

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The cooperation among countries in international relations cannot be avoided. No exception for Indonesia as a sovereign state cooperates with other countries in order to survive. During the cold war era, the worlds were dominated by two superpower countries which were called as bipolarization. Since the post-cold war era, the military power in multipolar world started to emerge. Russia became one of the powerful countries in terms of military in post-cold war era together with USA and Germany, French, U.K. And one of the indicators which can explain this phenomenon is through measuring the military power and ranking it based on several considerations such as manpower, tanks, submarines, nuclear weapons, national budget to be included as the 35 most powerful militaries in the world (Macias, 2014). Military cooperation becomes one of the important sectors to increase military capacity for each country. Traditionally, Indonesia had a strategic partnership with USA, U.K, Germany, and French.

The military cooperation between Indonesia and USA started in beginning of Soeharto era. Soeharto as the general of TNI which has a linear interest with USA in terms of anti-communism policy made the bilateral relations between Indonesia and

USA stronger. Soeharto insisted to attack against East Timor because in the region there were the Fretilin parties which implement the idea of communism. In the name of preventing the spread of communism in that area, Soeharto asked the USA approval to attack the territory of East Timor. Through the Saroja operation which began in 1976, USA approved the operation through financial aid, arms aid, and military training and education under President Nixon administration (Educational and Cultural Attache Washington D.C, 2013). Furthermore the implementation of this military cooperation was converted into several programs such as International Military Education and Training, Garuda Shield, which has already been started since 2006 (Educational and Cultural Attache Washington D.C, 2013)

The military cooperation between Indonesia and U.K. started in November 2012 when President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Cameron signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) in the office at the same time, Cameron's residence at 10 Downing Street. The result from military cooperation between Indonesia and England is the aid to increase military capacity for Indonesian army, in the center for the study of peace and security in through audio visual equipment for language training, and also providing the courses and seminars for peacekeeping forces (Tempo.Co, 2012).

The military cooperation between Indonesia and Germany started since May, 1972 and was held each year. In 2012, Indonesia and Germany strengthened bilateral relations with the signing of Memorandum of Understanding in military cooperation sector which started in February, 2012 in Berlin. The implementation of the MoU in

military sector such as policies defense, security and military policy, military training, research and development, and peace missions (Otnel, 2016).

The military cooperation between Indonesia and France has been signed on December, 2012. This cooperation resulted in several agreements such as: defense industry development, dialogue strategic defense, intelligence, and information exchange, and peacekeeping operation. The cooperation conducted by the procurement and maintenance and repair of TNI's alutsista such as the procurement of air force radars, missiles for army, the helicopter sparepart, and etc (Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia, 2015).

Historically, the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Russia, previously Soviet Union, military cooperation between both countries was getting worse after the tragedy of September 30, 1965. But then, under SBY presidency the military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia marked when he came to Moscow as the official visit on 2006 and met President Putin. They signed seven agreements and memorandum of understanding (MoU). They are aerospace, nuclear, military, and technology investment. In addition, tourism was also supported by giving visa-free for a brief visit (Liputan 6, 2006). In military sector, the government of Russia gave credits for the purchase of alutsista, including Sukhoi 27 jet fighter, kilo class submarine, and Helicopter Mi 35 (Purwaningsih, 2006).

B. Research Question

Based on the background which has been written above, the writer formulated research question as the following: Why did Indonesia decide to join cooperation with Russia in military sector?

C. Theoretical Framework

As an archipelago country, Indonesia of course needs a strong military system which can be used to defend the sovereignty of Indonesia itself. Russia as we can see has an area of 10; 672,000 sq. miles (17,075,200 sq.km) and a population of almost 150 million people ("The Embassy of Russian Federation" n.d) of course needs a strong military system as well as Indonesia.

In order to make a proper analysis, this undergraduate thesis also supposed to use the proper theory. By using the theory itself, it can describe the phenomenon which is foreign policy that this undergraduate thesis aimed for analysis. Thus, the author chose the concept of national interest and the model of decision making process as the theoretical framework.

1. The Concept of National Interests

National interest is the interest of a nation as a whole held to be an independent entity separate from the interests of subordinate areas or groups and also of other nations or supranational groups (Morgenthau, 2010). All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest

and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behavior of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Hence it is essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest. According to Morgenthau, the vital components of the national interests that a foreign policy seeks to secure are called survival or identity.

He sub-divided identity into three parts: physical identity, political identity and cultural identity. Physical identity includes territorial identity. Political identity means politico- economic system and cultural identity stands for historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These are called vital components because these are essential for the survival of the nation and can be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war for securing or protecting its vital interests (Morgenthau, 2010).

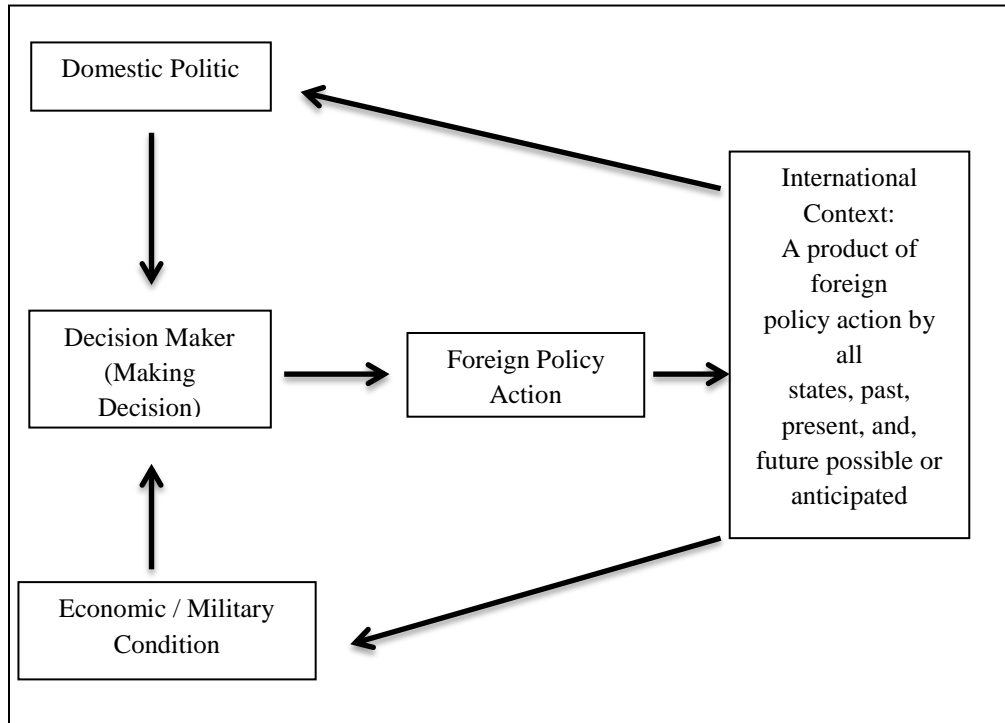
A nation always formulates its foreign policy decisions with a view to secure and strengthen its security. The attempts to secure international peace and security, that nations are currently making, are being made because today the security of each state stands inseparably linked up with international peace and security. Security is, thus, a vital component of national interest. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even by means of war ("Your Article Library" n.d).

2. Decision Making Process Model

According to Coplin, to be able to understand why a country behaves in line with their interests, we have to understand also why or what is behind the decision and factors why their leaders make decisions. However, it would be a mistake if we consider that the makers of foreign policy act in a vacuum state. Instead, any given foreign policy can be seen as the result of three categories of considerations that influence the foreign policy of the countries decision makers. The first is domestic politics. Domestic politic is simply set of determinants which are working in foreign countries. Even if it is literally domestic, which usually considered has no influence at all in foreign policy decision making process, domestic politics also has a significant influence.

The second is economic and military capabilities of nations. It means that a state should have the ability and willingness to create the necessary ability to uphold the foreign policy including geographical factors which are based on consideration of defense and security. The third is the international context; a position in which the country was discovering his true identity, especially regarding its relationship with other countries in a system (Coplin, Pengantar Politik Internasional Suatu Telaah Teoritis, 2003). Furthermore, Coplin explained in this model:

Figure 1.1
Foreign policy decision making process model



Source: Coplin, W. D. (2003). *Pengantar Politik Internasional Suatu Telaah Teoritis*. Bandung: Penerbit Sinar Baru Algesindo Bandung.

a. Domestic Politic

As what has been mentioned previously, national interest is the goal of each country which is always pursued in order to survive. Military cooperation could be conducted through foreign policy. Foreign policy could be conducted based on several considerations. Just like what Coplin tried to explain, domestic politic also have a significant influence towards foreign policy. DPRRI has a role to represent people in making a certain decision. In this case, commission 1 in DPRRI supported Indonesia to cooperate with Russia, specifically in military cooperation. It was proven with the Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2005 about the development of the medium-term 2004 to

2009 as well as by the house where President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had the support of almost 65% of the members of the House of Representatives.

b. Economic/military capability

According to Thomas W. Robinson, there are six categories of national interest. They are: primary interest, secondary interest, permanent interest, variable interest, general interest, and specific interest (Farooq, 2016). In this case, the needs of Indonesian military equipment which could be fulfilled by Russian military equipment were included as primary interest. It is including the preservation of physical, political, and cultural identity of the state. Indonesia still lacks of human resources, facility, and technology in weaponry system (alutsista). By this situation, remembering that Indonesia weapon companies such as PINDAD still need more development, it is very important for Indonesia to cooperate with other strong countries, especially strong in military power, in order to survive. Geographically, Indonesia which is considered as the archipelago country needs military equipment which can operate not only on land, but also in ocean area. In other side, Russian products such as BTR-50 which has already operated since 1955 are still produced until today. Even several modifications such as adding GPS (Global Positioning System), night goggle vision, and fire extinguisher device, were implemented on this product as the prove that, a country which purchases this

amphibious tanks are interested to preserve this product, as the part of their military power (Indomiliter, 2010) . On the economic perspective, the prices of BTR-50 are cheaper than other tanks such as Leopard from Germany, or Abrams from USA Based on market price, Abrams tank price is around \$18 Million, Leopard tank is around \$19 million, and BTR-50 tank is around \$1.5 Million ("Nation Creation Wiki")

c. International context

1. Multipolar worlds

International politics is always at anarchy situation, which means that every country always competes and tries to dominate each other in order to survive. This situation is what realist believes and reflects on balance of power concept. According to Morgenthau, the balances of power basically are changeable and dynamic, which balance not only for certain time, but also indeed basically and from the beginning, the growing power of a certain state is dangerous and threatening (Morgenthau, 2010). During the cold war era, the worlds are dominated by two superpower countries which were called as bipolarization. But as time goes by, other countries beside U.S and Russia started to emerge, especially in military sector. And one of the indicators which can explain this phenomenon is through measuring the military power and ranking it based on several considerations such as manpower, tanks, submarines, nuclear weapons,

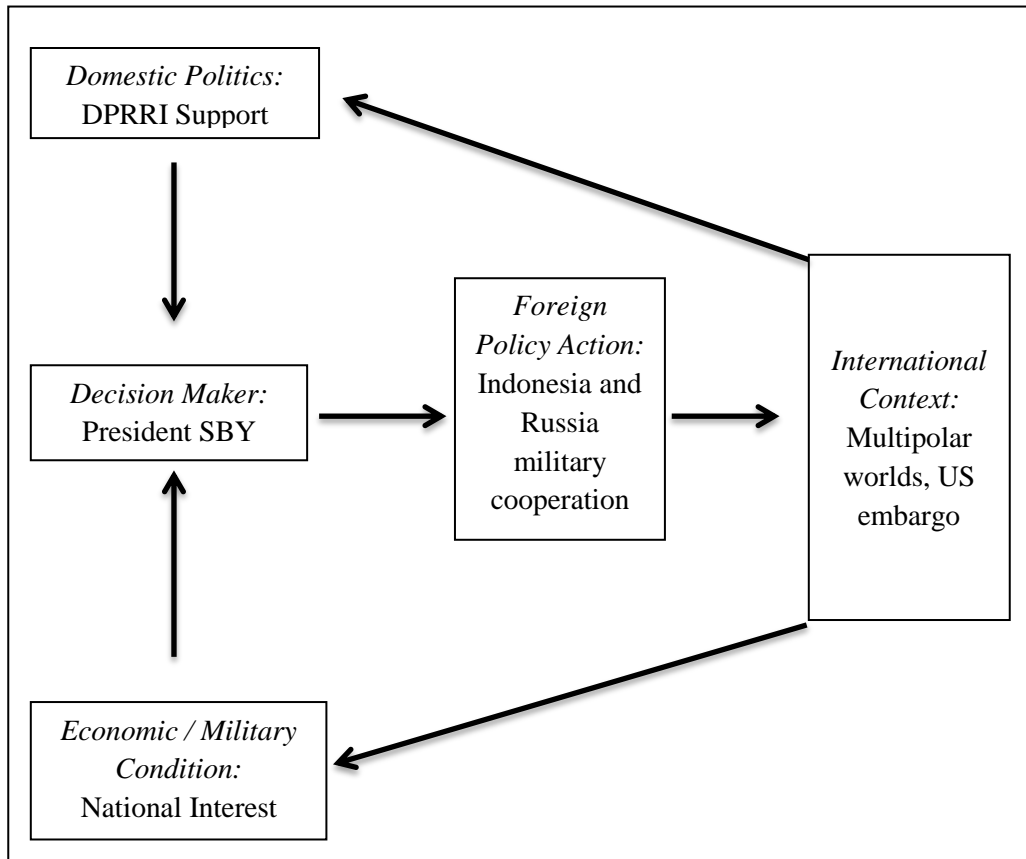
national budget and etc. Other countries such as Russia, India, Japan, Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, and Brazil, are included as the 35 most powerful militaries in the world (Macias, 2014). Furthermore, the emergence of weapon companies such as Almaz-Antei (Russia), BAE System (England), Thales (France), which are included as the big 15 actors of defense industry in the world, has a significant influence (Karim, 2014). This fact explains that, the world is in the situation of multipolar with the growing power from third world countries. Multipolar system is believed to be able to bring the world to a more stable situation rather than bipolar system. For Indonesia, as an independent and active state, one of the important sectors in implementing the national defense is through cooperation between countries. Indonesia, as a part of international society, made the national defense not only in national dimension but also international. These implementations stimulate Indonesia to develop cooperation in the defense sector with other countries in order to achieve the national interest in the defense sector. With the mutual benefit cooperation and concrete international cooperation, defense cooperation is one of the ways for realizing the security stability in a certain region (Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia, 2015).

2. U.S Embargo

In military cooperation, it is not always done smoothly. Arms embargo sometimes happens, but this is one of the phenomenons which reflects the flow in international relations. Indonesia as a sovereign state also has experienced arms embargo, and it came from US which happened from 1999 until 2005 (Karim, 2014). Arms embargo happened due to human rights violation in East Timor in 1991 and caused around 270 people died. It was reported that Indonesian army were shoot by the pro-independence demonstration which demanded the separation of East Timor from Indonesia (Arms Control Association, 2006). Looking at this phenomenon, EU also had a common position with US in conducting the arms embargo to Indonesia ("Stockholm International Peace Research Institute" n.d). By this situation, the defense power of Indonesia absolutely decreased because arms embargo was not only a ban on purchase weapon, but also the spare part. Besides US also forbade to sell back the US weapons which were already purchased by Indonesia (Karim, 2014). In the other side, Russia, as the sovereign state which was strong in military power, started to interact with Indonesia in 2003 not only in military sector, but also in technology, economy, and sport. However the subject which was prioritized at that time was about the purchase of several units of Sukhoi type SU-27, and SU-30 under the administration of president Megawati (Liputan 6, 2003).

As the implementation from Coplin's decision making process model, the author applies the models, which is synchronized with this case:

Figure 1.2
Indonesian foreign policy decision making process



D. Hypothesis

The reasons why Indonesia decided to cooperate with Russia especially in military cooperation are:

1. Domestic politic: The legislative and political party which consist in DPRRI consider Russia as the potential power to balance USA and other ones in the world.
2. Economic/military condition: Russia arms products, such as BTR-50 are typically needed by Indonesia as an archipelago country which needs strong military equipment to increase defense power. The price of BTR-50 are cheaper than others
3. International context: In post-cold war era, the world's system is multipolar in terms of military power. And at the same time, the USA embargo still valid.

E. Research Method

The method used in this undergraduate thesis is library research and supported by printed sources such as books, reports, and journals. Other sources which are utilized by the author in this undergraduate thesis are electronic media such as website.

F. Purpose of writing

This undergraduate thesis is made in order to analyze the reasons why Russia is important for Indonesia as a strategic partner

G. Scope of Research

This undergraduate thesis analyzes Indonesian foreign policy towards Russia under SBY administration (2004-2014). The military capability which is considered still lack of facility and equipment stimulates Indonesia to consider Russia as a strategic partner. For the first time in Indonesia, SBY was elected as the President which ran the government twice with the highest number of voters. As a retired general from military and possessing an excellent career, SBY had a responsibility to sustain and survive Indonesia's role in international stage which was done by the previous president as the legacy for the future.

H. Organization of Writing

As the undergraduate thesis, of course clear structures are necessary in order to make it easier to understand. Thus, this undergraduate thesis is consisting of:

Chapter I: As the introduction part of this undergraduate thesis, chapter I consists of seven sub-titles: background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method, scope of research, and organization of writing. Background is the basic analysis which later would be explained further in the chapter II and III. Research question becomes the phenomena that would be analyzed in this undergraduate thesis and theoretical framework is the theory which explains the phenomena in looking for the answer. Hypothesis is the assumption for the answer of

the question, whereas research method is the way how the author collects the data to complete this undergraduate thesis. Scope of research sets the limitation in narrowing the analysis to be more focused. Organization of writing shows the order about how this undergraduate thesis is written.

Chapter II: This chapter will explain the military capacity of Indonesia, including the description of Indonesia defense industry.

Chapter III: This chapter will explain the military capacity of Russia with the brief history, and the role of defense industry.

Chapter IV: This chapter will explain the analysis of phenomenon using the theory of national interest and foreign policy decision making process.

Chapter V: This chapter will summarize all chapters which are written in this undergraduate thesis as well as the conclusion.