

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background of the Research

According to 2015 of The Ministry of National Development Planning data, Indonesia is an archipelagic state with 17,508 islands and located between two oceans, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, with 3.1 million km<sup>2</sup> water areas.<sup>1</sup> Indonesia dominated with the waters area known as an archipelagic or maritime country. The vast territory of Indonesia's sovereignty demands that Indonesia takes a quick step to tide over various kinds of problems, exceedingly in the aspect of national security.

The potential and factual threats for the defense of Indonesia currently come from inside and outside the country. Potentially, the threat of national defense is territorial violations; terrorism; disintegration/separatism; armed insurgency; espionage activities; disturbances of the sea and air security; communal conflicts; and radical group movements.<sup>2</sup> Military power is an important element in protecting and maintaining state security and determining the strength of the state. That is because the political power of a country is determined by military strength.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the National Medium-term Development Plan (RPJMN) for the next five years, the target of strengthening the defense system goals based on national development agenda to increase national defense capacity through formation of professional Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI),

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<sup>1</sup> Republik Indonesia, *Pembangunan Kelautan Dalam RPJMN 2015-2019* (Jakarta, 2014), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Republik Indonesia, *Peningkatan Kemampuan Pertahanan Negara* (Jakarta, 2009), p. 2 <[https://www.bappenas.go.id/files/1113/5184/9209/bab7\\_\\_20091007161707\\_\\_8.pdf](https://www.bappenas.go.id/files/1113/5184/9209/bab7__20091007161707__8.pdf)>.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Griffiths, *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction, International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 12 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203939031>>.

to supply the requirement of the main equipment and weapon system, upgrading the troop welfare and defense budget up to 1.5 percent of gross domestic product (PDB).<sup>4</sup>

To realize this agenda, the cooperation needs among aspects of the government, especially in national defense and security. Based on actual and potential threats for defense of Indonesia, it's necessary for the military defense which prepared to confront military threats. Military defense as a source of armed power is displayed through several sources, such as human resources and the main equipment and weapon system developed professionally.

Brian argues from Morgenthau thought in a book of political science and paradigm in 21th century in balance of power part, that each country in the international system has a varied level of power, so as a forceful country is considered a threat to the powerless country.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the powerless countries have to enlarge their military capabilities as an internal counterweight. Likewise, Indonesia changed its defense policy priorities by turning to Russia to supply military equipment, after having relied on the United States for a long time.

Russia is one of the famous industrial countries in the world for military equipment and machinery. As a well-known country in military, Indonesia made Russia its partner in the development of military equipment. In terms of quality and quantity of the defense, the equipment is not good or not in accordance with the TOP (Table of Organizations and Equipment) and DSSP (Table of Personnel and Equipment). The damaged material of the main equipment and weapon system of the Indonesian Armed Force are impossible to be maintained and improved become one of the reasons

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<sup>4</sup> Republik Indonesia, *National Medium-Term Development Plan 2015-2019* (Jakarta, 2015) <[http://www.bpkp.go.id/public/upload/unit/sesma/files/Buku I RP JMN 2015-2019.pdf](http://www.bpkp.go.id/public/upload/unit/sesma/files/Buku_I_RP_JMN_2015-2019.pdf)>.

<sup>5</sup> Brian R. King, 'Keseimbangan Kekuatan', in *Ilmu Politik Dalam Paradigma Abad Ke 21* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2013), p. 596.

for Indonesia to enhance cooperation in the military.<sup>6</sup> The barriers to the fulfillment of Indonesian military equipment to maintain security and defense stability were a background of Indonesia to cooperate with Russia towards the development of military.<sup>7</sup>

The Indonesian government's cooperation in the defense based on the principle of foreign cooperation. The defense cooperation intend to develop a national defense, to create regional and international stability. The Indonesia-Russia military cooperation which effort of Indonesia to achieve national interest, to improve Indonesia's military, defense and security capabilities.

There are few way to supply military power, such as independent up to cooperation. Indonesia is a country that holds military cooperation with countries in the world such as America, China, Russia, and Europe. The many agreements that have been established with Russia in supporting the military development of Indonesia certainly have an impact on Indonesia.

In the era of President Joko Widodo, military development increased massively, especially cooperation with Russia. Which included the use of money, aircraft technology, the development of Indonesia defense industry, procurement of main equipment and weapon system and the improvement of Indonesian Armed Force professionalism, and the transfer of technology from Russia to Indonesia's strategic industries in the military.

The existence of significant military development in the Joko Widodo's era and good cooperation between two countries certainly had a significant impact on Indonesia, especially in military development. This research that explain the impact arising from Indonesia-Russia cooperation in the Indonesian military development in the Joko Widodo's era (2014-2019).

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<sup>6</sup> Republik Indonesia, *Peningkatan Kemampuan Pertahanan Negara*.

<sup>7</sup> PUSPEN Markas Besar TNI, 'Tingkatkan Hubungan Militer Delegasi Combined Arms Academy Angkatan Bersenjata Rusia Kunjungi Makodiklat TNI AD', *Indonesian Armed Force*, 2019 <<https://tni.mil.id/view-153461-tingkatkan-hubungan-militer-delegasi-combined-arms-academy-angkatan-bersenjata-rusia-kunjungi-makodiklat-tni-ad.html>> [accessed 3 July 2019].

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background of the study above, this research wants to answer the question below; *“How is the impact of International Cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the Military towards Indonesian Military Development under Joko Widodo’s Era?”*

## **C. Objective of the Research**

Objectives of research which title “International Military Cooperation between Indonesia and Russia towards The Development of Indonesian Military under Joko Widodo’s Era (2014-2019)” are below:

- a. To explain the international cooperation between Republic Indonesia and Russia in the development of Indonesian military.
- b. To explain the achievements of the Indonesian military, especially in Joko Widodo’s era (2014-2019), after the Indonesian-Russian military cooperation in the military development
- c. To explain the impact of the cooperation between Republic Indonesia and Russia toward the development of Indonesian military in Joko Widodo’s Era.

## **D. Benefits of the Research**

Benefits of research which title “International Military Cooperation between Indonesia and Russia towards The Development of Indonesian Military under Joko Widodo’s Era (2014-2019)” are below:

- a. This study provides knowledge about international cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and Russia toward military development
- b. This study explores the achievement of the Indonesian military in Joko Widodo’s era (2014-2019), after the Indonesian-Russian military cooperation in the military development.
- c. This study explores the impact of cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the military in Joko Widodo’s era, in Indonesian military.

- d. This study can be a reference for researchers who conduct similar research

## **E. Literature Review**

### **1. Review of Related Literature**

The study which is written by the researcher can not be separated from the results of research conducted by other academics. In essence, research carried out by an academic is a form of refinement or revision of the research that has been done before. In addition, a literature review can also distinguish between research projects that will be conducted with research that has been done before. Therefore the research project can contribute to the development of related science.

Likewise, the researcher realizes the importance of conducting a review of previous literature that discusses the same themes. Therefore this research does not lead to plagiarism and able to provide new knowledge for researchers and readers. Here are some of earlier studies that have similarities to the research that will be written;

*First*, an undergraduate thesis of Social Sciences Department student, Indonesia University of Education (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia), which was published in 2016. He is Roby Ilma Fermana, which title is “*Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia-Rusia di Bidang Militer: Sebuah Pembahasan Dalam Perspektif Global (2004-2014)*”. From his research that using deterrence theory, and balance of power, Roby emphasizes its study to find out and explain the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Russia, as an alternative for Indonesia to work together in the military and as a way to reduce Indonesia’s dependence on the United in the weapons. The results illustrate the dynamics of Indonesia-Russia bilateral relations around 2004-2014 as well as: (1) the realization of Indonesia-Russia relations in 2004-2014 which includes the cooperation

among them, (2) the Indonesian government's efforts to modernize weapons and the defense industry, and (3) what obstacles Indonesia faces in establishing bilateral relations with Russia in the military in the period 2004-2014.<sup>8</sup> From the study above, the researcher acknowledges that Roby's research and the research that will be carried out have several similarities, which is the main focus that makes Indonesia-Russia bilateral relations in the development and development of the Indonesian military as an explanatory unit. Even though the same, the further research has the distinction of Roby's research: First, the concept used, in further research, the researcher will use the concept of national interest as a knife of analysis to explain the improvement of the quality of Indonesia's defense under President Joko Widodo's leadership. Second, the explanatory used, in further research, set out from the national development agenda stated in the Medium Term Development Plan (2015-2019). The further research will explain the impact arising from Indonesia-Russia cooperation in the Indonesian military development in the Joko Widodo's era (2014-2019)

*Second*, an undergraduate thesis conducted by Chandra Anwar, the Department of International Relations students, Lampung University (UNILA), entitled "*Kepentingan Indonesia Dalam Kerja Sama Militer Indonesia-Russia Periode 2010-2015*".<sup>9</sup> which was published in 2017. This research uses foreign policy theory, foreign policy decision-maker theory, and national interest as a tool to analyze and direct the factors that caused Indonesia to choose Russia in cooperation specifically in military. Chandra emphasized his study in the interests of Indonesia-Russia

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<sup>8</sup> Robby Ilma Fermana, 'Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia-Rusia Di Bidang Militer: Sebuah Pembahasan Dalam Perspektif Global (2004-2014)' (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2016) <repository.upi.edu>.

<sup>9</sup> Chandra Anwar, 'Kepentingan Indonesia Dalam Kerja Sama Militer Indonesia-Rusia Periode 2010-2015' (Universitas Lampung, 2017).

cooperation in the military for the period 2010-2015, as well as the motives that occur behind the cooperation. The difference between the research and that Chandra did with researchers was the focus of the research variable, if Chandra focused on foreign policy in establishing cooperative relations with Russia in the military until 2015, then the researchers focused on the Indonesia-Russia joint venture in national military development. In addition, research conducted by Chandra limits the research year between 2010-2015, while the research that will be discussed in this study focuses on 2014-2019, or in the era of President Joko Widodo's era. The further research would proceed the last research of Chandra which have not finished yet, where the last research of Chandra began in the around of 2010 until 2015. Where in the last 2014-2015 it's a phase of transition between the last period of President SBY to President Joko Widodo. Meanwhile, the further research will explain the impact arising from Indonesia-Russia cooperation in the Indonesian military development in the completely of Joko Widodo's era (2014-2019).

*Third*, research conducted by Setyasih Harini and published in the Transform Journal Vol.XIV, No.22/2012.<sup>10</sup> This research is research aimed to know the developments and challenges faced by Putin to increase the cooperation with Indonesia. The title is "*Kebijakan Presiden Vladimir Putin dalam menjalin kerja sama dengan Indonesia*". From Setyasih research conclude that President Putin increased the number of meetings and cooperation with Indonesia, and Indonesia is a potential country, so it is important for Russia to establish cooperation with Indonesia. One way is through cooperation with Indonesia in the economic, political, and military. Russia has made Indonesia as a market for military products, both

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<sup>10</sup> Setyasih Harini, 'Kebijakan Presiden Vladimir Putin Dalam Menjalani Kerja Sama Dengan Indonesia', *Jurnal Transformasi*, XIV (2012), p. 8.

in terms of investing and making loans. The difference between the author's research and this third source lies in the focus of the discussion and the findings.

*Fourth*, a book entitled "*Rusia Pasca Komunisme*" by Bambang Sunaryo, was published in 2012. This book is divided into 10 chapters, which specifically explain the history of Russia's early beginnings to the success of Russia under Putin. This book can be used as a literature review to explain how Russia can cooperate outside the countries of Eastern Europe. This book also explains how the policies making by the Russian President to maintain the consistency of his country to remain a country which respected in the international arena.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### a. International Cooperation in Theories

International cooperation is an effort between countries in achieving the interests of each party involved. International cooperation is international community conditions that is interdependent with each other. In the book *Cooperation among Nations, Europe, America and Nontariff Barriers to Trade* by Joseph Grieco explained, that international cooperation only takes if there are objective interests, and cooperation will end if the objective interests change.<sup>12</sup> While Perwita & Yani in *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* explained that international cooperation will bring together various national interests of various countries and nations, which can not be fulfilled from their own country.<sup>13</sup> James E Dougherty and Robert

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<sup>11</sup> Bambang Sunaryo, *Rusia Pasca Komunisme* (Yogyakarta: Prudent Media, 2012), p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> L. W. Pauly and Joseph M. Grieco, 'Cooperation among Nations Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade', *International Journal*, 1991, pp. 241-42 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/40202728>>.

<sup>13</sup> Anak Agung Bayu Perwita and Yanyan Mohammad Yani, *Pengantar Ilmu*



L Pfaltzgraff argues the main issue of international cooperation is based on the fulfillment of personal interests, where results that benefit both parties can be obtained by working group than trying it alone or competing.<sup>14</sup> International cooperation becomes a necessity for every country in facing global politics; besides to fulfill their national interests in achieving the goals of their country.

In relation to this research, International Cooperation tends to explain military cooperation between two countries, Indonesia and Russia in the era of President Joko Widodo. Likewise, based from this cooperation, Indonesia afford to raise up the defense and security capabilities of Indonesia, to create regional stability, and modernize their military equipment.

Researchers use the theory of international cooperation because they believe that this theory is the basic foundation that underlies cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in defense, with the aim of developing the military in Indonesia, This theory will explain the basis of cooperation that exists between two countries, Indonesia and Russia, especially in the military defense.

#### **b. Concept of National Interest**

Scholars define various national interests, some focus on territorial integrity, political independence, self-protection, and others while the others focus on aspects, of regional expansion, national self-sufficiency, moral, legal, and ideological aspects. In the national interest, the state has the role of an actor who plays an important role in international relations and decision-making that affects the community in the country.

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*Hubungan Internasional* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2005), p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Robert L. Jr Dougherty, James E. Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*, Lippincott (USA: Lippincott, 2017), p. 387.

As a pioneer of realism Hans Morgenthau, a scholars in IR studies, equates national interest with power that a country wants to pursue in international relations.<sup>15</sup> Morgenthau's thought is based on a diplomacy strategy that must be based on national interests, not on moral, legal, and ideological reasons. He emphasized that each country's national interest in international relations is to pursue the power that makes and maintains a country's control over other countries. Morgenthau also divides national interests into two level, (1) primary national interests, concerning the protection of physical, political, and cultural identity and security and survival of a nation, and (2) secondary national interests, which are the interests of a country that can still be compromised through negotiations with other countries.<sup>16</sup>

In relation to this research, this concept of national interest tends to describe that the impact of Indonesian-Russian international cooperation in military towards the development of Indonesian military in Joko Widodo's era (2014-2019). The researcher only use the two main variables in the primary national interest of national interest presented by Hans J Morgenthau, who explains the reason that cooperation strategies must be based on national interests in cultural, security and defense identities. Therefore, the impact of military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia for Indonesia military is to modernize the military equipment, to fulfillment of Indonesian military equipment, and to maintain the security and defense stability in regional and international. Meanwhile, the impact in cultural was the increasing of tourist from Russia which visited Indonesia.

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<sup>15</sup> Umar S. Bakry, *Dasar-Dasar Hubungan Internasional Edisi Pertama* (Kencana, 2017), p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

The researcher uses this concept because the researcher believes that this theory will assist the researcher in answering the research question above. This theory will be used to describe Indonesia's interests in conducting international cooperation with Russia in improving the quality of Indonesia's national military defense.

## **F. Hypothesis**

Based on the research question above and by using the international cooperation and the concept of national interest, so the hypothesis is the international cooperation undertaken by Indonesia-Russia in developing Indonesia's military brings positive impact on Indonesia. Whereas, Russia supplies military equipment to improve the material of the main equipment, and modernize the weapon of the Indonesian Armed Force in order to increase Indonesia's military defense. Besides, that Indonesia also obtain an increase in tourist from Russia.

## **G. Research Methodology**

### **1. Method of Research**

The Research titled "International Military Cooperation between Indonesia and Russia towards the Development of Indonesian Military under Joko Widodo's Era (2014-2019)" is research that uses the realist approach with qualitative method<sup>17</sup>, which is research, carried out through document and literature studies and indirect research in field. This research will use one type of data that is qualitative data as support.<sup>18</sup> According to Umar Suryadi Bakri in his book that qualitative research aims to increase understanding of phenomena, activities, and social processes, by

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<sup>17</sup> Christopher Lamont, 'Research Methods in International Relations', in *Research Methods in International Relations*, 2015, p.3 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315303254430>>.

<sup>18</sup> Conny R Semiawan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Jenis, Karakteristik, Dan Keunggulannya* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka, 2010), p. 10.

focusing on meaning and understanding rather than quantification.<sup>19</sup> Sources of research are books, journal, magazines, and organizational reports. Research questions will be obtained through the result of the analysis that links the data with the conceptual foundation.

## **2. Object of Research**

Based on those, the object of research entitle “International Military Cooperation between Indonesia and Russia towards the Development of Indonesian Military under Joko Widodo’s Era (2014-2019)” is the military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia under President Joko Widodo era.

## **3. Technique of Collecting Data**

The technique of collecting data in this study will use the documentation. Documentation method is an activity of identifying reading material on a particular topic being studied from books, papers, articles, magazines, journals, newspapers, website (internet) or other information related to the title for seeking variable in the form of notes, transcripts, books, etc. As express by Suharsimi Arikunto, the documentation method is an attempt to find data about things in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspaper, magazines, resume of meetings, agendas, inscription and many others.<sup>20</sup>

## **4. Technique of Data Analysis**

The research will use footnote secondary analysis to analyze data. According to Umar, this technique use to apply alternative point of review. In this case, it could be said that secondary analysis contain of secondary analysis of quantitative data and secondary analysis of qualitative data. The data will divide into primary data and secondary data.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Umar S. Bakry, *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016), p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> Winarno Surachman, *Pengantar Penelitian Ilmiah: Dasar, Metode, Teknik* (Bandung: Tarsita, 1990), p. 139.

<sup>21</sup> Bakry, *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*, p. 199.

## H. Writing System

This thesis consists of four chapters. Each chapter consists of sub-chapters. The details and general description are as follows:

**Chapter I Introduction** which consist of: background of research, research question, objective of research, benefits of research, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, and system of writing

**Chapter II The Dynamics of Indonesia Military Development**, this chapter will explain that the dynamics of military development as well as the urgency of Indonesian military development which is accompanied by the urgency of Indonesian-Russian military cooperation. The dynamics of military development in Indonesia will be explained in three sub-chapters namely starting in the Old Order era, the New Order era, and the Reformation era.

**Chapter III The Analysis of Indonesia-Russia Military Cooperation Towards The Development Of Indonesian Military Under Joko Widodo's Era (2014-2019)**, this chapter will analyze Indonesia's military cooperation towards the development of Indonesian military in the era of President Joko Widodo. At the beginning of this chapter, the researcher will discuss the development of military strategy in Joko Widodo's era. Furthermore, the researcher will explain that the development of Indonesian military through the military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia, as well as the impact of cooperation between both of countries toward the development of Indonesian military under Joko Widodo's Era.

**Chapter IV Closing**, The chapter contained of conclusions and suggestions from researcher.