

President Joko Widodo's foreign policy shift on Egypt? Analysis of President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia in 2015

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Abstract: This dissertation research aims to analyze and answer Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt which has been running since the time of President Soekarno to President Joko Widodo. During the time of President Soekarno, Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt was in a very strong or ideal position. This turns out to be different from the time of President Soeharto, who was in quite a worrying position. Efforts to strengthen Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt were carried out through President Soeharto's state visit to Egypt as carried out by President Soekarno. State visits to Egypt became a continuing tradition for Indonesian foreign policy during the period of Presidents Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The transition of Indonesian leadership from SBY to Jokowi apparently had an influence on Indonesia's foreign policy tradition towards Egypt, which was originally structured to change. President Jokowi's absence from visiting Egypt on several occasions has increasingly become a big question mark and has become an unprecedented problem in Indonesia's foreign policy. This research answers why President Joko Widodo's foreign policy in relation to Egypt looks different from his predecessor, as well as what considerations are the background to President Jokowi's policy of not visiting Egypt. The type of research is qualitative research. The research method uses case studies with the primary data obtained through interviews and secondary data obtained through documentation data collection techniques and literature study. The theoretical approach used is foreign policy, psychological concepts in foreign policy making. This research finds that Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt during President Jokowi's leadership has undergone changes from the traditions of previous presidents. This change was marked by the absence of President Jokowi's visit to Egypt and Indonesia's current foreign policy priorities which prioritize economic cooperation and investment with China, the UAE and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, the factors that influenced President Jokowi's considerations in his policy of not visiting Egypt were due to the domestic situation in Egypt after the Arab Spring which had not fully improved, President Jokowi's individual background and President Jokowi's cognitive (psychological) considerations regarding the information he believed.

Keywords: Egypt, Foreign policy, Indonesia, Joko Widodo.

1. Introduction

Egypt is one of the countries in the Middle East region seen as having shown an important role in the world of politics and culture. In addition, the combination of Islam, Christianity, Arabic, European, African, Asian, desert and Mediterranean civilizations have made Egypt a country that has a strategic position (Wardoyo 2017). When it is viewed from the demographic aspect based on the number of the population, Egypt has a large population among other Arab countries. Other countries that may have the same population as Arabs are Iran and Turkey (Doran. 2004). Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Egypt that have established for many years was started from the Indonesian Representative in Cairo in 1950 and the opening of the Egyptian Representative in Jakarta in 1951, where their relations were very harmonious till now. There is no crisis and there is no severance of

diplomatic relations between this countries/persona non grata. Everything runs well and no tensions happen between these two countries (A. M. Fachir 2014).

In the history of Indonesia, Egypt has played a major role in the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. To be precise, in 1946, Egypt was the first Arab country giving recognition to establishment of Indonesia and the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia (RI 2021). In international law, recognition from other countries is a very important point for a newly independent country. The absence of recognition from other countries means that a country will not have legality in international forums. This means that the country does not have an important meaning in the dynamics of international relations or relationships between nations (Candra 2020). The presence of Egypt in providing support and recognition to Indonesia as a sovereign country is a historic moment that will always be remembered for the entire nation and Indonesian people. Egypt's important role in giving recognition to Indonesia is a very expensive contribution to the existence of the Indonesian nation in the arena of international relations.

After the Indonesian proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia needed support from other countries in the world or recognition in de facto. Recognition from other countries is something absolute for the sovereignty of a country. On March 22, 1946 through the General Secretary of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by Kamil Abdurrahman Bey, Egypt became the first Arab country recognizing Indonesia's independence (Tunggal 2019). Indonesia has a huge historical gratitude debt to Egypt, because the recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty has helped the Indonesia to be an independent and sovereign nation (Kobarsyih, Reading the Dynamics of Indonesia, USA and Palestine 2022). Indonesia and Egypt have a very close relationship which can be described as brother and sister. The harmonious relationship between the two countries can also be seen from several fields including religion and education, where Egypt is one of the most populous Muslim countries in the world which has a major role in contributing to Islamic law and the modernization of education in Indonesia. Egypt's role in Islamic law in Indonesia can at least be seen from the Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 which has similarities with the family law law in Egypt. This is the first law in Indonesia that regulate marriage nationally, which was then followed by the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) which regulates marriage, inheritance and waqf in 1991 (Zayyadi 2020). Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Prof. Mahfud MD said that Indonesia and Egypt have similarities in terms of Islamic moderation (Wasathiyah Islam). Moderate Islamic teachings in Indonesia developed by community organizations such as Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) are middle way Islamic teachings that are not extreme. The Islamic Wasathiyah concept, which was developed in Egypt through Al-Azhar University, has contributed to the development of Islam in Indonesia (Mulyana 2020).

Egypt's major contribution to the modernization of education in Indonesia is due to the fact that modern and moderate Islamic education in Egypt is considered compatible with Indonesian society and culture. Egypt is a favorite destination for Indonesian students to study abroad. The data shows that the number of Indonesian students learning in Egypt in 2020 is 7,850 pupils (Wahyu: 2020). Most of them study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. The strong attractiveness of Al-Azhar becomes one of Indonesian student motivations to study there. Studying in Egypt is a very valuable opportunity for Indonesian students to deepen religious knowledge, as well as learn about the ancient-Egyptian world civilization. Al-Azhar University, which has been established for more than 1000 years, is a world Islamic university having succeeded in producing the best scholars of all time and its alumni have contributed greatly to Indonesian society and state (Murtadlo 2018). Advances in education and science at Al-Azhar have been an inspiration for the implementation of education at Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. One of them is Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor. Al-Azhar has been one of the synthesizers of Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor in the field of waqf and scholarships given to students from all over the world (Zulkarnain 2015). The facts above show that the role of Egypt in the field of education is so great for the modernization of education in Indonesia.

In social relations, the two countries also have a very influential brotherly relationship. This can be seen from the number of Indonesian students learning in Egypt who came from various regions of Indonesia such as Lampung, Minangkabau, Sambas since the Dutch era in 1910 and those who came

from Banten in 1912 (Azra 2017). There are many Indonesian people who marry and maintain family relationships with Egyptian citizens, both in Egypt itself and in other Arab countries (Ahmed 2019). There is a term that is often expressed by Egyptians that *Masri Umm Ad Dunya, wa Indonesia Abuhu* which shows closeness when meeting with Indonesians (Khaerallah 2015). President Soekarno's personal close relationship with the President of Egypt, Gamal Abdul Nasser, is immortalized in one of the street names in the Kit-Kas Agouza Geiza area, a suburb of Cairo, Egypt, namely Ahmed Soekarno Street. Perpetuation of Soekarno as a street name in Egypt is a form of closeness from a prominent statesman from both sides and from both countries (Aura 2021).

From political aspect, Indonesia and Egypt have a close relationship. In this case, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), one of the Islamic parties participating in the general election in Indonesia, cannot be separated from the existence of an organization in Egypt known as the Muslim Brothers (MB) or Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM). As stated by the Chairperson of the 2004–2009 Prosperous Justice Party Consultative Council, Hilmi Aminuddin in the Journal written by Yon Machmudi, that the adoption of the model referring to the Muslim Brotherhood is an effort to institutionalize the unity of faith (aqidah) and thoughts (fikrah). The two organizations ideologically and religiously have clear similarities. It is undeniable that in fact the Muslim Brothers/Muslim Brothers organization is an Islamic organization that has spread throughout the world. For Indonesia itself with the largest Muslim population in the world, the phenomenon of the Muslim Brotherhood movement which is so strong and massive seems difficult to avoid (Machmudi 2008). In addition, Egypt's position in the Arab world is often considered central and is in the "middle" of the Arab world in many ways, including geographically. In matters of 'urubah and Arab nationalism, they are considered moderate (Burdah 2020).

Indonesia and Egypt is important actor in Asia-Africa Conference established in Bandung in 1955 where it was attended by the dignitaries of the 29 countries in Asia-Africa continent, in which the leading figure of Indonesia was Ali Sastro Amijoyo, while Gamal Abdel Nasser represented Egypt (Kusmayadi 2018). Asia-Africa Conference result some policies, they are cooperating in the economic field, culture, respecting human right, declining colonialism and supporting the indepecency for Asia-Africa countries, international peace and cooperation. Based on the negotiated principles in KAA in 1955, it was then formed a non-block organization which is an international organization consisting of 20 countries declaring that they did not affiliate with any super power countries. It was an initiative from some world leaders such as Soekarno and Gamal Abdel Nasser. In this way, Indonesia, Egypt and other countries such as India, Ghana and Yugoslavia became the pioneer of non-block organization (GNB), (Adryamarthanino 2021). The formation of the Non-Aligned Movement cannot be separated from the common vision and mission as well as strong motivation from the country's leaders, Josip Broz Tito from Yugoslavia, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesian President Soekarno and Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, to maintain international peace and security, effective international cooperation, human independence and a better future for the nation. The five leaders of these countries are hereinafter referred to as The Initiataive of Five (Archive 2017).

In the field of foreign policy and international relations, Egypt and Indonesia also have the same frequency of mutual support in various international forums. When Indonesia was facing an issue with the province of Timor Timur, Egypt, which had always abstained since 1977, supported Indonesia's position in the United Nations General Assembly. The two countries also provided mutual support based on the principle of reciprocity in nominations to be members or occupy positions in international organizations. Facing the issue of peace in the Middle East region, basically Indonesia has the same opinion as Egypt regarding the need to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict on the three existing paths (Palestine-Israel, Lebanon-Israel and Syria-Israel) in accordance with relevant UN resolutions as well as agreements that have been reached by the conflicting parties. Egypt becomes a significant non-traditional trading partner for the Republic of Indonesia. Egypt is Indonesia's 26th export partner after France, Russia and Canada from 2019 to 2020. Indonesia's main exports are palm oil, tires, rubber, synthetic filament yarn, coffee, refrigerators, freezers, paper, vegetables, oil and the like. From 2019 to 2020, the trade value of Indonesia to Egypt always achieves a surplus and experience an increasing trend (State 2022).

The close relationship between the two countries can also be seen in the form of mutual state visits, ministers, ministerial-level state officials, and society public figures from the two countries, even High-Level Visits (KTT) by Heads of State. In a note released by the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Cairo through the book of Indonesian Relations Portrait with Egypt, all Indonesian Presidents always visit Egypt, except for President Habibie, whose tenure is very short. President Soekarno had visited Egypt six times and this was the highest number of visits by a President of Indonesia. President Soekarno's first visit to Egypt was on July 18 1955, then the second visit was on January 12-17 1958, the third visit was on April 22-25 1960, then the fourth visit was on May 16 1961, the fifth visit was on 5-10 October 1964 and the sixth visit occurred on 26 June 1965.

The second Indonesian president, Suharto, also made a state visit to Egypt. This was done by President Soeharto twice in 1977 and 1983. During his tenure, Gus Dur made two state visits to Egypt, in 2000 and 2001. While during the reign of President Megawati Soekarno Putri, he also visited Egypt in 2002. Then, President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY) during his tenure visited Egypt on October 20, 2004 (A. M. Fachir 2010). Likewise, the Egyptian government made a visit to Indonesia through Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Abdul Nasser in attending the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955. The next visit was made by the First Lady of Egypt, Jihan Sadat, to Indonesia in 1976. In 1983, President Husni Mubarak visited Indonesia. Furthermore, the visit of Egyptian President Al-Sisi to Indonesia was carried out in 2015 (Asmardika, okenews 2021).

From the information above, it can be seen that Egypt's has big kindness to Indonesia. Indonesia itself has a historical debt to Egypt, because the help of Egypt and other Arab countries, Indonesia became an independent and sovereign country. The form of mutual visits from seems to be a trend or pattern that has been a tradition for generations started from President Soekarno, Suharto, Gus Dur, Megawati and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. They always make state visits to Egypt. The existence of a high-level visit between the two countries shows the close relationship between the two countries. In addition, it also shows that Indonesia's interest in Egypt is very large. However, behind it all, there is an interesting reality to be presented in this paper, namely when the visit of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi to Indonesia in 2015 actually appeared the phenomenon of demonstrations held in front of the Merdeka Palace and the rejection of the President's visit (Getty 2015).

The visit of President Al-Sisi to Indonesia is actually the first state visit in his tenure. Ambassador of Egypt for Indonesia, Ashraf M. Sultan, stated that visit was an important fact that could be interpreted as an effort to benchmark or barometer Indonesia-Egypt relations in recent years (Asmardika, okenews 2021). In addition, this state visit is a tradition for the two countries that have established diplomatic relations for a long time. In fact, the arrival of President Al-Sisi was also not greeted with great coverage from various media in Indonesia, even though Egypt had greatly contributed to Indonesia, but during that visit, Indonesia had not given and shown high attention/enthusiasm to the President of Egypt. Even the Deputy Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Egypt M. Aji Surya said that the Egyptian President's visit to Indonesia would only take half a day (Surya, Egypt's Significance for Indonesia 2022).

Since President Al-Sisi visited Indonesia, President Jokowi has not made a return visit to the President of Egypt until now. Whereas the mutual visits for the Presidents of Indonesia and Egypt are an indication of the warm relationship between the two countries. There are three indicators that have been presented above, namely demonstrations/rejection of Al-Sisi when visiting Indonesia, the absence of major news coverage through the media during President Al-Sisi's visit, and the absence of a return visit from President Jokowi indicating that there is a problem in the way of Jokowi's foreign policy towards Egypt. This is something that is unusual with what Egypt has given and done to Indonesia so far. Egypt has provided great services and roles for the Indonesian people, but President Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia in 2015 has not received a return visit from Indonesia. This issue is a big question that must be answered by using a Foreign Policy and National Interest analysis approach. Why hasn't President Jokowi visited Egypt after President Al-Sisi's did? and is there a shift in President Jokowi's foreign policy towards Egypt?

This research is divided into three parts. The first part is an introduction that describes the background of Indonesia-Egypt relations from various aspects to outline the issues that will be

discussed. Then the second part is the discussion. The discussion section consists of a theoretical framework and theoretical analysis. This is followed by a discussion on President Jokowi's foreign policy, President Jokowi's foreign policy towards Egypt and Middle East countries and President Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia in 2015. All of these are part of the discussion in this research. The last part is the third part, which is closing.

2. Results and Discussion

2.1. Foreign Policy

The explanation of foreign policy according to Valerie M. Hudson includes the process and results of decisions made by someone by determining the consequences for foreign affairs. Hudson explains that there are several factors that influence decision making. These factors can range from micro to macro. Therefore, to take a foreign policy decision, it requires broad insights from many intellectuals in various fields of science such as psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, anthropology, economics and others, as the basis for foreign policy analysis in their efforts to explain decision making foreign policy decisions. Multidisciplinary/interdisciplinary is one of the characteristics of foreign policy. While the main point in the preparation of foreign policy is the individual. Furthermore, Hudson explains in his book *Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and The Ground of International Relations*, there are at least two important points in foreign policy. The first is the individual character of a leader/head of state where the political psychology of a leader can be determinant. In unpredictable situations and conditions, high pressure and uncertainty, individual personal character will be important in understanding foreign policy choices. The second is the nation and the characteristics of society. In this case, foreign policy is also influenced by the character of the community and the product of the nation's socialization process (Hudson 2014). Foreign policy is part of the field of International Relations. Government institutions, political parties, personal interests, social groups and society have an impact on foreign policy (Levy 2016).

In James N. Rosenau's view, foreign policy is defined as the efforts of a country through its overall attitudes and activities to cope with and benefit from its external environment. Foreign policy is aimed at maintaining the viability of a country (Yani 2017). There are three concepts to explain the relationship of a country with events and situations outside its country. The first is foreign policy as a set of orientations. The second is foreign policy as a set of commitments and action plans and the third is foreign policy as a form of behavior. As part of the orientation, foreign policy is a guide for decision makers to deal with external conditions that require making decisions and actions based on that orientation. This orientation consists of attitudes, perceptions, and values, which are interpreted from the historical experience of the state and the strategic position of the state that marks its place in global politics. As a set of commitments and action plans, foreign policy aims to reveal strategies, concrete decisions, and observable policies taken when a country is connected to its external environment and challenges from abroad. Meanwhile, in the third part, foreign policy is assumed to be external behavior or action, namely in the form of concrete steps taken by decision makers (Dugis 2022).

The foreign policy of a country is always subject to change. The direction of a country's foreign policy may change from time to time. In this case, William D. Coplin identified the determination of the change. The first is the international context consisting of the current international political situation that is able to influence how the state determines its attitude or behavior. The second is the character of policy makers including the executive, ministries and state institutions. The behavior of the government which is influenced by the perception, experience, knowledge and interests of individuals in its government is the main factor in determining foreign policy. The third is the economic and military conditions. The economic and military capabilities of a country can influence the country in its interactions with other countries. The fourth determinant is domestic politics. The political situation that occurs in the country can give an influence on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy (Wuryandari 2008).

Foreign policy cannot be reduced to decisions because enacting policies is different from policy making. In other words, foreign policy is an act of the state, while decision making is the process by

which a policy is made. Talking foreign policy means talking about the behavior of a country. Foreign policy is related to the policy choices made by the state in certain situations, while decision making is to formulate policy choices (M. Rosyidin 2020). The foreign policy of a country is the product of the interaction between a set of internal factors, external structures, and the interaction determining a set of options or choices, policies, and options available to make decisions (Kabalan 2019). Therefore, Indonesia's foreign policy also depends on the strategies, policies, and skills used by government as decision makers as well as internal and external factors, namely the circumstances and conditions that enable them to achieve the desired goals.

2.2. *National Interest*

According to Hans J. Morgenthau's opinion on the national interest, he classified it into two levels, namely: primary and secondary. According to him, in order to preserve the first concerning with the fundamental physical existence of the state, it cannot be compromised or hesitated to go to war. All countries must defend this interest at any cost. The national interest is relatively easy to define for every state security as an independent nation and the protection of institutions, people, and fundamental values in most important cases for either big or small country. On the other hand, secondary interests which can be negotiated or compromised, are more difficult to define. They usually fall outside of the first category and do not represent a threat to state sovereignty. Potentially, Morgenthau believed that these interests could grow in the minds of statesmen until they appeared to be vital (Marleku 2013). Meanwhile, according to Robert J. Art, national, interest is a basic concept in international politics. It is even more widely regarded as the basis of a country's foreign policy (Yi 2019).

The concept of national interest is very important for interpreting and understanding international behavior. The concept of national interest is the basis for studying the foreign behavior of a country. National interest can also be shown as an important means and determining factor that directs the decision makers of a country in formulating its foreign policy. The national interest of a country are the elements forming the most essential needs of the state, such as defense, security, military and economic welfare (Mochamad, 2017). According to one of the Teaching Experts for Geo-strategy and Tannas National Defense Institute (Lemhannas) of Indonesia Major General Hari Mulyono in the Indonesian National Defense Institute Journal, he said that the national interest is "absolute", non-negotiable, unlimited, which means that in carrying out its objectives, priority is given to a certain area which cannot be postponed or changed to other goals such as the continuity of the Republic of Indonesia including territorial integrity (Archipelago State), maintaining national sovereignty and protecting the safety of the Indonesian nation (Mayjen TNI Hari Mulyono 2017).

2.3. *President Joko Widodo's Foreign Policy*

A country's foreign policy can be influenced by its domestic political situation and conditions. The decision-making and attitude of a country regarding diplomatic relations with other countries is a form of a country's foreign policy. Although in principle the foreign policy of a country can be said to be derived from history, ideology, and the national constitution, in its implementation a country's foreign policy is highly dependent on national interests and the nature of the country's leader. As stated by William D. Coplin, a country's foreign policy tends to change from time to time due to three things: The first is the international context, the second is the behavior of decision makers and the third is economic and military conditions. In terms of President Jokowi's foreign policy, decision-making behavior can be influenced by his individual perceptions, personal experience, knowledge and individual interests in his government. The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, comes from a background as an entrepreneur or a timber businessman, not from a background as a military or party leader, which is certainly very different from the previous President of the Republic of Indonesia. Differences in individual backgrounds are factors that influence the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy and policy making both on a domestic and international scale. This can be seen from the vision and mission carried out by Jokowi as well as the priority of state visits at the beginning of his term as President which was marked by attending a series of international summits in Beijing, Naypyitaw and Brisbane (Connelly, Indonesian Foreign Policy under President Jokowi 2014). The basis of Indonesia's "free and active"

foreign policy is interpreted by President Jokowi through his view that making friends with any countries that can provide benefits for Indonesia friendship must benefit (Witular 2014). Bilateral relations established with other countries must have advantages for Indonesia. This has become a principle for the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, when he collaborates with other countries. In another view, President Jokowi is considered pragmatic in his development agenda which is based on efficiency, productivity and infrastructure. As a pragmatic nationalist who is preoccupied with economic performance and material progress, in his speeches President Jokowi often mentions the superior performance of Indonesia's regional economic competitors such as China, Malaysia and South Korea. In addition, economic policies under the Jokowi administration have attracted investment and infrastructure projects, despite resistance from some parties such as the labor unions (Tyson 2021). As the vision that President Jokowi wants to achieve, namely through three main priorities in his foreign policy, namely maintaining state sovereignty, increasing citizen protection, and increasing economic diplomacy (Andika 2016).

According to Donald E. Weatherbee in a journal entitled "Indonesia's Foreign Policy in 2016: Garuda Hovering," said that the direction of Indonesia's foreign policy under President Jokowi was different from the former President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Indonesia's foreign policy during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era showed a high-profile character that reflected Indonesia's strength as a middle power country that was actively involved in various multilateral forums and international events (Wetherbee 2017). Indonesia seeks to emerge as the leader of South-East Asia which not only take a part in ASEAN regional organizations, but also seeks to take a stronger position and role by participating in high-level forums such as APEC, G-20, and the United Nations. In the era of Yudhoyono's leadership, Indonesia was seen as a regional power with global interests and concerns. Meanwhile, in his relations with the international community, within one period of his leadership, Jokowi does not seem interested in being more actively involved in carrying out foreign policy unless it is related to the domestic agenda that is his concern (Wati 2021).

Meanwhile, according to Prof. Aleksius Jemadu in the Journal of ASEAN Studies, it was stated that when President Joko Widodo replaced President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2014, President Joko Widodo's leadership actually faced challenges from an external environment similar to power politics in the Indo-Pacific region. President Joko Widodo is assumed that he tends to emphasis more on achieving his domestic policy priorities than carrying out international activities as his predecessors did. President Joko Widodo decided to use foreign policy as his instrument to achieve his domestic goals. Some foreigners even described President Widodo's more inward-looking approach that his political regime is described as having a tendency to leave Indonesia in the tradition of international leadership in Southeast Asia (Jemadu 2021).

To make it easier to read and understand the direction of President Joko Widodo's foreign policy, at least it can be started from the President's vision and mission in 2014. This can help to understand the presence or visit of President Abdel Fatah Al-Sisi which occurred in 2015, to be precise in the first period of President Joko Widodo leadership. His vision and mission in 2014 is the realization of a sovereign, independent and mutual assistance-based character. The vision then will be pursued through a mission that will realize national security, support economic independence, create an advanced society, realize impartial-active foreign policy and strengthen identity as a maritime country, realize the quality of life of competitive Indonesian people, realize Indonesia as a maritime country and realize Indonesian people with cultural personalities (KPU 2014).

The doctrine of Indonesia as a global maritime axis is also a priority agenda in President Jokowi's leadership. This can be seen from several of Jokowi speeches which emphasized the importance of sea lanes for Indonesia's future "Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis" as conveyed on President Jokowi's speech at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) CEO Summit Forum which conveyed the motto "Jalesveva Jayamahe" (at sea we are victorious) (Dzakwan 2019). This statement was also conveyed in the first state speech in front of the member of House of Representatives in October 20th 2014 and at the 9th East Asia Summit in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar on November 13th 2014. As an effort to follow up with this vision, the government established the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs as the executor of the World Maritime Axis. This is in accordance with Presidential Regulation of the

Republic of Indonesia Number 10 of 2015 concerning the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs which was stipulated in Jakarta on January 21, 2015 (Luhulima 2019). In addition, President Jokowi has also made priority efforts in the development of port infrastructure, railways, and toll roads with the aim that everything can be easily connected by land, air and sea and the logistics costs of goods are certainly cheaper. The term “world maritime axis” is also considered a very versatile concept for Indonesia. Both in the domestic sphere, in foreign policy, and from a philosophical dimension that also appeals to some people, this doctrine is considered to have differences with the previous President's Vision and Mission (Shambi 2015).

The Vision and Mission stated by President Joko Widodo was then adapted into the pillars of foreign policy, especially in the fields of security, stability, economic independence in global connectivity. The national goals contained in the Nawa Cita are translated into foreign policy directions for the five-year administration of President Joko Widodo through the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) formulated by the Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic Indonesia/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas). Meanwhile, the policy direction in the field of foreign relations and international diplomacy stated in the RPJMN is a guide for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to formulate the framework for Indonesia's foreign policy activities as outlined in the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Fitriani 2018).

Furthermore, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by Retno Marsudi formulated Strategic Plan for 2015-2019. This Strategic Plan outlines three missions, three objectives and eight strategic targets. The three missions consist of (1) Strengthening Indonesia as a maritime country on the international stage, (2) a qualified country representative, (3) strengthening the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the executor of foreign relations. Meanwhile, the three objectives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs include; (1) Indonesia's leadership in international cooperation, (2) The value of optimal economic benefits, (3) the human-resource capacity enhancement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile, the eight strategic targets of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs include; maritime diplomacy, the increasing of Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN, international role enhancement, economic diplomacy, excellent service and protection for Indonesian citizens, qualified foreign policy, high support and commitment to Indonesian foreign policy and organizational capacity enhancement completed with Technology-based competence (Fitriani 2018).

The strategic plans of the ministry of foreign affairs for 2015-2019 state three main priorities of Indonesian-foreign politics. As stated by Retno Marsudi in ministry annual pers conference. The first priority is keeping Indonesian sovereignty. Indonesian diplomacy will be carried out to protect nation sovereignty. International relationship should be based on honor principle on the territorial integrity of each country. Indonesia will not tolerate upon violation of other foreign countries. The second is improving the protection of Indonesian citizens, legal entity or corporation. Strengthening protection for Indonesian migrant workers will also be carried out at the regional level, including encouraging the formation of ASEAN legal instruments on the protection of migrant workers that are non-discriminatory. The third is increasing economic diplomacy. Through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, international and regional cooperation in the fields of maritime, energy, fisheries and maritime infrastructure will be enhanced.

Indonesia's economic diplomacy will also focus on efforts to accelerate infrastructure and connectivity development. The construction of deep-sea ports and the development of power plants are some areas that can be carried out in cooperation with foreign parties. Efforts to attract foreign capital to Indonesia are also ongoing. Simplifying licensing and creating a “one stop service” is one of the ways that the Indonesian government is currently doing. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will establish an "Economic Diplomacy Task Force" which is coordinated by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. This unit will coordinate with relevant Ministries/Agencies to ensure that business opportunities, development cooperation and economic agreements with other countries can be followed up immediately (K. L. Indonesia 2015).

Indonesia's foreign policy under President Jokowi has placed Indonesia in an important role for various international forums and organizations such as the G-20, the United Nations and ASEAN. Indonesia also plays a role in bilateral relations, especially in the Southeast Asia region to promote non-

traditional issues such as human rights and the environment. Indonesia is also expanding closer relation with Indo-Pacific regions and strengthening relation with East Asia regions. This is to stem the great hegemony and manage economic, trade and business cooperation in the region (Muzakki 2017). Meanwhile, economic diplomacy is part of the foreign policy agenda in Jokowi era which aims at designing Indonesia today. This can be seen from Indonesia's target to increase the defense budget from 0.8 percent to 1.5 percent (Connelly, Indonesian Foreign Policy under President Jokowi 2014).

In addition to the vision and mission conveyed by President Jokowi, there are several foreign policy achievements during his leadership period. Indonesia has re-entered the UN Security Council as a non-permanent member for the 2019-2020 period for representing Asia Pacific. Indonesia had the opportunity to be the Chair of the UN Honorary Council for one month from May 2019 to June 2019. Second, Indonesia successfully managed to take advantage of the great economic value of international relations at the 2018 Indonesia-Africa Forum, where Indonesia won transactions up to 586.56 million dollars. Through 2018 Indonesia Fair in Bangladesh, the meeting of the two countries has resulted in a business deal of IDR 3.76 trillion. At 2017 Indonesia trade expo in Russia, Indonesia was able to achieve business transactions with Russia amounting to 50 million US dollars from palm oil and coffee. At 2018 IMF-World Bank Annual Meeting in Bali spending 566 billion rupiahs, Indonesia received an investment of 200 trillion rupiahs for state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and an increase in economic volume of 5.9 trillion rupiahs for Bali as the venue for the event. The third is related to the issue of protecting Indonesian citizens abroad, from 2014-2018 as many as 51,088 cases of Indonesian citizens abroad resolved. With the following details: 39 Indonesian citizens held hostage in the Philippines, Somalia and Libya were successfully released, a total of 443 Indonesian citizens were successfully released from the threat of the death penalty, evacuated 16,432 Indonesian citizens from war areas, political conflicts and natural disasters. The fourth is strengthening world peace by holding trilateral meetings with Afghanistan and Pakistan to discuss the spread of seeds of peace in Afghanistan carrying out extremist or violent activities as well as meetings with Afghan-Pakistani and Indonesian Ulama at Bogor Presidential Palace on 11 May 2019. From 2014 to 2018, Indonesia sent 2,695 peacekeepers to a number of world peace missions and aid humanitarian activists to several regions in Asia and the Middle East. The fifth is building a leadership persona through President Jokowi's speech in the 2018 IMF-World Bank plenary session which emphasized the weakness of economic cooperation between the "Game of Thrones" countries (Nugroho 2021).

2.4. President Joko Widodo's Foreign Policy towards Egypt and Middle East Countries

Foreign politic is the realm where the country will use material and non-material resources to achieve national interest. It can be seen from Indonesia's foreign politic under Jokowi's government as the implementation of realpolitik. This idea comes from Henry Kissinger's realpolitik concept that foreign policy cannot be separated from his national interests and power. Indonesia's foreign policy and national interests continually change because they depend on the beliefs of its leader. The election of Jokowi in 2014 has brought significant political changes abroad (M. Rosyidin 2020). In relation to President Jokowi's foreign policy, especially towards Egypt and countries in the Middle East region, President Jokowi has taken concrete steps to achieve his national interests. Several series of state visits at the beginning of his leadership continued to be carried out by visiting several countries in the Middle East with the aim of cooperating.

As stated The Jakarta Post in 2015, the state visit of President Jokowi to the Middle East was carried out for five days with three countries, namely Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. The visit aims to build bilateral cooperation in the fields of investment, trade and protection of Indonesian citizens. Saudi Arabia is Indonesia's largest trading partner in the Middle East region in which the United Arab Emirates is Indonesia's export destination in the Middle East region and Qatar is a Middle Eastern country that has the largest investment value in Indonesia. In the last period, the trade figure between Doha and Jakarta reached \$1.68 billion (Salim 2015). The United Arab Emirates is a partner for Indonesia's trade and investment. This shows that this Gulf country has a meaningful and important position to consider for Indonesia in the era of President Jokowi's administration.

In 2021, President Jokowi has the opportunity to visit the United Arab Emirates again for two days to conduct investment cooperation in the solar panel project collaboration between Pertamina and

Masdar with the oil refinery investment program in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, vaccines distribution, and cooperation in the field of biotechnology with an investment of \$32.7 billion. In addition, President Jokowi also needs investment funds from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to relocate the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan which costs up to \$35 billion (Tambun 2021). The Middle East region is an important partner for economic cooperation, especially in the fields of investment and trade. Therefore, the President made his visit to countries in the Middle East region (H. S. Indonesia 2015).

At the beginning of his leadership, Jokowi's foreign policy implementation in the Middle East region more likely showed an attitude aimed at establishing investment cooperation with rich gulf countries in Arab regions. The factors such as economic stability, politics and security became common reasons in determining the purpose of his state visit and having partnerships between Indonesia and other countries in the Middle East region. He saw those Arab countries such as Qatar, Saudi and UAE are rich enough in the Middle East region that have the potential to invest into Indonesia in order to achieve Indonesia's national interests in accordance with the vision and mission of his leadership. In addition, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, it makes the cooperative relationship between Indonesia and Middle Eastern countries more dynamic and harmonious.

Besides Indonesia, China has considered Egypt to be one of the most important countries in the Middle East region. Both parties have signed a joint agreement called a "strategic partnership" in which this cooperation is only signed with three countries in the world, namely France, Egypt and Russia. Relations between the two countries have run for long time, since the existence of the Silk Road, there have been cooperations between the two countries in the economic, trade and military fields. In addition, Egypt is the ambassador of the People's Republic of China in helping to garner recognition from other countries such as Arab and African countries to achieve independence (Hamad 2019). In the modern era, Egypt became the first country in the Middle East to establish diplomatic exchanges with China, which led to China opening its first consulate in the Middle East in Cairo in September 1935. In addition, this close relationship with Beijing was also emphasized in supporting the free will of the Egyptian people in change, elected its leader, and refused to interfere in internal affairs (Al-Shese 2021).

According to a senior foreign affair official, nominations are given to the Middle East as a region where Indonesia wants to be influential. This can be seen, for example, in the speech of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on the Indonesian Independence Day in 2013 who devoted a third of his foreign policy to the issues of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt (McRae 2014). Then in the early days of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, the role of the Indonesian Muslim community and the Muslim community in Arab countries was very strong. In Egypt itself, Indonesian students studying in Cairo have a big role to defend the independence of the Indonesian state. They encouraged Egypt to support Indonesian Independence Indonesia. Beside that, the roles of the members of member of the Arab League Organization formed at that time had also given its contribution to Indonesian Independence through resolution of the Indonesian national struggle. In the literature review, it is even explained that the first foreign diplomatic visit to the Republic of Indonesia was initiated by Azzam Pasha in Cairo in January 1947 (Fogg 2015).

Indeed, Egypt itself considered Indonesia as a very important partner country in bilateral relations. As stated by Hazem Al-Tahri in a book released by the Indonesian Embassy in Cairo, the friendship between the two countries was very strong during Soekarno's government and Abdel Nasser. Indonesia and Egypt jointly participated in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement and the establishment of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Both countries took an important role in both organizations. Both countries also encourage south-south dialogue and both are members of Group 77 (G77), Group 15 (G15), Group 8 (G8). Furthermore, according to Ambassador Adel Al Salousi, beside having a history of friendly relations, the two countries are also involved in the D8 organization, namely Islamic developing countries and a new strategic partnership between Asia and Africa consisting of 8 countries; Egypt, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Malaysia and Nigeria (Al-Saloussi 2020).

Jokowi's foreign policy towards Egypt currently looks a little different from the previous President of the Republic of Indonesia. His predecessor always made a state visit to Egypt, whereas Egypt is a country that has had a big role for the Indonesia. The changes in the domestic political situation occurred in Egypt in the last few years have implications for Indonesia in the foreign policy strategy taken by the Indonesian government. The Arab Spring revolutions hitting Egypt and the unstable situation of economy and politic after Arab Spring revolution in Egypt are the reasons of Jokowi not to visit Egypt at the beginning of his reign. In addition, the more-pragmatic Jokowi's foreign policies with the current national interests to achieve—as the world's maritime axis and economic independence—do not make Egypt as a priority country of Jokowi's goals in building cooperation.

The Deputy Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Cairo, M. Aji Surya, said that apart from the investment objectives made by the Indonesian government, Egypt is still a great power in the Middle East and is highly reckoned with. So that Egypt becomes strategic in terms of many things for Indonesia, including reaching Palestine. All Indonesian aid given to Palestine can be done through the Egyptian route. there are two things that show that Indonesia emphasizes Egypt as a priority friendly country (put the priority on Egypt), first is that the Indonesian Embassy Representative office in Cairo is the largest embassy on the African continent with the largest number of home staff, second is the presence of a Deputy Chief of Mission at the Indonesian Embassy in Cairo, which may not exist elsewhere (Surya, Arti Penting Mesir bagi Indonesia 2022).

2.5. President Al-Sisi's Visit and the "Big Fish" Factor in Indonesia's Foreign Policy towards Egypt

In 2015, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi had the opportunity to visit Indonesia. It is a series of visits by President Al-Sisi to visit countries in the Asian region such as China, Singapore, Indonesia and the ASEAN secretariat. During the visit, President Al-Sisi and President Joko Widodo agreed to coordinate together in countering terrorism and extremism, highlighting the true image of Islam, promoting economic and trade relations, increasing investment on both sides and tackling problems in the Middle East. At the end of the meeting, President Al-Sisi also invited President Jokowi to visit Egypt (Deif 2015). On the other hand, when President Jokowi made a series of visits to Middle Eastern countries in 2015, Egypt was not one of his destinations. Eventhough, during his visit to the Asian region in 2015, he placed Indonesia as one of his destinations.

Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia in 2015, actually wanted to show the close relationship between the two countries and play an important role in Indonesia's current position. Moreover, Egypt under President Al-Sisi after experiencing a domestic crisis required the attention of friendly countries to be able to help restore the situation and conditions in the country. Indonesia is one of the countries in the Asian region that can pay attention to Egypt's current recovery. The long history of relations between the two countries is a very strong reason for Egypt to re-establish more meaningful cooperation under Al-Sisi's leadership. Therefore, during his foreign visit at the beginning of Al-Sisi's reign, Indonesia became the country visited in 2015. However, the direction of Egypt's foreign policy under President Al-Sisi by visiting Indonesia and several countries in the Asian region has nothing in common with the national policy roadmap and Indonesia's foreign policy under the Jokowi administration. On the other hand, when President Jokowi visited a Middle Eastern country in the same year, Egypt was not included in the list of visits at that time. Egypt's profile is considered not to be in accordance with President Jokowi's foreign policy and national policy roadmap, which is different from the UAE, Qatar and Saudi which have sufficient potential investment.

Ambassador Hazem Al-Tahri said that the relationship between Indonesia and Egypt was a big leap forward with the visit of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi to Indonesia in September 2015 where comprehensive political talks were held with the Indonesian president and the signing of a number of cooperation agreements. President Al-Sisi also met with the Secretary General of ASEAN to discuss cooperative relations and future prospects. In addition, Al-Azhar is considered to have a special position in the hearts of the Indonesian people. Al-Azhar itself is considered to have moderate thoughts in accordance with the nature of the Indonesian people. Grand Sheikh Al-Azhar's visit to Indonesia in 2016 and 2018 also contributed to the allocation of scholarships to Indonesia every year. Within the framework of multilateral cooperative relations, Egypt and Indonesia share a close position in many

respects on regional and international issues such as the Palestine and peace in the East and the importance of prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in the region, climate change, and both countries have made strong statements in fighting global phenomena such as terrorism, Islamophobia, human trafficking and drugs. On that occasion, at the end of his talks, he said that the feelings of Egyptians brotherhood, both the government and the people, belong to Indonesia (Al-Tahri 2020).

Although the visit of President Al-Sisi to Indonesia in 2015 was the first, after 32 years of President Husni Mubarak's visit (A. Fachir 2015). However, President Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia in 2015 has not get a similar return visit from President Joko Widodo. Until now, President Jokowi has not set when he will make his visit to Egypt. Whereas, from those two leaders meeting, President Al-Sisi expressed hope that President Jokowi could visit Egypt. Behind President Al-Sisi's visit, it seems that there is also a meaning that can be understood that Egypt currently places Indonesia as an important friendly country to re-strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation in the investment sector. Indonesia's investment in Egypt in 2015 reached US\$260 million (Ibrahim 2015). However, the Indonesia's foreign policy road map under President Joko Widodo prioritizes economic diplomacy. Indonesia currently needs countries that want to invest in the country.

In contrast to his predecessor who always made state visits to Egypt, Jokowi actually had a different calculation regarding his views on Egypt. According to Deputy Ambassador of Indonesia in Cairo M. Aji Surya, the absence of Jokowi's return visit to Egypt should be Indonesia's thinking. In his view, President Jokowi will not come to a country if he does not get big fish, because that is his benchmark. In this current situation, Egypt has not promised the big fish because its economy is in a difficult situation. Indonesia-Egypt relations at this time are not really close because Indonesia's interest in Egypt is not too high. Because President Jokowi always deals with the economy in terms of investment, he looks close to the United Arab Emirates which has very high interests. Those two leaders look very close as well (Surya, Jokowi's Foreign Policy towards Egypt 2022).

Since President Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia, within a period of 6 years, it seems that President Jokowi is still not sure to give an answer regarding when a similar return visit will be carried to respond the invitation of the President Egypt. Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia is seen as a form of regular visit and cooperation, there is no big leap that can benefit Indonesia. In fact, the visit only occurred in a short time and was marked with the denial from several Indonesians. If it is viewed from the substance of President Al-Sisi's visit, it seems that Egypt is currently in a position that requires Indonesia to provide assistance in the form of inward investment. Meanwhile, for the Indonesian government, the priority taken is building cooperation with other countries which can provide great benefits for Indonesia. Thus, President Jokowi has positioned himself differently from previous Indonesian presidents by not visiting Egypt as previous Indonesian presidents.

3. Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt always becomes more attention because of historical factors in which Egypt has given such a big role to the independence of the Indonesian nation. Both countries are listed as the main actors for Asian-African Conference (KAA) and the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Indonesia and Egypt are also involved in cooperation in various fields such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), cooperative relations in the fields of education, politics, religion, socio-culture, trade, mutual support in several international forums as well as visits by state leaders from Soekarno era to SBY as well as community leaders from both sides.

However, under the government of President Joko Widodo, Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt has apparently changed from the previous president. The characteristics of state leaders and the international context are the dominant factors in the policy change process. If Susilo Bambang Yudoyono laid down his foreign policy towards Egypt by visiting Egypt in the first and second periods of his leadership era, Jokowi chose not to make a return visit to Egypt since the arrival of Egyptian President Al-Sisi to Jakarta in 2015. Al-Sisi's visit to Indonesia is also seen as usual visit and cooperation, there is no big jump giving benefit for Indonesia. At the beginning era of his presidential during his visit to the Middle East in 2015, Egypt was not one of his destinations. The orientation of

Jokowi's foreign policy shows an attitude to establish investment cooperation with rich countries in the Gulf Arab region such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

President Jokowi's different attitude from his predecessors is a form of shifting Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt. The shift in Indonesia's foreign policy towards Egypt was caused by the attitude of the President's leadership in making foreign policy "free and active" which was interpreted through his view that Indonesia could make friends with other countries that could provide benefits to Indonesia (benefit friendship). In this case, it means that President Jokowi will not visit to a country if it does not provide great benefits for Indonesia or known as "big fish" as a parameter. Jokowi's more pragmatic foreign policy with national interests and the vision and mission to be achieved as the world's maritime axis and economic independence does not place Egypt as a priority country in cooperation. In addition, Egypt's economic situation, which is in a difficult situation after the Arab Spring, makes Indonesia's interest in Egypt not too high.

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