DISASTER DIPLOMACY AS AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH FOR INDONESIA’S INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ASEAN

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ABSTRACT

ASEAN is one of the regions with the highest rate of disaster vulnerability. Tsunami 2004 has triggered the momentum for Indonesia and ASEAN to deal with disaster-related issues more seriously. Losses and casualties from the catastrophe led to the decision by Indonesian government to put disaster prevention and risk reduction as a priority. Indonesia continues to encourage and supporting ASEAN in order to improve the region’s capability to deal with natural disaster. Through AADMER (ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response) that was signed in July 2005, ASEAN held an unequivocal and defined base in any efforts of disaster management, especially in the ASEAN region. Through Qualitative Methodology, this paper will discuss about how the disaster diplomacy of Indonesia contributes to the improvement of ASEAN’s capability in the disaster management, but also examines BNPB as both the backbone and the focal point of Indonesia’s disaster management, which then leads up to how disaster can abolish certain diplomatic hurdles, as well as improving regional cooperation, and strengthen the Indonesia’s position as a key country in regional disaster management.

Keywords: Indonesia; ASEAN; disaster diplomacy; disaster management; disaster related activity

Introduction

Natural disasters are difficult to predict—on when, where, and what scale. As the time passes, there are various natural disasters have hit numerous areas, which caused huge casualties and losses. On 26 December 2004, Indonesia and the world were shocked by a record-breaking disaster. A 9.1 Richter magnitude scale earthquake in Indian Ocean caused a massive tsunami; and it hit 14 different countries with a total of 228,000 casualties. It is indeed one of the biggest natural disasters in the world’s history.

Since then, Indonesia began to focus on disaster management as their national priority. Indonesian government has established Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB); it is the main and integrated institution for coordinating, planning,
formulating and regulating the policy, giving effective and efficient response in the event of disaster and also handling refugee’s matters in Indonesia (BNPD). It does not stop at national level, as Indonesia continued to take disaster managements as a priority on regional level in ASEAN by actively contributing to disaster management efforts towards the ASEAN regional work programs.

This research is aimed to seek Indonesia’s potential alternative diplomacy approach in ASEAN for Indonesia’s national interest in disaster management. The significance of the study also aimed to evaluate Indonesia’s diplomacy for ASEAN’s disaster related activities.

Conceptual Framework

Disaster diplomacy discusses whether natural disasters induce international cooperation amongst countries that have traditionally been “enemies”. Key principal regarding disaster diplomacy is: the emergence of disaster as a threat could create opportunities to facilitate cooperation between countries. There are also opportunities for countries in conflict situation having mutual relationships that were previously hard to achieve.

Some case studies show that disaster diplomacy affects diplomacy activities; even if it is not considered as the main diplomacy activities. Disaster management or disaster-related activities can significantly affect the diplomatic process which have already started but cannot itself induce new diplomatic initiatives, so it only can act as a catalyst, not creator of new diplomatic process.

Disaster diplomacy can operate in international level; it also has potential to operate in global scale. Vulnerability (caused by the disaster) may be local, but the risk may extend to other areas. Therefore, local vulnerabilities can be considered as large-scale problems, and it is influenced by larger-effects. Discussing disaster diplomacy helps us to examine a form of interacting between space scales. It should be noted that from the national and international policymaker’s perspective, international issues are higher than local issues. The advantages given by several disaster diplomacy case studies has provided two-way results: disasters from local vulnerability have a positive impact on international issues while international scale can help in reducing vulnerability at the local level. Discussing disaster diplomacy could begin from seeing how local and regional disaster management affect inter-state relations. The advancement of this concept involves disasters more than real threat and international politics that goes beyond inter-state interactions.

Disaster diplomacy can be defined as how and why disaster-related activities can or cannot cause the emergence of cooperation between parties or can reduce the occurrence of conflict. The keyword for disaster diplomacy is “disaster-related activities”, because it refers to pre-disaster activities such as prevention, mitigation, and preparedness; alongside with post-disaster activities such as response, recovery, and reconstruction.

Disaster Prone Situation in ASEAN

The ASEAN region is an area with the highest disaster vulnerabilities in the world. Almost all types of natural disasters can strike ASEAN countries, such as typhoons, tropical cyclones, floods, droughts, earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanoes, landslides, forest fires, pandemics, and other disasters that emerge from the dynamics of society such as urbanization, migration, and socio-economic shift.

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2 Ibid., pp. 116-117

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3 Ibid., pp. 119-121
5 GFDRR, ASEAN: Advancing Disaster Risk Financing and Insurance in ASEAN Member States:
Geographically, ASEAN region has diverse circumstances. The ASEAN region covers 4.5 million square kilometers which, and it is 3.3% of the world. ASEAN also has the longest coastline to the world at 173,252 kilometers. It is dominated by territorial sea – about three times larger than the land area. It also has around 625 million people – it is equivalent to 8.8 percent of the total world population. It has several tectonic plates, which often cause many earthquakes, volcanoes, and tsunamis. It is also flanked by two oceans, which are Pacific and Indian Ocean and cause seasonal typhoons and large waves in various areas in ASEAN.\(^6\)

ASEAN member countries are considered as most disaster-prone countries compared with other countries in the world. Flood is the most common natural disaster in ASEAN, while the typhoon disaster is the deadliest disaster in ASEAN. Each year, there are more 30 percent of all global disasters occurred in ASEAN and nearly 9 percent 9 percent of ASEAN’s population is directly affected by the disasters. From 2000 to 2010, the average loss incurred by ASEAN each year is about $ 4.4 trillion.\(^7\)

ASEAN has experienced the world’s greatest disasters (mega-disaster) since 21\(^{st}\) century, such as Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004 that struck many countries in the region; Typhoon Nargis which paralyzed Myanmar in 2008; and Typhoon Haiyan which struck Philippines in 2013.

Disaster-Prone Situation in Indonesia

Indonesia’s geographical position lies in one of the riskiest areas in the world. As the densely populated country, Indonesia is considered as high disaster-risk country. Indonesia’s population is at risk of being occurred by various disasters, such as storms, floods, droughts, earthquakes, landslides, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, and forest fires.\(^8\)

According to BNPB,\(^9\) in the year of 2014 the average of natural disasters in Indonesia was 131 events monthly or 4 events daily. The death toll reached 568 people and it was only 2.4% of deaths compared to transportation accidents occurred in 2013 which reached 23,385 people.

Indonesia is geographically located at the encounter of 3 major plates of the world namely Eurasian Plate, the Australian Plate, and the Pacific Plate. It is located on plates that are mutually subdivided or overlapping and the position is on the border of the plate (especially Java and Sumatra). If the plates move and interact with others, this will be high level of vulnerability occurring due to earthquakes, volcanoes, volcanoes, and tsunamis (geological disasters).\(^10\)

Disaster Management in Indonesia

By looking at ASEAN and Indonesia’s condition that are very vulnerable to disaster risks, serious disaster management efforts are needed. The disaster is a big threat for Indonesia, as it had been struck by tsunami in


\(^{7}\) Ibid., pp. 14


2004, and disaster management is a must and important thing to do. Therefore, has made disaster management as their national priority. Various efforts have been done by Indonesia. These efforts are not only conducted domestically, but Indonesia also brings the priority at regional level by actively contribute in ASEAN.

Indonesia’s Experience in Tsunami Aceh 2004, Diminishing Diplomatic Constraints

In disaster diplomacy, disaster-related activities make it possible to diminish diplomatic constraints especially, in this context, for humanitarian purpose. Because basically, disaster-related activities involved basic human rights. In the context of disaster, it is necessary to understand the linkages between disaster management, the nature of disaster, and the importance of building cooperation. It is difficult to predict when, where, and how big the impact when the disaster occurs. Technological advances have made it possible for governments and societies to monitor and predict future disasters, however, it is difficult for us to prevent such catastrophes from occurring. What can be done is to minimize as much as possible the losses as much as possible through disaster management and disaster risk reduction programs.

Disaster management efforts required the participation of various parties. The Indonesian government has realized that disaster management efforts cannot be done alone; as they will open for bilateral, multilateral, and international cooperation. That is resulted by the event of tsunami Aceh in 2004; it has showed losses and catastrophe as the disaster impact can be considered as global issue.

Tsunami Aceh 2004 has given valuable lesson for Indonesian government; because at that time, Indonesian government was also in the middle of conflict with Free Aceh Movement (GAM). When tsunami hit Aceh, GAM supporter has realized that Indonesian government actually gives attention for them. So, GAM supporters started to open up and had the desire to immediately resolve the conflict.11

On 19 May 2003, Indonesian government declared martial law status in Aceh; it was marked by giving mission to 30.000 Indonesian troops (TNI) to Aceh, which made it the largest military operation in Indonesia since the 1976 East Timor military operation. This status was later reduced to civil emergency in May 2004. During this escalated conflict, Aceh was isolated from foreign parties such as foreign military, International NGOs, and foreign journalist. Indonesian government and international community were shocked because the victims of the nearly 30-year-conflict were nothing compared to losses that caused by the disaster.12

Later, Indonesian government and international community agreed that the reconstruction and recovery were a top priority. This also marked a shift in the political dynamics, in which the Indonesian government received international aid and committed to enter a new phase in negotiations until it reached the word peace. Indonesian government was being opened for international aid and ruled out their insecurity such as foreign military presence in Aceh, foreign intelligence or foreign troops who will assist GAM; it’s all because Aceh’s de facto status was still in a state of civil emergency. Indonesian government was clearly stated that they allows foreign troops and the country’s alliances to enter the affected area while still be remained under their control.

People were faced with the fact that the disaster that takes only within a matter of hours alone had cost far more lives than the decades-old conflict. There was the desire from both parties to solve the conflict as soon as possible.

11 Interview with George Lantu, Direktur Kerjasama Fungsional ASEAN. December 29 2016.
After tsunami struck, Indonesian government and GAM consecutively negotiated – from January 2005 to July 2005, in Helsinki and being mediated by former President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari. On 15 August 2005, the peace agreement was finally signed and marked as the end of the conflict.13

It should be acknowledged that the tsunami is considered as a momentum that made both parties more open for negotiations between the Indonesians and GAM. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia also officially stated that the 2004 Aceh Tsunami was one of the factors that urge both parties to finally signed the peace agreement. Nevertheless, no one had assumed that the disaster urges both parties to sign the peace agreement, as it is better that the peace agreement achieved without any major casualties. In this case, both parties had realized that human security of Aceh’s people is the most important things that have to be achieved, so they open the negotiation possibility. So, there are many people; from the civilian or Aceh Government, who were used to support GAM, and until now support Indonesian government.14

In addition, the Indonesian government learned so many lessons on disaster management that will be beneficial for country in the future. Even when Indonesian government and GAM were in the state of conflict, Indonesian government was remained open to receive foreign aid. The disaster had caused Indonesian government to be ruled out any insecurity and obstacles that could hinder humanitarian purpose. Indonesian government realized that it is necessary to remove those barriers as so that foreign aid could smoothly come to help Aceh and Indonesia. Indonesian government also realized that to face the casualties that caused by the disaster, they have to make people’s life and human security as the top national priority.15

The Establishment of Indonesian National Board of Disaster Management (BNPB) and Indonesia’s Priority on Disaster Management

The 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami was a momentum for Indonesia and the world to prioritize disaster issues. It has made them realize and aware that the casualties that caused by the disaster could be extremely inflict people’s life and human security.

After the disaster, Indonesian government stated that the disaster issues are Indonesia’s top national priority. That is supported by the fact that Indonesia’s geographical position is located at the encounter of three major plates of the world namely Eurasian Plate, the Australian Plate, and the Pacific Plate. Indonesian government sees the threat that is caused by the disaster has huge negative impact on human security, and it can be seen as a major threat to the national security. All forms of natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, forest fires, floods, landslides, and volcanic eruptions have resulted in damage and more casualties than other security factors.16

The national priority for disaster management is shown by the issuance of Law No. 24/2007 (Undang-Undang No. 24 Tahun 2007) on Disaster Management, and it was followed by the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 8/2008 on National Disaster Management Agency, which became the legal basis for the establishment of BNPB.

Law No. 24/2007 is mentioning the establishment of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB). It is a non-departmental government agency that is led by a ministerial-level head.17 As the follow up action

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14 Interview with George Lantu, Direktur Kerjasama Fungsional ASEAN. December 29 2016
15 Ibid
17 Law No. 24/2007, Article 10, Paragraph 2.
from Chapter 4 Law No. 24/2007, Indonesian government issued Presidential Regulation No. 8/2008 on the National Disaster Management Agency and contains the duties and functions of BNPB. Both Law and Presidential Regulations is a foundation for Indonesian government in conducting disaster management activities, such as pre-disaster, during emergency response, and post-disaster.

In the context of national development, Law No. 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management has shown that Indonesia has entered a new phase of disaster management efforts and focus more on pre-disaster activities. Since the issuance of Law No. 24/2007, disaster management efforts become an integral part of development planning in Indonesia. Disaster management has been included in the 2005-2025 National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN), and the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2010-2014 and 2015-2016, which make disaster management issues is one of Indonesia’s priorities.\(^{18}\)

As a form of support for national development plan, Indonesian government has prepared the National Disaster Management Plan (RENAS PB). They already prepared the RENAS PB twice, and those are RENAS PB 2010 – 2014 and were updated in RENAS PB 2015 – 2019. RENAS PB is a manifestation of the Indonesian government's commitment to conduct programs and activities which focus on disaster management.

RENAS PB is also considered as a form of implementation of Law No. 24/2007 on Disaster Management. As shown in Articles 35 and 36, RENAS PB is related to disaster management planning, guidance in development planning, and other similar activities that considered as the implementation of disaster management in the non-disaster situation and coordinated with BNPB.\(^{19}\)

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\(^{18}\) Interview with Nur Rohmah Amalia, Kepala Bagian Manajemen Bencana, Kerjasama Fungsional ASEAN. December 28 2016

\(^{19}\) Law No. 24/2007, Article 35 and 36.

### Indonesia Brought Their Priority to ASEAN

In the 5th Asian Ministerial Conference For Disaster Risk Reduction Opening Ceremony, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono said that the disaster issues are common problem, and there are no countries that can undertake their own disaster risk reduction and mitigation efforts. Indonesia will always actively engage in bilateral, regional, and international cooperation towards building disaster management capacities together.\(^{20}\)

Quoting from Syamsul Maarif’s statement as the former Head of BNPB, as Indonesia is a part of international community, Indonesia is not only being the receiver for international aid but also has to proactively contribute to the international community as a form of humanitarian solidarity in the implementation of disaster management. Indonesia's contribution is not only done through humanitarian action and logistics delivery, but also with the various knowledge and experiences.\(^{21}\)

In the context of disaster management in ASEAN, Indonesia has been brought disaster management to ASEAN by actively participating in disaster-related activities as a form of Indonesia's commitment to strengthen regional capability. The establishment of BNPB as the Indonesia’s focal point is a form of Indonesia’s commitment in implementing AADMER, as it is shown in AADMER Article 22 National Focal Point and Competent Authorities. The Articles requires each party (ASEAN Member States) to establish a National Focal Point in order to implement the objectives of AADMER.\(^{22}\)

AADMER also requires each ASEAN member state, as mentioned in AADMER Article 4, to cooperate in the development and coordination.

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\(^{22}\) ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response, Article 22.
implementation of disaster risk reduction through disaster risk identification; the development of monitoring, assessing, and early warning systems; arrangement of preparedness for disaster relief and emergency response; information and technology exchange; and willingness to help each other as a form of reciprocity.23

Since Indonesia has signed AADMER, they have been always actively contributing towards disaster mitigation efforts in ASEAN. There are:

a. As the Host of AHA Center

From the beginning, Indonesia has offered to be the host of ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance Centre or AHA Center. For 2 years, 2006 – 2009, Indonesia has formed first interim AHA Center where located in BNPB. Indonesia had been trusted to be the host of AHA Center at the 40th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Manila, Philippines in 2007. After AADMER has officially started, the interim was revoked and replaced with the establishment of the AHA Center permanently (Amaliah, 2016). The AHA Center was officially established in 2011, and it marked by the signing of the Agreement on the Establishment of the ASEAN Coordinating Center for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management at the 19th ASEAN Summit in Bali on 17 November 2011. The agreement was signed by all Foreign Ministers of ASEAN member countries and witnessed by ASEAN Heads of State. AHA Center has officially started to operate in Jakarta as their headquarter is in Jakarta, Indonesia.24

b. Actively Contribute in ACDM Working Group

Co-chairing in several ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management or ACDM working groups is a form of Indonesia’s effort towards implementing AADMER. This working group is beneficial to support and develop the ongoing AADMER programs. This working group will supervise the projects accordance with the thematic priorities of each group. Indonesia has co-chaired ACDM Working Group on Recovery and ACDM Working Group on Knowledge and Innovation Management and became a member for 3 other working groups.

c. Leading ACDM

In 2016, Indonesia has the opportunity to become chairman of ACDM and AMMDM (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Disaster Management). During that period, there were several achievements that is related to cooperation towards strengthen disaster management capabilities in ASEAN25:

1. Signing Host Country Agreement (HCA) between The Government and AHA Center on 23 February 2016, in Jakarta. Host Country Agreement is very useful for the AHA Center to effectively and efficiently completes their duties and activities.
2. Signing ASEAN Declaration on One ASEAN One Response by leaders of ASEAN member countries at the 28th ASEAN Meeting in Vientiane, Laos on 6 September 2016.
3. Ratification of Concept Note on Joint Operations and Coordination Center of ASEAN (JOCCA). JOCCA is a platform to coordinate and become a base for ASEAN in the operation field. JOCCA is used by ASEAN-ERAT as a place to gather when the disaster occurs as well as the coordination and joint operation command center for ASEAN member states towards responding the disaster.
4. Ratification of Standard Operating Procedure for Regional Standby

23 ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response, Article 4
Arrangements and Coordination of Joint Disaster Relief and Emergency Response Operations (SASOP) Chapter VI, which regulates the use of military assets and capacity in the ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR). It is indeed the proposal from Indonesia, as they have been actively engaged in drafting ASEAN SASOP Chapter VI about Facilitation and Utilization of Military Assets and Capacities since 2015 by encouraging the fruitful discussion in the ASEAN forums.

5. Ratification of the ASEAN Joint Disaster Response Plan (AJDRP) as an effort to implement the declaration of One ASEAN One Response.

6. ASEAN involvement in the World Humanitarian Summit (WHS) through ASEAN Joint Statement for World Humanitarian Summit and Side Event at WHS entitled "ASEAN-UN Partnership Moving Forward" on May 24, 2016 in Istanbul, Turkey. ASEAN was represented by Willem Rampangilei as Head of BNPB as well as Chairman of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Disaster Management (AMMMMD) 2016.

7. Ratification of ASEAN Joint Statement for Asian Ministerial Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (AMCDRR), which held on November 3-4, 2016 in India.

d. Another Indonesia’s Contribution in East Asia Summit’s (EAS) forums

1. Indonesia is succeeded to conduct international activities, such as Mentawai Megathrust Disaster Relief Exercise (MM Direx) in 2014 in Padang and Mentawai Islands as a follow up of the President's declaration regarding the 6th EAS Summit in November 2011 in Bali. his meeting is also an effort to implement Indonesia-Australian Paper: A Practical Approach to Enhance Regional Cooperation on Disaster Rapid Response.

2. Indonesia and Australia are succeeded to conduct Indonesia – Australia EAS Rapid Disaster Response Workshop 3 times in Darwin, Australia in 2013, as well as in Bali in June 2014 and June 2015. 13, as well as in Bali in June 2014 and June 2015. This meeting is also an effort to implement Indonesia-Australian Paper: A Practical Approach to Enhance Regional Cooperation on Disaster Rapid Response that is adopted at the 9th EAS Summit in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar on November 13, 2014.

3. Indonesia and Australia are succeeded to launch the EAS Rapid Disaster Response Toolkit (EAS Toolkit) on June 10, 2015 to coincide with the 3rd Indonesia-Australia EAS Rapid Disaster Response Workshop in Bali followed by the Indonesia-New Zealand EAS Disaster Recovery Workshop, where Indonesia and New Zealand together discussed the experience of post-disaster recovery.

4. Indonesia recently held Ambon Disaster Response Exercise 2016 (Ambon DIREx): Tabletop Exercise (TTX) on the EAS Rapid Disaster Response Toolkit in Ambon, on 15-17 November 2016 with the theme: Promoting the EAS Rapid Disaster Response Toolkit A Regional Protocol in Strengthening Effective Collaboration on Disaster Response and Resilience in the Region. This meeting was aimed to test the EAS Toolkit as a guide for decision makers to implement emergency coordination and relief mechanisms when the disaster hits. This activity also examines the roles and functions of each National Focal Points in
coordinating and exchanging information

Indonesia’s Disaster Diplomacy Could Potentially Strengthen Indonesia’s Position in ASEAN

Indonesia had been experiencing disaster management activities, and it makes the issues is a part of the Indonesia’s strengths in ASEAN. The strength is shaped from the bitter experience – hit by many disasters that killed people and caused great losses. Moreover, Indonesia’s geographical location is also cause the Indonesian to live in the shadow of disaster.

This experience makes Indonesia has more value from other ASEAN member states’ perspective, especially in terms of disaster management. Indonesia already had a disaster recovery toolbox that is consist of Indonesia Post Disaster Need Assessment (I-PDNA), E-PDNA, and Indonesia Post Disaster Recovery Index (I-PDRI) and has established a Professional Disaster Management Certification Agency that will also considered as reference material for disaster prevention efforts in ASEAN.

PDNA contains a post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction framework as a form to prepare the recovery action plan. The preparation includes arranging priorities, budgeting, also monitoring and evaluation frameworks. Ina PDRI is an approach to measure the level of post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction for a certain period of time. It is expected to be able measuring changes in key aspects of post-disaster life from individual, family, to community level. This approach aims to ensure that the rehabilitation and reconstruction program improving life aspects to be better.26

Indonesia is also known as a disaster laboratory where experts can learn about the various disasters that emerged in Indonesia. Indonesia’s experience in many disasters and the mitigation efforts make Indonesia being valued more within this region. It is also a platform for Indonesia Disaster Relief Training Ground (INA DRTG) which is located in Sentul as the Center of Excellence at ASEAN. This facility is also integrated directly with the Center of PUSDALOPS through Disaster Management Information System (DMIS). It is also directly integrated with AHA Center in terms of ASEAN regional disaster assistance and report. In the emergency situation, INA DRTG has a Situation & Crisis Room for the President, Head of BNPB, Ministers, and other disaster managers that will be involved. The Crisis Room also consists of data storage and analysis facilities that have the same system as the Center of PUSDALOPS in Jakarta, so that it can follow transition process quickly and efficiently when the disaster hits.

Conclusion

As a country that has been experienced in facing disasters, Indonesia is considered as a key actor to enhance ASEAN regional capabilities as demonstrated by Indonesia’s contribution to disaster mitigation efforts in ASEAN.

Disaster diplomacy provides a new perspective for disaster issues. Disaster is not only seen and analyzed from the negative side, but more on the positive side. This perspective also sees Indonesia’s potentials in disaster management at the national level as well as the contribution and role of Indonesia in enhancing regional capabilities.

By analyzing from the disaster diplomacy perspective, it is saving to suggest that disaster-related activities can remove the diplomatic barriers, especially related to humanitarian purpose. This is shown by how Indonesia opens the possibility for international aid and cooperation and removes the barriers when Indonesian government was still in conflict situation with GAM.

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