

INDONESIA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN MADAGASCAR

Thesis



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**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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BANDUNG
2017**

SHEET OF THESIS APPROVAL

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Sandra Michelle Herihasina RABARIJAONA

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ABSTRACT

The changing international environment - war on terrorism, a revolution in the sector of information and communications technology - has allowed public diplomacy, a State-to-population diplomacy, to reemerge as a practice of foreign policy of several states around the world. In this thesis, the author aimed to describe how Indonesia's public diplomacy proceeds in Madagascar. This research was conducted within the theory of liberalism particularly institutional neoliberalism. This thesis used the concepts of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and Multi-track diplomacy. By using qualitative research, data was gathered both primarily and secondarily. Primary data were gathered from interviews and survey; secondary from literatures. This thesis found four means of Indonesia's public diplomacy in Madagascar. The first was Indonesian language training granted by the Indonesian embassy in Madagascar. The second was an international exhibition where Indonesian culture was presented in Madagascar by women's association. Malagasy farmers and diplomats were trained by Indonesian professors in the third mean. And finally, the fourth was the granting of scholarships to Malagasy students by the Indonesian government. Through those activities, Indonesia has been able to present the values of its culture to Malagasy people which are favorable for the solidarity between the two countries. Indonesian public diplomacy is proceeding slowly and cautiously but surely in Madagascar; in the sense that it affects an important sector of activity on the island, that it targets the leaders of the country for its intervention, but even more that it trains the island's elites of tomorrow.

Keywords: International relations, Foreign policies, state, power, soft power, diplomacy, diplomatic strategy, public diplomacy, culture, cultural diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy.

DIPLOMASI PUBLIK INDONESIA DI MADAGASKAR

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ABSTRAK

Perubahan lingkungan internasional - perang melawan terorisme, revolusi di bidang teknologi informasi dan komunikasi - telah memungkinkan diplomasi publik, diplomasi dari negara ke negara, untuk muncul kembali sebagai praktik kebijakan luar negeri beberapa negara di seluruh dunia. Dalam tesis ini, penulis bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan bagaimana Indonesia menjalankan diplomasi publik di Madagaskar. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan teori liberalism, khususnya neoliberalisme institusional. Tesis ini menggunakan konsep diplomasi publik, diplomasi budaya dan diplomasi multi jalur. Tesis ini menemukan empat sarana diplomasi publik Indonesia di Madagaskar. Yang pertama adalah pelatihan bahasa Indonesia yang diberikan oleh Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Madagaskar. Yang kedua adalah pameran internasional dimana budaya Indonesia dipresentasikan di Madagaskar oleh asosiasi wanita. Para petani dan diplomat Malagasi dilatih oleh para profesor Indonesia dalam sarana ketiga. Dan akhirnya, yang keempat adalah pemberian beasiswa kepada mahasiswa Malagasi oleh pemerintah Indonesia. Melalui kegiatan tersebut, Indonesia telah mampu menyajikan nilai budayanya kepada masyarakat Malagasi, yang menguntungkan solidaritas kedua negara. Diplomasi publik Indonesia berjalan perlahan dan hati-hati tapi pasti di Madagaskar; dalam arti bahwa hal itu mempengaruhi sektor aktivitas penting di pulau ini, bahwa pihaknya menargetkan para pemimpin negara untuk melakukan intervensi, namun bahkan lebih lagi bahwa ia melatih elit pulau di masa depan.

Kata kunci: Hubungan internasional, kebijakan luar negeri, negara, kekuasaan, soft power, diplomasi, strategi diplomatik, diplomasi publik, budaya, diplomasi budaya, diplomasi multi-track.

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ASEAN	<i>Association of South-East Asian Nations</i>
DSSC	<i>Diplomatic and Strategic Studies Center</i>
FDI	<i>Foreign Direct Investment</i>
FIIR	<i>French Institute of international Relations</i>
GDP	<i>Gross Domestic Product</i>
IFM	<i>International Fair of Madagascar</i>
ITF	<i>International Tourism Fair</i>
IMF	<i>International Monetary Fund</i>
IOC	<i>Indian Ocean Commission</i>
IORA	<i>Indian Ocean Rim Association</i>
ISBI	<i>Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia (Institute of Indonesian Cultural Arts)</i>
KNB	<i>Kemitraan Negara Berkembang (Partnerships in developing countries)</i>
KBRI	<i>Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia)</i>
MFA	<i>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</i>
MINT	<i>Mexico Indonesia Nigeria Turkey</i>
MTD	<i>Multi-Track Diplomacy</i>
OECD	<i>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</i>
SRNC	<i>Scientific Research National Center</i>
UNESCO	<i>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization</i>
USSR	<i>Union of Soviet Socialist Republic</i>
WTAM	<i>Woman Tourism Association of Madagascar</i>

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

The world today becomes more and more associated with global networking and its features. Freedom of communication nowadays is one of those features. It is realized on the attempt that each country must look after its image and its prestige. And once this image has been perceived on the international scale, it is hard to remedy it. Public diplomacy is one of the tools which are spreading this image throughout the world. The developed countries¹ were the first to take ownership of it which made it become more serious over the time. But very soon, Asian countries also found an interest in taking part in these new means of communication with the public, called public diplomacy. New mass media connects unhindered despite country borders. New markets are opening up to mass consumption and all countries intend to participate. Educational exchange platforms for students, language training, cultural events and exchanges are also part of public diplomacy; and such programs are usually aimed at improving the image or the reputation of the country.

¹ The United States of America and European countries such as France

It is therefore fairly obvious that in today's world, governments should take account of the short, medium and long term in their handling of public diplomacy². In this sense, the introduction of daily communications between the diplomatic services and foreign audiences to explain the context in which decisions about national policies and foreign policies are made is important as a short term solution. In the medium term, a strategic communication model should also be considered. For example, according to this model, targeted themes and policies would be explored on a recurrent basis, as is the case during election campaigns. Then for the long term model, governments should develop their relationships with key individuals through school exchanges, seminars, internships or conferences that affect future leaders of the state.

Madagascar, today after 57 years of independence still ranks among the poorest countries in the world³. Being a Democratic Republic since that independence; in spite of the poverty that is plaguing the country and now its great bathing in corruption; since the year 2014, the country has found some stability at the governmental level after facing several political crises⁴. International investors have re-opened their doors for further cooperation. It means that Madagascar has once again entered the international competition market. For improving the projected image across the world of Madagascar; it is fundamental to attract investment, to consolidate the presence of foreign

² Nye J., 1990, "*Bound to lead : The changing nature of American power*"

³ With a GDP of 392.6 per capita in current dollars in 2015, Madagascar is the fifth poorest country according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

⁴ The most recent is the political crises of 2002 and 2009

companies, to place the country's own businesses, products and artists, to defend its political, economic and social interests as well as national identity and values. That being said; Madagascar has to work if it wants to be competitive on a global scale. The large island needs to make use of foreign presence to boost its development. It is then fundamental for Madagascar to convince skilled workers, students, tourists, entrepreneurs and foreign artists that it can be this place to start a business, to innovate and create.

Indonesia after its independence recognized many difficulties for being able to go back on the International arena. It seems that in this time it occupied a position quite similar to that of Madagascar in the world rank⁵, developing countries.

Table 1.1: Comparison of current US \$ GDP of Madagascar and Indonesia (for the years 1970 and 2016)

	Madagascar	Indonésie
1970 (million)	1 111,86	5 667, 76
2016 (million)	9 990,65	932 259,18

⁵ www.worldbank.org

Source: World Bank national accounts data and OECD national accounts data (GDP: Current US \$)

But it began to experience an economic boom since President Soeharto⁶ was in power; especially since it adopted a new foreign policy which was to promote public diplomacy of the country. In the context of the national development strategy, Indonesia has pursued bilateral and multilateral cooperation, under the observation of the OECD⁷ (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) and the United Nations, which have called the latter development cooperation. Indonesia conducts bilateral cooperation activities with some 40 partner countries, mostly from Asia, in a wide range of sectors. But there is also the South-South cooperation - one branch of the triangular cooperation⁸ - this consists mainly of granting scholarships and technical cooperation projects. Madagascar and some African countries are among these 40 countries, but especially among this category of the South-South cooperation. It should be noted that this triangular cooperation is part of the United Nations system in the development agenda. And according to the OECD, Indonesia has reached more than the value it estimated before the development project began. With a population of 249.9 million, the country has by 2015 a GDP per capita of 3346 dollars and a GDP of 862 billion dollars. The country's GDP grew by 5.5% per year between 2011

⁶ Muhammad Soeharto was the second president of Indonesia from the ousting of Soekarno

⁸ The Triangular cooperation is the whole of the scheme encompassing North-South cooperation on the one hand and South-South cooperation on the other hand

and 2015⁹. Indonesia is the 4th most populous country, the 3rd largest democratic country and the country with the world's highest Muslim population. If one speaks of the constituent parts of its emergence, first of all there is its economic situation which we have seen previously and in terms of GDP growth (Indonesia for example is one of the world rankings in vogue such as MINT¹⁰). The potential is enormous, Indonesia is itself defining as the driving force of ASEAN¹¹; and has played a predominant role: an important economic role with its GDP; it constitutes 40% of the population and 35% of the ASEAN economy.

This is why this paper will speak more specifically about public diplomacy through culture as an instrument of soft power, which is a vogue concept in the field of international relations. To achieve this, first the Indonesia's public diplomacy in Africa but especially in Madagascar will be exposed. Then cultural activities of public diplomacy's interests will be analyzed. This should enable to conclude the facilitation of Madagascar-Indonesia's relationship which will be beneficial for both countries.

1-2 Research problem identification

1-2-1 Research focus

⁹ www.oecd.org

¹⁰ Mexico-Indonesia-Nigeria-Turkey

¹¹ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, is a regional intergovernmental organization comprising ten Southeast Asian states: Indonesia, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore, Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam

The largest tribe in Madagascar is the tribe of Merina who settled in Antananarivo region, which population's is a descendant of the Polynesian part of Indonesia (who migrated to Madagascar in the 5th century AD). The Malagasy language is from one family of the Polynesian Malay language, even very similar to the language of Manyan tribe (one of the Dayak tribes in West Kalimantan). The opening of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Madagascar itself has begun to be discussed at a meeting between Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik and Foreign Minister Bemananjara on various occasions in 1974-1975. The opening of KBRI in Antananarivo was only implemented on June 25th 1975. Until now Madagascar has not opened its representative office in Indonesia. If Indonesia wants to manage some relations from its country, it still has to contact concurrently Madagascar Embassy in Tokyo.

The 40th anniversary of the existence of Indonesian Embassy (KBRI)¹² in Madagascar in 2015 proves that the relationship between the two countries is not new. And according to this age, this relationship must be now both in its maturity and hatching for a perfect result. Indeed, regarding to the intervention of Indonesia in Madagascar, progress is already quite palpable. That is why in this research, one will discuss about the strategy of public diplomacy of Indonesia in Madagascar; and one will see if this Indonesian Public diplomacy is effective as it is wished by Indonesia.

¹² Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia: Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in english

According to the problems previously mentioned, this research is limited to the period from 2011 to early 2017/end 2016. The reason is because in 2011 Malagasy students participate for the first time for KNB scholarship. And the President elected during this interval of time, the actual President of Madagascar has the closest connection with the Indonesian government if we compare to the precedents one. Or more precisely he has participated in the development of the Indo-Malagasy relationship in some contexts; for example by participating to the 60th Anniversary of the Commemoration of the Bandung Conference in 2015. Knowing also that during this interval of years Madagascar saw itself in an actual Republic, which means with an elected President and a government conform to the norm of a democratic country. Also, during this period, the elected Malagasy President undertook a very good relationship with the Indonesian government.

In addition to the limitation of time, there is the limitation of place which therefore concerns the case of Madagascar and Indonesia.

1-2-2 Research Question

The formulation of the main problem which will be tried to be answered is the following:

“How does Indonesia’s public diplomacy proceed in Madagascar?”

1-3 Research objectives and contributions

1-3-1 Research objectives

In the specific case of the relationship between Madagascar and Indonesia, the objective of the research is to first enumerate the public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy of Indonesia in Africa especially in Madagascar. Then by reviewing the different cultural activities of Indonesia in Madagascar, the two countries will be able to recognize the benefits from this cooperation. Later Madagascar could also learn and apply this strategy of Indonesia's public diplomacy. In a second step, this research will also provide a focus regarding to the relationship between the two countries Madagascar and Indonesia. But above all, it will reveal the similarities that these two countries could possess and which could be beneficial for both of them.

1-3-2 Research contributions

Through this research, the reader would be able to easily identify the Indonesian cultural policies in Africa; but especially on behalf of Madagascar. Both the planning and the coordination of the appropriate instruments of public diplomacy are carried out.

The writer will also try to prove at the conclusion if Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar was effective or not and if they can go for further cooperation.

1-4 Previous studies

Two international journals were studied and analyzed in order to know the position of this research; and what it could bring to the field studied. First, the Journal of liberty and International affairs, Vol.1, N°2, 2015 entitled "The Influence of public diplomacy on the states visibility in the

International relations” by Viktorija Trajkov and Goran Trajkov. In this journal, as an opening, the authors enumerate the names by what public diplomacy is addressed by, which are cultural diplomacy, media diplomacy, public information, internal broadcasting, education, cultural programs, and political actions. In this work, the authors analyze the modern instruments of public diplomacy through three goals observed in the countries for their national interests, such as to overcome negative image from their past, to disseminate their values and model of governing, and to made widely known their comparative economic and trade advantages for foreign investments. They portray, through comparative analysis, the essence and purpose of public diplomacy after portraying the influence of public diplomacy; these followed by practical application of public diplomacy and its main functions. As a study case at the end, the authors took the example of US which considered being the champion of democracy, and which gave an excellent comparative example in the concept of public diplomacy. The approach of the US is comprehensive in terms of public diplomacy, where huge variety of agencies and governmental institutions are involved. The US public diplomacy influences the attitude of society to accept and support US policies and national interests. Its area extends not only in public affairs where it focuses on well-designed communications, used activities to inform and influence domestic media and the American people ; but also in the efforts to interact directly with the citizens community and civic leaders, journalists, other opinion leaders of another country. In conclusion, the author states that USA influences people of foreign countries through public diplomacy efforts; and that every country if they want

to succeed by using public diplomacy has to present his story to the world, particularly the best part of it.

The choice of the journal was particularly made because of several similar approaches with the thesis. But the thesis will be more precise, in terms of naming the public diplomacy which will be mostly for its case about cultural diplomacy, media diplomacy, education and cultural programs. The methods are quite alike, when it goes to aim to show the essence and purpose of public diplomacy for being capable to prove the influence of public diplomacy. Also, when it comes to the case study, the thesis will use different actors, countries with another specific case; but still in the same context with the same headlines. Instead of USA, the research will concern the public diplomacy of Indonesia in Madagascar and will cite its activities in this foreign country. Compared to this first previous study, the thesis will be more precise in terms of taking one by one some activities of Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar. Also, one can say that the case study is quite recent with really new actors in the field of public diplomacy.

The second international journal is from the Romanian Review of Political Sciences and International relations Pol. Sc. Int. Rel., X, p. 42-52, Bucharest 2013; entitled “New practices and trend in cultural diplomacy” by Lucian Jora. The journal, steadfast to its title, argues about the different changes that should be carried out in the strategies of new cultural diplomacy. The author of the journal points out that the strategies require a change in attitudes, discourses, behaviors and

strategies of representations of cultural diplomacy practitioners. He even gave some precise examples, for reviving and bringing this dynamism to each strategy ; as he said “from events to projects, from bilateral to multilateral, from presentation to cooperation, from products to process, from one-way to two-way, from telling to listening, from self-promotion to values promotion and from selling an image to communicating through image cultural values and attitudes. It should be pointed out that the author wanted also to prove from that the difference between propaganda and public diplomacy. In the intervention of a country by using cultural diplomacy, these are the new air in terms of direct actions; but also at the level of information channel a new term evolving around the new internet technologies for the network cultural diplomacy. The author took the example of European Union which current policies of putting culture in its external relations are focusing on networks and capacity building. He concludes by precisizing that the successful of a communication will be achieved only the more interactive, collaborative, and experimental it is.

In view of the rapid development in the sector of information and technologies in our days, it is necessary to improve every sector especially in the field of international relations; where it is always a question of competition. That is the reason why this journal was chosen. Even if the journal appeared in 2013, it stipulates some modernizations concerning the new approaches of public diplomacy, which are used by Indonesia in this thesis and proved in their activities and their contents. Eventually, not all of the dynamisms that should be brought in cultural diplomacy stipulated by the authors of journal are used; only three of them are observed and used by Indonesia

in this thesis such as from telling to listening, from self-promotion to values promotion and from selling image to communicating through image cultural values and attitudes. Also some of them are used as an improvement in the Indonesian public diplomacy case, for example from events to projects, from presentation to cooperation and from one-way to two-way. The development in the information channel specified in the journal is also found in this thesis through the evolution of the using of mass media by Indonesia; from a part of television news to a special documentary and article on Facebook by Malagasy Media. The idea of focusing on capacity building and networks, used by European Union as an example of the author of the journal, is entirely the policies of external relations adopted by Indonesia in this thesis, by favoring the promotion of human networks. And the conclusion in the journal coincides with summary of one of the activities of Indonesia's public diplomacy in Madagascar which is the granting of scholarships to young Malagasy students.

1-5 Theoretical frameworks

In the development of this research, the principal theory liberalism and its derivation institutional neoliberalism are used.

Since its creation and the post-war years, liberalism has dominated the international relations environment¹³. It began by identifying the main problem that dominates international relations such

¹³ Journal of Maxime Gomichon, 2013, "Joseph Nye on soft power"

as war. And to solve this liberalism proposes three solutions; first, by using democracy. Among the main goals of democracy is peace and stability for its people and government. Second is economic interdependence, which forces states to work together and cooperate. It must be said that this appears more as coercion than an attraction (more the domain of hard power). But the fact of possessing several economic resources is more an object of attraction than of coercion. (E.g. Madagascar's various resources). Last to mention is the international institutions. In the creation of these international institutions the participants work according to the same rules and standards to promote a peaceful relationship. This is the fundamental hypothesis of the assumption of neoliberalism.

Thus, this dominance of liberalism did not last for long because right after the war, realism appeared. Scholars developed several schools of thoughts such as neoliberalism. It is a theory which shares both common arguments with neorealism (the existence of anarchy and the difficulty of cooperation) and liberalism (the study of the importance of international institutions).

The neoliberalism from its beginning in 1844 appears as a form of liberalism but which admits a limited intervention of the State. Thus, it was perceived as this theory which accepts the existence of anarchy in the international system, while specifying that this does not prevent cooperation. Moreover, Keohane in 1984¹⁴ stated the three advantages of the International

¹⁴ Robert Keohane , 1984, "After Hegemony"

Institutions under the aegis of anarchism. The lower coordination cost (since the state can subsidize the projects); the increase of cost of cheating to facilitate the dissemination of information; and the concerns with rather absolute gains than relative gains (both in national and international level). Then, in international relations, the existence of the International Institutions could form a positive sum in which everyone could benefit from cooperation.

A. Relevance of the theory

Public diplomacy in the soft power concept is close to the liberal tradition. It is obvious that liberalism, with these three main approaches of fighting war, is the theory that comes closest to soft power. But if focused mainly on public diplomacy, one might say that at first a country will always remain attached to its state and its attributes in order to be well represented and to be recognized. The balance between anarchy and the recognition of International Institutions highlighted by neoliberalism is more constant, open and modern for the subject of public diplomacy.

According to Nye, "Institutions can enhance a country's soft power"¹⁵.

Indeed, the International Institutions are most likely to promote the values, ideas and policies of a country; with the members of these institutions.

¹⁵ Ibid.

But even more so, if a country is capable of adapting easily to the requirements of these institutions; for example, if rules established by the Institutions are well-conformed or coincide with the values advocated and the interests of a partner country; the actions will appear even more legitimate in the eyes of the observer.

Thus it is concluded that public diplomacy can be more represented by institutional neoliberalism.

B. Limit

In the light of what has been said, the concept of public diplomacy became closer to institutional neoliberalism. This marks also the limit of this theory, because neoliberalism in itself is a contradiction of liberalism, which is the theoretical symbol of soft power from which the strategy of public diplomacy emerges. This freedom of trade, which liberalism preaches, is limited by the fact that neoliberalism recognizes anarchy in the international system. It is a system in which all exchanges take place and where all must be equal in order to facilitate standards at the level of cooperation. Moreover, neoliberalism is concentrated mainly on the State as a unitary actor, whereas, it is known that the full power of a State often motivates it to confine itself and that this is totally contradictory to the System of globalization, the field of public diplomacy.

- Literature review

According to Pierre Cyril Pahlavi¹⁶, it is necessary to evaluate the effects of public diplomacy through measurable performance indicators. Governments must know and have evidence of the effectiveness of public diplomacy. If that is not the case, the latter would be condemned to remain a minor branch of the foreign policy of the States. The measurable objectives of public diplomacy have often presented several shortcomings in the sense that these objectives themselves are vague and particularly difficult to measure. However, according to Pahlavi¹⁷, partial results can still be obtained in the cultural, educational and audiovisual fields ; for example, in evaluating the impact of scholarship and exchange programs. As for assessing the overall and long-term effectiveness of public diplomacy or strategic effectiveness in foreign policy, the solutions are even more limited. In addition, Jan Melissen's statement in 2011¹⁸ confirms this: "Evaluation remains today the Achilles heel of public diplomacy, and the meager results obtained in this field have made the last decade an act of contrition and modesty."¹⁹

According to Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres²⁰ in one of his speech in 2004:

"Culture is an antidote to violence, because it invites us to the understanding of others

¹⁶Pierre Cyril Pahlavi, 2004, "Mass Diplomacy: Revolution in the Art of Foreign Policy in the Age of Global Information"

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Jan Melissen, October 2011, « Beyond the new Public Diplomacy », Clingendael Paper n°03, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 13

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ French Minister of Culture and Communication

and fertilizes tolerance, encouraging us to meet other imaginaries and cultures."

He emphasizes here the contemporary dimension of culture, which involves the exchange between the different divisions of the globe and the fact that it has become a modern mode of confrontation between states, a new process of exaltation and expression of national sentiment . It is according to this logic, for example, that France has developed a whole state apparatus for the representation of its culture abroad.

- Foreign policies

According to Thierry de Montbrial²¹ it is a "science of action", at the same time the latter places his anxiety at the level of the differentiation between having experienced and then to emerge a theory and just to observe then to leave a theory. Foreign policy is there to explain the international system; that is to say, inter-state relations according to their each policy (relationship through diplomats or military). Foreign policy can also be considered as an international structure in the sense that it is for a study and analysis of international relations; in order to remove reference elements that can be used over the long term.

- Diplomacy

²¹ Thierry de Montbrial is a French academic, founder and president of the French Institute of International Relations (FIIR or in French IFRI)

Also if we talk about politics and diplomacy, we must realize that these two are very different things, since diplomacy is only a means of doing politics, and more particularly of foreign policy, an art to which some ask too much and others do not ask for anything, deeming it useless, if not harmful, and this most often through ignorance or inability to practice it.

Domestic policy issues can also be dealt with, by the diplomatic method, but the true "diplomacy" acquires its titles of nobility and purifies itself when it receives its true application, that is to say in relations with foreign countries. To these countries, indeed, one cannot impose one's own will as one would do within, and neither authority nor prestige can dispense with skill.

It is therefore necessary to resort to a complex method in order to obtain practically the same results, or at least to maintain international relations in an atmosphere of tranquility or even storm, until such time as one can, want or will have to attempt the fate of arms. That is where diplomacy comes in.

- Public diplomacy

The notion of public diplomacy was developed in the United States in the 1960s²². After the Cold War, politicians preferred to adopt this new propaganda strategy rather than the one²³ used

²² By the United States Information Agency which used this term for defining its mission

²³ During the Cold War it was more the hard power within using military force

during the war period. Today, every country in the world has its own public diplomacy and sees it being integrated into state-to-state diplomacy. This normally also includes official relations²⁴ that take place only between state leaders and diplomats. Speaking of public diplomacy, it is often referred to the United States of America; whereas this research paper will particularly deal with the case of Madagascar and Indonesia. On the one hand, there is a country that has experienced a social and economic growth in addition to an international reputation. On the other hand, there is a country which, despite its richness of culture has not yet been able to use it wisely. Basically there are three main goals of public diplomacy²⁵. The first goal is political. It tends to create a good reputation abroad and to achieve several objectives in the foreign policy negotiations. Furthermore, with the allied countries in the world, national security is stronger and safer. The second goal is the economic one. It attempts to increase the economic attractiveness of a country (e.g. tourism, investments and attract students and researchers to take an interest in the country). The third goal is cultural. Public diplomacy is pursued to help the country to be known internationally but also to increase national competence by stimulating these intellectual and cultural exchanges on the international scale. Public diplomacy can best be explained by the "Nation-Branding"²⁶ and cultural relations. The Nation-Branding of public diplomacy describes a commercialization of the State. Indeed, since the early 2000s, international marketing specialists have created the concept of

²⁴ State visit for international conferences

²⁵ www.diplomatie.gov.mg/

²⁶ Simon Anholt, A. 2007 "Competitive Identity", New York, Palgrave Macmillan

commercialization of the state which mobilizes the forces of a nation to help creating a certain image abroad. Cultural relations as well as cultural diplomacy are also closely linked to public diplomacy. According to Melissen²⁷, cultural relations are much closer to public diplomacy than Nation-Branding or propaganda²⁸. Or as Ambassador Cynthia Perrin Schneider²⁹ described in her day: "Cultural diplomacy ensures much of the content of public diplomacy."

Public Diplomacy, which in its essence is reflected in all the efforts of a government to influence a foreign public and ultimately their government, acknowledged an upsurge in its practice in international relations³⁰. This resurgence of public diplomacy is also due to the rapidly changing context in international politics. Undoubtedly, the revolution in the field of information and communication technologies³¹; the growing presence of non-state actors and foreign politicians and the effects of the globalization process have spoken of catalysts for the use of public diplomacy. There have been changes perceived over the years though, namely two major changes. At the level of the actors, the population is no longer just an intermediary between the sending and receiving states but also a main actor. As for public diplomacy, it leaves room for "dialogue" instead of sending the right message to a recipient. Now it is necessary that the recipient himself understands

²⁷ Jan Melissen in « The new public diplomacy », in 2005

²⁸ Also propaganda always has this connotation of negativity, while concerning public diplomacy, it must be positive and send a positive message, attractive to the country or targeted government

²⁹ Cynthia Perrin Schneider, 1991, "Cultural Diplomacy and Security Stakeholders"

³⁰ Pierre Cyril Pahlavi, "Entre Conquête des Esprits et Esprit de Conquête" translated "Between the Conquest of Spirits and the Spirit of Conquest" (L'Harmattan: Paris, 2004)

³¹ ICT

the message (e.g. through scholarships). In addition to this, there is also instrumental development through technological innovations. It is generally recognized that public diplomacy includes, as main instruments, cultural, educational, information and communication programs supported by states.

- Cultural diplomacy :

When Emile Henriot³² declares that "culture is what remains in man when he has forgotten everything," one understands the sacred nature and the relation to the person it represents. With this sentence he introduces the anchoring of culture into a certain temporality and its close connection to memory as a melting pot of collective representations. UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization), in its Mexico Declaration on Cultural Policies of 1982, defines it as followed: "Culture, in its broadest sense, is intellectual and emotional characteristics that characterize a society and a social group. It encompasses, in addition to the arts and letters, lifestyles, fundamental human rights, values, traditions and beliefs. "

Culture and Art in general affect a vast field and it is therefore incontestable that they can be attributed to power. Culture is an area that has long been linked to power, whatever its nature. Throughout history of art, there is a certain reference to religious or to political and economic powers. If diplomacy can make use of culture today, economics requires art and politics for a long

³² Writer and French literary critic (1889-1961), elected to the French Academy in 1945

time. Art has long maintained a certain relationship with power. It is therefore quite natural, as one shall see, that it can be envisaged in a context of "diplomatic art" in the sense that international relations are now determined in the course of this power represented by diplomacy.

Culture is an integral part of the sphere of competence granted to the representative institutions of Indonesia abroad, in particular embassies. As a proof, the promotion of the Indonesian culture often programmed by the Indonesian embassies in foreign countries considered to be the object of centralizing organizations. It is then these different cultural programs granted by the embassies with the help of the Ministries of Culture or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which constitute its organs for the promotion and teaching of Indonesian culture on the whole surface of the globe.

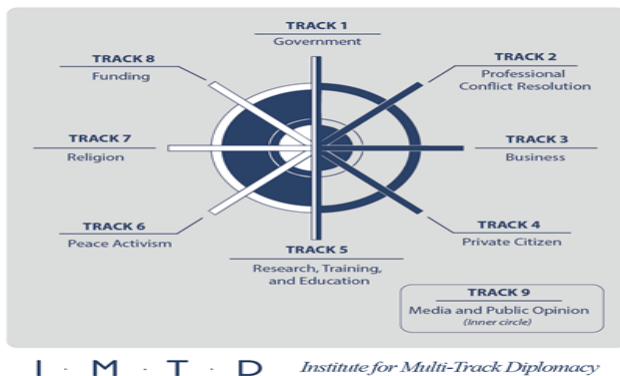
For the last concept, this thesis will talk about the Multi Track Diplomacy (MTD), which is a conceptual way to view "the process of international peace making". For a common goal "a world at peace", interconnected activities, individuals, institutions, and communities are operating. The Multi-Track diplomacy found its origin in the fact that from the two first tracks; Track one the official government diplomacy and track two the unofficial interaction ; Track one diplomacy was not an effective in terms of resolving conflicts and interpersonal approach in addition to government mediation is needed. In 1991, in addition to this, John Mc Donald³³ the co-founder of

³³ John McDonald and Louise Diamond, 1996, "Multi-Track Diplomacy -- A Systems Approach to Peace--", the third edition

the concept expands it in nine tracks; track two through nine helps prepare a favorable environment for track one. Thereby, instead of the entire unofficial track following the Track one on the top, all tracks are now in an interconnected circle. Each Track has its own resources, values and approaches; no one more track is important than other and no one track is independent from others. The tracks are also linked between them considering that they were implemented and created for achieving one goal, making sure that government decisions are carried out and fulfilled properly. That is why their good coordination will make them more powerful.

The figure hereafter is the famous circle of connections which shows the nine tracks of Multi-Track diplomacy.

Figure 1.1: The nine Tracks of Multi-track diplomacy



Source : From Institute For Multi-Track Diplomacy

From this figure 1.1, one can see that the circle is composed by individuals represented in Track 1 the government, Track 4 private citizen and Track 8 Funding ; by activities characterized

by Track 2 Professional conflict resolution, Track 5 Research, Training and Education and Track 6 Peace Activism ; the three last Track 3 Business, Track 9 Media and Public opinion, and Track 7 Religion are meant to support the six Tracks early mentioned in their intervention. For more explanation concerning this last; for “Business” instead of being just an activity it shows more the results of solidarity and friendship means results of peace building exercised by the individuals through the activities. For media and Public opinion, they are entirely destined to measure the effects of the mediation. And for religion, an example that can explain it the most as a support of peace building is the case of Balinese tourist agencies which promote tourism on the Island by targeting Indian people through Hinduism.

Multi-Track diplomacy, as a concept contributes significantly in this research. If one can only mention the four tracks out of nine that Indonesia takes on to conduct its public diplomacy in Madagascar. The first Track is the Government of Indonesia represented by the Embassy of Indonesia in Madagascar, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education; which provide activities like cultural exhibition and Indonesian language courses, grant scholarship to Malagasy people. The second Track used is the private citizen, a peace making through personal involvement, such as the association of woman who exhibit Indonesian culinary in International Fair in Madagascar, or the association of Alumni Malagasy students in Indonesia which teach Indonesian language. Research, training and Education, compose the third Track; materialized by the Indonesian professionals that are training farmers, Indonesian professors that are training young

students in the field of petroleum for the training programs, or the granting of scholarships by the Indonesian government to Malagasy students for the research. The last Track that this thesis will study through is the Media and Public Opinion which is peace making through information. This thesis will use the support of Malagasy Media to Indonesian Public diplomacy in the country in one hand and in second hand will analyze through survey how Malagasy opinions get shaped by media.

1-6 Research methodology

1-6-1 Research Method

The determination of a research method is very important in the case that it will reveal the design that the author will use for managing the writing of the thesis.

Qualitative Methods according to John W. Creswell³⁴ represents the characteristics:

“ that the research takes place in the natural setting, relies on the researcher as the instrument for data collection, employs multiple methods of data collection, is both inductive and deductive, is based on participants’ meanings, includes researcher reflexivity, and is holistic.”

³⁴ John W. Creswell, 2013, Research Design Qualitative, quantitative and Mixed Method approaches

This is why the ideal type of research is the qualitative method. This type of research represents very clear procedures that one will follow as a proof as it is the ideal type of research. The first in the procedures after determining these philosophical assumptions of qualitative research by John Creswell, is to define the qualitative design. For this thesis, it is the “case study”, more precisely the case study of Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar between 2011 and 2017. This method of study is especially useful for trying to test theoretical models by using them in real world situations. In this thesis, the theory of “public diplomacy as efforts to interact directly with citizens community and civic leaders, journalists, other opinion leaders of another country to influence society’s attitude to accept policies and national interests”³⁵, “Every country if they want to succeed by using public diplomacy has to present his story to the world”; or the theory that the strategies of cultural diplomacy used by one country is efficient if it follows the new trend³⁶ over the time, and the theory of Multi-Track diplomacy through four tracks; will be used to explain the Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar. The case study includes in depth study of a particular situation, which concern only in this thesis the public diplomacy of Indonesia in Madagascar. The first theory will be explained through the four activities of the Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar (Chapter 2), the second by the fact that Indonesian cultural

³⁵ Theory from the first Journal in the section previous studies, written by Viktorija Trajkov

³⁶ Theory from the second Journal written by Lucian Jora in the section previous studies

diplomacy strategies are updated and because of that ensure positive impacts (chapter 3), and the last theory about those participants, activities and supports used by Indonesia to fulfill its target in terms of public diplomacy (Chapter2 and 3).

Particularly, in qualitative research, the second procedure is the Role of the researcher. As the primary data collection instruments necessitates the identification of personal values. As part of her Studies in International Relations at the Parahyangan Catholic University of Bandung in Indonesia; the author of this research had the privilege to be part of one of the Indonesian public diplomacy activities, which is the granting of scholarship programs. During her study she participated as a "Young African Ambassador" in the 60th commemoration of the Bandung Conference in 1955 in April 2015, and in several Indonesian cultural activities and formations organized by the University. Before 2013 the author started to have some interaction with the Indonesian embassy in Madagascar by studying the Indonesian language there, where she got the information about the scholarship. Also, the fact that she came to Indonesia to continue my studies made people around her, family and friend more interested about the country; which allowed her from Indonesia to receive information that they got through mass media about Indonesian activities in Madagascar since 2014. The author also had interactions with some International students from many countries and Malagasy students who talked about their experiences and their perceptions. The previous experiences made her able to observe and make an overview of people's perceptions. At the same time, Asian countries have the reputation to be attractive because of their culture at

the international scale; more specifically Indonesia, which has its own strategy of public diplomacy as each country, and developed such an interesting relation with Madagascar through that. Due to those perceptions, she questioned herself about the purpose of Indonesia to improve its relation with Madagascar through public diplomacy and the impacts of the Indonesian public diplomacy activities in Madagascar.

1-6-2 Type of research

According to the formulation of the problematic which will emanate the plan of this research, and the finding which has already been stated above; it is quite obvious that the type of method used to perform this research is the descriptive method. The descriptive research seeks to articulate the collection of data into a coherent image. And secondly, in this research above all; it is intended to give an exact representation of the activities of Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar.

A descriptive type of research is meant, because situations that happened are occurred to be reported and analyzed.

1-6-3 Data collection and data analysis procedures

Still in the procedure of qualitative research, it is important to discourse about the data collection procedures. Data was collected from 2011 because it was the year when Malagasy students participate in KNB scholarship in Indonesia, until 2017 because between that was intensively

observed and considered the four activities of Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar that will be enumerated in this thesis and that one can make some comparison for being able to recognize the impacts of those activities over the years from 2011 until 2017. In addition, there is the bibliographic search to materialize all the perceived ideas and to find theories that will frame the themes. There have been interviews as well as surveys with Malagasy people and Malagasy students in Indonesia. The surveys were made through social media, Facebook; and content four simple questions for each person. The first question is “Where is Indonesia located in the map? “; this was about to know if the person himself has already heard about Indonesia and can identify it as a country in South-East Asia; and for the thesis will determine that in 2017 how many Malagasy people know exactly Indonesia. The second question is “Do you know any Indonesian culture?”, which will help the researcher to measure the impact of the Indonesian cultural diplomacy activities in Madagascar. The third question is “Do you know any relation between Madagascar and Indonesia? “, which shows how Malagasy people perceive the relation between the two countries, from which context and during which period they knew it. The last question, the fourth one is “Do you know any Indonesian word?” which is one of the Indonesian public diplomacy activities, to spread Indonesian language; so it will confirm the efficiency of Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar.

Data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research³⁷.

Qualitative data analysis will first classify the activities, the actors and the properties that characterized them; and from that the researcher will draw the major ideas. The interviews and survey will be taped precisely for extracting the desired proofs.

1-7 Writing structure of thesis

This thesis consists of four chapters which are presented as follows:

Table 1.2 : Writing structure of thesis

Title of chapters		Contents
CHAPTER I	Introduction	Research background - Research Problem Identification- Research questions- Research objective and contribution – Theoretical framework – research methodology – Thesis structure of writing

³⁷ John W. Creswell, 2013, Research Design Qualitative, quantitative and Mixed Method approaches

CHAPTER II

Madagascar and Indonesia
relationship

This chapter will contain two sections. For a geographically, politically, economically and especially culturally contextualization of the situation, the first section will discuss about Indonesia and African countries' relationship; before going into the details of the relationship between Madagascar and Indonesia in the second section. The second part of this section will be also an overture for the next chapter where one can note the purpose of Indonesia in its relation with Madagascar.

CHAPTER III	Indonesia's public diplomacy towards Madagascar	Principally composed by three sections, this chapter represents the corps of this thesis. The first section will enumerates the public diplomacy activities of Indonesia in Madagascar with further explanations of each activity. The second section will discuss about the role of the Malagasy Mass media in order to spread Indonesian cultural diplomacy. And the last one is the section from which the thesis will get its findings because it is about the impacts of Indonesian public diplomacy through the perception of Malagasy people, from the result of the survey and through the intensity of the exchange between the countries until now.
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CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

As Findings, this thesis will stipulate that the Indonesian public diplomacy in Madagascar is fully efficient because of its modern strategies, because of the human networks that it creates (young, professionals and in the sector of development like agriculture), and because of its partnership with Mass media which is an important tool of public diplomacy.