

# Total Diplomacy, Total History: Military Historians and the Indonesian Peace Corps

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**Abstract:** This research explores the concepts of Total Diplomacy and Total History, focusing on the role of military historians in the Indonesian peacekeeping force. The Indonesian government employs military diplomacy by deploying Garuda Contingent troops on global peace missions, aligning with the constitutional mandate of the Republic of Indonesia. As part of Indonesia's total diplomacy strategy, military diplomacy is analyzed by deploying peacekeeping troops, engaging with other diplomatic instruments, and involving military historians to document missions comprehensively. The discussion encompasses the definition of military diplomacy, its international role, and its impact on Indonesia's global image. Military historians face challenges, including disrupted historical record-keeping and changes in the composition of historical officer positions. To overcome the obstacles in writing military history, the concept of Total History becomes relevant, integrating various scientific disciplines to support the historiographic process. In peacekeeping operations, military historians must grasp the totality of this scientific approach and present it more engagingly, meaningfully, and solution-oriented, relevant to the conflict areas they oversee.

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini mengkaji konsep *Total Diplomacy* dan *Total History* dengan menyoroti peran sejarawan militer dalam misi pasukan perdamaian Indonesia. Pemerintah Indonesia menjalankan diplomasi militer melalui pengiriman pasukan Kontingen Garuda dalam misi perdamaian dunia, sebagai bentuk pelaksanaan amanat konstitusi Republik Indonesia. Dalam kerangka strategi *total diplomacy*, diplomasi militer dianalisis melalui perannya dalam mengerahkan pasukan perdamaian, berinteraksi dengan instrumen diplomatik lainnya, serta melibatkan sejarawan militer untuk mendokumentasikan misi secara menyeluruh. Pembahasan mencakup definisi diplomasi militer, perannya di kancah internasional, dan dampaknya terhadap citra global Indonesia. Sejarawan militer menghadapi berbagai tantangan, seperti terputusnya pencatatan sejarah dan berubahnya struktur penempatan personel sejarah. Untuk mengatasi kendala dalam penulisan sejarah militer, konsep *Total History* menjadi penting, karena mengintegrasikan berbagai disiplin ilmu guna mendukung proses historiografi. Dalam operasi perdamaian, sejarawan militer dituntut untuk memahami pendekatan ilmiah secara menyeluruh dan menyajikannya secara lebih menarik, bermakna, serta berorientasi pada solusi, terutama dalam konteks wilayah konflik yang mereka pantau.

## INTRODUCTION

Studying the military's role in maintaining peace in various parts of the world is always fascinating and important. Numerous scholars have conducted extensive research on this topic. Notable studies include those by Mockaitis (2004), Rhee (1988), Turan (2014), Rozman (1970), Bindra (2015), Crowe (1986), and Khianthongkula (2023). Researchers have also examined the Indonesian military, including works by Suryadinata & Emmerson (1991), Mietzner (2006), Lee (2000), Purwanto (2009), and Sundhaussen (1972). However, studies on Indonesian military personnel deployed abroad to maintain global peace, particularly in the context of military diplomacy, remain limited. One form of military diplomacy undertaken by the Indonesian government is the deployment of Garuda Contingent (Konga) troops on United



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Nations peacekeeping missions. This effort aligns with the constitutional mandate of Indonesia to "maintain world peace and participate in maintaining international order" (Pusat Sejarah TNI, 2000).

The implementation of military diplomacy currently undertaken by the Indonesian National Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia-TNI) is one of the 11 TNI priority programs determined by the TNI Commander at the closing of the TNI Leadership Meeting on January 24, 2018. The main mission and tasks of the TNI in military diplomacy are outlined in the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 34 of 2004, specifically in Article 7 and Article 20 Paragraph 3, which emphasizes the use of TNI power in the context of world peace tasks.

Articles 7 and 20 clearly explain that the TNI carries out world peace duties in line with Indonesia's foreign policy. The confirmation provided by these two articles highlights that the TNI is one of the nation's components that plays a significant role in carrying out Indonesian diplomacy. The nuances of diplomacy are evident when deploying the Garuda Contingent peacekeeping troops. Indonesia has employed total diplomacy in sending peacekeeping troops, and amidst the deployed troops, a comprehensive historical record has been maintained through military documentation, which also participated in the mission (Sukma, 2008).

Regarding the role of the Indonesian military in peacekeeping missions, the question arises: how can total history enhance the historiography of Indonesian peacekeeping missions? What are the key challenges military historians face in documenting Indonesia's military diplomacy? To address these questions, this article will explain the total diplomacy employed by the Indonesian government in the international arena, prioritizing military diplomacy by deploying Indonesian peacekeeping troops to conflict zones. This raises further questions: how can the total history of Indonesian peacekeeping troops be documented? What is the significance of the military's role in peacekeeping forces, and why is the participation of military personnel in peacekeeping forces crucial? (Muthanna, 2011). A comprehensive understanding of military diplomacy and historical documentation undertaken by the military will be invaluable in recording the experiences of Indonesian peacekeeping troops deployed abroad.

## **METHOD**

This article was compiled using a historical approach that combines various historical sources, especially those that record the activities of the TNI

peacekeeping forces abroad. The historical approach is essential to show the chronological process of the TNI troops' activities in several countries. The historical approach is a method or way to study and analyze historical events or phenomena. This approach focuses on studying events or phenomena that occurred in the past using historical sources such as documents, records, and others. This approach also analyzes the context of historical events, including social, political, economic, and cultural factors that influence the events (Pradadimara, et al., 2022). Official sources issued by the TNI History Center (Pusat Sejarah TNI, 2000) or the TNI Army History Service (Dinas Sejarah TNI AD, 1982) are important sources used in this article. After verifying various sources, the author conducted classification and analysis and then compiled them in a chronological narrative form.

## **DIPLOMACY MISSION**

In this discussion, it is necessary to understand diplomacy from Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, who said that diplomacy is the overall process of carrying out international relations. In other words, diplomacy can be interpreted as implementing a country's foreign policy. In this sense of total diplomacy, it is intended that all diplomatic stakeholders play an active role because, in essence, diplomacy is the responsibility of all components of the nation. At this level, military diplomacy is considered part of total diplomacy to support foreign policy in resolving various international problems (Griffiths, 2008).

In another sense, military diplomacy or defense diplomacy does not include combat operations or counter-insurgency operations, but defense activities such as international exchanges of personnel, ships and aircraft, military visits, high-level military involvement in this case the Minister of Defense and senior defense personnel, training and exercises, security system reform, regional defense and security forums or talks between military staff bilaterally. In other words, the military is a tool of national foreign policy.

The Indonesian military carries out diplomatic duties by sending peacekeeping troops and conducting joint exercises with neighboring (regional) countries and superpowers such as the US. Indonesia has done this several times, such as in 2008 in Natuna. Likewise, Indonesian Navy cadets and soldiers who sail worldwide on the Dewa Rutji ship have diplomatic missions such as soft power diplomacy and military shooting championships, which Indonesian soldiers have won several times

(Tabloid Diplomasia, 2010).

Anton du Plessis mentioned that military diplomacy in the narrow sense as, "the use of military personnel in supporting the prevention and resolution of conflict, assisting in the development of armed forces, and responsible democracy. While in a broad sense, as "the use of armed force in military operations other than war, building trained and disciplined expertise to achieve national goals and international objectives abroad." Du Plessis also provides an inclusive definition of defense diplomacy (international alternative defense diplomacy) as the peaceful diplomatic use of armed forces and related infrastructure (especially ministries of defense) as a foreign and security policy tool, and more specifically, the use of military cooperation and military assistance (Du Plessis, 2008).

In implementing its duties, other activities are also categorized as public diplomacy, namely, the people of a country, to fight for national interests and spread their values (taken from Paul Sharp's theory). Anthony Pratkanis defines public diplomacy as promoting the national interest by informing and influencing other nations' citizens through changes and forming public opinion and perception, beliefs, attitudes, habits, hopes, and motivation in the desired direction (Pratkanis, 2009).

Military diplomacy in the sense of troops (including Indonesian troops) sent to Lebanon, Congo, Bosnia, and others can be called Soft Power diplomacy. The term soft power is a concept developed by Joseph S. Nye Jr. in the 1990s. However, the soft power diplomacy by the Indonesian government consists of several elements: Democracy, Moderate Islam (at the same time it can be highlighted as The Ideology of Tolerance). The universal values demonstrated in the attitudes and behavior of TNI soldiers in world peace missions under the auspices of the UN can be accepted and appreciated by all parties. Therefore, the military diplomacy capabilities of TNI, which are members of the Garuda Contingent, at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels must be maintained as part of basic capabilities that can be absorbed and learned.

TNI soldiers who are members of the Garuda Contingent in the countries they are sent to play their diplomatic role through various approaches and negotiations, with fellow peacekeepers from other countries and with the people of the countries they are sent to. In this case, diplomacy is aimed at citizens of other countries and not at the country's government elite or political entities, as in standard or traditional diplomacy.

The success achieved by Garuda soldiers in each UN mission will produce results in support, trust, and respect from the international community towards the Indonesian nation. The success of troop diplomacy through sending the Garuda Contingent to several countries positively impacted Indonesia's foreign policy. The success of total diplomacy will increase Indonesia's authority in international fora.

## **OVERVIEW OF THE INDONESIAN PEACE FORCE**

There is a paradigm shift, from traditional peacekeeping, which is only a buffer zone separating two warring forces, to multidimensional peacekeeping with broader duties and responsibilities. The multidimensional components include military, civil police, politics, civil affairs, rule of law, human rights, humanity, reconstruction, public information, and gender.

This paradigm was reinforced by the statement of former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, who said that traditional peacekeeping operations were still ongoing, but peacekeepers in the 1990s had been involved in broader post-conflict peace processes related to implementing peace agreements. This involves the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, reconciliation, rebuilding justice systems, strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights, electoral assistance, and rebuilding war-torn political, economic, and social infrastructure and broader peacekeeping tasks. goes far beyond traditional peacekeeping duties.

In the context of Indonesian foreign policy, the mission of peacekeeping troops should be underlined as part of the Indonesian Foreign Policy, which is called total diplomacy, namely, diplomacy that looks at every issue comprehensively and involves all components of the nation. Indonesia's involvement in the world peace mission under the UN was marked by the first sending of Garuda troops in January 1957 (Hutabarat, 2014). At that time, the mission was to resolve the conflict in the Middle East. The deployment of troops varies from battalion-level troops, company-level troops, construction engineer troops, health troops, and troops assigned several times to help deal with victims of natural disasters, as well as military observers.

Since Indonesia contributed to sending troops to the UN, it has sent 34 individual police officers, 140 uniformed police units, 22 experts on mission, and 1,535 contingent troops. When viewed from the delivery phase, the sending of Indonesian

peace troops to foreign countries can be mapped into two parts. The first part was sending troops with company-level and battalion-level strength. The second part was sending troops in the form of groups working as observers. The Indonesian contingent was sent as a world peacekeeping force until 1964 and was a large unit of troops. Furthermore, sending contingents in the form of large units at company and battalion level and as observers only started again in 1973 (Dinas Sejarah TNI AD, 1982).

As of 2013, based on UN statistical data, for the ranking of countries that have Troop Contribution to UN operations or Troops Contributing Country (TCC) as of March 31, 2013, Indonesia is in 16th position with 1,730 personnel from 116 contributing countries. Meanwhile, the top 3 (three) TCC countries are occupied by Bangladesh with a total of 8,826 personnel; Pakistan with a total of 8,251 personnel; and India with a total of 7,812 personnel.

Several sendings of Indonesian troops to foreign countries were legendary and phenomenal. The first deployment of troops in the Suez Canal crisis is an instance. On November 8, 1956, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia expressed its willingness to the UN to participate in the UN Police Force tasked with maintaining peace in Egypt.

The government then announced: First, the Indonesian government decided to participate in the UN Police forces as intended by the UN General Assembly resolution mentioned above. Second, the size of Indonesia's contribution to the UN police forces in question is given within the limits of Indonesia's strength so as not to reduce Indonesia's defense potential. Third, Indonesia's participation in the UN police forces is based on the understanding that the police forces are tasked solely with maintaining peace in the Middle East and will not constitute interference in the internal affairs of the country where the troops are stationed.

The departure of Indonesian troops for the first time overseas was phenomenal because the head of state directly led the departure at the State Palace. President Soekarno, in his address on December 31, 1956, during a troop rally at the Merdeka Palace in Jakarta, said that for the first time, the Indonesian army had assumed international duties, and that was not just for Indonesia but for the whole world and for humanity. Furthermore, the President called for the ideals of the Indonesian nation, namely complete independence, democracy, and social justice, to be in the people's

minds, and the troops' departure as a representative of the nation.

The participation of the Garuda Contingent (Konga) in a peace mission occurred on January 8, 1957, in the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) mission to Sinai, Egypt, anticipating that President Gamal Abdul Nasser, on July 26, 1956, announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Since then, there has been a conflict of interest between Egypt and Western countries. European countries such as Britain and France, as the largest shareholders of the Suez Canal, and the United States and its allies, condemned Egypt's actions. So on August 16, 1956, at the initiative of the United States, a London conference was held to discuss the Suez Canal issue. Indonesia was among the 24 countries invited, while Egypt and Greece boycotted it. However, before the agreement was implemented, on October 29, 1956, Israel made a lightning raid into the Sinai to the edge of the Suez Canal. Britain and France supported this Israeli military movement. Two days later, England and France attacked Egypt.

On November 4, 1956, the two Egyptian ports, Port Said, Port Fuad, and Ismailia, were captured by Britain and France, while Israel managed to easily control Sinai because some of the Egyptian troops were withdrawn from the location to face Britain and France. Meanwhile, on November 7, 1956, the Special Session of the UN General Assembly (MU PBB) called on the countries in conflict to implement a ceasefire. France, England, Egypt, and Israel heeded this call. UNEF was present in Egypt after the UN General Assembly decided to form a UN Emergency Force based on UN General Assembly Resolution number 1000 (ES-1) on November 8. On this day, Indonesia stated that it was willing to participate in UNEF by forming a special Army battalion with a strength of 400 personnel. At that time, President Sukarno gave the name Garuda Contingent I.

UNEF troops consist of Brazilian, Canadian, Colombian, Danish, Finnish, Indian, Norwegian, Swedish, and Yugoslav troops with the main task of securing and monitoring the ceasefire. All 5,977 UNEF troops. The sending of Garuda I troops shows Indonesia's active role as a UN member in maintaining world peace, which is part of the UN PKO (United Nations Peacekeeping Operation). Since then, whenever requested by the UN, Indonesia has always sent peacekeeping troops. Sometime later, in 1960, Indonesia was trusted again to send its peacekeeping troops to Congo. The task of the troops going to Congo was more difficult than that

of the units serving in Gaza, Egypt. This is because the Congo is facing a difficult and chaotic situation, both in the military and the political field, due to external forces playing a role.

Apart from carrying out military duties, the Garuda II Battalion guides and controls the masses by approaching the population and respecting them as an independent nation. Activities included providing information on devotional works on objects of public interest, such as cleaning schools, hospitals, markets, churches, and mosques.

Information about the Indonesian population is also provided in handling information activities for the population, especially in schools. The approach with local residents worked well. There was a close relationship between the residents and members of the Garuda II Battalion. The relationship was so close that the ordinary difficulties they experienced daily were referred to the Garuda II Battalion, not to the organs of their government.

On 10-12 November 1960, the Commander of UN Forces in the Congo, Lieutenant General Carlson von Horn, inspected the activities in the Equator area. During his inspection, Lieutenant General Carlson von Horn expressed his appreciation to the Garuda II Battalion, "If the battalion he led was the same as the Indonesian battalion, then the Congo situation could be resolved because the Indonesian battalion is a first-class troop by international standards." He also said he would send a Swedish team to be trained by Indonesian troops. "The Indonesian Battalion was considered a good battalion and was always close to his heart." The sending of Indonesian troops to Congo continued, but this was stopped due to Indonesia's domestic political upheaval from 1964 to 1965.

UN Secretary General U Thant officially submitted a request through the Indonesian Ambassador in New York to send 1 battalion of its troops as a replacement for the returning troops. The Indonesian government could not fulfill this request because Indonesia's foreign policy conflicted with Malaysia's. Sending Indonesian peacekeeping troops abroad was finally stopped. After 1965, political changes within Indonesia made it impossible to send peacekeeping troops abroad.

Ten years later, Indonesia sent its peacekeeping troops again in a different government era. This time it occurred on January 27, 1973, when a ceasefire began between United States troops and North Vietnamese troops, which was followed by the withdrawal of United States troops from South Vietnam for 60 days. The UN formed the International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS)

and the International Monitoring Commission to oversee the ceasefire implementation. The USA and North Vietnam governments asked the Indonesian government to sit in the ICCS, which consists of 4 countries: Indonesia, Iran, Hungary, and Poland. The Indonesian Government sent Garuda Mission (Misriga) with a strength of 290 people led by a chairman, Ambassador Lt. Gen. TNI H.R. Dharsono; Political Deputy, Imrad Idris; Military Deputy and Contingent Commander, Brigadier General TNI Wiyogo Atmodarminto. Its duties include: monitoring and preventing violations and maintaining the status quo, supervising the evacuation of troops and war equipment, and supervising the exchange of prisoners of war.

The Garuda V contingent served from August 1973 to April 1974. Departed by plane on July 28, 1973, with the same task as that carried out by the Garuda IV Contingent. Apart from carrying out their main duties, troops carry out social activities to build friendships with the people and alleviate their suffering. The Garuda VII Contingent continued this mission from April to December 1974 with a strength of 202 personnel. The troops' task became more difficult because both parties committed many violations. The Paris Agreement is no longer adhered to, so the ICCS's functions and duties are no longer effective. Finally, a gradual withdrawal of troops was carried out. The Garuda Contingent mission in Vietnam ended in June 1975.

Another peace mission to the Middle East followed the Indonesian troops' peace mission. These troops were named the Garuda Contingent (Konga VI to Konga VIII-9). The sending of Indonesian peace troops was a result of the Arab-Israeli War, which broke out again in October 1973 and was the 4th war (October War 1973). The UN Security Council called on both sides to call a ceasefire along the Middle East battle lines and hold talks to find a solution. The tasks assigned to Indonesian troops in the UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force) mission are by UN resolution no. 340 of 1973 are: Supervising the full implementation of the ceasefire; Oversaw the re-execution of positions at 16.50 GMT 23 October 1973 for both parties; prevent the re-emergence of fighting or disputes; Collaboration with the international Red Cross in humanitarian efforts; Carrying out its duties in collaboration with UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) military supervisors.

On October 23, 1973, an Egyptian-Israeli ceasefire was reached, and the Security Council authorized the formation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), a UN emergency force

to monitor the ceasefire. Based on a UN request, the Indonesian Government sent the Garuda VI Contingent with a strength of around 552 personnel. Garuda troops maintained their presence in Egypt until 1979, with 10 troop changes in six years, between 1973 and 1979.

The Middle East is in turmoil, this time between Iran and Iraq. On August 20, 1988, a ceasefire was held between Iraq and Iran, which had been at war for 8 years since September 1980. The UN deployed a team of 350 observer members called UNIIMOG (United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group) from 30 countries (including Indonesia). Each country sends 10 to 15 officers from Captain to Lieutenant Colonel.

Indonesia's contribution to world peace within the scope of UN troops continues. The Garuda contingent was sent under the UN UNIKOM flag from 27 April 1991 to 17 June 2000, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. Almost simultaneously, Indonesia sent peacekeeping troops to Namibia, Africa, from 22 June 1989 to 28 March 1990 under the UNTAG (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) flag, consisting of 50 Indonesian Republic Police Officers (Polri) personnel. In Southeast Asia, under UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia), Prince Norodom Sihanouk personally asked Indonesia to send its peacekeeping troops to guard the capital, Phnom Penh. Indonesian troops focusing on territorial development have created close relationships between the community and contingent members. These troops served until 19 February 1994.

Garuda XIII was sent to Somalia to enforce a ceasefire in a country ravaged by civil war. They served from 8 July 1992 to 3 January 1995 with 3-5 personnel as military observers. The involvement of Indonesian troops continues, including in Mozambique, the Philippines, Tajikistan, Zaire (Congo), Liberia, Sudan, and Lebanon. (Kusuma, 2016).

## THE CHALLENGES OF MILITARY HISTORIANS IN PEACEKEEPING

The historical recording of the involvement of Indonesian troops in peace missions since 1957 was obtained from manuscripts and documents taken from relevant staff. At that time, no military personnel were assigned to cover or record the history of troop activities directly. Only later in 2006, when Indonesian troops were sent to South Lebanon with 850 personnel, one military personnel with the rank of major was involved in the troops and entered the composition of the troop's position structure as a historical officer. *Pusjarah TNI* (The TNI History

Center) fulfilled its personnel as requested. However, after 2008, the duties of historical officers were filled by personnel who did not qualify, either from the TNI Pusjarah or other forces' historical services, until the composition of historical officer positions in the troops disappeared completely. The recording of military history in the peace troops was finally interrupted, and historical events in peace missions under the TNI could no longer be covered.

In assignments as peacekeepers, Dag Hammarskjöld, former Secretary General of the United Nations (UN), needs to be heeded: "Peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it." This statement illustrates that assigning soldiers to peace missions is not simple because they face a complicated and tense atmosphere. Therefore, soldiers in the army must be prepared with good mental health, excellent physical condition, the ability to negotiate with warring camps, keep on fear, longing for family and relatives, adequate language skills, and an atmosphere to fight self-will. dealing with situations and conditions of duty through the rules made by the UN (PBB, 2003).

More importantly, what needs to be attended to, in its troops unit, must be filled with a recorder of events or historian (historian), a medical team, and clergy (chaplains). The military of European countries realizes how important it is to make some historical records so there will be continuity in recording military history. Today, modern troops certainly will not forget that. On the other hand, travel records must be made, and the officers keep records continuously from the start of departure. Nowadays, a specialist must have equipment for taking notes, recording, taking pictures via camera or video, mastery of computer technology, and other supporting media. Military historians must possess these skills, and equipment must be provided to support the operational tasks. The job of a military historian who is involved with the troops and covers every current historical event is easier. Digital equipment accompanying their duties is very helpful, given that the equipment is not as heavy as in the past.

In the case of peace mission writing history, several officers wrote it, such as Lt. Gen. Himawan Sutanto and Lt. Gen. Rais Abin, who wrote about the history of Indonesian troops abroad. These notes were written after both of them retired through special writers. Meanwhile, the military history of the peace troops was written directly by the perpetrators while on duty, carried out by officers from the TNI History Center (*Pusjarah*) who took part in the assignment in Lebanon. Meanwhile, A.H. Nasution was an officer who diligently record-

ed all events in the Indonesian military at domestic events, and Nasution wrote it down after taking a break as a soldier. Slamet Riyadi was an officer who diligently recorded his military service during the war for independence. Historical records are excellent sources related to the direct experience of historical actors. However, the officer who made a direct report on the spot has extraordinary original data, such as historical data and facts, compared to a post-factum report in the form of biographies or autobiographies.

We are reminded of these two types of historical writing by Eric Robert Frykenberg in *History and Belief: The Foundations of Historical Understanding*, an important note for historical writers. *L'historie recite*, as its meaning in French, refers to both written and spoken. This is expected to overcome confusion (misunderstanding) when discussing written and spoken data. He described that an observer who is qualified as an eyewitness/would reveal the event. What is expressed certainly is his point of view about the event, despite his efforts; what emerges is his view. This dimension shows the human personality and its ability to give answers as a measure. This influences awareness in social science research, which takes into account aspects of humans that can speak and discuss (Frykenberg, 1996)

This note explains that the history written later is based on explanations, even though the historical actor himself will be different from other notes related to each personal view. From this picture, the involvement of military historian personnel in operational tasks makes it possible for historical writing to be livelier and more meaningful.

## **TOTAL HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF WRITING MILITARY HISTORY**

The tasks performed by peacekeeping troops are not only limited to undertaking peacekeeping operations, but are already at the level of carrying out multidimensional operations. Therefore, for chroniclers, the record has expanded to recording peacekeeping operations and other dimensions related to public diplomacy. The breadth of operational dimensions is a challenge for military historians because they must master other things outside their historical duties.

The problem in writing military history during peacekeeping operations lies in the personnel who serve as historical officers. Here lies the importance of disclosing notes, documents, and data in historical writing. Not everyone understands how to read the notes, data, and documents displayed,

including those who store them. The next obstacle is personnel arranged in the wrong place of duty. They do not have the skills.

In historical studies, there is generally a new approach to writing history that can be discussed from various perspectives in scientific fields. This approach and its method will broaden the understanding and scientific side. This is what we call total history. We define total history as a historical study, both in the source collection and analysis stages, that uses various other scientific approaches outside the science of history. Finally, history and other fields of science can be related to each other and participate in the historiography process.

The concept of "Total History" is the role of other fields of science, both social and exact, to assist in the historiography process. In other words, Total History collects historical sources (heuristics) and is at the historical interpretation or analysis stage. Auxiliary sciences that support history are called auxiliary sciences or sister disciplines. The use of these auxiliary sciences depends on the subjects or historical periods studied. These sciences have important functions that historians use to assist in their research and writing in scientific works (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

Military historians involved in peacekeeping troops sent overseas must understand the meaning and method of total history in various disciplines encountered in the field. Apart from mastering the scientific discipline, understanding is also required in other fields such as military knowledge, local community culture, sociological conditions of the community in the assignment area, and the country's ideological situation and local political constellation. Then the knowledge from field data and references written in an article or book will become historical. This writing could be used as a guide and/or reference, and an ADO (operational area analysis) for troops. Historians' good knowledge in the field of work allows the facts and data collected and written to be more numerous and varied. To avoid misunderstandings of information and the meaning of military history, it would be better to handle its history through reliable historical officers who can write the total history.

## **CONCLUSION**

The future of military historiography in Indonesia is likely to center on documenting both Military Operations for War (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP), including overseas deployments as outlined in Law No. 34/2004 (Article 5). This trajectory opens up numerous historical

subjects for exploration, particularly given the Indonesian military's increasing involvement in global peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. A critical priority moving forward is the institutionalization of trained military historians within operational units. With adequate theoretical grounding, methodological expertise, and writing proficiency, these historians can produce rich, analytical, and impactful historical narratives. As P.M.H. Groen (1995) aptly noted, "Military history moves between two poles, between the savagery of the battlefield and the solitude of the study"—a reminder that historical officers must possess both field awareness and scholarly rigor. This dual role underscores their importance in capturing military experiences as part of Indonesia's broader diplomatic and historical legacy. A notable example of this diplomatic role is reflected in the words of Army Chief of Staff A.H. Nasution, who, in his address to the departing Garuda II contingent on September 9, 1960, stated that overseas missions were not merely military tasks, but also diplomatic endeavors in which soldiers represent and uphold the honor of the nation and its armed forces. Indonesia's military historiography still offers considerable opportunities for future research. These include comparative studies with other Southeast Asian military forces and the collection of oral histories from both active and retired military personnel. Such efforts will enrich the understanding of Indonesia's military diplomacy and contribute significantly to the national and global historical record.

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