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Indonesia-Germany Defense Diplomacy in Military Education Cooperation

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Abstract. Indonesia-Germany Defense Diplomacy was resulted a Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) in the form of a Defense Cooperation Memorandum of understanding (MoU). The MoU is as the basis for the implementation of the Bilateral Experts Talks Meeting which resulted a military education cooperation in the form of the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program. The MTA program is a German military education program which is offered to personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) which is expected to increase the capability and professionalism of personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for both countries. This research aims to analyze the Indonesian-German defense cooperation in the field of military education and to analyze the Indonesian-German defense diplomacy in military education cooperation. This research is structured using the theory of international cooperation, the theory of diplomacy, the theory of defense diplomacy, and the concept of defense cooperation. This research was conducted using a qualitative-descriptive method. Data collection techniques used are interviews and literature study. The results of this research are expected to be a description of Indonesia-Germany defense cooperation and solutions to the problems.

Keywords. defense diplomacy, Defense Cooperation Agreement, Bilateral Experts Talks Meeting, Military Training Assistance, Indonesian Armed Forces, Confidence Building Measures, Capacity Building, international cooperation, defense cooperation, qualitative-descriptive method, literature study

Introduction

The rapid development of the world in this era of globalization has made relations between countries more intensive on the basis of interdependence and mutual interest. Likewise, the relationship between Indonesia and Germany is very well established even though the geographical location between the two countries is far apart and that does not prevent mutually beneficial cooperation efforts on the basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. Indonesia-Germany diplomatic relations were officially opened in 1952 namely during the reign of President Soekarno.¹ Germany's relationship to Indonesia was disrupted in 1965, as well as by some disputes about debt relief, but a state visit by Suharto in 1970 and his meeting with

¹ Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Berlin, 'Sekilas Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia Dan Jerman', 2018 <<https://kemlu.go.id/berlin/id/read/sekilas-hubungan-bilateral-indonesia-dan-jerman/1287/etc-menu>>.

Chancellor Willy Brandt led to a normalization. An important supportive role in these developments was played by Mr. B.J. Habibie, who had studied at the Technical University of Aachen and worked for weapons and aeronautics company Messerschmitt Bölkow Bluhm between 1955 and 1974, before returning to Indonesia, where he found favour with Mr. Suharto and rose to the positions of Minister of Technology and, eventually, Vice-President. Mr. B.J. Habibie was the go-to person for many economic, scientific and political initiatives between the two countries and he received high public honours in Germany in acknowledgement of this contribution.² Mr. B.J. Habibie has contributed greatly to the close bilateral relations between Indonesia and Germany.³ Bilateral relations between Indonesia and Germany are established because of the principle of international cooperation, because according to Koesnadi Kartasasmita, international cooperation is a must as a result of interdependence relations and the increasing complexity of human life in the international community.⁴

Relations between Indonesia and Germany reached a new milestone with *the agreement of the German-Indonesian Joint Declaration for a Comprehensive Partnership: Shaping Globalization and Sharing Responsibility* by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Chancellor Angela Merkel in Jakarta on July 10, 2012. The agreed collaborations are: Economic Cooperation (Trade and Investment), Education, Research and Technology, Health, Defense Industry, Food Security, Food Energy, Transportation. President Joko Widodo's official visit to Berlin on 17-18 April 2016 met Chancellor Angela Merkel to strengthen the strategic partnership relationship between the two countries through three focus areas of cooperation, namely (1) technical vocational education training, (2) renewable energy, (3) maritime (maritime cooperation) for the sake of the country's needs and the national interests of Germany-Indonesia in the future. Economic cooperation is a top priority not limited to trade and investment. Other collaborations are development cooperation, health, environment, climate change, social and labor, energy, infrastructure, and transportation.⁵ Previously in 1979, there was a formal agreement on educational cooperation (research, science, and technology) which was later enhanced through the collaboration of the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (BMBF) with the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT) on the Indonesia-Germany Biotechnology Initiative in 1988. Educational collaborations include university partnerships, promotion of language and culture at the Goethe-Institut, the PASCH (School: Mitra Future) initiative at 28 partner schools across Indonesia, and Deutsche Schule Jakarta which offers German international standard graduation exams (Abitur) to continue studies in Germany.⁶

The agreement of the Jakarta Declaration on July 10, 2012 became a reference for the implementation of the Bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between Indonesia and Germany. According to Cottey and Forster (2004), one of the activities of defense diplomacy is bilateral defense cooperation agreements and training of foreign military and civil defense personnel.⁷ Bilateral DCA Indonesia-Germany is a form of bilateral cooperation in the defense sector in an effort to realize defense diplomacy which was developed to build mutual trust (trust

² Thomas Reuter, *German Cultural Diplomacy in Indonesia: Building Cooperation in a Changing World*, Ifa Edition Culture and Foreign Policy, 2019 <<https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/62399>>.

³ Rizki Akbar Putra, 'Sosok Habibie Di Mata Indonesia - Jerman', *Dw.Com*, 13 September 2019 <<https://www.dw.com/id/sosok-habibie-di-mata-indonesia-jerman/a-50414854>>.

⁴ Zulkifli, 'Kerjasama Internasional Sebagai Solusi Pengelolaan Kawasan Perbatasan Negara (Studi Kasus Indonesia)' (Universitas Indonesia, 2012).

⁵ Berlin.

⁶ Kedutaan Besar Republik Federal Jerman di Jakarta, 'Hubungan Bilateral' <<https://jakarta.diplo.de/id-id/themen/kultur/-/2002502>>.

⁷ Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster, *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, ed. by Tim Huxley, 1st Editio (London: Rotledge, 2004) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315000817>>.

building), find peaceful solutions for handling security issues that are of concern to both parties.⁸ Defense cooperation in the Jakarta Declaration was stated in the *MoU between the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and the Federal Ministry of Defense of the Federal Republic of Germany Concerning Cooperation in the Field of Defense* which was signed in Berlin on 27 February 2012 and has been ratified by Law Number 5 of 2016. The cooperation in the MoU is cooperation in the fields of military education, research and development, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, military logistics, medical services and peacekeeping missions. Indonesia-Germany military education cooperation is in the form of sending officers to study in Germany which is resulted from the *Forum Annual Program and Military Training Assistance (AP and MTA)*. This military education cooperation is a form of Indonesian-German defense cooperation in an effort to increase Indonesia's defense capacity, capability, quality and professionalism of Personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), as well as increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for both countries. The Military Training Assistance (MTA) program is the result of a Bilateral Talk meeting between the staff of the Directorate of International Cooperation of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the staff of the Directorate of International Cooperation of the German Ministry of Defense.

In its implementation the MTA program has several obstacles. The MTA program offer is not always approved by the leadership of the Ministry of Defense for budget reasons, even though the seats have been agreed during the bilateral talk. Likewise, during the selection of candidates, it is still difficult to find candidates who meet the qualifications. The lack of socialization and the lack of allowance support (logistics administration) as an aspect of welfare make this MTA program seem less interested. The Ministry of Defense does not fully support this program because the airplane tickets and allowances must be borne by the Ministry of Defense, although all education costs are fully borne by the German government. Germany did not provide allowance support (logistics administration) because Indonesia is a member of the G-20. Another obstacle is that the candidates of the MTA program must master German language skills at a certain level and this is difficult for the candidates who do not have (foreign) language talent. This military education cooperation should be a strength of Defense Diplomacy because the participants of the MTA program become Indonesian ambassadors in establishing friendship with the host (Germany) and also with officers from other countries. Although there are a number of obstacles, it is hoped that military education cooperation through the MTA program will enable to increase the capability and professionalism of Indonesian officers (TNI) and increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for Indonesia and Germany. The MTA program is also expected to have a positive effect on Indonesia-German defense diplomacy in defense cooperation in the field of military education and especially for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) who participate in this program, it is hoped that they will become Indonesian officers (TNI) with superior capabilities that will be useful in Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the future.

Research methods

Research on Indonesian-German Defense Diplomacy in Military Education Cooperation was carried out with a descriptive qualitative method that described the Indonesian-German defense diplomacy process that resulted in the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) in the form of military education cooperation with the Military Training

⁸ Titik Karomah, 'Kerjasama Pertahanan Indonesia-Jerman Melalui Deklarasi Jakarta Tahun 2012-2016', *JOM FISIP*, 4 (2017), 15 <<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/134097-ID-kerjasama-pertahanan-indonesia-jerman-me.pdf>>.

Assistance (MTA) program. This qualitative research method is based on postpositivism or interpretative philosophy, used to examine the condition of natural objects, where the researcher is the key instrument, data collection techniques are carried out by triangulation (combined observation, interviews, documentation), the data obtained tend to be qualitative data, data analysis is inductive/qualitative, and qualitative research results are to understand meaning, understand uniqueness, construct phenomena, and find hypotheses.⁹ Library data and information on the experience of the perpetrators (informants) are interpreted and analyzed so that they can answer the research problem "how is Indonesia-German defense diplomacy in military education cooperation". The technique used is to link theory and data with library-based secondary data collection known as library research. This research was conducted by combining various sources from scientific research in the form of books, journals, papers, scientific writings published on websites and other internet sources that are relevant to the problems discussed in this study.

The data analysis model used by the researcher is an interactive model from Miles, Huberman, and Saldana.¹⁰ Here's a picture of the interactive model:

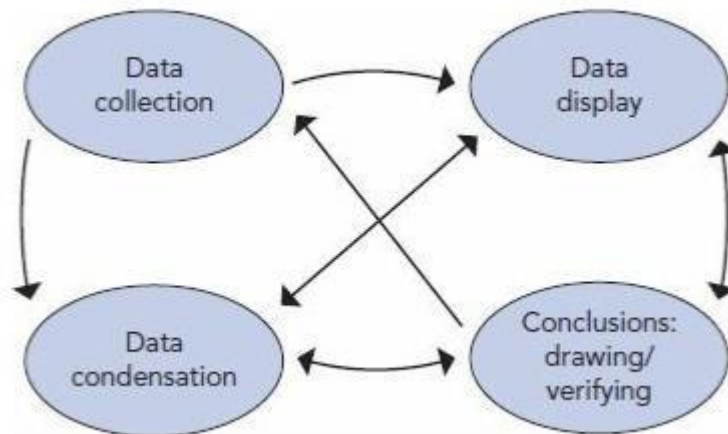


Figure 1 Components in interactive data analysis model (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014)

The components in the data analysis of Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014: 12-14) are as follows:

- a. Data collection. Data collection from the methods used are observation, interviews and documentation. All these types of data have one key aspect in general, their analysis mainly depends on the integrative and interpretive skills of the researcher. Interpretation is needed because the data collected is rarely in the form of numbers, the data is rich in details and long.
- b. Data condensation. Data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming data that approximates all parts of written field notes, interview transcripts, documents and empirical materials. The conclusion is that the data condensation process was obtained after the researchers conducted

⁹ Prof. Dr. Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Edisi ke-3 (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2017).

¹⁰ Mathew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis A Methods Sourcebook*, Edition 3 (California: SAGE Publications Inc., 2014).

interviews and obtained written data in the field, which later the interview transcripts were sorted out to get the research focus needed by the researchers.

- c. Presentation of Data (data display). Presentation of data is an organization, unification, and inferred information. Presentation of data here also helps in understanding the research context because it performs a more in-depth analysis.
- d. Conclusions drawing. The conclusions drawn here are carried out by the researcher from the beginning, the researcher collects data such as looking for understanding that does not have a pattern, noting the regularity of explanations, and the flow of cause and effect which is finally concluded by all the data obtained by the researcher.¹¹

The data analysis technique used in this research is descriptive qualitative analysis. This research tried to link the relationship between Indonesia-Germany defense diplomacy in the provision of the MTA program and then examines the impact of this process on changing the dynamics of relations between the two countries.

Results and Discussion

In international relations, countries carry out bilateral and multilateral relations in various aspects of life. In addition to meeting needs, relations between countries are also an obligation if these countries want to be recognized by the world. This is in accordance with one of the contents of the Montevideo Convention of 1933, namely that a country is obliged to carry out international relations as an obligation and the existence of a country is recognized. According to Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention that a state as a person of international laws should possess the following qualifications, including capacity to enter into relations with the other states. Indonesia and Germany carry out bilateral relations with the principle of constructivism, namely prioritizing the norms and identity of each country by always looking for a middle way in dealing with differences. In international relations and world politics, countries take the middle ground in an effort to bridge differences in interests. This thought is referred to as constructivism, namely as a reaction to materialism, rationalism, and individualism. This constructivism theory emphasizes the importance of norms, the role of identity in the formation of interests and actions, and the reciprocal relationship between agents and structures. The position of constructivism is in the middle ground.¹² Andrew Phillips in Bakri (2019) said that constructivism theory emphasizes the primacy of non-material variables such as norms, culture, identity, and ideas to explain the behavior of agents (actors). This theory emphasizes the importance of ideas (ideational factors) and the ways in which states socially construct reality and then act on the construction of that reality they have constructed.¹³ Nicholas Onuf, Alexander Wendt, Emanuel Adler, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Ruggie and Peter Katzenstein agree that constructivism is a social theory of international relations that emphasizes the social construction of world problems. The international system is socially constructed, namely through the ways in which actors think and interact with each other so that they understand each other and ultimately change perceptions and expectations about the world and view each other more as friends than enemies. Constructivism emphasizes social, ideational, non-material, and intersubjective characters.¹⁴ Constructivism theory, according to Mohammad Rosyidin (2020), has a key concept, namely identity and norms that explain

¹¹ Alfi Haris Wanto, 'Strategi Pemerintah Kota Malang Dalam Meningkatkan Kualitas Pelayanan Publik Berbasis Konsep Smart City', *JPSI (Journal of Public Sector Innovations)*, 2.1 (2018), 39 <<https://doi.org/10.26740/jpsi.v2n1.p39-43>>.

¹² Dr. Umar Suryadi Bakry, *Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional*, ed. by Irfan Fahmi and Maya Damayanti, kedua (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2019).

¹³ Bakry.

¹⁴ Bakry.

international phenomena. Constructivism views that state behavior is not always controlled by the ambition to pursue interests, but can also be influenced by prevailing norms. For example, Scandinavian countries that uphold the norms of equality and solidarity that influence their foreign policy, help poor African countries that do not have natural resources and do not have a strategic position, because they follow the logic of appropriateness. The logic of appropriateness is the principle of behaving according to norms, while the logic of consequences is the principle of behaving based on the calculation of profit and loss. For constructivists, the rationalist (realist and liberal) profit-and-loss logic is not always able to explain state behavior.¹⁵

In international cooperation, countries need diplomacy. Sir Ernest Satow in the book *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* explains, diplomacy is application of intelligence and tact to conduct official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with vassal states; or more briefly still, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means.¹⁶ Diplomacy is no longer the sole concern of the ministry of foreign affairs and is carried out by most government departments to support the provision of advice, formation and implementation of foreign policy to manage relations between countries and relations with other actors.¹⁷ Indonesia-Germany have long carried out diplomacy in various fields, especially in the economic and trade fields. Indonesian-German diplomacy was officially implemented only after the opening of Indonesia-Germany diplomatic relations in 1952. The Indonesian Embassy in Germany, which was officially opened in 1954 in Bonn, is an extension of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by an ambassador assisted by several attaches, including the defense attache who is responsible for Indonesia's defense diplomacy in Germany. Through diplomacy, Indonesia carried out cooperation with Germany in various fields based on the Jakarta Declaration 2012.

For cooperation in the defense sector, Indonesia and Germany carried out defense diplomacy between defense ministries which later resulted in a defense cooperation agreement in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). According to Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster (2004) defense diplomacy involves the cooperative use of the Armed Forces in peacetime and related infrastructure (especially the Ministry of Defence) as a foreign and security policy tool.¹⁸ Defense diplomacy has three characteristics, namely building trust that can prevent conflict, as a process of good governance - civilians control the military, as a means to achieve wider foreign and security goals.¹⁹

Defense cooperation produced by defense diplomacy is an inseparable part of international cooperation, because international cooperation is basically intended to achieve world peace and prevent war.

In the international system, countries cooperate with each other so that international cooperation is formed. According to Ikbar (2014) international cooperation is a form of relationship carried out by a country with other countries that aims to meet the needs of the people and for the interests of countries in the world. International cooperation, which includes cooperation in the fields of politics, social, defense and security, culture, and economy, is

¹⁵ Mohamad Rosyidin, *Teori Hubungan Internasional Dari Perspektif Klasik Sampai Non-Barat*, ed. by Yayat Sri Hayati, Kesatu (Depok: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, 2020).

¹⁶ M. Shoelhi, *Diplomasi: Praktik Komunikasi Internasional*, ed. by Rema Karyanti Soenendar, Kedua (Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media, 2018).

¹⁷ R.P. Barston, *Modern Diplomacy*, Second Edi (London, New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁸ Andrew Cottey and Forster.

¹⁹ Rodon Pedrason, 'ASEAN's Defence Diplomacy: The Road To Southeast Asian Defence Community?' (Ruprecht-Karls-Universitat Heidelberg, 2015).

guided by the foreign policy of each country.²⁰ International cooperation occurs not only between state and state, but also between state and non-state. According to Keohane and Nye (2001), cooperation between states and non-states, in this case international institutions or organizations, began to emerge because both states and organizations need each other to achieve the same goals and interests, and with the existence of institutions or organizations can reduce costs and provide information in collaboration.²¹ One form of international cooperation is bilateral cooperation between two countries, which usually covers the fields of ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, defense and security cooperation, which are motivated by their respective national interests. To start this bilateral cooperation, the two countries carried out diplomacy to produce cooperation agreements.

Cooperation agreements in the defense sector can be obtained through defense diplomacy. Defense cooperation is resulted by activity of defense diplomacy. In the Defense White Paper (MoD of Indonesia, 2015), defense cooperation is Indonesia's cooperation with other countries in the defense sector in supporting the achievement of national interests in the defense sector which is held to build mutual trust between countries with the principle of mutual respect for the sovereignty of other countries, not interfering in internal affairs, is mutually beneficial, as well as an instrument in preventing conflicts between countries. Defense cooperation as one of the instruments of defense diplomacy that aims to build defense capacity for increasing the professionalism of soldiers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) through education, training, and defense industry cooperation. Bilateral cooperation in the defense sector is intended as an effort to realize defense diplomacy, the implementation of which is more developed to build mutual trust (trust building), to find peaceful solutions for handling security issues that are of concern to both parties.²² The Indonesian-German defense cooperation includes the purchase of military equipment, namely the purchase of German Leopard (Main Battle Tanks) which are intended to maintain national sovereignty and defense, because a country requires a Minimum Essential Force (MEF).²³ Defense Cooperation through the purchase of Leopard Tanks has a positive strategic impact such as the issue of Transfer of Technology (ToT) which is a requirement in every purchase of defense equipment so that it is beneficial for the long term. The Ministry of Defense and the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) stated that the purchase of Leopard Tanks from Germany was based on need and had received approval from the House of Representatives/parliament of Indonesia (DPR). The purchase of this tank is part of the modernization of defense equipment.²⁴

Defense cooperation is a formal cooperation between two or more countries, because to carry out such cooperation using a non-binding treaty, namely the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA).²⁵ This is in accordance with Brandon J Kinne (2018) which defines DCA as only a formal bilateral agreement for routine defense cooperation and is a new form of defense cooperation that does not include a joint defense commitment and does not contain mutual or non-aggression defense obligations, because DCA is not an alliance. Kinne added, DCA emphasizes day-to-day interactions in core defense areas, which include (1) mutual

²⁰ Annaas Maulana Bagaskara, 'Kerjasama Pemerintah Indonesia Dan ECPAT Dalam Menangani Permasalahan', *Journal of International Relations, Volume 4, Nomor 3, 2018, Hal. 367-375*, 4.182 (2018), 367-75.

²¹ Bagaskara.

²² Kemhan RI, *Buku Putih, Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia*, 2015.

²³ Panca Hari, 'Menengok Masa Depan Kerjasama Indonesia-Jerman', *Kemhan.Go.Id*, 2012

<<https://www.kemhan.go.id/2012/07/16/menengok-masa-depan-kerja-sama-indonesia-jerman.html>>.

²⁴ Bayu Setya Romansyah, 'Kerjasama Jerman Dan Indonesia Dalam Hal Pembelian Senjata Militer Untuk Modernisasi Alutsista Tni', *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 1.2 (2015), 1-9.

²⁵ Makmur Priyatno, *Tentang Ilmu Pertahanan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014)

<https://books.google.co.id/books?id=CaxxDAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=id&source=gbs_vpt_read#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

consultation and coordination of defense policies; (2) joint training, training, and education; (3) coordination in peacekeeping operations; (4) research and development related to defense; (5) defense industry cooperation; (6) procurement of weapons; and (7) the security of confidential information. In essence, DCA can enhance traditional defense capabilities and address non-traditional threats such as terrorism, human trafficking, piracy, and cybersecurity.²⁶

The Indonesia-Germany DCA was marked by a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Bilateral Defense Cooperation regarding cooperation in the fields of military education, research and development, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, military logistics, medical services and peacekeeping missions.²⁷ Defense Cooperation between the two countries is carried out bilaterally accompanied by the signing of the MoU on Defense Cooperation, usually by the two Ministers of Defense on behalf of the President/Head of State. The contents of the MoU include agreements on the scope of cooperation, which are generally related to Human Resources issues, personnel exchanges, training, the defense industry and other agreements according to the mutual agreement, followed by ratification by parliament, valid within that time period. One form of defense cooperation is military education cooperation. Military education cooperation is defense cooperation in the field of military education involving members of the armed forces such as exchange of officers in participating in military education between countries, sending officers to attend seminars, courses or military training in a country. According to B.S. Sachar (2003), military training (education) cooperation is an important component of military diplomacy and helps build close relations with other countries. This cooperation strengthens strategic security ties and addresses common security issues. Training activities with other countries can build close military relations and healthy and mutually beneficial bilateral relations.²⁸

One of the MoUs on defense cooperation between Indonesia and Germany is the military education cooperation with the program of Military Training Assistance (MTA). Indonesia-Germany defense cooperation is implemented with defense cooperation in the field of military education, the MTA program, namely sending members of the armed forces to attend International Staff Colleges, Battalion Commander Course/Company Commander Course, and master degree program at defense universities, as well as Practicum or on the Job Training for Navy Dentists.²⁹ The military education cooperation for the MTA program is carried out within the framework of defense diplomacy, which has the goal of creating Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). CBMs in the MTA program play an important role in fostering trust and not mutual suspicion. CBMs during the cold war were implemented to reduce the possibility of misinterpretation of one of the blocks as an act of hostility and reduce suspicion by conducting openness and transparency through data exchange and inviting as a military observer.³⁰ Major Joseph L. Sheffield stated that CBMs are a set of actions or procedures to reduce military tensions between two or more countries. Practically, CBMs function as a measuring and predicting tool for the actions of the countries concerned, so that one country can have expectations of the behavior of other countries.³¹ CBMs are realized from good communication

²⁶ Brandon J. Kinne, 'Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network', in *International Organization*, 2018, LXXII, 799–837 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818318000218>>.

²⁷ Karomah.

²⁸ B. S. Sachar, 'Cooperation in Military Training as a Tool of Peacetime Military Diplomacy', *Strategic Analysis*, 27.3 (2003), 404–21 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09700160308450097>>.

²⁹ Dirjen Strahan, *Permohonan Tanggapan Program MTA TA. 2021-2022 Di Jerman*, 2021.

³⁰ Iris Hunger, 'Confidence-building Measures for the BTWC: Performance and Potential', *Nonproliferation Review*, 7.3 (2000), 24–42 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10736700008436823>>.

³¹ Artika Diannita and Dohar Sianturi, 'Diplomasi Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Bidang Pendidikan (Studi Kasus : Pertukaran Perwira Siswa Angkatan Laut Australia Di Seskoal Tahun 2013-2017)', 5.1 (2019), 1–26.

so that there is a good understanding between the two countries that cooperate with each other, especially in the defense sector so that mutual trust arises and avoids mutual suspicion.³² Military/security CBMs often take different forms for interstate and intra-state conflicts. The goal tends to reduce misunderstandings about military actions that could lead to conflict escalation. Examples of security CBMs include: communication hotlines; military map exchange; joint training program; information about troop movements; exchange of military personnel; demilitarized zone; with border patrols; no fly zone; and a joint ceasefire monitoring team.³³ Indonesia-Germany military education cooperation is expected to increase the capability and professionalism of soldiers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for both countries.³⁴

In addition to CBMs, the Indonesian-German military education cooperation is expected to increase capacity building. Capacity building according to Brown (2001) is as a process that can increase the ability of a person, an organization or a system to achieve the aspired goals. Capacity building emphasizes the development of Human Resources, one of which is through training.³⁵ Improving Indonesia's Defense Capacity Building related to cooperation in the field of defense and security, various opportunities for cooperation and realization of cooperation priorities with the German government have been followed up in the form of capacity building for military personnel, including the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) in Germany and the annual program which is a form of cooperation in military education, seminars and expert talks held in Indonesia and Germany.³⁶

The research "Indonesia-German Defense Diplomacy in Military Education Cooperation" uses data analysis of Miles, Huberman and Saldana. First, the researcher collected data (data collection) on defense cooperation in the field of military education through the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program that has been implemented by Indonesia and Germany, including MoU documents and alumni documents. Second, the researcher conducted data condensation, namely selecting data and focusing on data obtained from the Directorate of Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense and from actors of MTA program who have attended Staff Colleges, Battalion Commander Course, Company Commander Course Susanyon, Master Degree Programs, and Practicum on the Job Training for Naval Dentist. Third, the researcher presented the data by organizing and combining data about the process of defense cooperation in the field of military education for the MTA program, starting from bilateral talks between the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the German Ministry of Defense to reaching an agreement on the MTA program which was then followed by the MTA program by the officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) in Germany. This process has been thoroughly analyzed. Fourth, the researcher drew conclusions (Conclusions drawing), namely on the basis of the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between Indonesia and Germany, a bilateral talk was held between the Directorate of International Cooperation of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Directorate of International Cooperation of the German Ministry of Defense which resulted in the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program. The MTA program given by Germany to Indonesia has been well implemented, namely by sending officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) to Germany to attend Staff Colleges , Battalion

³² Aileen S.P. Baviera, 'Bilateral Confidence Building with China in Relation to the South China Seas Dispute: A Philippine Perspective', February, 2001, 3–5.

³³ Simon J.A. Mason and Matthias Siegfried, *Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in Peace Process, Managing Peace Process: Process Related Questions. A Handbook for AU Practitioners*, 2013, 1.

³⁴ Diannita and Sianturi.

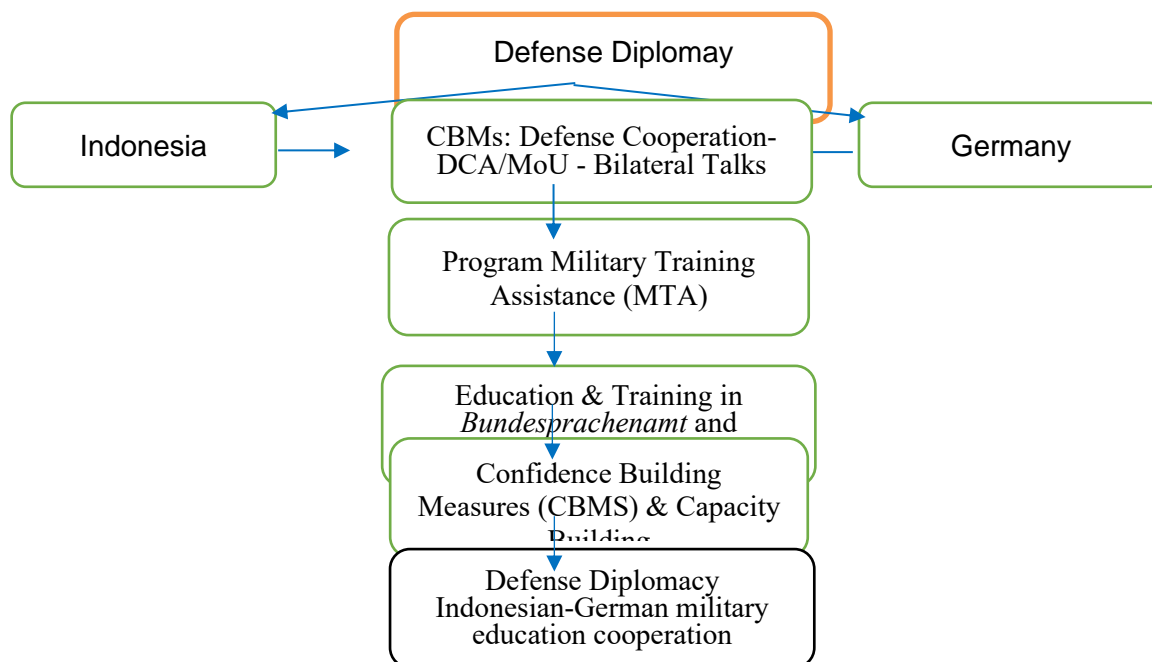
³⁵ Aris Hariyanto, 'Capacity Building Dalam Kerangka Penataan Organisasi', 2017

<<http://kotaku.pu.go.id/view/6927/capacity-building-dalam-kerangka-penataan-organisasi>>.

³⁶ Karomah.

Commander Course, Company Commander Course, Master Degree Programs, and Practicum on the Job Training for Naval Dentist. All this because there was good coordination and communication between the Indonesian defense attache in Berlin and the German defense attache in Jakarta. The researcher used data analysis techniques in the form of qualitative descriptive analysis that describes the relationship between Indonesia-Germany defense diplomacy in defense cooperation in the field of military education in the form of the MTA program with the impact of the process on the dynamics of the defense cooperation between the two countries.

The researcher describes the Indonesian-German defense cooperation as born out of defense diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian defense ministry and the German defense ministry as a result of the Declaration of Jakarta agreed upon by Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Jakarta on July 10, 2012. Research "Diplomacy Indonesian-German Defense in Military Education" discussed military education cooperation in the form of the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program which is part of the defense cooperation that has existed so far between Indonesia and Germany. Indonesian-German defense diplomacy has been carried out by the Ministers of Defense of the two countries which later resulted in the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). The DCA was in the form of a MoU on Defense Cooperation which was signed by the Deputy Minister of Defense of Indonesia, Mr. Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin and the Secretary of State of Germany, Mr. Rüdiger Wolf in Berlin on 27 February 2012. The MoU was then approved by the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) and ratified by Law Number 5 of 2016. The MoU includes articles on areas of cooperation, forms of cooperation, and Indonesia-Germany defense dialogue. On the basis of the MoU, Bilateral Talk activities are held annually in Berlin and in Jakarta alternately by producing an agreement in the form of a Military Training Assistance (MTA) program for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) to be carried out in Germany. The stages of defense diplomacy until the emergence of the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program and the results of the MTA program are presented in the following framework or scheme:



The Defense Diplomacy process according to the above scheme is as follows: First, Defense Diplomacy was carried out by the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the German Ministry of Defense through the signing of the Defense Cooperation MoU as a continuation of the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). This defense diplomacy is carried out in accordance with the theory of Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster that the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces are currently being used as a means to build cooperative relations with other countries. Rodon Pedrason added that defense diplomacy can take the form of military assistance that is beneficial to national interests, builds trust that can prevent conflict, and as a means to achieve broader foreign and security goals. Cottey and Forster emphasized that defense diplomacy activities include bilateral and multilateral contacts between senior military and civilian defense officials, bilateral defense cooperation agreements, training of foreign military and civil defense personnel. So the defense diplomacy carried out by the Ministry of Defense of Indonesia and Germany is in accordance with the theory of the two theories above because it resulted in a Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) as a follow-up to the Declaration of Jakarta in 2012 in the form of a defense cooperation MoU.

Second, in the MoU on defense cooperation there is a Bilateral Talk activity carried out by the staff of the Directorate of International Cooperation of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and the staff of the Directorate of International Cooperation of the Ministry of Defense of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the Bilateral Talk Meeting which was held alternately in Jakarta and in Berlin, Germany offered educational programs that could be implemented in Germany for the following year or there could be proposals for new educational programs from Indonesia. Bilateral Talk is also part of the CBMs, resulting in an agreement in the form of a Military Training Assistance (MTA) program for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) to be implemented in Germany. The agreement in the form of DCA occurred due to the existence of CBMs from the two countries, namely Germany placing their trust in providing military education assistance to Indonesia. Likewise constructivism theory supports this German policy. In constructivism the behavior of the state is not always controlled by the ambition to pursue interests, because states interact with each other and then understand each other by viewing each other more as friends than enemies.

The MTA program is a military education program. According to B.S. Sachar, a military education program is an important component of military diplomacy and helps build close ties with other countries. Training activities with other countries can build close military relations and healthy and mutually beneficial bilateral relations. The MTA program in the form of education and training is carried out in the *Bundessprachenamt* and *Führungsakademie* or elsewhere in Germany as a means for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) to form CBMs and capacity building which will ultimately be useful for future defense diplomacy activities, especially on the continuity of military education cooperation in the program MTA. Finally, Indonesia-German defense diplomacy which is implemented through defense cooperation in the field of military education through the MTA program is expected to be stronger due to the formation of CBMs and Capacity Building of the two countries.

After the MTA program was agreed upon, the German Ministry of Defense sent the MTA program to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. Then the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia offered these educational programs to the Headquarters of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) with predetermined requirements. Furthermore, each dimension, namely army, navy, airforce, proposes candidates for the MTA program participants. The candidates then make preparations for administration and language preparation. Language preparation is carried out at the Language Education and Training Center of Ministry of Defense. After that they flew to Germany to take a German course at the

Bundessprachenamt (German Language Center) for some time before finally studying at their target course. The implementation of the MTA program is a form of military education cooperation between Indonesia and Germany. Defense cooperation activities in the military education of the MTA program are expected to increase the capability and professionalism of soldiers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for both countries. The MTA program is also expected to have a positive effect, especially for officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) who participate in this program so that they become officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) with superior capabilities that will be useful in Indonesia-Germany defense diplomacy in the future.

In its implementation, the MTA program military education cooperation has several obstacles. Not all of the MTA program offers were responded well and not always approved by the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, because airplane tickets and allowances (logistics administration) must be borne by the Ministry of Defense, even though there was an agreement on this at the Bilateral Talk before the offer appeared. The allowance given by the Ministry of Defense for candidates of the MTA program is also lacking, especially for the candidates who bring their families, so the cost of living in Germany is their own responsibility. Germany did not give allowance because Germany saw Indonesia as a member of the G-20. Another obstacle is the difficulty of finding candidates who meet the German language qualifications. The candidates of the MTA program must master German language skills at a certain level and if the candidate does not have foreign language talent or if the candidates does not have enough language preparation, then this can be a serious obstacle. There were several officers who had to be sent back to Indonesia because they did not meet the German language graduation requirements at the *Bundessprachenamt*. One of them is because he did not carry out the initial preparation of the German language at the Language Education and Training Center of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the experience of the researcher as actor and participant of the MTA program, and based on the experience of alumni participating in the MTA program, I feel how difficult it is for alumni to struggle to pass the language test at the *Bundessprachenamt*. I also feel financial difficulties because with limited allowances, the alumni live in Germany with their children and wives. I also feel the disappointment of those who did not pass the test in the *Bundessprachenamt*. Likewise, there are cases of inconvenience to alumni of the defense ministry's female personnel due to the discriminatory treatment received at the German Defense University. Overall, although most of them had to struggle to attend German language education at the *Bundessprachenamt* (as a condition for further education or target courses), or struggle to attend education at the Defense University in Hamburg or in Munich, they proudly completed their education in Germany, either Sesko, or the Master Degree program at the German Defense University.

To deal with the problems above, there are several solutions. First, the Ministry of Defense must prepare an adequate allowance budget, because the MTA program is very good and the (prospective) participants are Indonesian assets (potential diplomats) in the future. This annual routine program must have its own budget. Second, facing the problem of preparing for the German language, the candidates must have their own strategies and the time available is also sufficient. For the candidates of program of staff colleges, this language preparation takes approximately a year with initial preparation being carried out at the Language Education and Training Center of Ministry of Defense, and subsequent preparations for MTA program participants to study at *Bundessprachenamt* (Language Center) in Hürth Germany. As for the candidates of Battalion commander course and company commander course, the time required is less, which is approximately six months at the *Bundessprachenamt*. After passing the German

test (SLP-Test) at the *Bundessprachenamt*, then they place themselves on their respective target courses. Meanwhile, the entire education costs are borne by the German government.

So far, the language barrier and welfare have not reduced the enthusiasm of the prospective MTA participants to complete the MTA program well. The cooperation in military education between Indonesia and Germany has produced many Personnels of Ministry of Defense and personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces as alumni of the MTA program with the following types of education:

- a. International Staff Colleges Education for Army
- b. International Staff Colleges Education for Navy
- c. International Staff Colleges Education for Airforce
- d. Mechanized Infantry Battalion Commander Course
- e. Cavalry Battalion Commander Course
- f. Mechanized Infantry Company Commander Course
- g. Cavalry Company Commander (Leopard) Course
- h. Cavalry Company Commander Course
- i. Medical Specialist School
- j. German Language Instructor Seminar.³⁷

After participating in this MTA program, they generally return to their homeland and get positions or positions that are in accordance with the military education. They can become defense diplomats like defense attaches or assistant defense attaches in Germany. Or they can become defense ministry officials in the future who have links and connections because they have attended education in Germany. Language skills and connections are very useful for Indonesia-Germany defense diplomacy in the future. Therefore, defense cooperation in the field of military education is the gateway to the next better cooperation. Obstacles in the field both during preparation and during the implementation of education can be overcome. Finally, even though there are a number of obstacles, it is hoped that military education cooperation through the MTA program can improve the capabilities and professionalism of the officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building for both countries. Communication and transparency make bilateral relations in the defense sector between Indonesia and Germany closer, so that there is no mutual suspicion and this can foster mutual trust. The MTA program is also expected to have a positive effect, especially for the officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) who participate in this program so that they become qualified officers with superior capabilities that will be useful in Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the future.

Conclusion

Military education cooperation with the Military Training Assistance (MTA) program is part of the Indonesia-Germany defense cooperation which is the implementation of the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). DCA resulting from defense diplomacy activities is the implementation of the Declaration of Jakarta (2012) which was agreed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Chancellor Angela Merkel. The MTA program which is offered by Germany every year is attended by the officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and is a manifestation of the Indonesian-German defense cooperation in the field of military education cooperation.

³⁷ Subdit Eroaf Strahan, *Ringkasan Kerjasama Bilateral Pertahanan Antara Republik Indonesia Dan Republik Federasi Jerman*.

This research tried to answer all the obstacles in the implementation of the MTA program, starting from the bilateral talk process to the preparation process for prospective participants, its implementation to the output or results of the implementation of the MTA program. In planning the MTA program at bilateral talk meetings both held in Jakarta and in Berlin, there was poor communication about what programs were offered by Germany and what programs Indonesia wanted until an agreement was formed on the MTA program for the following year. Therefore, at the time of execution of the program there were seats that were not filled or implemented. To overcome this problem, in the bilateral talk process, the Ministry of Defense must really determine which programs to take and which programs to replace. So if an agreement has been reached, then the offered seat must be filled without exception, so that the attitude of consistency towards the agreement makes the German side appreciate Indonesia's attitude.

Likewise, in the implementation of the MTA program there are a number of obstacles, namely aspects of the readiness of the officers of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) who will participate in the MTA program and aspects of support from the institution (Ministry of Defense). Aspects of the readiness of the personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) are personnel readiness, administrative readiness, and language readiness (German) all of which obstruct the process of preparing prospective participants. Difficulties in preparing German language and culture shock during the implementation of the MTA program in Germany will be a challenge and a formidable task for German language teachers at the Language Education and Training Center of Ministry of Defense to innovate more effectively in early learning German and also introducing German culture. Technical problems in the selection of candidates must be prepared well in advance so that German language preparation can be maximized and in particular for the Ministry of Defense/the Headquarters of Indonesian Armed Forces to really use the Language Education and Training Center of Ministry of Defense as a central preparation place for early-level German language learning, because the teachers have been supervised by the *Bundessprachenamt* (German Language Center) in Hürth, a place where prospective participants will study German before they take the target course. There used to be MTA program participants who did not learn German at all at The Language Education and Training center of Ministry of Defense in Indonesia and immediately studied at the *Bundessprachenamt* in Germany. That should not have happened, if the preparation of the MTA participants was carried out well in advance.

Aspects of support from the Institute are allowance support and airline tickets which are the burden of the institution, sometimes it becomes a consideration for the leadership whether to send officers to join the MTA program or not. An adequate allowance (logistics administration) support policy is a challenge to be realized in the future. The Ministry of Defense must prepare an adequate allowance budget, because the MTA program is very strategic and the (prospective) participants are Indonesian assets (potential diplomats) in the future. This annual routine program must have its own budget.

So far, with a number of obstacles, the participants (alumni of the MTA program) generally return to their homeland in Indonesia and get positions or positions that are in accordance with the military education. The MTA program can improve the capability and professionalism of the personnels of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and have a positive effect on those who participate in this program to become Indonesian qualified officers (TNI) with superior capabilities that will be useful in Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the future. For the two countries, namely Germany and Indonesia, cooperation in military education through the MTA program can increase Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and Capacity Building.

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