

DEFENSE AND TECHNICAL COOPERATIONS BETWEEN INDONESIA AND RUSSIA FOR THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY (2010-2015)

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ABSTRACT:

The rise of conflicts and crimes that threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia is increasingly disturbing the defense and security of Indonesia. The weakening of the strength of the Indonesian National Army after the military embargo by the United States, France, and Germany made Indonesia feel the need to conduct military cooperation with other countries to improve the defense equipment and the quality of the Indonesian National Army as a means of National Defense. Russia, which is increasingly advancing in technology and military fields, has always sought the attention and support of developing countries in re-realizing its "superpower". This was used by Indonesia to re-establish "friendly" relations with Russia which had been tenuous during the new order in power in Indonesia. The purpose of writing this article is to find out what steps have been taken by both countries in conducting military cooperation, understand and explore various conflicts that could be a threat to the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, it also wants to know, understand, and describe how it affects various efforts to improve defense and security in Indonesia. The method used in this study is a descriptive research method. This research uses the library method (library research), the source of data for this research is entirely based on library research, books about literature. This research is based entirely on library research, books on foreign policy, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other writings related to this research. this research. The results of this study are: to improve the defense equipment and the quality of the Indonesian National Army in order to maintain and improve defense and security in Indonesia, the Indonesian government conducted military cooperation with Russia which was implemented into two forms of cooperation; Defense Cooperation and Military Technical Cooperation. The Indonesian-Russian government commission on Military Engineering cooperation has produced a memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the commitment to procure the main tools of the Indonesian National Armed Forces weapons systems from Russia and in a visit to Moscow in December 2006.

Keywords; *Indonesia-Russia Military Cooperation, Defense Equipment, Indonesian National Army, Indonesian Defense and Security.*

A. Introduction

Indonesia is one of the developing countries and has a very wide territorial area which has a coastline length of more than 81,000 km and 17,508 islands and a sea area of about 3.1 million km². The number of problems that arise in Indonesia requires Indonesia to take quick

and responsive steps in addressing its problems. For example, in national security issues, in this case there are strategic constraints experienced by Indonesia to overcome threats from outside and from within the country such as the lack of the main means of defense systems owned by Indonesia, both owned by each military institution and the ability of the defense equipment that has not been able to reach all of Indonesia's territorial security.¹ To prevent threats that occur in Indonesia, the position of the military is very important to be formulated in the national defense system, because the military is a legal institution in a country that has real power. The Indonesian military is an institution authorized by the state to use force, usually including the use of weapons in maintaining the stability of its internal security. Peter Paret said "military power is an implementative expression of the total power of the state embodied in various forms of armed force degree. Based on this idea, the development of a country's military power should symbolize the total national power possessed by the country".²

The failure of a country to build a formidable military force can be viewed as a form of weakness of the national government in allocating national forces to the field of National Defense. The thing that is of concern again is the condition of the material and defense equipment of the Indonesian National Army is very old, many of which have expired, such as rapier missiles, most of them are between 25-40 years old, even some Ships are between 41-64 years old. These conditions do not allow it to continue to be maintained and improved in order to remain in use, because it is not enough to provide a deterrent effect both against threats arising from within and from outside countries. Thus, the quality and quantity of defense equipment is still far below the standard. Therefore, with the constraints of the Indonesian military in maintaining security and defense stability, Indonesia conducted military cooperation with Russia.³

The current unfavorable condition of the Indonesian military and Indonesia's dependence on the United States are very large-especially the issue of weapons systems in this case is very necessary for the existence of an Indonesian cooperation with other countries in the military field. At this time Russia is trying hard to achieve the status of a superpower.

¹ K.J. Holsti, *International Politics an analytical framework*, (Bandung: Bina Cipta, 1987), p. 26-27.

² The Son, A. R. (2014). *From The Soviet Union To Russia: A Long History, The Actors Of The Revolution, As Well As The Russian Cold War To The Present*. Jogjakarta: Palapa.

³ Embassy Of the Russian Federation To The Republic Of Indonesia. (2008). *Five Principles of Being Abroad*. [Online]. Available in: <http://indonesia.mid.ru/web/indonesiaind / archive-news-2008-/-/assetpublicid / CRrCHB6Up3>. Retrieved 2 Agustus 2023.

Although Russia is a very vast country but with its defense technology Russia can maintain its territorial territory well, but its status is still far when compared to the status of the former Soviet Union. Russia has a fairly developed industry that is a legacy of Stalin's reign. Known industries include the military equipment and equipment industry, for example the aircraft industry that produces MiG and Sukhoi as well as helicopters, airplanes, tanks, missiles and light weaponry such as Kalashnikov weapons.⁴

In addition, there are also heavy industries such as steel industry, mineral mining, coal and petroleum. Russia also had an agricultural industry that Stalin encouraged with his collective farms. Even though it is an industrial country that is part of the G-8, Russia is still trying to overcome its economic problems in order to be able to become a superpower again like when the Soviet Union. Russia is already very advanced in the field of military technology and was once one of the superpowers, causing Indonesia to be interested in cooperation with the country. Universally, national defense is a basic element and is one of the main pillar elements in order to keep the establishment of a country. To ensure the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), in maintaining the integrity of the territory and the safety of the nation, a strong national defense system is needed. Given the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the task of defense is very complex, so that in its implementation must involve all national resources. Geopolitics of Indonesia as an archipelago located between the continents of Asia and Australia, as well as the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, causing national conditions are strongly influenced by the development of the strategic context. This position has implications for the interweaving of the interests of other countries with the national interests of Indonesia. Observing the dynamics of the strategic context, both global, regional and domestic, the threats that are very likely to face Indonesia in the future, can be in the form of traditional security threats and nontraditional security threats.⁵

Traditional security threats in the form of invasion or military aggression from other countries against Indonesia are less likely. The role of the United Nations and international reaction is believed to be able to prevent, or at least limit the use of armed force by a country to impose its will on other countries. Non-traditional threats or threats from outside are more

⁴ Kompas. (2009). Russia Has Changed Its Nuclear Doctrine. Available at: <http://print.kompas.com/read/xml/2009/10/09/03351982/Russia.change.thedoctrin.ofnuclear.war>. retrieved 1 April 2023.

⁵ Ambarwati, *International Humanitarian Law: In The Study Of International Relations*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press. 2012.

likely to stem from cross-border organized crime committed by non-state actors, taking advantage of unfavorable domestic conditions.⁶ The estimated threats and disturbances facing Indonesia in the future, including terrorism, separatism, cross-border crime (smuggling, illegal fishing), pollution and destruction of ecosystems, illegal immigration, piracy/robbery, radicalism, communal conflict, and the impact of natural disasters. as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia's national interest is to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, the safety and honor of the nation, and actively participate in world peace efforts. Departing from the mandate of the 1945 Constitution, the strategic interests of Indonesian defense must be able to ensure the achievement of national interests. Departing from the essence, the strategic interests that are fixed, strategic interests that are urgent, and international cooperation in the field of Defense.

National defense interests that are permanent is the implementation of national defense efforts to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state and the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as the safety and honor of the nation from any threat, both from outside and arising within the country. Although estimates of the threat indicate that physical threats from outside that lead to the threat of sovereignty are unlikely, but as an independent, sovereign, and dignified country,⁷ strategic interests to defend themselves must always be prepared and implemented regardless of the presence or absence of threats. Urgent defense strategic interests are essentially inseparable from fixed defense strategic interests. Actual security issues as outlined earlier showed a significant increase, especially in the last decade. Therefore, the urgent strategic interests are directed to address actual security issues, so that the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, the safety and honor of the nation can be guaranteed. Thus, the priority of the implementation of the country's defense is directed to address security issues arising in the country.

As part of the international community, Indonesia cannot escape the interconnectedness with the outside world. Therefore, the defense policy in the future, is also directed in the framework of establishing relations with other countries, both in the regional area and in a wider scope. defense cooperation with other countries, placed on the

⁶ Kipp, W. Dr. Jacob. (2001). Russia's Nonstrategic nuclear weapons. [Online]. Available in: http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/russias_nukes-russias_nukes.htm. Retrieved 1 July 2023.

⁷ Goldstein, S. M. et al. (2013). "Theory Of Deterrence". In Political Science in 21st century warfare Vol. 1. Jakarta: Kencana.

principles of foreign cooperation of the government of Indonesia, and directed to the interests of development and development of the national defense sector, as well as for the purpose of creating regional and world security stability. The physical involvement of the defense sector is carried out by the government's political decision.

In the development of the study of international relations, international dynamics is not static but always dynamic, including in the study of inter-relations between countries with each other. K.J. Holsti in the book *International Politics: a framework for analysis* defines "all forms of interaction between peoples of states, whether carried out by governments or citizens. The study of the discipline of international relations, including the study of foreign policy or international politics and covering all aspects of relations between various countries in the world" by Charles Mc. Cleland:⁸

1. An area of specialization covering the international aspects of several imu branches of knowledge;
2. A new history of international politics;
3. All international aspects of human social life in the sense of all human behavior that occurs/comes from one country that can affect human behavior in other countries;
4. A branch of science that stands alone.

While the scope of international relations expressed by Charles Mc. Cleland: "International Relations is the study of the interaction between certain types of social units, including the study of the relevant circumstances surrounding the interaction. In the interaction between the two parties, the action resources are the two parties. At all times, we must recognize that the resources that may exist are only in the parties or actors concerned. However, there are two complexities involved here, that is, if the interaction occurs over a certain period of time. Every actor may be influenced by past interactions, and based on this it can be said that the interaction itself is a behavioral resource. Second, based on the experience of past interactions, actors can predict what will happen and each can act in accordance with his expectations". Basically, international relations refer more to all forms of interaction between peoples of states as the international community as a political unit in the international system".

⁸ Anwar, S. (2012). *Increase the capacity and role of Defense diplomats to build a formidable defense*. Defense journal, Vol. 2 No.2, p.107-125.

After the end of the Cold War, the Indonesian-Russian military cooperation found its momentum during President Megawati Sukarnoputri's visit to Russia in 2003. This visit resulted in several basic bilateral cooperation agreements, including Indonesia-Russia military cooperation. Military cooperation is then applied in two forms of cooperation, namely defense cooperation and military technical cooperation.⁹

B. Discussion

1. Indonesia-Russia Defense Cooperation

Russia-Indonesia relations gained new momentum after a long vacuum. A turning point is indeed taking place in the relations of the two countries. During his visit to Russia from November 29 to December 1, 2006, President Yudhoyono signed 12 cooperation agreements, including a military cooperation plan for the period 2006-2010. According to Suropto, the transfer of technology in the military is needed so that Indonesia does not continue to depend on foreign countries with more advanced weapons systems. "This cooperation with Russia is indeed one of Indonesia's ways to reduce our dependence on the US in the field of weapons which has now reached 65 percent, but do not get out of one dependence into another dependence," he said. Suropto said that if Indonesia imports weapons, it will face consequences, namely a different weapons system from the domestic system.

"For example, the radar system produced by Russia is not necessarily the same as the Indonesian radar system, so it requires a long adjustment and its users will have difficulties," he said. However, if Indonesia is able to produce its own equipment, then the problem of differences in weapons systems will not occur, he said. Meanwhile, retired Lieutenant General Kiki Syahnakrie, a former deputy army chief of Staff, said military cooperation with Russia was needed to build professionalism in the Indonesian military, which currently lacks military equipment. "There must be a transfer of technology in the framework of the independence of the Indonesian military, in addition to its practical function one of which is to overcome the problem of theft of our natural resources in the ocean. So far, a lot of our military control tools to monitor our outer seas have `collapsed` and we need a new tool

⁹ Agussalim, D. "The balance of military power in the post-Cold War Asia Pacific." *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 1999, p.16-39.

regeneration," he said. According to Syahnakrie, Russia since the 50s and 60s is a reliable and reliable partner of the Indonesian military cooperation.¹⁰

"Many Russian military equipment productions such as MI17 has been recognized by the international quality, so it is very significant that Russia was chosen as a partner of Indonesian military cooperation in addition to the US, India or China," he added. On the first day of his visit to Russia, President Yudhoyono is scheduled to visit St. Petersburg. Petersburg and headed to Moscow on the second day to discuss bilateral relations. On the previous occasion, Russian Ambassador to Indonesia Mikhail Bely said that in the meeting the two heads of State will also be discussed about Indonesia's plan to apply for a state loan worth 1 billion US dollars.¹¹ The two countries are now exploring closer and broader cooperation after reaching an agreement on cooperation in the field of Defense. During a brief 20-hour visit in Jakarta, President Putin signed a \$1 billion concessional loan, which Indonesia will use to purchase Russian weaponry, including 6 Sukhoi-30 fighter aircraft. President Putin also signed a memorandum of understanding for a number of cooperation in the fields of economy, energy, transport and satellite launches. The prospects for Russian-Indonesian relations are believed to be very positive, supported not only by the current desire for mutually beneficial cooperation, but also by the influence of friendly relations on the past.

2. Indonesia-Russia Military Technical Cooperation

In addition to cooperation in the field of Defense, Indonesia and Russia also conduct cooperation in the field of Military Engineering. This was reinforced by all members of the faction in the House of Representatives who finally approved the submission of a bill in the field of Defense from the government on ratification and agreement between the Government of Indonesia and the Russian Federation on cooperation in the field of Military Engineering. This approval was read by the representative of the House of Representatives, Pramono Anum as the representative of the leader of the House of Representatives in the plenary session forum of the House of Representatives who just entered the first session at the House of Representatives building, Jakarta on the occasion of the plenary session, Chairman of commission I of the House of Representatives, Drs. Mahfud Sidiq conveyed

¹⁰ Anwar, S. (2012). *Increase the capacity and role of Defense diplomats to build a formidable defense*. Defense journal, Vol. 2 No.2, p. 107-125.

¹¹ Bely, M. (2005). *Russia in the Asia-Pacific region: its progress and perspectives, a presentation* presented by Y.M. Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Indonesia Y.M. Mikhail.

three things related to the discussion of the bill. First, that basically the Commission I of the DPR understands the measures taken by the government in relation to military engineering cooperation with the government of the Russian Federation. It is specialized in order to meet the needs of the main weapon system tools for the Indonesian National Army. Second, Commission I of the House of Representatives considers this cooperation to be a military-technical level cooperation and thus this cooperation can be continued by the government through ratification in the form of a Presidential Regulation. Third, Commission I of the House of Representatives considers it necessary to establish a Joint Working Committee of the government to review and formulate a classification of bilateral cooperation in the field of Defense.¹²

C. Conclusion

From this military-technical cooperation, it was agreed that Indonesia would buy 5 units of Sukhoi Su-27 SK aircraft and 5 units of Su-30 MK made by Russia to complement several combat aircraft already owned by Indonesia. Several trainings were also given by Russia to Indonesian Air Force personnel to increase the readiness of the Indonesian Air Force personnel in maintaining the sovereignty of the Indonesian nation and state. Transfer of technology is also a distinct advantage for Indonesia which is included in the planning of cooperation that will be carried out in the future. This military-technical cooperation with Russia has an effect on increasing the readiness of personnel and defense equipment owned by the Indonesian National Army Air Force, because it can equip combat aircraft that are already owned by the Indonesian National Army Air Force which is on average old. Some Indonesian National Army Air Force personnel also received training that can increase the readiness and knowledge of personnel.

D. Suggestion

The Indonesian government is expected to focus on defense issues because it is vital in maintaining the security and sovereignty of the country from the risk of threats that can come from inside and outside, by increasing the government budget has also been trying to increase the readiness of defense equipment and Air Force personnel in maintaining the sovereignty of the country. This cooperation is a solution to the problem of defense

¹² Ministry Of Defence. (2012). State Gazette Of The Republic Of Indonesia: Regulation Of The Ministry Of Defense Of The Republic Of Indonesia No. 19 Of 2012 Concerning The Minimum Essential Alignment Policy. Main components. [Online]. Available: <http://itjen.kemhan.go.id/system/files/peraturan/19-2012gab.pdf>. retrieved 1 April 2023.

equipment owned by Indonesia; therefore, this cooperation needs to be improved in the future. The focus for the purchase of Sukhoi aircraft must be increased so that the Indonesian Air Force can reach the minimum basic strength to improve the readiness of its personnel and defense equipment. And when this has been achieved, the next focus is how the realization of technology transfer. The government must make maximum efforts to take advantage of the ease and benefits of cooperation with Russia to improve the domestic defense industry that can benefit both parties and of course Indonesia because it does not have to rely anymore on the procurement of defense equipment from foreign parties.

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