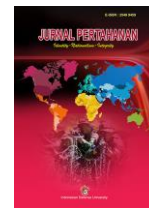




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STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP IN THE DEFENSE DIPLOMACY AND THE MODERNIZATION OF THE INDONESIAN MILITARY'S MAIN EQUIPMENT AND WEAPON SYSTEMS IN THE PERIOD OF 2019–2021

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Abstract

Strategic leadership of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense through its main competencies, namely conceptual, interpersonal, and technical, becomes an effective instrument in implementing defense diplomacy policies for the modernization of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems (*Alat Utama Sistem Persenjataan* or *Alutsista*). This study aims to analyze the strategic leadership of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia through the use of defense diplomacy to modernize defense equipment. This study uses a qualitative method with a literature study approach. The results showed that the ability of the strategic leader is categorized into 3 (three) main competencies, namely: (1) Communication, i.e. a leader is expected to be able to express what is felt and what needs to be done; (2) Negotiation, is the appearance of communication conducted against opponents or outsiders to achieve the goal; and (3) Competence, is a leader must have competence; Conceptual, technical, and interpersonal. In terms of projections of the development and modernization of the defense industry, it will gradually begin to be achieved with a gradual implementation mechanism. Thus, policy measures and the reach of Minimum Essentials Forces (MEF) in 2024 are fulfilled simultaneously.

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INTRODUCTION

The issue in the Indonesian Military's (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or TNI) Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems (*Alutsista*) requires crucial notes to keep on revitalizing and expanding its capacity and modernization. One of its problems could be seen in the incident of the KRI Nanggala 402 submarine of the Indonesian Navy which crashed and sunk in the North Sea of Bali while performing combat training on April 21, 2021. Fifty-three (53) finest crew members of the Indonesian Navy are now still on forever duty at the sea. This became the first TNI's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems accident in 2021 and the third since 2015. The two-earlier accidents of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems were the Indonesian fast missile boat KRI Rencong-622 which caught fire and sank in Sorong waters in 2018, and the Indonesian Naval ship KRI Teluk Jakarta-541 which sank in the waters of Masalembu, East Java in the year 2020 (Mujiburrahman & Effendi, 2021).

The other forces' issues also became the main concern of the Main Equipment and Weapon Systems modernization. The data in Table 1 shows the damages and accidents that happened to Indonesia's *Alutsista*. In responding to all those cases, there should be standards of tolerance to all the vulnerable of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems with neglected rejuvenations and maintenance to be carried out, such as subs, fighter aircraft, and tanks. Accordingly, in this matter, the Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Defense is expected to have a roadmap for modernizing the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems. It is based on the Minister of Defense Regulation No. 19 of 2012 (Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan Nomor 19 Tahun 2012) concerning the Minimum Essential Force (MEF) until 2024. Thus, the Defense Equipment modernization policy contained in the MEF Policy contains four main elements, namely:

1. Rematerialization is the completion of 100 percent of the Equipment Organization Table (EOT) of personnel and material for TNI units.
2. Procurement is the construction of a new unit along with its personnel and defense equipment within the framework of realizing the MEF.
3. Revitalization, namely increasing unit strata/thickening units/materials adapted to threats in the region.
4. Relocation is the transfer of units/personnel/materials from one area to a projected flashpoint area (Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan Nomor 19 Tahun 2012)

Referring to the four points, it is directed at one concentration, namely flashpoint, which is part of Indonesia's territory identified as an area that has a high potential for various actual threats. Thus, the policy to establish cooperation with other countries in the frame of Defense Diplomacy is very possible. Defense diplomacy aims to improve relations between countries through formal and informal channels and has now become an important tool in a country's security and foreign policy. Defense Diplomacy plays an important role in shaping and implementing security policy in many countries, a specialized instrument of foreign policy that occupies a permanent place in the system of cooperation between states and international organizations (Drab, 2018).

Diplomacy requires the main actor who carries out the diplomacy policy. This matter should be inseparable from the national interest to be achieved - in this case, is for the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems modernization. Therefore, each country has a different capacity to achieve its national interests. These countries make various efforts to fulfill their interests, one of which is through cooperation (Morgenthau, 1985). Accordingly, leadership becomes the main key in running and fulfilling the national interest through defense diplomacy policy.

Tabel 1. Lists of Incidents and Damages to Indonesian Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems In the Period of 2015 -2021

No	Accidents and Damage to TNI Defense Equipment
1	KRI Nanggala-402 sank in the Bali Sea in April 2021
2	KRI Teluk Jakarta-541 sank in the waters of Masalembu, East Java in 2020.
3	Indonesian Air Force Hawk 209 jet fighter crashed in a residential area of Kampar regency, Riau in June 2020
4	Indonesian Army's MI-17 Helicopter fell in Kendal, West Java in June 2020 on a training flight mission
5	Indonesian Army's MI-17 Helicopter Fell in Oksibil, Papua in June 2019
6	Indonesian fast missile boat KRI Rencong-622 caught fire and sank in Sorong waters in 2018
7	Indonesian Army's Tank M113 crashed into the river in Purworejo, Central Java in March 2018
8	Indonesian Army's Giant Bow Cannon Misfire in May 2017
9	Indonesian Air Force Hercules Bell C-130 fell in Jayawijaya, Papua in December 2016
10	Indonesian Police PZL M28 Sky truck crashed in Dabo, on route from Pangkalpinang to Batam, December 2016
11	Army's Bell 412 EP helicopter crashed on its way transporting logistics in Malinau Mountains in November 2016
12	Bell 205 A-1 Helicopter crashed in Yogyakarta in July 2016
13	Indonesian Army' Bell 412EP Helicopter Crashed in Poso on the duty of hunting down the terror network.
14	Indonesian Air Force's Super Tucano plane crashed into a house in Malang in East Java in February 2016
15	Hercules C- plane crashed en route from Medan to Natuna islands in June 2015
16	Indonesian Air Force's Aerobatic Plane crashed in Lengkawi, Malaysia in March 2015, when conducting practice for the air show

Source: Harjanto, 2021

This is also to strengthen the political will of the government against the modernization of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems to support the country's defense system.

According to this background, this study will focus on the strategic leadership analysis in defense diplomacy for the modernization of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems in the period 2019–2021, this period is important in the fulfillment phase of MEF III, which is three years of determined efforts to meet the Main Equipment and Weapon Systems target. So, need to comprehend that the implementation of diplomacy requires careful consideration and calculation in a strategic decision and policy, through three main competencies in strategic leadership theory, namely 1) communication; 2) negotiations, and; 3) competence:

conceptual, technical, and interpersonal (Wong, Gerras, Kidd, Pricone, & Swengros, 2003).

METHODS

This study aims to analyze the strategic leadership of the minister of defense through the use of defense diplomacy to modernize defense equipment. This study uses a qualitative method with a literature study approach. The technique of collecting data is by reviewing information or empirical data sourced from books, journals, scientific research reports, and other literature that has a relationship with the national defense policy and the defense industry, as well as open library materials such as magazines, newspapers, and websites. This research is presented in a descriptive analysis to reveal data or facts by describing each aspect as it is.

Indonesian Defense Diplomacy

Referring to Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice book, a diplomacy is a form of relations between countries (Satow, 1979), "Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, or more briefly still, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means". In addition, it is mentioned in *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, written by Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster (2004) that defense diplomacy can be defined as: "Peacetime cooperative use of armed forces and related infrastructure (primarily defense ministries) as a tool of foreign and security policy".

Based on this concept, defense diplomacy has cooperation instruments with the conventional conceptualization in the use of its power with military functions for defense, conflict prevention, excellence, and influence. In addition, defense diplomacy has become the study of security that includes various activities such as military cooperation or assistance, the placement of defense attaches in other countries, or the joint military exercises with armed forces conducted bilaterally, regionally, and multilaterally. National interest will be achieved through a policy instrument. One of the policies that can be conducted, if these interests are foreign, is diplomacy, which is an organized series of communication carried out by two parties to achieve each other's shared interests (Nugraha, 2017). Associated with defense activities, defense diplomacy can be said as a form of effort to increase mutual trust between countries (Pedrason, 2015).

Defense diplomacy has always been concerned with cooperation activities carried out in the military and the related infrastructure in peacetime, involving methods of military cooperation in certain issues covering areas of defense, ranging from military roles to non-traditional military roles, such as peacekeeping, peace

enforcement, good-governance implementation, disaster response, health, human rights protections, and so on (Simatupang, 2020). The forms of defense diplomacy that can be carried out by countries in the framework of conflict prevention and resolution that can be done (Cottey & Forster, 2004), include:

1. Bilateral and multilateral relations between senior and civilian-military defense officials.
2. Deployment of The Defense Attaché to another country.
3. Bilateral defense cooperation agreement.
4. Training for foreign military personnel and civilian defense personnel.
5. Assisting the enhancement of capabilities and delivering advice about democratic control of the armed forces, defense management, and military techniques.
6. Relations and exchanges between personnel and military units, warship visits.
7. The deployment of military or civilian personnel to the defense ministry and armed forces in the ally's country.
8. Delegating training team.
9. Assistance with military equipment and others.
10. Bilateral and multilateral military exercises for the joint exercises

This is about the defense diplomacy that Indonesia has been conducting continuously with China, the United States, Russia, Germany, France, The United Kingdom, and Turkey (Simatupang, 2017), to explore cooperation and modernization of the Indonesian military. Thus, the forms of bilateral defense cooperation agreements help to improve capability, confidence, defense management, and military engineering, the delegation of training teams, and the assistance of military equipment and technology exchange in Alutsista. Various defense diplomacy activities are aimed at strengthening the Confidence Building Measure (CBM), for the improvement of defense capability, and

the defense industry (Syawfi, 2009).

Strategic Leadership Theory

The development of geostrategy and the movement of world powers, including fast-paced changes, encouraged countries to make strategic formulations in foreign policy. One of the keys to surviving in today's era of change is to innovate, create, adapt, collaborate, and build communication. If a leader does not have these capabilities and does not follow developments, it will be left behind, ineffective and inefficient, and irrelevant to the changing constellation of the international world. Strategic leadership is an important instrument for determining and measuring national interests. In its development, strategic leadership successfully appears as a characteristic or characteristic that can determine the strategic culture of change management. There is a strategic leadership competence by Stephen Gerras (Wong et al., 2003). The ability of the strategic leader is categorized into 3 (three) main competencies, namely:

1. Communication, i.e. a leader is expected to be able to express what is felt and what needs to be done.
2. Negotiation is the appearance of communication conducted against opponents or outsiders to achieve a goal.
3. Competence is a leader must have competence; Conceptual, technical, and interpersonal.

The implementation of strategic leadership in Indonesian defense diplomacy for the modernization of the Military's

Main Equipment and Weapon Systems is shown by various diplomatic activities in the form of visits and cooperation of the Indonesian Defense Minister bilaterally and directives to countries with strategic partner categories, there are China, United States, Russia, Germany, France, The United Kingdom, and Turkey and South Korea. The application of strategic leader competencies is clearly illustrated through defense diplomacy carried out, namely applying communication, negotiation, and intrapersonal, technical, and conceptual competencies.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Modernization of The Indonesian Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems

Based on the Regulation of the Minister of Defense (*Permenhan*) Number 4 of 2019 in the Article 2 paragraph (2), the TNI Alutsista includes:

1. TNI equipment in Minister of Defense environment;
2. TNI Alutsista in the Army Headquarters environment;
3. TNI military personnel in the Army Headquarters;
4. TNI military personnel in the Navy Headquarters;
5. TNI military personnel in the Air Force Headquarters.

Continuously, based on the data from the Ministry of Defense of The Republic of Indonesia and Global Fire Power (2021), it is presented the achievements of Alutsista TNI against MEF, as can be seen in Table 2. Based on the data in Table 2, their

Table 2. The Current Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems for 2021

Force		
Indonesian Army (AD)	Indonesian Navy (AL)	Indonesian Air Force (AU)
1) 322 Tanks	2) 7 Frigates	1) 10 Attack Helicopters
2) 63 Rocket Projectors	3) 10 Mine Warfare	2) 109 Trainers
3) 1.430 Armored Vehicles	4) 24 Corvettes	3) 40 Unit Fighters
4) 366 Towed Artilleries	5) 179 Patrol Vessels	4) 17 Misi Special
	6) 5 Submarines	5) 64 Unit Helicopter 188 And Transportations

Source: Zahara & Nazhid, 2020

achievement targets continue to be pursued through MEF. The main obstacle in the framework of Main Equipment and Weapon Systems modernization is the limited budget posture. The realization of Indonesia's defense budget from the 2010 to 2019 grew an average of 11.8 percent per year or increased from Rp 42.4 trillion in 2010 to Rp 115.4 trillion in 2019 (Mujiburrahman & Effendi, 2021).

Strategic Leadership Analysis in Defense Diplomacy for Modernization of The Indonesian Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems

Strengthening the country's defense system has been one of the concerns of President Joko Widodo's Government in 2019 - 2024. It is run by the Ministry of Defense, which in this case is under the command of Prabowo Subianto's leadership. In his

Tabel 3. The New Indonesian Defense Diplomacy Period 2019 - 2021

Number	Country	Interests/Defense Diplomacy
1.	China (December 2019 and September 2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Discuss the latest issues in the Asia-Pacific Region b. Discussing Indonesia's strategy in preventing the spread of Covid-19 c. Strengthening Confidence Building Measure (CBM)
2.	United States of America (October 2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Share views on regional security, bilateral defense priorities, and defense acquisitions b. Military cooperation and maritime security c. Cooperation in the field of education and training for military cadets/cadets in various military educational institutions in the United States
3.	Russia (March 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Revitalization of military-diplomatic channels. through ADMM-Plus b. Strengthening Confidence Building Measure (CBM)
4.	France (June 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Thirty-six (36) F-15 EX fighters were made by Boeing and Dassault Rafale was produced by France Dassault Aviation. b. Multi-role tanker transport aircraft, C-130J transport aircraft, unmanned aircraft, or Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicle (UCAV) with Medium Altitude Long Endurance (MALE) capability. c. Competitive Advantage, which makes Indonesia part of the global production chain of various defense equipment products.
5.	England (September 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. PT PAL Indonesia (Persero) holds a license to manufacture the advanced Frigate Arrowhead 140 from the British company, Babcock. b. Increase Confidence Building Measure (CBM)
6.	Germany (July 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Technical cooperation between PT PAL with MTG Marinetechnik Consultants and Turkish company FIGES AS in the adjustment of the frigate design. b. Increase Confidence Building Measure (CBM)
7.	South Korea (April 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. PT PAL Indonesia (Persero) in collaboration with a South Korean company, Daweoo Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering (DSME). b. Increase Confidence Building Measure (CBM)

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

Tabel 4. Physical Aspects Achievement of Each Service

Force	Before MEF	MEF I	MEF II (2015-2019)	MEF III (2020-2024)	Ideal Posture
Indonesian Army (AD)		64,81%	74,62%	100%	
Light weapons	92.156	613.043	649.062	723.564	783.462
Cannons/Rockets/ Missiles	962	1.144	1.371	1.354	2.162
Combat Vehicle (<i>Ranpur</i>)	1.321	1.641	2.000	3.738	4.858
Airplanes	67	104	121	224	1.224
Indonesian Navy (AL)		55,55%	68,72%	100%	
Republic of Indonesia Warships (KRI)	144	146	161	182	262
Submarines	2	2	4	8	12
Aircrafts	62	72	85	100	160
Marines Combat Vehicles (<i>Ranpur Marinir</i>)	413	440	503	978	1.481
Indonesian Air Force (AU)		43,97%	44,40%	100%	
Airplanes	211	261	267	344	469
Radar	17	20	20	32	32
Missiles	0	0	0	72	96
Air Strike Repellents (<i>Penangkis Serangan Udara/PSU</i>)	20	24	24	64	216

Source: Zahara & Nazhid, 2020

policy, the Minister of Defense took a strategic decision by using defense diplomacy as a channel to establish cooperation for the sake of modernization of Main Equipment and Weapon Systems Indonesia. Problems in the form of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems' inability, due to lifetime, maintenance, the lag of military technology, as well as the ability of the national defense industry that has not been able to compete in producing Alutsista, became the background of the policy. Thus, the arrangement of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems needs to be done at once to restructure the competitiveness of the national defense industry. It certainly goes for the strength and strengthening of TNI function. If an analysis of the policy is carried out, there is a strategic leadership scheme through decisions carried out, namely conducting defense diplomacy to strengthen the defense industry and modernization of Main Equipment and Weapon Systems. The countries that are partners in diplomacy

are China, the United States to European countries. Defense diplomacy conducted by Indonesia's Defense Minister is summarized in the roadmap in Table 3.

Following the policy of defense diplomacy for the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems modernization, it is generally directed to national purposes and interests in the form of:

1. Building understanding and mutual respect for each country's interest (Confidence Building Measure/ CBM);
2. Actualizing peace by avoiding armed conflict;
3. Increasing military capacity through communication channels and joint training;
4. Efforts to modernize Main Equipment and Weapon Systems with technology transfer schemes for Indonesia, especially for strategic Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems types, which are submarines, fighter aircraft, and tanks;

5. Revitalize the defense industry by promoting Indonesia's defense industry products.

Correspondingly, the enactment of Law No. 16 of 2012 on Defense Industry becomes the beginning for a government that by political will have seriously focused on structuring the defense industry sector and fulfilling the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems (*Alutsista*) power target through the timeline - Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) until 2024. Table 4 shows the Achievement of Physical Aspects of Main Equipment and Weapon Systems which are classified to each force.

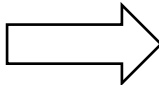
The data shown above is relevant to the target of fulfillment and independence of Main Equipment and Weapon Systems set to be achieved in 2024 according to the MEF timeline. As stated by Thorn (2012), strategic leadership competence in a global context means that the strategic leaders can manage challenges and opportunities, which are: 1) Managing changes, especially in the field of technology; (2) Managing complexity; (3) Flexibility and adaptability to new environments and cultures; (4) Involving diverse people, and; (5) Decreased national borders (Thorn, 2012). These competencies are combined with Gerras' strategic leadership competence

(Wong et al., 2003). Thus, the analysis of strategic leadership in the instruments of defense diplomacy that has been carried out is described as can be seen in Table 5.

A leader's competence in winning a national interest through international cooperation is principally a part of strategic leadership study. Because in that situation, there are interests, values, or goals to meet each other and can produce something, promoted, or fulfilled by the parties at once. This view is a policy decided by the state with another state that will affect the reach of its interests and values (Holsti & Sudarsono, 1987). Thus, each country has a different capacity to achieve its national interests. Therefore, countries make various efforts to fulfill their interests, one of which is through cooperation (Morgenthau, 1985). Preceded by strategic planning and involvement of strategic leadership in the formulation of national policy comprehensively. Based on this analysis the current Minister of Defense has taken the right policy to modernize the Defense Equipment Systems through defense diplomacy. So, in the future, the instrument of diplomacy, modernization of Main Equipment, and Weapon Systems require a strategic competence to carry out the Indonesian interests on the defense policy.

Tabel 5. Strategic Leadership Analysis in Defense Diplomacy and Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems Modernization in the Period of 2019 - 2021

Sub Competence	Competence Analysis
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Future anticipation; 2. Framework development; 3. Problem management; 4. Critical thinking; 5. Effectiveness in complex environments; 6. Good framework 	<div style="text-align: center; font-size: 2em; margin-bottom: 10px;">➔</div> <p>Defense diplomacy for the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems (<i>Alutsista</i>) modernization is projected to anticipate the future, by developing a bilateral cooperation format that is strengthened with a good framework and on account of the complexity of the environment.</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An understanding of the political system, economy, society, cultures; 2. No dependency; 3. Good framework. 	<div style="text-align: center; font-size: 2em; margin-bottom: 10px;">➔</div> <p>Defense diplomacy for the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems (<i>Alutsista</i>) modernization has been decided and passed through the political system, which has been discussed with the Members of Parliament (DPR) and</p>

		carried out without taking sides with other countries while still using an effective framework.
Sub Competence		Interpersonal
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Good communication skills; 2. Influencing actions; 3. Representing the organization to stakeholders; 4. Good coordinator; 5. Expert in command and show leadership 		<p>Defense diplomacy that has been carried out has fulfilled good communication competence so that it can influence actions in the form of partner country policies to establish cooperative relations through good coordination and expertise in diplomacy.</p>

Source: Gerras et al, 2003

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATION AND LIMITATION

Strategic leadership through its main competencies, namely conceptual, interpersonal, and technical, becomes an effective instrument in implementing defense diplomacy policies for the modernization of Defense Equipment Systems that the government had already undertaken. The result shown above is relevant to the target of fulfillment and independence of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems set to be achieved in 2024 according to the MEF timeline. As stated by Thorn (2012), strategic leadership competence in a global context means that strategic leaders can manage future challenges and opportunities. According to the above analysis, it is illustrated that the main competence of a leader is required as a leading instrument in articulating national interests so it could be achieved in a measured manner. Furthermore, in terms of projections of the development and modernization of the defense industry, it will gradually begin to be achieved with a gradual implementation mechanism. Thus, policy measures and the reach of Minimum Essentials Forces (MEF) in 2024 are fulfilled simultaneously. The estuary of all these things is the strengthening of the country's defense posture and the increasing capability of the Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems and the competitiveness of the domestic Military's Main Equipment and Weapon Systems

products, to be able to place Indonesia into a country with strong military power both regionally and globally.

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