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INCREASING INDONESIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY THROUGH IACS (INDONESIAN ART & CULTURE SCHOLARSHIP) PROGRAM

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UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta

ABSTRACT

Public diplomacy is one form of diplomatic methods developed in the post-cold war. Its function is to complete traditional diplomacy that doesn't put the central government as central actor but perceive society as a complement. The importance of public diplomacy is not only in the framework of creating the image state but also it encourages relationship building; understand the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples; communicate points of view; correct misperceptions and look for areas where can be found common cause. Building interaction with people from other countries is very beneficial for creating emotional closeness, avoiding misperceptions and even farther supporting foreign policy. Indonesian Art and Cultural Scholarship (IACS) is a program created by the government to strengthen Indonesia's public diplomacy. The purpose of IACS is to introduce the national identity of Indonesia that are enriched by diversity of local culture for foreign countries citizen. IACS has a significant role to support public diplomacy by increasing contact, communication and information exchanged between Indonesian citizens and foreign community. Moreover IACS also supports Indonesia boost soft power outside the region to get endorsement of the foreign community related it's foreign policy.

Keywords: public diplomacy, IACS program, relationship building

INTRODUCTION

Since 2003, the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a IACS program (Indonesian Art and Culture Scholarship). The program is structured in order to improve the relationship building with surrounding countries. The Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarship was initially offered to and participated by the member countries of the South West Pacific Dialogue (SWpd); Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Timor - Leste, and the host Indonesia. Bearing in mind the significance and advantages obtained from the program, the scholarship was expanded over the years to include the member countries of ASEAN, ASEAN+3, PIF countries, as well as many countries from all regions in the world (*kemlu.go.id*, 2015)

IACS program part of the Indonesian public diplomacy. This program involves the public, especially young people from various countries around the world to get to know about the identity of both systems Indonesian culture, values and traditions. Awardees will live within or around the arts center, allowing for the chance to experience the local heritage and interact with local community. Synergy between theory and practices shared inside and outside the art center would undoubtedly become the driving force for shaping international cultures and norms, and will eventually strengthen regional as well as global understanding and cooperation at a people-to-people level (*kemlu.go.id*).

IACS program which is carry out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows how important it is to build a good relationships with counterpart country. Although the government has a central role in managing relations between countries through foreign cooperation, however positive response from the public outside will also be important in supporting the smooth running of that relations. Activities related with interactions involving people from different countries is one way to build a good relationship, mutual respect and appreciate. IACS program has been running more than 10 years. However, untill now there has never done an analysis of the effectiveness of IACS program in supporting Indonesia's efforts to build a positive relationship with counterparts country. This paper aims to analyze correlation between IACS program in support of the Indonesian public diplomacy through the following question: Is the IACS program supports the implementation of the Public Diplomacy Indonesia in building relationships with the counterpart country?

DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy is a part of conventional diplomacy. Public diplomacy began to flourish during the Cold War. The term "public diplomacy" itself was created in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Gullion defines public diplomacy with :

"...deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications..." (Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase. (2006) retrieved from <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdfs/gullion.pdf>).

Meanwhile according to the US State Department, the definition of public diplomacy is: the government's efforts to provide insight, information, advocate and influence the international community, to improve relations between the government in order to bring an appreciation and understanding of peoples, cultures, institutions, values and policies" (Matthew Wallin, 2012). Public diplomacy strives inter-cultural communication between countries through people to people communication that is previously separated by geographical boundaries. It is communication and interaction that includes a wide range of fields and is not merely dominated by politics with the aim to promote the appreciation and tolerance. However in long term the results of people to people diplomacy could be influential in politics.

Since its emergence, the existence of public diplomacy has increased in line with the interests of the state to raise its image in the international relations. One example is Germany. German public diplomacy was began in 1949 that emphasized on the effort to increase western countries acceptance related to democratic Germany. In France, public diplomacy was conducted through its efforts to expand its influence and to cultivate national grandeur. Meanwhile in small countries in Europe, public diplomacy has its own strategy, for example the Netherlands seriously conducted professionalizing public diplomacy in responding foreign opinion on ethical issues such as euthanasia laws and liberal policies on abortion and drugs. Meanwhile in America, the US public diplomacy was carried out by forming a special institution in charge of disseminating diplomacy namely: VOA (Voice of America) and the USIA (United States Information Agency). Those agencies were placed under the coordination of the US Foreign Ministry (Jan Mellisen, 2011). Through public diplomacy, the government seeks to inform and disseminate the influence, not only the leader but also public abroad in order to build a positive image.

Public diplomacy is one of the state capital in improving strength in conducting foreign relations. Public diplomacy in this case is an asset to complement the traditional economic and military strength. Joseph Nye (2004) describes it as the "hard" and "soft" power. Hard Power is represented in the form of military power and economic development, while soft power here works by convincing others to follow or get them to agree on norms and institutions and produce the desired behavior (Joseph S. Nye, 2004). One or other is through public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is directed to non-governmental audience. Public diplomacy works to persuade public through non-political initiatives to mobilize public opinion in order to support its policies. The country seeks to improve the negative perceptions that arise and directing force of public opinion in favor of the national interest through public diplomacy (Mark Leonard, 2004, p. 4).

Indeed, public diplomacy is not only correlate with improving the image of the country. According to Mark Leonard (2004) public diplomacy is about relationship building; understanding the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting missperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause. Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy as public diplomacy involves a large number of community groups from various angles and a wide range of activities that go beyond the current government (Mark Leonard, 2004, p.9). In line with Leonard statement, according to Jan Mellisen (2011), public diplomacy is increasingly based on the listening to "other", that is about dialogue rather than monologue, and is not just aimed at short-term policy objectives but also at long term relationship building (Mellien, 2011, p. 10).

According to Leonard (2004) the impact of diplomacy public are: *first*, Increasing people's familiarity with one's country, *second*, Increasing people's appreciation of one's country (creating positive perceptions, getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective), *third*, Engaging people with one's country (strengthening ties—from education reform to scientific co-operation; encouraging people to see us as an attractive destination for tourism, study, distance learning; getting them to buy our products; getting to understand and subscribe to our values) and *fourth*, Influencing people (getting companies to invest, publics to back our positions or politicians to turn to us as a favoured partner) (Mark Leonard, 2004). Meanwhile according to Jim Murphy MP, Minister for Europe, Foreign and Commonwealth office, public diplomacy must become an integral part of policy-making and delivery. In achieving the goal, governments must go beyond simple messaging, towards dialogue and cooperation, in collective effort to find solutions to the global challenges exemplified by climate change, violent extremism or poverty (Dylan Welsh, 2008, p. 5). Therefore public diplomacy is not merely promote national interests in the form of a monologue and seeking people just to listen to what you want delivered, but rather to promote dialogue in order to build emotional closeness and cooperation and also solve common problems.

According to Mark Leonard (2004) there are three dimension of public diplomacy activities: *first*, Reacting to news events as they occurs in a way that tallies with our strategic goals, *second*, Proactive creating a news agenda through activities and events which are designed to reinforce core message and influence perceptions. *Third*, Building long term relationship with populations overseas to win recognition of our values and asseta and to learn from theirs (Leonard, 2004). Meanwhile according to Zaharna, there are three tiers of international initiatives based on the relative sophistication of their relationship-building strategies. Those are: *first tier* relationship-building initiatives: exchange program and visits those are: cultural & educationnal exchange programs & leadership visitis, *second tier* relationship building initiatives: cultural & language institutes, development aid projects, twinning arrangements, relationship-building campaigns, non-political networking schemes & *third tier* relationship-building initiatives: policy networking strategy and coalition building (Zaharna, 2009).

As a country, Indonesia also has a policy in terms of public diplomacy. The Indonesian public diplomacy vision is improving foreign relations in regional and bilateral cooperation in various fields to achieve national interest and improving Indonesian image through public diplomacy (*kemlu.go.id*, 2015). Ideally the image of Indonesia in the eyes of the international public should get a positive one since it will support Indonesia in carrying out foreign policy. achieving a positive image, the Indonesian public diplomacy objectives are: *first*, Increased support for constituents to the assets of public diplomacy and foreign policy of Indonesia, *second*, the level of positive perception of the international community towards Indonesia. (*kemlu.go.id*, 2014). The steps in achieving its public diplomacy, Indonesia uses the concept of total diplomacy. Total diplomacy is diplomacy by utilizing all components of stakeholders and all the power lines. Total diplomacy perceives that both domestic and foreign issues as inseparable. Public endorsement in implementing Indonesian diplomacy is very important. Therefore the government attempts to close the gap between international and domestic factors, so that all components will wholeheartedly involved in politics and foreign policy (Hassan Wirajudha, 2003). The importance of public support in the framework of diplomacy is also conveyed by Anne Buckle who states the rising influence of non-state actors in foreign policy affairs of public diplomacy makes an increasingly important component of international relations (Anne Buckle). Those domestic public support are: government institutions, educational institutions, local authorities, employers, students, teachers and the general public .

IACS has an important role in public diplomacy Indonesia. IACS become one of Indonesia's efforts to raise a good image in reaching a million friends a zero enemies. Indonesia aspires to be perceived as having a positive image in the form of: as the third largest democracy in the world, as a bridge between Islam and the West, as the largest economy in Southeast Asia, as countries that successfully implement the transformation, as well as a country that upholds freedom, pluralism and tolerance (*kemlu.go.id*, 2014). IACS is conducted in order to increase public appreciation of counterpart state that will consider Indonesia as a country that upholds freedom, multiculturalism and tolerance. IACS is also aimed to bridge communication and dialogue both domestic and and foreign community.

IACS PROGRAMS

IACS (Indonesian Arts and Culture Scholarship) is one of the real efforts made by the government in implementing public diplomacy by establishing communication with people of other countries. IACS seeks to increase people-to - people contacts among the younger generation (*detik.com*, 2014). According to Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the goal of IACS program is to demonstrate Indonesia's commitment as an initiator of the establishment of South West Pacific Dialogue and as the originator member of ASEAN in advancing the social culture cooperation in the region. The program also has an objective to encourage better understanding amongst participants from member countries through Indonesia's immensely diverse art and cultural heritage. Finally, the programme aims to cultivate a cultural of cooperation, emerging from direct contact and sharing of cultures amongst people involved in the program, leading to thriving diplomatic relations in the region and worldwide. (*kemlu.go.id*, 2015). Once complete this program, participants will return to their country and able to continue promoting Indonesia. Furthermore through this program it is expected that the conterpart public support for Indonesian foreign policy will arise.

IACS program is conducted every year for 3 months. During the program, participants learn the various peculiarities of Indonesia, particularly art and culture such as dances, folk songs, customs, and religious ceremonies. They also learn Indonesian way of life and local languages to utilize it in everyday conversation. During the program, participants live in local houses and communicate directly and continuously with residents. Participants are also actively involve in cultural local activities. They attend the wedding events, circumcision (*sunatan*), clean village (*bersih desa*), *ruwatan*, and such activities. The participants also have opportunity to visit Cultural Centers in each region to have a better understanding about

Indonesian culture and local culture (*tabloid diplomasi.org*, 2014). UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta is one of the designated agency for promoting the IACS program together with four other art galleries spread across several cities, Bandung, Solo, Surabaya, Bali, and Makassar. Those institutions organize various activities in the form of introducing local tradition to IACS participants and bridging communication between the participants and the local community. Here is below the number of IACS participants from 2008-2015:

Table 1 IACS Participant from 2008-2015

Year	Participant	Native Country
2015	70	40
2014	70	45
2013	70	43
2012	65	40
2011	50	30
2010	64	33
2009	50	31
2008	50	30

Sources: Data kementerian Luar Negeri

Based on the above data, it can be seen that each year the number of participants who join the program increased in line with the increasing of the number of participating countries. This shows that the program is getting attracted the attention of participants IACS. IACS program divide into 2 program, they are: the regular program & special program, which through this program participants gain a deeper understanding on one form of art and culture.

Every year, the theme was taken by IACS always diverse. In 2010, this special program was given to 10 young painter from 4 countries. In 2011 nine people of ASEAN who know about batik textiles were introduced to the industry. In 2012 the program was attended by 15 candidates religious leaders from 11 countries, including Indonesia. This activity is entitled "Faith Future Leaders". In 2013, the theme "Studies for Indonesian Diaspora" was conducted in International Relations Dept. University of UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta and was attended by 10 participants, including from Vietnam, Germany and Russia. In 2014 the theme was "Unity in Diversity" which aimed to introduce the cultural diversity that owned by Indonesia to counterpart country. Whereas in 2015, the theme "ASEAN Community" is introduced to the participants from the ASEAN members country. This program also explains the readiness of Indonesia encounter the ASEAN Community (*tabloid diplomasi.org*, 2014).

The theme is different every year, even so from the activities carried out by participants IACS, all within the context of introducing native Indonesian culture to foreign participants. What is learned by foreign participants during in Indonesia is expected to open their understanding of various traditions, culture and tolerance among people of Indonesia.

IACS SUPPORT ON INDONESIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

During the cold war, more public diplomacy initiatives are carried out through propaganda as it happened in the contestation between communism and liberalime. However it is often counterproductive because it tends to manipulate the information, so that it rise sentiments and antipathy. Currently, public diplomatic by using propaganda is no longer relevant. RS Zaharna considers that public diplomacy is a social process of building relationships and fostering harmony (RS Zaharna, 2009). This framework focuses on relationship-building and the construction of social structure to advance political objectives. Within the relational framework, education and cultural exchange programs, cultural Institutes and cultural relations represents a category of initiatives that use vehicle for building relationship (RS Zaharna, 2009).

Relating to the dimensions of public diplomacy stated by Max Leonard then IACS program is part of third dimension of public diplomacy activities that build long-term relationships. IACS is focused on building relationships that develop communication through collectivist/ interdependent concern for social cohesion and harmony (Zaharna, 2009). Dialogue that involve among individuals who have diverse cultural, religions and customs backgrounds constructing mutual respect and creating emotional closeness. One or other participant IACS 2014 Stephanie Darlequiem from Suriname initially did not know that Indonesia is a multicultural country: "Before this program I did not know that there is multicultural in Indonesia" (Stephanie Darlequiem, personal communication, June 10, 2014) The same opinion is also conveyed Marco Calvi IACS participant from Italy:

"I've been in Indonesia many times during the New Order and I can remember it wasn't a multicultural country. There was only one powerful party and almost everything was owned by one family. In the last 15 years, I

think Indonesia made big step to be considered a multicultural country were every man can speak freely like in Western country" (Marco Calvi, personal communication, June 11, 2014).

Activities related to introduce Indonesian culture as multicultural, religious, economic system and political system of Indonesia all make participants aware of the uniqueness of multiculturalism in Indonesia. As presented by Sarita, IACS 2014 participants from Italy:

"There are more than 700 living languages spoken in Indonesia and although predominantly Muslim the country also has large Christian and Hindu populations. Indonesia's national motto is "Unity in Diversity" articulates the diversity that shapes the country, there are significant populations of ethnic groups who reside outside of their traditional regions. In Italy I think is relative same, because we don't have a lot of religions, but we have immigration from Africa and from Eastern Europe, they people wants come in Italy and hope in a better life. So we try to live together but not always this situation is easy! Some people doesn't want live together with those people! Right now is not a peaceful situation!" (Sarita, Personal Communication, June 10, 2014)

A similar argument is presented by Daniel Kraus who feel that this IACS activities provide many important lessons about multiculturalism in Indonesia, even exceed from expectations:

it is actually beyond my expectation, I learned a lot more than I expected (one dance, one instrument, speaking Javanese, and many new things about politics in Indonesia). I had also hoped for new friendships before I came to Indonesia, and now I am confident I got a lot of new friends from all over the world, including many new friends in Indonesia of course, I think the material provided also helps me with my future studies towards Indonesia (Daniel Kraus, personal communication, June 10, 2014).

Even Furthermore Daniel admired the way the Indonesian people tried to maintain the tradition amid the influx of foreign influences:

"..hmm, I know that all Indonesian citizens can live after the principle *bhinneka tunggal ika*, and still maintain their own culture, which is a very good thing that many countries lack. unfortunately, a lot of small cultures, traditional dances, regional languages, and other cultural heritages that are considered "old-fashioned" by the youngster, have already been lost, but the Indonesian people try to keep up their own culture, this can also be seen in the BSBI performance where art centers from 6 parts of Indonesia contribute to unify Indonesia despite being culturally different" (Daniel Kraus, personal communication, June 10, 2014).

The new experience carry out directly by IACS participants while communicate with the local community shows that there is an intensive communication in introducing each culture. Plenty of activities such as: visiting places of worship, visiting art center, planting rice, making *Kupat*, playing *gamelan*, watching *jathilan*, learning dance provide new ways for the exchange of values and knowledge. It can be seen that the pivotal feature in relational framework and public diplomacy initiatives focus on the identifying and building relationships. Through IACS, the participants directly involved in community activities. They follow the traditional activities of the local people, conduct observations and compare with other regions in Indonesia. Katherine Kuznetsova IACS participants from Russia, not only describe multikultur in Indonesia in general but also able to compare indicators of regional disparities that exist in Indonesia :

"I know that there are a lot of different nationalities in Indonesia. All of them have different culture, customs and religions. I have been on Bali and lived in a Jogja so I can compare these two islands. The main difference is the religion which people confess. The majority of Balinese are Hindu but in Jogjakarta the main role Islam plays that is why the culture on Bali is so different from Jawa. But all the nationalities tried to live peacefully with each other and maintain the motto "*Bhinneka tunggal ika*".(Katherine Kuznetsova, personal communication, June 11, 2014)

IACS activity are not only introduced with pluralism in Indonesia but also marked by dialogue and communication about each other's culture. Nguyen Thanh Hai, participant of IACS 2014 from Vietnam compare religious conditions in Vietnam and Indonesia, where almost all of the people of Vietnam are Buddhism, while in Indonesia is very diverse

"I think the biggest difference between multicultural in my country and Indonesia would lay in the difference in religion. In my country the majority of the people either have no religion or just live closely to Buddhism. So I would say we don't really have much of difference in our ideology of what the people believe in life. In Indonesia there's a big difference between two major religions which are Muslim and Christian but in Vietnam we don't have that. So we don't have so many difference in religion and therefore less problems that occur because of differences in religion. But there are still cultural differences among different regions in Vietnam that's similar to Indonesia but I think each and everyone of them also try to accept others' differences and live well together". (Nguyen Thanh Hai, personal communication, June 12, 2014)

Meanwhile Daniel Kraus, partisipan of IACS 2014 from Germany observes that multiculturalism Indonesia and Germany are different. Multicultural Indonesia comes from indigenous peoples that had been varied since Indonesia was born, while in Germany multiculturalism emerged from migrants whom later lived in Germany for a long time.

"in my country, multiculturalism only comes from immigrants, since Germany has not many different cultures, most of them consider themselves "German" (we still have Bavarian, Sorbian, Frisian, and some other lesser know). so, I can say that Indonesia in general seems more like Europe to me, the provinces of Indonesian being comparable to the countries of Europe. Germany is not originally multicultural, but has become very multicultural now due to Turkish, Arabic, Eastern European immigrants, many East Asian immigrants and so on while Indonesia is originally multicultural, the only big immigrant group here is Chinese". (Daniel Krauss, personal communication, June 10, 2014).

Even Narmin Hazanova, IACS 2014 participants from Azerbaijan admire the Indonesian strategy to maintain unity since the challenges in dealing with minorities in Indonesia is larger than the Azerbaijan minority communities which are not too flashy :

Azerbaijan is a country at crossroads of numerous cultures, religions and civilizations. We also have ethnic minorities, but if we compare with Indonesia, in Azerbaijan national minorities constitute 9.4 % of the population of Azerbaijan. The equality of all citizens without any ethnic, national, religious or linguistic definition is guaranteed by the Law. despite all differences in its multicultural society in Indonesia, there is a true sense of unity among the people of Indonesia. in Azerbaijan also we don't have any conflict among ethnic minorities. (Narmin Hazanova, personal communication, June 12, 2014)

Dialogue that occurs between local communities with foreign youth participants of IACS show how people to people communication is carry out collectively in which people put togetherness as the most important matter than than individuals. This phenomenon has been described by Geertz Hofstede (2005) in the collectivism-individualism paradigm. One characteristic of a society that embraces individualism values is that individuals is more interested for not being part of groups. Furthermore, individuals also emphasize personal matter over group goals, and individual rights above the interests and responsibilities of the group. These characteristics are reflected in the style of conflict resolution that are domination and confrontation. In domination and confrontation clearly illustrated that individual tends to defend their own interests. In contrast, the characteristics of the people who embraces collectivist values are individuals who choose to live together and become part and group (Hofstede, 2005). In addition, individuals also emphasizes on group matter over personal goals, as well as emphasize the wishes and interests of the group is above personal interests. These characteristics is in line with the style of conflict resolution chosen that is to negotiate or to avoid conflict. This the second method the individual seeks to respect others and the common good compared to his personal interests. In IACS program, all the partisipan put themselves as collectivism. They avoid to conflict each other by living together and respect other to become part part of a group. The thing that makes them easy to learn Indonesian culture and other cultures that had never known before.

The results of this IACS activities raise positive impact. Stephanie Darlequin, alumnus of IACS 2014 from Suriname is keen to introduce Indonesian culture in Suriname by opening Indonesia shop in Suriname where she sell Indonesian stuff such as: Kebaya, Batik clothes, batik shoes, kitchen stuff and so on. It's name is Boutique Beautiful. These items were brought at the time of IACS program. Emotional closeness is felt also by the participants IACS, Tran Thi Cam Huong, alumnus of IACS 2014 from Vietnam. Following this IACS program she felt that Indonesia is like a second home after Vietnam. She also hopes that more students from Vietnam will follow IACS program next year. This will support and enhance bilateral relations between Indonesia and Vietnam (IACS, 2015, p. 141). Meanwhile alumnus of IACS program in 2012 from the Netherlands named Reenie Roos together with the new Indonesian ambassador in the Netherlands established the Netherland-Indonesian organization called the Indonesia-Netherlands Youth Society (INYS) in 2012. INYS is a youth led organization which aims to improve the long-term bilateral relationship between young & professionals Indonesia and the Netherlands to connect each other encouraging a better communication (IACS, 2015, p. 124). In addition, alumnus of IACS program in 2013 Brune Charvin from France, made a documentary about Pakarena, traditional dances to broadcast the beauty of South Sulawesi culture to his country's (Al Busyra Basnur, 2014). Emotional closeness of participants between IACS program on Indonesian culture is evident from their efforts to maintain contact with things related to Indonesia in the form of a culture and build relationships between peers. The boundaries of countries, regions, cultures and religions become faded, and then replaced with closeness, togetherness to share and exchange information. The result from IACS program is similar to the one presented by Leonard: it is important not just to develop a relationship but to ensure that people take away roomates experiences are positive and that there is follow-up afterwards (Max Leonard, 2004, p. 6).

For the Indonesian government it is certainly very useful for its efforts in order to spread the soft diplomacy in the form of appreciation and support of the public outside of the foreign policy.

CONCLUSION

IACS participants' understanding of the multi-culture in Indonesia indicates that the program is well received by the participants. Interaction and communication involve IACS participants, IACS organizer and the community shows that there is sharing of information and emotional closeness between the participants and the local community. IACS participants and local community trust each other, promote mutual appreciation and building relationship. Building relationships is not a means for enhancing national individual images or policies, but an end in itself that "contributes to a better international environment". Although Relationship building is done through face-to-face in a personal level but through this communication society becomes more open and understanding of different situations, and mutual understanding. It can be said that the ideal of public diplomacy is now more directed at coordination rather than control because it will bring up a dialog that built control mutuality and trust building. In the long run this will certainly be beneficial to the outside community support for Indonesian foreign policy

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