

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BOTTOM-UP CBMs THROUGH HUMANITARIAN AID CONDUCTED BY PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE LINKS AND THE OUTCOME

The use of bottom-up CBMs through humanitarian aid in health, disaster relief, education and cultural exchange to Indonesia can be a gate to re-engage mutual trust with Indonesia. Through people-to-people basis, it will bring more positive results especially after Australia's involvement in East-Timor case. To that extent, this chapter would examine the effectiveness of Australia's effort in rebuilding the relations with Indonesia by stressing more on the role of society and less government intervention.

A. Australian Aid Overview to Indonesia

Foreign aid can be defined as the flow of financial and technical assistance given between to the recipient country which aim to establish strength and stability.¹¹¹ Several countries in Southeast Asia such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Cambodia, and Timor-Leste become the major aid recipient from Australia.¹¹² It is because Australia is fully understood that approaching Southeast Asia can be a good way in nurturing peace and stability. As the turbulence in the region would impact the Australia's domestic condition, so Indonesia as its closet Southeast Asia's country is considered as the main target recipient of

¹¹¹ L.D. Black, *Strategy of Foreign Aid*, D.Van Nostrand Company, New Jersey, 1968, p. 1.

¹¹² Ibid.

Australian aid. The decision in delivering humanitarian aid became the tools of soft power for Australia during the effort to reengage with Indonesia. It is because of alleviating trust, understanding and confidence could not be done with coercive or hard power. The aid delivery to Indonesia was based on the philosophy underpinning the Jackson committee report in 1984 that offers a framework for interpreting Australian policy in terms of triple mandate consisting of diplomatic and strategic, economic and humanitarian objectives driving the aid programs to Indonesia.¹¹³

The first significant phase of Australia bilateral aid to Indonesia can be shown in around 1950s and 1960s in which Australia gave the overseas aid through the framework of Colombo Plan. During that time, Australian Aid to Indonesia was more concern on the development in infrastructure with the basis focus in governmental level. Meanwhile the aid given to be conducted in people-to-people basis still had not become the paramount agenda. Until in 1999, when Australia was accused as the one behind the decision of East Timor referendum, they started to change the scheme on delivering aid. The suspicious assumption after the East Timor liberation made Australia lose the links with Indonesian government. The mistrust and misunderstanding have overshadowed the relations which increase the tension in their bilateral relations.

The discontinuance of cooperation in several sectors made Australia should take a further step to reengage with Indonesia. The best approach that Australia

¹¹³ P. Eldrige, *Australian Aid to Indonesia: A program in Search of Mandate*, Amazone Press, Victoria, 1996, p. 201.

could use was through the bottom-up CBMs which could be realized in terms of humanitarian aid. As stated before that the conditions of Indonesia during 1997-1999 were considered to be the darkest years for development. The phenomenon of Asia Financial crises that hits the country as well as the chaos in its domestic conditions have placed Indonesia in the edge of collapse. For those reasons, economic assistance became the first program from Australia to Indonesia as the effort to repair the relations through the initiations of Australian overseas aid which would help Indonesia to restore the overall conditions, help the continuations of development and promote the full implementation of democracy.¹¹⁴

It is because of the instability of Indonesia would impact on its development that could stumble Australia interest in Indonesia and also made it hard to repair the misunderstanding. In response to the Asia Financial crisis, Australia would extend the aid assistance through Southeast Asia and Pacific in 1999-2000 around \$890 million.¹¹⁵ To Indonesia itself, the Australian government decided to extend the fund around \$6 million which made the total fund around \$121 million and the aid continued to increase showing from the table the of Australian Aid overview

¹¹⁴ Australia, DFAT, *1999-2000 Aid Budget: Responding to our Neighbours' Needs*, (Matt Francis, AusAID), Prime Minister Media Release FA 048, 1999, Accessed on 4 March 2017, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/1999/fa048_99.html>

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ DFAT, *Annual Reports*, Accessed on 3 March 2017 <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/corporate/annual-reports/pages/annual-reports.aspx>>

between 1999-2007.¹¹⁶ The aid given to Indonesia was also considered as a starting point to repair the links after East Timor case.

Table 4.1: The brief of Australian Overseas aid to Indonesia

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
\$121 Million	\$121 Million	\$121.5 Million	\$121.6 Million	\$151.7 Million	\$301.8 Million	\$344.3 Million

Source: DFAT <<http://dfat.gov.au/aid/aid-budgets-statistics/Pages/default.aspx>>

B. The Use of Australian Humanitarian Aid to Indonesia Through Bottom-up CBMs

Since the gap in Australia-Indonesia relations became huge, it put Australia's interest in danger. The importance of upholding the public diplomacy made the actions of society also became the key of soft power practice in fostering the relations with Indonesia. As Australia parliamentary report stated " Thus, public diplomacy is not only about projecting an image; it is about engagement and relationship building due to Australia's public diplomacy programs is attempting build and sustain Australia's network of relationships with Indonesia".¹¹⁷ It is also correlated with Gregory saying that "inherent in both perspectives is that effective

¹¹⁷DFAT, *Australia's public diplomacy: building our image*, Accessed on 22 February 2017 <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Foreign_Affairs_Defence_and_Trade/Completed_inquiries/200407/public_diplomacy/report/index>

public diplomacy is rooted in strategic people-to-people communication in the effort to establish a sustaining relationship until the grassroots level”.¹¹⁸

To that extent, the way in conducting soft power for Australia focused on the implementation of bottom-up CBMs in which the role of society can work together with the efforts of the government. Through bottom-up CBMs, the involvement of Australian government can be seen from the decision in giving foreign aid to Indonesia. However, the use of the aid would be pretty much conducted in the level of society through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or from the direct people to people initiatives. Therefore, the effort from Australia in 1999-2000 by giving the aid to reform Indonesian domestic conditions was extended and focused more on humanitarian assistance in health, humanitarian relief, education and cultural exchange.

1. Health

As the development in Indonesia has not yet evenly distributed, the accessibility of health would be very different in every region. During Australia’s effort in repairing relations through foreign aid, since 2001 Australia has committed to allocate the fund in terms of health sector especially in Eastern Indonesia. The health initiations include women’s health and family welfare project to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and STD prevention and care, and improve maternal and

¹¹⁸ Australia, Parliament, *Australia’s public diplomacy: building our image*, (Senator Marise Payne, Chairperson), Canberra, 2007, Accessed on 3 March 2017
<http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Foreign_Affairs_Defence_and_Trade/Completed_inquiries/200407/public_diplomacy/report/c04>

neonatal health and plan services.¹¹⁹ The fund from government has been distributed by the contacts with people-to-people basis through NGOs. The NGOs can be considered as a bridge and an extended hand from government to society. The NGOs plays a role as the one who can directly involve and engage in people to people basis. It can be shown from several Australian NGOs like Caritas Australia and Burnet Institute that have got the allocation of Australian aid for health especially in Eastern Indonesia.¹²⁰

Since 2005, the Caritas Australia focused its program on west Papua by collaborating with the BPKM Yasanto (*Yayasan Santo Antonius*) that based in Merauke and worked in isolated villages on the Eastern Indonesia.¹²¹ They concerned on the prevention of HIV and AIDS because many Indonesian people are still ignorant towards these diseases. The program develops and distributes materials such as posters, leaflets, video films, calendars and t-shirts as a means of promoting messages on HIV and AIDS so that people in the community have access to accurate information about the disease.¹²² The program also uses radio and film to spread the message and develops a network of volunteers to educate and advocate about HIV and AIDS. The Caritas Australia also declared themselves as the agent

¹¹⁹ DFAT, 'Australia helps the world in the fight against HIV/AIDS', Focus, December 2000, pp. 5-6, Accessed on 3 March 2017

< http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Documents/p4_6_focus_dec00.pdf>

¹²⁰DFAT, Lists of Australian accredited non-government organisations (NGOs), Accessed on 2 March 2017 <<http://dfat.gov.au/aid/who-we-work-with/ngos/Pages/list-of-australian-accredited-non-government-organisations.aspx>>

¹²¹The Caritas Australia, Raising HIV and AIDS awarness in Indoensia, Accesed on 4 March 2017

<<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/asia---indonesia-hiv-aids-awareness-program>>

¹²² Ibid.

in promoting bottom-up initiatives for Australia and Indonesia as engaging people-to-people links would create greater results in its relations with Indonesia.

Figure 4.1: Programs between Caritas Australia and YASANTO



Source: The Caritas Australia, Raising HIV and AIDS awareness in Indonesia, Accessed on 4 March 2017 <<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/asia---Indonesia-HIV-aids-awareness-program>>

Secondly, the Burnet Institute also becomes an Australian NGOs in delivering aid to Indonesia. This NGO held the same program as Caritas Australia but introduced several extended programs such as re-introduction to the prevention of poliomyelitis in 2005 held in several provinces in Indonesia such as Bali, west Papua and Sulawesi.¹²³ They also reported measles and diphtheria outbreaks pointed to problems with the local immunisation programs. At the end of 2006, an estimated 293,200 Indonesians were living with HIV.¹²⁴ It made this NGOs also concentrated in the HIV and neonatal health, prevention, care, support and treatment of emerging and re-emerging diseases, including HIV and other diseases through socialisation and sharing. Those NGOs become the example of delivering aid for health to the hand of Indonesian people. Which that efforts became one of

¹²³ Burnet Institute, HIV Cooperation Program for Indonesia, Accessed on 2 March 2017, <https://www.burnet.edu.au/projects/101_hiv_cooperation_program_for_indonesia_hcp>

¹²⁴ Ibid.

the realization from Australia's bottom-up CBMs strategy. As Indonesia still has difficulties in that sector, engaging them through the health program became the first step to gain Indonesia attention.

2. Humanitarian Relief

The efforts in reconnecting with Indonesia became more effective starting after the Tsunami Aceh in 2004. The tsunami has destroyed a large number of coastal areas in Aceh and numerous islands in the province of North Sumatra. It buried part of the cities of Meulaboh and Banda Aceh which estimated 167,000 people were killed in the disaster and more than 500,000 were left homeless.¹²⁵ Those events became another opportunity for Australia as Indonesia was asking help from all over the world. As its closet neighbouring country, Australia became one of the biggest donors in giving aid for the post-tsunami situation. It became the other efforts from Australia to regain trust and understanding with Indonesia as their relations have been overshadowed by Australian changing position to support East Timor independence.

During this time, Australian government extended the fund around \$34.4 million for the reconstructions and helped the people in Aceh in the aspect such as medical team, medicine, first aid and also the fund for reconstruction in Aceh.¹²⁶ In this event, the role of people-to-people basis could be shown from several agendas that empowered the victims of Acehese Tsunami showing from

¹²⁵ Stephan Kitzbichler, 'Built back better? Housing reconstruction after the Tsunami disaster of 2004 in Aceh', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 39, No. 4, 2011, p. 534.

¹²⁶ DFAT, Indian Ocean Tsunami, Accessed on 3 January 2017
< <http://dfat.gov.au/news/news/Pages/indian-ocean-tsunami.aspx>>

the figure 4.2. Without the help from many NGOs, the Australian aid could not be giving effectively to the society. As a result, during this time, Australian government gave around 3.9 million to the biggest five of NGOs.¹²⁷ Those NGOs were Australia Red Cross, CARE Australia, Caritas Australia, Oxfam Australia and World Vision Australia which received 95% fund from the Australian aid.

Table 4.2: The supports given by Australian Aid through NGOs during Tsunami Aceh

Training more than 230 hospital workers and awarding more than 3700 scholarships to nurses, midwives and healthcare students
Establishing modern medical laboratories at Univeritas Syiah Kuala and Zaniel Abidin Hospital
Supporting teacher training in areas hit hard by the tsunami
Training almost 300 small business clients throughout Aceh and Nias in business planning, marketing and financial management
Rebuilding Aceh's main hatchery which supplied the ponds of local fish farmers
Providing Acehnese construction workers, builders, plumbers and electricians with training in housing construction
Giving communities better access to water and sanitation facilities, roads and bridges, schools, government services, emergency services and markets
Training 2300 people as a community leaders, more than half of whom were women, in 204 villages

Source: DFAT, <<http://dfat.gov.au/news/news/Pages/indian-oceantsunami.aspx>>

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Apart from that, on the society basis, the people to people links were established between Indonesia and South Australia. Adelaide residents, both Australian and Indonesian, established the Network for Tsunami Aceh Inc (NTAI) to support victims. NTAI had been strongly supported by the Australians with the help of Indonesian students in Australia. NTAI was established as a learning centre to provide education and cultural activities needed for local children in the disaster area.¹²⁸ This initiative was established in cooperation with the Acehnese, particularly postgraduate students who received their education through scholarships in Australia. It makes the establishment of NTAI Network connected people-to-people between Australia and Indonesia was mostly done through organisation and direct program. One of the example is the fund rising held by many Indonesia-Australia cooperation which listed in the table 4.3.

Table 4.3: The Association of Indonesian in South Australia

Australian Indonesian Association of South Australia Inc (AIASA)
Indonesian Student Association of South Australia (PPIASA)
Radio Indonesia South Australia (RISA)
Indonesian Muslim Community of South Australia (MIAS)
Indonesian Youth Muslim Association (IRISA)
Indonesian Teachers Association (INTAN)
Carry for Kids Inc

Source: NTAI Inc website, <<http://www.communitywebs.org/NetworkforTsunamiAceh/>>

¹²⁸ NTAI Inc website, Who We are, Accessed on 6 January 2017, <<http://www.communitywebs.org/NetworkforTsunamiAceh/Whoweare.pdf>>

Table 4.4: The direct links through people-to-people basis in Aceh that cooperate with NTAI

<p>Banda Aceh:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Muslim Amiren (the former president of MIAS and Australian graduate) - Dr.Mustanir (the supporting community service in Aceh such as Yayasan Amil Zakat Ustman bin Khattab and BSMI/MER-C)
<p>Aceh Besar:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dr. Sayed Muhammad Husen (freelance journalist for Aceh Post Newspaper and Hidayatullah Magazine)
<p>Sigli:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Muhammad Riza, S.Si (Activist in Islamic Student Association, Pidie Youth Organization, Kosgoro and IMO)
<p>Lhok Seumawe:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Samsul Bahri, M. Pd (Flinders University graduate)
<p>Meulaboh:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zahnur, M. InfoTech (Lecture and University of South Australia graduate)
<p>Langsa:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Muhammad Iqbal (Australia-Indonesia exchange student)

Source: NTAI Inc <<http://www.communitywebs.org/NetworkforTsunamiAceh/Whoware.pdf>>

Figure 4.2: The activities initiated by NTAI



Source: NTAI Inc <<http://www.communitywebs.org/NetworkforTsunamiAceh/Whoware.pdf>>

Thus, through those initiatives it became a starting point for Australia to re-engage with Indonesia. It can be said that by using the role people-to-people initiatives might brought a new perspective which could build better understanding between others. As shown above, the stronger connection in society made it possible to achieve better relations. To that extent, NTAI had connected several people directly from Aceh to distribute the funding raised by the Australian and Indonesian people in Australia. Showing from there were seven contact persons in Aceh - locals some of them were graduates of Adelaide/South Australia tertiary institutions who knew the real need of their people.¹²⁹

Another thing was, the same efforts given during the Bantul Earthquake in Yogyakarta in 2006. It prompted Australian citizens from Yogyakarta to collect funds for necessities and construction materials for those who were immediately affected. The Australian Consortium for In-country Indonesian Studies (ACICIS) student network played a crucial role in voluntary and humanitarian activities in Yogyakarta.¹³⁰ Locals and NGOs in Yogyakarta made the distribution of funds raised by Adelaide residents for families in Pundong village, Bantul district possible by sending aid directly through an Australian expatriate.¹³¹ This is indicative that the importance of people-to-people bottom-up initiatives were very crucial. These actions became an evidence of a spirit beyond borders as the former Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Wiryono, once said that narrowing the cultural gap

¹²⁹ Sulistiyanto, *op.cit.*, p. 129

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

between the Indonesians and Australians from all works of life is an important path to repair the relationship.¹³²

C. Education and Cultural Exchange

The efforts in the humanitarian relief showed that people links between Australia and Indonesia are tied through the educations experience. The scholarship given to Indonesia become something important in bringing the Indonesian expertise studying in Australia and vice versa. Those students exchange programs presumably established mutual trust in the level of people to people basis. In other words, the most prominent area of bottom-up CBMs with the potential to foster bilateral relations is education. Initiatives of this kind were evidenced during the Fraser, Hawke, and Keating governments. It made education, in the form of cultural exchanges and language education, remain a key CBMs with both past success and future potential. Through the initiations of Bridging Council (*Dewan Jembatan*) several efforts have initiated to repair the relations with Indonesia. For instance, the teaching of Indonesian language in Australia and Australia-Indonesia Institutions (AII) can be a bridge for two countries in deepening their understanding.

1. The teaching of Indonesian Language in Australia

The reengagement of Australia throughout education and cultural exchange became very important especially after their changing position in East-Timor case. One of the efforts was through the introduction of Indonesian language in

¹³² Ibid., p. 130.

Australians schools. Indonesian language education in Australian began in 1955, which the implementation was based on three objectives.¹³³ Firstly, the teaching of Indonesian language would improve the Australians cross-cultural understanding towards Indonesia. Secondly, Indonesia contained most of Australia's national interests. As a result, promoting the language would help Australia to keep maintaining the relations as one of the strategies to secure their interest. Lastly, the accessibility of Indonesian language became a consideration as many literatures and books are easy to be found in Australia.¹³⁴ Thus, those objectives made Australia decide to teach Indonesian language in some of Australia schools. It is correlated with the strategy of bottom-up CBMs in which the closer link in societies would be easy to establish if Australian can learn the language. It also will make Australians have more positive attitude towards Indonesia which possibly reduce the tension in its bilateral relations.

Historically, the teaching of Indonesian language in Australia became more important starting in 1994. It was seen from the consideration to include Indonesian language in National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) strategy established during the Keating government.¹³⁵ However, during the 2001 there were declining number of Australians in learning Indonesian

¹³³Australian Government Departmen of Education,Employment and Workplace Realations, *The Current state of Indonesian Language Education in Australians School*, Canberra, 2010, pp. 8-10, Accessed on 2 January 2017
<http://www.murdoch.edu.au/ALTCFellowship/_document/Resources/CurrentStateIndonesianLanguageEducation.pdf>

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

¹³⁵ Firdaus, 'Indonesian Language Education in Australia: Politics, Policies and Responses', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 37, No.1, 2013, pp. 27-30.

language. As mistrust and misunderstanding occurred in Australia-Indonesia relations after East Timor problem, teaching Indonesian language became the tools to seeking common interest with Indonesia. The declining of Australians enthusiasm to learn the language might burden the efforts of government to repair the relations with Indonesia.

As a result, in May 2004 the Commonwealth Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade responded to the decline of Indonesian language interest in Australia. It recommended that 'Indonesian Studies would be designated a strategic national priority and that the Australian Research Council and the Department of Education, Science and Training were requested to recognise this in prioritising the fund for both research and teaching'.¹³⁶ The recognition of the government put on the importance of developing a group of Indonesian speaking Australians indicated the seriousness of such educational measures.

One year after that, in 2005 through the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA), Australia developed a framework for all languages, the National Statement for Languages Education in Australian Schools: National Plan for Languages Education in Australian Schools 2005–2008.¹³⁷ Under this framework, Indonesian was one among all of the

¹³⁶ JSCFADT, *Near Neighbours – Good Neighbours: An Inquiry into Australia's Relationship with Indonesia*, Canberra, May 2004, p.xxii, Accessed on 12 March 2017 <<http://www.aph.gov.au/house/committee/jfadt/indonesia/report/fullreport.pdf>>.

¹³⁷ Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, *National Statement for Language Education in Australian Schools*, MCEETYA, Victoria, 2005, pp. 1-4, Accessed on 9 March 2017, <http://www.curriculum.edu.au/verve/_resources/languageeducation_file.pdf>

languages supported. Which aims to increase the encouragement for Australians in learning Indonesian language. It comes to be more binding regulations as the Indonesian language has been designated a Nationally Strategic Language by the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations since 2006.¹³⁸ Thus, it made Australian government took the actions, to prevent the experience on the declining of Australians in taking Indonesian language.

The introduction on Indonesian language became one of the promotion of culture through educations. As it is the implementation of soft power using culture such as language became one of the ways in seeking common interest. Furthermore, through governmental decision made Indonesian language became compulsory subject in some of primary, secondary school and university. Thus, it aims to alleviate Australians knowledge and understanding about Indonesia through its language. Through the ACICIS program this language education has created several exchange programs for Australian to studying and interact directly with Indonesians by using *Bahasa* that has been taught in their schools in Australia.

This effort from Australia shows that the use of bottom-up CBMs is still very effective. The teaching of this language also forced the government to extend the programs by inviting an Indonesian teacher and the teaching collaboration with Australians. In addition, some researches have been arguing that the Australians who had studied Indonesian language more likely to think that both countries have

¹³⁸ D. Hill, *Indonesian Language in Australian Universities: Strategies for a stronger future*, 2nd ed., Australian Learning and Teaching Council National Teaching Fellowship Final Report, Murdoch University, Perth, April 2012, p. 19.

something in common and realized that Australia's interest is highly placed in Indonesia.¹³⁹ As a result, the turbulence in its bilateral relations resulted the increase of encouragement from Australians to repair the links with Indonesia as soon as possible. Thus, the teaching of Indonesian language has shown that it can nurture trust in a very grassroots level.

2. The Initiations of Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII)

The improvement and effort from Australian government to improve the relations with Indonesia can be shown through the establishment of Australia-Indonesia Initiatives (AII). AII aims to promote greater trust and understanding with Indonesia by enlarging the role of diplomacy in societies.¹⁴⁰ This includes the promotion of Indonesian traditional culture. It is also as a place to know deeper about Australia and Indonesia by providing the expert coming from both countries. Furthermore, AII also offers the goals in repairing relationship between Australia-Indonesia by increasing people-to-people contacts and institutional links.

It also aims to increase the understanding between both countries and to improve access for Australians to the cultural diversity of Indonesian society and the opportunities offered by its developing economy. Actually, there are many initiations from AII in the form of people-to-people links. However, in this undergraduate thesis, the writer will only elaborate the event that is still relevant

¹³⁹ D.T. Hill, 'Language as "soft power" in Bilateral Relations: the case of Indonesian Language in Australia', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2016, p. 374.

¹⁴⁰ DFAT, About the Australia Indonesia institute, Accessed on 2 February 2017
<<http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-indonesia-institute/Pages/management.aspx>>

from the implementation of bottom-up CBMs. There are several important sectors under the efforts of AII which is media, art and culture and also student exchange on the religion basis. It aims to underlining the importance on people-to-people links between Australia-Indonesia.

a. Media

Media plays an important role in shaping people opinion, in which the exaggerating news might create misunderstanding between others. In the case of East Timor, Indonesians had many suspicious assumption towards Australia. It came from the media exaggeration which argued that Australia would encourage the disintegration of several regions in Indonesia. It made the Australian government initiated several agendas in the journalism areas which could be a gate to establish mutual understanding and prevent any miscommunications in the news that published in society.

This initiation was held by some of prominence people in media such as Gunawan Mohamad and David Malouf. They were an influencing journalists who conducted a collaboration to prevent misunderstanding both from Australia and Indonesia side.¹⁴¹ In addition, there are several programs held by AII in terms of media to repair the relations with Indonesia. Firstly, in 2000 there was a collaborative training between Professor Nurcholis Majid, Professor Virginia

¹⁴¹ J.Mackie, op.cit., pp. 108-109.

Hooker and Mr. Yudi Latif.¹⁴² It resulted collaborative research under the theme of Islam and democratisation in Indonesia. This joint research resulted in the publications of a book on Islam in contemporary Indonesia.¹⁴³

Another thing was, in 2004 AII also initiated the program known as Journalist Fellowship Program (JFP).¹⁴⁴ It provided four fellowships per year to allow Australian and Indonesian journalists to travel to the other countries in order to research and write stories. In addition to increase the range of reporting on each country in the other, it is envisaged that these visits would expand journalistic linkages and contacts and improve the familiarity and knowledge of current issues in each country. It can be shown from several Australia-Indonesia journalists writing stories that become an issue.

The Indonesian journalist such as Sigit Purnomo from Radio Elshinta wrote articles on the Australian federal election campaign, while Endah Sulistianti from Tempo newsmagazine, researched the historical linkages between indigenous peoples of Australia and Indonesia, and wrote about Islamic education in Australia. Another journalist, Santi Soekanto of Aisya Islamic Women's Magazine prepared articles on Australian Muslims and Islamic media, and Sean Murphy from ABC Television's Landline would research stories on projects undertaken by the

¹⁴²DFAT, AII Annual report 1999-2000, Accessed on 8 March 2017, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/people-to-people/australia-indonesia-institute-annual-report-1999-2000/index.html>>

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ DFAT, AII Annual Report 2003-2004, Accessed on 5 March 2017 <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-indonesia-institute/Documents/annual_report_03_04.pdf>

Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) in Indonesia.¹⁴⁵ It aimed to prevent the news exaggeration that might create another misunderstanding with Indonesia. This initiation would be a two-way communication making Australia would be easier to repair the relations with Indonesia.

b. Art and Culture

Understanding culture can be a gate to alleviate confidence for Indonesia. Because Indonesia is famous with its diversity, promoting it to increase understanding among Australians would be very crucial. It can be shown in the 1999 the art exhibitions hosted at the Queensland Art Gallery invited several Indonesian artists such as Dadang Christianto, S. Teddy D, Nia Fliam, Agus Ismoyo, Mella Jaarsma, Moelyono and Tisna Sanjaya and included curators Dr. Dwi Marianto and Jim Supangkat. The project aimed to introduce Australian audiences to a sophisticated and creative Indonesian traditional culture and society.¹⁴⁶

Furthermore, in 2003 there were a project known as Bali Eye on Indonesia. This publication would be showing the work of the work of Indonesian photographers, graphic designers and artists, and highlights the work of the foundation in providing treatment to people suffering from blindness and visual impairment. Funds raised from the sale of the book will contribute to the Memorial

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ DFAT, AII Annual report 1999-2000, loc.cit.

Community Eye Centre established as a part of the medical assistance package provided to the people of Bali by the Australian Government following the tragic bombings of 12 October 2002.¹⁴⁷

Furthermore in 2006, the AII funded the gamelan development in St John's College. The Institute provided funding assistance for St John's College at Nambour to strengthen the College's existing gamelan skills through specialist gamelan classes provided by Mike Burns Music and the acquisition of new instruments.¹⁴⁸ The introduction on one of Indonesian traditional music instruments brought the promotion on Indonesian culture to Australians which made it easier to gain more positive attitudes which impacted on the increase of trust and confidence from Indonesia.

c. Students and Teacher Exchange

Students mobility became one of the paramount aspect on the implementation of bottom-up CBMs. Under AII, there were many improvement on students exchange since 1999. It can be shown in 1999 through the program of The Australia Indonesia Youth Exchange Program (AIYEP).¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Australian Studies program also included the support of the Australian Studies Centre at the University of Indonesia consisting of an Australian Lecture Series and

¹⁴⁷ DFAT, AII Annual Report 2003-2004, loc.cit.

¹⁴⁸ DFAT, AII Annual Report 2006-2007, Accessed on 5 March 2017, <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-indonesia-institute/Documents/AII_annual_report_2006_07.pdf>

¹⁴⁹ DFAT, AII Annual report 1999-2000, loc.cit.

linkages through the Australian Alumni Association of Indonesia (IKAMA).¹⁵⁰ The single largest Australian Studies project was completed in early 1999 with the launch of the Australian social geography book, *Geografi Australia*.¹⁵¹

Secondly, AII also established the program known as the Australian Consortium for In-Country Indonesian Studies (ACICIS). ACICIS plays role in the support of Australia-Indonesia web site, and as a framework to continue support for exchange scholarships as the key Indonesian Studies program projects. The implementation of Indonesian language in Australia makes ACICIS plays an important role as a place to practice Indonesian language. It can be seen between 1999 and 2004 the ACICIS project assisted 350 Australian students to undertake a range of tertiary-level one and two semester programs of Indonesian language and cultural studies in Indonesia in collaboration with Indonesian universities.¹⁵² The students exchange through ACICIS also became the one who raised the funding for the Bantul earthquake in 2006.

Figure 4.3: The ACICIS programs



Source: ACICIS, < <http://www.acicis.edu.au/> >

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

Table 4.5: The overview of AII initiations between Australia-Indonesia from 1999-2006

1999	2000	2001	2002
The Australia Indonesia Youth Exchange Program (AIYEP)	Islam And Democratisation in Indonesia: A Collaborative Training	Indonesian Regional Science Association	Australia–Indonesia Young Leaders’ Dialogue Asia Australia Institute and The Habibie Centre
Australian Studies Centre at The University of Indonesia	Law, Governance and Public Sector Reform	Ethnicity and Religious Conflict: Interfaith Dialogue Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University (ANU)	Applied Linguistics Library Research and Resource Centre at Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia (UNM)
Support for The Australian Consortium for In-Country Indonesian Studies (ACICIS)	AII Professional Development Teacher Exchange	Gender and Globalisation in Asia And the Pacific, Centre for Women’s Studies in (ANU)	Library and On-Line Resources, Widya Mandala Catholic University and Petra Christian University
Asia–Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art, Queensland Art Gallery	Australian Studies Centre, University of Indonesia	Australian journalist scholarships to Indonesia	Media Fellowship Link (Medlink)

2003	2004	2005	2006
Bali Eye on Indonesia	Partnership in Education and Training of Regional Islamic Institutions	Jakarta International Film Festival 2005	Gamelan Workshop: Balinese Community of Queensland
Mathematics Teacher Education in Indonesia	Journalist Fellowship Program	Ernabella Arts Inc. Creative Collaborations	St John's College – Gamelan Development
Australia-Indonesia Muslim Exchange Program	Australian Senior Editors' Visit	Cross Cultural Linkages: Australia And Indonesia 2006	Visit by Acehnese Children: Survivors of the 2004 Tsunami: Youth Off the Streets
Islamic Leaders Visits – Professor Dr. Syafi Ma'arif	Partnership in Education and Training of Regional Islamic Institutions	Indonesia Student Association in Australia (PPIA) Short Story Writing Competition	Casuarina College: Ayo Sunda

Source: DFAT, AII Annual Report 1999-2006,
<http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/foundations-councils-institutes/australia-Indonesia-institute/Pages/management.aspx>

AII also established the program known as Professional Development Teacher Exchange. It is encouraging for Australian primary school teachers to study Indonesian language and culture. This program was revitalised in 2000 in the form of a professional development exchange program for Australian and Indonesian school teachers. The purpose of this program is to provide professional development training for teachers from both countries, to improve their language skills, to expose them for stimulating ideas and genuine experiences of life in each other's country as well as to encourage long-term personal and institutional contacts.¹⁵³ From 29 December 2000 to 19 January 2001, 22 Australian teachers were located at Manado, North Sulawesi. The teachers were placed in local schools to observe the Indonesian school system, team-taught with Indonesian teachers and delivered lessons in English and, on occasions, Bahasa Indonesia.¹⁵⁴ The Australian participants were accommodated with local families in the Manado community.

In 2003, AII initiated the Australia-Indonesia Muslim Exchange Program. It is supported a series of visits to Australia by leading Indonesian Islamic community leaders under the Muslim Exchanges Program. Eight participants drawn from a broad range of Indonesian educational, political and non-governmental organisations visited Australia in three groups under this program during the year. The aim of these visits was to develop greater understanding within Australia of the moderate nature of mainstream Islam in Indonesia and better understanding within

¹⁵³ DFAT, AII Annual report, 2000-2001, Accessed on 6 March 2017
<<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/people-to-people/australia-indonesia-institute-annual-report-2000-2001/index.html>>

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Indonesia of Australia's tolerant, multicultural society.¹⁵⁵ Since many misconceptions appeared toward Islam, this agenda become one of the way to renew the understanding among Australians. Those efforts showed the role of Australia in maximizing the role of people aims to reengage the relations with Indonesia especially under the framework of bottom-up CBMs.

D. The Outcome of Australia's Bottom-up CBMs Strategy to Indonesia

As Australia-Indonesia experienced many differences, the Australia's efforts to seeking common interest through bottom-up CBMs became one of the powerful strategy. The engagement in health, promoting Indonesian culture, humanitarian assistance and exchange programs brought Australia-Indonesia relations to a new phase. The common understanding that built by Australia resulting the increase of trust level which alleviating the confidence would benefit Australia to conduct further cooperation with Indonesia.

The significance improvement in government relations occurred during the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Those achievements were supported due to Indonesia already recovered from the Asian financial crises and the fully implementation on democracy led to the peaceful conditions all over the country. Another thing is, as SBY also pursued Indonesian foreign policy that uphold the idea of "million friends, zero enemy" which made Indonesia also seek more cooperation.¹⁵⁶ As a result, the effort of Australia in people-to-people links is

¹⁵⁵ DFAT, Annual Report 2003-2004, loc.cit.

¹⁵⁶ Z. Falahi, 'Memikirkan Kembali Arti Million Friends Zero Enemy dalam era paradox of plenty', *Indonesia For Global Justice*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2013, pp. 228-230.

resulted a confidence and gradually increased the trust from Indonesia. Furthermore, the re-practice of Asian Engagement became one of the fundamental aspects showing that Australia wanted to implement their role of middle power country and knew the importance in connecting with Asia especially Indonesia.¹⁵⁷

Since 2002, the efforts of Australia have shown the positive results from Indonesia. However, those activities were still placed in very limited scope. It can be shown after the first Bali bombing, there were a joint forces cooperation between ADF and POLRI which aimed to dismantle the identity of the bomber.¹⁵⁸ It is resulting to the arrest of Imam Samudra and Mukhlas which became the starting point to find all of the suspects from the first Bali bombing.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, as the treaty of AMS has been terminated due to Australia's involvement in East Timor case, this event was not spontaneously making Indonesia agree to continue the agreement. However, it became an evidence that Indonesia gradually started to re-trust Australia in giving assistance in the matters of counter terrorism.

Three years later, Indonesia showed better engagement with Australia in another aspect. As Australia initiated the ASEAN-East Asia Summit (AEAS) 2005

¹⁵⁷ A. Henry, 'Keating: The Man Who Discovered Asia?', *ISAA Review*, vol. 2, No. 2, 2006, pp. 21-22.

¹⁵⁸M. Richardson, 'Australia-Southeast Asia Relations and The East Asia Summit', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 3, 2005, pp. 355-356.

¹⁵⁹DFAT, Annual Report 2002-2003, Accessed on 2 January 2017<<https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/corporate/annual-reports/annual-report-2002-2003/overviews/1.html>>

Indonesia became one of the country that contributed to those events.¹⁶⁰ This event attended by Indonesia was based on the framework of ASEAN in which every decision made under that regional cooperation should be obliged by its member state including Indonesia. It made Indonesia involvement to that agenda was not in the form of direct bilateral relations with Australia but ASEAN. It can be shown that there was not any cooperation concluded directly between Australia and Indonesia during this meeting. But it can be said that Australia's efforts in rebuilding the relations through bottom-up CBMs might results a better intention from Indonesian side.

After the cooperation in Bali bombing and the meetings on AEAS, Indonesia started to have positive actions with Australia. It can be shown from the issue of Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Partnership with Australia to further strengthen their economic and security cooperation, build on people-to-people links and collaborate in the region considered as a partial improvement in governmental level. As the effort of bottom-up CBMs has brought many initiations that finally repaired the relations.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the important sign on the fully repairmen of Australia relations with Indonesia was shown from the continuations of AMS agreement that has been stuck for several years. In 2006 Indonesia finally agreed to examine further the AMS treaty which extended to offer more sophisticated program. The AMS was renegotiated and resulted the new security cooperation

¹⁶⁰ DFAT, East Asia Summit, Accessed on 7 February 2017
<<http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/eas/Pages/east-asia-summit-eas.aspx>>

¹⁶¹ Richardson, op.cit., p.355.

known as Lombok Treaty which became one of the initiations indicating that Indonesia was fully re-open the relations after Australia involvement in East Timor in governmental level.

It made the role of bottom-up CBMs plays an important role in helping Australia's effort re-engage with Indonesia. The effort of Australian aid through Indonesia brought a new phase in their bilateral relations. The people-to-people links became paramount important as the relations can be improved. Towards that efforts, Australia could secure the three most important Australia's interest.¹⁶² Firstly, the defence and security condition for Australia can be more effective as Indonesia already continued the security cooperation with the implementation on Lombok treaty. Secondly, the stable conditions from Indonesia would contribute to peace and stability in the Australia's northern territory which is very close to Indonesia. And lastly, Australia could secure its way to spread and strengthen their role in ASEAN through Indonesia as its natural bridge. As stated by Mackie that "we[Australia] might eventually hope to see the border between us become a dividing line of no great significance, with people from both sides coming and going to and from constantly for their own pleasure, profit and other benefits".¹⁶³ It is believed that the good relations between Australia-Indonesia should be protected and well maintained.

¹⁶² Chalk, op.cit., p.239.

¹⁶³ Mackie, op.cit., p. 95.