

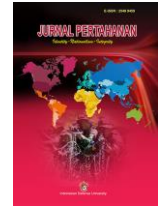


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### **INDONESIAN DIASPORA EMPOWERMENT: A CONCEPT IN STRENGTHENING DIPLOMACY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE**

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#### **Abstract**

The existence of the Indonesian Diaspora abroad cannot be separated from the development of the global environment. The global constellation dynamically moves ahead with the complexity of inter-correlation and inter-implication multi-dimensional of the state, with non-military, military, and hybrid potential threats. The rapid progress of transportation and information technology, and cyber technology well as has become escalating turbulence over global dynamics. This context is an urgency for Indonesia to utilize Indonesian Diaspora for national interests and national defense. This paper aims to analyze the empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora in strengthening diplomacy for national defense. The author uses a qualitative approach by raising the theory of empowerment and diplomacy elaborated with the rights and obligations of defending the country upon the Indonesian Diaspora. Various data and information from literature and other open sources are used in this paper. Some of the emerging phenomena related to the Indonesian Diaspora are contested with the development of public diplomacy practices correlated with challenges and threats in the approach of national security and defense. The conclusion portrays the importance of continuing the empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora in strengthening efforts to fight for and protect national interests, including national defense.

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is an independent country that is affirmed by a political determination in the proclamation of independence declared by

Soekarno-Hatta on August 17, 1945, on behalf of all the Indonesian people. As a nation-state, Indonesia is the national home of all Indonesians in a nationalistic entity.

Indonesia is, not only interpreted as a name or defined itself as a nation, but also has an intrinsic meaning where its people share stories, memories, values, symbols or homeland, which produce and disseminate a culture of character (Smith, 2010, p. 3). This reality illustrates the inter-correlative bond between national identity, a sense of solidarity, and territory over Indonesia, as a nation with broad meaning.

The Founding Fathers of the Republic of Indonesia has declared its determination as a commitment to the nation and the state, all at once to the next generation of the Indonesian people to protect the entire nation of Indonesia and all of Indonesia's spilled-blood and to promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in carrying out world order (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, Preamble). To realize its protection in protecting the entire Indonesian nation and all of Indonesia's spilled-blood, the national defense system, with its universal characteristic (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2015a, p. 28), is implemented as a whole within Indonesia territory. Although, it is realized that there are many parts of national components insufficiently understand their rights and obligations as citizens in defending the country as mandated in Article 27 Number 3 of the 1945 Constitution.

Manifesting the rights and obligations for defending the country upon Indonesian citizens is essentially binding and being enforced to all. The manifestation of rights and obligations in defending the country is a fundamental nature imperatively and innately to any individual citizen without recognizing territorial boundaries, both within the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), or who lives and actives abroad, as what recognized currently as Indonesian Diaspora. Even though in the concept of national defense adopted by Indonesia familiar with the principle of territoriality (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2015b, 2015a) in the platform of the territory of

NKRI, this does not necessarily invalidate the rights and obligations of every individual citizen in defending the country, notwithstanding they exist abroad. Therefore, Indonesian Diaspora, despite being overseas, can be empowered in defending the country abroad in broader interests of national defense, particularly in strengthening national defense diplomacy in nonmilitary defense aspects.

The empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora as part of the nonmilitary power abroad is seen as linear with the rational inevitability of the Indonesian people facing the development of the strategic environment increasingly prominent today. Indonesia's comparative power in all dimensions of communities, nation, and state life, is insufficient to face the strengths of other countries, especially major power if only relying on normative power. Global complexity fortified by globalization, information, and transportation technology advancement, social interactions convergence, international migration intensification, brings about challenges, threats, and opportunities that could have negative or positive effects. Indonesian Diaspora's existence has a position that couldn't be ignored in facing the increasing challenges and threats to the country's sovereignty and its national interests broadly. Through this paper, the author will discuss the empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora in strengthening diplomacy for national defense, in the realms of formal and informal activities in various parts of the world.

## **METHODS**

The author analyzes substance in this paper using qualitative methods reciting how the empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora can be developed to strengthen national defense diplomacy. Various data and information used in this paper were obtained from open sources, both from literature, mass media, electronic media, and other open sources.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Empowerment**

According to Prijono and Pranaka (1996) that empowerment is helping the community to gain power or strength in making decisions and determining actions taken relating to themselves (p. 3). The meaning of empowerment in this theory can be illustrated as an effort to make people having the ability and strength to do something related to themselves as individuals. In the development of transportation and information technology, the abilities and strengths of individuals in developing and developed countries could become relative. If the abilities and strengths of individual societies correlated to the interests of the nation and the state, the contextual meaning of empowerment are no longer laid down based on individuals' interests. The primary orientation is the ability and strength intended toward the advantages of the country and its people as a whole.

The concept of empowerment in post-modernism development, the orientation of community welfare is not any longer a growing domain in the socio-economic sphere. Global competition, global markets, online trade, demanding the concept of community empowerment necessarily to be developed in a broader scope, ranging from community empowerment in facing global competition to how people can play a role in the framework of national interests and broader national defense. This is collateral with how citizens are bound to their citizenship's rights and obligations, one of which is the rights and obligations in defending the nation and state.

### **Diplomacy**

Diplomacy, as to how Bolewski (2007) views it, where traditional diplomacy is practiced as the art and craft of communicating and interchanging among states acting through their representatives (diplomats) in the national interest (p. 15). Simply, the practice of this diplomacy is

focused on how communication developed with its various arts in relations between countries. The dynamic development of world politics drives the evolution of diplomacy in practice creating branches of it, such as public diplomacy, military diplomacy, defense diplomacy, multitrack diplomacy, and others, from its traditional practices. National interests in the context of international relations activities consist of information, influence, and engagement (Kelley, 2009), become a dimensional practice in public diplomacy as described by Nye (2004) in the dimensions of daily communication, strategic communication and public diplomacy (pp. 107–109).

Public diplomacy, with civil society, is a means of disseminating the national interests of a country in other countries, by informing and influencing the people of other countries (Pratkanis, 2009). Opinions, beliefs, hopes, and behaviors of the people of other countries become targets in directing the distribution of national interests where the targets achieved, including the interests of national defense. The shifting definition of security concept in the post-cold war and the escalation globalization increasingly anarchic, making it rationally realistic for the country to use a comprehensive approach in developing its public diplomacy in strengthening military diplomacy or defense diplomacy, considering the interconnectivity between civil and military instruments and approaches to security (Swistek, 2012). This practice can also be carried out in the opposite direction, allowing it to be developed collaboratively.

## **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Indonesian Diaspora**

Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN), as an association of Indonesian people who live and active abroad (Indonesian Diaspora), since formatted in 2012 in Los Angeles, is developing continually its presence in nationalistic emotional ties. Year by year, starting from the spirit to renew and

enhance nationalistic ties, IDN updates the development of its presence positive-constructively for nation-building. IDN is an entity of Indonesian citizens and part of the citizens of Indonesian nations (IDN, 2019). The existence of Indonesian Diaspora, with its diversities, received formal legality acknowledged by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia through Presidential Regulation Number 76/2017 regarding the Indonesian Community Abroad. Despite the fact that foreigners or citizens of nations of Indonesian descent included, Indonesian Diaspora who as Indonesian citizens has an essential position with an equal role and position the same as Indonesian citizens in the home-country upon their citizenship rights and obligations.

Although there is no accurate account yet, Indonesian Diaspora who are currently active and living abroad is estimated at around 8 million or about 3% of the total Indonesian population (Jazuli, 2017). The growth-development of Indonesian Diaspora's existence abroad came into being side by side with countless historical events of Indonesian since the colonial period. Several causes, such as trade, security, or a better life, became the initiation of Indonesian Diaspora from several tribes by having migration to overseas. Nevertheless, Indonesian Diaspora abroad remains to uphold their emotional ties by forming socio-cultural communities abroad as a form of nationalistic entity ties which inevitably separated from their home origin country. This reality can be observed from the development of the Indonesian student diaspora media, which portrays continuously keeping on the national domestic dynamics in the homeland in each era (Widodo, 2017).

The existence of the Indonesian Diaspora continually develops up to the present day. The advancement of information and transportation technology provides more free space for Indonesian Diaspora abroad to grow dynamically in a

broader range of activities in life dimensions and distribution (Romdiati, 2015). Aside from formal Diplomats, of course, Indonesian Diaspora consists of numerous professions and activities, namely a non-skilled and professional workforce, medic and staff, students and teachers/lecturers, researchers, entrepreneurs, activists in various fields, and others. Spread across in many countries and professions diversities, Indonesian Diaspora stands in a strategic position and role which couldn't be ignored in terms of Indonesia's national interests, as Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi said it is a national asset (Armenia, 2017). Indonesian Diaspora's participation in developing the country collateral with the Government's efforts in strengthening the role and participation of citizens in the good governance framework. The active presence of Indonesian Diaspora in the era of globalization, in the context of international relations, is able to reinforce Indonesia forefront diplomacy in international fora together with Indonesian Diplomats abroad in the form of public diplomacy as explained by Nye (Nye, 2004), in struggling and protecting Indonesian's national interests sustainably.

### **Indonesian Diaspora Rights and Obligations in Defending the Country**

The Republic of Indonesia, with its constitution as a founding principle, determined Indonesian people as individual citizens, with logic consequences existing rights and obligations bestowed by the constitution. The 1945 Constitution regulates explicitly the rights and obligations granted by the state to every individual Indonesian citizen within the order equality in the scope of citizenship, as outlined by Marshall (1950) in civil, political and social aspects (p. 10), in carrying out the state, nation, and social life. This regulative order, according to Marshall (1950), is applied to achieve the desired goal whereas every individual

citizen being in appropriate life order and able to develop oneself. Furthermore, specifically, related to political aspects, it is implemented participation of the state politics as a form of state power (Marshall, 1950), including guarantees of state protection or national defense.

Article 27 verse (3) of the 1945 Constitution has given an imperative mandate for each citizen entitled and obliged to participate in efforts to defending the state. This mandate applied to all citizen entirely without exceptions, as a manifestation of the rights and obligations as citizens. The constitutional mandate is explained more clearly in Article 9 verse (1) of the Republic of Indonesia Law No. 3/2002 concerning National Defense, in which every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defending the state manifested in national defense performance. The implementation of the rights and obligations to defending the state remains applicable as well to Indonesian Diaspora while being out of the NKRI's territory. Because this provision does not recognize the principle of exceptionality upon citizens in legal practices limited by NKRI's territory. This is in line with the right of every citizen to obtain defense and protection, wherever is, by the state. An obvious instance of state defense and protection can be seen in many cases abroad, including significant cases i.e. the release of Woyla hostages (Minurdin, 2018), the release of Somali hostages (Bunga, 2019), the release of Abu Sayyaf hostages (Istikharoh, Putranti, & Pattipeilohy, 2017), and others.

The implementation of the rights and obligations to defending the state is carried out not only during wartime. This is a kind of devotedness and honor to all Indonesian people as citizens. The intrinsic meaning bestowed here demands the cognitive awareness of every citizen in defending the state, including the Indonesian Diaspora (Risman, Widodo, & Sumertha, 2018). However, every citizen is given the

flexibility to choose how to manifest their rights and obligations with several options, either citizenship education, basic military training, as TNI soldier, or service based on his/her profession. Although many criticisms issues related to the National Defense Law deemed intensely with conventional war paradigms, the democratic approach adorns the preference for any one individual citizen to determine one choice, including service based on his/her profession dedicated to national defense interests. Dedication towards the profession in the practice of national defense becomes an applicative option for Indonesian Diaspora in a flexible-adaptive space, time, and situation abroad allowing to be developed on a broader dimension.

### **The Complexity of Global Constellation**

The emerging global constellation development today is influenced by many aspects and interests of countries. The rapid advancement of science, technology, informatics, mass media, democracy, or human rights, also colors relations among countries based on their national interests. This contemporary reality generates some consequences in relations among countries, in the regional or global scope, in amity ties on the one hand, while creating an atmosphere of enmity on the other. Interdependence, security complex (Buzan, 2009, pp. 189–190) and rivalry have become an inevitable necessity for every country, where giving a space of opportunity to benefit, but contrariwise, causing a security dilemma (Tang, 2009).

The emerging threats develop nowadays, not only utilizing the military component (regular) or nonmilitary (irregular) separately and independently, but also merging the two components followed by the development of operational tactics and transformed into hybrid war threats, and Network Centric Warfare (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2014, p. 123). The threats, not only emerged in widespread across the globe but also have penetrated national

boundaries (Estuningtyas, 2018), thereby, mobilizing all national defense resources, including the empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora in strengthening national defense diplomacy in which focused on non-military defense aspects, is needed.

However, as time goes by, the pattern evolution in interactions, competition between countries, the rapid advancement of technology and weaponry, and many others as well, become transformative aspects of the current form and nature of threats. Global constellation, with its dimensional complexity, develops dynamically in nature as Codreanu (2016) mentioned volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity (VUCA). The factual reality in this strategic environment always becomes disturbing challenges to political and security instability or chaos.

### **Indonesian Diaspora Empowerment**

Global constellation dynamically moves ahead with the complexity of inter-correlation and inter-implication multi-dimensional of the state, ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, public safety, technology, and legislation (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2015b). The promptness progress of transportation and information technology, and cyber as well, has become escalating turbulence of global dynamics. This prominent strategic context gives the rising challenges and threats with non-military threats dominance, although military potential threats remain not ruled out. As a response dealing with non-military threats, nonmilitary approach carried out within the framework of the concept of national defense (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2014), in which civilian institutions' role prioritized, and inclusively to individual communities as manifestations fulfillment of their rights and obligations to defending the country as regulated in the 1945 Constitution, together with the Indonesian Diaspora.

The Indonesian government has an enormous interest in maintaining its Diaspora's level of nationalism and

patriotism in overseas through all Indonesian Representatives across the globe. Why does this matter essential? The existence of Indonesian people abroad with various professions must be seen as a strategic asset (Latifa, 2019), to participate in fighting for and reinforcing Indonesia's national interests. The potential assets of Indonesian Diaspora could become national powers abroad, once these potential elements strengthened by substantial stakes of nationalism and patriotism, particularly in mid of the rising globalization pressures, countries rivalries, and increasingly dynamic patterns of transnational communication. Could be Indonesian Diaspora physically remain part of the Indonesian nation, but mentally, the spirit of nationalism and patriotism shifting away.

The routineness of Indonesian Diaspora in such a prolong community for a long time, a year, two years, and even years, logical consequences of influential cultural assimilation for Indonesian Diaspora are difficult to be avoided. Cosmopolitanism values (Cleveland, Erdoğan, Arikan, & Poyraz, 2011) and cultural convergence (Jeon, Meiseberg, Dant, & Grünhagen, 2016) present as real challenges for Indonesian Diaspora life abroad. Indonesian Diaspora is a group that strongly influenced its position with the global-stream of contemporary globalization (Wibowo, 2015). Binding values, such as the traditions and indigenous cultures, which become Indonesian Diaspora's characteristics in the framework of national identities, possibly eroded as a result of this assimilation process. Moreover, when Indonesian Diaspora considers local traditions and culture in receiving countries to be more advanced, more modern, more artistic, and so on. Nationalism and patriotism of Indonesian Diaspora are likely to be co-opted as a more extensive result if conscious thought in cognitive understanding doesn't match with these realities. Furthermore, when this

happens, Indonesian nation and state will suffer losses. This rational argument implicitly explains that the empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora abroad cannot be put side by side with the empowerment of Indonesian people at home, because of different challenges and constraints.

The empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora abroad, in the context of edification by Indonesian Representatives, comes to be significant broadly in the realms of Indonesia's national interests. In overseas, Indonesian Diaspora likely receives socio-political presence marginalization in facing global competition. This becomes a necessity, where Indonesian Diaspora, as migrants in the receiving countries, can be seen as an ideology-political threat from origin state inherently (Santoso, 2014, p. 78), of course, along the lines of Indonesian national interests. The empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora, in this context, is no longer aimed at having welfare self-sufficiently, due to many of them in reasonably well-established positions. The Empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora is needed more to strengthen the maturity of nationalism and patriotism to compete in global competition, synergizing the efforts of the Indonesian Government to fight and protect national interests abroad.

Steps to empower Indonesian Diaspora can be done as an implementation program of *Nawacita*, which being priority agenda of President Joko Widodo on the subject of revolution of the nation's character, including the values of patriotism and fondness of the country, as well as defending spirit of the country (Wedhaswary, 2014). Edification of Indonesian Diaspora by Indonesian Representatives becomes a manifestation of nonmilitary defense capability development, one of which aiming to realize diplomacy ability implemented in public diplomacy practices in various opportunities and activities. This Indonesian Representative's endeavors can be synergized with the program of

defending the country set by Minister of Defense. The main things needed to be followed in fostering Indonesian Diaspora in nonmilitary capability framework are directed in targets through increasing the vigilances, morale, diplomacy and boost to national defense (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2015b). Several antecedent creativities, in its implementation, can be developed in practice, such as:

- a. Being activated the national forum which provides a space for communication to bring Indonesia national interests abroad together with Indonesian Diaspora potential which can be empowered sustainably.
- b. Socialization activities by presenting competent speakers related to various things to increase the understanding and remembrance of the homeland.
- c. Updating information forums related to receiving countries' conditions by exchanging information brings benefits for Indonesian Diaspora communities, especially sharing the national interests of Indonesia by emphasizing the importance of Indonesian Diaspora participation.
- d. Regular and incidental meetings in various forms of activities together, such as sports, religious activities, watching together (*No-bar*), and many others.
- e. National Commemoration events and religious holy days involving all Indonesian Diaspora, as participants or committees.
- f. Personal persuasive approaches conducted in certain groups.

Sustainably program in empowering Indonesian Diaspora becomes an integral part of national defense management facing complex realities that emerged nowadays. By doing this, Indonesian Diaspora, as an element of national power abroad, liable to be managed, in national defense, into strength and integralist ability of sustainable defense (Taylor, 2006). The complexity of managing national defense becomes a necessity due to disparity in

characteristics of national defense elements. Besides, national defense management needs to be carried out as early as possible during peacetime (Cleary & McConville, 2006). This explanation emphasizes the importance of empowering the Indonesian Diaspora as a comprehensive part of national defense.

### **Diplomacy for National Defense**

The architecture of the Indonesian national defense is constructed in a universal national defense system. A philosophical essence can be seen in which national defense systems universally illustrates the form of state behaviors in maintaining the existence and sustainability of the state from various forms of threats (Tippe, 2016, p. 52). The implementation of national defense also has an essential meaning in guarding Indonesian national interests based on national values, both to maintain the establishment of NKRI based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and to guarantee sustainable national development.

The implementation of the Indonesian national defense has been arranged in a strategic concept customized to the pattern, shape, and nature of the threats. Deployment of defense power, in response to the threats, emerged, both military and nonmilitary power, as core strength utilized suit to nature and shape. In practice, national defense is organized by synergism of military defense and nonmilitary defense, in layered defense (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2014, 2015a, 2015b), as the implementation of an active-defensive system. These two forms of defense are not held in a stand-alone position in separate times and dimensions. Both are arranged in the form of a layered defense in a comprehensive, integral and holistic performance in keeping with the patterns of emerging threats dynamically (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2014).

The logical reality of the global constellation develops dynamically in a strategic environment that places

nonmilitary defense as a prior preference. The extent domain of the nonmilitary defense compared with military defense comes to be a strengthening consideration as well. The power context in nonmilitary defense elaborated in several dimensions, ranging from ideology, domestic politics and diplomacy, economics and finance, socio-culture, technology, and others (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2014). The contextualization of national power portrays a broad dimension of the empowerment of Indonesian people in various sectors of the nation and state life.

The implementation of an active-defensive defense system, particularly in nonmilitary defense, is carried out by intensifying diplomatic efforts as a front-line proactive step for national defense. The diplomatic endeavors in terms of national defense provide an essential meaning faced with the strategic environment development emerging today. Diplomacy with soft-power and smart-power approaches (Nye, 2004) can be improved through public diplomacy by utilizing the broad domain laid down on politics and economics orientation. Active-defensive in nonmilitary defense can be manifested in relations and cooperation globally, where diplomacy as a dominant element enforced through empowering nonmilitary defense elements.

Indonesian Government has made diplomacy efforts in realms of nonmilitary defense through enforcing the role of foreign political instruments to prevent or reduce potential inter-states conflict could possibly endanger Indonesian national interests. Defense Confidence Building Measures (CBMs), in utilizing Indonesian Diaspora abroad, turns into the main objective of diplomacy for national defense. In this effort, by all means, Indonesian Representatives spread out in many countries, become official state instruments in practicing diplomacy abroad. Several forms of public diplomacy practices have been developed synergized with defense diplomacy carried out by the

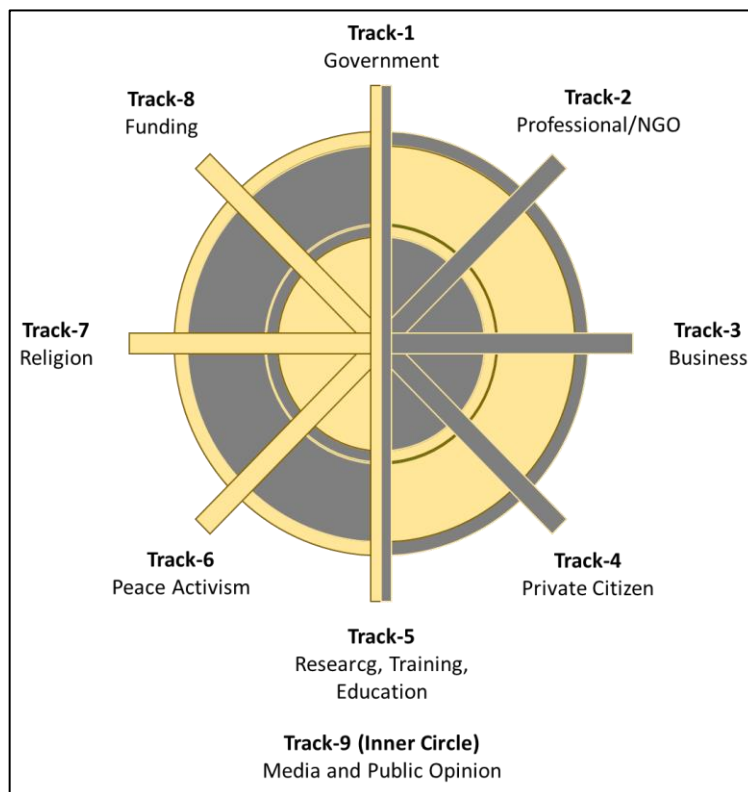


Indonesian Ministry of Defense with Indonesian Defense Attachés as spearhead positions in numerous countries. Through this implementation, national defense efforts are directed to build and maintain mutual trust and respect among fellow independent and sovereign states, and not intervene in any internal affairs of other countries.

Diversity of Indonesian Diasporas' professions can be defined as a strength with a wide range of aspects possibly mobilized within nonmilitary defense framework for the sake of national defense interests. Indonesia's Government, through its representatives, can explore the networks formed in each Indonesian Diaspora work-spheres and related partners' work-space. This is in line with the imperative mandate over Indonesian Diaspora's effort to defending the country, which manifested through service based on his/her profession. Indonesian Diaspora abroad contributes directed by Embassies to achieve several objectives, namely

maintaining the sovereignty of the state, economic, maritime, and cultural diplomacy, and promoting a better image of Indonesia in international fora (Naryatie, 2016).

The utilization of Indonesian Diaspora run by Indonesian Representatives is carried out by exploring various professions and positions of Indonesian Diaspora in the work-spheres and social environment, which can be developed into multi-track diplomacy (McDonald, 2012), as shown in Figure. 1. The practice of public diplomacy conducted by Indonesian Diaspora is a development practice of diplomacy explained by Nye (Nye, 2004) on the daily communication dimension and the strategic communication dimension within the framework of public diplomacy dimension at the level of a social environment, public spheres, as a center of gravity of opinion, belief, hope, and behavior of the people in other countries as directing targets for national interests distribution. This step can simultaneously



**Figure 1.** The Multi-Track System  
Source: McDonald, 2012

strengthen defense diplomacy within the framework of CBMs.

The multi-track diplomacy practically, as described by McDonald, can be used to develop public diplomacy towards Indonesian Diaspora in receiving countries. Referring to the 9-track diplomacy described by McDonald, and range of professions, Indonesian Diaspora basically can play its role in almost track, spanning from NGOs or Professionals (track-2), businesses (track-3), civilians (track-4), researchers and academic (track-5), activist (track-6), religious leaders (track-7), funding (track-8), as well as media and public opinion (track-9). Even in specific situations or cases, it could be that certain Indonesian Diaspora figures become protagonists in the practice of diplomacy to strengthen national defense. The capacity and capability of the Indonesian Diaspora can be employed broadly for national interests, or national development through transforming the paradigm from brain drained to brain gained (Naryatie, 2016).

The widespread patterns of communication and social interaction in the global communities give space in developing public diplomacy to strengthen the image of Indonesia in international fora by empowering Indonesian Diaspora in the social interaction of each individual. Social communities of Indonesian Diaspora, by developing patterns of people-to-people communication in the social sphere (Payne, 2009), that carried out intensively turn into sources of power with an asymmetric approach for disseminating Indonesian national interests in receiving countries. In line with this goal, utilizing Indonesian Diaspora in the practice of public diplomacy through a people-to-people communication approach will be fostering pace to sustainably obtain balancing information as analytical material to identify potential threats to Indonesian national interests. The people-to-people communication approach is seen as an effective strategy in public

diplomacy to strengthening defense diplomacy to increase national vigilance by providing early detection and preventing various potential threats coming from overseas.

Empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora, with its various roles and its potential overall, gives broader space in the form of military defense abroad which employed in strengthening the practice of diplomacy for the sake of national defense. Empowering Indonesian Diaspora will also optimize Indonesia's mission in practicing diplomacy to prevent or reduce the potential political state conflict, and to preclude intentions of other countries to attack or threaten Indonesian national interests. Even though there is no strategic policy yet concerning with the empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora for national defense (Risman et al., 2018), empowering Indonesian Diaspora abroad through multi-track diplomacy, the concept of paradigm transformation from brain drained into brain gained, and people-to-people communication needs to be formulated sustainably in a normative order to strengthening Indonesia's diplomacy comprehensively in the context of national interest, including national defense.

## CONCLUSION

Indonesian Diaspora, with around 8 million people abroad and enormous professions, is a strategic asset of vitality for the state and nation to participate in the fight and protection of Indonesian national interests. Global constellation dynamically moving ahead with the complexity of inter-correlation and inter-implication multi-dimensional life of the state, and the routineness of daily life abroad, Indonesian Diaspora likely receives socio-political presence marginalization and the challenges of cultural assimilation influenced by local culture. The nationalism and patriotism of the Indonesian Diaspora possibly eroded by this condition. Therefore, the Indonesian

Government takes into account to maintain and strengthen the maturity of nationalism and patriotism of Indonesian Diaspora through continuous empowerment to strive in global competition, collaborated with the Indonesian Government's efforts to fight for and protect national interests abroad.

Empowerment Indonesian Diaspora run by Indonesian Representatives can be a manifestation of edification capability of nonmilitary defense, one of which aimed at actualizing diplomacy, in the forms of public diplomacy in various activities and opportunities. Public diplomacy of Indonesian Diaspora, in the approach of soft-power and smart-power laid down on politics and economy orientation, can strengthen the forefront of implementing active-defensive national defense abroad. Enormous professions of Indonesian Diaspora come into socio-political instruments in strengthening Indonesia's multi-track diplomacy strategy to prevent or reduce the potential state conflict that could endanger Indonesian national interests, including national defense. The empowerment of the Indonesian Diaspora and its use in diplomacy for national defense, become a real concept in manifesting rights and obligations upon Indonesian Diaspora in defending the country. The conclusion that can be drawn from this paper is that the empowerment of Indonesian Diaspora, in a sustainable way, provides an important meaning in strengthening Indonesian diplomacy broadly to fight for and protect Indonesian national interests, including national defense.

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