identity over time. Within Wendt’s framework, the internalization of shared norms strengthens collective identity by aligning expectations and guiding consistent patterns of cooperation.

c. Social Interaction in Diplomatic Settings between Indonesia and African Countries along with Elites influences

Beyond historical ties and shared values, the third variable of Alexander Wendt’s Collective Identity Formation theory ‘social interaction’ is crucial in explaining how Indonesia and African countries continually reproduce the Bandung Spirit in practice. Social interaction refers to the ongoing diplomatic, economic, and societal exchanges that reinforce collective identity through repeated engagement. In the Indonesia Africa context, these interactions occur at multiple levels.

At the institutional level, Indonesia has actively participated in African Union (AU) forums and regional economic communities such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC). These engagements allow Indonesia to project itself as a reliable partner in Africa’s regional integration efforts, while simultaneously embedding Bandung Spirit values into cooperative frameworks (Tarrósy, 2016). Indonesia’s contributions to UN peacekeeping missions, particularly MONUSCO in the Democratic Republic of Congo, further demonstrate solidarity beyond rhetoric, showing commitment to African stability and security (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, 2020).

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At the economic level, the Indonesia-Africa Forum (IAF), held in 2018 and 2024, institutionalizes interaction by bringing together political leaders, business actors, and policymakers. These forums have facilitated trade agreements, investment partnerships, and technology transfer initiatives, translating Bandung Spirit values into tangible cooperation. The evolving focus of the IAF from initial infrastructure and trade engagement to sustainable energy, digital transformation, and resource management reflects efforts to align Indonesia's middle-power aspirations with Africa's Agenda 2063 (Sari, 2023).

Table 1: Evolution of Institutional Interaction in Indonesia-Africa Relations (2018-2024)

Feature	Indonesia-Africa Forum (IAF) 2018	Indonesia-Africa Forum (IAF) 2024
Primary Focus	Establishing a platform for economic partnership and infrastructure.	Sustaining strategic cooperation in economics, energy, and health
Normative Goal	Revitalizing the Bandung Spirit and South-South solidarity	Aligning Indonesia's middle power aspirations with Africa's Agenda 2063.
Key Sectors	Trade, connectivity, and industrial technology.	Sustainable energy, resource management, and digital transformation
Stakeholders	State elites and high-level government officials.	Inclusion of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), SMEs, and private sector leaders.

At the societal level, people-to-people exchanges play a crucial role in sustaining collective identity beyond state elites. Programs such as the *Kemitraan Negara Berkembang* (KNB) Scholarship enable African students to study in Indonesia, fostering long-term interpersonal networks and cultural understanding. These interactions contribute to the socialization of Bandung Spirit values among future leaders and professionals, ensuring the continuity of Asia-Africa solidarity (Weber & Winanti, 2016). Taken together, these layers of social interaction demonstrate that Indonesia-Africa cooperation is not static but continually reproduced through diplomatic practices, economic exchanges, and societal linkages. This dynamic process ensures that the Bandung Spirit remains a living normative foundation, shaping collective identity and guiding South-South cooperation in the contemporary era. This reflects the third variable of Wendt's theory, demonstrating that sustained social interactions through diplomacy, trade, and people-to-people exchanges are essential in reproducing Bandung Spirit values and maintaining Indonesia Africa collective identity.

d. Synthesis: Bandung Spirit as Collective Identity in Indonesia-Africa Relations

The analysis demonstrates that Indonesia's reliance on the Bandung Spirit in its Africa policy is best understood through the lens of collective identity formation. Shared historical experiences provide the foundation, shared norms of solidarity give direction, and sustained social interaction ensures continuity. Together, these dimensions explain why Bandung Spirit discourse is disproportionately emphasized in Indonesia-Africa relations compared to Indonesia's engagement with other Global South regions. Rather than serving merely as symbolic rhetoric, the Bandung Spirit functions as a socially constructed identity that shapes Indonesia's strategic orientation toward Africa and reinforces South-South cooperation as a viable alternative model in global diplomacy.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper explored the reasons why in the last ten years Indonesia has been banking particularly on the Bandung Spirit to strengthen and deepen its alliances with the African nations. Applying the theory of Collective Identity Formation of Alexander Wendt, the analysis has shown that the relations between Indonesia and Africa are not only determined by the practical economic or political interests, but also by the historically based and socially constructed collective identity based on the experiences of the anti-colonial beliefs, similarity in normative commitments and the continuation of social interaction.

The results indicate that the Bandung Spirit is not merely rhetoric in the foreign policy discourse of Indonesia. To begin with, the common historical experience especially the heritage of colonialism and the 1955 Asian African Conference is the base layer of collective identity between the Indonesian nation and African nations. It is this common history that makes Indonesia-Africa relations unlike those that Indonesia has had with the rest of the Global South and the reason why Bandung discourse has always been especially pertinent to Africa-centric diplomacy.

Second, there are common principles of solidarity, equality, and mutual respect, which determine how Indonesia cooperates with African partners. These norms are always referred to in the policy documents and international forums and are traced in the models of horizontal, non-hierarchical cooperation that are preferred over the models of South-south cooperation in Indonesia. By presenting cooperation as a partnership and not aid, Indonesia extends its brand as another developing nation that has common development issues and goals with the African states.

Third, long-term, social interaction in the form of diplomatic intervention, economic conferences, peacekeeping services and people-people interactions is important in recreating collective identity in the long-term. Programs like the Indonesia-Africa Forum,

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Indonesia involvement in peacekeeping operations in Africa and education exchanges through Kemitraan Negara Berkembang (KNB) Scholarship are the applications of the Bandung Spirit values into practice. Through these interactions, the solidarity that exists between Asia and Africa is dynamic and is strengthened at any given time and not an issue that is left in the past.

In conclusion, the paper has found that the Africa policy of Indonesia cannot be entirely explained using material or strategic explanations. Rather, the Bandung Spirit is more of an identity-based logic whereby the interaction, common history, and norms determine the foreign policy preferences in Indonesia. Indonesia solidifies its authority as a middle power in the Global South by activating Bandung Spirit values, and as a normative interface between Asia and Africa in a more multipolar international system.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study recommends that future research further examine how Bandung Spirit based collective identity influences concrete policy outcomes, such as trade performance, investment flows, or development effectiveness in Indonesia-Africa cooperation. Comparative studies between Indonesia's Africa policy and its engagement with other Global South regions, such as Latin America or the Middle East, would also help clarify the scope and limits of Bandung-based identity formation. From a policy perspective, Indonesia could enhance the effectiveness of its Africa engagement by institutionalizing people-to-people programs and expanding technical cooperation sectors that directly address African development priorities, thereby reinforcing the practical relevance of Bandung Spirit values.

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