

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

From the lens of history, Germany in the 20th century was a stark different from Germany in the 21st century. The difference lies on how they see the world and how the world sees them in the past and in the present. As a country, Germany has its own struggle and transformations. From the German Empire, to World War I, to the Weimar Republic, to the Third Reich, to the “Two-Germany” and then the Reunified Germany. The end of the first world war devastated the German empire with loses in many fronts in Europe, epidemic and political instability. To counter it, the Republic was established in 1918, a constitutional monarchy that would stabilize the country and would later erect a democratic constitution for the people in 1919. Treaty of Versailles in 1919, made by the winner of the first world war however disarmed Germany, blaming the nation for the war and its losses. Inflation and depression also struck the country.

A bitterness lies strongly in the country, conspirations to paint the Jews as responsible for the loses was made and it gave rise to the Nazi party, Third Reich under Hitler dictatorship in 1933, pushing for a second world war in Europe. His act of crimes would later haunt the world with the persecution of Jew that escalate to the murder of millions of Jews in the land. After the defeat of Nazi by the Allied powers in 1945, Germany surrendered and was partitioned into East Germany by the Soviet and West Germany by the British, U.S and France.

Germany was shunned down with all the losses and the world perception of Germany as an “ultranationalist”, facist and racialist country stemming from the crimes of holocaust, which

is so atrocious, still lingers in the eyes of the international community.

“*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*” which means “coping with the past” is a term used to describe their struggle of coming to terms with their dark history, associated with ultranationalist past and the wrongdoings of Nazi in the World War II (Jesse, 2015). To overcome their dark past, Germany transforms their social and cultural outlook, characterized by the use of “**cultural diplomacy**” through cultural institutional establishment abroad and the formulation of “**foreign cultural policy**” which is the nation’s foreign policy that emphasize on the promotion of language and openness to cultural dialogue to repair its reputation and invite the world to form a cultural relation.

The first act was the **reestablishment of cultural organizations and institutes** that had been closed by the Allies for its propaganda work by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer administration reforms in 1949-1969 to aid Germany’s diplomacy abroad. Foreign Cultural Relations (ifa) (formerly DAI) in 1949 to organized seminars, exhibitions and facilitate German school teachers abroad, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) (formerly AAD) in 1950 for student exchanges abroad, Goethe-Institut (formerly Deutsche Akademie) in 1951 to promote German language and taught the German teachers abroad, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in 1953 to support and invite scientist and academics abroad to study in Germany. These insitutions would become the nation’s cultural representation abroad. It proved successful as during Adenauer reform, Germany was able to position itself in Europe and gradually refresh its reputation in the world, starting from decrease of British and American control to signing of several friendship treaty with old oppositions countries in Europe and normalization of relations with countries affected by their past wrongdoings.

The second act was the **formulation of** their foreign policy outlook called “**Foreign Cultural Policy**” (*Auswärtige*

Kulturpolitik), a foreign policy that emphasize on the use of culture as means of diplomacy, based on the principle of common understanding, dialogue and intercultural relations that was developed during Chancellor Willy Brandt and Foreign Minister Ralf Dahrendorf era in 1969-1974. Foreign cultural policy focuses not only on promotion of Germany's image abroad but also on building close bilateral relationship with other actors using means of intercultural exchange and cooperation. Foreign cultural policy was therefore established as the "third pillar" of Germany foreign policy and as such the "Guidelines for Foreign Cultural Policy" was formed as the basis for Germany's cultural diplomacy by the Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) and as such used by German institute activities abroad (Paschalidis, 2015).

Taking other country in comparison such as Japan, where both similarly lost and devastated after the second world war, the effort of diplomacy and reconciliation of Germany can be seen from how they confront their dark past and their outlook towards the world. Unlike Japan, that somehow shows some reluctance in reconciliation effort to confront their past wrongdoings, as seen from their inconclusive case of comfort women and intense dispute with South Korea till today, Germany acknowledges and persistently attempt to fix the atrocity caused by their Nazi regime during the second world war and overcoming the ultranationalist image they had been attached to them. After their defeat on the second world war, Germany has systematically reformed their domestic and foreign policy, aligning to a more moral, cooperative and open outlook with the world. The Frankfurt Auschwitz trials in 1963-1965 shows their resolve to punish their past ultranationalist identity. Even referring to their defeat on the second world war as "day of liberation". (Rienzi, 2015)

With the world, Germany has built a trust by presenting themselves as a nation that distance themselves from aggression, not afraid to admit their terrible past and reconcile with their old enemies and nations affected by their













wrongdoings. This was shown in the reconciliation effort by Chancellor Adenauer establishment of relation with Israel in 1951, where Jewish compensations and reparations agreement between the two was signed in 1952. Then with France, Germany reconciles by signing the Elysée Treaty, a friendship treaty of France and Germany in 1963. As well as with Poland, where the Treaty of Warsaw signed in 1970 shows the effort to establish friendship relation between both countries. In comparison, Japan reconciliation effort with South Korea in Treaty of Basic Relations 1965 and with China in Japan–China Joint Communiqué 1972 does not produce a good reciprocal outcome and friendly relations today. Despite their effort to normalize, the nation still until today reluctantly addresses the victims of their atrocity and contrary to their effort, showed no reflective behavior in the present. For example, the Yasukuni Shrine, a war memorial where Japanese officials pay respect to is seen as an act of honoring and glorifying Japanese war crimes by the world. Meanwhile, Germany had uses countless Nazi sites and concentration camps as learning centers to remind and inform the world of what they did in the past and what they're doing to reconcile. (Rienzi, 2015) The difference is how they see and present their national identity itself, Germany's reformation and Japan's preservation. The other one is while both had utilized a form of diplomacy abroad to achieve their interest, unlike Japan, Germany took on a more extensive outlook, attempting on using normative approach in their reformation and reconciliation effort through morality and pragmatism, as well as openness in their foreign policy outlook, which they constantly seek to establish friendship relations and cooperation with other countries in the world (Feldman, 1999).

Germany had optimized the use of cultural diplomacy, not just as a way to rebrand themselves but also create a stable international relation with the world. By a thorough assessment of their own history as well as comprehensive cultural, educational and informational contribution to the world, “almost entirely by soft means”, Germany rebuilds its reputation and have continuously impressing the world over the

past ten years (Maaß, 2022). Germany as country, has now evolved from its past struggle, with strong commitment for international cooperation, trade relations and effective cultural diplomacy as a key to their rising in the world.

Right now, Germany is perceived as the frontrunner in international relations, one of the most developed countries with strong industrial economy in the world and a strong player in international community, being a member and initial signatory of Maastricht Treaty that founded the European Union, as well as active in numerous international organizations, being a permanent representative of EU, Council of Europe, NATO, G4, G7, G8, IMF, OECD, World Bank, WTO as well as United Nations and its divisions, such as Food and Agriculture Organization and UNSC (Auswärtiges Amt, 2022). Germany also consistently tops in many surveys and researches on achievement as a country in the world.

Table 1.1. Global Soft Power Index 2021 Full Breakdown.

Rank 2021	Rank 2020		Nation		Region	Index Score 2021	Index Score Change	Index Score 2020
1	2	↑	 Germany		Europe	62.2	+0.3	61.9
2	4	↑	 Japan		Asia	60.6	+0.4	60.2
3	3	←	 United Kingdom		Europe	57.9	-3.9	61.8
4	7	↑	 Canada		North America	57.2	+2.7	54.5
5	8	↑	 Switzerland		Europe	56.3	+1.8	54.5
6	1	↓	 United States		North America	55.9	-11.2	67.1
7	6	↓	 France		Europe	55.4	-3.1	58.5
8	5	↓	 China		Asia	54.3	-4.4	58.7
9	9	←	 Sweden		Europe	52.2	+0.3	51.9
10	13	↑	 Australia		Oceania	52.2	+3.3	48.8
11	14	↑	 South Korea		Asia	51.3	+3.1	48.3
12	12	←	 Netherlands		Europe	50.5	+1.6	48.9

Source: (Brand Finance, 2021, p. 112)

One recently, such as **Global Soft Power Index 2021** by Brand Finance research, measured seven key pillars of soft

power; business and trade, governance, international relations, culture and heritage, media and communication, education and science, and people and values. Germany came out as #1 among 100 countries in the rank list. Scoring 62.2 out of 100, highlighted in the research is the nation's stability and accountability, as well as excellent performance in every pillar of soft power that was measured in the yearly research. Including Reputation, Culture and Heritage, Governance and International Relations as well as outperforming in Education and Science. (Brand Finance, 2021, p. 70) **BBC World Service** survey conducted before in 2013 by GlobeScan and PIPA also placed Germany as the country viewed as the highest positive influence in the world at 59%, surveyed by more than 26,000 in 26 countries. In its report, most favorable views of Germany came from its OECD Asian countries, such as Indonesia (GlobeScan, 2013).

Indonesia is one of the oldest relations that Germany had outside of Europe. Since their diplomatic relations was established in 1952, leaders of both countries used to exchange visits, where they had formed a close and extensive cooperation in industry, development and trade. Their relations deepened in 2012 with the “Jakarta Declaration” signed by Chancellor Angela Merkel and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono that forms a strategic partnership in various important sectors. (The Embassy of The Republic of Indonesia in Berlin, 2019) Presently, both countries are an influential member of EU and ASEAN respectively and strategically taken important position in international community with Germany leading the G7 and Indonesia taking over the presidency of G20 in 2022.

As Germany's partner, Indonesia is seen not only in economic and trade relations but also in sharing similar values of democracy and solidarity. Ever since the beginning of their relation, when the first Indonesian President Soekarno came to West Germany in 1956, he built what was to become a strong cultural foundation for both country relations. His speech at Heidelberg University was well received by German officials

and public, where he became the first nation leader to ever voice a positive support for German unity especially during the time where Germany was viewed in bad lights after second world war (Deutsche Welle, 2016). From that point onwards, Germany views their relations with Indonesia as not only a mutually beneficial economic partner, but also as a cultural partner, where they seek the opportunity to foster a closer cultural relation.

In their attempt to build a close cultural relation with Indonesia that is beneficial and reciprocal for both countries, Germany, at the high level of interaction between government to government was the creation of an international agreement in culture to tie the two countries together at national level. The signing of “**Germany and Indonesia Agreement on Cultural Cooperation**” in 1988 provide the first step for both countries relations as “partner country” in fields of culture and education.

However, cultural relations go beyond the limit of geopolitics of states and concerns more on the nation itself, therefore the people in public society. Most of the cultural interactions and effort on cultural diplomacy is done at the micro-national level, in the public society by institutions, organizations, communities, or individuals. Not only government-to-government diplomacy but more on people-to-people diplomacy, where independent public actors are needed as the mediator of the Germany’s government in carrying effective diplomacy that is closer and familiar with the public.

Germany does this by mandating and facilitating their various cultural institutions worldwide to serve the country in carrying the role of initiating cultural diplomacy and supporting the government works abroad. One of these cultural institutions is the **Goethe-Institut**, which came into picture as the leading German cultural institute centered on language and culture and one of the biggest and active mediator organizations that carries the role as an important actor of German cultural diplomacy abroad with more than 150 institutes worldwide, including Indonesia (Goethe-Institut, 2022).

The effort of Germany's cultural diplomacy with Indonesia can therefore be vividly seen through Goethe-Institut's works and activities in Indonesia, in realization of Germany's foreign cultural policy and commitment for both countries closer relations in culture as was seen in their Agreement on Cultural Cooperation in 1988.

B. Research Question

Therefore, based on the background explained above, this thesis will be addressing the research question as follows:

“How did Goethe-Institut do their role as means of Germany's Cultural Diplomacy with Indonesia?”

C. Theoretical Framework

To project an understanding on how Germany cultural diplomacy through Goethe-Institut works, the author would use concept of soft power and concept of cultural diplomacy:

1. Concept of Soft Power

Soft Power, a definitive term coined by **Joseph S. Nye**, first developed in his book **“Bound To Lead” (1990)** is *“the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through means of “attraction” rather than “coercion”, by convincing others to follow, or by influencing others to agree to, norms and institutions that produce the desired behavior, through attractiveness of culture, policy, political value and ideal, in contrast to Hard Power that uses the means of politics, military or economy” (Nye, 2004).*

Nye argues that *“Soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, although it is an important part of it. It is also the ability to attract... Simply put, in behavioral terms soft power is attractive power.” (Nye, 2004, p. 6)*

Table 1.2. Hard Power and Soft Power.

	Hard	Soft
Spectrum of Behaviors	coercion inducement Command	agenda setting attraction Co-opt
Most Likely Resources	force payments sanctions bribes	institutions values culture policies

Source: (Nye, 2004, p. 8)

As Nye suggests on the table above, the distinction between hard power and soft power is classified by its types of behaviors and its resources. Hard power has “command power” at the far-end spectrum, it uses coercion with resources like force and sanction, or inducement with payments and bribes as its resources. Whereas soft power has “co-opt power” at the far-end spectrum, it uses agenda setting with resources like institutions, or attraction with resources such as values, culture and policies. In the attempt to fulfill certain agenda or policies, domestically and internationally and to foster relations with others, a state will have to use a soft power effectively. Through public diplomacy, bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, a state achieves objectives by the employment of resources that generates interest through softer approach that doesn’t rely on hard influence and therefore by means of attraction that was able to appeal to others.

Germany use of soft power is done with agenda setting by the employment of their resource, which is institutions or mediator organization to work in various sectors abroad. In their effort, Germany uses attraction, through means of values,

culture and policy as reflected in their “foreign cultural policy” that seeks for bilateral and multilateral cooperation based on values of intercultural dialogue, exchange and mutual understanding.

Nye further explained that soft power has three primary sources; **Culture**, **Political Values** and **Foreign Policies**.

1. Culture, where it is attractive to others, high culture in the form of art, literature and education and in the form of popular culture such as entertainment, music, film and tv.

2. Political Values, when it upholds them domestic and international, such as democracy, essential to the way the country’s image is framed domestically and internationally where it is translated into cooperation that promotes those values.

3. Foreign Policy, through promotion of human rights, peace and development as a foreign policy, sways the interest of others, when it is seen as legitimate and have moral authority. (Nye, 2004, pp. 11-14).

Germany’s soft power has all three of these sources employed in their diplomacy practice. Through endorsement of their cultural institutions works abroad that on promoting their image and attractive culture such as language and German values as a democratic and open country that actively seeks to be involved in the international order and culturally, as a land of “poets and thinkers”, as well as their foreign cultural policy that emphasize on cultural dialogue, cultural exchange and mutual understanding with one another.

2. Concept of Cultural Diplomacy

Diplomacy from the perspective of state is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy by which a state through formal and other representatives as well as other actors, articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests through numbers of activities and correspondence (Barston, 2014, p. 24). Cultural diplomacy

centered on the state act of diplomacy to advise, shape and implement foreign policy through their representatives, using means of “culture” which is tradition or way of life that represent particular people or group of people in form of literature, art, music, dance etc. (Cambridge Dictionary)..

The **Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (ICD)** describe cultural diplomacy as “as a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond; and practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society.” (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, 2021) While **Milton C. Cummings**, in his research about cultural diplomacy, defined it as “exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding, not just in two-way exchange between states but also one-way where a state focuses on the promotion of their national language, policies as a way to tell a story to the world.” (Cummings, 2009, p. 1).

Therefore, cultural diplomacy focuses on the communication of national identity that is culture, perspective and ideas, by means of cultural promotion by a state and cultural exchange between two states, conducted by variety of actors that represent the nation, with the objective to introduce, promote, maintain reputation, finding a mutual understanding, foster new relations and strengthen cooperation with others in the world. With how multi-faceted this form of diplomacy is, every country therefore has its own way of utilizing a cultural diplomacy, tied in to their own national policy, foreign objectives, values, and cultural identity.

As it descends from public diplomacy, the objective cultural diplomacy also shares similarity which explained by **Mark Leonard** in **Public Diplomacy**:

1. To increase familiarity, by deepening understanding, developing the image and turning opinions and ideas that are unfavorable.
2. To increase appreciation, by creating a perception of the country that is positive and to get other countries to see the same perspective as your own.
3. To engage the people, by strengthening ties and cooperation, through means of tourism, education, national brand marketing and getting others to accept one's value, as an attraction.
4. To influence people, by reeling in investors, getting public support for the country's position and winning the favors of politicians and decision makers. (Leonard, 2002, pp. 9-10)

Cultural diplomacy as well strives to achieve these objectives, especially in regards of influencing and engaging with the public, as **Tulus Warsito & Wahyuni Kartisari** in **Diplomacy Kebudayaan (2007)** explained, cultural diplomacy seeks to *“influence the public perception of another country in order to support the foreign policy of certain states that conduct it.”* (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 4) The main objective of cultural diplomacy however is to achieve the national interest. The national interest itself is relevant to the characteristic of the state itself in regards to the situation and the condition between the two engaging states. Therefore, depending on the situation, whether it is peaceful, crisis, conflict or war, the objectives, forms and means of cultural diplomacy is varied. (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 30)

Table 1.3. The Relation between Situation, Forms, Objectives and Means of Cultural Diplomacy

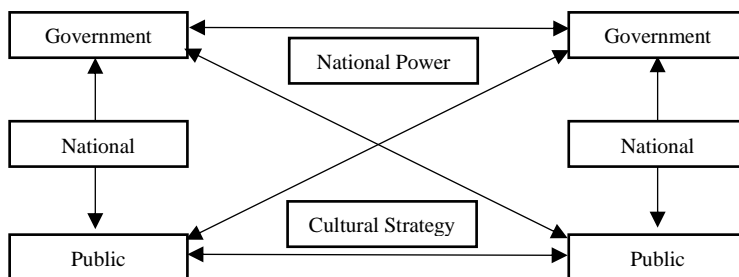
Situation	Forms	Objectives	Means
Peaceful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competition • Conference • Exhibition • Mission Exchange • Negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjustment • Friendship • Hegemony • Recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art • Education • Sport • Tourism • Trade
Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiation • Propaganda • Mission Exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjustment • Intimidation • Persuasion • Recognition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High Level Mission • Diplomatic • Mass Media • Politics • Public Opinion
Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boycott • Mission Exchange • Negotiation • Penetration • Terror 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intimidation • Persuasion • Recognition • Subversion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official Forum • Paramilitary • Public Opinion • Third-Party • Trade
War	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boycott • Blocade • Competition • Embargo • Penetration • Propaganda • Terror 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dominance • Hegemony • Intimidation • Recognition • Subjugation • Subversion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military • Para-Military • Public Opinion • Smuggling • Supply of Consumptive Goods (Weapons) • Trade

Source: (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 31)

As shown in the table above, when the relation between the two or more countries is escalated negatively, the more intense and varies the forms and means of diplomacy was implemented. For example, cultural diplomacy was generally done in peaceful times, in the situation where the relations between the two actors is positive and friendly, thus, the objectives of the states that conduct it are mainly to build friendly relations, adjustment, recognition, or hegemony.

The actors in cultural diplomacy are also varied from national government, non-government or national institute and citizen, as a public collective and/or individual. In a sense, it is possible to be conducted between government to government, government to private, private to private, government to individuals or between individuals themselves. (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 4) It is not confined to only state to state diplomats but include various individuals, groups, and institutions who engage in international and intercultural communication activities in relations to the political relationships between two or more countries (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992, p. 139).

Figure 1.1. Cultural Diplomacy Actors and Targets Scheme.

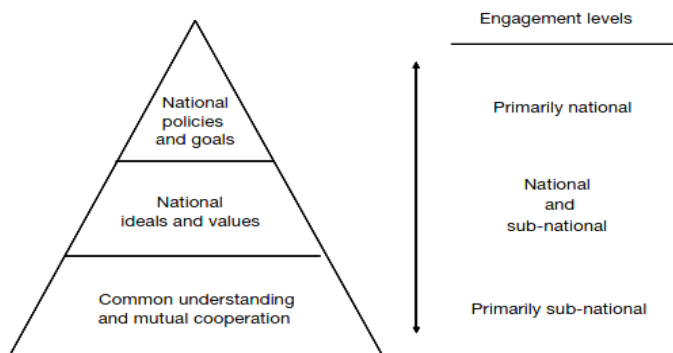


Source: (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 17)

As shown the figure above, cultural diplomacy as a concept is mainly based on the relation and characteristic of its actors in relations to its objectives. Where the cultural diplomacy on one government to another usually concerns on

national power, the cultural diplomacy on government to public of another concerns cultural interest, therefore uses cultural strategy. Cultural diplomacy is also distinct from other diplomacy practices where the target is not only state or government, but the public of a nation as a whole. **Kirsten Bound in Cultural Diplomacy (2007)**, diplomacy actor roles are varied based on their policy objectives and effective field of work. In case of culture, the center of cultural diplomacy, it operates on levels of diplomacy activity, which is an elaboration on **Jian Wang** concept in his writing about the role of Sub-national actors in public diplomacy.

Figure 1.2. Dimension of Public Diplomacy Objective and Level of Engagement.



Source: (Wang, 2006, p. 38)

Wang argues that while national government are the primary actors in managing high-politics in foreign affairs, sub-national actors, such as government institutions, organizations and communities have more effectiveness in achieving diplomacy objectives that involved national ideas and values or cooperation and mutual understanding, diplomacy is multilayered in accordance to its multi-layered context and objectives. (Wang, 2006, pp. 38-39)

In this case, cultural institution as a sub-national actor of a state is usually the main actor that works on promoting

national interest of a state and showcasing a nation's culture worldwide. (Bound, Briggs, Holden, & Jones, 2007, p. 26) And Goethe-Institute as their cultural institution is the sub-national actor that can effectively carry out cultural diplomacy by implementing Germany's cultural diplomacy objectives which concerns on the public, to enable access to culture exchange and to provide education around the world, beyond geo-political and social borders, to create mutual understanding, dialogue and common ground with others in the world. (Auswärtiges Amt, 2021).

Goethe-Institut attempts to influence the public perception and promote a good image of Germany in other countries. They also bridge the relations between Germany and the other, government to government, government to non-government and government to individual through cooperation and collaboration with target country institutions, organizations, community and schools which fosters relations on culture and cultural exchange.

In relations between situations, forms, objectives and means of cultural diplomacy as explained by **Tulus Warsito and Wahyuni Kartikasari** in **Diplomasi Kebudayaan (2007)**, Germany's cultural diplomacy therefore take the form of Exhibition, through Goethe-Institut activities which employed means of:

1. Art, in their cultural programs such as art exhibitions, galleries, film, music, dance, theater etc.
2. Education, in their language courses that teaches German language.

Goethe-Institut centered more on cultural exchange and dialogue in form of art, while in education, they centered on the promotion German language as a national identity. As the globalization continue to develop and information spreading faster than ever, beyond boundaries of cultures, countries such as Germany have a great opportunity to present a good image

themselves, such as in form of exhibition that showcases their own predominance (Warsito & Kartikasari, 2007, p. 21).

In their objective, Germany, also meant to achieve a degree of friendship and close relation with Indonesia that is beyond bilateral diplomacy and closer to the public, to the heart of culture itself, where they encourage intercultural relation with the public, not only in governments to government political relations but a national relations that is closer to people themselves in promotion of intercultural dialogue through cultural programs and education provided by the Goethe-Institut in their activities in Indonesia.

D. Research Hypothesis

To answer the research question based on the background and supported by the theoretical framework above, this thesis hypothesize that Goethe-Institut did its roles as a means for Germany cultural diplomacy with Indonesia through:

1. **Language education**, in the Goethe institutions and schools that are in partnership with Germany across Indonesia, to introduce and promote the German language and German culture.
2. **Cultural programs**, by organizing public events and the use of popular media means of cultural diplomacy, that is centered on exchange of culture between Germany and Indonesia, such as exhibitions, German film screenings and intercultural projects.

E. Research Purpose

To explain the effort of Germany's cultural diplomacy and implementation of their "foreign cultural policy" through means of Goethe-Institut cultural activities in Indonesia.

F. Research Method

This research was done with the use of qualitative method of research, in the form of qualitative data analysis and qualitative data collection. Combining aspects of describing, classifying and connecting, as a three-way process of obtaining and managing data for analysis. Using primarily, secondary

sources as a method of collecting data by going through records of documents, books, journals, official reports, news articles and other credible sources to support the analysis related to Germany foreign cultural policy and relations with Indonesia as well as Goethe Institute in Indonesia.

G. Research Scope

This thesis limits its scope of research to the foreign relations of two countries, Federal Republic of Germany's and Republic of Indonesia and Goethe-Institut activities in Indonesia within the period of 2015-2021.

H. Outline

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter, the author describes the background of the thesis, research question, theoretical framework, research purpose, research method and research scope as well as the outline of the thesis.

CHAPTER II. GERMANY'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND THE DYNAMIC OF RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND INDONESIA.

In this chapter, the author will first explain the cultural diplomacy of Germany, through "foreign cultural policy", its development, actors and objectives as basis of Germany cultural diplomacy and the role of mediator organizations in implementing Germany's foreign cultural policy and cultural diplomacy abroad. Second, the dynamics of Germany and Indonesia relations, through the history and overview of their relations in as well agreements made by both countries on culture.

CHAPTER III. GOETHE-INSTITUT AS MEANS OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY WITH INDONESIA.

In this chapter, the author describes the strategy of Germany in cultural diplomacy through Goethe-Institute as Germany's mediator organization and their activities in

Indonesia as an effort of Germany cultural diplomacy with Indonesia.

CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSION.

This chapter closes the thesis with the author summary, thoughts and conclusion based on the findings as shown in the throughout the chapters of this research.