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# The Strategy of Defence Diplomacy in Achieving National Interests and Maintaining the Sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia

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## Abstract

Maintaining national unity and sovereignty is Indonesia's main goal to protect the people and promote general welfare. In addition, Indonesian defense is also the main focus of the government in realizing the integrity of the country. In achieving and securing these interests, diplomacy has always been the choice of the state as the dominant way to achieve these goals. Defense diplomacy is also part of Indonesia's total diplomacy. It means that the national defense system is carried out early by the government and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner. In practice, the state could use the resources it has, including military, economic, political, intelligence, natural and human resources, etc. All parties must agree that in conducting diplomacy, negotiation is very vital, so it could be said that the successful negotiations could also be interpreted as victory in diplomacy. To be able to negotiate well, the strength and ability of the bargaining position is an important requirement that must be owned by a nation. The bargaining position of a nation is strongly influenced by the nation's national power and one of the prominent components of that national power is the military component. This what makes the military difficult to separate from state diplomacy. This research is designed to gain an understanding of the defense diplomacy of the Republic of Indonesia in achieving national interests and defending the sovereignty of the nation. This study aims to analyze the role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in achieving national interests and defending the nation's sovereignty. In addition, in this research the author also analyzes the factors that influence the role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests and maintaining national sovereignty. This study uses a qualitative method with descriptive-analytical specifications, with the data obtained through observation and literature study. Data analysis techniques are more carried out in conjunction with data collection during research. The results of the study can be concluded that the role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests is not optimal and its achievements are still limited to only defense issues; The factors that affect the role of defense diplomacy are viewed from several dimensions, which are the dimensions of the capacity and capability of the Indonesian National Military (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/TNI), the dimensions of cooperation between agencies and the dimensions of the arranging a diplomatic strategy, and based on this situation, Indonesia must strengthen its defense diplomacy strategy in order to achieve national interests and maintain the sovereignty of the Indonesian nation.

**Keywords:** Defense Diplomacy, Sovereignty, National Interest, Diplomacy Strategy

## 1. Introduction

In international relations, each country has its own national interests. Not infrequently found, the national interests of a country intersect and even clash with the interests of other countries. This is prone to bringing the country

into tension and sometimes leading to conflict. Countries use diplomacy to secure or achieve their national interests. Diplomacy tends to be associated with soft power and the use of military force is seen as hard power. In The advance learners dictionary of current English, it is stated that "*Diplomacy is skill in making arrangements, cleverness in dealing with people so that they remain friendly and willing to help*". Meanwhile, Sir Ernest Satow, defines it as "*The application of tact and intelligence to the conduct of foreign relations between government and independent state*". (Departemen Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2008)

This could be interpreted that diplomacy is a skill in determining how to win our interests without causing hostility. In this case, the author provides a definition of diplomacy as the implementation of a country's foreign policy. In relation to this, the Indonesian government currently spawns a concept known as total diplomacy. In total diplomacy, all stakeholders of Indonesian diplomacy are invited to take an active (selective) role because diplomacy is essentially the responsibility of all components of the nation or the main components supported by reserve components and supporting components as well as the main elements supported by other elements as a national power. Diplomacy will be stronger, when all components of the nation participate in promoting Indonesia and fighting for Indonesia's national interests. (Setyawan & Wahyudi Sumari, 2016)

Associated with defense, defense diplomacy can be meaningful as a way to win the interests of the nation by using the military/defense as a tool or resource without having to prioritize violence as a way. Defense diplomacy could also be understood as a series of activities which are mainly carried out by representatives of the defense department or other government institutions with the aim of winning national interests in the security and defense sector by using negotiations and other diplomatic instruments. (Syawi, 2004)

In this context, defense diplomacy has consequences that must implemented totally, integrated, directed, and continuous manner as the meaning of the state defense system (hanneg) itself. For example, things that stand out and are still carried out by parts of the TNI / main components (military defense). In this context, defense diplomacy can also be interpreted as diplomacy carried out by the *TNI* for supporting foreign policy or implementing state political policies and decisions/defense policies and supporting resolving various international problems. Related to that, Martin Griffiths and Terry Callaghan stated that "*Diplomacy is the overall process conducted by a country in international relations*". (Hermansyah, 2022)

At this level, defense diplomacy, which is still conducted by the TNI, is also part of total diplomacy which is considered very strategic in order to achieve the goals of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*). Today, the use of the military in the affairs of state diplomacy is no longer considered purely as the use of violence (violence means), that is when many countries have transformed their military role into one of the diplomatic tools for achieving goals by not involving elements of violence or threats in it. Many countries have given examples of how the military has become one of the diplomatic packages whose use is not only limited to defense and security matters. An example that can be taken from the use of the military in diplomatic affairs without involving elements of violence in it and not directly related to security issues was shown by China when the country tried to win the tender for the construction of airports and roads in Tanzania. China uses its military as a diplomatic tool by providing military assistance to the Tanzanian military and contributing to the construction of thousands of houses for Tanzanian soldiers. This method succeeded in winning the hearts of the Tanzanian government and in the end the tender was won by China. The involvement of the *TNI* in state diplomacy is carried out in various roles. (Hermansyah, 2022)

To maintain world peace, the TNI has become one of the regular participants in the UN peacekeeping mission. In the ASEAN region, the TNI also plays an active role in establishing communication with the military of state friends through meeting forums such as the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting which is a forum that aims to build the same perception as the armed forces of ASEAN countries and their partners regarding regional security and enhance mutual trust and identify new areas for cooperation. Indonesia has even been the initiator of the Jakarta International Defense Dialogue (JIDD) meeting, which is an international communication forum that discusses about the world security. This is in accordance with one aspect of defense diplomacy, namely building mutual trust (Defense Diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures). (Rafikasari, 2021) From the description of the explanation of the role of the TNI, the involvement of the TNI in state diplomacy is still limited to diplomacy

that is directly related to the interests of the state in defense and security. The involvement of the TNI in diplomacy in order to fight for the interests of the state in other sector, especially economics and politics, is still not significant. The military involvement in the country's total diplomacy is not yet maximal, of course, there are causes and backgrounds. It happen because, first, the relationship between institutions has not been in synergy, especially with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Second, the capacity and capability of the TNI is still limited in terms of its involvement in total state diplomacy. There are several conditions that must be possessed by the TNI in order to make it the country's main choice in conducting diplomacy, for example, the TNI must have a good bargaining price, bargaining position, at least in the Asian region. (Lal, 1984)

In addition, the connection of relations with the military of a particular country also affects the way they behave and the behavior of other countries towards the TNI. Thus, the TNI must be more observant in determining priorities for fostering military cooperation relations with state friends. In fact, before deciding to increase military cooperation relations with other countries, the TNI should look at the priorities of national interests that can be fought for through diplomacy by coordinating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding which countries are the targets of state diplomacy. From the brief explanation above, it could be seen that the TNI is quite actively involved in state diplomacy activities. However, the role of the TNI in diplomacy is not maximized and need to be more optimized. In fact, the military can play an important role in diplomacy to support state diplomacy. Military involvement in state diplomacy can make it easier for states to achieve their national interests. (Drab, 2018) Based on this description, the formulation of the problem that will be raised in this study is how Indonesia's defense diplomacy achieves national interests and maintains Indonesian sovereignty. Referring to the formulation of the problem, the research questions are what is the role of the TNI in the context of defense diplomacy, how to optimize the role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests and maintaining state sovereignty, how is the relationship between the TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the leading sector of state diplomacy?

## **2. Literature Review: Concept and Theoretical Study**

### *2.1. The Concept of a Free and Active Foreign Policy*

As regulated in Articles 2 and 5 of the Republic of Indonesia Act Number 37 Year 1999 concerning Foreign Relations, foreign relations are conducted based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, foreign policy, national laws and regulations and international law and practice. The foreign policy in Articles 3 and 4 states that it adheres to the principle of free and active which is perpetuated for the national interest and implemented through diplomacy which is creative, active and anticipatory, not just routine and reactive, firm in principles and stance, as well as rational and flexible in approach. The meaning of "free and active" is a foreign policy which is not essentially a neutral policy, but a foreign policy that is free to determine attitudes and policies towards international problems and does not bind itself a priori to one world power and actively contributes both in the form of thoughts and ideas as well as active participating in resolving conflicts, disputes and other world problems, for the sake of realizing world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice. The first vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, Mohammad Hatta, in front of the Working Body of the Central Indonesian National Committee (*Badan Pekerja Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat/BP-KNIP*) on September 2, 1948 in Yogyakarta, said: "*But should we Indonesians who fight for the independence of our nation and country, only have to choose pro Russia or not? pro american? Is there no other position we must take in pursuing our goals? The government's opinion said that the position we must take is that we should not become objects in the international political struggle, but rather we must become subjects who have the right to determine our own attitude, have the right to fight for our own goal, a fully independent Indonesia*". (Hatta, 1988)

This concept of thought was then used as the basis for the state in determining Indonesia's foreign policy, which was then set forth in the Act of the Republic of Indonesia Number 37 Year 1999 about Foreign Relations.

### *2.2. Defense Diplomacy Theory*

Defense diplomacy is a whole way and strategy through various aspects of cooperation such as economics, culture, politics, defense and diplomacy so that countries can have friendly relations, further cooperate with each other, and most importantly increase trust. Defense diplomacy is used as a tool to achieve a country's foreign policy

targets. Gregory Winger in his writing *The Theory of Defense Diplomacy* explains that “*Defense diplomacy is a way of using the military not for violence, such as exchange of officers, warship visits, joint military exercises in order to achieve the international interests of a country.*” Still in Winger's writings, Andre Cottey and Anthony Foster state that “*Defense diplomacy is the use of the military in peacetime as a tool for security policy and foreign relations*”. It is reinforced by Martin Edmons who defines defense diplomacy as the use of the military for operations other than war by utilizing its training experience and discipline to achieve national interests both at home and abroad. (Pedrason, 2015)

The success of the implementation of defense diplomacy is highly dependent on diplomatic efforts which applied at the global, regional and bilateral levels. Of all that, diplomacy at the bilateral level plays a very important role. The success of a country's defense diplomacy strategy is a collaboration of diplomacy, defense and development components. However, partially there are main characters of a country's defense diplomacy:

- 1) Defense diplomacy for Confidence Building Measures;
- 2) Defense Diplomacy for defense capabilities;
- 3) Defense Diplomacy for Defense industry.

In the context of Indonesian history (Act No. 29/1954; Act No. 20/1982; Act No.1-2/1988) and its development process, defense diplomacy, including military diplomacy, is constitutionally embodied through various laws and regulations. For example, Act no. 37 Year 1999 about Foreign Relations, Act no. 24 Year 2000 about International Agreements, Act no. 3 Year 2002 about National Defense, as well as Act no. 34 Year 2004 about the TNI. In fact, Act 17/2007 has supported it by stating that defense development includes systems, TNI professionalism, development of defense technology in supporting the availability of defense equipment, reserve components, and defense support, directed at continuous efforts to realize the capability defense that goes beyond minimal defensive power. The defense capability is continuously improved so that it has a respected deterrent effect to support the bargaining position in the diplomatic arena. Likewise, the issuance of Act 17/2011 about State Intelligence which views a threat in a comprehensive/total analogy with defense diplomacy itself. (Berridge, 2005)

As a form of the implementation of defense diplomacy related to the latest military/TNI (actors) was in March 2014. The Indonesian Air Force's Boeing 737 reconnaissance plane joins 10 other countries on a mission to find the missing Malaysian Airlines plane (MH-370) that is believed to have disappeared in the Indian Ocean. In that mission, at least the nuances of diplomacy, including humanitarian diplomacy as part of the mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, were very strong. Departing from that description, it can be understood that the defense diplomacy carried out by the ranks of the TNI and/or military defense implemented in the execution of the task of searching for the missing aircraft can also be categorized as public diplomacy. Likewise, with regard to sending peacekeeping troops (Peace Keeping Operation/PKO) or Mechanical Yon and the like. With due observance, at least the use of TNI forces in the context of world peace tasks, must be carried out in accordance with Indonesia's foreign policy policy and provisions of national law. (Syawfi, 2009)

### 2.3. Synergy Theory

Covey defines synergism as, “*A combination of elements or parts that can produce a better and greater output than being done alone, besides that a combination of several elements will produce a superior product.*” Therefore, synergy in development means the integration of various elements that can produce better and larger outputs. Covey added that synergism will easily occur if the existing components are able to think synergistically, there is a common view and mutual respect. (Covey, 2005)

### 2.4. Strategy Concept

Tjiptono conveyed that strategy was adopted from the Greek language which means a science or art to become a general. Strategy can also be interpreted as a plan to divide military power, use it and place it in certain places in order to achieve certain goals. Meanwhile, Rangkuti argues that strategy is a comprehensive master plan, which explains how the company will achieve all the goals that have been set based on the mission that has been set previously. Additionally, according to Joni's opinion in Anitah, strategy is the knowledge and ability to utilize all available and/or available resources to achieve the stated goals. In line with that, Mc Nichols in J. Salusu states

that strategy is an art and skill in using an organization's resources to achieve its goals through effective relationships with the environment in the most favorable conditions. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the strategy is a plan that contains ways to achieve the goals in accordance with the vision that has been set by utilizing all available resources. (Kuswardini, 2016)

### *2.5. Concept of National Interest*

National interest is a concept that is often discussed in studies and issues of international relations. Every country must have a national interest which is often the basis for every country in formulating its international relations strategy. The foreign policy of a country is strongly influenced by the national interest of that country. (Chandra & Mahindra, 2012) The state is the most dominant actor in playing a role to achieve the national interest. Experts have varying opinions in interpreting and defining national interests. According to H.J. Morgenthau, National interest is the minimum ability of a state to protect and defend its physical, political and cultural identity from interference from other countries. From this review, state leaders formulate specific policies towards other countries that are cooperative or conflicting. Meanwhile, Paul Seabury defines the national interest through two points of view, namely descriptively which has the meaning as a goal that must be achieved by a nation on a regular basis through government leadership and normatively, the national interest is a collection of ideals of a nation which the nation seeks to achieve by way of dealing with other countries. Daniel S. Paap, said that in the national interest there are several aspects, such as economy, ideology, military strength and security, morality and legality. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the national interest is an ideal that is a target that must be achieved by the state, where these ideals have multi-dimensional political, economic, social and defense and security dimensions. (Covey, 2005)

### *2.6. Foreign Policy Concept*

Foreign policy is a policy taken by the government of a country or other political community in relation to states and non-state actors in the international world. According to Walter Carlsnaes, foreign policy is actions directed to goals, conditions and actors (both governmental and non-governmental) who are outside their territory and who they want to influence. These actions are expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, commitments and or directions, and are carried out by government representatives acting on behalf of a sovereign state or community. Meanwhile, according to K. J. Holsti, foreign policy is an action or idea designed by policy makers to solve problems or promote a change in the environment, namely in the policies of attitudes or actions of other countries. The idea of foreign policy can be divided into four components from general to more specific, which are foreign policy orientation, national role, goals, and actions. (Chandra & Mahindra, 2012)

Meanwhile, Mark R. Amstutz, defines foreign policy or policy as "*As the explicit and implicit actions of governmental officials designed to promote national interests beyond a country's territorial boundaries*". In this definition, it emphasizes the actions of government officials to design the national interest of their country in order to promote the national interest, beyond the territorial boundaries of a country. So, in general it could be said that foreign policy is a concept used by the government or state or non-government to plan and commit to be a guide in dealing with other parties in the external environment. (Holsti, 1970)

## **3. Research methods**

In this study, the method used is a qualitative method with descriptive-analytical specifications, which is a research method with the intention of understanding the phenomena experienced by the subject of the perpetrator, including behavior, perception, motivation, action, and others holistically, which then expressed in the form of words and language, naturally and by utilizing various scientific methods. (Kumar, 2014) The research subjects are informants who are related in their respective fields of duty. The object of this research is the role of the TNI in defense diplomacy, the capacity and capability of the TNI in diplomacy, and the working relationship of the TNI with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of diplomacy, and the role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests and defending the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

## 4. The Result of Research

### 4.1. *The Role of TNI Defense Diplomacy*

In this defense diplomacy role, it will only focus on defense diplomacy through sending peacekeepers and placing defense attaches. This is because the two focuses, in accordance with the problems in the research, which are in the spotlight are the absence of a comprehensive defense diplomacy strategy that involves all stakeholders. This is clearly illustrated in the implementation of the defense attaché's duties. Also the use of defense diplomacy for interests other than defense and security issues is still not optimal, which could be seen in defense diplomacy through the sending of UN peacekeepers.

### 4.2. *Indonesian Peace Troops*

The sending of TNI troops on peace missions is one tangible form of the implementation of defense diplomacy carried out by the TNI. One of the goals of defense diplomacy is to prevent conflict and influence the policies of the target country or at least create a positive perception of the military (TNI) or the state. There are two forms of participation that can be carried out by a country in UN peace operations, first is the countries that are members of the United Nations can participate by donating funds to support the peace operation and second, by sending peacekeepers directly to conflict areas. The involvement of the TNI in peacekeeping missions began in 1957 when for the first time the TNI sent a peacekeeping force of 559 personnel who were members of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in order to help ease the conflict between Egypt and Britain. The first mission of the TNI peacekeeping force was considered a success by the United Nations and since then the TNI has continued to gain the trust of the United Nations to assist peace in various parts of the world. The second UNOC mission in the Congo in 1960 with the number of 1,074 people, then the missions followed by the Garuda Contingent were deployed to maintain peace in various countries, including UNEF in Egypt (1973-1979), UNIMOG in Iraq (1988, 1989, 1990), UNTAC in Cambodia (1992-1992), UNIKOM in Kuwait (1993), UNPROFOR in Bosnia (1995), UNPREDEP in Macedonia (1996), UNTAES in East Solovenia (1997), UNAMSIL in Siera Leone (2002), Monuc in Congo (2004) , and since 2006 until now Indonesia has sent UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) missions to Lebanon, Kizi to Congo and Haiti and Unamid (United Nations Mission In Darfur) to Darfur-Sudan, and Mali in 2015.

So far, the implementation of the TNI's peacekeeping duties under the United Nations is considered quite successful, especially in communicating and fostering citizens in conflict areas. The application of the territorial development method in the implementation of peacekeeping tasks has produced very positive results in achieving the task. One of the areas where TNI troops are regularly stationed is in Lebanon. The opportunity to interact with local communities in South Lebanon was well utilized by the TNI. The interaction carried out by the TNI with the community in South Lebanon resulted in a very good acceptance of the presence of TNI troops in the region. Efforts to gain acceptance and management of these interactions have become a phenomenon of their own, both among the UNIFIL contingent and the Indonesian people. This phenomenon is related to the difficulty of UNIFIL contingents from other countries to be well received by the people in South Lebanon. Despite the various successes, the implementation of the tasks of the Indonesian peacekeepers, which is also a form of defense diplomacy and aims to achieve the national interest, has not been fully utilized. Military diplomacy carried out by TNI peacekeeping is only limited to issues of defense and security, even though the opportunity to be able to take advantage of this mission to achieve national interests in other fields, especially the economy is quite wide open. Several contributing countries to the UN peacekeeping force have demonstrated that in carrying out their duties, these troops also participate in marketing their domestic products in the countries where they are assigned. This certainly needs to be a concern for the TNI to be able to contribute more actively in achieving national interests to play its role as a military diplomacy.

### 4.3. *Defense Attaches of the Republic of Indonesia Abroad*

Diplomatic representatives are state institutions abroad whose task is to foster relations in politics, economy, social, culture, defense and security with other countries. These duties and authorities are carried out by the

diplomatic corps, which are ambassadors, attorneys and attaches. The attaches consist of two parts, namely defense attaches and technical attaches. The defense attache is held by a military officer who is seconded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is stationed at the embassy of the country concerned, and is given the position of a diplomat. The job is to provide advice in the military, defense and security to the plenipotentiary Ambassador. In carrying out their duties, the defense attache has not maximally achieved the target. It is often in their duties miscommunicate between the defense attaché and the ambassador as the head of representative. There are several cases when the mission carried out by the defense attache has not been in sync with the mission of the head of representative, so the implementation of diplomatic tasks seems to run independently. There are several factors that cause this to happen:

- 1) There is no common understanding that the ambassador is the head of the representative who serves as the head of mission and controls the implementation of diplomatic tasks in accredited countries. There is still an assumption that the ambassador is a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, even though the ambassador is a representative of the state to carry out the duties of state diplomacy.
- 2) The preparation of the mission paper by both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the TNI has not been carried out in a coordinated manner. The mission paper is a guide to the implementation of diplomacy in a country that contains priority targets and strategies that will be used to achieve diplomatic goals. The preparation of the mission paper for the head of representative is still being carried out by the ambassador candidate and has not been carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that the mission paper has not been achieved. However, what is even more unfortunate is that most, if not all, of the Indonesian Defense Attaches do not have mission papers to guide the implementation of their diplomatic duties.

#### *4.4. TNI's Capacity and Capability in Implementing Defense Diplomacy*

In the implementation of defense diplomacy, the capacity and capability of the military is one of the main determinants of the successful implementation of such diplomacy. A military that has good capacity and capability tends to be successful in doing its diplomatic mission. It is common knowledge that diplomacy carried out generally aims to change or influence a country's policies, either by hard or by subtle means, which in practice often makes bargaining, so that a strong bargaining position guarantees the success of the diplomacy being carried out. The bargaining position of diplomatic instruments, in this case is the military, highly dependent on the capacities and capabilities it has. Currently, the capacity possessed by the TNI is still far from being expected to be able to carry out military diplomacy tasks with the target of being able to influence or change the policies of the target country. The TNI does not yet have the means to accommodate military diplomacy such as completeness of weapons and defense equipment as well as ideal budget support.

The bargaining position of the military is very dependent on the strength of the military, especially in terms of the completeness of war equipment. In capabilities that lead to diplomatic tasks, it is openly acknowledged that the TNI also does not have sufficient capabilities both in personnel and strategy. In term of personnel, it is realized that TNI personnel still do not have the knowledge and abilities expected in diplomacy. Limitations of language and insight become the dominant obstacle in doing diplomatic tasks. Currently, the TNI has a lot of cooperation with the military of state friends, both through joint training programs, education and operations. From this collaboration, not a few TNI soldiers were sent abroad to carry out these programs, but it must be admitted that the contribution of soldiers, especially those related to diplomacy, still needs to be increased. In terms of strategy, TNI still needs to reformulate an accurate and comprehensive strategy in diplomacy.

Diplomatic activities carried out by the TNI, both by TNI Headquarters and Army Headquarters, are continuously implemented and have even become a permanent program, but their implementation has not been structured in a complete TNI diplomacy strategy. The implementation of diplomacy by the forces (army, navy and air force) is still implemented separately without a clear strategy so that the results couldn't be felt. This is what prompted the TNI Commander, Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, in his work program to include strengthening military diplomacy as one of the targets to be achieved. The implementation of diplomacy doing by the Army, Navy and Air Force and even TNI Headquarters still seems to be a mere routine program without any specific achievement targets like a



strategy. Each force's diplomacy has not been based on a certain strategy that requires a predetermined achievement target.

## 5. Discussion of the Research Results

In achieving and securing the interests of the state, diplomacy has always been the choice of the state as the dominant way to achieve the goals. Practically, the state can use the sources of power it has, including military, economic, political, intelligence and so on. The use of the military as an instrument in diplomacy has become unavoidable. Furthermore, the following authors describe further explanations related to the results of the study, as follows:

### 5.1. *The Role of the TNI's Defense Diplomacy in the UN Peacekeeping Force*

The sending of peacekeepers who are members of the UN peacekeeping mission is a form of the Indonesian government's strong commitment to world peace as well as giving importance to the implementation of foreign relations and a real manifestation of a free and active foreign policy. Also for improving Indonesia's image in the international world. In doing the task of maintaining world peace, the TNI as one of the spearheads of military forces representing Indonesia under the control of the United Nations has achieved many successes so that it continues to gain the trust of the United Nations to carry out peace missions. In the context of diplomacy, the success of TNI troops in UN missions indirectly, besides playing the role of military diplomacy, also plays the role of public diplomacy. The implementation of the territorial development method in peacekeeping mission by the TNI in its implementation, social communication and interaction with the community are routinely carried out by TNI troops. Public diplomacy is one of the diplomatic strategies played by many countries in order to influence the perceptions and opinions of the people of other countries through psychological approaches to achieve their political agendas and goals. This, according to the definition given by Jarol B. Mainheim, public diplomacy has the meaning as an attempt by a country to influence public opinion and leaders in other countries with the aim of facilitating the achievement of the goals of its foreign policy. The application of the territorial development method is a very effective of taking a psychological approach to the community in while doing the mission.

The application of the method of territorial development which implemented by TNI troops includes several things, among others; providing assistance to the community around the operating area, assistance to schools, providing assistance to orphanages, medical assistance or treatment for residents around the operating area, as well as visits religious events which involve the community leaders. It is not surprising that the public's acceptance of the TNI in each of its peacekeeping mission is very good. The TNI's ability to interact with the community as well as sensitivity to the environment is the basic capital for TNI soldiers in developing defense diplomacy, especially related to the implementation of public diplomacy. The TNI's ability to take a psychological approach to the community in the assigned area can certainly provide good opportunities in state diplomacy in order to achieve national interests, considering that public opinion in a country will greatly influence the country's political policies. Several countries have used their peacekeepers to carry out diplomacy by strengthening public diplomacy strategies in order to achieve their economic goals. One example of a country that has done this is the South Korean peacekeeping force when assigned to Lebanon. The success of public diplomacy carried out by South Korean peacekeepers has succeeded in influencing the perception of the Lebanese community, especially regarding the production of South Korean-made vehicles. Unfortunately, the TNI has not done the same. Meanwhile, the non-optimal use of TNI peacekeepers in conducting defense diplomacy for economic purposes may be due to the lack of a common understanding that diplomatic activities carried out by any institution can be an entry point to achieve national interests regardless of the form of their interests. The sending of TNI peacekeepers is still considered a purely defense matter and has no connection with other national interests. Such thinking makes it difficult for synchronization in the formulation of a comprehensive diplomacy strategy between government institutions.

### 5.2. *Defense Attache of the Republic of Indonesia*

One of the dimensions of defense diplomacy is the exchange or placement of defense attaches as the mouthpiece of the country's defense policy. To applied the function of defense diplomacy, the role of a defense attaché is very

important. In addition, to do their main duties, defense attaches play a role in realizing defense interests and are able to improve bilateral relations through improving the quality of relations and cooperation in the defense sector. In carrying out diplomatic duties, the Indonesian Defense Attaché is part of the Indonesian diplomatic mission within the Indonesian Embassy (*Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia/KBRI*) which is headed by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (*Duta Luar Biasa dan Berkuasa Penuh/LBBP*). As part of Indonesia's diplomatic mission, it is appropriate that the Indonesian Defense Attaché in doing his mission must be in line with the diplomatic mission formulated by the *LBBP* Ambassador as head of mission.

The existence of asymmetry between the missions carried out by the *LBBP* Ambassador and the Indonesian Defense Attaché certainly has a negative impact on the efforts to achieve national interests which has been executed by diplomatic representative offices in a country. As explained in the research sub-chapter, there is a critical factor that causing desynchronize the mission of the Indonesian Defense Attachee with the mission carried by the *LBBP* Ambassador, which is in the preparation of the mission paper by the *LBBP* Ambassador, was not coordinating properly with the Indonesian Defense Attachee. The existence of a common vision between the *LBBP* Ambassador as the head of the Indonesian diplomatic representative office abroad and the components of diplomacy actors including the Indonesian Defense Attaché under his representative office, is very important in ensuring the successful implementation of the diplomatic tasks by the Indonesian representative office. With this common vision, it will facilitate the creation of synergy between diplomacy actors from various institutions in order to achieve the national interest easily.

### *5.3. TNI's Capacity and Capability in Implementing the Defense Diplomacy*

Referring to the results of research, it is recognized that our military capacity and capability still need to be improved, of course this indirectly implies that our military's bargaining position in diplomacy is not yet at an ideal level. To achieve the ideal conditions, an armed force is very dependent on the allocation of the military budget provided by the state, and this cannot be separated from the national budget or state budget. The financial capability of the armed forces can be a bargaining chip in the implementation of military diplomacy. This ability is very powerful in influencing the policies of a country. It is very clearly illustrated in the pattern of military diplomacy applied by the American military. The American military diplomacy method is called military aid or military assistance. Every year, America spends more than billions of dollars in providing military aid to dozens of countries around the world, expected that the aid will strengthen America's influence over the recipient countries. In terms of dealing with terrorism, America has provided military assistance to many countries, including; Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Oman, Yemen, Georgia, Uzbekistan and Columbia. The results of this military assistance were very clearly seen when Georgia as a token of gratitude was willing to send 2000 military personnel to help the American military who was fighting in Iraq. Patterns like this become a weapon for America to regulate the policies of a country. Military aid is America's medium of exchange with the policies of the recipient country. As long as the recipient country is willing to change its policies to be in line with American interests, the military assistance continues to flow. The example of the pattern applied by the American military in strengthening its military bargaining position through the military aid program cannot be fully implemented in our defense diplomacy, considering that, as we all know, the state's financial capacity is still not able to meet the needs of the state defense budget. However, the pattern of using military assistance is not the only way to improve defense diplomacy capabilities. Military assistance also does not always have to be related to aid in the form of funds or donations of war equipment, but military assistance can be provided in the form of military assistance in the field of training and operations.

### *5.4. The Relations between the TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in diplomacy*

Faced with the relationship between the TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially with regard to diplomacy, in general, the results of the research seem to be going well. Regular communication is established between the two institutions in discussing diplomatic issues. However, the communication that has been established is only limited to operational matters, while at the policy level it has not gone well, especially related to the preparation of diplomatic strategies. In general, the decision-making process and policy formulation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are based on two dimensions, namely reactive and routine (regular). In the context of

routine formulation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will base its activities and policies on the annual Work Plan of Ministries of Agencies (*Rencana Kerja Kementerian Lembaga/Renja-KL*). This plan is usually held one year before the start of the budget. There is a crucial thing that causes the preparation of a joint diplomacy strategy between the TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not been able to work, which until now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not yet have a white book or white paper on diplomacy policies that become a reference for a national diplomacy, although at the level of on-daily diplomacy policy coordination base has been going well. Diplomatic policy white paper is an important thing for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because the white paper will be a reference and corridor for the preparation of diplomacy strategies by government agencies that carry out diplomatic activities.

Even though it is generally understood that diplomacy has many scopes, as much as the terms of the scope of defense development, without neglecting all of them to be realized according to their priorities. TNI's military diplomacy is part of Indonesia's total/defense diplomacy. Its application cannot be separated from the comprehensive/total results of a state policy and political decision. Where in turn, the implementation is carried out by state instruments in defense, based on legislation or Act No.37/1999 Article 10. It is stated that the sending of troops or peacekeeping missions is determined by the president by considering the opinion of the House of Representative (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR*). In other words, the task of the Garuda Contingent so far can in turn be categorized as public diplomacy. The main argument for this categorization is taken from the thoughts of Paul Sharp which states that public diplomacy is "*the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance interests and extend the values of those being represented*"

From that definition, it is stated that public diplomacy is a process in which direct relations are carried out with the people of a country in order to fight for the national interest and spread its values. More sharply, Anthony Pratkanis defines public diplomacy as "*the promotion of the national interest by informing and influencing the citizen of other nations*". In public diplomacy, it is clearly stated that the public diplomacy is for the people of other countries and not for the government elite or political entities. In addition, public diplomacy is also an effort to promote national interests through influences in the form of changing/forming public opinion and perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and habits, expectations, and motivations in the desired direction. In practice, the principles developed in public diplomacy are, in fact, already embedded within the TNI soldiers.

Particullary, within the Air force, known as territorial development or binter, which both aim to win the hearts of the people. In line with that, it can be said that the military diplomacy that has been practiced so far has applied the principles of (public) diplomacy in order to win the hearts and minds of the local people in the territory of the country where the Garuda Contingent is assigned. The universal and basic (intrinsic) values shown in the attitudes and behavior of TNI soldiers in the UN peace/humanitarian mission have proven to be well received and appreciated by all parties. Armed with this positive reality, the opportunity for the TNI to continue to take part in international fora is predicted to remain. In fact, it will continue to increase along with the spread of conflicts in various parts of the world and the increasing world's trust in the Indonesian government as a country that upholds and loves peace and independence/sovereignty.

But, it is not time for the TNI to be complacent. The road to sharpening the optimal capabilities of military diplomacy for TNI Soldiers who are members of the Garuda Contingent, in strategic, operational and tactical levels is still quite long and winding. TNI leaders need to formulate a policy that refers to the laws and regulations so that the military's diplomacy capabilities are increasingly qualified from time to time. Not only just skill based, but also knowledge based. Diplomacy experts and practitioners need to be invited and give advice so, the policies that drawn up could be synergize with other diplomatic efforts, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (oneway gate) because the successful of total diplomacy is not only the success of the government, but also in all components/nations of Indonesia, and the results of total diplomacy will ultimately be shared by all Indonesian people. In this context, the success achieved by Garuda soldiers in every UN peacekeeping mission has resulted in the support, trust and respect of the international community for the Indonesian nation and state in UN forums.

This proud thing in turn really helps Indonesia in implementing and continuing development in order to achieve national goals. It is no exaggeration if military/TNI diplomacy through the delivery of the Garuda Contingent

always needs to be maintained and improved with full confidence and enthusiasm for its success. As reflected in the greetings of every TNI soldier who served in every UN peacekeeping mission. Since the 1956s, Indonesia has built mutual trust among friendly countries as part of enhancing defense diplomacy by repeatedly sending troops or peacekeeping missions as part of implementing foreign policy supported by various laws, regulations and fully supported by the Indonesian government as the instruction of Indonesian Constitution 1945

## 6. Conclusion

Based on the results and analysis of the research focus that has been described in the previous chapter, it can be concluded several things as follows:

1. The role of TNI defense diplomacy is generally seen from the two roles played, which become part of the UN peacekeeping force, the TNI has played an active role in supporting diplomacy, especially public diplomacy by forming a positive image of the TNI and Indonesia in the eyes of the public in doing the operation. However, the TNI's success in diplomacy has yet to be utilized to support other national interests, especially the nation's interests in the economy. The diplomacy carried out by the TNI in its involvement as part of the UN peacekeeping force is only limited to efforts to achieve national interests in the defense sector. Furthermore, the TNI's defense diplomacy by sending the Indonesian Defense Attaché in a country has not yet achieved optimal because of the miscommunication and discrepancies between the diplomatic priorities of the head of mission, the ambassador, and the diplomatic priorities of the Indonesian Defense Attache. This condition occurs because there is no coordination and synchronization between relevant ministries and institutions in the preparation of mission papers for the Indonesian diplomatic representative office
2. The capacity and capability of the TNI in supporting TNI defense diplomacy is still not in an ideal condition. The ability of the defense equipment and combat equipment of the TNI is still not able to provide a maximum deterrent effect in order to increase Indonesia's bargaining position in the international community. In addition, the ability of budget support to support defense diplomacy is still limited so that the flexibility in carrying out diplomacy is limited. The ability of TNI personnel as diplomatic officers is also still limited, this reduces the effectiveness of the TNI in doing diplomacy.
3. The relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the TNI in terms of diplomacy is generally well established. Coordination and communication relations have been going well at the operational level, but at the strategic level, especially in the preparation of a joint strategy with diplomacy, it is still need to be improved. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not yet involved the TNI in diplomatic affairs at a strategic level, although the diplomacy issues discussed have relevance to the TNI.
4. The shifting behavior in resolving conflict problems from aggressive to prioritize softer ways through negotiation (diplomacy) does not eliminate the importance of the military role (soft power soldiers/TNI) as part of military defense which was previously interpreted in its historical context as part of Indonesian Armed Forces's (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*) dual function role. Although external threats (multidimensional military/traditional/conventional threats) which come from other countries to fellow sovereign countries have a small chance to occur. Considering the increasing role of various international institutions, such as the United Nations through consultations and negotiations. However, this will never be able to erase the military's very important role in increasing a country's bargaining position in diplomacy with other countries and maintaining the existence of a country. Likewise, there is a priority strategic target for bilateral cooperation (US-Indonesia). Therefore, total diplomacy and successively lower hierarchies carried out by all stakeholders must continue to be carried out. Besides the realization of defense development, especially military/TNI defense (professional-soft power TNI) which is directed at continuous efforts to realize defense capabilities that exceed the minimum defense power. Then, the defense capabilities were continuously improved to have a respected and formidable deterrent effect.

## 7. Suggestion

Based on the conclusions above, the authors convey suggestions that need to be followed up, which are:

1. Arrange the Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs) in preparation of diplomacy strategies within the TNI to regulate the coordination of the management of TNI defense diplomacy, while at the

national level it is necessary to have a Joint Agreement (*Surat Kesepakatan Bersama/SKB*) among the ministries to ministries and to the institutions to coordinate the preparation of diplomacy strategies as a solution to the absence of derivative rules from Act Number 37 of 1999, about Foreign Relations. With the SOP and SKB, the preparation of diplomatic strategies both at the national level and especially at the TNI level can be done properly and directed.

2. Prepare a white paper on TNI diplomacy as a reference in the preparation of TNI diplomacy strategies, so that the direction of diplomacy carried out by the TNI can be more measurable and directed.
3. Currently within the TNI there is no unit specifically in charge of TNI defense diplomacy. In order to facilitate the preparation of the TNI's defense diplomacy strategy, it is necessary to form a special unit that is specifically in TNI defense diplomacy.

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