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4 **COMMUNICATION BETWEEN NATIONS INSIDE INDONESIAN SOFTPOWER**
5 **DIPLOMACY IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION**
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7

8 **Abstract**

9 Political, financial and operational supports given to these small states to the separatist
10 freedom movement (OPM) has been done in a spirit of togetherness among the
11 Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). This international organization based on identity of
12 Melanesian brotherhood which formed in 1986 by 4 small states in the Pacific Fiji, Papua
13 New Guinea, Solomon and Vanuatu, also by Kanak National Liberation Front from New
14 Caledonia. This organization was keen enough to promote the freedom movement of OPM
15 to achieve independence Papua, that was why Indonesia tried to achieve the membership
16 of Melanesian Spearhead Groups (MSG), because Indonesia has a strong argument that
17 as an island country, it has 11 million Melanesian descendants on its scattered island as
18 Papua, Mallocca, Buton, Southeast Nusa) characterized by their hair type, skin color, body
19 figures and have similarities to the Melanesian in the south pacific.

20 The emergence of political maneuver that continue to attack sovereignty of the Indonesian
21 government against Papua, raising a view of a need to have a grand strategy to enhance
22 more understanding and gaining supports from the small island states regarding the free
23 movement for Papua, especially in the UN forum through public diplomacy in the
24 perspective of communication among nations.

25 Key words: *a grand strategy, Melanesian brotherhoods, public diplomacy, soft power*
26 *diplomacy*

27
28 **Introduction:**

29
30 **Background:**

31 One of the effect caused by the end of the cold war is the emergence of island and small
32 states with few population around the world. These islands geographically in general
33 scattered around Caribbean sea and Latin American are about 23 states, around the
34 indian ocean to Africa there are about 9 states, also around Australia and the Pacific
35 ocean are about 25 states. The total of these small states around the world is 189, 57 of
36 them are members to the United Nations.

37 In various international forums, including the United Nations (UN), these small states are
38 bound to the small developing states. These small states group sometime surprising
39 international forum with a hard statement, so that they are recognized by the world,
40 because their voting rights are equals to other members.

41 In the 69th session of the United Nations General Assembly, 29-30 September 2014, a new
42 prime minister of Vanuatu, Mr. Joe Natuman, raises an issue of West Papua and new
43 Caledonia. Natuman stated that New Caledonia is still under the ruling of French and
44 Papua under the authorization of Indonesian government, and at the end of his speech
45 Natuman asking the UN to alleviate these facts. This speech quite upset the Indonesian

46 government and in view of Vanuatu intervention to its domestic affairs and also
47 undermining the country.

48 What has been done by the representative of Vanuatu in the UN was one of several
49 supports made by the small states in the South Pacific region for Papuan separatist
50 freedom movement (OPM), who's members still living in these states. Solomon, another
51 small state, with a politically weak government, its Prime minister's speech also disturbing
52 Indonesian sovereignty in the 70th session of the UN General Assembly in September 28th
53 till 3rd October 2015 in New York. Prime minister Manasseh Sogavare criticized and recalled
54 the leaders of the pacific to take a fast move and send a fact-findings team to Papua as
55 Sogavare suspected Indonesian government of wrong doing such as human rights
56 violation over there.

57 Political, financial and operational supports given to these small states to the separatist
58 freedom movement (OPM) has been done in a spirit of togetherness among the
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71 more understanding and gaining supports from the small island states regarding the free
72 movement for Papua, especially in the UN forum through public diplomacy in the
73 perspective of communication among nations.

74 This study tried to raise it as an issue, besides undermining Indonesian government's
75 sovereignty, the issue also damaging the Indonesian image as a peace loving country and
76 also endangered the future of Papua region under Indonesian unity government.
77 Indonesian territories are starting from Sabang at the west side until Merauke at the
78 eastern end of the country, and from Miangas island at the north up to Rote island at the
79 Southeast part of the country.

80 In relation the above mentioned issues, the study intended to explore few questions:

- 81 (1) Why few south pacific island small states are still actively providing support to the
82 propaganda done by freedom movement to Papua (OPM) in various international
83 forums?
- 84 (2) The effectiveness of soft power diplomacy done by Indonesian government so far in
85 targeting more understanding among these states so they can reduce their support
86 to the OPM.
- 87 (3) How do the formulations of Indonesian soft power diplomacy in influencing small
88 island states in South Pacific's foreign policies?
- 89 (4) From which aspects soft power diplomacy can be seen as an activity of
90 international communication?
- 91 (5) What are the channels for effective communication instruments which could be
92 used for soft power diplomacy in a relation to the issue of Papua in the South
93 Pacific region?

94 (6) What are factors could be used (obstacles, force, opportunities, threats) faced by
95 Indonesian government in implementing soft power diplomacy to create positive
96 image in Melanesian solidarity in international forums?

97 This study is aim to seek a practical and application aspects, such as:

- 98 (1) Looking for some inputs for policies preparation and strategic soft power diplomacy
99 in Indonesian foreign policy.
- 100 (2) Through material discourse, for all stakeholders involved such as businessmen,
101 social workers, and other Indonesian professionals in the activities of international
102 cooperation in order to form a human and friendly soft power diplomacy.
- 103 (3) Remind all stakeholders of independence of Papua, that Indonesian' s unity and
104 sovereignty is a fix price and Papua as part of Indonesia is a must.

105 Literature review

106 *Soft power diplomacy*

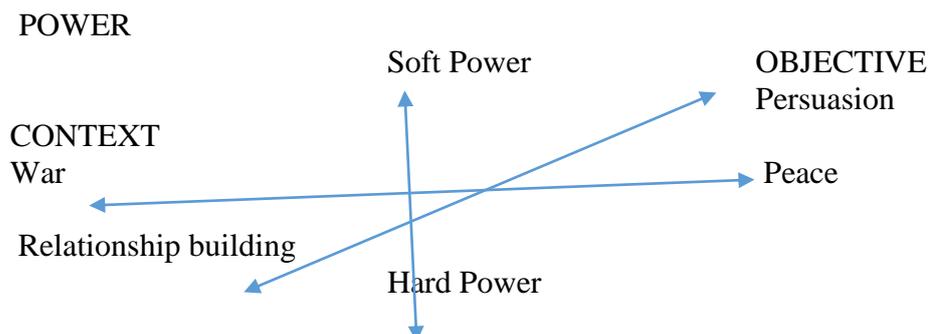
- 107 (1) Soft power diplomacy promotes a peaceful communication by persuasion rather
108 than the use of violence persuasion. The study is expected to: (a) enrich the study
109 of soft power diplomacy, especially in their strategic, approaches and formulations
110 of the public diplomacy developed by International Relations theories, (b) the
111 occurrence of inter-disciplines in the international relations study with international
112 communication study as an integral effort to find solutions for overcoming difference
113 approaches in both studies.
- 114 (2) To actually answer all the above questions, this study conducted an investigation
115 into earlier studies, such as of Nye (2005) who introduce soft power diplomacy as a
116 form of public diplomacy which illustrated the ability of one state in persuading
117 others without coercion activities, but through invisible channels (lobby) and other
118 peaceful means

119 Nye further explained that with soft power "...The best propaganda is not
120 propaganda"...Nye introduced this term in **his book** : "Bound to Lead: the changing of
121 American power" (1990), then he developed the concept further through the book of soft
122 power: "The means to success in the world politics" (2004). The term of soft power is now
123 used widely in the domain of the international relations either by analysts and practitioners
124 and also statemen. According to Nye, a country can use soft power approach in the
125 following formulations ⊕a) cultural activity,(b) political values used inside the country and
126 abroad,(c) a good morality within foreign policies

127 *Public diplomacy*

128 Szondi (2008) also made a reference about the purpose of cultural relations is to
129 ensure mutual benefit among countries by understanding and cooperation inside it.
130 Furthermore, Szondi stated that even though there is a few difference between nation
131 branding and soft power, cultural diplomacy is always a pilar for many foreign policies, for
132 example in the central Europe countries. Below is the figure of public diplomacy by Szondi

133 :



142 Picture 1 Szondi explained how soft power became a pillar to targeting peace, as another
143 option besides war, it is done by persuasive instruments and relationship building.

144
145 *Soft power diplomacy could not done alone*

146 The study of Lina Khatib et al (2009) showed an insignificant growth on the
147 use of broadcasting as a public diplomacy. United States of America (U.S.A) who founded
148 Al-Hurra television to convinced Arabic world, failed to compete with Al Jazeera's
149 domination in the region. Malone et.al (2011) saw soft power diplomacy alone could not
150 overcome a tension already exist between countries, even though cultural diplomacy could
151 repair some breaches that might exist in the relation between nations. They gave example,
152 in Southeast Asia, there is a network formed by ASEAN and Indian university authorities to
153 compliment joint research, exchange student and professors in the area of bio-technology,
154 bio-medical and other social science including economic. (Malone et al 2011)

155 *The advancement of communication technologies*

156 Ryniesjka-Kiednowicz (2015) saw a progress being made in communication
157 technologies have changed our way of communication; also changed public diplomacy's
158 practices in the world. Those advancement easing the delivery of news across the world,
159 but also at the same time increase the importance of Good image of foreign policies of the
160 countries around the world, since the impact would be quicker than before.

161 *Local wisdom as one of the instrument for soft power diplomacy*

162 Pramono, a researcher, the Head of Policy Analysis and Development Agency,
163 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, stated that Indonesian must engage in the global
164 competition with the involvement of the local wisdom as part of *soft power* diplomacy.
165 Asian market has to be treated with ASEAN's common values that have an universal
166 character, so that it capable to integrate into global marker and still maintain its originalities
167 on their own cultural identity of Asia.

168
169 Pramono stated that seeing from the experiences from two big countries such
170 as India and China, whom already using their own cultures and developed it through the
171 world, he said that it is important for Indonesia to explore its own local wisdom which
172 already integrated in its national identity. He saw "pluralism accommodative" as the tie to
173 relate sustainability of Indonesia as a nation.

174
175 *Research Methodology*

176 Another research methodologies used in the study is include the qualitative
177 research method and collecting data qualitatively with 11 key persons who understanding
178 the issue in the in-depth interview through emails, focus group discussion and content
179 analysis to the issued in online media or social media related to the issues within South
180 Pacific countries and Papua in general.

181 From the collection of data and the analysis used in the study, so that it has a
182 funding that : few South pacific countries that tend to support provocative agendas of
183 Freedom Movement of Papua (OPM) in the international forums based on Melanesian
184 brotherhood and misinterpretation of violation of human rights in Papua, slowly but sure
185 changed their view and sees Indonesia as their partner (*Indonesia is my friend*). The proof
186 is that from 7 states which gave their support before, nowadays only one country left, that
187 is Vanuatu that still support the OPM.

188 The government of the Republic of Indoneisa has done many forms of soft power
189 diplomacy as a tool for public diplomacy to influence foreign policies ot small states in the

190 South Pacific region in order to reduce the tension and political support for Papua freedom
 191 movement, such as : Visits of the Head of the country, Indonesian participation in many
 192 forums in the south Pacific, sending invitation for officers from states in the South Pacific
 193 region to participate in Bali Democratic Forum, Cultural mission to the South Pacific region
 194 (Fiji and Solomon lead by Minister Wiranto for example), Cultural Festival International
 195 Melanesia, the printed out of Book Melanesian Nusantara, Scholarship for Arts and
 196 Cultural of Indonesia, scholarship for best students from the South pacific region,
 197 Technical training cooperation in agricultural, machineries, computer and journalistics
 198 support from Indonesian government through organization of APEC, and also
 199 humanitarian assistance for disasters, are all ommunication channels to implemented
 200 Indonesian's support for the region. Small publication in the media about all of those
 201 cooperation also some forms of Indonesian's care for the region.

202

203 *Results and Discussion*

204 The above efforts done by Indonesian government to show its care and to change
 205 the Indonesian image among the South Pacific states to reduce the support for Papua
 206 freedom movement among them, especially to counter attach the propaganda done by the
 207 OPM in international forums, especially the UN. Some of the actors inside the OPM seem
 208 desperated to offend Indonesian activities through cultural diplomacy as part of the soft
 209 power in the public diplomacy.

210

211 Diplomacy is a communication process so that in its interaction and dialogue
 212 involving people who act on behalf of their country. Soft power diplomacy done by
 213 Indonesian government in targeting the good image of Indonesia in the view of the South
 214 Pacific island states, were done by many formulations , such as (a) Interpersonal
 215 communication in the form of private contact via telephone, or private meeting of officers,
 216 diplomats and others, (b) Group communication in the form of formal correspondents ,
 217 meeting in the international and regional forums, in Papua new guinea, Solomon, Nauru
 218 and Fiji and also in Democratic Forum Bali, cultural festival. Melanesian Culture festival,
 219 and the likes, (3) Mass communication through mass media coverage, many diplomatic
 220 visit, APEC forum, and the likes (Pacific International Forum /PIF), or other events, (d)
 221 Digital communication which covered activities in the websites , so that public could open
 222 and sees many activities done by the governments so far.

223

224 Table 1

1	Threats	(a)Papua which has rich natural resources could attrack big countries such as USA; Australia, New Zealand and China, whom have its own interests, either openly or in discreet. This could give effect other South Pacific states whom could influence by the OPM. (b) The strong force of the OPM to separated themselves from Indonesia, has to be watched especially if there is an indication of foreign' influences.	
2	Opportunities	(a)Geographically, Pacific is not far	

		<p>away from Indonesian territories, cooperation could be done in the maritime technology, because similarity as an island state(b) similarities in race (Melanesian in Indonesian territories) could become an opportunities for enhancing people to people contact to strengthen the relation between people, communities leaders, cultural workers and the likes (c) Economic impediment of the island states could become an opportunities for Indonesia to offer assistance, partnerships, and technological training in the area of health, cultural cooperation or other economy activities, (d) Government in the South Pacific could contribute in maintain in a stability in the region by developing democracy values, exchange of views, exchange of best practices, and lessons learned from democratic process South pacific region is a market for Indonesian products, that is why economically these states could attract investors from Indonesia (f) Technical and capacity building assistance could be given to the small states in the South pacific.</p>	
3	Weakness	<p>There are one or two states in the Pasific Island Forum (PIF) who give support to OPM, in the form of license for them to open their office in the states. also giving them some financial support.</p>	
4	Strength	<p>(a) The acceptance of Indonesia as a member of the Melanesian Spearhead Groups (MSG), showed that Indonesia is un-separable from Melanesian issue. Through this forum OPM slowly but sure is loosing their influence in the region.</p> <p>(b) Visits of head of states to the south pacific region could change the image of Indonesia as one of big country with big natural resources , human resources and technology which could assist the region, so that their wishes to become a</p>	

		<p>partner in their development process</p> <p>(c) The acceptance of Indonesia as non regular member of Security Council of the UN in 2019 has a big impact for the South pacific states to accept Indonesia as their partner, in order to struggle for economic success, in the area of ocean based economy, climate change, and disaster management. This new impact hopefully would reduce totally their support for Wes Papua freedom movement (OPM).</p>	
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Conclusion

Some study's questions have been investigated, below are the conclusions:

1. ***Why some of the small island states in the South Pacific region still actively supporting the propaganda done by Free west freedom movement (OPM)?***
 -
 - The answer started by understanding the process to fight for their independence in the 1950's and further, they have set up such regional organizations such as Pasific Islands Forum (PIF), South Pasific Commission (SPC), Pasific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER), and also Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), that is for the first time the OPM who did not satisfied with the emerge of Papua (Irian Jaya) into the Republic of Indonesia with PEPERA did some propaganda activities to these small island states by promoting Melanesian etnical brotherhood spirit.
 - Beside the spirit of togetherness inside *Melanesian Spearhead Group*, there is still few negative opinions shared in these states regarding human rights violation, and also few actors of the human rights violation's acts who have not been punished by Indonesian government. Economic disparities between island of Papua and island of Java sometimes used by the organization of OPM , and they asking supports from government in the small island states in the South Pacific, by pointing out the spirit of Melanesian brotherhood, some supports from Churches in Australia and New Zealand still accepted by the separatist movement so far.
 - Indonesian government c.q Ministry of Foreign Affairs aware of this trend and from the beginning always act in accordance with soft power diplomacy in the form of communication among states to approach and outreach these states, so that they could reduce their support to the organization.
2. ***How efective the softpower diplomacy done by Indonesian government to increase the understanding among the island states in the South Pacific so that they could not support the separatist movement in Papua?***

Indonesian government done some cooperation in the fields of Politic, Economy, Education, Cultural and social and technical assistance also visits of High officers and other activities accordance to the

258 soft power diplomacy.
259

3.
260

261 ***3. How was the formulation of soft power diplomacy as public diplomacy used by Indonesian***
262 ***government in influencing the foreign policies of the small island states in the South***
263 ***pacific to reduce political support and tension in the issue of Free west papua movement***
264 ***in the international forum?***

265 The use of soft power diplomacy in the formulation of cultural diplomacy have positive
266 impact and open up cooperation and partnership between Indonesian and the small states in
267 the South Pacific region. Indonesia has succeed to show them that Indonesia has developed
268 as a stable and economically better than the rest of the region ,by maximizing its human and
269 natural resources, all of these could be utilized by these small states. Activities in the forms
270 of partnership, cooperation, assistance, aids have been proved very effective to reduce the
271 support from these government to the Papua's separatist movement, 7 of the small states
272 islands who supported the movement, now only 1 country (Vanuatu) who still supports this.
273

274 ***4. What aspect in the soft power diplomacy used by Indonesian government in outreach the***
275 ***small island states in the South pacific Island in supporting the separatist movement in***
276 ***Papua could be seen as communication among states activities?***

277 If diplomacy is an art of negotiation, so that we could figure out that inside this action there
278 is a communication process, aim to achieve an understanding between two parties involved
279 in the process, expected to solve one or two issues or conflicts. Indonesian government
280 activities to achieve common view of the issue in the Papua shared by some of the small
281 states in the South Pacific island, is the activities of international communication among
282 nations or states or countries.

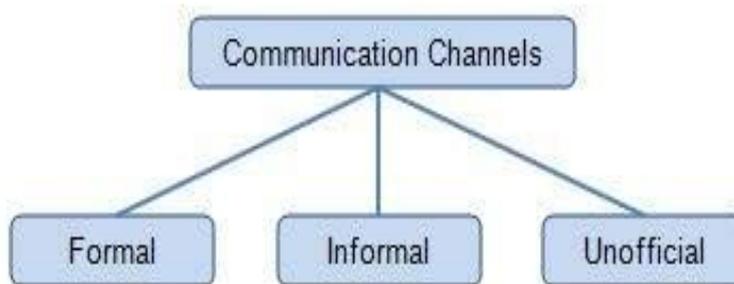
283 Communication as a process could not be done without channels of communication, such as
284 mass media, exchange of visits among officers, congress, seminar, festival, and the
285 publishing of cultural book, etc. All of these activities are media for communication to
286 strengthen cooperation among the south Pacific island states with Indonesia.
287

288 ***5. What are channels for communication effective for soft power diplomacy in approaching the***
289 ***small states islands in the issues of free west papua movement?***
290

291 All activities included in the negotiation process are very effective in enhance the positive Image of
292 Indonesia in the view of the small island states in the South Pacific .Communication process in the
293 form of interpersonal communication, public communication, mass communication, communication
294 between cultural aspects, *people to people* or *government to government*. Markham (1970) before
295 stated this as a *Mass Mediated Communication*.
296

297 Below is the formulation of 3 channels in communications: Formal usually done by government
298 between 2 states or more (Government to Government = G to G). Informal channel usually done
299 outside the formal meetings and un-official communication done in other forums such as private
300 organizations, and other unofficial contacts. (Picture of Communication Channels)
301

302 Picture 2



303
304 **6. What are factors become a strength, weakness, opportunities and threats in**
305 **implementing soft power diplomacy for the small island states in the South Pacific in the**
306 **issue of the Free West Papua movement in the international forum**

307 Explained in Picture 1 (Table 1)

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