

INDONESIA DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN ACHIEVING NATIONAL INTEREST

Budyanto Putro Sudarsono¹, Jonni Mahroza², Surryanto D.W.³

Indonesia Defense University
(budyputro99@gmail.com)

Abstract – In achieving and securing national interests, diplomacy always plays significant role. In its implementation, the state uses all of its nationally available resources including military, economy, politics, intelligence and any other resources available. The use of military as an instrument in diplomacy is inevitable. The general consensus is that negotiation forms a core component of diplomacy. Winning in negotiation, therefore, can be likened to winning in diplomacy. In order to gain leverage during negotiations, gaining a better bargaining position is an important requirement and this strongly relies on a nation's power of which one of the key components is the military. In this regard, the military power cannot be separated from state diplomacy. This research is designed to understand the role of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in achieving national interests. The objectives of this research are: First, to analyze the role of Indonesian defense diplomacy in achieving national interests and how to optimize it, and secondly, to analyze the factors that influence this role. This research employs qualitative method. All data is obtained through observation, interviews and literature studies. Data analysis is carried out simultaneously with data collection when the researcher is in the field. The research location is at Jakarta City. We can draw two conclusions from the result of the research: 1) The role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests has not been optimal and its achievements are still limited to defense issues only; 2) Factors influencing the role of defense diplomacy include the capacity and capability of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), cooperation between agencies, and formulation of diplomacy strategy.

Keywords: Defense diplomacy, diplomacy strategy

Introduction

In international relations, each country has its own national interests. Oftentimes, national interests of a country intersect and even clash with the interests of other countries. This situation can possibly lead

the country into tension and sometimes to conflict. The state uses diplomatic means to secure or achieve its national interests.

Diplomacy tends to be associated as soft power while the use of military power is considered as hard power. In the advance learners dictionary of current English, it is

¹ The author is an alumni of Department of Land Defense Strategy Study Cohort 5 of 2018, Indonesia Defense University.

² Counselor 1 serves as Secretary of Department of Defense Diplomacy, Faculty of Defense Strategy, Indonesia Defense University.

³ Counselor 2 serves as Permanent Lecturer of Faculty of Defense Strategy, Indonesia Defense University.

stated that "Diplomacy is a skill in making a cleverness in dealing with people arrangement so that they remain friendly and willing to help." While Sir Ernest Satow, defined it as "The application of tact and intelligence to the conduct of foreign relations between government and independent states." It can be inferred that diplomacy is a skill in determining how to win our interests without having causing hostility. In regard to defense, defense diplomacy can be a meaningful way to win national interest through the use of military/defense as a tool or resource without using it to incite hostility. Defense diplomacy can also be understood as series of activities which are generally carried out by representatives of defense department or other government agencies in order to win national interest in the field of security and defense, where the priority is the use of negotiation and other diplomatic instruments.

Today, military use in the affairs of state diplomacy is no longer purely regarded as the use of violence, as many countries have transformed their military role into one of the tools of diplomacy to achieve goals by not involving elements of

violence or hostility. Many countries have exemplified how the military has become one of the diplomatic packages whose use is not only limited to defense and security affairs. An example that can be taken from the use of the military in diplomatic affairs, without involving elements of violence and not directly related to security issues, is shown by China when the country attempted to win the tender for the manufacture 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 homes for Tanzanian soldiers. This method successfully won the heart of the Tanzanian government and in the end the tender was won by China.

The involvement of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) in state diplomacy is carried out with various roles. In safeguarding world peace, TNI has become one of the permanent participants in the UN peacekeeping mission. In the ASEAN region, TNI also plays an active role in establishing communication with the military of friendly countries through meeting forums such as the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting,

which is a forum that aims to establish shared perception among the armed forces of ASEAN countries and their partners on regional security. This has increased mutual trust and identified new fields of cooperation. Indonesia has also been the initiator of Jakarta International Defense Dialogue (JIDD) meeting, which is an international communication forum that addresses the issue of world security. This is in line with one of the aspects of defense diplomacy, namely confidence building measures.

From the description of the role of TNI, the involvement of TNI in state diplomacy is still limited to diplomacy that is directly related to national interest in the field of defense and security. The involvement of TNI in the diplomatic process of other fields, especially economy and politics, is still not significant.

The less maximized involvement of the military in the country's total diplomacy certainly has causes and backgrounds. There are a number of possibilities that explain why the TNI has not been maximized in diplomatic efforts outside of defense and security affairs, among others: *First*, inter-institutional

relations have not been synergistic especially with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; *Second*, the capacity and capability possessed by the TNI is still limited to its involvement in the country's total diplomacy. There are some requirements that TNI must possess in order to make it the country's first choice in conducting diplomacy, for example the TNI must have adequate bargaining power, at least in Asia. In addition, relationship with other country's military will obviously affect how other countries view the TNI. Therefore, TNI must be more observant in determining the priority for fostering military cooperation with friendly countries. Ideally, before making a decision to increase military cooperation with other countries, TNI must first understand the prioritized national interest that can be fought for through diplomacy. One of the means to do this is by coordinating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding which country should be targeted for diplomacy.

From the few explanations above, it can be hypothesized that TNI is quite actively involved in state diplomacy. However, the role of TNI in

diplomacy is not yet optimal and can still be improved.

Problem Formulation

Based on the above explanation, it can be assumed that the military can play an important role in diplomacy to support state diplomacy. Military involvement in state diplomacy can facilitate the state in achieving its national interests. Hence this research shall answer the following problem formulation: "How does Indonesia use defense diplomacy to achieve national interest?" Referring to the problem formulation, the research questions can be arranged as follows:

- 1) What is the role of TNI in defense diplomacy?
- 2) How to optimize the role of defense diplomacy in achieving national interests?
- 3) How is the relationship between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the leading sectors of state diplomacy?

Literature Review

The Concept of Free and Active Foreign Policy

As stipulated in article 2 and 5 of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 37 of

1999 concerning Foreign Relations, foreign relations are carried out based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Foreign Policy, national legislation and international law and customs. While foreign policy, as stipulated in article 3 and 4, adheres to the principle of free and active which is enshrined for national interests and carried out through diplomacy which is creative, active and anticipatory, not only routine and reactive, firm in principle, as well as rational and flexible in its approach. "Free and active" principle refers to foreign policy which, in essence is not neutral politics, but free to determine its position and policies in the face of international problems and do not commit themselves exclusively to one world power and actively contribute both in the form of thought and active participation in resolving conflicts, disputes and other world issues, for the sake of realizing a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice.

The first Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mohammad Hatta, was in the presence of the Central Indonesian National Working Committee (BP-KNIP) on 2 September 1948 in Yogyakarta when he delivered the following speech:

"But should we the people of Indonesia who fight for the independence of our nation and state, only have to choose between pro-Russia or pro-America? Are there no other stances that we must take in pursuing our ideals? The government is of the opinion that the position we must take is that we do not become objects in international political battles, but we must be the subjects who have the right to determine our own position, have the right to fight for our own goals, namely the complete independence of Indonesia.⁴"

Mohammad Hatta's concept has since become the basis for the state in determining its foreign policies, which are further outlined in the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations.

Defense Diplomacy Theory

Defense diplomacy is all means and strategies through various aspects of cooperation such as economics, culture, politics, defense and diplomacy so that countries can have friendships, can further cooperate with each other, and, most

importantly, increase trust.⁵ Defense diplomacy is used as a tool to achieve the goal of a country's foreign policy.

Gregory Winger in *The Theory of Defense Diplomacy* explained that defense diplomacy is a nonviolent use of military, e.g. exchange of officers, visits of warships, joint military exercises, in order to achieve the international interests of a country. Still in the writings of Winger, Andre Cottey and Anthony Foster stated that defense diplomacy is the use of military in the time of peace as a tool for security and foreign relations policies. This is reinforced by Martin Edmons who defines defense diplomacy as the use of military for operations other than war by utilizing training experience and discipline to achieve national interests both inside and outside the country.⁶

The success of the implementation of defense diplomacy is highly dependent on diplomatic efforts carried out at global, regional and bilateral levels. Of these, bilateral diplomacy plays a very important role. The success of a country's defense

⁴ M. Hatta, *Mendayung Antara Dua Karang*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1988).

⁵ Rodon Pedrason, *Asean Defence Diplomacy: The Road To Southeast Asian Defence Community*, (Heidelberg: University Heidelberg, 2015) p. 15.

⁶ Gregory Winger, *The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy*, (Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences, 2014).

diplomacy strategy is a result of collaboration between components of diplomacy, defense and development. Partially, there are three main characteristics of defense diplomacy⁷:

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

Synergy Theory

Covey, in a developmental journal, defines synergy as "a combination of elements or parts that can produce better and greater output than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, the combination of several elements will also produce a superior product. Therefore, synergy in development means integration of various elements that can produce better and greater output. Covey added that synergy will easily occur if existing components are able to think about synergy, and if there is a

similarity of views and mutual respect among them.⁸"

Concept of Strategy

According to Tjiptono, the word 'strategy' is derived from Greek which means a science or art to become a general. Strategy can also be interpreted as a plan to divide military power, to and to use it and place it in a certain place in order to achieve certain goals.⁹ While according to Rangkuti (2013:183), strategy is a comprehensive master plan, which explains how a company will achieve all of the objectives that have been set based on the pre-determined mission.¹⁰ Whereas according to Joni in Anitah (2008:124), strategy is knowledge and ability in utilizing all resources that one possess and/or mobilizing those resources to achieve a pre-determined goal.¹¹ In line with that idea, McNichols in J. Salusu (2006) stated that strategy is an art and skill in using the resources of an organization to achieve its goals through effective

⁷ I. Syawfi, *Aktivitas Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dalam Pemenuhan Tujuan-Tujuan Pertahanan Indonesia (2003-2008)*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 2009), p. 14.

⁸ Stephen Covey, "The 7 Habith of Highly Effective People", *Jurnal Pembangunan Jangka Menengah* 2005-2010.

⁹ Fandy Tjiptono, *Strategi Pemasaran Ed.3*, (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 1997).

¹⁰ Freddy Rangkuti, *SWOT Balance Scorecard*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2013), p. 183.

¹¹ Sri Anitah W., "Strategi Pembelajaran Matematika", (Jakarta: Universitas Terbuka, 2008), p. 124.

relationship with the environment in the most favorable conditions.¹²

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that strategy is a plan that contains ways or paths to achieve a pre-determined goal in accordance with one's vision and by utilizing resources that they possess.

Concept of National Interest

National interest is a concept that is often discussed in studies and issues of international relations. Every country will always have a national interest which often becomes the basis for them in developing their international relations strategy. A country's foreign policy is strongly influenced by the country's national interests. State is the most dominant actor in achieving these national interests.

Experts have various opinions in interpreting and defining national interests. According to Hans J. Morgenthau, national interest is the minimum capability of the state in protecting and maintaining

physical, political and cultural identities from the disruptions of other countries. According to Morgenthau, state leaders formulate specific policies towards other countries that are cooperative or conflictual in nature.¹³ Meanwhile, Paul Seabury defines national interests through two perspectives: (1) descriptive perspective, i.e. a goal that must be achieved continuously by a nation through government leadership; and (2) normative perspective, i.e. a collection of ideals from a nation where the nation tries to achieve it by dealing with other countries.¹⁴ Daniel S. Paap stated national interest involves several aspects, such as economy, ideology, military strength, security, morality and legality.¹⁵

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that national interest is a wish that become targets that must be achieved by the state, where the wish itself is consisted of multiple dimensions, including economy, social, defense and security.

¹² Salusu J., *Pengambilan Keputusan Strategik Untuk Organisasi Publik dan Organisasi Non Profit*, (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2006) p. 101.

¹³ H.J. Morgenthau, *In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*, (New York: University Press of America, 1951).

¹⁴ Luthfiana Chandra A.M dan Mahrita. *Defining National Interest*, (2012).

¹⁵ D. S. Papp, *Contemporary International Relation": A Framework for Understanding, Second Editions"*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1988), p. 29.

Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a policy taken by the government of a country or other political community in relations with the state and non-state actors at international level. According to Walter Carlsnaes, foreign policy is actions directed at targets, conditions and actors (both government and non-government) that are outside of their territorial area that they want to influence. These actions are expressed in the form of goals, commitments and/or directions that are stated explicitly, which are carried out by government representatives acting on behalf of sovereign states or communities.¹⁶ Whereas according to K.J. Holsti, foreign policy is an action or idea designed by policymakers to solve problems or promote a change in the environment, namely other country's policy, position or action. The idea of foreign policy can be divided into four components from the more general to the more specific, namely foreign policy orientation, national roles,

goals, and actions.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Mark R. Amstutz defines foreign policy as “the explicit and implicit action of governmental officials designed to promote national interests beyond a country's territorial boundaries.¹⁸” This definition emphasizes the actions of government officials to design and promote their national interests, beyond the territorial boundaries of a country. Thus, in general, it can be argued that foreign policy is a concept used by state or non-state actors as a guide in dealing with other parties in the external environment

Research methods

This study employs qualitative method which is defined as a research method that aims to understand a phenomenon experienced by subject, which includes behaviors, perceptions, motivations, actions, etc. in a holistic manner. The findings will then be expressed in the form of words and language, naturally and by utilizing various scientific methods.¹⁹

¹⁶ Walter Carlsnaes, “The Agency-Structure Problem In Foreign Policy Ananlysis”, *International Study Quarterly*. Vol.36, No.3, 2016, pp. 245-270.

¹⁷ K. J. Holsti, “National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No.3, 1970, pp. 233-309.

¹⁸ Mark R. Amstutz, *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases in Global Politics 4th Ed.*, (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013).

¹⁹ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif (edisi revisi)*, (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosda Karya, 2012), p. 6).

The research subjects were informants who were involved in their respective fields of duty, including: a) officials within the Sintel TNI Headquarters, specifically Asintel TNI Commander and Paban 2 Hublu; b) officials within the Directorate of B BAIS TNI; c) officials within the Directorate of International Security and Disarmament (KIPS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The object of this research is the role of TNI in defense diplomacy, the capacity and capability of TNI in diplomacy, and the working relations between TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the affairs of diplomacy.

Research Findings

The Role of TNI in Defense Diplomacy

This analysis on the role in defense diplomacy will only focus on defense diplomacy through the deployment of peacekeeping forces and the placement of Defense Attachés. These two focuses are in accordance with the research problem, in which the highlight: (1) the absence of a comprehensive defense diplomacy strategy involving all stakeholders, which is clearly illustrated in the implementation of Defense

Attaché duties; and (2) the less optimized use of defense diplomacy outside of the affairs of security and defense, which can be seen in the case of deployment of UN peacekeepers.

Indonesian Peacekeeping Forces

The deployment of TNI troops in peace mission is one of the concrete forms of implementation of defense diplomacy carried out by the TNI. One of the objectives of defense diplomacy is to prevent conflicts and influence the policies of the target countries, or at least create a positive perception towards the military (TNI) or the state. There are two forms of participation that can be made by a country in a UN peace operation, i.e.: (1) country members of United Nations can participate by donating funds to support the peace operation; and (2) country members can send peacekeeping forces directly to conflict area.

The involvement of the TNI in peace mission has begun since 1957, where TNI dispatched a total of 559 peacekeepers to serve under the United Nation Emergency Force (UNEF) in order to help ease the conflict between Egypt and Britain. The first

mission of TNI peacekeeping forces was deemed successful by the United Nations and since then the TNI has continued to win the trust of the United Nations to help foster peace in various parts of the world. Their second mission was with UNOC in Congo in 1960 where they sent 1,074 troops, followed by several missions where Garuda Contingent was deployed with UNEF in Egypt (1973-1979), UNIMOG in Iraq (1988-1990), UNTAC in Cambodia (1992-1992). UNIKOM in Kuwait (1993), UNPROFOR in Bosnia (1995), UNPREDEP in Macedonia (1996), UNTAES in East Slovenia (1997), UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone (2002), MONUC in Congo (2004). Finally, from 2006 to today Indonesia has sent Garuda Contingent to UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) in Lebanon, Kizibundi and Congo, UNAMID (United Nations Mission in Darfur) in Darfur, Sudan and Mali in 2015.

So far, the implementation of TNI peace duties under the UN is considered quite successful, especially in communicating and fostering citizens in conflict areas. The application of territorial guidance (*Binter*) method in carrying out peace duties yielded very positive results in

realizing their task. One of the duty areas where TNI troops are regularly stationed is in Lebanon. The opportunity to interact with local communities in South Lebanon is well utilized by the TNI. The interaction carried out by TNI with the people of South Lebanon resulted in a very good acceptance to the TNI forces in the region. TNI's successes in gaining acceptance and managing their interaction with the locals became quite an interesting story, both among the UNIFIL contingents and the people of Indonesia. This is because contingents from other states have been facing difficulties in gaining acceptance from the people of South Lebanon.

Apart from a variety of successes, the implementation of Garuda Contingent's peacekeeping duties, which is also a form of defense diplomacy aiming to achieve national interests, have not been fully utilized. Military diplomacy carried out by the TNI peacekeeping force is only limited to the issue of defense and security, even though there are many opportunities to utilize the mission to achieve national interests in other fields, especially economy. Several countries contributing to the UN peacekeeping force have

exemplified that in carrying out their duties, their troops can also participate in marketing their domestic products in the country of duty. Thus, there is a necessity for the TNI to be more active in achieving the country's national interest through their military diplomacy.

Defense Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia

Diplomatic representative is a state institution located beyond national territory that is tasked with fostering relations in the political, economic, social, cultural and defense sectors with other countries. These duties and authorities are carried out by diplomatic corps, namely ambassadors, business attorneys and attachés. Attaché is divided into two, namely Defense Attaché and Technical Attaché. Defense Attaché is held by a military officer who is assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and placed in the embassy of a country, with a position as a diplomat. Their job is to provide advice in the field of military, defense and security to the fully authorized Ambassador.

In carrying out their duties, the defense attaché has fully utilized their potential. More often than not, there will be

a miscommunication between the Defense Attaché and the Ambassador as the chief representative. There are also several cases where the mission carried out by the defense attaché is not synchronized with the mission of the chief representative, hence each person appears as if working on their own. There are several factors that might cause this to happen, including:

- a) There is no shared understanding that the Ambassador is the head of the representative who serves as the head of mission and controls the implementation of diplomatic duties in the accredited country. There is still an assumption that Ambassador is merely a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, even though Ambassador is a representative of the state to carry out the tasks of state diplomacy.
- b) The preparation of mission papers by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the TNI has not been implemented in a coordinated manner. Mission paper is a guideline for the implementation of diplomacy in a country which contains priority goals and strategies to be used in achieving diplomatic goals. The preparation of mission papers for chief

representatives is still carried out by prospective Ambassadors and has not been carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As such, the mission paper cannot be comprehensive. Even worse, most defense attachés, if not all, do not have mission paper as a guideline for carrying out their diplomatic duties.

The Capacity and Capability of TNI in Implementing Defense Diplomacy

In the implementation of defense diplomacy, the capacity and capability possessed by the military is one of the main determinants for the successful implementation of diplomacy. Military with good capacity and capability tends to succeed in carrying out its diplomatic mission. It is commonly known that diplomacy is generally aimed at changing or influencing the policies of a country, either through hard or soft power which often involves bargaining process. In that context, strong bargaining power becomes a guarantee of successful operation. The bargaining position of a diplomatic instrument, e.g. military, relies heavily on the capacity and capability it has.

Currently the capacity of the TNI still needs to be optimized. The bargaining power of a military relies heavily on the strength of that military, which is mostly determined by its battle gears.

In terms of capabilities for carrying out the task of diplomacy, it is openly acknowledged that the TNI also does not have sufficient capability, both in terms of personnel and in terms of strategy. In terms of personnel, it is acknowledged that TNI personnel is still lacking in the required knowledge and capabilities for diplomacy. Language barrier and lack of insight are often cited as the biggest obstacles in carrying out diplomatic tasks.

Currently the TNI has a lot of cooperation with the military of friendly countries, both through joint exercise, education and operations. Due to this cooperation, many TNI soldiers were sent overseas to carry out those programs.

In terms of strategy, the TNI still has to form a more comprehensive strategy. Diplomatic activities carried out by the TNI, both by TNI Headquarters and Headquarters of each force (Army, Navy & Air Force), were continuously implemented and even became a permanent program,

but it has not been formulated as a comprehensive diplomatic strategy of TNI. The diplomatic effort carried out by each force is still done individually without a clear strategy, hence the result is lacking. This situation was what prompted the TNI Commander, Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, to include his program in strengthening military diplomacy as one of the priority targets.

Diplomatic efforts carried out by the Army, Navy and Air Force and even TNI Headquarter are appear to be mere ritual without attempting to reach certain target or enacting a strategy. Each Force conducts diplomacy not based on a particular strategy to achieve a predetermined target. The TNI Headquarters Intelligence Staff, which is the leading sector of TNI diplomacy, also acknowledged that they have not been able to formulate a military diplomacy strategy that can be used as a reference for the diplomatic efforts of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Relations between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Matters of Diplomacy

In carrying out diplomacy, communication and coordination with various relevant

institutions, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the leading sector of state diplomacy, is unavoidable given that one of the functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is implementing policies in the field of foreign relations and foreign policy.

So far, communication between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been running smoothly and well. The indicator can be seen from the level of involvement of the TNI in making important decisions related to foreign policy. Some aspects that can be used as examples are regional diplomacy, international security diplomacy, economic diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy, technical cooperation, etc. On regional diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs closely coordinated with the TNI, especially in the face of disputes on demarcation line (land), as well as delimitation line (sea) with neighboring countries.

However, coordination between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of preparing a diplomatic strategy has not gone well. Even though the communication between personnel was intense, at the policy level this was not going well. Based on the data obtained from various sources

at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it appears that the involvement of TNI in diplomacy alongside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is still very limited.

Discussion of Research Findings

In achieving and securing the interests of the state, diplomacy has always been the first and most dominant choice. In its implementation, the state can use the resources that it possesses, which includes military, economy, politics, intelligence and so on. The use of military as one of the instruments in diplomacy has become inevitable.

The Role of TNI in Defense Diplomacy

UN Peacekeeping Force – The deployment of peacekeeping forces under United Nations peacekeeping mission is a manifestation of the Indonesian government's strong commitment to world peace which provides meaning for the implementation of foreign relations based on the free and active principle and improves Indonesia's image in the international community.

In carrying out the task of maintaining world peace, TNI, as one of the spearheads of the Indonesian military forces under the control of the United Nations, has achieved much success and continues to gain the trust of the United Nations to carry out peace missions. In the context of diplomacy, the success of TNI forces in the UN mission does not only serve as the success of military diplomacy but also public diplomacy. The application of territorial guidance methods in carrying out peacekeeping duties by the TNI forces allows them to routinely communicate and interact with the locals. Public diplomacy is one of the diplomatic strategies employed by many countries with the aim of influencing the perceptions and opinions of other countries through psychological approaches to reach their political agenda and goals. According to Jarol B. Mainheim's definition, public diplomacy is an effort carried out by a country to influence public opinion and leaders in other countries with the aim of facilitating the achievement of the objectives of its foreign policy.²⁰

²⁰ Jarol B. Mainheim, *Strategic Public Diplomacy: The Evolution of Influence*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 4.

Territorial guidance is an effective method to conduct psychological approach to the locals in the area of duty. The application territorial guidance by TNI forces includes several things, e.g. providing assistance to the community around the area of duty, assistance to schools, assistance to orphanage foundations, medical assistance to people around the area of duty, as well as visits and religious events involving community leaders. It is no surprise then that the TNI manage to be well accepted by the local people in every area that they served. The ability of the TNI to interact with the community and sensitivity to the environment is the basic capital for TNI soldiers in developing defense diplomacy, especially with regard to public diplomacy.

The ability of the TNI in carrying out psychological approaches to communities in their area of duty can certainly provide good opportunities to achieve national interests, given that public opinion in a country will greatly influence the country's political policies. Several countries have used their peacekeeping forces to conduct

diplomacy by strengthening public diplomacy strategies in order to achieve their economic goals. One example of a country that has done so is South Korean peacekeepers when they were deployed in Lebanon. The success of public diplomacy carried out by South Korean peacekeeping forces has succeeded in influencing the perception of Lebanese people, especially with regard to the production of vehicles made in South Korea. Unfortunately, the TNI has not done the same thing.

The use of the TNI peacekeepers in carrying out defense diplomacy for the purpose of economic interests is not yet possible due to the lack of understanding that diplomatic activities carried out by any institution can be an entry point to achieve any form of national interest. The deployment of TNI peacekeeping forces is still only considered as defense affairs and has no connection with other national interests. The existence of that kind of assumption is what causes the lack of comprehensive synchronization in the formulation of diplomatic strategy between state institutions.

Defense Attaché of the Republic of Indonesia

One of the dimensions of defense diplomacy is the exchange or placement of Defense Attaché as a spokesperson for national defense policies. The role of a Defense Attaché is essential in carrying out defense diplomacy. In addition to carrying out its main duties, the Defense Attaché has played a role in realizing defense interests and is able to enhance bilateral relations through improving the quality of relations and cooperation in the field of defense. In carrying out diplomatic duties, defense attachés are part of the Indonesian diplomatic mission under the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) headed by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (LBBP).

As part of Indonesia's diplomatic mission, it is appropriate for the Defense Attaché to carry out its mission in line with the diplomatic mission formulated by the LBBP Ambassador as the head of mission. The absence of synchronization between the missions carried out by the LBBP Ambassador and Defense Attaché will certainly have a negative impact on efforts to achieve national interests carried out by diplomatic offices in a country. As explained

in the sub-chapter of Research Findings, the main reason for the lack of synchronization between the mission of Defense Attaché and the LBBP ambassador is the lack of coordination between the two in the formulation of mission paper.

It is important for the LBBP Ambassador, as the head of office of diplomatic representative of the Republic of Indonesia abroad, and diplomatic actor components, including Defense Attaché under their leadership, to have a shared vision in carrying out the diplomatic task of their office. The existence of a shared vision will facilitate the synergy between diplomatic actors of various institutions which will lead to the achieving of national interest.

Capacity and Capability of TNI in Implementing Defense Diplomacy

Based on the research findings which found that the military capacity and capability of our TNI is still far from expectation, it can be inferred that our military's bargaining power in diplomacy is not yet at an ideal level. In order to achieve the ideal conditions, our military heavily relies on the military budget allocation provided by the

state, which is inseparable from the national budget. Financial capability possessed by the armed forces can become a leverage in the bargaining process of military diplomacy. This will in turn be an effective method to influence the policy of a state. This is clearly illustrated in the pattern of military diplomacy adopted by the American military. The American military adopts a military diplomacy method that is referred to as military aid. Every year, America spends more than billions of dollars to provide military assistance to dozens of countries in the world, under the assumption that this assistance can strengthen America's influence on the recipient country. In terms of handling terrorism, America has provided military assistance to many countries, including: Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Oman, Yemen, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Columbia. The results of the military assistance were very clear in the case of Georgia who, as a way to express their gratitude, was willing to send 2,000 of its military personnel to help the American military who was fighting in Iraq. This in turn becomes a weapon for America to influence a country's policies. Military aid is used as a

bargaining chip for the America to dictate a country's policy. As long as the recipient country is willing to change its policy to be in line with America's interests, they will continue to receive the military aid.

The American example in strengthening their military's bargaining power through military aid is obviously cannot be replicated by Indonesia in carrying out defense diplomacy, given that our country's financial capacity to support state defense itself is still lacking. However, military aid is not the only way to strengthen defense diplomacy. Military aid itself does not need to always be about funding or battle gears donation, but can be provided in the form of military assistance such as joint exercise and operation.

Relations between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Matters of Diplomacy

With regard to the relations between TNI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially in the matters of diplomacy, the research found that in general the relation has been going smoothly. Regular communication is established between the two institutions in discussing diplomatic issues. However, the communication that

has been established is limited to operational matters, while at the policy level is almost nonexistent – especially with regard to the preparation of diplomatic strategies.

In general, in the process of decision making and policy formulation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is based on two dimensions, namely reactive and regular. In the case of regular formulation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will determine its activities and policies based on the annual Ministerial Work Plan. This plan is usually formulated a year before the budget period starts.

The main reason which causes the ineffective cooperation between TNI and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in formulating diplomatic strategy is the lack of white paper on diplomatic policies which can be referred to at the national level. Without it, they can only cooperate on daily coordination. White paper on diplomatic policies is essential to be possessed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs because it will be the main reference for the formulation of diplomatic strategy by government agencies in charge of diplomatic affairs.

Conclusion

Based on the findings and analysis on the research questions that have been outlined in the previous chapter, we can make the following conclusions:

- a. The role of TNI in defense diplomacy is generally seen from the two roles they played, i.e.:
 - As 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 people in their area of duty. However, the success of the TNI in such diplomacy has not been utilized to support the achieving of other national interests, especially in the field of economy. The diplomacy carried out by the TNI in its involvement as part of the UN peacekeeping force was limited to efforts to achieve national interests in the defense sector.
 - TNI plays a role in formulating defense diplomacy strategy by sending a Defense Attaché to serve under Indonesian Embassy. However, their role in this part has not been optimal due to miscommunications and lack of

synchronization between the priority of head of mission, namely the Ambassador, and the priority of Defense Attaché. This is caused by the lack of coordination and synchronization among institutions in formulating the mission paper of the office of diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

- b. The capacity and capability of TNI in supporting defense diplomacy is still far from ideal. The weaponries and battle gears of TNI has not been able to create an optimal deterrence effect to increase Indonesia's bargaining power at international level. In addition, the budget to support defense diplomacy is still limited – hence the flexibility in carrying out diplomacy is also limited. The capacity of TNI personnel as diplomatic actor is also limited, which reduces the effectiveness of TNI in carrying out diplomacy.
- c. Relations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the TNI in terms of diplomacy are generally well established. The coordination and communication between them has been running well at the operational level, but

not at strategic level, specifically in formulating joint diplomatic strategy. Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not yet involved the TNI in formulating diplomatic strategy even though TNI can significantly contribute to some issues.

Recommendation

Based on the conclusions above, the authors recommend the following things to be followed up:

- a. There needs to be an SOP for the formulation of diplomatic strategy within the vicinity of TNI, in order to coordinate on the matters of defense diplomacy. While at the national level, there needs to be a Joint Agreement Letter (SKB) between institutions to coordinate in formulating diplomatic strategy in order to fill in the gap left by the lack of regulations derived from Law No. 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations. With the existence of SOP and SKB, the formulation of diplomatic strategy at national level and within the TNI can be implemented in a well and directed manner.
- b. A white paper on defense diplomacy needs to be prepared to be referred to in

formulating defense diplomacy – for the sake of improving the defense diplomacy carried out by TNI

- c. At present there is no unit within TNI that is specifically tasked in the affairs of defense diplomacy. In order to facilitate the formulation of defense diplomacy strategy, there needs to be a special unity that specifically deals with the affairs of defense diplomacy.

References

- Anitah W, Sri. 2008. Strategi Pembelajaran Matematika. Jakarta: Universitas Terbuka
- Carlsnaes, Walter. 1992. The Agency-structure Problem in Foreign Policy Ananalysis, International study quarterly. vol.39
- Covey, Stephen, The 7 Habith of Highly Effective People, 1989, Jurnal pembangunan Jangka Menengah 2005-2010 Sulawesi Utara
- Hatta, M. (1988). Mendayung Antara Dua Karang. Bulan Bintang
- H.J. Morgenthau, Defense of the National Interest. 1951
- J. Salusu. 2006. Pengambilan Keputusan Strategik Untuk Organisasi Publik dan Organisasi Non Profit. Grasindo. Jakarta
- K.J. Holsti. 1970. “National Role Conceptions in the study of Foreign policy”.Vol. 14
- Luthfiana Chandra A.M dan Mahrita. *Defining National Interest*. 2012
- Mainheim, Jarol B., 1990, Strategic Public Diplomacy : The Evolution of Influence, Oxford University Press
- Mark R. Amstutz. 2013. “International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and cases in Global Politics”. 4th Ed. Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield
- Moleong, Lexy J, (2012) Metode Penelitian Kualitatif (edisi revisi) PT Remaja Rosda Karya, Bandung
- Papp, D. S. . "Contemporary International Relation": A Framework for Understanding, Second Editions. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company. 1988
- Pedrason, R. (2015), Asean defence Diplomacy: The Road To Southeast Asian Defence Community, Heidelberg: university Heidelberg
- Rangkuti, Freddy, SWOT Balance Scorecard, 2013
- Syawfi, I. (2009). Aktivitas Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dalam Pemenuhan Tujuan-Tujuan Pertahanan Indonesia (2003-2008). Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia
- Tjiptono, Fandy, Strategi pemasaran, Edisi 3
- Winger, Gregory, 2014. The Velvet Gauntlet: A Theory of Defense Diplomacy