

# Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy under Jokowi's Era: Non-megaphone Diplomacy?

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**Keywords:** Indonesia; Jokowi's presidency, humanitarian diplomacy, non-megaphone diplomacy, Rakhine humanitarian crisis.

**Abstract:** Jokowi's presidential era brought a new path for Indonesia's foreign policy, especially in terms of diplomacy. The focus of Indonesia's foreign policy that used to be security then shifted to one of humanitarian since late 2016 when Indonesia began to send humanitarian aids to Rakhine, Myanmar. In 2017, humanitarian diplomacy became more intense, particularly in the Pacific region; this could be seen from how Indonesia initiated a number of regional meetings with humanitarian agenda such as possible counterterrorism means in Marawi, Philippines, and how Indonesia initiated the arrangement between Bangladesh and Myanmar regarding the issue of repatriation; in which both were conducted under the ASEAN framework. This paper intends to explain the factors behind the rise of Indonesia's current humanitarian diplomacy and the extent of which it affects Indonesia's foreign policy. This paper finds that: (1) humanitarian diplomacy becomes one way in order to end crisis and achieve regional stability; and (2) through humanitarian diplomacy, Indonesia introduces a new way to approach crisis that is one by doing direct actions without using force. By analyzing the concepts of megaphone and non-megaphone diplomacy, this paper argues that the rise of humanitarian diplomacy is a means taken by Indonesia in shifting their foreign policy approach to non-megaphone diplomacy.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In this recent era, humanitarian diplomacy is becoming one of the most chosen ways to counteract crisis. It also happens for Indonesia, as stated on Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs' annual speech, Retno Marsudi, that Indonesia will enhance its peace and humanitarian diplomacy for a more peaceful and stable world (Marsudi 2018). Uniquely, Indonesia has been the only country accepted in Myanmar to provide the humanitarian assistance to the country, whilst the others are rejected due to the escalation of the Rohingya's ethnic cleansing crisis in Rakhine state in late 2016.

Indonesia was praised by the international community with how huge their effort to maintain engaging in term of humanitarian assistance; instead of using megaphone diplomacy, Indonesia always prioritizes the non-megaphone diplomacy to look after the crisis. President Joko (Jokowi) Widodo got lots of thumbs up for using this way instead in his current foreign policy, but his potential rivals and potential leading political opponents rate this as part

of President Jokowi's strategy to boost his own image owing to the upcoming president election in 2019 (Jegho 2017).

However, the uniqueness of this shifting deserves further research. Quoting from the legitimate site of Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

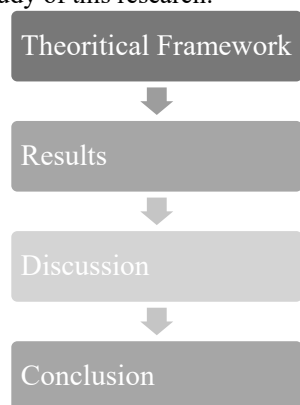
*"Indonesia's diplomatic machinery has and will continue to work without megaphone diplomacy. The constructive approach is prioritized so that the humanitarian aspect can be handled immediately and a long-term plan can be devised sustainably"* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2016).

By that statement, it specifically proven on how Indonesia in shifting their foreign policy approach to non-megaphone diplomacy, undoubtedly possible to tackle the humanitarian crisis by using this kind of "soft" and "quiet" through humanitarian diplomacy. According to Phillippe Regnier, humanitarian diplomacy refers to any policies and practices led by national and international agencies inside humanitarian aid work framework. But, it does not mean that this term is limited only for humanitarian

organization, because it also covers the national cooperation agencies and ministries (foreign affairs, defense, development, civil protection) that comprising humanitarian aid departments to respond to domestic or international emergencies (Regnier 2011, p.1212). Humanitarian diplomacy could provide a state's international reputation with a way of expressing important qualities in the name of human emotions, such as the empathy and solidarity (O'Hagan 2017). Not only increasing a state's international reputation, but also able to enhance the national interest based on building relationship of trust and cooperation with another countries or actors (O'Hagan 2017). So, what are the truly backgrounds behind Indonesia choices to make the rise of this diplomacy under President Jokowi's era?

## 2 METHODS

This research uses qualitative data analysis techniques, where the researcher adjusted to the data and the content of the keywords. The researcher uses three stages of qualitative data analysis. First, *data reduction*; where there are the process of choosing and riveting the data where it becomes a form of analysis that already sharpened and classified. The researcher will be organizing the data as so the conclusion can be concluded at the end. Second, *data presentation*; where there is the process of compiling information that can be forms as narrative text, and certain charts. Third, *the conclusion*; where there is the process for drawing an explanatory pattern, until making the proposition plot which able to answer the research problem formulas. Here is the design study of this research:



As what LeCompte & Schensul (1999) has said that qualitative data analysis as the process a researcher uses to reduce data to story and its interpretation (Kawulich 2015, p.97), the researcher

will collect the data as many as the researcher can, then will make the story and interpretation afterwards. More than that, the previous qualitative researchers have shared various strategies to analyze qualitative data. Begin with looking at the theoretical framework as the theoretical can provide the lens through which the data are viewed and helps the researcher to situate the results in the theory, which helps to facilitate the understanding of the data within that theoretical perspective (Kawulich 2015, p.100).

### 2.1 The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy and Its Debates

Firstly, the researcher will explore the theoretical framework by looking how the relevant debates of previous literature occurred. In general, let's talk about the rise of global diplomatic activity in this 21<sup>st</sup> century where inviting new areas, like access to water, culture, the environment, until knowledge; not only talking about classic national diplomacy. But, we should underlined that humanitarian diplomacy is an emerging term from conventional diplomacy, alongside to manage the international relations through negotiation, it is also focuses on managing support for operations; programs; and building the partnership with another actors as long as needed to achieve the humanitarian objectives (Regnier 2011, p.1218). It correlates with what Indonesia did to Rohingya Muslim under Jokowi's presidential era, later to be explained.

The researcher will go back on the birthing of humanitarian diplomacy that basically was devoted in 2007 by the rising of some humanitarian agencies, like International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is keen to emphasize its universality and giving a space for their own respective governments; followed by International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) in 2010, which established a new division in charge of promoting humanitarian diplomacy (Regnier 2011, p.1212). Unfortunately, the debate is still happens. As doing the humanitarian diplomacy means that the country who's under crisis should accept foreign actors for delivering their humanitarian assistance. In that case, there is an overlapping understanding between doing humanitarian diplomacy and intervention. So, "humanitarian intervention" happens when there's a use of force across state borders by an international governmental organization, a group of states, or a single state aimed at preventing or ending widespread and

systemic violations of the fundamental human rights of individuals other than its own citizens, without the full and valid consent of the state within whose territory force is applied (Amneus 2012, p.243).

Then, what is the legal basis of humanitarian diplomacy? As the turmoil of disagreement ensued on how humanitarian diplomacy could overlap with intervention, the debate over the limitations of humanitarian intervention continued until September 15, 2005 at the World Summit in New York. The United Nations (UN) Security Council decided to make a global commitment with later called as *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P), which means equally responsible for refusing any *mass atrocity crime*, such as genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity (Bellamy 2017, p.617). This can be the reason why Indonesia condemns the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine, because it is one attempt to do ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslim.

## 2.2 Humanitarian Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Before specifically talking about humanitarian diplomacy and foreign policy, let's talk about diplomacy in general. There are differences between them:

*"Diplomacy is often confused with foreign policy, of which it is in fact an instrument. A country's foreign policy defines the objectives that diplomacy carries out, at times in conjunction with other means such as military action or economic pressure. It is a policy of interests; in the eyes of some States at least, foreign policy also implies shouldering responsibility at the global level. Diplomacy has several functions, such as representing the State and conducting negotiations in order to reach agreements and draw up rules for the international system. It is a mode of communication, one of whose chief attributes is to avert or regulate disputes in a politically fragmented international system: it thus serves to prevent conflicts and restore peace"* (Regnier 2011, p.1214).

As stated above showed that diplomacy is an instrument to achieve or carry out a country's foreign policy. Furthermore, to what extent humanitarian diplomacy can affect the foreign policy? It can be seen through the writings of (Macrae & Leader 2000, pp.2-4) that explains that there is the existence of policy coherence or also referred to as *new humanitarianism in post-Cold War*, where humanitarian diplomacy can influence the foreign policy because: (1) it is increasing focus

on human security that could extent the influential geopolitical context, where influencing on the country's way to react including through the cross-border assistance; (2) it is allowing new paradigm to born, where the countries and agencies vying to give humanitarian aid; and (3) it is extending the domestic public policy, where country will face pro and cons respond toward this humanitarian diplomacy. Those reasons made a further decision, should a humanitarian diplomacy be done in loud or quiet way. Loud diplomacy or often called as megaphone diplomacy is the product of domestic political needs where politicians feel the need for their own domestic political purposes to talk toughly and often roughly even when it will damage their longer term aims. Mostly, the diplomat on the ground that has to attempt to repair the damage done by resorting to megaphone diplomacy with using a direct force (Roberts 2009, p.10). Then, what is non-megaphone diplomacy? This is sort of the polar opposite of megaphone diplomacy; this term is used when negotiation between countries or parties not aiming to force the other party to followed what we had desired them. That is why non-megaphone diplomacy also described as soft and quiet diplomacy. Even farther, the aim for this non-megaphone diplomacy is to create conditions to make the parties feel comfortable to act, by letting the parties (the one who's in crisis) to evaluate their positions and interests. By using this diplomacy means that we consider giving an independent and impartial advice (Collins & Packer 2016, p.10). Next, the method continued by exploring more on the results, discussions, and ended with the overall conclusion.

## 3 RESULTS

To explain the data that have collected and submitted, the results divided into two big parts, there are (1) the nature of Indonesia's foreign policy; and (2) the shifting under Jokowi's era: Indonesia's humanitarian diplomacy.

### 3.1 Part 1. The Nature of Indonesia's Foreign Policy

As a new state that got the independency on 1945, Indonesia's relationship with the international community can't be untied with their pattern of leadership (presidency). The various resources and very clear vision from the leader can be the prominent reason for Indonesia's ascent in regional

and global scope. As the vision of leaders was quite related with their perspective with on nationalism and independence, which in this way, appear to backing up on how Indonesia reacts with international community (Andika 2017, p.2).

Beside the leadership, the focal point of Indonesia's foreign policy since the early period is their "*bebas-aktif*" or independent and active doctrine. Indonesia stated to be untied and free from any alliance or political blocks which exist in global stage, at the same time, it also implies Indonesia's willingness to enhance its role in international community. In terms of *bebas* or independent; Indonesia has extremely respectful for the sovereignty over the other states, which demands the Indonesian government to not interfere other state's domestic political issues. As sovereignty has been sensitive aspect of every state, if offending this aspect could easily conflict within countries. Indonesia perceives that every state has its own national autonomy that should be mutually respected. It thus also becomes one of main principle in ASEAN where Indonesia also play their pivotal role in it (Andika 2017, p.3). In terms of *aktif* or active; Indonesia contributes to give its role in regional and global. It can be seen on how Indonesia sent abroad their humanitarian assistance and military forces. By sending their humanitarian aid or troops, Indonesia always seen this actions as "the good effort with no intervention". The researcher agrees, because it strengthened by Indonesia's current Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E Retno Marsudi in previous seminar that the researcher attended that, our face of diplomacy always employ the face of peace or she called it "*mudah diterima dan membuat nyaman*" or easy to accept and always make feel comfortable. This dictum can be used as benchmark that Indonesia will be easily accepted by country that's under the conflict; and highly appreciated in the international sphere.

Moving back to the role of presidency in Indonesian foreign policy, the researcher will be explaining the details since the former president. Quoting from (Mulyana 2018), that Indonesia has been blessed by having figures that able to shape the country's foreign policy, in their respective ways. It giving us various challenges and opportunity, the leader, in this case president; navigated the country with diverse foreign policy instruments. Along the way, they also giving the doctrinal zeal of policy and issued a series of directives, that able to form country's foreign policy practices and tradition (Mulyana 2018).

Starting with President Soekarno (1945-1967), who was an apt reader for uplifting the spirit of Indonesian independency. In that time, he saw how cruel regional and global circumstances are which can lead into war in the Pacific. From that reasons, Soekarno obtained to cope that out and come up with number of foreign policy which able to evolve the antagonism between the West and East blocs. Soekarno introduced the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the movement for not picking side from two big blocs. His innovations could let a new architecture in global politics (Mulyana 2018).

Next, President Soeharto (1967-1998) whose later stage was more involved in foreign affairs. Starting with the founding of ASEAN in his early year, Soeharto's affinity with diplomacy was striking the peak when Indonesia was chairing the NAM in 1992-1995. Indonesia could build a collective view and responses among the NAM member countries; and also make sure to clearly stated Indonesia's neutrality that still valid and relevant even until when the Cold War was coming to an end. For instance, the North-South dialogue and mission to Sarajevo to help find a solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina were led under Soeharto's presidency (Mulyana 2018).

Since the fall of President Soeharto in 1998, the next presidency was led by President B.J. Habibie (1998-1999) that quite short in period. In this early stage, Indonesia started to focus on its image at home and abroad (Ranty 2016). Indonesia's diplomacy under Habibie's presidency was primarily directed at finding the solution for East Timor situation, where later the human right laying as strong foundation for Indonesia's diplomacy. Since this era, despite gaining greater capacity in human rights' promotion and protection at home; Indonesia also paved the way to gather more human rights diplomacy in the global sphere (Mulyana 2018).

The next presidency was led by Presiden Abdurrahman Wahid or well-known as Gusdur (1999-2001). Gusdur led Indonesian foreign policy through a series of bilateral and multilateral initiatives. It proven by several summits that Indonesia joined, such as South Summit G77 in Havana; the Millennium Summit in New York; until the initiative to found Southwest Pacific Dialogue, which still portrays Indonesia in the Southwest Pacific region until today (Mulyana 2018). From his presidency, we could see how intense Indonesia to show up in various summits and dialogues where it can boost up Indonesia's relations and cooperation with many countries.

As the country initially projected its image as free and democratic, a progressive economy, and the home of world's Muslim population; the next presidency was President Megawati Soekarno Putri (2001-2004) which trying to highlight the regionalism's importance. It showed by Indonesian serving as the ASEAN Chair in 2003, which led to the endorsement of Bali Concord II. This was a historic achievement which rises up the regional integration within ASEAN countries. President Megawati also revived the spirit of the Bandung Asia-Africa Conference of 1955 by launched an initiative for Asian-African sub-regional cooperation (Mulyana 2018). In her presidency, Indonesia also suffered with terrorism attacks of Bali Bombing I in 2002, followed by the Indian Ocean Tsunami and earthquake in 2004. These events stymied Indonesia's branding effort as free and democratic country. However, it is precisely soaked up Indonesian diplomacy through public diplomacy and summit diplomacy during 2002-2004 to gain back the trust and reputation of Indonesia as an emerging power in regional and global scope (Ranty 2016).

In following years, the presidency led by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or well-known as President SBY (2004-2014). Under his presidency, President SBY took the lead of Indonesian diplomacy at the bilateral as well as multilateral levels. Within a decade, his presidency was loaded with substantive and intellectual leadership to invest in the building of a regional and global architecture of peace and stability. For instance, the use of diplomacy through the participation in ASEAN, APEC and G20 that explore the more ideas and policies of sustainable growth with equity (Mulyana 2018). Moreover, President SBY established *thousand friends - zero enemies* policy, where later strengthen by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marty Natalegawa to emphasized the every single one of dynamic situation could be managed by linked it into three aspects; security, common interest, and partnership (Andika 2017, p.4).

### **3.2 Part 2: The Shifting under Jokowi's Era: Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy.**

The following presidency was led by President Joko Widodo (2014-2019). This presidency represents a new model of "face from village" president, unlike his six predecessors who come up from military or political backgrounds. As the former of Surakarta mayor, Jokowi able to build consensus for his

policies, winning over the skeptical constituents and bureaucrats. In his early stage, Jokowi sees himself primarily as a domestic reformer, not an international statesman. That is why he prefers to rely upon some of Indonesia's strongest minds in foreign affairs to provide him with a ready-made vision of Indonesia's place in region and international relations. Later, the statement lists towards his foreign policy's priorities, such as (1) promoting Indonesia's identity as an archipelagic state; (2) enhancing the global role of middle power diplomacy; (3) expanding engagement in the Indo-Pacific region; (4) further reform of the foreign ministry to emphasize economic diplomacy (Connelly 2014, pp.4-6).

The researcher argues that in Jokowi's era, Indonesia has been a key driver of regional integration process in Southeast Asia and Pacific region. Indonesia's foreign policy has taken a more nationalistic twist, raising concern amongst neighbors and extra-regional partners of a change. For instance, in Jakarta's foreign policy and a deflection from its regional leadership role in ASEAN (European Institute of Asian Studies 2016, p.1). Like what have stated above that, Indonesia's current foreign policy is about selling a good and peace face through humanitarian diplomacy.

### **3.3 The Evidences: Actual Actions of Indonesia's Humanitarian Diplomacy**

As selling their humanitarian diplomacy, the next findings can be shown by how Indonesia giving humanitarian assistance to another country and agencies. The kind of humanitarian diplomacy that Indonesia did was totally no use of force; always respect their obligation to facilitate and protect humanitarian assistance; and prevent or denounce any unlawful actions that might seriously harm the civilian population. Indonesia always practicing the humanitarian diplomacy with only based on the legal framework of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and human rights law. Also, the foundations for the practice of humanitarian diplomacy lie in IHL as set out in the Geneva Conventions 1949 and their additional protocols (Regnier 2011, pp.1233-4).

The first and biggest humanitarian diplomacy was for people of Rakhine State, Myanmar including Rohingyas. The crisis started in 2016 when the Myanmar government that led by Aung San Suu Kyi cannot solve the acute problem that already rooted since the British Colonial times, where there is a political tug of war between the military and the

civil society in Myanmar. In fact, Myanmar is still learning from its transition into democracy country. But, this power-sharing agreement between Aung San Suu Kyi and military just brought another escalation to the crisis. Accordingly, they had chosen to side with the majority Buddhists rather than defending or protecting the minority group like Rohingya Muslims and Karen Christians (Jegho 2017). Rohingya, the largest minority group has been facing genocide for many years. All the international organizations and human rights activists put an eye on this hatred, including the international Muslim communities and Indonesia, as the largest Muslim population. They called this as humanitarian crisis, ethnic cleansing, and also genocide. The focal reason of this violence was totally based by *nationalism-fueled racism* tendency; where Myanmar always excluded Rohingya as part of their citizen, effectively rendering them to be stateless.

President Jokowi conducted that Indonesia will take part on giving humanitarian aid to Rakhine State, Myanmar. The first aid was sending about 10 containers filled with instant noodle, wheat flour, baby food, and sarongs on December 29, 2016. The shipping of the humanitarian aid was follow-up of the communications between governments of Indonesia and Myanmar on the importance of humanitarian aid access to Rakhine State. As Indonesia keeps the principle of non-megaphone diplomacy, it becomes the reasons why Indonesia was the only one to get access giving aid to the Rakhine State. Moreover, Retno Marsudi asserted the bilaterally and through ASEAN, Indonesia has a high commitment for assisting in inclusive development in Myanmar, in creating peace, stability and development in Rakhine State (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2016). The aid continued by the construction on the Indonesian Hospital in Mrauk U, the city in Rakhine State about 70 kilometers north of Sittwe on the Bay of Bengal, as the driving force behind the ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance in Rakhine State (Views 2017).

As the result of this humanitarian crisis are thousands of refugees fleeing to Bangladesh. So, the next humanitarian assistance taken place in Bangladesh. In August 2017, Indonesia conducted an arrangement of meeting between Myanmar and Bangladesh to counter the huge influx of refugees. Later in early 2018, President Jokowi visited Rohingya refugee camp in Cox's Bazar. Bangladeshi Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali welcomed about 34 tons of aid for Rohingya refugees from Indonesia. The aids contain of rice,

instant meals, family kits, tents, water tanks and blankets. The humanitarian diplomacy still remaining as Indonesia-Bangladesh keep their engagement to help the Rohingyas victim through a bilateral meeting in Credential Hall, Bangabhan Presidential Palace on January 27, 2018 (Marsudi 2018).

The third evidence can be seen on Indonesia's position on Palestine. At the end of 2017, the world was shocked by an attempt to alter the international status quo on Jerusalem, where just worsen the situation while there is still ongoing humanitarian crisis. Indonesia's diplomacy shall continue to strive for Palestine for humanity and for justice; no only in the form of political support, but Indonesia also strengthen the cooperation in water desalination and health (Marsudi 2018).

The next, is with Philippines. As the fighting in Mindanao and extreme weather events are making a huge humanitarian crisis in the Philippines, Indonesia. As there is terrorism attack, Battle of Marawi that lasts from May 23, 2017 till October 23, 2017 brought broader threat not only for Philippines but ASEAN region. The attack was reportedly claimed by ISIS, the biggest cross-border terrorist group. The previous bombing attack in Davao happened on September 2, 2016 which causing at least 70 injuries and 14 deaths. In this time, militant Islamic group Abu Sayyaf claimed the bombing. This urges to counter because terrorism issue is threatening the human right (Tan 2018). Not only about the terrorism, but also the extreme weather in Mindanao that struck by typhoons had created a *complex crisis*. Indonesia always uses their non-megaphone diplomacy through sending humanitarian aid; improving education by building Islamic Schools in Southern Philippines; until discussing about counterterrorism agenda with Malaysia too through sharing the information to stop the flow of terrorist (Tan 2018).

#### 4 DISCUSSION

This study explored at least there are two main points that can be analyzes. The first point is humanitarian diplomacy becomes one way in order to end crisis and achieve regional stability. The previous literature said that humanitarian diplomacy is an emerging form of traditional diplomacy. In this recent era, Jokowi's foreign policy relies on using soft diplomacy with the form of non-megaphone humanitarian diplomacy to end crisis. Jokowi remains firmly holding the focal principle of *bebas-*

*aktif* politics; and strengthening relations with its regional axis, especially in the ASEAN region.

The researcher quoting one of researcher's professors said in her lecturing that the significance of Indonesia's role in humanitarianism also rely on some vital point: (1) ideal, based on *Pancasila* to carry out many humanitarian actions; (2) constitution, based on *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* which promotes a world peace; (3) operations, based on Indonesia's foreign policy and the presidency or way of current leadership. The orientation of humanitarian diplomacy will depend on what issues have the highest urgency and also the presidency as well. The second point is through humanitarian diplomacy, Indonesia introduces a new way to approach crisis that is one by doing direct actions without using force. As what the data have said the evidence that Indonesia selling their good and friendly could be the plus point for their reputation. For instance, being the only country which aid was accepted in Rakhine State is a great achievement.

But, in general, humanitarian diplomacy also faces challenges. The discussion was mentioned in (Regnier 2011, p.1229) that many challenges for contemporary humanitarian diplomacy related to environment in which humanitarian actors operate today, such as the challenge of: humanitarian access in times of internal conflicts; the use of force to protect civilians; engaging the private sectors; interinstitutional coordination of emergency aid; new information technologies; until building human resources in the service of humanitarian diplomacy (Regnier 2011, pp.1230–5). Those challenges could be tackled by the broader research and discussion in the future.

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, it clearly proved that under Jokowi's Era, the rise of humanitarian diplomacy is a means taken by Indonesia in shifting their foreign policy approach to non-megaphone diplomacy. As humanitarian diplomacy emerges into more complex term, the global diplomatic activities are also rising. Unlike his six predecessors who come up from military or political backgrounds, Jokowi who's labelled as "face from village" president is more into domestic reformer not an international statesman. At the first, he left the foreign policy to his advisers. As time goes by, the pattern of his foreign policy has taken a more nationalistic twist, raising concern amongst neighbors and extra-regional partners of a change. The highlighted point is the use of non-

megaphone diplomacy is very common in each of Indonesia's diplomacy right now, not only in home but also in regional and global arena. Indonesia is selling his humanitarian diplomacy with the face of kindness and friendly instead of pushing and using loud diplomacy. This reason summed up how Indonesia is easily accepted by another country and agencies, as Indonesia also portrays its nature of foreign policy as *bebas-aktif* and holding under the ASEAN framework. It brought a new path and opening a new path for Indonesia's foreign policy in the future.

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