

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### I.1 Background

Within the practical dimension of the International Relations (IR) field of study, the state is one of the actors in IR required to interact with other IR actors in order to fulfill their interests. These interactions between states in IR studies could be various; one of example that occurs frequently in the international community is cooperation. Cooperation in IR study could be described as an agreement between two or more of IR actors to conduct collective works in order to achieve mutual interests.<sup>1</sup> Historically cooperation occurred because states wish to avoid the conditions of a zero-sum game. A zero-sum game is a situation which one state's gain must be matched by loss of another state.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the existence of cooperation among the states will create mutual interest. States usually establish cooperation by conducting several diplomatic approaches and creating an agreement as proof of commitment to cooperate. Therefore it can be concluded that cooperation between IR actors could be described as a major and fundamental phenomenon in international communities' activity that could not be separated in IR framework. There are several areas of cooperation conducted by states in IR study; one of the important areas is in military cooperation.

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<sup>1</sup> Marc A. Genest. Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations, second Edition, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA. 2004 p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company. USA. 2000

IR study considers the military as one of the important aspects in the development of cooperation between the states. The concepts of military cooperation evolved periodically; the early of development military cooperation was defined as a concept of alliance between two or more states. Alliance is the concept of military cooperation when the conditions of two or more states cause them to form an agreement with a militaristic aspect in order to defeat their collective enemies or defend their territories from enemies' invasion. However in 21<sup>th</sup> century, the developments of military cooperation have grown into a more complex system. States are no longer forming alliances in order to show their military cooperation. There are several types of military cooperation, for instance; joint-military operation, joint-military training, exchange military personnel, military education and military armaments trade.<sup>3</sup>

First, a joint-military operation is one of the examples of new developments in modern military cooperation types. In a joint-military operation, the states form an agreement to cooperate with other states to do a collective operation which aims for similar objectives. Second, joint-military training is a type of military cooperation which is emphasizes in training of military units between two or more states in order to generate professional and qualified soldiers. The reason for the establishment of this type of cooperation is because states tend to have lack of experience with geographical disadvantages in battlefields which caused the deaths of many troops in

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<sup>3</sup>“*Tinjauan Militer TNI AD Menuju World Class Army*”; <http://www.tniad.mil.id/?p=2585>; accessed on 1/2/2014

past wars. Third, the exchange of military personnel between states is a form of military cooperation by exchanging military personnel between two states. The functions of this cooperation are for giving a comparison of data between states' military power and serves as intelligence's data by looking on unit training units, doctrine, tactics and weapon equipment. Fourth, military education is a method of cooperation by sending military officers or troops to other states in order to give them knowledge and experience in military equipment or strategies.

Fifth, many states that involved during the world wars era and Cold War era tried to compete with their enemies to develop modern and efficient weapons and militaristic equipment for achieving victory on battlefield by defeating the enemies; this phenomenon is called an arm race. Arm races could be defined as a race between the states during the war in order to deter invasion by enemy states. Acts such as retaliations or pre-emptive strikes can be executed by states if enemies attempt to invade. Thus, states usually conduct arm races because they have the same idea to prevent or open warfare.<sup>4</sup> However, in the modern era lots of the states that were once involved in the world wars and the Cold War are no longer in the circumstance of war, their military industries have shifted from producing armaments for their own usage to instead producing them to be exported internationally. Thus, by implementing this policy the states will gain profit from this trade which is beneficial for growing their economic power. Armaments trade cannot be defined solely as

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<sup>4</sup> Tobias Basuki. International Relations Theory Lecturer, "Realism" session in the 5<sup>th</sup> semester, 7 August 2012

military cooperation since the trade is also categorized as economic cooperation, thus the complexity of a military cooperation framework is merged with other aspects of cooperation categories.

Those types of military cooperation will create principle of reciprocity among the states which will lead into states interests by providing better national security and economic power. Thus, from time to time military cooperation causes interactions between states to become more complex as the international community becomes more globalized.

Indonesian-Russian military cooperation is one prominent example which could describe development and complexity of military cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this relationship, Indonesia and Russia are cooperating through several military frameworks for achieving both states' interests.

Historically, Indonesian-Russian military cooperation had been established in the 1950s when Russia was still called as the Soviet Union. However after the political instability in the 1960s which lead into Suharto's replacement of Sukarno as the Indonesian President, in 1967 relations between these two states faded. The Indonesian militaries' personnel who had education in the Soviet Union were recalled

by Indonesia's government; furthermore Indonesia made a decision to cut all military cooperation agreements with Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup>

The Cold War ended in 1991 with the result of the dissolution of Soviet Union, Russia as the biggest entity from Soviet Union dissolution tried to expand their military business by seeking military cooperation with several states. Indonesia as the biggest archipelagic state in Southeast Asia became one of Russia's target for expanding their military business in Asia. In 1997-2000 Russian diplomats actively tried to lobby its interest to the Indonesia's government in Jakarta, with the nation's embassy.<sup>6</sup> As the results of the several approaches, Russia was successful in making Indonesia interested in creating an agreement between the two states for purchasing several military armaments. Moreover, from time to time Russia and Indonesia has established several agreements; this indicates that Russia is successful in turning Indonesia to a loyal customer for its military business.

From the event of military cooperation between Russia and Indonesia, there are several facts and interests from the two states for interacting and establishing cooperation between them. Moreover, during the process of this cooperation, a lot of obstacles occurred which required numerous solutions for them to be resolved.

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<sup>5</sup> Alexey Muraviev and Colin Brown. *Strategic Realignment or Déjà vu? Republik Federasi Rusia- Republik Indonesia Defence Cooperation in the Twenty-First Century*. 2008. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre: Canberra

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

Russia's interests to re-build relations and create military cooperation with Indonesia are pretty clear. During early 1990s Russia suffered from a depreciation of its currency and lost its position in international market for military armaments.<sup>7</sup> These facts caused Russia to change their foreign policies to seek market potency in several regional areas, such as within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in which Indonesia is one of the member states. The Soviet Union as one of the major powers during the Cold War era has majority of its policies to try to develop and modernize its military technologies in order to gain more military power. Nevertheless, since the dissolution of Soviet Union, Cold War has ended and Russia as the state who played the biggest role in inheriting the Soviet Union military industry tried to shift their policies to export their military armaments. Thus, through exporting the military armaments and securing the international military armament market, Russia's government believed this policy would help to recover their economic power. Russia looked on Indonesia as the one of biggest potential of their military armaments market. It is because Indonesia is the biggest archipelagic state in Southeast Asia. Larger territories tend to mean more military armaments are required in order to protect the territories. Therefore, Russia's government believed by establishing military cooperation with Indonesia it would give enormous benefits. For the future, military cooperation with Indonesia in a long-term would secure ASEAN regional markets for international defense and will create opportunities to expand their next global defense markets to South Asia and East Asia. Lastly, Russia believed that Indonesia as the world biggest Islamic nation that potentially could

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid p.10

bring Russia to penetrate the Islamic's countries defense markets; which are some of it categorized as developing countries that not have enough qualities and technologies to create high technology military armaments.<sup>8</sup>

Indonesia's role is in itself one of the interesting facts within this cooperation. Why Indonesia agreed to re-cooperate with Russia becomes an important question. Since, their relation before had been tenuous after 30 years, Indonesia finally had agreed to re-cooperate with Russia. From the olden times, Indonesia had already been renowned for its free and active foreign policy. This means that Indonesia is independent, not taking sides or becoming allies for some states. Moreover, they are active and free to cooperate with all of the world's states. Thus, why had Indonesia decided to cooperate with Russia compared to other states? After the Cold War era had ended in 1991, the Indonesian military suffered from the embargo of military trade by the United States (U.S). Because of this, Indonesia's military had been weakened since U.S was the primary supplier of Indonesian military armaments.<sup>9</sup>

Due to this event, Indonesia's government was forced to seek an alternative military trade partner. In addition, European countries were supporting the U.S policy to embargo Indonesia and the expensive price of purchasing military armaments from

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid

<sup>9</sup> "U.S lifts Indonesia Arms Embargo"; [http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006\\_01-02/JANFEB-Indonesia](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_01-02/JANFEB-Indonesia); accessed on 12/04/2014

them.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Indonesia with their free and active foreign policy learned not to be reliant in their military cooperation with one country but instead seek a lot of alternative options to purchase the military armaments. The Indonesian government was conducting military cooperation with several middle income countries such as; South Korea, China and Brazil with cheaper costs than from developed countries. Furthermore, Russia as an ex-hegemony state during the Cold War era also proposed Indonesia to re-cooperate with them by selling high technological defense equipment at cheaper prices. These facts have made the Indonesian government agree to re-establish the cooperation with a lot of advantages, and in the process they learned a lesson to not depend on only one state for military trade.

However there are two major obstacles in military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia that will be discussed more on chapter four of this thesis. First, the main problem is lack of financial funding by Indonesian government to military sub-sectors. It is started because of Indonesia's economic crisis during 1997. However, that is not solely factor which affected crisis of funding in the Indonesian military forces. Before the Indonesian reformation era, the military procurement really depended on military aid.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the annual increase of budget in Indonesia military forces did not overcome the financial problems for obtaining military armaments. It is because

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> "Indonesia Langgan Hibah Pesawat Militer Bekas"; <http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/indonesia-langganan-hibah-pesawat-militer-bekas.html>; accessed on 13/04/2014

of these three factors. First, the concern about the low salary level within military troops have made the legislative to routine increase the allocation budget for raising the salary among the troops.<sup>12</sup> Second, the routine maintenance of Indonesian old military armaments from several countries made the cost of maintenance and supplying the part more costly which reduced the budgetary pie for procuring the new military armaments. Third, Indonesia's political instability such as corruption among political elites has become one of major obstacles Indonesia faces, commitment to purchase and complete agreement sometimes could be postponed because this issue.<sup>13</sup>

The second major obstacle in this cooperation is the big gaps between Indonesia's and Russia's technological resources. These gaps create obstacles since they affect the cost of maintenance and resupplying the weapons systems from Russia, since the maintenance parts and equipments needed to import from Russia.

## **I.2 Research Question**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century military cooperation plays a significant role in the IR framework. The states are not longer look on military armaments and equipments as a tool for states to secure national security or seek hard power diplomacy. However, the military armaments and equipments has also become a means to increase the state's economic power by exporting it to other countries.

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<sup>12</sup> "Gaji TNI dan Polri Naik Lagi"; <http://bisniskeuangan.kompas.com/read/2013/05/06/1802395/Gaji.TNI.dan.Polri.Naik.Lagi>; accessed on 13/04/2014

<sup>13</sup> "BPK dorong Kemhan TNI Lebih Transparan"; <http://www.investor.co.id/home/bpk-dorong-kemhan-tni-lebih-transparan/75443>; accessed on 13/04/2014

Indonesian-Russian military cooperation is one of the prominent examples that show how modern military cooperation plays a significant role for both countries to achieve their interests during that period. Russia who has been suffering from currency depreciation in early 1990s has recovered its economy and Indonesia had the alternative to purchase the military armaments since U.S and western countries embargoed it. These facts prove how important military cooperation is for both countries. Nevertheless, since Indonesia suffered from the U.S embargo in early 1990s, they applied the free and active foreign policy by diversifying the cooperation with several countries for purchasing military armaments. This is because the Indonesian government wants to reduce its interdependence with some states. Thus, this policy leads into some obstacles during bilateral military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia. First, the lack of financial funding from Indonesia's government to military sub sector made the procurement hard to realize. Furthermore, the routine budget salary increase and maintenance of old Indonesian armaments reduce the budgetary pie for purchasing military armaments from Russia and the corruption in internal Indonesian government also become additional issue occurred in this cooperation. Second, the big gap between Indonesia's and Russia's technological resources affected the cost of maintenance and resupplying the weapon system from Russia. All the parts and equipments need to import from Russia, furthermore the weapon experts also need called from Russia to do maintenance in Indonesia.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "Teknisi Rusia yang Meninggal tak Pengaruhi Kualitas Rakitan Sukhoi"; <http://news.detik.com/read/2010/09/15/124738/1440935/10/3-teknisi-rusia-yang-meninggal-tak-pengaruhi-kualitas-rakitan->

Based on the brief background about the issue that will be discussed, the writer could conclude one main research question for this thesis:

What are the solutions to resolve the obstacles within military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in 2000 until 2012?

Following the main question, there are two subsidiary research questions that are needed to be answered before the main research question:

1. What are the interests of Indonesia's government and Russia's government in Indonesian and Russian military cooperation during the period of 2000 until 2012?
2. What are the obstacles to Indonesian and Russian military cooperation during 2000 until 2012?

### **I.3 Research Objectives**

The objective of this thesis could be achieved if the writer has successfully provides a deep analysis and explanation of the issue by using the research questions as fundamental frameworks. The writer will develop frameworks that will help to analyze the issue and answer the research questions. Therefore, there is one main

objective and two sub-objectives that should be answered by the writer in order to fulfill the thesis. The main objective is:

To describe the solutions that resolves the obstacles within military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in 2000 until 2012.

The two sub-objectives are:

1. To describe the interest of Indonesia's government and Russia's government in Indonesia and Russia military cooperation during 2000 until 2012.
2. To describe the obstacles on the Indonesia and Russia military cooperation during 2000 until 2012.

#### **I.4 Research Purposes**

There are two research purposes on this thesis. First, the purpose of this thesis is to give a deep analysis and description regarding the issue, which is *the attempt to resolve Indonesia and Russia military cooperation obstacles during 2000 until 2012*. The description based on the writer's analysis in this thesis serves to point out the main idea of the topic and present the answers for the research questions.

Second, the purpose of this thesis is to give knowledge regarding the issues to readers who are not familiar with military cooperation or IR issues. Thus, by

reading this thesis the writer would like to share his ideas on attempting to resolve such problems that occur in IR worlds.

## **I.5 Organization of Thesis**

### **CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION**

The first chapter of this thesis will consist of the general idea about the thesis with the information regarding the issue for the readers to read. The contents of this chapter are an overall background concerning the issue, the description of the research question, objectives, purposes and the organization of this thesis.

### **CHAPTER II ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter serves the purpose of giving a cornerstone of the theories and concepts that will be used for describing the topics. In this chapter, there will be 10 bibliographical references, either in the form of books, journals or other types of academic reference resources. Moreover, the theories and concepts will help to describe the big picture of this topic.

### **CHAPTER III SOCIAL RESEARCH METHODS**

This chapter will describe the methods used for attaining the information and data of the thesis. In writing a thesis, there are various methods that could be used by the writer for constructing and obtaining data. Thus, the methods and data collecting techniques for writing this thesis will be described in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER IV DATA AND ANALYSIS**

This chapter serves as the most important chapter in the thesis, since the in-depth analysis and description of the thesis are discussed in this chapter. The writer should be able to gather the necessary information and elaborate them in the analysis in order to answer the research questions. In this chapter, research questions should be answered by using the framework and theories that have already been mentioned in order to make this thesis become systematic. Thus, through being able to answer the research questions in this chapter, the writer will have already achieved the purpose of writing this thesis.

## **CHAPTER V CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Conclusion**

The conclusion will consist of the overall conclusion on the whole content of the thesis. The writer must only provide an elaborate summary of the thesis as the thesis already fulfills the purpose of the writing.

### **Recommendations**

Recommendations will consist of the writer's advice for the readers in order to provide deeper insight and understanding in IR framework especially in terms of military cooperation between Indonesia and Russia.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

This chapter will consist of literatures that have support the writer to in constructing the thesis. Books, academic journals, articles and websites are included in this chapter.

## **APPENDICES**

The appendices will provide supporting documents for constructing the thesis such as articles, pictures, reports and other required documents for the thesis.

