

# **Indonesia and Russia Military Cooperation under SBY Administration (2004-2014)**

By: Abdul Rahman Rozak

20130510477

International Program of International Relations

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

rahmanrozak45@gmail.com

## **ABSTRACT**

Indonesia as the sovereign state, which used the independent and active principle in conducting foreign policy, has made a long history in interact with other countries. Since the first president of Indonesia, the principle of independent and active still implemented until today, even with several development in a certain sector. Military cooperation becomes one of the sectors which have a significant influence towards the military power of a certain country. The strategic partner of Indonesia is various and has their own development. For a country that considered has a strong military power such as U.S. and Russia also included as a strategic partner of Indonesia. In 1999 until 2005, the arms embargo from U.S. to Indonesia due to the human rights violations in East Timor in 1991. This condition makes the military power of Indonesia decreased significantly. In other side, Indonesia decides to cooperate with Russia in military cooperation even if since the tragedy of 65, their bilateral relations are getting passive. This undergraduate thesis is aimed to examining the factors and reasons of Indonesia, which decide to cooperate with Russia in military cooperation.

*Keywords:*

*Sovereignty, National Interest, Military cooperation, Balance of Power, Independent and Active, Arms Embargo, Multipolar Worlds*

## **Background**

The cooperation among countries in international relations cannot be avoided. No exception for Indonesia as a sovereign state cooperates with others countries in order to survive. Military cooperation becomes one of the important sectors to increase military capacity for each country. Superpower countries such as U.S. also experienced as a strategic partner of Indonesia. Both countries relation started officially by the opening of embassy in each country. The United States opened its Embassy in Jakarta on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1949 and appointed Horace Merle Cochran as the first US Ambassador for Indonesia, whereas Indonesia appointed Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo as the first Indonesian Ambassador for the United States on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1950. In defense cooperation, U.S. has implemented 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 western countries such as Germany were also included as a strategic partner of Indonesia. Indonesia and Germany bilateral relation started in 1952, and was marked by the launch of representative office of Indonesia at Bonn, West Germany which later inaugurated into embassy of Indonesia in Bonn 1954. Indonesia also establish embassy in East Germany in 1976. Since then, bilateral relation between East and West Germany developed in several sectors (Abdini, 2011). In military sector, between Indonesia and Germany conducted military training programs which started since May, 1972 and were 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). As the widest country in the world,

Russia has become a strategic partner of Indonesia since long time ago. It was started when Indonesia, as the new independent state, was recognized by Soviet Union as the sovereign state on January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1950 (Fahrurodji, 2005)

On the 8th UN General Assembly September 1953, Indonesia foreign minister Mr. Sunario Sastrowardoyo told the foreign minister of Soviet Union A.Vyshinsky about Indonesia government's desire to open an embassy in Soviet Union on November 30, 1953. Minister Sunarjo delivered those desires in writing. On December 17, 1954 A.Vyshinsky responded positively to Mr. Sunario that Soviet government was ready to receive the ambassador of Indonesia in Moscow, and also, Soviet government was ready to open their representative in Jakarta. On January 21, 1954 the Soviet Government gave agreement to Dr. Subandrio as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Moscow. At the time the Embassy of Republic of Indonesia was based at Hotel Metropol, and then moved to a building at Sadovo-Somatechnaya 14 Street. Then, in 1956 by the invitation from Soviet government, President Soekarno came to visit Soviet Union (Fahrurodji, 2005). Furthermore since 1960s until now, it was located at 12-14 Novokuznetskaya Street, not far from red square and the Palace of the President of Russia, Kremlin ("Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia Di Moskow, Federasi Rusia" n.d). Since the tragedy of September 30, 1965 the bilateral relation of Indonesia and Soviet Union got passive (Fahrurodji, 2005).

But then, since the signing of Declaration of the Republic of Indonesia and the Russian Federation on the Framework of Friendly and Partnership Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century by President Megawati and President Putin on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2003, bilateral relationship of Indonesia and Russia increased significantly. In military sector, it was started by the agreement of Indonesia and Russia to purchase several units of Sukhoi from Russia. Later on, Indonesia was

led by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as the sixth president of Indonesia. He began to hold the position from 2004 as the result from more than 60 percent of vote. And in 2009, he also won the election of president with similar number of vote previously (Ted Piccone, 2014). The military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia was continued on under SBY administration as one of the ways to survive.

## **Analysis**

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 Interest**

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).

Nations 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).

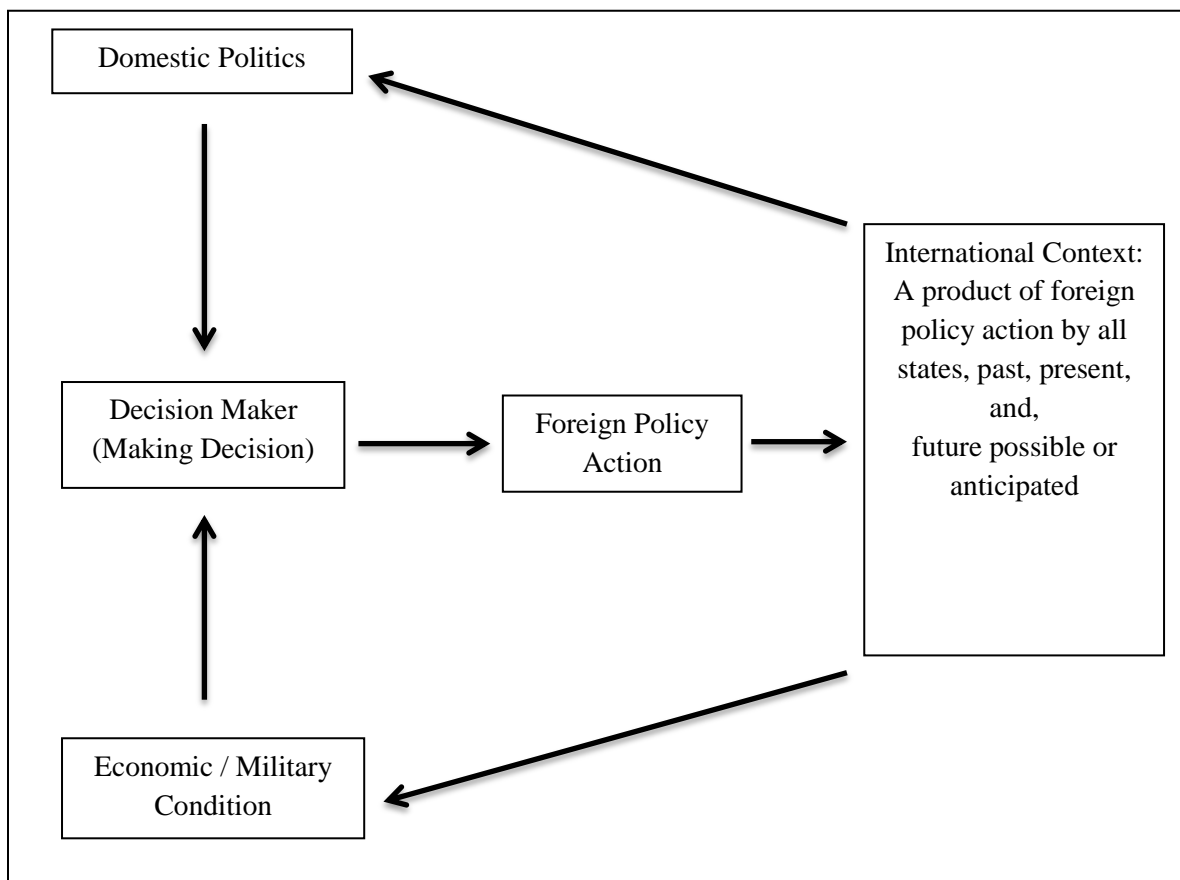
## **2. Decision Making Process**

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 politics is simply a set of determinants which are working in foreign countries. Even if it is literally domestic, which is usually considered to have no influence at all in the 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 its true identity, especially regarding its relationship with other countries in a system (Coplin, 2003). Furthermore, Coplin explained in this model:

Figure 1.1  
Foreign policy 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 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 limited by the rules in the constitution where it required the existence of law. During that time, then president 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 called as Volksraad. On 8th March 1942, Netherlands colonialization has ended after 350 years in Indonesia. The impact from transition of colonialization from Netherland to Japan has made the existence of Volksraad automatically has 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 which is 29th August 1945, marked as the date of the birth of DPRRI ("Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia" n.d). In Indonesian decision making process, especially about foreign policy, involve not only president and house of representative. Behind the long and complex process, there is lot of parties which involved direct or indirect towards the process. The decision making in the meeting of DPRRI, basically prioritizing on discussion to achieve the consensus, and if it's not achieved, the decision decide by the majority voters. Each DPRRI meeting can make decision if attended by more than half number of meeting member. If not reached, then the meeting postponed maximum twice and not more than 24 hours. If still not reached the consensus, then it's 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. 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.

## 2. Political party

According to Coplin, political parties included as the partisan influencers (or parties influencer) that aimed to translate the demands of people into the political demands, which is the demands towards the government's policy. This influencer attempting to influence that policy by pressing the rulers through the personnel which are capable of playing a role in



decision making. This partisan influencer considered as the two-way information and influence both of the decision makers and the people. Beside put an attention on the problem of the establishment of domestic policy, this influencer also attempt 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 considered are more suitable with the diversity of culture and politics, rather than biparty-system. The pattern in a multi-party system generally strengthens by the proportional representation system which gave 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 considered representative, because the party's number of 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 even small, get a chance to display their representatives in parliament. Sense of justice society more or less fulfilled (Budiarjo, 2013). As what we know that president SBY come 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 is the big numbers of an information provider. Although the decision makers sometimes attempt to organize news by way of hiding certain information, the huge numbers of information provider have 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 has 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 stop to praise him for his capability also his leadership during his career in the military. Media, later on, represent him through various photo or activity which explains that SBY is deserved to lead Indonesia as the democratic country which has a transition of democracy at that time. The momentum of presidential elections which 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, become the media spotlight and continuously construct the figure of SBY which bring significant changes in Indonesia. Criticism of the media began to develop when the Palace oblige journalists wishing to cover the activities of the Presidency should be wearing suits and blazers. However, that is no less Interestingly when action Jusuf Kalla in some policies and opportunities faster than her, the moment it began discussing a presidential figure seen as gradually moves slowly. That's when the media began comparing with his Deputy Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who move faster especially when it's many natural disasters that occur 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 because since the beginning of the media already identifies himself as a figure of the leader and the hope of society. But one by one the problems surrounding him began to become a commodity media 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 goes well together with Jusuf Kalla or Boediono media very detail and so profound course of spreading the wheels of Government. There is a support and not a few who openly criticize in the diverse media room, SBY as being a Sideshows in the media for any of his actions is always

interesting to the subject of the news. Although this is probably the works of the media consultant were clear but he has become media consumption in the realm of politics. Television, radio, film and other media cultural products are a 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 and immoral. With the media, we republished 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 about 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 that 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, with the GNP per capita of

Indonesia is around US\$ 3.631,5 (Suryowati, 2015). With this level, Indonesia is 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 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 threatening 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 suppressing violence inside the country. If the government regimes faced by 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 amounts of money are 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 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 measured by GNP per capita in 2014 has shown a significant development to increasing 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. 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.

The other issue about Indonesian military equipment is about the old alutsista which urgently needed to renewed and upgraded. Defense minister Ryamizard Ryacudu said that the local arms products still has 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, emphasising on the updates of Indonesian military alutsista is urgent. Because there are several products there has been 30 to 40 years old, and it is not renewed (Ramadhan, 2016). In other side, Russian products such as BTR-50 which 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 U.S. 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. 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, 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*).

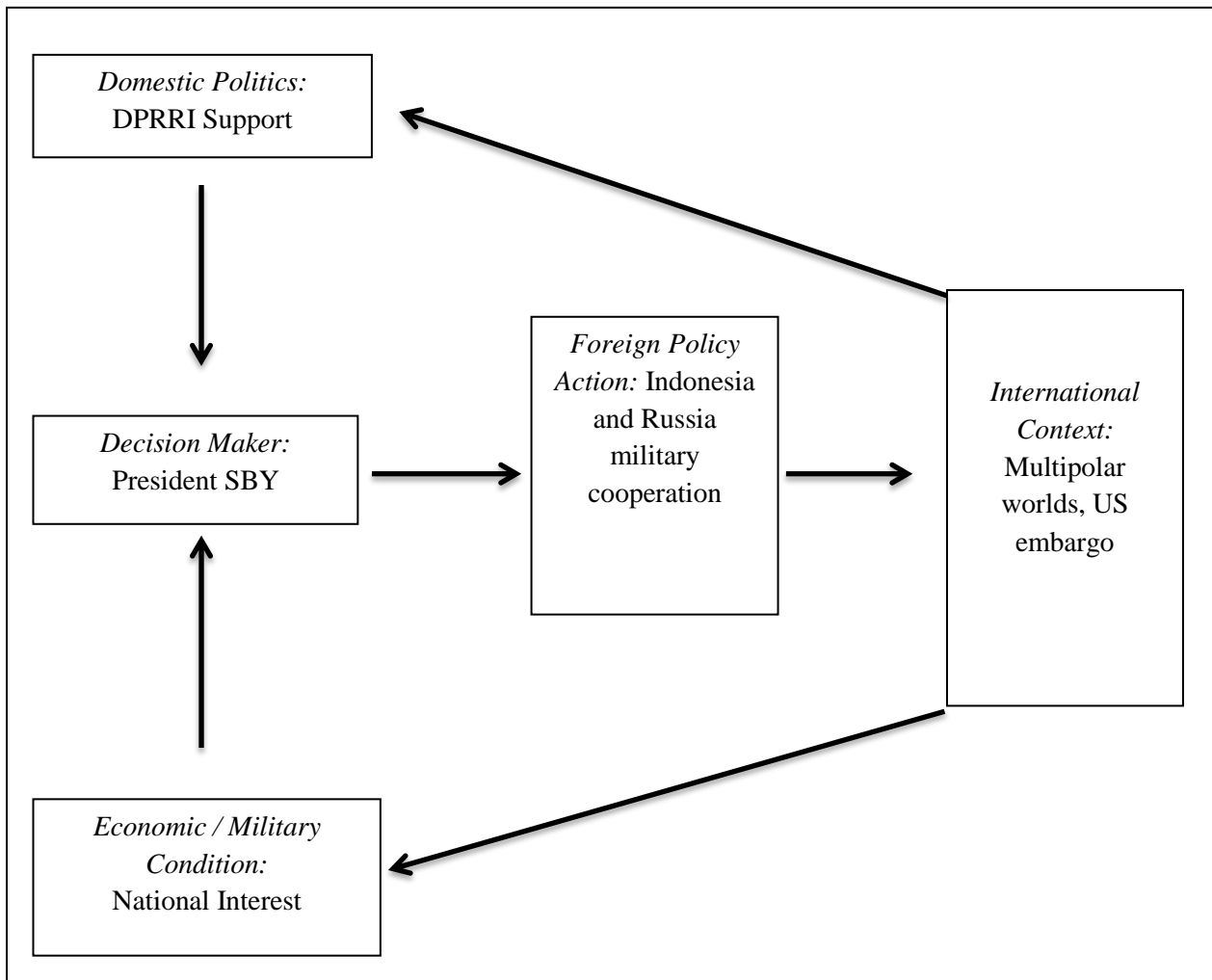
## 2. U.S Embargo

In military cooperation, it is not always done smoothly. Arms embargo sometimes happens, but this is one of the phenomenon's 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). Happened due to human rights violation in East Timor in 1991, and caused around 270 people died. It was reported that Indonesian army are 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) . By this situation, the defense power of Indonesia absolutely decreased, because arms embargo not only a ban on purchase weapon, but also the spare part. Besides that, US also forbade to sell 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).

Figure 1.2  
Indonesian foreign policy decision making process



## **Conclusion**

Every single country in this world cannot stand on their own. Each country basically needs each other in other to survive. By conducting cooperation, each country could possibly fulfill their national interest, and create such kind of mutual beneficial relations. Each country interest, are different in each region. One of the instruments that included in national interest, is to fulfill their military equipment, including upgrading the quality, and quantity. And one of the ways to fulfill the national interest is through military cooperation. Just the case that author explain throughout this undergraduate thesis is about military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia. Beside cooperate with Russia; Indonesia also cooperates with other western countries such as Germany and U.S. Those countries, also has a long history in establishing bilateral relations with Indonesia. Because it is not possible if a certain country could conduct military cooperation without establishing the bilateral relations first. One of the considerations from the author describing a brief history of bilateral relations between Indonesia with Germany and U.S. is to showing the fact that, the world is multipolar. The world is no longer dominated by two superpower countries just like when the era of cold war.

Indonesia in conducting foreign policy is using the principle of independent and active. This means that Indonesia as the independent state does not belong to a certain blocs or alliance. Indonesia is free to cooperate with any other countries without considering where they stand, and what their ideology is. Active means Indonesia are supporting the world peace all over the world just like what mentioned in UUD 1945. The military capacity between Indonesia and Russia has a significant difference, from the quality and quantity. Indeed Indonesia already own the defence industry such as Pindad, PAL, Dirgantara, and Dahana. But there is still need an improvement in military equipment, in order to increase the military capacity of Indonesian army itself.

Russia is considered as a strong military country since long time ago. Under Stalin administration, Russia truly focusing their power on military force. Due to the war era which demands the strong military power, not only for defence but also in offence. Even previously, far before Stalin hold the power, Russia already concern in military force as the part of their country identity. Even until today, we can see the significant development that they concerned, resulting the strong country in the world, especially in military power. Indonesia in the other side also has a linear concern with Russia about increasing the military power. But then, Indonesia still has a lot of issue with their military equipment. And one of them is about the old equipment which urgently needed in order to maintain the military force of Indonesia. One of them is the military equipment which already 30-40 years old. This phenomenon should be the concern of government as the part of the state to bring Indonesia better in the future. The decisions of Indonesia which finally cooperate with Russia in military cooperation are based on several factors and reason. A foreign policy in a certain state, are influenced by several factors according to Coplin. They are; domestic politics, economic/military capability, and international context. Before the decisions of Indonesia cooperate with Russia, those factors have a significant influence towards the decision itself.

In domestic politics, it is the representative of people (DPRRI) commission 1 which discuss and considering this decision. 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. In economic/military capability, Indonesia is still a lack of human resources, technology, facility, and etc. That weakness and necessity could be possibly fulfilled through military cooperation. In this case, Russia has a well-advanced technology in the military

industry that has a big opportunity for Indonesia to Increasing military capacity. In the international context, Russia has a strategic position in world powers, as the big players of the defense industry. The U.S. embargo is a good space for Indonesia to implement the Independent and active principle, as the reflection that Indonesia is not belongs to certain blocs and Indonesia are free to cooperate with any other countries without considering where they stand, and what their ideology is.

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