Implementation Study of Public Policies in Defense Diplomacy A Path Towards ASEAN Defense Community

Dickry Rizanny Nurdiansyah¹ Agus Sukristyanto² Joko Widodo² 1.Administration Doctoral Student, 17 August 1945 University, Surabaya 2.Lecturer in Administration Doctoral Study Program, 17 August 1945 University, Surabaya

Abstract

The Region of Southeast Asia comprises some very different countries, which differ broadly in the number of people, their riches, the security challenges, and administrative systems those states to encounter. This study purposes of addressing the questions: 1) in what way does the implementation of ASEAN's defense diplomacy policy? 2) To form an ASEAN defense community, what characteristics needed in the implementation of ASEAN's defense diplomacy policy? While the term "defense diplomacy" has developed in Southeast Asia in the last decades, but the indication of a defense community did not occur in the establishment of ASEAN as a tool of defense diplomacy. Consequently, this study expects to introduce a new viewpoint concerning defense cooperation in the region. This study also attempts to study further whether there are characteristics of ASEAN defense diplomacy, in which the armed forces perform a part in external policy. The research aims to characterize the policy implementation of defense diplomacy in ASEAN and to analyze the existing characteristics of the defense community, which has used for defense diplomacy towards a Southeast Asia defense community. The study narrows to analyzing merely the utility of ASEAN militaries in diplomacy role, mainly limited only in defense cooperation engagements under the structure of ADMM and ADMM-Plus. The researcher used the triangulation test to validate the data. The data analysis used is Grounded Theory research. The result of the analysis is to recognize the policy implementation of ASEAN defense diplomacy and to find characteristics or element which appears in the environment of policy implementation in the defense community, which needed in the defense cooperation and diplomacy policy, towards the path of ASEAN Defense Community.

Keywords: Defense, Diplomacy, Community, Policy Implementation DOI: 10.7176/PPAR/10-2-05 Publication date: February 29th 2020

1. Introduction

The Region of Southeast Asia comprises some very different countries, which differ broadly in the number of people, their riches, the security challenges, and administrative systems those states to encounter. There are numerous likenesses between the nations of the region. These similitudes components incorporate common or topographical conditions, essential culture, and the sense of family relationship. Moreover, the leaders of ASEAN nations understand the significance of an association for harmony, prosperity, and advancement. There are additionally a few equals regarding common interests and issues challenged, and the significance of cohesion and collaboration with neighboring countries. Having a comprehension of these, the ASEAN leaders urged to practice a relationship to supplant the let-downs of past regional associations. The ASEAN leaders understood that imminent security concerns could not be tackle successfully deprived of a feeling of regular regional interest. The challenges looked by region extend from internal security provokes to pressure amongst ASEAN countries, just as challenges from external territorial forces. Such challenges have never characterized exclusively as far as security is military-related. Addressing these, the leaders reclassified the system of the ASEAN security framework.

Moreover, ASEAN states have built up the role of the government and the armed forces as the fundamental players in managing defense substances in "dialogical action to incorporate actionable and practical reaction to uncustomary security concerns" and in more prominent commitment in defense diplomacy endeavors. The idea of defense diplomacy alludes to a regional strategic commitment to create a viable, cooperative association to construct confidence and to encourage conflict hindrance. To upkeep stability and peaceful environment, defense diplomacy is necessary to make shared awareness in handling challenges by using the territorial cooperation instrument.

How ASEAN member nations direct defense diplomacy, which cannot be isolated from how ASEAN member states to sort out their international policy. Initially, the attributes of a consensus basic leadership system, which now and then arrives at the situation of 'settle on a truce,' make a path for individual ASEAN members to manage different nations respectively and multilaterally. Also, comparative with the principal trademark is the members of ASEAN pledged to draw in foreign influence. The formation of the ASEAN Defense Minister's Meeting Plus Dialog Partners (ADMM + 8 extra-regional partners) demonstrated altogether the significance that ASEAN nations perform to engaging outside influences. In such a situation, accordingly, it is comparative with

discussing the activity of defense diplomacy at a regional stage because of the rise of uncustomary security subjects. Besides, the landscape of ASEAN to organize the accord necessary leadership component has achieved a predicament on the most proficient method to characterize the current defense community in the region.

ASEAN has experienced inconsistency in which, generally, while a gathering of nations solves the security as its objective, this is unusual for their aggregate substance to expect a military structure or alliance. Concerning ASEAN, the defense community is not merely biased as specialists proposed. It has a broad point of view on regular issues. The presence of ASEAN as a regional association firmly connects to every regional defense community. Without a doubt, its clear interlocking example has depicted as a "defense spider web" in the region. It accepts that the characteristics of ASEAN's "defense community" exist and can face vulnerability and alteration in legislative issues, culture, and the economy, which are, for the most part, firmly identified with the presence of ASEAN. Shortly, the presence of defense community attributes in regional defense diplomacy can recognize utilizing the viability of ASEAN members' defense collaboration internally, the association achievement, and the military jointness, matching to segments of interoperability, which arrange and conduct as needs be in handling the threat. Using an assessment of the security participation led by ASEAN nations inside the current regional defense arrangement, this study uncovers the characterizing qualities of the defense community.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theory of Regionalism in ASEAN's Defense Diplomacy

Joseph Nye recommended that countries located in the same region all have a similar obligation in keeping up its security and stability. Also, he brought up two significant groups of regionalist action: microeconomic organization, including the integration of formal economic, and large scale political associations worried about managing conflict. About ADMM, ASEAN states experience it is essential to make what Indonesia's former MOD, Juwono Sudarsono, called "strategic space" and to lessen "technology disparity." As indicated by Sudarsono, such terms appeared because of the truth that outside undertakings can bite by bit create to pass on their separate political, safeguard, and monetary interests. The system of ADMM intends to encourage and deal with a worldwide character of particular security issues in the region of Southeast Asia. The ADMM is the place that appreciates the elements of Southeast Asia's global relationships.

Björn Hettne proposed that regionalization is a fundamental portion of globalization and a governmental response in contrast to the practice. Additionally, he contends that regionalism has been described as a shelter when a distinct country is never again reasonable, and the world is not prepared to turn into one. As indicated by this, regionalism as an extension becomes even beneficial for worldwide cooperation. By definition, regionalism is a nation-drove administrative task, and the government is the critical policy-maker of regionalism. Besides, state actors could see that regionalism is equally a defense system compared to the competitive emerging from the globalization practice. Hettne and Söderbaum demanded 'another regionalism hypothesis' worked around the central idea of districts, running from the territorial space, local unpredictable, provincial society, and local network to the local nation. This theory will confirm that an ASEAN defense community will echo the feeling of the social order, political unpredictability, and local intrigue, which are all the center components of new regionalism.

2.2. Characterization of a Security Community

Acharya stated that the making of a Southeast Asian security community has associated with the idea of ASEAN regional order. This community characterizes as a gathering of countries whose individuals share "trustworthy expectations for peaceful change" in its cooperative relationships and preclude the utilization of power as a method for issue responding. Carlyle A. Thayer recognizes a security community is no such threat and has no capacity "of sorting out combined defense" against an extreme risk. Benedict Anderson characterized a security community as a critical, definite, and lengthy haul union of interests among the actors in the evasion of war. Karl Deutsch characterizes coordination concerning the idea of "a security community" as a gathering of individuals, which incorporate a good confirmation that the individuals from that community will not battle each other physically, but instead resolve debates differently. Additionally, Samad and Mohammad see ASEAN as a "security community," as in "no members would deliberate utilizing power to other states in settling disputes."

2.3. The ASEAN Community's Arrangement

Wulan and Bandoro expressed that the hidden thought of community is to set up standards and principles that encourage participation to tackle issues of regular concern such that links to the desires of the individuals from the community. The idea of a security community as a type of security arrangement has alluded writings of global relations' analyses. Bruce Cronin proposes the idea of security community into seven potential sorts of security settings, to be specific: 1) the global strategic environment; 2) the level of influence; 3) the pluralistic; 4) the collective security system; 5) the performance structure; 6) the primary affiliation, and 7) the integrated

security community. Cronin included four attributes to recognize a kind of community to others, which are constitutive guidelines, examples of conduct, sorts of establishments, and essential character. Besides, he also included that the sort of courses of action, for example, the stock condition of nature, would establish transnational political networks. Gusfield distinguishes two elements of the community, in particular, regional networks. Of the social measurement, the community involved the character and connections inside, and a few communities do not take regional limits. Different communities can be deciphered basically as per the region. In any case, by and large, because of social dimensions are essential, nearness and shared domain cannot without anyone else's input to comprise a community.

2.4. The Significance of the Study

Acharya mentioned that the foundation of ASEAN has certainly not proposed to be a defense pact, at the same time, the possibility that ASEAN members ought to build up some greater military role is the same old thing in Southeast Asia. Be that as it may, the chief for the ASEAN members has not upheld these proposals yet. The upheld was since the idea of a defense community is essential to the nonappearance of conflicts inside ASEAN itself. A defense community is a type of aggregate defense planned for managing an outside threat. A defense community might fuse inside a bigger security network, and it is continuously multifaceted. As conveyed at the 36th AMM and formally incorporated in Bali Accord II, the possibility of a security community is unique about dissimilar ideas of security courses of action since it is all the more internal arranged and centers around the capacity, also the component of within ASEAN contest agreement, in which the utilization of pressures and power would not be a choice to resolve issues. Prospective clashes, be that as it may, will keep on existing in the region caused by varying interests, points of view, and the political and social foundations of Southeast Asia individuals. The ASEAN Security Community is an extended haul venture that proposes to give a direction, a functional objective, and an immediate environment for which all members ought to endeavor. During the time spent building up an ASEAN security community, different defense collaboration components of ASEAN's defense diplomacy may encompass components of a defense community.

3. Research Methods

There are a few explanations of why a qualitative method applies to this study. Firstly, the qualitative method is accepted to give space to the writer to build up a comprehension of the importance, procedure, and setting of the unit of analysis. Secondly, this study investigates the wonder of defense diplomacy in the ADMM operational instrument, and the qualitative method gives adaptability to the researcher to examine this phenomenon inside and out in detail. Thirdly, qualitative methods commonly used to investigate the political theory, particularly with regards to small scale level analysis. The researcher expects to able to distinguish, depict, and illustrate the writings and layout them academically by using this method. While analyzing how the members of ASEAN lead defense diplomacy and accepting that such diplomacy exercises have a few components of a defense community, this study applied qualitative research appropriately. As a case study opted for the accompanying reasons, this endeavors to investigate defense diplomacy exercises inside the auspice of the ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting (ADMM) and the ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus) operational instruments as its units of investigation. This study consolidates three data-gathering systems to be specific, interviews, observation, and narrative analysis. To process the data, the researcher utilized a technique for triangulation, for the most part, considered as a procedure of utilizing numerous sources to explain the data. In order to find the elements of a defense community, this study depends on document analysis as primarily supported by observation and interviews as secondary data.

4. Discussions

The challenges in the security domain confronting the Southeast Asian nations today are being formed by worldwide, regional, and national patterns. The Defense Minister of ASEAN members have a similar perspective on the advancement of global and regional issues as of now, for example, disputes in South China and the East China Sea, natural disasters, maritime security, epidemic disease, and terrorism which have affected in numerous areas, including Southeast Asia. When threats originate from internal and external, the use of the military in the security collaboration is indispensable. The advancement of threats limits the governance of ASEAN members to change its approach from defense cooperation to currently termed defense diplomacy. The integration of bilateral and multilateral becomes the main strategy of defense diplomacy in Southeast Asia, which both have conducted simultaneously.

4.1. The Characteristics of Defense Diplomacy

Defense diplomacy has three attributes, which are first, defense diplomacy focuses on certainty building, which thus can forestall struggle through a strengthened view of usual enthusiasm with previous or potential adversaries. That capacity can construct shared and comprehension trust and reaches more extensive cooperation.

Second, defense diplomacy is a procedure of good governance where the civil supremacy implemented. In such a manner, defense diplomacy can empower changes in the security and defense part, which implies civilian control defense diplomacy and the military. Third, defense diplomacy is a method for seeking after more extensive overseas and security objectives utilizing the help of different nations, humanitarian assistance, international issues, and peace capacities. These are regularly through peacekeeping exercises, which incorporate political dialogue. Regarding humanitarian help, international security issues, and the provision of peace, the goal is centered on regional collaboration that puts these as fundamental defense issues.

4.2. The regionalism in ASEAN

Many changes in the global system dictate the new regionalism in ASEAN, where it is firmly appended to the fundamental international transformation, to be specific from a two-nation structure to multination, from a bipolar power competition to multipolar ones. The breakdown of the bipolar system made ready for the multipolar capacity to come into a similar domain to examine the issues of security. In confronting such a circumstance, ASEAN nations received a scheme to assemble a balance between the extraordinary forces and their forces. "As an association, ASEAN went about as a diplomatic platform for regional cooperation," as Buzynski defined. As the Cold War ended, new desires have invigorated the interest to augment the ASEAN capacities into regions but the diplomatic sector. Following such desires, the objective to build up a coherent region will not be real except if the members incorporate a general feeling of community.

Also, a conflict concerning the old and the new regionalism could portray the weights that ASEAN faces today. Three differences between that regionalisms. First, the old portrayed during a bipolar period as the end of the Cold War, which was selective and inward-looking, while the new one coming to fruition in the multipolar competition request is non-restrictive and outward-looking. Second, the old administration showed all things were considered from above, while the new regionalism is increasingly unconstrained, from inside and bottom-up. In the new one, the constituent states are the fundamental actors. Third, the old was made for explicit monetary targets, though the new regionalism is progressively far-reaching and multidimensional.

Typically, between the old and the new, the former alludes to the Cold War; subsequently, the latter rises as the subsequent flood of regional collaboration. It infers a more grounded accentuation on governmental measurements, in a circumstance where state financial aspects are exceeding their legislative issues. As Fawcett calls attention to, state-drove political ventures can characterize regionalism, which intends to advance intergovernmental arrangement joint effort at the regional level. Where governments intentionally endeavor to improve participation principally because of the making of regional institutions, it is called the top-down system.

4.3. A Way towards an ASEAN Defense Community

The bilateral practices inside ASEAN have transformed into multilateral practices, and the basic comprehension aims to a stable and safe area. Since ASEAN formed, numerous discourses held the vague understanding that it would endure a similar result as other regional associations and would not work right to form. This skepticism has found on the way that a defense association had recently created, although not all Southeast Asian nations were happy to develop individuals from that kind of association. Also, the uncertain regional questions amongst the members from that aggregate defense association turned into a contributing variable to the disappointment of the association to have the option to work ideally.

History has demonstrated that, with the momentum improvements, ASEAN can remain steadfast to muster the Southeast Asia countries politically. Following the dynamic of a strategic environment, the requests of thoughts intending to essential difficulties have empowered the pioneers of ASEAN members to build up innovative systems, particularly in the defense domain, so the states have progressively explicit intends to face the dynamic security challenges. The members of ASEAN built up defense teamwork under the sponsorship of the ADMM and ADMM-Plus to indicate coordination, collaboration, and practices in the security matters.

By analyzing through the powerful work of inter-operability segments, for example, standardization, training, and direct defense association and cooperation between members, it examines the presence of ASEAN defense community components in Southeast Asia's defense diplomacy. These member states, for this situation, built up their idea to create regional collaboration and participation to accomplish a similar standard of combat hardware regarding quality and innovation, and from their productions, which is an excellent representative for proficient interoperability. The ASEAN defense community attributes that supposedly contained in the defense diplomacy efforts might be distinguished if the interoperability prerequisites met.

Besides, ASEAN states have created types of collaboration with the foundation of particular actions, for example, the ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC) that manages military-mechanical endeavors, from the operational side to the arrangement of facilities of training. In collaboration with the defense industries, the military assumes a focal function through direct collaboration in developing a significant military system that cultivates shared confidence and trust.

Every one of the necessities that show the presence of a defense community is available in the members'

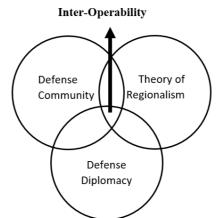
defense cooperation. Notwithstanding, ASEAN is certainly not military pact or alliance; however, the idea created with all due respect diplomacy practices visualized the synchronization endeavors of the military, as characterized by interoperability, having the components of a defense community. Briefly, defense diplomacy in ASEAN as useful collaboration will add to the structure up of the ASEAN defense community.

The utilization of the military in the diplomatic role has been a built-up practice in Southeast Asia since the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2002 and the ADDM in 2006. Defense diplomacy has played a significant role in international strategy, and the presence of the ADMM-Plus in 2010 encourages the role. Particularly with the contribution of the military, ADMM-Plus has grown into a significant piece of regional security design. It is essential to deal with the threat collectively to make an increasingly stable and secure through the participation between regional nations. The idea to create a stable and secure area alludes to the presence of defense matters, which generally are the consequence of defense efforts. Then, diplomacy is a formal implementation for the government, which customarily utilized for rehearsing foreign policy by way of military technique supporting governmental issues, economic, and social. For sure, a political effort is the primary choice of diplomacy concerning the peaceable option of debates. Nonetheless, the concrete circumstance and the dynamic threat in the region are getting increasingly complicated, transforming from a traditional to a non-traditional one, and all members upon the circumstance and the enthusiasm of the different states utilized different diplomacy endeavors or methods. Concerning ASEAN, the new security circumstances have constrained the regional states to modify their method from a succession of conventional diplomacy strategy en route for the more noteworthy need to the utilization of defense procedures to tackle the challenges or difficulties.

Since the creation, the ADMM and ADMM-Plus have become the central platform to the practice of defense cooperation. Different defense cooperation (either joint activities or staff exchange, for example, sharing the use of peacekeeping training facilities coordinated towards setting up synchronization, can surely expand regional confidence-building and intended towards readiness for crises in Southeast Asia. By having such viable defense diplomacy, interoperability as a significant component of military jointly, just as being the primary characteristic for a defense community, will be framed within sight of joint planning and exercises, just as the experience sharing. The joining of military force, understanding the principle, strategies, and methods to increment interoperability in the defense participation of the member states are qualities of defense community components. Joint military operations and exercises of ASEAN members, to set up an ASEAN game plan for keeping up a peaceful and stable region, will empower the arrangement of a defense community in Southeast Asia.

4.4. The Findings of Interoperability Component in a Defense Community

The attributes of a defense community related to the development of regionalism, an association are standard between the exercises of the defense community, the theory of regionalism, and the diplomacy. The element of interoperability is a combination of these three, which proves that the presence of characteristics in ASEAN defense practices.



Source: Researcher's figure

The derivative of the above, this study assesses hypotheses about the relationship between defense diplomacy and discusses elements of regionalism in Southeast Asia. Besides, this study has reviewed the requirements to prove the existing defense cooperation activities, which are the application of defense diplomacy policies under the auspices of ADMM and ADMM-Plus, which relates to the needs of the security climate. First, the current defense cooperation in Southeast Asia must have a joint force; second, to create joint military regional forces, the achievement of interoperability is the critical efforts; third, the development of joint facilities and plans is the essential goals; fourth, there should be a common perception among ASEAN leaders about

insecurity issues.

This study observed that ADMM and ADMM-Plus, with effective collaboration and a place for ASEAN defense leaders to dialogue on security issues, show ASEAN defense regionalism. Hence, there is significance by saying that the ASEAN defense diplomacy indicator is interoperability, in which the armed forces have an essential role as an apparatus for overseas policy. In this context, the creation of ADMM and ADMM-Plus resolves defense matters. Through these two forums, ASEAN discusses military power to answer the regional defense challenges, overcoming ASEAN's internal problems. These are the dominant arrangement of defense cooperation in training and overall joint operation.

Conversely, because this forum does indeed bring up a regional defense, eventually, discussions about modernizing the efficiency of weapons and defense are inevitable; the fact the differences between the ASEAN members there are many differences in military technology. Consequently, the concept of ADIC generated to free ASEAN member countries in producing weapons with countries outside ASEAN. Thus, ASEAN shows that its defense diplomacy activities take features related to national defense, namely interoperability with the development of an organization whose activities are related to particular security issues.

ADMM and ADMM Plus have positively contributed more to sustaining regional peace and stability, especially in the jointness of share common interests over national interests. The contribution is also a practice of cooperation promoting the formation of the ASEAN Community in 2015. In the defense cooperation practices under ADMM and ADMM-Plus, the task of functional cooperation groups is significant because this is an initial stage of planning along with being the implementer of the plan established at the Minister of Defense level.

The second research finding is that defense diplomacy mechanisms in ADMM and ADMM-Plus have formulated a purpose of connection amongst ASEAN leaders, because, the defense community landscape must contain an identity, tenets, regular joint meetings, a responsibility towards each other in the extended run. Thus, the landscape of this community can optimize policy implementation. For instance, the establishment of the ASEAN Peace Keeping Forces has proposed as an instrument of resolving conflicts regionally. This formation eventually progressed into a concrete network of peacekeeping and cooperation centers in the Malacca Straits Patrol, which has presented that members have shared concerns about maritime security threats. The ASEAN defense community contains both inward-looking and looking outward. The ASEAN defense community exists and is relevant for dealing with uncertainties and changes in politics, economics, and values, which are associated with the existence of ASEAN.

4.5. The implications of the study

4.5.1. Theoretical implications

First, as discussed in this study, the persistence conflicts among ASEAN countries have evidenced the requirements for the establishment of a regional community in the new regionalism approach are entirely unfulfilled. Although, in this case, the community agreement formed the features of the defense would create an organization in which its activities directed at dealing with defense matters, to some degree which could not be handled by one country alone. Then, besides, the formation of a defense community does not have to be based on a legally binding agreement. Of course, the implementation of cooperation policies in a defense community can use a collective agreement that considers the common interests.

Secondly, this study also proves that internally ASEAN members still have disputes, especially with external forces encouraging the members to practice settlements with integrated entities. However, with the persistence conflicts, ASEAN countries adopted a strategy to build a balance between external forces and regional forces, which are often exploited by individual countries.

Third, in implementing this policy, there are no optimizations in the application of this policy. By creating an organization whose activities directed specifically to defense matters, ASEAN displays that its defense diplomacy efforts already contain the characteristics of the defense community.

4.5.2. Practical Implications

The approach of implementing public policy in the domain of international relations to elaborate on the defense cooperation of ASEAN shows several things that could have implications for the implementation of defense community policy. First, the creation of ADMM and ADMM-Plus does not describe a form of collective defense organization, and there is no such defense agreement yet. However, these two have brought new forms of relationship, mainly in the domain of defense. The initiative of ASEAN members should contain in the ADMM concept paper up to form ADMM and ADMM-Plus policy.

Second, forming this organization aims to achieve "strategic space" and to lessen the "technological disparity" of the countries. An idea is needed to support policy regarding the existence of "strategic space" and reduction of "technological disparity" in line with the principles of community defense, that a partnership for peace will enable ASEAN member countries to share information and to modernize their military following democratic standards.

Third, the strategic space shaped by defense diplomacy encourages a more dominant military role to tackle

such dynamic and complexity in regional security problems. The implementation of government policy through defense diplomacy aims to encourage strategic trust internal ASEAN as well as externally, and the thoughtful of defense staffs on human rights. This confidence will enable, both with major external powers or intra-ASEAN member countries, confidence and cooperation on mutual interests.

4.6. Proposition

4.6.1. There is awareness by the leaders of ASEAN member countries that contemporary challenges have changed from traditional to non-traditional. These challenges require regional cooperation, as well as the greater participation of the military in diplomacy role. In line with the development of these challenges, ASEAN leaders are very keen on the need to sharpen the implementation of policies within ASEAN, which focused on dealing with defense issues through applied cooperation mechanisms and diplomatic protocols, especially in the implementation of a joint declaration, such as ADMM and ADMM-Plus Concept Paper.

4.6.2. The ASEAN defense diplomacy indicator, wherein the armed forces demonstrate a foreign policy role as a tool, comprises a characteristic of the defense community, namely interoperability that can guide to the formation of the ASEAN defense community.

4.7. Critical Review.

Based on the above proposition, the researcher provides a theoretical critique aimed at Grindle Theory in a distant political relationship, especially in a policy on a defense community. According to Grindle, the measurement of success of policy implementation can see the process and the achievement of its objectives. However, the implementation of defense policies is not as easy as what is determined by reference to its policy actions. Then, the impact or effect on individuals and groups, as well as the level of acceptance of changes that occur, do not represent a common interest. It is because of the absence of interoperability characteristics in a defense community.

Also, judging from the level of implementation of the policy itself, the implementation environment (context of implementation), namely differences in government and the interests of ASEAN member countries, causes the implementation to be suboptimal. Once again, the level of compliance and equality of response, namely the establishment of interoperability between ASEAN countries, will be essential.

4.8. Future Study

Associate with the establishment of an ASEAN community, the role of military cooperation can boost the formation of the jointness of ASEAN. This role, with one circumstance, intends to create regional stability and to prevent an arms race. In the delineation of a defense community developed in this study, the requirement for military modernization can turn into an arena of arms competition, if not consistent with the essence of ASEAN integration.

Indeed, different perceptions of threats related to specific issues still exist. Hence, the current arrangement of military and security cooperation refers to an understanding of the threat. With the improvement of global relations policies shaped by inter-state dependency, it means that without opening communication with others, there is no single region or country that can stand alone. As a result, there are prospects for future studies to prove that the policies in ASEAN could, at some point, develop into a military alliance or defense pact under the policies of the governments of ASEAN countries.

5. Conclusion

This study found that ADMM and ADMM-Plus, ASEAN defense regionalism is proved by the implementation of a policy in practical cooperation and a defense dialogue used by ASEAN defense leaders about security issues. First, about the development of regional challenges, the leaders felt the need to add to the implementation of new characteristics in ADMM and ADMM-Plus, which focus on dealing with security concerns as a result of diplomatic protocols and practical cooperation mechanisms, by promoting the form of interoperability in the defense community.

Second, it highlights the implementation of the defense diplomacy policy showed by ASEAN member countries, contains the characteristics of the defense community, and even efforts to establish a defense community.

The implementation of the ASEAN defense diplomacy policy as a result of practical defense cooperation has conducted in bilateral and multilateral levels, including joint military exercises, joint operations, training, and technology exchange on the standardization of weapons systems.

8.1. Suggestion

First, it can develop and improve the implementation of defense diplomacy policies in cooperation and international relations in ASEAN to incorporate the characteristics of the defense community with collective defense organizations.

Secondly, the place for defense dialogue used by ASEAN defense leaders to discuss security issues shows ASEAN defense regionalism, which has set a solid foundation for ASEAN as a defense community.

Third, through ADMM and ADMM-Plus, the government can add dialogue on modernizing the efficiency of weaponry and defense; this highlights the fact that among ASEAN members, there are many differences in military technology.

Fourth, the modernization of defense and weapon system is a link to develop ASEAN defense industries. According to the new regionalism approach, an alternative mechanism needed to validate the interoperability of the ASEAN defense community, such as the establishment of the ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC).

References

- Acharya, Amitav (1996), A Regional Community in Southeast Asia? In Ball, Desmond (ed.), The Transformation of Security in the Asia Pacific Region. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd
- Acharya, Amitav (2001), Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order. London: Routledge
- Alexandra Retno Wulan dan Bantarto Bandoro, ASEAN's Quest for a Full-Fledged Community |(Jakarta: CSIS, 2007), p.1

Anderson, Benedict (1991), Imagine Communities, Revised, and Expanded Edition. London: Verso

Bhubhindar Singh and See Seng Tan, *Defense Diplomacy and Southeast Asia*, in Bhubhindar Singh and See Seng Tan (ed), *From "Boots" to "Brogues." The Rise of Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: RSIS Monograph No.21, 2011), p.10

Buszynski, Leszek (1997/98), ASEAN's New Challenges. Pacific Affairs, vol. 70, No. 4

- Cottey, Andrew and Forster, Anthony (2004), Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance. London: Oxford University Press for IISS, Adelphi Paper 365
- Cronin, Bruce (1999), Community Under Anarchy: Transnational Identity and the Evolution of Cooperation. New York: Columbia University Press
- Deutsch, Karl W et al. (1957), *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Fiona Devine, *Qualitative Analysis*, in David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (ed.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (New York: Palgrave 2002), pp. 197-215

Gusfield, Joseph R. (1975), The Community: A Critical Response. New York: Harper Colopon

- Hettne, Björn (2000), The New Regionalism: A Prologue, in Hettne, Björn (ed.), The New Regionalism and the Future of Security Development. London: Macmillan
- Hettne, Björn, and Söderbaum, Fredrik *Theorising the Rise of Regionness* in Shaun Breslin et al. (ed.) (2002), *New Regionalism in the Global Political Economy: Theories and Cases.* London: Routledge
- Joshua Ho, *The Security of Sea Lanes in Southeast Asia* (Asian Survey, vol. 46, no. 4, July/August 2006), p. 559 KA Muthana, *Military Diplomacy* (New Delhi: Journal od Defense Studies, Vol 5 No.1, January 2011) p.1
- Laksmana, Evan. A (2011), Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia, Trends, Prospects, and Challenges, in Singh, Bhubhindar and Tan, See Seng (ed.), From 'Boots' to 'Brogues,' the Rise of Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia. Singapore: RSIS
- Rizal Sukma, Southeast Asian Security: An Overview in N.S Sisodia and Sreedha Datta (ed.), Changing Security Dynamics in Southeast Asia (New Delhi: IDSA Magnum Books Pvt Ltd 2008), p. 16

Samad, Paridah Abdul and Mohammad, Mochtar (1995), ASEAN's Role and Development as a Security Community. Jakarta: CSIS, The Indonesian Quarterly, vol. 23, no. 1

- ADMM, available at http://www.asean.org/communities/asean-political-security-community/category/aseandefense-ministers-meeting-admm, accessed on 12 April 2017
- Seng Tan, "Talking Their Walk'? : The Evolution of Defense Regionalism in Southeast Asia (Asian Survey, vol.8, no.3, 2012), p.232
- Sheldon W. Simon, ASEAN and Its Security Offspring: Facing New Challenges (U.S. Army War College Publication, 2007), pp. 1-2
- Thayer, Carlyle A. (2014), ASEAN and U.N. Peacekeeping: ASEAN will Slowly Develop and Evolve Regional Peacekeeping Coordination Capacity. The Diplomat
- Wulan, Alexandra Retno, and Bandoro, Bantarto (2007), ASEAN's Quest for a Full-Fledged Community. Jakarta: CSIS