

Indonesia's Roles in Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis: Through the Lens of Public Diplomacy

Revy Marlina

LSPR Institute of Communication & Business

Email: revy.m@lspr.edu

Yoseph Wahyu Kurniawan

LSPR Institute of Communication & Business

Email: yoseph.wk@lspr.edu

Muhammad Rafly

LSPR Institute of Communication & Business

Email: m.rafly@lspr.edu

ABSTRACT

Myanmar's Rohingya crisis remains unresolved, with the Rohingya minority suffering human rights violations from the majority Buddhist Rakhine population, supported by the central government. As a result, many Rohingya have fled to neighboring countries like Thailand, India, Indonesia, Nepal, and others in the region (UN Refugees, 2022). Indonesia, a founding ASEAN member, believes ASEAN should address the Rohingya crisis, but ASEAN faces obstacles due to the non-intervention principle and differing ideologies and interests among member states. Concerned with the crisis since its emergence in 1948, Indonesia has intensified its peace-brokering efforts as the current ASEAN host, utilizing shuttle diplomacy and engaging key players in Myanmar. Resolving the conflict is significant for Indonesia, as it seeks to enhance its regional reputation and revive its influential role from the Soeharto era. Public diplomacy will be used in this paper by seeing the efforts of the Indonesian government, especially during President Jokowi's second term. As Joseph S. Nye said "*soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment,*" we can see the Indonesia effort through shuttle diplomacy, implementation of the Five-Point Consensus on Myanmar, and humanitarian aid to solve this conflict.

Keywords: *Public Diplomacy, ASEAN, Indonesia, Rohingya's Crisis, Shuttle Diplomacy*

INTRODUCTION

As of January 1, 2023, Indonesia has assumed the significant role of ASEAN's chairman, a position it will hold until December 31, 2023. This leadership comes at a time when the region is grappling with numerous challenges, particularly in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. The economic landscape of ASEAN member

countries has been severely affected, with several nations facing recessionary pressures. Beyond economic difficulties, the geopolitical context within the region remains fraught with unresolved conflicts. Among the most pressing issues are the territorial disputes in the South China Sea involving China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Brunei Darussalam, as well as the ongoing humanitarian crisis facing the Rohingya in Myanmar.

Indonesia's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2023 is both an opportunity and a significant responsibility. Strengthening ASEAN's institutional capacity and enhancing its effectiveness are paramount priorities that Indonesia must address to foster regional stability and cooperation. The country's approach to these challenges will be crucial in shaping the future trajectory of ASEAN. In this context, Indonesia's role in addressing the Rohingya crisis through the lens of public diplomacy becomes particularly significant. Public diplomacy, with its emphasis on dialogue, cultural exchange, and building mutual understanding, offers a strategic avenue for Indonesia to influence and engage both domestic and international audiences on the plight of the Rohingya.

As Indonesia embarks on its chairmanship, it is imperative to examine how it can leverage public diplomacy to not only address the immediate humanitarian needs of the Rohingya but also to promote long-term solutions that ensure peace and stability in the region. Indonesia's engagement with the Rohingya crisis necessitates a multifaceted approach, encompassing diplomatic efforts, humanitarian assistance, and collaboration with international organizations. By fostering a narrative of compassion, solidarity, and proactive leadership, Indonesia can position itself as a key player in resolving one of Southeast Asia's most enduring and complex humanitarian crises. Through effective public diplomacy, Indonesia has the potential to mobilize support, shape international perceptions, and ultimately contribute to a more peaceful and stable regional order.

Strengthening ASEAN's institutional capacity and effectiveness is a crucial priority for Indonesia during its chairmanship. As stated by Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Teuku Faizasyah:

"Some of the issues that will be discussed at the 42nd ASEAN Summit revolve around the themes of strengthening ASEAN institutions, drafting the ASEAN Post 2025 Vision, post-pandemic economic recovery, strengthening health architecture in the region, as well as other important issues in the region, such as the progress of 5PC implementation in Myanmar and other developments outside the region."(kemenparekraf.go.id)

Indonesia's efforts to resolve the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar are crucial to study, as they highlight Indonesia's longstanding role in addressing regional conflicts

within ASEAN. As a founding member of ASEAN, Indonesia feels a profound responsibility to uphold peace and security in the region. This commitment is deeply rooted in its “free and active” foreign policy principle, which underscores Indonesia's dedication to maintaining world peace and order through impartiality and active engagement.

Indonesia's involvement in regional conflict resolution is not unprecedented. Historically, Indonesia has played a significant role as a peace broker in various regional disputes. For instance, it was instrumental in mediating the Cambodian armed conflict and ending Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. Indonesia also facilitated peace negotiations between the Philippines and the separatist group Moro National Liberation Front and mediated the territorial dispute between Cambodia and Thailand over the area around the Temple of Preah Vihear. Beyond the region, Indonesia's diplomatic efforts extend to the global stage. Recently, Indonesia sought to facilitate dialogue between Russian President Vladimir Putin and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy during the G20 summit, demonstrating its proactive stance in promoting international peace and stability.

Indonesia's active involvement in these diverse conflicts showcases its diplomatic agility and commitment to peace. The country's efforts in addressing the Rohingya crisis are a continuation of this legacy. By employing a multifaceted approach that includes diplomatic negotiations, humanitarian assistance, and collaboration with international organizations, Indonesia aims to foster a narrative of compassion, solidarity, and proactive leadership. Through effective public diplomacy, Indonesia has the potential to mobilize international support, shape global perceptions, and contribute to a more peaceful and stable regional order. This role not only aligns with Indonesia's historical responsibilities but also underscores its ongoing commitment to ASEAN's institutional strength and effectiveness.

This proactive approach by Indonesia reflects its understanding of the broader implications of conflicts and its willingness to address them, even in forums where they may not seem immediately relevant. Such initiatives highlight Indonesia's dedication to playing a constructive role on the global stage, showcasing its ability to navigate complex international issues and its commitment to fostering peace and stability.

In this context, Indonesia's role in addressing the Rohingya crisis through public diplomacy is particularly significant. Public diplomacy, with its focus on dialogue, cultural exchange, and building mutual understanding, provides Indonesia with a strategic avenue to influence both domestic and international audiences regarding the plight of the Rohingya. As ASEAN's chair, Indonesia has the unique opportunity to leverage its leadership position to promote collaborative efforts and mobilize regional and international support for the Rohingya.

Indonesia's engagement in the Rohingya crisis will require a multifaceted approach, encompassing diplomatic negotiations, humanitarian assistance, and

collaboration with international organizations. By fostering a narrative of compassion, solidarity, and proactive leadership, Indonesia can position itself as a key player in resolving one of Southeast Asia's most enduring and complex humanitarian crises. Through effective public diplomacy, Indonesia has the potential to mobilize support, shape international perceptions, and ultimately contribute to a more peaceful and stable regional order.

This article will explore Indonesia's roles in Myanmar's Rohingya crisis through public diplomacy, divided into four comprehensive sections. The first section, "The Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar: The Origin and Significance," will delve into the historical roots of the conflict, assessing how changes in Myanmar's political landscape have affected the Rohingya and the broader implications of this enduring humanitarian issue. The second section, "Indonesia's Resources as a Mediator in Regional Conflicts," will examine Indonesia's established track record as a peace broker. Indonesia's previous successes in mediating regional conflicts, such as in Cambodia, the Philippines, and Thailand, will be discussed to highlight the country's capacity and credibility in conflict resolution. This section will also explore how these experiences position Indonesia to play a constructive role in the Rohingya crisis.

The third section, "Conceptual Framework and Research Method: Public Diplomacy," will provide a theoretical foundation for understanding public diplomacy's role in conflict resolution. Public diplomacy involves dialogue, cultural exchange, and advocacy to influence public opinion and international perceptions. This section will link the success of public diplomacy efforts to Indonesia's international image and its potential impact on resolving the Rohingya crisis. The fourth and final section, "Indonesia's Methods in Addressing the Rohingya Crisis: Shuttle Diplomacy and the Implementation of the Five-Point Consensus on Myanmar," will detail specific strategies employed by Indonesia. This includes the shuttle diplomacy efforts of Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi and Indonesia's active involvement in the ASEAN Five-Point Consensus on Myanmar. By examining these methods, this section will provide a detailed analysis of how Indonesia navigates the complex diplomatic landscape to foster peace and stability.

Through these sections, this article aims to provide a detailed, comprehensive, and coherent examination of Indonesia's roles in the Rohingya crisis, emphasizing the importance of public diplomacy. By fostering a narrative of compassion, solidarity, and proactive leadership, Indonesia can not only address the immediate humanitarian needs of the Rohingya but also contribute to a more peaceful and stable regional order. This role aligns with Indonesia's historical responsibilities and underscores its ongoing commitment to strengthening ASEAN's institutional capacity and effectiveness.

Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar: The Origin and Significance

Myanmar, often known as Burma, is situated in the western part of mainland Southeast Asia and is home to a diverse population of approximately 56.424 million

people as of 2023. The country is a mosaic of various ethnicities, including the majority taingyintha, or “sons of the soil,” as well as significant communities of Chinese and South Asians (Alam, J., 2019). Despite this rich ethnic diversity, the Rohingya population has faced systemic discrimination and exclusion.

Historically, the Rohingya have lived in the Rakhine State of Myanmar, historically known as Arakan, for generations. Despite their long-standing presence, they have been subjected to systematic disenfranchisement and human rights abuses, including restrictions on movement, access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, all contributing to their severe socio-economic deprivation. Arakan, located in western Myanmar and geographically isolated from the rest of the country by a range of mountains, has always maintained a distinct political identity. In the 13th century, Arakan had its own prosperous kingdom with the capital at Mrauk U, enjoying robust economic and trade relations with the Bengal Sultanate. However, this prosperity was disrupted when Meng Khari (also known as Ali Khan) annexed parts of Bengal, including areas like Ramu in present-day Cox's Bazar (Alam, J., 2019). These historical dynamics, combined with their identification as Muslims in contemporary discussions, underscore the complex and enduring nature of the Rohingya's marginalization and exclusion.

The Rohingya, a predominantly Muslim ethnic minority, are not recognized as an official ethnic group by the predominantly Buddhist Myanmar government. This lack of recognition has profound implications for their legal and social status. Since the enactment of the 1982 Citizenship Law, the Rohingya have been denied citizenship, rendering them stateless and severely limiting their rights and freedoms (unrefugees.org). This legal exclusion is the foundation of their marginalization and has facilitated widespread discrimination and violence against them.

The situation escalated dramatically in 2017 when a brutal crackdown by the Myanmar military led to a mass exodus of Rohingya refugees. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), this was the largest and most rapid exodus of Rohingya from Myanmar, with hundreds of thousands fleeing to neighboring Bangladesh and other countries to escape violence and persecution. The international community was shocked by the severity of the humanitarian crisis, which involved widespread reports of atrocities, including extrajudicial killings, sexual violence, and the burning of villages.

These historical dynamics have contributed to the unique identity and socio-political landscape of the Rohingya. The ancient connections between Arakan and neighboring regions underscore the historical depth of the Rohingya's presence in Myanmar, contradicting narratives that seek to portray them as recent immigrants. The rich, albeit turbulent, history of Arakan illustrates the longstanding cultural and economic interactions that have shaped the region, further complicating the modern narrative of exclusion and persecution faced by the Rohingya.

The British colonial period significantly altered the demographic and political landscape of Myanmar, further entrenching divisions. Post-independence, the

Despite Indonesia not being the top destination of the Rohingya population, but Foreign Minister of Indonesia, H.E Retno Marsudi thinks that Indonesia must take action to solve this conflict. The absence of ASEAN in solving this conflict due to its principle of non-intervention, made Indonesia separate itself to solve this conflict. In the next section, the discussion of Indonesia's resources as a mediator in regional conflict will be presented, and what kind of effort that Indonesia could give to solve this conflict.

Indonesia's Resources as Mediator in Regional Conflict

Every country in this world has resources to advance its foreign policy either by its hard power or soft power. When talking about hard power, many argue that military and economic capacity are the instruments to influence the behavior or interests of other political bodies. Whereas, when we talk about soft power, Nye stated it relies on:

"Its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority)" (Nye, Joseph S., 2011).

Indonesia as one of the largest democratic and Muslim countries in the world presented to the world that it is possible when democracy, Islam, and modernity go hand in hand (Sukma, R., 2011). Moreover, as Foreign Minister Hasan Wirajuda stated that:

"Indonesia today stands proud as the third largest democracy in the world. As a nation with an overwhelmingly Muslim population, Indonesia is a living refutation of the erroneous notion that Islam and democracy are incompatible" (Sukma, R, 2011).

From that statement above, Indonesia would like to project to the world that democracy and moderate Islam are the soft power instruments of Indonesia. Managing a multicultural and multi-religious country is not an easy task. Indonesia indeed experienced intra-state conflict because of ethnicity and religious reasons, but those things were resolved properly by the Indonesian government and it shows the capacity of the government to tackle the conflict within itself.

Sukma said that several reasons have contributed to the increased use of soft power elements as foreign policy assets. There are Sukma, R. (2011) :

- a. The 2004 elections. The 2004 general election was an experiment of Indonesia's new democracy. It was the second election following President

Suharto's resignation. However, this second election was substantially different from the previous one in many ways. This was because the 2004 election was the first held following the adoption of the fourth amendment to the 1945 Constitution. The amendment altered Indonesia's political system in a way that influenced the recruitment of the political elite.

- b. The confidence in crafting democracy and Islam as foreign policy assets. This stemmed from the relative success in moderating Muslim constituent reactions to US reprisal in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq. Despite sporadic violent street demonstrations by extreme organizations, public protests against the United States were mostly calm. The Indonesian administration was able to gather backing from major Muslim organizations to warn the public that protests against the US should not be violent and that Indonesians should prioritize national interests over outsiders. Leaders of both Muhammadiyah and NU urged Indonesian Muslims to focus more on Indonesia's domestic issues and less on Afghanistan.
- c. The ability to resolve protracted secessionist conflict in the province of Aceh through peaceful. Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or The Free Aceh Movement was a separatist group seeking independence for the Aceh region of Sumatra, Indonesia. This group is undoubtedly challenging for the Indonesian government because many analysts worried about Indonesia's disintegration, or "Balkanization." However, it turned out the democratization process was encouraged to solve this conflict by peaceful means, with the output of the Aceh Peace Accords. This case always became a reference of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's that dialogue is the most important tool in soft power to end intra-state conflict.
- d. Reluctant participant in the war on terror. The combining of moderate Islam and democracy has finally succeeded in its efforts to prevent and combat the growing domestic menace of terrorism. Moreover, Vice President of Indonesia, Jusuf Kalla, said that there is a collaboration between police and ulamas, in which, on the physical front, the police fight the terrorists, while the ulamas [Muslim religious leaders] fight the ideological battle.

From the explanation above, many see that Indonesia is a newly democratic country that began its journey in 2004. However, the success of Indonesia in resolving conflicts both domestically and internationally proves that it possesses the resources and capability to be a mediator in regional conflicts. The principle of "free and active" is often misinterpreted as Indonesia not wanting to be involved in creating a secure and peaceful world to live in. On the contrary, "free" means that Indonesia will not take sides with any party in a conflict, while "active" signifies that Indonesia will contribute to creating a secure and peaceful world through its involvement in various regional or international organizations, and by being a mediator between conflicting parties.

Indonesia's success in resolving conflicts can be attributed to several key factors. Firstly, the 2004 general election marked a significant milestone in Indonesia's democratic journey, as it was the first election held after substantial amendments to the 1945 Constitution. These amendments transformed the political system and influenced the recruitment of political elites, fostering a more democratic and stable governance structure. This political maturity laid the foundation for Indonesia's ability to handle conflicts effectively.

Secondly, Indonesia's confidence in using democracy and moderate Islam as foreign policy assets played a crucial role. The government's ability to moderate Muslim constituents' reactions to international events, such as the US actions in Afghanistan and Iraq, demonstrated a mature and pragmatic approach to balancing domestic and foreign policy concerns. By securing support from major Muslim organizations, the administration ensured that public protests remained largely peaceful and focused on national interests.

Additionally, Indonesia's peaceful resolution of the protracted secessionist conflict in Aceh through the Aceh Peace Accords highlighted the effectiveness of dialogue and democratization in addressing internal strife. This approach served as a testament to the power of soft diplomacy and set a precedent for resolving similar conflicts. The success in Aceh showed that democratization could be a tool for peace, countering fears of disintegration and proving that peaceful negotiations could yield sustainable solutions.

Indonesia's stance as a reluctant participant in the war on terror further showcased a strategic blend of moderate Islam and democratic principles to combat terrorism. The collaboration between police forces and religious leaders to address both the physical and ideological aspects of terrorism underscored a comprehensive and culturally sensitive approach to security. This dual approach helped mitigate the threat of terrorism while maintaining social harmony.

These elements collectively demonstrate Indonesia's capability to mediate regional conflicts and contribute to global peace and stability. The principle of "free and active" foreign policy, often misunderstood, signifies Indonesia's commitment to non-alignment and proactive engagement in creating a secure and peaceful world. This commitment is evident through its involvement in regional and international organizations and its role as a mediator in conflicts. Indonesia's experience and strategies in conflict resolution position it as a valuable player in international diplomacy, capable of bridging divides and fostering dialogue among conflicting parties.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nation Crisis; Migration and Refugees

The phenomena of nation crises, migration, and refugees are deeply interlinked and have profound implications for global politics, economics, and social structures. This literature review aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the current academic

discourse on these topics, highlighting key theories, empirical findings, and ongoing debates.

Nation crises are often characterized by political instability, economic turmoil, social unrest, and sometimes armed conflict. According to Vahabi (2009), nation crises can emerge from a variety of sources including ethnic tensions, economic disparities, and failures in governance. Political scientists such as Collier and Kim (2024) have emphasized the role of economic factors in precipitating civil wars and state failure. They argue that low-income countries with high levels of inequality are particularly prone to violent conflicts.

In recent years, scholars have also examined the impact of global factors on nation crises. Hes (2021) discusses how globalization and technological changes can exacerbate existing tensions within nations, leading to crises. The literature suggests that understanding nation crises requires a multi-faceted approach that considers both internal and external influences.

Migration is a complex phenomenon driven by a combination of push and pull factors. Kuhnt (2009) posits that migration decisions are influenced by factors at both the origin and destination, including economic opportunities, political stability, and social networks. The migration literature distinguishes between voluntary and forced migration, with the latter often resulting from nation crises.

Joshua et al. (2023) highlight the importance of social networks in facilitating migration. They argue that once migration flows begin, they tend to become self-sustaining due to the establishment of migrant networks. These networks lower the costs and risks associated with migration, making it easier for others to follow.

Recent research has also focused on the impact of migration on both sending and receiving countries. OECD (2022) show the economic contributions of migrants to receiving countries, as well as the social and cultural challenges they may face. They also explore how migration can affect development in sending countries, both positively through remittances and negatively through brain drain.

Refugees represent a subset of migrants who flee their home countries due to persecution, conflict, or violence. The legal definition of a refugee is codified in the 1951 Refugee Convention, which outlines the rights of refugees and the obligations of states to protect them. According to UNHCR (2020), the number of refugees has been increasing, reaching over 26 million worldwide.

Scholars such as Vakhoneva, et. Al, (2023) have examined the international refugee regime, focusing on the role of international organizations and states in providing protection and assistance. The literature highlights the challenges in ensuring effective protection for refugees, including issues of burden-sharing and the politicization of asylum policies.

Research has also explored the socio-economic integration of refugees in host countries. Serra and Revez (2023) discussed for understanding refugee integration, which includes factors such as employment, housing, education, and social connections. The literature suggests that successful integration requires a

holistic approach that addresses both the immediate needs of refugees and the long-term goal of social inclusion.

The interplay between nation crises, migration, and refugees is a critical area of study. Tirtosudarmo (2008) argue that nation crises often lead to large-scale displacement and refugee flows. The relationship is reciprocal, as large movements of people can also contribute to nation crises in both sending and receiving countries.

Recent studies have focused on the impact of climate change on migration and national crises. IOM UN Migration (2024) posits that environmental degradation and climate change can exacerbate existing vulnerabilities, leading to increased migration and potential conflicts. This perspective emphasizes the need for integrated policies that address the root causes of displacement, ensuring that nations are better prepared to handle the socio-economic pressures that arise from large-scale migrations.

One of the most significant examples of climate-induced migration and its successful management is the Syrian refugee crisis in Germany. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, led to one of the largest refugee crises of the 21st century. Millions of Syrians fled their country to escape the violence, seeking refuge in neighboring countries and beyond. Germany emerged as a prominent destination for many Syrian refugees, particularly during the peak of the crisis in 2015.

Several factors contributed to the successful management of the Syrian refugee crisis in Germany. One of the most notable was Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to implement an open-door policy in 2015. This policy was a significant humanitarian commitment, as Germany accepted over a million refugees, showcasing a strong stance on human rights and international solidarity (Oltermann, 2020).

In addition to the open-door policy, the German government invested heavily in integration programs, which included language courses, job training, and education. These initiatives were crucial in helping refugees adapt to their new environment and become self-sufficient. By equipping refugees with the necessary skills and knowledge, Germany ensured that they could contribute to the economy and society, rather than remain marginalized.

Public support and the involvement of civil society were also critical to the success of Germany's approach. German civil society, including NGOs, volunteer groups, and ordinary citizens, played a crucial role in welcoming and supporting refugees. This broad-based support helped mitigate some of the social tensions that can arise with large-scale migration and fostered a sense of community and solidarity.

Furthermore, Germany's strong economy provided the resources needed to support refugees. The country's economic strength allowed it to invest in the necessary infrastructure and programs to facilitate integration. Many businesses

also viewed the influx of refugees as an opportunity to address labor shortages, integrating refugees into the workforce and benefiting the economy.

The Syrian refugee crisis in Germany offers several important lessons. Firstly, the importance of integration cannot be overstated. Successful integration of refugees requires comprehensive and well-funded programs, particularly in areas such as language acquisition and job training, which are essential for enabling refugees to contribute to their new communities. Secondly, the role of civil society is pivotal. The involvement of civil society can greatly enhance government efforts and provide additional support for refugees. Finally, economic considerations play a significant role. A strong economy can absorb and benefit from an influx of refugees, turning a potential crisis into an opportunity for growth and diversity.

Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy has emerged as a crucial component of international relations, focusing on how governments and non-state actors engage with foreign publics to achieve diplomatic goals. Unlike traditional diplomacy, which often takes place behind closed doors, public diplomacy is conducted openly and involves cultural exchange, international broadcasting, and social media outreach. This literature review explores the concept of public diplomacy, its evolution, key strategies, and examples of successful public diplomacy efforts that have resolved conflicts or crises.

The term "public diplomacy" was first coined by Edmund Gullion in the mid-1960s, but the practice itself dates back much further. Historically, public diplomacy has been employed as a tool for influencing public opinion and garnering support for national policies abroad. Nye (2019) highlights the importance of soft power in public diplomacy, which involves attracting and co-opting rather than coercing. Soft power relies on the appeal of a country's culture, political values, and foreign policies.

The evolution of communication technologies has significantly impacted public diplomacy. The rise of the internet and social media has democratized information dissemination, allowing states to reach global audiences more directly and interactively. Bradoel & Lowe (2007) describes this shift as the transition from "broadcasting" to "narrowcasting," where tailored messages are delivered to specific audiences. As noted in the research by Vardya & Nurhajati (2022), mass media in the digital era, facilitated by the internet, has become a social site where people gather to share information.

Public diplomacy employs a variety of strategies to engage foreign publics. According to The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (2008) these strategies can be broadly categorized into:

- a. Listening, is the foundational strategy in public diplomacy, focusing on understanding the perceptions, concerns, and attitudes of foreign publics. It involves collecting and analyzing feedback from international audiences

through surveys, focus groups, and social media monitoring. For instance, the United States Information Agency (USIA) conducted public opinion surveys during the Cold War to gauge the sentiments of Eastern European countries towards American policies and values. By understanding these perspectives, policymakers can tailor their messages and actions to address specific concerns and build trust.

- b. Advocacy, on the other hand, is about actively promoting specific policies or viewpoints to foreign audiences. This strategy aims to influence public opinion and garner support for a country's positions on various issues. For example, during the Iraq War, the U.S. government launched a public diplomacy campaign to justify its actions and gather international support. This included speeches by government officials, opinion pieces in international media, and targeted social media campaigns to convey the U.S. perspective on the necessity of military intervention.
- c. Cultural Diplomacy, leverages a nation's cultural assets to build mutual understanding and trust between countries. It involves sharing a country's cultural heritage, arts, and traditions with foreign publics to foster goodwill and enhance soft power. A notable example is the British Council's global initiatives, such as the "Shakespeare Lives" program, which celebrated the 400th anniversary of William Shakespeare's death by organizing performances, film screenings, and educational activities worldwide. This not only highlighted the UK's rich cultural heritage but also strengthened cultural ties with other nations.
- d. Exchange Diplomacy, focuses on facilitating academic, professional, and cultural exchanges between countries. These exchanges aim to create lasting personal and institutional relationships that can enhance mutual understanding and cooperation. The Fulbright Program is a prime example, offering scholarships for students, scholars, and professionals to study, teach, or conduct research abroad. Participants of the Fulbright Program often return with a deeper appreciation of the host country's culture and values, which can lead to more positive bilateral relations.
- e. International Broadcasting, uses media outlets to communicate directly with foreign publics. This strategy involves the dissemination of news, information, and cultural content through television, radio, and online platforms to reach global audiences. Voice of America (VOA) is a prominent example, broadcasting in multiple languages to provide news and information about the United States and its policies. VOA's programming aims to present a balanced view of America, countering misinformation and fostering a better understanding of U.S. culture and values.

Each of those strategies plays a crucial role in public diplomacy, enabling countries to engage with foreign publics in meaningful and effective ways. By listening to, advocating for, sharing cultural values with, exchanging knowledge

with, and broadcasting to international audiences, nations can build stronger, more cooperative international relationships. Public diplomacy has been instrumental in resolving several international conflicts and crises, as explained cases below.

The Northern Ireland conflict, also known as "The Troubles," was a prolonged and violent conflict between unionists, who were mostly Protestant and wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom, and nationalists, who were mostly Catholic and wanted Northern Ireland to join the Republic of Ireland. Public diplomacy played a crucial role in the peace process that led to the Good Friday Agreement.

The British and Irish governments, along with local political leaders, engaged in extensive public diplomacy efforts to garner support for the peace process. This included public outreach, media campaigns, and inclusive dialogues that involved not only political leaders but also community groups and the general public. The use of public diplomacy helped to build a consensus and create a favorable environment for the peace negotiations, ultimately leading to the successful signing of the Good Friday Agreement.

During the Cold War, the United States engaged in extensive public diplomacy efforts to counter Soviet influence and promote American values. One of the most successful initiatives was the Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts, which provided news, music, and cultural programs to audiences behind the Iron Curtain. These broadcasts helped to foster a positive image of the United States and provided an alternative source of information to Soviet propaganda.

Another successful initiative was the Fulbright Program, which facilitated educational exchanges between the United States and other countries. This program helped to build mutual understanding and create networks of influence that supported American foreign policy goals. The combination of broadcasting and exchange diplomacy was effective in promoting American values and countering Soviet influence during the Cold War.

Public diplomacy is a dynamic and multifaceted tool that plays a crucial role in contemporary international relations. By engaging directly with foreign publics, countries can build mutual understanding, promote their values, and influence global opinion. The cases of the Good Friday Agreement and U.S. public diplomacy during the Cold War illustrate the potential of public diplomacy to resolve conflicts and crises. As global communication continues to evolve, public diplomacy will remain an essential component of international strategy, requiring ongoing innovation and adaptation to new challenges and opportunities.

Not all public diplomacy efforts succeed, and understanding the reasons behind these failures is crucial for refining strategies and improving future outcomes. This literature review examines notable cases where public diplomacy efforts did not achieve their intended goals, analyzing the reasons for these failures and the lessons that can be drawn from them.

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the United States launched extensive public diplomacy campaigns aimed at improving its image in the Middle East. These efforts included the creation of the Arabic-language satellite TV station Al-Hurra, the Arabic-language radio station Radio Sawa, and various cultural exchange programs. Despite these efforts, U.S. public diplomacy in the region faced significant challenges and ultimately did not succeed as intended.

One major issue was a lack of credibility. According to Lynch (2006), many in the Middle East viewed U.S. public diplomacy efforts with suspicion, considering them as propaganda. Al-Hurra, for example, struggled to attract viewers compared to established local media outlets like Al Jazeera, which were seen as more credible. This lack of trust significantly hampered the effectiveness of U.S. messaging.

Another critical factor was cultural insensitivity. The U.S. campaigns often failed to resonate with local audiences due to a lack of cultural understanding. Kraidy (2005) argues that messages tailored to American sensibilities did not effectively address the concerns and values of Middle Eastern audiences. This disconnect made it difficult for U.S. initiatives to gain traction or influence public opinion positively.

Additionally, U.S. public diplomacy efforts were undermined by contradictory foreign policies. Public diplomacy initiatives were often at odds with U.S. actions in the region, such as the Iraq War and strong support for Israel, which were widely perceived as hostile. Nye (2008) suggests that soft power efforts are less effective when they contradict hard power actions, and this inconsistency diminished the potential impact of U.S. public diplomacy.

From these failures, several lessons can be learned. First, credibility is key. For public diplomacy to be effective, the messenger must be trusted. Partnerships with local media and influencers who already have credibility can enhance the effectiveness of public diplomacy efforts. Second, cultural sensitivity is crucial. Understanding and respecting the target audience's culture and values are essential. Tailoring messages to resonate with local sensibilities can significantly improve engagement and impact. Finally, policy alignment is necessary. Public diplomacy efforts should be consistent with a country's overall foreign policy. Contradictory actions can negate the positive effects of public diplomacy.

A second case study focuses on Russia's public diplomacy in Ukraine. Prior to and during the early stages of the Ukraine conflict, Russia engaged in extensive public diplomacy efforts to promote its interests and narrative. This included the use of Russian-language media outlets such as RT and Sputnik, and various cultural and historical ties to emphasize a shared heritage. Despite these efforts, Russia's public diplomacy in Ukraine encountered significant obstacles.

One primary reason for failure was the perception of propaganda. Russia's public diplomacy efforts were widely seen as blatant propaganda, particularly in Ukraine and the West. According to (Roozenbeek, 2020) the overt nature of these

efforts led to skepticism and resistance among target audiences. This perception of bias and manipulation undermined the credibility of Russian messages.

Moreover, Russian public diplomacy often exacerbated conflicts rather than fostering understanding. The emphasis on polarizing narratives deepened the sense of "us versus them," which fueled the conflict rather than mitigating it. As noted by Kleinfeld (2023), this approach intensified divisions and hindered efforts to promote peace and stability.

Another issue was the lack of genuine engagement. Russia's efforts focused more on broadcasting its perspective rather than engaging in meaningful dialogue. This one-way communication failed to build mutual understanding or address the concerns of the Ukrainian public. Effective public diplomacy requires listening and responding to the target audience's needs and perspectives, which was lacking in Russia's approach.

Lessons from Russia's failures include the importance of avoiding perceptions of propaganda. Public diplomacy must be perceived as genuine and unbiased. Engaging in transparent and honest communication builds trust and credibility. Additionally, promoting unity rather than division is crucial. Effective public diplomacy should aim to bridge divides and promote understanding rather than exacerbate tensions. Emphasizing common ground and shared interests can help mitigate conflicts. Finally, genuine engagement is essential. Public diplomacy should be a two-way street. Engaging in dialogue and listening to the target audience's concerns fosters mutual understanding and more effective communication.

Understanding these case studies and the reasons behind their failures provides valuable insights into improving future public diplomacy efforts. By prioritizing credibility, cultural sensitivity, policy alignment, transparency, unity, and genuine engagement, public diplomacy initiatives can be more effective in achieving their intended goals and fostering positive international relations.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive qualitative research analyzing the public diplomacy conducted by the Indonesian government. Using content analysis methods from reliable sources such as news reports and previous research, the author aims to understand the historical context, strategies, and tactics employed by the Indonesian government in addressing Indonesia's position on the Myanmar-Rohingya crisis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The tool of public diplomacy is separated into five components: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting, and exchange diplomacy, which is widely utilized by states. Exchange diplomacy is used to regulate the international environment by sending individuals overseas and allowing citizens from other

nations to study and acculturate for some time (Cull, N. J. (2008). As a result, public diplomacy refers to an intentional communication strategy that associates promotion within a country with its international public.

When it comes to the main functions of diplomacy, there are at least three important forms of diplomacy: economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, and public diplomacy. Public diplomacy, often known as people's diplomacy, is one of the several government operations aimed at directly communicating with various foreign publics. Public diplomacy also encompasses all official efforts to persuade the target segments of opinion to accept or tolerate the government's policy objectives.

In the case of the Rohingya's Myanmar conflict, Indonesia uses track one diplomacy or official diplomacy. De Magalhaes describes Official Diplomacy as (Magalhaes, C. J. 1988):

“[a]n instrument of foreign policy for the establishment and development of contacts between the governments of different states through the use of intermediaries mutually recognized by the respective parties”.

Track One diplomacy is distinguished from all other forms of diplomacy by its formal application at the state-to-state level. Track One Diplomacy is commonly regarded as a state's principal peacemaking tool in foreign affairs. It is carried out by diplomats, high-ranking government officials, and heads of state to influence political power structures.

The effort of Foreign Minister of Indonesia, H.E Retno Marsudi in September 2017, used shuttle diplomacy to try to resolve the Rohingya humanitarian issue in Rakhine State. She took a flight from Jakarta to Singapore, then to Myanmar, Thailand, and Bangladesh before returning to Jakarta. She argued that the safety of The Rohingya population is the utmost priority, and she also asked Junta Militer to refrain from using violence towards The Rohingyas.

At the UNGA High-Level Side Event on “Rohingya Crisis” in New York, 22 September 2022, FM Retno Marsudi appealed to the countries to resolve The Rohingya's conflict. There are three points that she addressed (kemlu.go.id). First, their (The Rohingya) voluntary return requires security assurances and hope for livelihoods, second, the need to protect The Rohingya refugee's safety and security in Cox's Bazaar, and third, the urge for peace and national reconciliation.

In the third point, FM Retno Marsudi has been doing shuttle diplomacy to urge international communities to be involved in the realization of peace and national reconciliation. Following the Yom Kippur War in 1973, the term "shuttle diplomacy" was used to describe Henry Kissinger's efforts to mediate peace in the Middle East by "shuttling" back and forth between countries and leaders to establish cease-fires and peace deals (Hoffman, D. A., 2011). The model of shuttle diplomacy

is not suitable for every conflict, whereas when it is difficult for conflicting parties to meet directly or meet at one table, shuttle diplomacy at least can be an alternative, to find a solution. Here, the mediator will “shuttling” back and forth between countries and leaders to bring a caucus or a room to reflect what kind of proposition each party is willing to offer.

In the case of the Rohingya conflict in Myanmar, the negotiation dynamics are notably complex. The discussions are not between the Myanmar Government and the Rohingya representatives but rather between the Myanmar Government and the international community. This situation arises because the Myanmar Government, currently ruled by the Junta Militer, does not recognize the Rohingya as its citizens. Consequently, the Junta Militer does not see the Rohingya as legitimate negotiating partners, leaving no room for direct negotiations between the two parties.

The only viable path to resolving the conflict lies in the concerted efforts of the international community to pressure the Junta Militer to cease the persecution of the Rohingya. This international effort is framed within the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) under international law. R2P is a global commitment endorsed by all member states of the United Nations to prevent mass atrocity crimes such as genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.

A significant diplomatic breakthrough in addressing the Rohingya crisis came from Indonesia's Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, who successfully spearheaded the drafting of a five-point consensus on Myanmar, endorsed by ASEAN countries. This consensus outlines a roadmap for mitigating the violence and fostering dialogue in Myanmar. The five-point consensus includes the following key elements:

- a. Firstly, there shall be an immediate cessation of violence in Myanmar, with all parties exercising utmost restraint to prevent further bloodshed and instability. This point emphasizes the urgent need to halt the ongoing violence to create a conducive environment for dialogue.
- b. Secondly, constructive dialogue among all parties concerned shall commence to seek a peaceful solution in the interests of the people. This dialogue aims to bring together various stakeholders to negotiate a peaceful resolution that benefits all citizens of Myanmar, including the Rohingya.
- c. Thirdly, a special envoy of the ASEAN Chair shall facilitate the mediation of the dialogue process, with the assistance of the Secretary General of ASEAN. This envoy is tasked with ensuring that the dialogue is productive and that all voices are heard, providing a neutral and supportive framework for negotiations.
- d. Fourthly, ASEAN shall provide humanitarian assistance through the AHA Centre, the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management. This assistance is crucial for addressing the immediate needs of those affected by the conflict, ensuring that humanitarian aid reaches those in dire need.

- e. Lastly, the special envoy and delegation shall visit Myanmar to meet with all parties concerned. This visit aims to engage directly with the stakeholders, gather firsthand insights, and build the trust necessary for successful mediation.

Despite the clear framework provided by this consensus, the Junta Militer has so far shown little willingness to implement these measures. However, with Indonesia's chairmanship of ASEAN still ongoing, there remains a window of opportunity to exert diplomatic pressure on the Junta Militer. Continued efforts by Indonesia and its ASEAN partners, alongside the broader international community, are crucial in pushing the Junta Militer to adhere to the consensus and end the persecution of the Rohingya.

In summary, the resolution of the Rohingya conflict hinges on the international community's ability to enforce the principles of R2P and leverage diplomatic tools such as the ASEAN five-point consensus. While the Junta Militer's response has been lukewarm, sustained international pressure and regional leadership are key to achieving a peaceful and just resolution for the Rohingya people.

CONCLUSION

The tenure of Indonesia as the chairman of ASEAN in 2023 has been marked by significant challenges and opportunities. The economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic and persistent geopolitical tensions, such as the South China Sea disputes and the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar, underscore the complexity of Indonesia's leadership role. Strengthening ASEAN's institutional capacity and effectiveness remains a paramount task, reflecting Indonesia's broader commitment to regional stability and development.

Indonesia's efforts to address the Rohingya crisis, rooted in its historical role as a peace broker, highlight its dedication to upholding peace and security in the region. The legacy of Indonesia's "free and active" foreign policy is evident in its proactive approach to resolving conflicts, both within ASEAN and beyond. Past successes, such as mediating in the Cambodian conflict and facilitating dialogue between Russia and Ukraine, demonstrate Indonesia's capability and commitment to peacebuilding.

The Rohingya crisis has drawn international attention due to the severe persecution faced by the Rohingya population in Myanmar. Indonesia's involvement, led by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi, reflects a deep-seated responsibility to address humanitarian issues within the region. Despite ASEAN's principle of non-intervention, Indonesia has taken bold steps to mediate and seek solutions, emphasizing the need for security assurances, refugee protection, and national reconciliation.

Indonesia's soft power, derived from its democratic values and moderate Islamic principles, enhances its credibility as a mediator. The successful resolution

of internal conflicts, such as the Aceh Peace Accords, further strengthens Indonesia's position as a capable and reliable peace broker. The country's commitment to dialogue, cultural diplomacy, and the promotion of democracy and human rights forms the backbone of its public diplomacy efforts.

The implementation of shuttle diplomacy by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi and the drafting of the Five-Point Consensus on Myanmar exemplify Indonesia's strategic approach to conflict resolution. While the response from Myanmar's Junta Militer has been limited, Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN provides a continued opportunity to advocate for the implementation of these measures.

In conclusion, Indonesia's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2023 underscores its pivotal role in addressing regional conflicts and promoting stability. The lessons learned from past diplomatic efforts, both successful and challenging, offer valuable insights for future initiatives. By leveraging its soft power and maintaining a steadfast commitment to peace and dialogue, Indonesia can continue to make meaningful contributions to regional and global security.

BIODATA

Revy Marlina, S.Sos, M.A is a lecturer in International Relations Communication Studies in the Faculty of communication, LSPR Institute of Communication & Business. She had bachelor degree in International Relations major from UIN Jakarta and master degree in international law from Université Grenoble and Diplomacy and Strategic Negotiation from Université Paris Saclay, France. Before joining LSPR as lecturer, she worked as research assistant at BRIN (National Research and Innovation Agency), Indonesia and Canada Embassy in Indonesia.

Yoseph Wahyu Kurniawan, M.Ikom is a lecturer at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, LSPR Institute of Communication & Business. He had bachelor's and master's degrees from the LSPR Institute of Communication & Business. Currently, he works at the LSPR Institute of Communication & Business as Deputy Head of the Communication Study Program. Previously, he served as the Assistant to the Vice Rector 3 at the LSPR Institute of Communication & Business.

Muhammad Rafly, S.Ikom is an Assistant Lecturer in Public Speaking & Personal Branding for the Public Relations & Digital Communication in the Faculty of Communication at LSPR Communication & Business Institute. He had bachelor degree of Mass Communication and in a final year of his master degree of Corporate Communication at LSPR Institute.

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