



Defense Policy: A Look at Bilateral Cooperation

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's friendship with Russia has existed for more than seven decades. As a country with the second largest military force in the world, Russia has always been willing to assist Indonesia in realizing the country's defence and security. The article aims to review Indonesia's cooperative relationship with Russia, especially in defence. Using the literature study method, an understanding is produced that to realize the independence of defence equipment, the Indonesian government needs to increase defence cooperation with the Russian government. At least several reasons are behind it. First, historically, Indonesia's relationship with Russia has been very close. Russia positions Indonesia as a strategic partner. This condition allows Russia to not easily impose an embargo on weapons and weapon parts to Indonesia. Second, from an economic perspective, the price of weapons sold by Russia is relatively cheaper with the same quality and reliability, even more so than weapons from other country manufacturers. And third, there is a Russian commitment to transfer technology to support the independence of Indonesia's defence equipment.

Keywords: Indonesia, Russia, Defense Policy, Bilateral Cooperation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Friendly relations between Indonesia and Russia have existed for a long time. Before its collapse, Russia's Soviet Union was a powerful country supporting Indonesian independence. From 1945 to 1947, Andrew Gromyko, the Soviet representative to the United Nations, led a campaign to criticize the Dutch Empire's plans to regain control of Indonesia (Lebang, 2010:12).

Not only did Russia make diplomatic efforts at the UN Forum to support Indonesia's independence, but Russia also helped Indonesia seize West Irian. At that time, Indonesia did not receive weapons assistance from the Western Bloc (America) to face the Dutch until then President Soekarno sent Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Subandrio and General Abdul Haris Nasution to Moscow to purchase weapons that cost US\$ 250 million (Saelan, 2008: 292-293).

In Lebang (2010:131), it is mentioned that since the early 1960s, the Soviet Union has provided Indonesia with assistance worth \$600 million in the form of combat equipment to strengthen RI's air and sea fleets, such as cruisers, destroyers, submarines, amphibious tanks, and MiG fighters.

Sondakh (2014: 38) explained that the Soviet Union's assistance made the Indonesian fleet a significant and respected force in the Asian region. At that time, the Indonesian Navy was strengthened by 12 frigates, 12 submarines, 22 torpedo and guided-missile fast boats, 4 minesweepers, and KRI Irian. KRI Irian is a giant *Sverdlov-class* ship weighing 16,640 tons with 12 large 6-inch cannons. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Air Force at that time had 20 MiG-21 Supersonic Hunters, 30 MiG 15s, 49 MiG 17s, 10 MiG-19 Supersonic Aircraft, as well as 26 Tu-16 Tupolev long-range bombers. Soviet aid totalled at least US\$2.5 billion. KRI Irian 201, a dozen *wiskey class* submarines armed with torpedoes and missiles, and Tu-16KS *badger* long-range bombers with AS-1 Kennel missiles were able to sink HNLMS Karel Doorman (owned by the Netherlands) (Taufiqoerachman, 2019: 258).

With Indonesia's power at that time, it was possible that Indonesia could win the war against the Dutch and seize West Irian. However, the war did not break out; Indonesia managed to expel the Dutch from the land of Papua. Since then, Indonesia has become a feared country in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, Indonesia-Russia relations were strained, and in the 1970s, KRI Irian 201 disappeared from circulation.² Although they were tenuous, Indonesia-Russia relations remained well-established. Russian Defense and Security Equipment (Alpalhankam) is widely used by the TNI in the military, especially on land, sea, and air.

Indonesia is a large country with more than 300 ethnic groups, or more precisely, 1,340 ethnic groups (BPS census in 2010), that require strong defence and security equipment, both in terms of quantity and quality, so that TNI soldiers can carry out their roles and functions in maintaining state sovereignty and territorial integrity for the Republic of Indonesia.

In addition to individual capabilities, as a military force, the TNI must be supported by defence and security equipment (Alpalhankam) to carry out its roles and functions. The limitations of Alpalhankam will greatly affect the TNI's strength in facing every threat that comes, both from within the country and abroad.

² Russia-RI Sweet Trail: Send Jets, Help Build Monas & Roads, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220308103343-4-320844/jejak-manis-rusia-ri-kirim-jet-bantu-bangun-monas-jalan>

Currently, Indonesia's military strength, based on the Global Fire Power (GFP) index, is ranked 13th out of 145 countries considered for the GFP annual review in 2024. The United States and Russia still hold the first and second rankings of world military power.³

Although Indonesia's military strength is at the top among ASEAN countries, with troop strength reaching 1 million personnel, and 400 thousand of them are active soldiers,⁴ However, the minimum basic strength of the TNI is not enough to meet the ideal defense posture, and it is respected at the regional and international levels.

So far, the MEF achievement has only been calculated based on the defense equipment variable. In contrast, the other three variables are not evaluated due to the complexity of the calculation formula. This means that the current MEF value only reflects the physical condition of the defence equipment.

According to the Strategic Planning Document of the Deputy for State Defense Coordination 2020-2024, the MEF target continues to increase yearly and is projected to reach 100% in 2024. MEF's performance for the 2015-2018 period has met or exceeded its target. However, the MEF achievement rate in 2019 was only 63.19%, still far from the target of 68.90%. After that, the target achievement rate in 2020 decreased to 62.31%, away from the target, which was raised to 72%. MEF performance data for 2021 and 2022 is not yet available or published. According to the 2024 State Budget Financial Memorandum, the Ministry of Defense is implementing a new rating system, but the legal basis is not yet in place.⁵

The above conditions illustrate that Indonesia's military force is not ideal and resilient enough to protect the country's entire territory. One of the reasons is that Indonesia has not been able to develop its defence industry independently. Indonesia still relies on imports of defence equipment to meet its defence equipment needs.

According to data from the Indonesian Defense Equipment Import Realization 2018-2023 (January-May) (2023)⁶ Ministry of Trade of Indonesia, in the 2018-2022 period, the highest imports of Indonesian defence equipment occurred in 2020, which was valued at USD 835.18 million or as much as 3.45 thousand tons. Meanwhile, in 2023, Indonesia's defense equipment imports consisted of:

1. Tanks and War Vehicles (60.53%), valued at USD 77.59 million or 644.17 tons.
2. Bombs and ammunition (21.47%) worth USD 27.52 million or 438.38 tons
3. Military weapons other than pistols (15.06%) worth USD 19.30 million or 13.94 tons

³ Indonesia's Military Power Number 13 out of 145 Countries Beats Israel, 8th in Asia, <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/5507490/kekuatan-militer-indonesia-nomor-13-dari-145-negara-kalahkan-israel-posisi-ke-8-di-asia>

⁴ List of the 10 most powerful militaries in the world in 2024, what number is Indonesia?, <https://www.detik.com/edu/detikpedia/d-7365150/daftar-10-militer-terkuat-di-dunia-2024-indonesia-nomor-berapa#:~:text=Indeks%20kekuatan%20militer%20Indonesia%20berada,adalah%20400%20ribu%20tentara%20aktif>.

⁵ TNI's Basic Strength Still Below Minimum Target, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2024/01/04/kekuatan-pokok-tni-masih-di-bawah-target-minimum>

⁶ Center for Data and Information Systems. 2023. Indonesia's Defense Equipment Import Realization 2018-2023 (January-May) Ministry of Trade Indonesia.

Meanwhile, during 2023, defence equipment exporting countries to Indonesia was dominated by the United States, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, China, Brasilia, Turkey, and Rep. South Africa.

The data above shows that Indonesia's dependence on other countries to meet its defense equipment needs is still high. However, the Government of Indonesia, through Law Number 16 of 2012 concerning the Defense Industry, has mandated that the domestic industry be utilized to meet the needs of defence and security equipment, both in terms of production and maintenance, in order to build reliable defence and security (Article 3 of Law No. 16 of 2012).

Indonesia's high dependence on imports for defence equipment is certainly a serious problem in realizing reliable defence and security. First, Indonesia's dependence on imports causes Indonesia's military strength to be more easily measured and its weaknesses are known, especially by producer countries. Second, dependence on imports causes Indonesia to experience difficulties in meeting its military needs when experiencing conflict. As experienced by Indonesia when liberating West Irian from the Netherlands, where the Western Bloc (the United States) was reluctant to provide weapons assistance to Indonesia. Third, with the advancement of information and communication technology, it is not impossible that imported defence and security equipment will be easily *hacked*, which will harm and endanger Indonesia.

In other words, defense equipment independence is an important issue now and in the future. Especially in the eastern and central parts of the world, there are ongoing war conflicts between Ukraine and Russia and Israel and Palestine involving several countries in the region. Although Indonesia is geographically quite far from the conflict area, it is not impossible for the conflict to expand and involve many countries. Especially in Southeast Asia, the South China Sea (SCS) issue is still a potential conflict for countries in the region, including Indonesia.

Based on this, the author is interested in raising themes in articles related to Indonesia-Russia cooperation as an effort to realize defence equipment independence.

Cooperation is one form of social interaction. According to Abdulsyani (1994: 156), cooperation is a form of social process in which there are certain activities that are shown to achieve common goals by helping each other and understanding each other's activities. Cooperation is also defined as activities carried out jointly by various parties to achieve common goals (Purwadarminta, 1985: 492). That means cooperation is an effort made together to achieve a certain goal. Cooperation also shows the existence of conditions of mutual assistance between parties who work together.

In the context of defence, Defense cooperation refers to efforts between countries to create a strong and reliable national defence condition to prevent threats. Defense is an action or set of actions, attitudes, and behaviors designed to counter a specific type of threat, characterized and measured in a way that provides a sense of security (Victoria, 2019).

Anwar (2016) said that all self-defence efforts made by a country so as not to be disturbed, damaged, or attacked from outside or within the country are called national defence. In facing threats to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) in this era of globalization, the ideal future posture development plan for the Indonesian National Army (TNI) is based on potential threats (Bakrie, 2007).

In other words, defence cooperation between countries is a necessity in this global era. There are at least several reasons for this. First, there is a threat estimate (*Treat Assessment*), which is when a country formulates potential threats to its country. Second, the dynamics of rapid changes in the situation in a country or region can affect the regional power map. Third, there is an imbalance in the development of weapons technology. A country can be very advanced in weapons technology, but on the other hand there are countries that are very behind in weapons technology. The technological gap can be minimized by cooperation between these countries (Simamora, 2013: 51).

According to Supriyanto (2014: 151-152) the scope of defence cooperation usually contains technical cooperation through the exchange of technical and scientific data, the exchange of experts, technical and military instructors, production support related to defence equipment and components, defence industry and technology transfer, technical assistance, intelligence information exchange, science and technology, visits and maritime security and so on.

Formally, the purpose of cooperation will be written in the agreement, among others to Promote peace and security stability in the region and the world; Promote cordial and friendly relations; Strengthen and enhance bilateral cooperation; Develop cooperative relations between the two countries; Establish a framework to enhance bilateral relations between defence agencies; Enhance and strengthen cooperation activities in the field of defence and security, Increase mutual trust; and so on (Supriyanto, 2014)

Independence comes from the word "Autonomy", which is something independent or the ability to stand alone with courage and responsibility for all behaviour as an adult human being in carrying out his obligations to meet his own needs (Kartono, 2000). To be called independent, a person must be able to meet his needs, believe in his abilities, and take the initiative and make decisions when doing activities alone. Independence is a person's ability to reduce their dependence on others to meet their needs, whether in finance, equipment, advice, energy, or others.

Based on the above opinion, Indonesia, as a large country, cannot be independent in meeting the needs of its national defence equipment. Although Indonesia can buy defence equipment from producing countries, its purchases are still very limited, especially regarding its use. Even in maintenance, Indonesia depends on producer countries to meet its spare parts needs. That means Indonesia cannot be said to be independent if it has not been able to produce its defence equipment to meet the country's defence needs.

2. METHOD

In this article, the author uses a literature study method that relies on various literature to obtain research data and uses a qualitative approach because the data produced is in the form of words or descriptions. A literature review is one of the research methods. Here, the place of study is literature. This research is carried out by utilizing similar or related studies (Purwanto, 2008: 168). The literature review is a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading and recording, and processing research materials (Zed, 2008).

The data sources of this research are journals, articles, and reporting documents that are directly related to this research. The analysis technique is carried out by classifying or explaining the objects' meanings. Furthermore, conceptual issues are discussed to parse the meanings used. The next step is integrating different understandings, resulting in a systematic framework of thinking and

understanding that leads to an entirely new understanding of the object of study (Bakker, 1986; Wee & Banister, 2016).

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The rapid development of defense technology requires the Indonesian government to meet the needs of defense equipment to improve the defense and security of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In meeting these needs, the Indonesian government has made various efforts to modernize defense equipment to encourage the defense industry to be able to produce defense and security tools and equipment. In social theory, modernization refers to the need for assistance from more advanced parties to make changes from traditional to modern. modernization theory is able to provide legitimacy about the need for foreign assistance (Ardi, 2016: 21).

In meeting defense equipment needs, the Indonesian government refers to the *Minimum Essential Force* (MEF) as stipulated in the 2010-2014 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). MEF is a national development mandate in the field of defense and security. The MEF implementation is divided into three Strategic Plans or Renstra, namely Renstra 1: 2010-2014, Renstra 2: 2015-2019, and Strategic Plan 3: 2020-2024.⁷

In practice, MEF is built to reflect the intensity of strengthening existing national resources optimally and built in accordance with the capabilities of national economic resources. MEF is a strategy to build great power towards an ideal, and is not a strategy to increase military power to win an arms race or all-out war, but aims to form a basic force that meets certain standards and has a deterrent effect.⁸

In the context of defense equipment modernization, the Indonesian government imports more from developed countries such as America and European countries. Based on data from the *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute* (SIPRI) (2020), that during 2015-2019, Indonesia was on average in the 17th position of the largest import country of defense equipment, which amounted to 1.8 percent of the world total. Defense equipment suppliers are dominated by the United States (20 percent), the Netherlands (18 percent), and Korea (16 percent) of the total defense equipment imports. Citing data from the Indonesian Ministry of Trade (Kemendag RI) (2021) from 2012 to 2020 based on shows that there is an increasing trend in imports of defense equipment needs.⁹

Table 1. World's Largest Importers and Major Suppliers of Defense Equipment, Period 2015-2019

No.	Importer	Share of arms imports (%)		Per cent change from 2010-14 to 2015-19 ^a	Main suppliers (share of importer's total imports, %), 2015-19		
		2015-2019	2010-2014		1st	2nd	3rd
1	Saudi Arabia	12	5,6	130	USA (73)	UK (13)	France (4.3)
2	India	9,2	14	-32	Russia (56)	Israel (14)	France (12)
3	Egypt	5,8	1,9	212	France (35)	Russia (34)	USA (15)
4	Australia	4,9	3,7	40	USA (68)	Spain (21)	France (3.6)

⁷ <https://www.kemhan.go.id/ppid/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/10/Permenhan-Nomor-19-Tahun-2012-Lampiran-1.pdf>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Total Exports of defense equipment consisting of weapons and ammunition; parts and accessories; tanks; warships; excluding aircraft or helicopters (HS Codes 93, 8710, 8805, 8906, 8804). Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia. 2021

No.	Importer	Share of arms imports (%)		Per cent change from 2010-14 to 2015-19 ^a	Main suppliers (share of importer's total imports, %), 2015-19		
		2015-2019	2010-2014		1st	2nd	3rd
5	China	4,3	4,4	3,3	Russia (76)	France (8.8)	Ukraine (6.9)
6	Algeria	4,2	2,6	71	Russia (67)	China (13)	Germany (11)
7	South Korea	3,4	3,5	3,3	USA (55)	Germany (30)	Spain (7,8)
8	UAE	3,4	4,4	-18	USA (68)	France (11)	Netherlands (3,4)
9	Iraq	3,4	1,8	98	USA (45)	Russia (34)	South Korea (8.6)
10	Qatar	3,4	0,5	631	USA (50)	France (34)	Germany (9.2)
11	Pakistan	2,6	4,5	-39	China (73)	Russia (6.6)	Italy (6.1)
12	Viet Nam	2,2	2,6	-9,3	Russia (74)	Israel (12)	Belarus (4.9)
13	United States	2,0	3,3	-37	Germany (21)	UK (17)	Netherlands (13)
14	Israel	2,0	0,7	181	USA (78)	Germany (16)	Italy (6.2)
15	Turkey	1,8	3,7	-48	USA (38)	Italy (24)	Spain (19)
16	Japan	1,8	1,1	72	USA (96)	UK (2,4)	Sweden (1.6)
17	Indonesia	1,8	1,9	-4,6	USA (20)	Netherlands (18)	South Korea (16)
18	United Kingdom	1,7	1,5	17	USA (67)	South Korea (21)	Germany (4.7)
19	Singapore	1,7	2,5	-29	USA (37)	Spain (24)	France (18)
20	Bangladesh	1,6	0,9	93	China (72)	Russia (15)	UK (2,4)

Source: Research Data

Based on data from the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia, throughout 2023, Indonesia imported almost all of its defense equipment needs. Starting from tanks to ammunition. As presented in table 2.

Table 2. Indonesia's defense equipment imports in 2023

Type of defense equipment	Exporters	Value
Tanks and war vehicles	Belgium (58.75%)	USD 45.58 million
	US (39.92%)	USD 30.97 million
	Sweden (1.00%)	USD 776.35 thousand
	Turkey (0.22%)	USD 168.03 thousand
Bombs, grenades and ammunition	South Korea (44.04%)	USD 12.12 million
	PRC (21.71%)	USD 5.97 million
	Slovakia (15.22%)	USD 4.19 million
	Spain (10.74%)	USD 2.96 million
	Brasilia (5.23%)	USD 1.44 million

Type of defense equipment	Exporters	Value
Other military weapons	Rep. South Africa (55.20%)	USD 10.65 million
	Belgium (17.22%)	USD 3.32 million
	Bulgaria (16.84%)	USD 3.25 million
	US (10.10%)	USD 1.95 million
	Turkey (0.63%)	USD 0.12 million
weapon components	US (55.92%)	USD 709.75 thousand
	Germany (22.76%)	USD 288.90 thousand
	Rep. Czech (5.87%)	USD 74.53 thousand
	Italy (2.61%)	USD 33.13 thousand
	Sweden (2.10%)	USD 26.61 thousand
Pistols and Revolvers	Slovenia (83.75%)	USD 977.72 thousand
	US (8.92%)	USD 104.12 thousand
	Italy (8.92%)	USD 58.09 thousand
	Rep. Czech (2.21%)	USD 25.75 thousand
	Switzerland (0.15%)	USD 1.79 thousand

Source: Indonesian Ministry of Trade, Year 2023, Processed by the author

The data above shows that until 2023, to fulfill its defense equipment needs, Indonesia still depends on the United States and European countries. Starting from tanks, war vehicles to weapon components still rely on exports from Uncle Sam's country.

This condition is certainly not in accordance with the objectives of Law Number 16 of 2012 concerning the Defense Industry, which is to realize the independence of the fulfillment of Defense and Security Equipment by increasing the ability to produce Defense and Security Equipment, maintenance services that will be used in order to build reliable defense and security forces. That means, the policy of importing defense equipment to meet the needs of defense equipment in the country's defense and security posture, has the potential to hamper the development of the defense industry towards the independence of defense and security equipment.

Defense Industry

In the current era of globalization, the role of the defense industry is considered very important in the aspect of a country's life. Currently, almost every country in the world is developing its own defense industry and making its existence recognized in the defense industry world so as to attract the attention of other countries. Besides of course to meet the needs of its defense equipment, so that it is no longer dependent on other countries.

This effort is made by many countries in the world, including Indonesia. Through Law Number 16 of 2012 concerning the Defense Industry, the Indonesian government seeks to take an important role in the fulfillment of defense and security equipment, both for domestic and foreign interests.

The defense industry is one of the priority agendas in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). However, since the enactment of the Defense Industry Law in 2012, the development of the defense industry is still not optimal. Some of the needs for defense and security equipment (Alparhankam) can be met by the defense industry. However, various types of strategic

defense equipment, such as fighter aircraft, destroyers, missiles, rockets, *Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles* (UCAV), and radars, still depend on foreign production.

The issues of weapons technology mastery, system integration skills and regulatory compliance are prerequisites for the defense industry to increase its contribution to meeting defense and security equipment requirements. In other words, if these three prerequisites can be overcome by the Indonesian defense industry, it will provide an open opportunity for Indonesia to become part of the world's defense and security equipment supply chain.

In an effort to realize the independence of its defense equipment, the Indonesian government continues to encourage the defense industry to be able to produce defense and security equipment through strategic SOEs, such as PT Pindad, PT Dirgantara Indonesia, PT PAL, PT Dahana, PT LEN, PT INTI, PT Krakatau Steel, PT INKA, and several other supporting SOEs. On the other hand, the Indonesian government also applies trade-offs in the purchase of defense equipment from other countries, especially in terms of weapons technology transfer. Through this effort, it is hoped that the Indonesian defense industry will be able to overcome the backwardness of weapons technology.

Transfer of Technology (ToT) means the transfer of modern methods of production or distribution from one country to another, whether through foreign investment, international trade, the release and use of patents, training assistance, and so on. In essence, technology transfer is actually the transfer of technical knowledge, the secrets behind the equipment used to procure goods and services.

One of Indonesia's obstacles to realizing defense equipment independence is the limited mastery of weapons technology and the lack of research for the development of defense and security equipment. For this reason, the application of a trade reciprocity scheme with *Transfer of Technology* (ToT) in every purchase of defense equipment needs to be implemented. That means, Indonesia does not need to continue import cooperation with producer countries that are reluctant to fulfill the trade reciprocity scheme. After all, there are still many producer countries that are willing to do ToT to Indonesia.

However, not all producing countries are willing to trade schemes in the form of weapons technology transfer, including the US as the largest exporter of Indonesia's defense equipment needs. Not only reluctant to transfer weapons technology, Uncle Sam's country even doubts Indonesia's commitment to maintaining the confidentiality of US-produced weapons technology, as happened when Indonesia wanted to buy a fifth generation fighter jet, the F-35 in 2020, which was rejected by Washington on the grounds that Jakarta must first operate the 4.5 generation fighter aircraft.¹⁰

Not only that, the US also did not hesitate to impose an embargo on weapon parts to Indonesia in 1995-2005, so that during that period the aircraft operated by the TNI, namely the F-16 Fighting Falcon, F-5 Tiger, to the C-130 Hercules military transport aircraft, even some Hawk 109/209 aircraft made in the UK, which is an ally of the US, owned by the TNI were also affected by the embargo. As a result, during this period, the TNI could not operate aircraft made in the US and UK.¹¹ Therefore, Indonesia now purchases weapons not only from the US, but also from several European and Asian countries. On the other hand, the US always refuses if Indonesia purchases weapons, along with the technology.¹²

¹⁰ A Look at Defense Trade between Indonesia and the United States, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/opini/20230404123307-14-427190/menilik-perdagangan-pertahanan-indonesia-dan-amerika-serikat>

¹¹ Bitter Memories of the US Embargo that "Paralyzed" the Air Force's Alutsista, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/08/28/19071041/kenangan-pahit-embargo-as-yang-lumpuhkan-alutsista-tni-au>

¹² TNI Calls America Stingy on Technology, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-2383450/tni-sebut-amerika-pelit-teknologi>

However, there are also many defense equipment producing countries that are willing to reciprocate trade by transferring weapons technology, such as China, Spain, India, Czech Republic, South Korea and Russia. This is certainly a great opportunity for Indonesia to strengthen the domestic defense industry to be able to produce defense and security equipment, including the production of spare parts to support more optimal defense equipment maintenance.

Indonesia-Russia Defense Cooperation

As explained earlier, Indonesia's relationship with Russia has been established since the early days of Indonesia's independence. Not only support for Indonesian independence, Russia made diplomatic efforts at the UN Forum to reject Dutch aggression that wanted to regain control of Indonesia. Russia even donated hundreds of millions of dollars worth of weapons to strengthen Indonesia's defense and security.

Although Indonesia's relations with Russia, especially in the defense sector, have experienced ups and downs and tend to stagnate, until now Russia has continued to support Indonesia to strengthen its defense and security, including in realizing the independence of defense equipment. Russia promises technology transfers for every purchase of Kremlin-produced weapons.¹³

Officially, the Indonesia-Russia cooperation agreement in the military technical field was first signed in the era of President Megawati Soekarno Putri with Russian President Vladimir Putin. The agreement titled *Agreement Between The Government Of The Republic Of Indonesian And The Government Of The Russian Federation On Military Technical Cooperation* agreed on the purchase of 2 units of Su-27 and 2 units of Su-30 by the Republic of Indonesia from Russia. After that, cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in the field of military defense was further enhanced during the next Indonesian presidents (Nurul, 2018: 52-63).

During the leadership of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, defense cooperation with Russia was also carried out. At that time, President SBY visited Moscow to meet Russian President Vladimir Putin with the main agenda of selling Russian weapons to Indonesia. As a result of the meeting, Russian President Vladimir Putin agreed to provide credit for the purchase of defense equipment, including Sukhoi 27 fighter aircraft, Kilo Class submarines and Mi 35 attack helis.¹⁴

During the leadership of President Joko Widodo, precisely on May 18, 2016, a bilateral meeting was held with President Vladimir Putin at Putin's presidential residence in Bucherov Rucey, Sochi. The results of the meeting *between the two heads of state* agreed to cooperation *in the field* of defense titled *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Russian Federation Cooperation in the Field of Defense and* at the same time discussed plans to sign a bilateral agreement that emphasizes two cooperation, namely economic and defense and security.¹⁵

In 2017, the secretary general of the ministry of defense (Kemhan), Dr. I. Wayan Midhio, M.Phil represented *Indonesia* to conduct the *13th Indonesia Russia Intergovernmental Commission Of Military Technical Cooperation Meeting* (MTC) held at the office of the Directorate General of Defense Potential of the Ministry of Defense (Ditjen Potan Kemhan) with an agreement to transfer of technology (TOT) and purchase Su-35 fighter aircraft which will be delivered by Russia in stages.¹⁶ Following the meeting,

¹³ Russia also Encourages Indonesian Technology Transfer Efforts in Every Purchase of Kremlin Arms Products, <https://www.zonajakarta.com/nasional/67313228958/rusia-juga-dorong-upaya-transfer-teknologi-indonesia-di-setiap-pembelian-produk-senjata-kremlin>

¹⁴ Indonesia-Russia Arms Cooperation, <https://www.dw.com/id/kerjasama-senjata-indonesia-rusia/a-2956696>

¹⁵ President Putin: Indonesia-Russia Relations are Very Close and Longstanding, <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-putin-hubungan-indonesia-rusia-sangat-dekat-dan-lama/>

¹⁶ Ministry of Defense. Indonesia-Russia Enhance Defense Cooperation. <https://www.kemhan.go.id/pothan/2017/10/13/indonesia-rusia-tingkatkan-kerjasama-bidangpertahanan>.

on November 21-23, 2018 Indonesia attended the *14th Meeting of The Indonesian-Russian Intergovernment Commission* in Russia. The meeting discussed and demonstrated Russian military products to be purchased by Indonesia.

To strengthen Indonesia's cooperation with Russia in the *field* of defense, the Indonesian government issued Law Number 7 of 2019 concerning Ratification of the *Agreement Between The Government Of The Republic Of Indonesia And The Government Of The Russian Federation On Cooperation In The Field Of Defense* on May 18, 2016 in Bucherov Rucey, Sochi.

In the explanation of Law Number 7 of 2019, it is stated that the details of the content material of the agreement include:

1. Scope of cooperation, including:
 - a. establishment of bilateral dialogues and regular consultations on security issues;
 - b. exchange of information and experience on issues of mutual concern;
 - c. enhancement of human resource development of defense institutions and armed forces;
 - d. development of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of both Parties;
 - e. development of cooperation in accordance with national laws in the field:
 - 1) science and technology in the field of defense; and
 - 2) defense industry.
 - f. other mutually agreed areas of cooperation.
2. Establishment of a working group by the competent authority.
3. Financing related to the implementation of the Agreement shall be borne by each Party.
4. Protection of intellectual property rights arising from the implementation of the Agreement.
5. Protection of confidential information obtained in the implementation of the Agreement.
6. Provision of emergency medical assistance.
7. Dispute settlement shall be resolved through consultation or negotiation of the Parties and/or through diplomatic channels.

Based on the explanation of the law above, it can be understood that Indonesia's cooperation with Russia has the potential to continue to be improved to realize the independence of defense equipment. The availability of the Russian Government to transfer weapons technology to Indonesia allows the Indonesian defense industry to overcome scientific and technological barriers.

As one of the countries with the strongest defense in the world, Russia is a strategic and important partner for the development of Indonesia's defense industry. Apart from being cheaper than similar products sold by the United States and European countries, Russia is also willing to transfer technology and support Indonesia's defense equipment independence. Historically, Indonesia's good relations with Russia have long placed Indonesia as one of the friendly countries in the ASEAN region that is important and strategic for Russia. In this position, both Indonesia and Russia have equality, so it is certain that Russia will not easily impose an arms embargo, as the United States did in the 1995-2005 period.

Admittedly or not, the dynamics of defense and security in the current era are quite turbulent. The wars of Ukraine vs Russia and Israel vs Palestine gradually have the potential to involve alliance countries in it. As in the Ukraine vs Russia war, many parties consider it a proving ground for military power between the United States and NATO vs Russia. That means, the two world military powers have the potential to drag their alliance countries across other continents, including Asia, especially the ASEAN region.

Indonesia as a non-alliance country is geopolitically located in the middle of the United States alliance countries. So when the Ukraine vs Russia war expands and involves alliance countries, it becomes a potential threat to Indonesia's defense and security.

A foreign policy that chooses not to take sides and ally with any military power is a bold step in the current era. But it also makes Indonesia vulnerable to dealing with alliance countries, because it is considered a threat. That means, Indonesia's defense and security forces need to be continuously improved. Both through cooperation with producer countries and increasing the productivity of the domestic defense industry in order to realize the independence of defense equipment.

In other words, Indonesia's cooperation with Russia must continue to be improved in order to realize the independence of defense equipment. The friendly relations between Indonesia and Russia that have existed for more than seven decades are strong capital to increase cooperation. Likewise, Russia really needs Indonesia's role to balance the dominance of the United States in the Asian region, especially ASEAN. That means, there is equality and equality of levels in the cooperative relationship built by Indonesia-Russia. Equality is an important asset in a cooperative relationship, so that neither party feels dominated or dominates.

The citation model used is not relevant to the type of citation in the journal. Then the findings should be discussed through the theories that support them.

4. CONCLUSION

The independence of defense equipment is something that Indonesia must have as a large country with abundant resources. The limitations of weapons science and technology can be overcome with a trade reciprocity scheme in every weapon purchase with producing countries. That means, Indonesia must have a clear target to stop importing defense equipment, especially with producer countries that do not want to transfer technology in purchasing weapons.

In other words, Indonesia should increase defense cooperation with the Russian government. There are at least several important reasons for this. First, historically, Indonesia's friendship with Russia has lasted for more than seven decades, during which both countries have positioned themselves as strategic partners. This marks an equal relationship, so Russia will not easily impose sanctions on the embargo of weapons and spare parts to Indonesia. This pattern of relationship cannot be found in defense cooperation with the United States, where Uncle Sam always positions himself superior to other countries.

Secondly, from an economic perspective, Russian defense equipment sold is relatively cheaper with the same quality and reliability, even better than similar products sold by other producing countries. And third, Russia has a strong commitment to support Indonesia to realize the independence of defense equipment, and encourage the Indonesian defense industry to produce defense equipment to meet domestic needs. This is not only seen from Russia's willingness to transfer technology in every purchase of defense equipment from the Red Bear country, but Russia's willingness to conduct research and development of weapons with Indonesia. So that it allows Indonesia to develop and innovate in the production of its defense equipment.

Indonesia has enough capital in developing the domestic defense industry. The availability of abundant human resources is a significant capital to increase the production of domestic defense equipment. On the other hand, the reliability of Russian defense technology can be adopted by Indonesia through defense cooperation, as stated in Law Number 7 of 2019 concerning Ratification of the *Agreement Between The Government Of The Republic Of Indonesia And The Government Of The Russian Federation On Cooperation In The Field Of Defense*.

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