

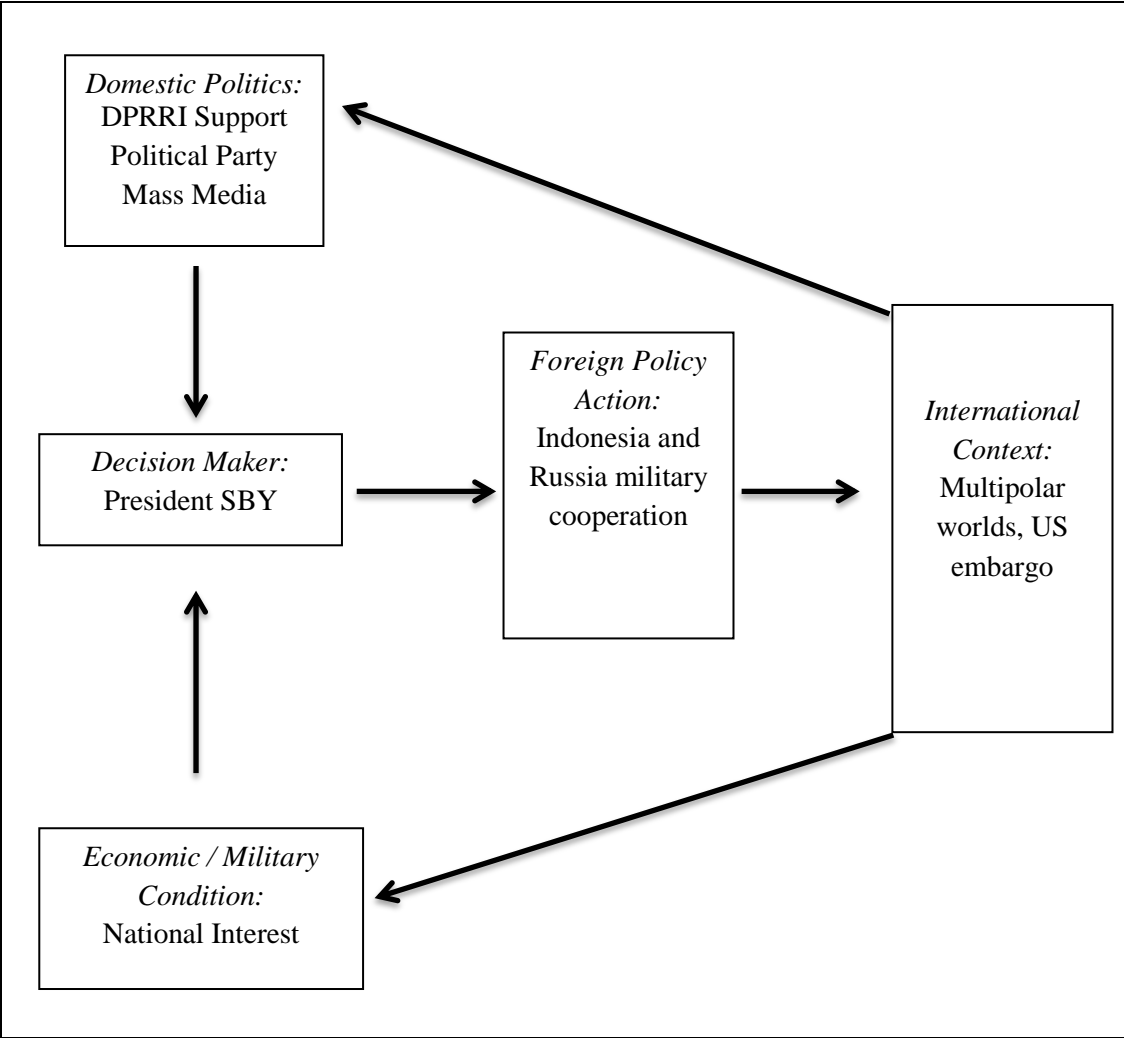
CHAPTER IV

THE REASONS OF WHY INDONESIA DECIDES TO COOPERATE WITH RUSSIA IN MILITARY SECTOR

As mentioned previously in chapter I, the author uses two theories as the tools of analysis. The first is the national interest and second is decision-making process by Coplin. In chapter II and III, it describes both countries military capacity as the comparison and showing the gap, the lack of military capacity of Indonesia, which was possibly fulfilled by Russia through military cooperation. Indonesia, as the sovereign state still has an issue in military equipment which needs more upgrades and updates in order to survive. In chapter I, it is already described that Indonesia not only cooperates with Russia in military cooperation but also other western countries such as USA, Germany, France, and U.K.

It becomes the evidence that Indonesia has already entered the era of multipolar worlds which is measured by military power and also as the implementation of Indonesian foreign policy principle which is independent and active. This phenomenon raises a question: why does Indonesia decide to cooperate with Russia in military cooperation? There are factors and consideration from Indonesia in formulating their foreign policy which are implemented to Russia as military cooperation. As what has been mentioned previously in chapter I in the part of theoretical framework, according to Coplin there are several factors which influence the process foreign policy decision making, they are domestic politics,

economic/military capability, and international context. Through this chapter, author would like to examine those factors as the aim of this undergraduate thesis to prove the hypothesis in this undergraduate thesis. Those hypotheses already included the concept of national interest itself inside the decision making process model.



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 politics also have a significant influence towards foreign policy. In domestic politics, there are several actors which are included in domestic level and have a significant influence towards the foreign policy decision making process. They are: DPRRI, political party, and mass media.

1. DPRRI

The president holds the power of the government for five years which is limited by the rules in the constitution where it required the existence of law. During that time, then president was not be dropped by the House instead the President has no authority to dissolve the House of Representatives. The President requires approval by the House of Representatives to establish legislation and to declare war, make peace and treaties with other countries. In a state of force, the President sets the Government regulations to hold the highest power over the army, Navy, and air force. The system of checks and balances which is known in the United States, where the Executive and the legislature, though free of each other, holding a check each other are not mentioned in UUD 1945 (Budiarjo, 2013). During the colonization of the Netherlands, there is kind of parliamentary institutions

established by Netherlands government which are called as Volksraad. On 8th March 1942, Netherlands colonialization ended after 350 years in Indonesia. The impact from transition of colonialization from Netherland to Japan has made the existence of Volksraad automatically no longer recognized and Indonesia entered a period of struggle of independence. The history of DPRRI started since the establishment of the *Komisi Nasional Indonesia Pusat* (national committee of indonesia) on August 29, 1945, 12 days after the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia) in the building art, Pasar Baru Jakarta. The official inauguration of KNIP on 29th August 1945 was marked as the date of the birth of DPRRI ("Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia" n.d). In Indonesian decision making process, especially about foreign policy, involved not only president and house of representative. Behind the long and complex process, there were lot of parties which involved direct or indirect towards the process. The decision making in the meeting of DPRRI basically prioritized on discussion to achieve the consensus and if it was not achieved, the decision was made by the majority voters. Each DPRRI meeting could make decision if it was attended by more than half number of meeting members. If was not reached, then the meeting would be postponed maximum twice and not more than 24 hours. If consensus still could not be gained, then it would be delivered to the Bamus (the agency's deliberations) ("Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia" n.d) In this case, commission 1 in DPRRI supported Indonesia to cooperate with Russia, specifically in military cooperation. The DPRRI commission 1 considered the

military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia could bring more advantages for Indonesia such as increasing the military capacity of Indonesia, in order to survive (Widjaya, 2010). Besides, Russia played a role as the potential power to balance USA and other ones in the world.

2. Political party

According to Coplin, political parties are included as the partisan influencers (or parties' influencer) that aim to translate the demands of people into the political demands which are the demands towards the government's policy. This influencer attempts to influence that policy by pressing the rulers through the personnel which are capable of playing a role in decision making. This partisan influencer is considered as the two-way information and influences both of the decision makers and the people. Besides putting an attention on the problem of the establishment of domestic policy, this influencer also attempts to influence foreign policy, especially if those policies are problematic (Coplin, 2003). It is generally known that the diversity of political culture in a certain society stimulate the choice of people to a multi-party system. Sharp difference between race, religion, or ethnic origin encourages groups-societies are more likely to transmit bonds limited (primordial) in one of the narrow containers only. The multi-party systems are considered more suitable with the diversity of culture and politics rather than biparty-system. The pattern in a multi-party system generally is strengthened by the proportional representation system which gives a big opportunity for the growth

of the parties and the new divisions. Through a proportional representation system, small parties can take advantage of a provision that the excess votes are taken in an area selection can be drawn to the area of another election to fulfill the required number of votes to win a single seat (Budiarjo, 2013). A proportional system is considered representative because the party's number seats in parliament in accordance with the number of votes obtained society in general elections. Proportional systems are considered more democratic in the sense of a more egalitarian because there is practically no distortion, namely the gap between voice national and the number of seats in parliament, without the noise that is lost or wasted. As a result, all groups in society, including the small ones, get a chance to display their representatives in parliament. Senses of justice from society are more or less fulfilled (Budiarjo, 2013). As what we know that president SBY came from the Demokrat party (democratic party) as a political vehicle to convey Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to the administration in the 2004 races. Intelligent people, scholastics, and patriot legislators bolstered the activity. It met accomplishment in 2004, winning 55 seats. In the 2009 elections, it almost tripled this number to 148 seats—neither a simple nor a run of the mill accomplishment for an Indonesian political gathering. It has additionally filled in as a model for other seeking presidential possibility to shape their own political gatherings. Wanting to speak to the most Indonesians conceivable, the vote based gathering calls itself a direct, moderate gathering. It has been so dedicated to this name it can be hard to observe a predictable philosophy in the gathering's approaches.

Yudhoyono's record, in any case, uncovers that the gathering bolsters financial progression, political and social pluralism, and an internationalist standpoint. The popularity based gathering has not had a simple most recent couple of years. Since its triumph in 2009, it has turned into the objective of various defilement examinations. Subsequently, a few of its driving individuals (counting the gathering executive and gathering treasurer) have surrendered. Different gatherings have exploited the unite and kickback embarrassments to censure the Just Party, taking note of that Yudhoyono made fighting defilement one of his essential goals in the 2009 elections (Bulkin, 2013) .

3. Mass media

In a democracy country, the people received information from various sources. The press and television broadcaster are the big numbers of an information provider. Although the decision makers sometimes attempt to organize news by way of hiding certain information, the huge number of information providers has a possibility for domination from the government in a close system. Decision-makers need mass influencers in open political system because of their role in the elections. The decision makers formulate policies taking into account the effect on public opinion as well as the next general election (Coplin, 2003). In this case, the media have a significant influence in constructing the figure of SBY as the leader in political realm. Since the 2004 election, the news about SBY has been colouring a lot of media in Indonesia. Newspaper, radio and TV never stopped to

praise him for his capability also his leadership during his career in the military. Media, later on, represented him through various photos or activities which explained that SBY is deserved to lead Indonesia as the democratic country which had a transition of democracy at that time. The momentum of presidential elections which was held for the first time since the era of reformation made SBY getting more populist and succeeded to lead this country with his vice president, Jusuf Kalla. The government's policies, later on, became the media spotlight and continuously construct the figure of SBY who brought significant changes in Indonesia. Criticism of the media began to develop when the Palace obliged journalists wishing to cover the activities of the Presidency should be wearing suits and blazers. However, that was no less interesting when action Jusuf Kalla in some policies and opportunities was faster than her the moment it began discussing a presidential figure seen as gradually moves slowly. That's when the media began comparing him with his Deputy Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who moved faster especially when it's many natural disasters that occurred such as the tsunami in Aceh, Yogyakarta and Padang earthquake. The media spotlight so actively spread the Yudhoyono Government made all his actions got the attention of various circles; he was a figure of not only the President but also the leader and the hope of society. But one by one, the problems surrounding him began to become a media commodity ranging from corruption case i.e. Aulia Pohan, Antasari Azhar, Bank Century and the most recent was accused his corruption scandal. For 8 years the Yudhoyono Government had gone well together with

Jusuf Kalla or Boediono media which very detail and so profound course of spreading the wheels of government. There was a support and not a few who openly criticized in the diverse media room. SBY as being sideshows in the media for any of his actions was always interesting to the subject of the news. Although this is the works of the media consultant were probably clear but he has become media consumption in the realm of politics. Television, radio, film, and other media cultural products are means of representing one's identity, dedication, ideas, or even classes, races, nationalities and terms. The media then helps to shape our view of something good or bad, positive or negative, as well as moral or immoral. With the media, we republish the things above, so that the perception of the figure of a person depends on how the media was reflecting him. The journalist may only present a fact that there are or may be the communication consultants have extensive access to the media so that journalists presented a consumption of information that had been constructed earlier.

B. Economic/military condition

The calculation of a country economic capacity should include how the prosperity of that country could fulfill the needs of people in that country and their economic growth pattern. Economist has developed the concept of gross national product (GNP) to measure the value of all goods and services produced by a certain country in one year. Because the GNP figures can be converted into a single currency standard and can be used to compare the wealth of a country with the wealth of other

Nations, despite differences in currency exchange even sometimes it is problematic. While the GNP provides general instructions about the whole wealth of a country, it should not be used to measure the ability of the country to meet the wishes of the people's economy. The more useful indicator to measure this relative wealth is through the GNP per capita, (wealth divided by the number of people in that country). This indicator presents a better idea about whether the absolute amount of goods and services produced by the economy that meet the demand of its people or not (Coplin, 2003). Until 2014, the GNP per capita of Indonesia is around US\$ 3.631,5 (Suryowati, 2015). With this level, Indonesia was supposed to allocate this money to increase their military capacity through military cooperation.

Military force in each country has a significant influence towards the growing power of a country and their role is not only in international, but also in domestic level. Although the main task of the military power is to protect the country against the attack from another country and if necessary act as the decision makers in the state of war. The main role of military forces is to prevent the emergence of social and political turmoil which threatens the existing government or to cause the destruction. The role of military forces in domestic levels is the utilization of the troops when the natural disaster happens, but still, the main role of military forces is to suppress violence inside the country. If the government regimes face the instability condition which quite often happens, military forces are the only instrument to keep the existing government hold the power (Coplin, 2003). The correlation between the economy and military sector in foreign policy is their influence in foreign policy

decision making. To build the good capacity of military forces, the huge amount of money is needed because when we talk about military forces building, it is not about the purchasing the military equipment, but also the maintenance, providing spare part, research and development, and the sustainability of military forces power. As a sovereign state, Indonesia which is considered as the archipelago country, of course, needs a sophisticated military technology in order to defend the sovereignty of Indonesia itself. The economic growth of Indonesia which was measured by GNP per capita in 2014 has shown a significant development to increase their power in the international realm. And this necessity has become the part of national interest for Indonesia in order to survive.

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. They were including the preservation of physical, political, and cultural identity of the state. Indonesia still lacked 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 was 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.

The other issue about Indonesian military equipment was about the old alutsista which was urgently needed to be renewed and upgraded. Defense minister Ryamizard Ryacudu said that the local arms products still had a weakness. "There is an aircraft just fly only 100 hours, and there is a problem. There are several broken parts also," he said. The former army chief staff, emphasized on the updates of Indonesian military alutsista was urgent. Because there were several products there has been 30 to 40 years old, and they were not renewed (Ramadhan, 2016). In other side, Russian products such as BTR-50 which have already operated since 1955 are still produced until today. Even several modifications such as adding GPS (Global Positioning System), night goggle vision, 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 other side, 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

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). In a balance of power system, the significant norms in the system are distinct among the state actors. Based on the classical balance of power, the actors are exclusive states and there should be at least five of them. If an actor does not follow these norms, the balance-of-power system may become unstable. When alliances are formed, they are formed for a specific purpose, have a short duration, and shift according to advantage rather than ideology (" W.W. Norton and Company, Inc" n.d).

1. Multipolar Worlds

During the cold war era, the worlds are dominated by two superpower countries which were called as bipolarization. Since the post-cold war era, the military power in multipolar worlds is started to emerge. Russia as 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 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, have 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. USA Embargo

In military cooperation, it is not always done smoothly. Arms embargo sometimes happens, but this is one of the phenomenon which reflect the flow in international relations. No exception for Indonesia as a sovereign state also has experienced arms embargo, and it came from US which happened from 1999 until 2005 (Karim, 2014). It happened due to human rights violation in East Timor in 1991, and caused around 270 people died. It was reported that Indonesian army are shot 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) . 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 selling back the US weapons which were already purchased by Indonesia (Karim, 2014). In the other side, in 2003, Russia as the sovereign state which was strong in military power, started to interact with Indonesia not only in military sector but also in technology, economy, and sport. But the subject who prioritized at that time it was about the purchase of several units of Sukhoi type SU-27, and SU-30 under the administration of president Megawati (Liputan 6, 2003).