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Indonesia's Public Diplomacy towards Malaysia

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SUBMISSION TRACK

Received : 26 June 2018
Final Revision : 16 October 2018
Available Online : 30 November 2018

KEYWORD

Public Diplomacy, Shared Identity, Kinship.

KATA KUNCI

Diplomasi Publik, Identitas yang Sama, Bangsa Serumpun.

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A B S T R A C T

Indonesian public diplomacy has been understood as an effort to attach a certain image like a moderate, democratic and progressive image. Nevertheless, the image is not always present in bridging Malaysian bilateral relations. In Malaysia Malaysia's bilateral relations practice, public diplomacy reveals itself in a different face. This article places public diplomacy not only as an effort to maintain the image in rationalists view, but public diplomacy as an effort to maintain relationships through shared identity. Through Indonesian diplomatic studies on Malaysia's three main issues over the past 15 years, it was found that public diplomacy was present as an effort to maintain relations through the shared identity as the Bangsa Serumpun (One Kin) or known as Kinship. Although Malaysia social economic context has changed, Indonesia still believes that the obligation to place the stability of relationships is a priority. Self-refrain and encouraging public dissemination become the practices of Indonesian public diplomacy towards Malaysia. Through qualitative methods, Indonesian policy documentation studies of three major bilateral issues found that Kinship is still the main reference for Indonesia in maintaining bilateral relations although it's practiced differently.

A B S T R A K

Diplomasi publik Indonesia telah dipahami sebagai upaya untuk melekatkan citra tertentu seperti citra yang moderat, demokratis dan progresif. Namun demikian, citra tersebut tidak selalu hadir dalam menjembatani hubungan bilateral Malaysia. Di Malaysia, praktik hubungan bilateral Malaysia, diplomasi publik mengungkapkan dirinya dalam wajah yang berbeda. Artikel ini menempatkan diplomasi publik tidak hanya sebagai upaya mempertahankan citra dalam pandangan rasionalis, tetapi diplomasi publik sebagai upaya mempertahankan hubungan melalui identitas bersama. Melalui studi diplomatik Indonesia mengenai tiga masalah utama Malaysia selama 15 tahun terakhir, ditemukan bahwa diplomasi publik hadir sebagai upaya untuk mempertahankan hubungan melalui identitas bersama sebagai Bangsa Serumpun atau dikenal sebagai Keserumpunan. Meskipun konteks sosial ekonomi Malaysia telah berubah, Indonesia masih percaya bahwa kewajiban untuk menempatkan stabilitas hubungan adalah prioritas. Menahan diri dan mendorong diseminasi publik menjadi praktik diplomasi publik Indonesia terhadap Malaysia. Melalui metode kualitatif, studi dokumentasi kebijakan Indonesia dari tiga masalah bilateral utama menemukan bahwa Kekerabatan masih merupakan referensi utama bagi Indonesia dalam mempertahankan hubungan bilateral meskipun dipraktekkan secara berbeda..

Introduction

Indonesia-Malaysia's relationship has always been dynamic from the beginning. After confronted in the Sukarno era, they were trying to establish a harmonious relationship by prioritizing ties through Kinship. Unfortunately, Malaysia's socio-economic changes are likely to encourage the state to start changing its perspective on itself.

The good relationship during Suharto's era get worse in line with the changes of Malaysia's social economy context due to the New Economic Policy. Through a number of policies, Malaysia slowly changed its identity through the ideas of "Look East", "Malaysia Boleh", "New Asia" and "Smart Partnership".

The change of identity then influenced the policy chosen by Malaysia, including the policy toward Indonesia. Indonesia's migrant workers became the issue that soon affected the bilateral relationship. Instead of causing social problems, Indonesia migrant worker issue was also influence Malaysia domestic politics. The situation of social and politics in Malaysia finally pushed the government to place the illegal migrant workers as the threat for the state's safety . As a result, the policy of securitization of migrant workers was released. The change of identity also influenced the policy of Malaysia's tourism that seems to be very aggressive for Indonesia. Too bad, the slogan of Malaysia's tourism 'Malaysia Truly Asia' launched by the government of Malaysia in 1999 brought the Malaysia's tourism project became too fervent. Being too enthusiastic, a number of Indonesia's cultures were involved in some parts of Malaysia's tourism advertisement. Malaysia's aggression on the issue of border also seemed to increase after the ICJ's policy on 2002 over Sipadan and Ligitan. The impact of the issue of the change in border mapping due to the ownership of Sipadan and Ligitan is the issue of Ambalat's Claim.

The change of Malaysia's social economic context has given the influence to the policy towards Indonesia. Malaysia does not hold a self-induced sub-ordination anymore, an asymmetric bilateral relationship but contributes to the nourishment of the close relationship between the two countries .Those three issues triggered the tension between the two countries and resulted in a number of negative reactions on the citizens of both countries. The negative reactions were not only demonstrations with flag burning but also threats to do some sweepings and send troops to the conflict area and net war.

This article looks at how Indonesian public diplomacy is practiced towards Malaysia and what underlies the choice of this form of public diplomacy. It also shows that public diplomacy is not merely an attempt to embed image but to maintain relationships by sharing cultural identities.

Research Method

The qualitative research method used in this paper is intended to examine the Indonesian public diplomacy towards Malaysia. This article is discussed about the Indonesian public diplomacy towards Malaysia in the changing bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia in three main bilateral issues, border issues, cultural claim issues and migrant worker issues . From these three bilateral issues, then can be seen how public diplomacy towards Malaysia is practiced by Indonesia. Public diplomacy is built in the frame of Kinship with both monologue, dialogue and public dissemination of diplomatic options despite having to deal with public skepticism.

Recently public diplomacy refers to the state's and non-state's efforts in constructing positive public opinion outside the state in order to help the state on reaching its national interest. Positive image or identity is then believed to be able to form the public opinion in public diplomacy . The rationalists view that is utilized in interpreting public diplomacy

limit the identity role itself in framing the public diplomacy activities. Meanwhile, identity has a significant role in influencing how a system could communicate itself. Identity could also influence how actors perceive themselves and other actors and form their actions towards the others.

The identity that sticks on a certain group is consciously constructed as analog with the role or the combination of self image with the image of other people. Identity is an important thing in how an actor construct his/her perception on other actors. Nau's relative identity states that relative identity inform the actors about their position from other actors in the frame of mutual respect. It is the identity, the thing that lead him/her to determine the attitude toward other actors. Identity that is formed in the relationship between countries become the context of a number of interests, perceptions, and actions. Identity also leads how a state/system does not only communicate but also constructs mutual understanding and maintains its existence in its surroundings.

Luhmann places identity as part of social communication that enables an agent to deal with meaning and reality of materials. Therefore, communicative action is not only an action to deliver or exchange messages but it is also an effort to influence the relations in the frame of maintaining one's existence. This matter becomes the note of public diplomacy that is now interpreted as an effort to build the image of a nation. Public diplomacy could not be placed in a very narrow understanding because public diplomacy bears a bigger role, that is, as an effort to maintain the existence of a system through its own identity and the identity emerges from the relationship that happens between states.

The identity or role that is owned by a state serves as guidance for the state to do certain actions. A state does not take an action based on a consideration of what action is the most efficient to itself but on an idea of what is appropriate to do which is in line with the role or identity it has to

the particular situation. The decision to do an action in the relationship between the countries is pushed by what is called 'logic of appropriateness'. Within the tradition of a logic of appropriateness, actions are seen as rule-based. Human actors are imagined to follow rules that associate particular identities to particular situations, approaching individual opportunities for action by assessing similarities between current identities and choice dilemmas and more general concepts of self and situations. Action involves evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation. The pursuit of purpose is associated with identities more than with interests, and with the selection of rules more than with individual rational expectations.

The identity of being a one kin had been built by Indonesia and Malaysia as an effort to normalize the relationship of the two after the confrontation phase. Being one kin refers to the idea of shared identity based on the race similarity. The idea of kinship proximity built up from the long history of the two nations, trade, political power and the spread of culture became part of the efforts of both nations in ending colonialism. Liow points out that this idea of kinship closeness makes the relationship both incomprehensible. On the one hand, the idea of Malay kin similarity is able to foster social, economic and political closeness. But, on the other hand, it actually foster prejudices that affect the relations between the two nations both on the state and public level as well.

Being one kin also means a 'special relationship' between Indonesia and Malaysia. This idea was the construction from the political figures of both Indonesia and Malaysia through the process of cultural politicization. Culture does not have its own meaning because it has transformed into a process of effort of constructing meaning by those who have economic and institutional authority. The politicization was firstly done in the context of anti colonialism attempt that was

done by the nationalists both in Malaysia and Indonesia. At that time, Malaysia did not refuse the unification of identity through Indonesia Raya or Melayu Raya. The figures such as Muhammad Yamin, Ibrahim Yaacob, Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, Ahmad Bustamam, Ishak Mohamad, Mokhtaruddin Lasso and Sukarno attempted to conceptualize Malay tribe as an independent tribe that had been there far before the colonialism era. Based on the population spread, the similarities in culture and language and the interactions that happened since hundreds of years, the identity as a nation with the same culture would not be too difficult to be attributed. Besides the identity as being one kin, the role as an elder brother also became the identity that guides how Indonesia responded to Malaysia's policy. In 1970-1980, the role as an elder brother was shown by the attitude of 'keeping' Malaysia's foreign affair through consultative behavior. The use of Malay language is a kind of blessing for Indonesia to influence the social and cultural side of Malaysia through language. A number of teachers and lecturers were sent to Malaysia in 1970s. Meanwhile in political side, Indonesia 'keep' Malaysia's position as a 'younger brother' through the consultative relationship in relation to regional area stability. Even Tun Abdul Razak introduced the concept of Rukun Negara on August 31st 1970 which is similar to Pancasila. Rukun Negara is a blueprint for national solidarity and a reshaping of a national identity consisting of five principles. Malaysia also provided rice assistance in the 70s, so Soeharto called it as a proper thing for a younger brother to do towards his brother. The ZOPFAN and TAC agreements, similar to views on the East Timor issue, the decolonization of Brunei, the normalization of relations with China and also the policy on Vietnam through Kuantan Principle were another form of this consultative relationship.

Result and Discussion

Kinship must confront the political economy shifting due to the NEP policy. And unfortunately, Liow's note about the complexity of Indonesian-Malaysian bilateral relations because of race and culture has not adopted this change. The success of NEP gradually encouraged Malaysia to no longer practice the self-induced subordination and began to re-interpret the bilateral relation. NEP have had an impact on Malaysia's changing view of herself. This change of identity then influences policies towards Indonesia. Smart Partnership is one of the Malaysia's policy to reject self-induced subordination. The change in Malaysia's social economic context that was shown by NEP's success influenced how Indonesia present the Kinship. As an elder brother, Indonesia showed a number of policies that tend to have a self-refrain on Malaysia's aggressive attitudes. Through the three bilateral issues, it's shown that Indonesia has attempts to maintain the bilateral relationship in the frame of Kinship. Indonesia's seen trying to withdraw from the confrontational situation through a number of diplomatic settlement offers. The Indonesian government was also more pressing on the domestic public to better understand the tension as a misunderstanding and limited knowledge of the issues that occur. The dominating attitude as an elder brother has been replaced by a more appropriate attitude to keep the regional situation stable.

Public diplomacy efforts in response to the changing behavior of Malaysia can be seen in the following three issues.

Border Claim Issue

In the issue of border area, Malaysia's aggressive behavior had been shown when Malaysia issued a map of Sipadan and Ligitan in their own side and the construction of electrical installation in the end of 1970's. Malaysia's aggressions were even more vivid when the efforts of solving the problems through bilateral agreement. The two countries agreement to keep the status quo of Sipadan and Ligitan islands

and preferred not to do anything was neglected by Malaysia by military force in 1982. Indonesia's objection on the matter did not stop Malaysia and repeat the military force in 1991. The military force in 1991 made Indonesia reacted by accusing that Malaysia did not obey the agreement to maintain the status quo.

On Indonesia's persuasion, the two countries conducted 4 meetings started from June 1995. At the last meeting on June 21st, 1996, both signed a report that was given to each government. The report contains the recommendation to propose the dispute of Sipadan and Ligitan to ICJ. This is in fact different from Indonesia's expectation to wrap up the dispute in ASEAN level. The decision is then made into the agreement of "Final and Binding," On May 31st 1997 through Special Agreement for the submission to the International Court of Justice the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia concerning the sovereignty over Pulau Sipadan and Pulau Ligitan. Indonesian Government then ratified the manuscript on December 29, 1997 through President's Decision Number 49 year of 1997 and by Malaysian's government on November 19th 1997. This Special Agreement is a procedural requirement that enable ICJ to have a jurisdiction on the matter. The Special Agreement was then delivered to International Law Court on November 2nd 1998 through a Joint Letter. In the decision of International Court on December 17th 2002, Indonesia was declared defeated. The 'effective occupation' used by ICJ showed that Malaysia had more right on Sipadan and Ligitan.

Regretfully this decision is then became the basis for Malaysia's next step to bring the border area of Indonesia-Malaysia into problem again, precisely Ambalat sea in 2005. In 2005 Malaysia gave concession on Block BD-6 and D-7 (in Ambalat sea) to Petronas Carigali that has a cooperation with Royal Dutch/Shell Group. These blocks are overlapped with the blocks that had been conceded by Indonesia to Shell, ENI and Unocal. The problem of one-sided

claim was then followed by the capture of 17 Indonesian workers who worked to build a lighthouse in Karang Unarang. Those workers were captured by Malaysia's war ship, KD Sri Malaka on Februari 21st 2005. Indonesia's war ships, KRI Rencong and KRI Tongkol were soon ordered to head to Karang Unarang and followed by 5 other ships, namely, KRI K.S. Tubun, KRI Nuku, KRI Singa, KRI Tedong Naga, and KRI Wiratno. However, the presence of the ships was replied by the sending of spy crafts by Malaysia the next day by passing Indonesian air territory .

The same incidents happened several times in the next years. On February 24th 2007, the war ship KD Budiman of Malaysia penetrated Indonesia's water territory up to 1 mile around 10:00 WITA. At the afternoon, another Malaysia's war ship, KD Sri Perlis, even penetrated to Indonesian water territory up to 2 miles. Both war ships were then driven back by Indonesia's war ship KRI Welang. The next day, KD Sri Perlis returned back to Indonesian's territory around 3000 yards at 09:00 WITA. The ship was soon warded off by KRI Untung Surapati. Two hours later, around 11:00 WITA, Malaysia's patrol craft passed Indonesian's territory as far as 3000 yards. Indonesia then prepared 4 war ships at once, namely, KRI Untung Suropati, KRI Ki Hadjar Dewantara, KRI Welang, and KRI Keris. In 2009, since January until June, Malaysia's war ship and patrol aircrafts had entered Ambalat territory 13 times .

Although the abuse on Indonesian's authority was continuously done and domestic pressures arised everywhere, but the state persisted to do the efforts of solving the problem through diplomacy. On the incident in 2009, Soesilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY) called Najib Razak by phone to make sure that both countries had to handle the problem through an agreement . Indonesia had met Malaysia 28 times along 2005-2015 to discuss about the maritime border areas of the two countries in all segments, namely Malaka strait, Singapore strait, South Tiongkok Sea, and

Sulawesi sea. However, for 10 years of negotiations, there were still some substantial differences of the methods and law principles of drawing the maritime borderlines. In order to accelerate the completion of marine border with Malaysia, SBY assigned a special messenger to the Enforcement of Marine Border Line between RI-Malaysia, with the main duty of finding the creative solution of marine borderline of the two countries by considering other factors completing the technical and legal aspects. Coercive ways were clearly left although it was easy for SBY to gain military support.

Besides negotiation, Indonesian government also had sent 35 objection notes since the first incident until 2009. Whereas in 2005 the ministry of foreign affairs had sent 7 notes of objection. On 22nd-23rd of March 2016 Indonesian's and Malaysian's foreign affair minister had talked about Ambalat in Bali. In the meeting the two countries focused the activities on the borderline in Sulawesi sea and share the view about each base position in accordance with the basic principles of United Nation of Convention of the Law of Sea (UNCLOS). Both also had an agreement of technical work planning and meetings in every two months and concluded that the completion of Ambalat would still need more time and more other series of meetings.

Cultural Claims Issues

Malaysia's aggressive behaviors were also seen in the field of social and culture. The tourism policy of Malaysia "Malaysia Truly Asia" in 1999, did grow not only new national identity for Malaysia through national branding that reflects 3 biggest races in Asia, but also made it actively identified and recorded (doing claim) the cultures that are developed in Malaysia. As a result, a number of Indonesia's culture that live in Malaysia – because of migration – became parts of the project of cultural record of Malaysia. This policy is a part of economic policy by Malaysia in order to increase Malaysia's tourism where

every culture group register itself in the Act of National Heritage. Culture is not only viewed as the identity of a group of people anymore but it is only an object that has commercial nature. The too exaggerated policy seemed to make Malaysia less careful in showing a number of Indonesian's cultures that were loaded in Malaysia's tourism campaign.

The issue of cultural claims are for example happened to the dance of Reog Ponorogo in 2007 when the dance became part of Visit Malaysia 2007 tourism campaign "Malaysia Truly Asia" in the web site of the Ministry of Culture Art and Heritage of Malaysia. The dance, which was called Barongan Dance in the tourism campaign, had an identical feature with Reog Ponorogo Dance, for example, in the use of Dadak Merak mask, that is a mask of a tiger's head and there are Peacock leathers on it. Only, on the part that usually written "Reog Ponorogo" is not longer found, instead, it was written "Malaysia". It also happened in Pendet Dance which was seen in a documentary movie on the program of Asia Pacific Discovery Network entitled "Enigmatic Malaysia" produced by KRU Studios in 2009. Besides Pendet dance and Reog, Malaysia also stated that Gordang Sambilan was belongs to Mandailing Community that was registered as one of the National Heritage branch through the Certificate of National Heritage that was cited by Bernama News Office on the launching of Perhimpunan Anak-Anak Mandailing in Malaysia in Dewan Seri Siantan, Batu Caves, Selangor. The Indonesian Ministry of Domestic Affairs mentioned that there are 21 Indonesia's cultures that Malaysia had ever claimed. The cultures were in the form of dances, music instruments, and cultural artifacts.

The controversy of cultural claims brought in anarchistic demonstration and other negative attitudes. However, it seemed that the state was not provoked to choose harsh attitude towards Malaysia such as stopping the diplomatic relationship or boycotting Malaysia. The attitude shown by Soesilo

Bambang Yudoyono was quite soft yet assertive to ask Malaysia to be more sensitive to the problem of Culture that had happened several times. The president also had called the Foreign Affairs minister and Minister of Culture of Indonesian Republic to discuss about the problem of cultural claims that had happened many times. Note of Objection was sent to ask for Malaysian's government about the issue.

In 2012, the deputy of the minister of Education and Culture, Wiendu Nuryanti, delivered the strategy that the state will use in solving the problem of the claim. On the cultural claim, the state had prepared some strategies, which is, short-term strategy, mid-term strategy, and long term strategy in order that the claims of Indonesian cultures by Malaysia would not happen anymore. The short-term strategy is sending the note of objection toward Malaysia's claim to Indonesian culture. The middle term strategy is through bilateral conciliation to discuss about the cultural occupancy. In the long-term strategy, Indonesia could bring the cultural claims issue to the international court .

Meanwhile, in responding to the negative attitudes of public domestic inside the state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a statement through the spokespersons, Teuku Faizasyah, he said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regretted the anarchistic actions because they disturbed the public orderliness and harmed the image of Indonesia overseas . The President also had stated similar statement on the issue. After giving press statements about the cultural claim issue stating that the state had sent the note of objection and at the same time asked the public community not to behave in anarchistic ways. Something more important is keeping the good relationship for the sake of the common interest and remembering the cooperation in labor workers that had been constructed with Malaysia .

On the demand of the government of Republic of Indonesia, Malaysia gave a cooperative response. They gave an explanation that what they did does not

mean to take Indonesian culture. On some cultures that they 'claimed' in the Certificate of Cultural Heritage are the cultures that are exist in Malaysia and were brought by Indonesian people who migrated to Malaysia for working or trading many years ago. Dato' Anifah Aman, Malaysia's Foreign Minister admitted that many of Malaysian community are Indonesian citizens. They are still keeping what their ancestors inherited and they practiced them in the new place, Malaysia. From Kedah to Johor there are Indonesian off springs or Indonesian citizens who work in Malaysia (Dato Anifah Aman, 2009).

Some meetings between political elites gave a clearer situation that happened in Malaysia. The meetings between Ponorogo regent with the Malaysian Ambassador, Dato' Zainal Abidin Zain, ended the dispute about Reog Ponorogo, the meeting between the Foreign Affairs Minister Hassan Wirajuda and Malaysia's Foreign Minister Dato' Anifah Aman ended the dispute about Pendet and the meeting between the deputy of Malaysia's Prime Minister Tan Sri Dato' Muhyiddin Haji Mohd Yassin and the Vice President of Indonesia, Boediono, ended the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia Gordang Sambilan and Tor-Tor.

An expert group was formed by Indonesia and Malaysia to analyze the problems. Together with the Prime Minister of Malaysia Dato' Seri Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, on the 5th meeting of Indonesia-Malaysia Annual Consultation in Putrajaya on January 11th 2008, SBY agreed to explore a new approach in the relationship between the two countries and built a strategic collaboration for their common interests. EPG (Eminent Person Group) was formed on July 7th 2008 in Kuala Lumpur and was aimed as an informal advisor institution that consists of 7 members who were chosen from each state. From the meeting, EPG had stated some experts' views from both countries through book entitled 'Resurrecting Historical Collective Memory of Indonesia-Malaysia'

or *Membangkitkan Memori Kolektif Kesenjangan Indonesia-Malaysia*" in 2011. The book contains various articles from 23 authors from Indonesia and Malaysia that discusses 3 matters, that is, The Historical dimension of Indonesia – Malaysia, Art, language and culture, and Social Politic and economy.

The Migrant Labor Issue

The attitude of self-restrain was also noticeable in the issue of migrant workers that resulted in many negative impacts to the Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. The securitization of Indonesian migrant workers applied by Malaysia through military operations namely Nyah I Operation (1991), Nyah II Operation (1992), Pintu Operation (1997) and Immigration Act (2002), implicated in the deportation of Indonesian Labors. It was also followed by the death of 70 Indonesian workers and the captivation of 700 workers and 23 workers who were whipped .

The concentration of Indonesian workers who work without skill or with a limited skill or the job kinds known as "3D Jobs" (dangerous, dirty and/or demeaning) such as working in plantation, domestic workers, and construction workers (IOM, 2010) make them less respected in Malaysia. The bad images often stick on Indonesian migrant workers, for example in the statements of 'Peningkatan Jenayah' (the increase in crime) by the Malaysia's officials and policemen is very easily related to the word 'Indon' as the doers by Malaysia's mass media. The term 'Indon' itself, although it is a common word used in Malaysia, it invites the feeling of inferiority of Indonesian people and it triggers offenses. Indon is also badly described by the diction of 'diburu' (hunted) by Rela . Indonesian workers are also constructed as a group of PATI, Pekerja Tanpa Ijin (Unlicensed Workers), that often embellished news about Indonesian workers. This term is even often replaced by 'pendatang haram' (illicit comers). In terms of rubrics, PATI is often

posted in the domestic pages. It gives an image that PATI is a problem that often disturbs Malaysia's domestic social and cultural life . From Zakiah's research, Malaysia's public opinions were mostly formed by the role of mass media that often load crime news . Some printed media that has big influence in Malaysia such as Harian Metro, Utusan Malaysia, Berita Harian and New Straits Times and The Star almost every day post news about Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia that encounter problems. Negative descriptions about Indonesian workers are found for example in a headline "25.000 Pekerja Indonesia Bawa Penyakit Setiap tahun" (25.000 Indonesian workers Bring Ailment Every Year), "Pekerja Asing Biadab" (Uncivilized Foreign Workers), "Orang Indon Mengganas" (Indons Get Nasty). The effects of the news are the creation of negative opinions among Malaysia's people towards Indonesian citizen .

The negative views on Indonesian migrant workers and a number of violent cases to Indonesian domestic workers, such as Nirmala Bonat, Ceriyati, Aida Nurul, Siti Hajar, Modesta Rangga Eka and also Winfaidah make the sentiment of Indonesia was very easily triggered. Besides negative sentiments in the form of anarchistic demonstration, there is also the idea to do sweeping to Malaysian citizen. The sweeping to Malaysian citizen that was moved by Bendera NGO is aimed not to Malaysian citizen but to Malaysian government who had released a policy which is considered as unfair for the migrant workers. An interview with Napitupulu , a coordinator of Bendera, stated that through media, it is expected that the message that they put in the action of sweeping would be caught by Malaysia's government, that is, it is not comfortable to be treated like not human, chased, hurt, and so forth.

Compared to the other two issues, Indonesian's reaction in the issue of migrant workers seemed to be more straightforward. On the contention of

Migrant Care, the state took a policy to do moratorium of migrant workers in 2009. The discontinuation of Indonesian migrant workers is a form of a hard reprimand to Malaysia in order that they are willing to restore the control and warranty of the rights of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. The moratorium was revoked in 2011, when the two countries signed MoU that contains the migrant workers' rights in terms of holiday, the minimum wage and the procedure of giving, passport, the rate of placement cutback of migrant workers, and the mechanism of the joint management.

Inside the state, the force toward the government was quite large. A number of bureaucrats, politicians, and domestic public also considered that the government was very weak toward Malaysia that had been so tyrant to Indonesia. The president and the cabinet are deemed as not to have gut in facing the harassment done by Malaysia in many chances. The invitation to leave the soft diplomacy had been stated by the Chairman of the Committee of Defense of the People Representative Board (DPR), Mahfudz Siddiq. The government was viewed as too slow in taking the reaction and makes the decision in the invasion of the area of Tanjung Datu and Camar Bulan in Kalimantan. For them, the response through military action and discontinuing the diplomatic relation with Malaysia became a rational issue for the state. In the internet world, the war even had happened between Indonesian netizens versus Malaysian netizens which was represented by e-Ganyang and e-Godam.

However, many times Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the President of Republic Indonesia stated that the problems caused by Malaysia were not appropriate to be responded harshly. The state chose to finish it by sending diplomatic notes and offer to have a dialog in order to finish the existing problems. Even, an academic group (Eminent Person Group/EPG) was formed by SBY to make an investigation the root of the bilateral problems.

The identity of one kin that have a moral obligation to keep the harmonious relation led SBY to the cooperative attitudes and tendency to refrain from Malaysia's aggressions and the domestic forces. For SBY it was more important to keep good relation that had been constructed. The attitude of refraining self is shown by SBY by always reminding that Indonesia and Malaysia still have kinship relations besides the very close historical and cultural relation. Stated that the government seriously wanted to repost the problems by sitting together, talking specifically about the matters that are related to the difference in views.

The effort to prefer negotiation to military force was also based on Susilo Bambang Yudoyono's view on the power of soft power. His view was delivered in a number of international meetings for example in public lecturer in Havard University in 2009, the opening of 13th General Assembly of The Veterans Confederations of ASEAN Countries, on July 27th, 2010 and in the 4th Plenary court of Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA). When speaking in Harvard University in 2009, SBY stated that if the 20th century is the century of hard power, then the 21st century is the century of soft power. This statement was delivered in a speech entitled Menuju Harmoni dalam Peradaban (Toward Harmony in Civilization), in John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Boston.

SBY repeated this view in the opening of 13th General Assembly of The Veterans Confederations of ASEAN Countries in the same year. He stated that the 21st century is different from the 20th century because 21st century is the century of soft power, "The 21st century will be known as the Century of Soft Power. Those who succeed will not be those with the largest gun. It will be those with the capability to adapt in the globalization; those inundated with soft skills; those that can compete and constantly reinvent itself". Soft power is considered as more effective than hard power.

SBY's attitude was propelled by his belief on the power of soft power in maintaining the relation between countries, especially in Asian region. In his speech when opening the plenary court of the 4th of Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), he stated rigorously that Asia is an area that is full of harmony and wealthy and the harmonious and wealthy area could only be gained by constructing the soft power.

"I do believe that the key of the peaceful and wealthy Asia's future lies on our capacity to build and spread soft power. If we could make the 21st century a century of soft power, we would accomplish a different Asia, that is Asia that is full of partnership and toleration network, the peaceful and wealthy Asia, Asia that becomes the ace of the world's growth, and all in all, the parliament's role would be important and strategic".

Some issues that occurred such as border area, migrant workers, and cultural claim tend to be dominated by the state through negotiation. Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono argued that it was done because of three reasons, which is, the historical relationship between the two countries, Indonesia and Malaysia, is an important pillar of ASEAN and the high value of the economic cooperation that had been constructed by the two countries. The following is the citation of SBY's speech in TNI headquarters in Cilangkap on September 1st 2010:

"...First, Indonesia and Malaysia have very close historical, culture, and kinship relations – and it might be the closest among other countries, and it had been constructed for hundreds of years. We have historical responsibility to maintain and continue this brotherhood bond. Third, there are around two millions of our brothers who work in Malaysia – in companies, farming, and in various field of works. This is the largest number of migrant workers who work abroad. Of course the existence of Indonesian migrant workers bring mutual advantages, both for Indonesia and Malaysia."

Meanwhile on the plenary court of the 4th Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), SBY assertively stated that Asia is an area that is full of harmony and wealth, "... I do believe that the key of Asia's peaceful and wealthy future is located on our capacity to develop and spread soft power. If we make the 21st century the century of soft power, we would accomplish a different Asia. SBY's soft diplomacy rooted from the view that the solution to deal with the problems of relationship between countries would not be successful if harsh ways or forces are utilized. On the speeches, SBY emphasized that soft power is often very or the most effective compared to hard power. The best of ways to solve problems is by upholding soft power.

Conclusion

The identity of being an elder brother in kinship led Indonesia to choose softer attitudes and self-restraining on Malaysia's aggressiveness. Public diplomacy did not only an effort to maintain the state's images but also the state's effort to maintain the relationship through shared identity. The state do these efforts by choosing the policies that are more cooperative by holding up dialogs and negotiations. The assertiveness that was shown by the migrant workers' moratorium in 2009, became one form of the assertiveness as an elder brother who expected that Malaysia would make a betterment on the regulations, control, and quarantine of migrant workers especially the domestic workers.

The Diplomatic notes and offers to do the renegotiation of Indonesia and Malaysia's border area in Ambalat, talking about the culture of the archipelago, and the renegotiations of the regulation and control of Indonesian migrant workers became Indonesia's alternatives for the sake of keeping its relation with Malaysia and at the same time its existence as an elder brother. Meanwhile the domestic forces tend to be neglected although the state had

not been quite optimums in involving the public in the effort of maintaining the bilateral relationship. What had been done through the ministry of foreign affairs was still very limited. In the issue of borderline, for example, the ministry of foreign affairs gave support in resolving the problem through diplomacy by building up a better perception on the issue. The step had been started by the ministry of foreign affairs by holding a public lectures on the issue of the border-line between Indonesia and Malaysia. Hassan Wirajuda's explanation about the ownership of Sipadan and Ligitan was delivered in a public lecture that entitled "The Negotiations of Maritime Border Area with The Neighboring State" held by the Faculty of Law of Universitas Airlangga. On the era of Hassan Wirajuda, public lecture became one of the regular programs of the Directorate General of Diplomacy and Public Information of Foreign Ministry. The public information related to issues also published through scientific journal publications by the ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially through *Opinio Juris*, and a number of Diplomatic Tabloids. However, the scientific publication owned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had not been elected as the reference for mass media in discussing the bilateral issues between Indonesia and Malaysia. The media itself is an information device that has bias in delivering information or news. Even worst, mass media became a main public references in accessing information about the dispute of area border between Indonesia and Malaysia.

The minimum role of the state in giving the public information related to the bilateral issues and at the same time the involvement of the public in the effort of maintaining the bilateral relation did not only happen in the issue of border area. In the other two issues, the presence of the state was still very low. This could be a special note for Indonesia's ministry of foreign affairs in order to be able to take hold of mass media in handling the bilateral issue to be more constructive for the two countries' relation. Not only the media, a number of non-state actors who had done some efforts to keep the relation through the identity of being one kin should also become the main think tank of the state. The non-state actors are Balai Melayu, Malindo Nusantara, Malindo Research Centre, Permai and also a group of Dayak customs groups such as Dewan Adat Dayak and Serawak Dayak National Union.

Therefore, Public Diplomacy was not only the effort to influence the public opinion, but it is also an effort to influence the relation between countries as well as its existence through the shared identity. In terms of the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia, the cultural identity of being one kin became the framework for Indonesia's public diplomacy to influence its relation with Malaysia and at the same time maintaining its existence, both its geographical and cultural existence.

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