

INDONESIA'S DEFENCE DIPLOMACY IN ASIA PACIFIC: A STUDY ON INDONESIA - RUSSIA DEFENCE COOPERATION

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Abstract

This paper aims to describe analytically Indonesia and Russia's bilateral relations, particularly concerning the defense cooperation between the two countries in the Southeast Asian region. Historically, at the beginning of the Cold War, the government of the Soviet Union (currently the Russian Federation) recognized and fully supported the independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945. The Soviet Union has never abandoned Indonesia in obtaining international recognition of its independence. The establishment of informal relations between both countries since the first years of the existence of the UN. Postnational reform in 1998, Indonesia has always put forward the concept of a defense strategy without having enemies from any country. A qualitative method and primary data were gathered through interviews with informants from several government institutions. Literature, journals, and related documents are utilized in supporting data analysis. In fact, for more than seventy years' diplomatic relations between the two countries have been established, and importantly, bilateral defense cooperation still needs to be further strengthened, apart from the current sustainable economic cooperation. It has so far been carried out through the procurement of the defense system equipment (alutsista), in line with efforts to increase the capacity and capability of the Indonesian armed forces. Russia recognizes Indonesia's leadership in Southeast Asia and fully supports Indonesia's role in maintaining peace and world order. This study revealed that Southeast Asia's regional stability is secured and has a good impact on international harmony. The role and contribution of defense cooperation between Indonesia and Russia in Southeast Asia need to be developed and empower further to boost mutual understanding and trust.

Keywords: bilateral, defense relations, defense diplomacy, defense cooperation, Indonesia, Russia

I. INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is the application of tact and intelligence to the conduct of foreign relations between government and independent states (Satow, 2013). Defence diplomacy can be defined as the series of activities which are generally carried out by representatives of defense ministries or other related government agencies in order to pursue national interest in the field of security and defense either at regional and global level, where the priority is the use of negotiation and other diplomatic instruments. In research from Manurung (2021, p. 27), through the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Indonesia's defense diplomacy utilized strategy which aim to generating mutual confidence, and reducing potential threats that may arise from the external threat. Indonesia has always strengthened its national defense in response to every dynamic that occurs in the South China Sea. For Indonesia, international cooperation with friendly countries is

carried out through a series of diplomatic activities by optimizing diplomatic strategies that are targeted, measurable and transparent.

This paper is written to provide an understanding and practical knowledge about the importance of national defense diplomacy as well as to seek strategic steps and possible impacts related to the escalating security threat in South China Sea. In addition, this is particularly related to Indonesia's efforts to further enhance bilateral relations with global major powers in Southeast Asia such as Russia. Today's defense diplomacy is increasingly relevant given the high intensity of defense diplomacy between countries, both in building and strengthening defense and military cooperation as well as in supporting the implementation of government foreign and security policies.

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Russian Federation are growing significantly after the signing of the "Declaration of the Republic of Indonesia and the Russian Federation" on the Framework of Friendly and Partnership Relations in the 21st Century", signed by President Megawati Soekarnoputri and President Vladimir V. Putin, 21 April 2003 in Moscow (Indonesian People's Representative Council, 2011). It is expected that this document is the foundation and the beginning of the formation of a new foundation for strategic partnerships at the global, regional and bilateral levels.

Thereafter, Indonesia and Russia diplomatic relations need to be further strengthened, in particular efforts to further advance people-to-people relations which in turn can support political, economic, social and cultural cooperation. During the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) in November 2019 held in Bangkok, Indonesia expressed its commitment to strengthen ASEAN and the need to attain autonomy in regional defence. Indonesia looks forward to upgrading its global posture by prioritizing international outlook and seeking friendly constructive relations with other states to support Indonesia's defence policymaking (Rizani, 2020). There are three reasons raised during the event by Indonesian Defense Minister, Prabowo Subianto, i.e.: 1) it is still necessary to enhance the defence cooperation securing sea border, preventing border conflict, and improving defence industry under the umbrella of ASEAN centrality; 2) Related to the South China Sea issue, Indonesia emphasizes the importance of security stability and pledged Indonesia's support to finalize the Code of Conduct as well as other regional efforts to ensure lanes of communication and trade would not be hindered; and 3) Promotion of Indonesia initiative of the ASEAN Indo-Pacific outlook. Jakarta views that ASEAN as regional organization has possibility to become the balancer and connector within the Indo-Pacific region towards a peaceful, stabilize and prosperous all together.

Moreover, during the leadership of President Joko Widodo (2014-2019 and 2019-2024), the Indonesian government clearly supported and encouraged the realization of the vision of the development of a national defense force supported by the professionalism of Indonesian national army soldiers, modernization of the main tools of the defense system, and the independence of defense equipment through the national strategic industries utilization and empowerment for defense. In the end, a number of these efforts need to be intensified and diversified military cooperation with various friendly countries in Asia Pacific. Jakarta is always seen for many years by Kremlin as regional influential power and able to become dominant regional actor in Southeast Asian (Manurung & Bainus, 2021, p. 77). The opening ceremony of the first-ever joint naval exercises between Russia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) took place at the beginning of December 2021 aboard the Russian large anti-submarine ship Admiral Panteleev in Indonesian territorial waters (РИА Новости, 2021). Indeed, the first-ever naval exercises between Russia and ASEAN have officially opened in Indonesia. The large anti-submarine ship "Admiral Panteleev", which is part of the Russian Pacific Fleet, has repeatedly made trips to the region of Southeast Asia and calls at the ports of the Southeast Asian countries. In 2017, the ship represented Russia at the naval parade in honor of the 50th anniversary of ASEAN, which took place in the Gulf of Thailand off the coast of Thailand. Suppose, the joint-military exercises will strengthen interaction and mutual understanding between the Russian and ASEAN military personnel, as well as friendly relations between them. National defense is organized into a universal defense system to achieve national goals. Indonesia's universal defense concept is essentially a defense that involves all citizens according to their roles and functions (Ministry

of Defense Republic of Indonesia, 2015, p. 8). Indonesia is well-known as the largest archipelagic country in the world which is located between two oceans and two continents has a unique and strategic geographical position. This position places Indonesia bordering sea and land directly with ten countries in the region. Indonesia's strategic waters are internationally recognized as one of the arteries of international trade which makes Indonesia vulnerable to border disputes and security threats that have an impact on domestic and regional instability.

Therefore, Indonesia as an archipelagic country and a country maritime sector, Indonesia is clearly very interested in creating security in the region, including maritime security in order to support Indonesia's interests as the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). Therefore, management of natural resources, border areas, and defense that is reliable and has deterrence capabilities is needed. Noticeably, the national defense system is built continuously based on priorities through: 1) efforts to increase the professionalism of the Indonesian national army (TNI); 2) preparation and development of people's power; and 3) the development of defense technology in supporting the availability of the main defense system tools (alutsista).

However, Indonesia has a full commitment to maintain regional security stability through continuous efforts to build friendship and connectedness with all countries including Russia. Russia is one of the four axis countries for Indonesia's defense diplomacy besides America, China and the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In the beginning of 2019, the Indonesian Minister of Defense, Rymizard Ryacudu in Moscow stated: "Current developments, Indonesia's main enemy is in the form of real threats, namely terrorists and natural disasters, but at this time the main ones are terrorists. Consequently, as the common enemy of the world today, various forms of counter-terrorism policies have been pursued by the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Defense. Furthermore, as a basis for enhancing the strategic partnership between the two countries, Indonesia always seeks to increase cooperation with the Russian side in various fields, both those that have been ongoing and which will be implemented in the future. The increased cooperation includes the exchange of information, joint exercises, visits between officials, and the enhancement of the annual security dialogue between the two countries". (Indonesia Ministry of Defense, 2019)

The people of Indonesia and Russia are proud of the history and nationality of their respective countries, with their sovereignty and freedom to carry out their foreign policy implementation (Bely M. M., 2006). These two great countries in Asia Pacific stand tall by choosing and emphasizing multilateralism and prioritizing the rule of law in international relations, encouraging peaceful conflict resolution through diplomacy and rejecting violence and double standards. The commonality of the main positions on the issue global and regional levels made both countries natural partners in the UN, General Assembly, Security Council and Human Rights Council.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Some articles have discussed defence diplomacy and defence cooperation. However, this study is expected to contribute more perspective and to supporting the understanding of the importance of the defence cooperation and its implementation. Thereafter, it will add more inter-disciplinary studies related to the advance of defence diplomacy studies. This research is done based on the ongoing research. In this research, it utilized three theoretical frameworks.

a. Bilateral Relations

On May 1, 1946 in Yogyakarta, the 1st Indonesia's President Soekarno stated that the Indonesian government was ready to establish relations with the Soviet Union and establish representatives in Jakarta and Moscow respectively (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Moscow, 2018). In addition, in order to fight for Indonesia's national interests in the Eastern Europe region, the Indonesian representative in Prague (Czechoslawia), Suripno had a mandate signed by President Soekarno in December 1947 to represent the Indonesian government in conducting a number of negotiations and establishing friendly relations with other Eastern Europe countries and the Soviet Union.

The period from 1945 to 1950 is also considered to be the period of the Indonesian nation's diplomatic struggle to seek international recognition for the independence and sovereignty of the nation after its independence was promoted. The Soviet Union was certainly one of the countries that welcomed the birth of Indonesia as an independent country, and the Soviet Union condemned all forms of colonialism. Indonesian independence fighters expected for real support and assistance from the Soviet Union government. Thereafter, at the United Nations, the government of the Soviet Union repeatedly raised the issue of Indonesia, and demanded that the United Nations stop the Dutch military aggression as soon as possible, and appealed to the international community to recognize Indonesia as an independent and sovereign country.

The role of the Soviet Union was well-founded in the struggle of the Indonesian people in their efforts to gain international recognition (Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). Thereafter, four days after the start of the work of the UN Security Council in London, UK on January 21, 1946, the delegation from the Soviet Union, which was the envoy from Soviet Ukraine, Dmitry Manuilsky, at the UN Security Council meeting raised issues regarding the present socio-political situation in Indonesia (Bramasta, 2022).

The Soviet Union condemned the unilateral actions of the Dutch military aggression which were considered to be threatening peace and security, and urged the UN Security Council to take strategic steps to stop the military aggression. In addition, the Soviet Union defended Indonesia's position in a number of meetings at the United Nations and other international organizations. From 1947 to 1948 a number of proposals were made at the UN Economy and Social Council (ECOSOC) session for the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty and at the Delhi conference in January 1949 the Soviet Union strongly condemned the Dutch military aggression against Indonesia and appealed to the international community to immediately recognize Indonesia's independence.

In research from Siahaan and Risman (2020, p. 254), Indonesia in the context of international relations always put forward free and active politics guided by the principle of love of peace but love of independence and sovereignty, and the view that neighboring countries are friends who have a shared commitment to maintaining regional security stability (Indonesia Ministry of Defense, 2015). In the end, enlarging similarities and minimizing differences in the resolution of cross-border border issues should be prioritized and promote peace in accordance with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Further, Indonesia has also initiated a number of initiatives related to efforts to resolve the South China Sea conflict, so that the expansion of the conflict does not occur (Saragih, 2018). The researcher identified that Indonesia is not a claiming country in the disputed territory, and has strategic interests in the managing waters territory.

Both Indonesia and Russia so far have always had a number of tactical approaches and solutions that are the same or close to efforts to overcome most global problems (Bely, 2005). In addition, the two countries often share many common approaches to major problems in the world, ranging from insightful questions such as multipolarity, the role of the United Nations, the principle of non-interference, non-proliferation etc., to challenges the latest, namely international terrorism, drug traffic, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and other hot issues of world politics. However, these two countries relations still need to be strengthened cooperatively on the three matters (Mr. Ngurah Swajaya, personal communication, March 3, 2021) such 1) a more action-oriented strategic partnership development; 2) economic diplomacy strengthening; and 3) refocusing the bilateral cooperation priorities in the new normal periods.

Previously, in April, 2003 President Megawati Soekarnoputri has made a clear, ground-breaking official visit to Moscow and met with Russian President Vladimir Putin. The two heads of state signed a historic Declaration on the basics of friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Indonesia in the 21st century. The declaration has opened a new stage in bilateral relations between the two countries, a stage that is free from ideological dogmas and full of real prospects for cooperation in all spheres of life. Obviously, it is recognized that Russia and Indonesia, as two great and authoritative countries, are multi-national and multi-religious countries with vast territories and large populations. large, has so much diversity that it is not surprising that the interests and the goals of the two countries are similar or in many respects the same.

Therefore, according to the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Vorobieva (Katriana, 2022), Indonesia as a partner and friend of Russia among ASEAN countries, of course in Southeast Asia, and also in the Asia Pacific as a whole. Indonesia is a leader in between ASEAN countries, as well as countries that are very influential in the Islamic world. And now Indonesia is the president of the G20. Obviously, of course Russia wants to establish more cooperation closely with Indonesia, and even become a strategic partner. In addition, the removal of trade barriers between Indonesia and Russia in achieving the bilateral trade target volume was reached during the 4th Indonesia - Russia Bilateral Consultation Forum led by the Director-General of America and Europe of the Indonesian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021).

b. Strategic Partnership

In the 1990s, Russia made attempts to swoop in to the Asia-Pacific region (Галлямова, et al., 2014, p. 5). This attempt failed largely because Russia's policy in the region was vague, inconsistent, ineffective and ultimately inadequate the existing architectonics of regional relations. The framework of the strategic partnership between Indonesia and Russia in April 2003 has become the basis for defense cooperation between the two countries in the Asia Pacific. For Indonesia, Russia is one of the greatest powers in the world who always supports and helps Indonesia in difficult times. The closeness of the two countries has been established since Russia was still part of the Soviet Union. The closeness of the two countries is marked by the signing of a strategic partnership and this will be an important milestone in the bilateral relations between the two countries. According to the Kremlin, Jakarta is one of the most important partners in the Asia-Pacific region, where interactions have traditionally been built on friendship and mutual trust. Since 2014 to present, no one doubts that the Asia and Pacific the region has become one of the main centers of the world economy and politics. The modern world in the context of globalization more dependent on the national interests and international activity of key Asia-Pacific players, primarily the United States and China. The former Republic Indonesia Ambassador to Russian Federation and Belarus once stated that (Mr. Djauhari Oratmangun, personal communication, 19 August 2021): "Diplomatic and bilateral relations between Indonesia and Russia that have been established so far have been filled with tortuous maneuvers, but in its development over the last twenty years the relations between the two countries have become better and stronger. Indonesia considers Russia as an important friend, and vice versa. The facts of historical dynamics also show that Russia has never left Indonesia in a number of international and regional forums".

Russia is an important country for Indonesia in the Asia Pacific. This country is the largest country in the world. Russia has an area of 6 times the size of the United States or ten times the area of Indonesia. This country also has an abundance of natural resources and controls global strategic products, including products in the field of defense and military weapons. Furthermore, in terms of history and President Joko Widodo's leadership, relations between Indonesia and Russia are also getting very close.

c. Defence Diplomacy

Defense diplomacy according to Cottey and Forster (2004, p. 17) is a cooperation that involves armed forces in peacetime as a foreign policy tool. Defense diplomacy does not involve military operations, but defense activities organized such as there is a change of personnel or exchange military personnel, military aircraft and warship visits, a meeting between senior officials and the ministries of defence, education and exercises, regional defense forums, supporting programs, and joint military action to build trust and security, as well as a number of military weapons development activities. Indonesia's defense diplomacy with Russia aims at the priority of building mutual trust through the concept of Capacity Building Measure (CBM). Activities held are more dominated by state visits, consultations, exchanges information, strategic defense cooperation, officer exchange, military education, cooperation relations agreements and joint military exercises.

Indonesia as ASEAN leader and is known as one of the countries that has always been active in conducting defense diplomacy with the Asia Pacific global major-powers. One of them is to establish and develop defense and military cooperation with Russia.

However, the definition of defense diplomacy in the international scope has not yet been fully achieved. Moreover, efforts to conceptualize defense diplomacy have been carried out by a number of scholars related to the development of diplomacy and defense cooperation. Through the securitization process, a country can construct every perception of threats in the international scope so that the perceptions that arise regarding security threats can also be accepted by other countries (Buzan et al., 1998). Indonesia's current defense diplomacy is generally inward-looking, focusing on domestic security rather than regional security needs. Indonesian defense minister stated that Indonesia should focus on the development of its defense industries cooperation to address non-traditional security matters such as counterterrorism and cybersecurity. Sooner or later, Indonesia strategic position should be optimized in enhancing regional leadership status and responding to the regional challenges. Prabowo Subianto in 2019 ADMM meeting declared (Nugraha, 2019):

“The country's commitment to helping build Southeast Asia's security and reputation among other world regions. ASEAN holds large potential in natural wealth and is renowned as one of the world's major global trade routes. ASEAN's global emphasis is proven by how the region has attracted the interests of global forces. However, the potential in Southeast Asia's seas would be hard to develop and make use of if it isn't guaranteed by the needed protection from ASEAN members itself. ASEAN member countries should have commitment and connected to reach collective welfare”.

The achievement of national interest clearly is the countries ambition at international level. Eventough the intersection and interest clash happen simultaneously and may lead to the open conflict but it needs to be avoided intentionally. Therefore, most states utilize diplomacy in securing and preserving their national interests. In research from Sudarsono et al. (2018, p. 70), the utilization of military as an instrument in diplomacy is inevitable. At present, the military capabilities boost related to the effort of advancing the nations defense and security affairs used as diplomatic means by sovereign states can be elaborated sustainably. It is defence diplomacy. Therefore, military use in the affairs of state diplomacy is no longer purely regarded as the use of violence, as many countries have transformed their military role into one of the tools of diplomacy to achieving goals by not involving elements of violence or open hostility.

Further, defense diplomacy is carried out either in a bilateral or multilateral context substantially, and aims to boost military cooperation, reduce tensions between countries, maintain friendship or form alliances and can conduct joint military exercises.

Therefore, defense diplomacy in its implementation is influenced by two things, namely 1) the involvement of state actors and 2) the factors and evolution of the security challenges faced. The understanding of each of these actors in viewing the problems of defense and security has clearly changed from time to time in various fields, including economic, social, cultural, political and defense. Today, globalization has blurred national boundaries (borderless) which has resulted in the problem of defense and security becoming a regional issue and a global issue, so that world countries need to hold regional defense and security cooperation and global cooperation. Changes from the previous statement forced defense actors to change their perspectives and perspectives, priorities and responsibilities in the defense sector such as the formation and delivery of peacekeepers to conflict areas, disaster response, and the implementation of defense diplomacy in the form of joint military exercises or making defense cooperation agreements. together.

d. Defence Cooperation

Diplomacy is defined as the implementation of a country's foreign policy. The implementation of Indonesia's total diplomacy in the international arena includes defense diplomacy. Contextualization of Indonesia's defense diplomacy is interpreted as a unit in the national defense system that is implemented early by the central government, is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, transparent and sustainable manner. However, there is still a lack of optimality regarding defense diplomacy so far, which has resulted in the defense component being

incomplete and the main elements lacking a clear commitment and consistency (Prasetyo & Berantas, 2014, p. 165). Indonesia's defense agreement with Russia in mid-January 2019 was a joint agreement between the two countries to form defense cooperation, but it did not lead to the formation of a Defense Pact. In fact, the agreed agreement will ultimately have an impact on the implementation of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy. The utilization of Indonesia's defense diplomacy in Asia Pacific is done by intensifying defense cooperation with Russia comprehensively to foster a sense of mutual trust and enhancement effort in national defense capabilities to anticipate any potential external security threats (Manurung, 2021, p. 30).

Defense development that is comprehensive and integrated in scope is likely to be at risk of realizing a respected deterrent effect in supporting bargaining positions in the arena of inter-state diplomacy. However, without neglecting the role of non-military defense diplomacy in the context of integrative defense and/or total diplomacy. Military defense diplomacy played by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as the main component or the military has so far been part of a defense diplomacy strategy which, in a historical context, is analogous to the dual functions of Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI). Especially, if it is related to the strategic objectives of the expected bilateral relations and the optimization results, such as the Indonesia and Russia defense relationship, multilateral cooperation, the assignment of the Indonesian national army in world peace and/or humanitarian missions. In the end, to support this, military diplomacy in the context of defense is one part of the strength of the state in realizing its national interests at the global level. In fact, military diplomacy has also made the state a tool in the defense sector, even though in the absence of the support of reserve components and supporting components, it continues to make adjustments to its management of international relations in order to respond to a number of national demands related to reform of the national defense system and to respond to the dynamics of global challenges.

In the 21st century, there has been a shift in the state's behavior in resolving conflict issues from aggressive to tending to prioritize softer ways through negotiations and diplomacy which in no way eliminates the importance of the role of the military (soft power of military soldiers) as part of a strong military defense. Previously, in its historical context, it was interpreted as part of the dual role of the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia. Although external threats such as multidimensional military/traditional/conventional threats originating from other countries to fellow sovereign countries have a small chance to occur. Thus, it refers to the increasing number of roles of international institutions, such as the United Nations and regional institutions such as ASEAN through intense consultation and negotiation.

However, it will not necessarily be able to erase the role of military power which is very important in becoming a means of increasing the bargaining position of a country countries in diplomacy with other countries and maintain the existence of a country. Likewise, there is a priority strategic target for bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and Russia which was previously agreed in 2019. At the end, the implementation of total diplomacy as well as successively lower hierarchies are carried out by all related stakeholders should continue and empower continuously. In addition, to the embodiment of development, defense, especially military defense as professional-soft power of the Indonesian national army which directed at continuous efforts to realize the national defense capability that beyond the minimum defensive power. It is hoped that through strengthening defense cooperation between the two countries, Indonesia's defense capabilities can actually be achieved continuously improved in order to have a respected and formidable deterrent effect in the region and internationally.

Indonesia, like other major world countries, has attempted to manage the spread of influence in Southeast Asia. The Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa, called this strategy a "dynamic balance", and Indonesia sought to shift the burden of diplomacy between China and the US to maintain the balance of power. Thus, Indonesia has tried to avoid the perception that Indonesia is allied with the US and China, even though in another sense Indonesia often takes inconsistent steps to the emergence of issues that develop in the region. Previously, in relation to the South China Sea dispute, this meant that along with increasing US concerns, which was marked by the

intervention of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at the ASEAN Regional Forum in Hanoi in 2010, it was less likely that Indonesia would side with US positions. although if this were done, it could benefit Indonesia. Furthermore, Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), rejected China's request that the South China Sea not be included in the agenda of the 2011 East Asia Summit in Bali, but President SBY rejected Washington DC's suggestions that he facilitate the meeting by isolating Beijing, even though he himself was concerned about China's unilateral behavior. Nonetheless, Indonesia has significantly strengthened its military presence in Natuna, an island rich in natural gas, where the Natuna area is an area that has long been contested and recognized as sovereign by China. Indonesia's move is a response to what has been considered a Chinese threat to Indonesia's sovereignty. The central government stated that it would continue its neutral policy towards China, amidst rising tensions when it claimed the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) area adjacent to Natuna as Chinese territory. The emphasis on this neutral position was stated after China expressed no objection to Indonesia's sovereignty over Natuna. Indonesian Defense Minister Ryamirzad Ryacudu declared it unsafe to ignore possible future threats, even though the situation appears to have escalated in recent months. Indonesia has strengthened its military capability and capacity to anticipate various external threats, be it illegal fishing or illegal entry of Chinese ships into Indonesian territory.

III. METHOD

Indonesia's defense cooperation with Russia has strengthened after the agreement of the two countries' defense agreements in 2019, which aims to enhance bilateral defense cooperation relations based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and full respect for the sovereignty and integrity of each country. This paper aims to explain Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the Asia Pacific region and understand how the role of defense diplomacy is able to support the improvement of Indonesia's defense cooperation with Russia. In this study, the author uses a descriptive qualitative method, based on a literature study and interviews with a number of informants related to the study of Indonesian defense diplomacy. The results of this study indicate that the goal of defense cooperation between Indonesia and Russia is the achievement of the national interests of each country. This paper identifies that the realization of Indonesia's national interests is more focused on the interests of strategic defense and improving economic relations. However, even so, the interests of the global new world order and fundamental perspective differences related to efforts to optimize defense relations are also still present in Indonesia's defense cooperation with Russia.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy

In the historical context and dynamics of Indonesia's international relations with Russia, in fact, the national interest of a country is the achievement of interests to maintain survival of the fittest, defend the independence and sovereignty of the state, security, military and economy. In addition, as a wise use of country power to safeguard various interests that are considered the most vital for the sustainability of the nation-state at the international level. Indonesia still needs to focus its diplomatic resources, especially strengthening defense diplomacy, so that strategic defense cooperation with Russia can be pursued optimally and sustainably. In research from Manurung (2021, p. 28), Indonesia's defense diplomacy should be conducted with regard to the dynamics of the geopolitical and geostrategic position in the international world by prioritizing the same close relations with all countries in the world.

The long journey of major world events has led to the emergence of a number of awareness of the leaders of countries to engage in multilateral diplomacy and the formation of certain institutions with the aim of obtaining maximum results in promoting their national interests. Defense diplomacy is simply divided into three stages. First, cooperative activities are carried out by military institutions in peaceful conditions; Second, military cooperation is expected to create balances against opposing forces. At this point, the state actively sends

peacekeepers, promotes democracy and others; Third, defense diplomacy is also related to the military cooperation of rival countries.

This means that state actors through the implementation of defense diplomacy that are held can identify, measure and formulate strategic steps with mature strategic plans by defense policy-makers if at any time open conflict or war is inevitable. Thereafter, the holding of defense cooperation and cooperation in the development of Indonesian military infrastructure supported by Russia is expected to further strengthen relations between countries and sometimes even surpass other traditional institutions in the decision-making process abroad.

Moreover, in describing the process of using military force in an interaction of international relations, it can be said as a model of diplomacy that a country wants to apply to create prestige and create international public opinion. The application of international relations cannot be separated from international prestige which is always pursued by a number of state actors. However, in the diplomacy process which is interpreted more broadly, the military does not only perform its function as a tool of the state to maintain its existence, but also as a tool to gain worldwide prestige and create a good image in international politics.

The dynamics of the development of the strategic environment have created increasingly complex external threats and have implications for national defense (Prasetyo & Berantas, 2014, p. 167). The development of the strategic environment at the regional level, in which, in the Asian region, there are still real threats that can trigger regional instability at any time, including the South China Sea conflict, the conflict on the Korean Peninsula, and the China-Taiwan conflict.

Furthermore, at the global level, the world's geopolitics is currently still faced with the increasing competition for global major-powers. Likewise, political and security developments in the Middle East, such as the Israeli-Palestinian, US-Iran, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, and Syria conflicts, clearly worsen regional security stability, and in the end will affect the achievement of Indonesia's national interests. Indonesia's defense policy should be empowered to deal with any threats that arise from the dynamics of the development of the strategic environment, both nationally, regionally and internationally. The management of the state defense system is one of the functions of the state government aimed at protecting the national interest in the defense sector. In managing the national defense system, the President of the Republic of Indonesia establishes a general policy of national defense which is further elaborated in the policy on the implementation of national defense as determined by the Minister of Defense (Indonesia Ministry of Defense, 2020, p. 2).

b. Indonesia-Russia Defense Relations

After the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the concept of defense diplomacy began to attract the attention of scholars of international relations (Drab, 2018, p. 57). Still, the lack of a universally recognised definition of defence diplomacy means that states try to adapt its content to the needs of their own security policy. In conceptualizing based on current world geopolitics, even the scholars find difficulty to define it clearly and comprehensively. In Indonesia, defense diplomacy terminology doesn't have any precise reference, and in particular in elaborating the supporting official document concerning foreign and security policy.

Defence diplomacy has goal to co-formation and implementation of the state security policy, and its task - to create stable, long-term international relations in the field of defence. However, the conceptualisation of the concept is a starting point for understanding its role as one of the most important instruments of foreign policy and the security of contemporary states. The shifting of international security threats and unpredictable phenomenon post Cold War periods along with the related national security policies have impact the development of defense diplomacy studies significantly. The demilitarisation of this sphere of international relations on the one hand was characteristic of it, and on the other, a broader perception of the roles of the armed forces, going beyond their offensive, defensive or deterrent roles (Kupiecki, 2017, p. 19).

Therefore, Indonesia's responsibility in promoting and maintaining world peace is enshrined in its national constitution, stating that all countries must have their sovereignty respected and all people should be free to exercise their self-determination right. Russia, as the Soviet Union's inheritor, is perceived as a natural ally for Indonesia and the lead supporter in the postcolonial era (Institut Montaigne, 2022).

Further, Indonesia views Russia in a favorable light based on the historical nostalgic sentiment. President Joko Widodo has presented the Global Maritime Fulcrum Vision officially for the first time at the 9th East Asia Summit (Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). This is an effort to embody Indonesia's geostrategy that departs from efforts to utilize Indonesia's marine assets both economically and strategically. The Vision has five main pillars, namely: 1) maritime culture development Indonesia; 2) optimal protection and management of marine resources for interests of the people; 3) infrastructure development and maritime connectivity; 4) maritime cooperation through diplomacy; 5) development of defense forces maritime. According to Manurung (2018, p. 147), the idea of Indonesia's global maritime fulcrum should be built through a strong, sustainable and implementable conception of international political economy. Essentially, this conception can become a direction, basic principle and paradigm with all stakeholders to position Indonesia strategically as the core country and the centre of gravity of the world maritime economy. Globalization confronts humans with problems of existence. It is also clear that limited natural resources result in an inability to meet overall needs at the developed country level.

c. Indonesia Effort to Strengthen Defense Cooperation with Russia

According to Muraviev and Brown (Muraviev & Brown, 2008, p. 1), a turning point in the development of strategic relations between Indonesia and Russia can be seen clearly from 2007 to 2008. Suppose during the period of that time, the evolution of Indonesia and Russia strategic cooperation, particularly in the security sphere, has not received much scholarly attention. Russian President Vladimir Putin to Jakarta on September 6, 2007 has marked the culmination of a long and complex process of reanimating bilateral strategic ties begun in the 1990s. Indonesia intends to seek long-term military-technical cooperation with Russia. The intention of Moscow's and its willingness to sell Indonesia advanced military hardware on flexible terms; noninterference in Indonesia's internal affairs and particularly in relation to human rights violations; common views on international developments; and the previous historical bilateral developments.

The end of the Cold War ultimately gave rise to a number of dynamics and uncertainties in international relations, particularly regarding the development of Indonesia's external environment. In addition, it has created a number of new threats to national defense, not only military threats but non-military threats. To deal with these various threats, it is necessary to strengthen the defense relationship between Indonesia and Russia which needs to be used as a strategy to strengthen the country's defense system. Indonesia indeed needs to pay attention to the latest regional and international security issues, security threats which include the impact of technology on the defense sector and steps to build mutual trust and strengthening cooperation in maintaining regional peace and stability.

In the regional and international Russia sphere of influence, positions Indonesia strongly as a long-term strategic partner. In March 2018, Indonesia unexpectedly found itself in the crossfire of a US and Russia diplomatic spat due to its decision to purchase 11 Russian Su-35 jet fighters (Tsvetov, 2018). However, in research from Manurung (2018, p. 60), Indonesia is important to Russia not only as a partner on international level during Indonesia's President Joko Widodo leaderships, but as a country that plays a major role in the Southeast Asia. Under the Russia and ASEAN dialogue partnership, a road map for economic cooperation has been agreed upon and implemented. Russia views the current dynamics of international politics as referring to the current paradigm of international relations which is determined more by competition in the broadest sense, in addition to others the scope includes valuable benchmarks and models of world geopolitical development (Embassy of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Indonesia, 2007). The new situation that arises lies in the increasingly disappearance of the Western monopoly on the globalization process. In the end, that's where the attempt to describe the situation emerged as a threat to the existence of a number of major Western countries, their ancestral values and their way of life.

On August 31, 2008 in the city of Sochi the President of the Russian Federation Dmitry A. Medvedev declared five principles of Russia's foreign policy, namely (Посольство Российской Федерации в Республике Индонезия, 2008): 1) Russia recognizes the priority of the basic principles of International Law, which

determine relations between civilized nations. In advancing international relations, Russia and other countries are subject to the framework of the principles and conceptions of international law; 2) The world should remain multipolar. Unipolarity is unacceptable. Domination in the name of any global major-powers hegemony cannot be given permission at international dan regional level. Russia cannot accept a world order in which all decisions are taken by one country only, even if that country is as serious and authoritative as the US. This kind of world is unstable and is in danger of experiencing prolonged disputes; 3) Russia doesn't want to confront any country.

The utilization of technology in the national defense sector should be based specifically on international law for peaceful purposes, the formation of new norms governing the technology must be carried out in an inclusive multilateral framework, and the importance of capacity building and technology transfer for developing countries. In particular, Indonesia conveyed about the ASEAN Our Eyes cooperation as an effort to overcome the threat of terrorism, where terrorist groups have used information technology to expand their reach and methods of special operation.

Additionally, Indonesia and Russia during the global pandemic outbreak has developed various bilateral cooperation on the provision of the COVID-19 vaccine and other matters related to empowering the Indonesia and Russia cooperation collaboratively and beneficial (Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). In addition, Russia also does not want to isolate itself. Moscow will promote, as possible, Russia's friendly relations with a number of European countries, with the United States and with other world countries; 4) Russia's definite priority is the defence of the life and human dignity of its citizens wherever they are. This is the basis of Russia's foreign policy, apart from also protect the interests of their businessmen abroad. For Russia, whoever makes an aggressive attack, will surely be retaliated; and 5) Russia, like the rest of the world, contributes to the peace and stability of the regions in which Moscow has a special interest. In these areas lie countries that have traditionally tied up with Russia with friendly and benevolent relations, special historical relationship. Substantially, Russia is always look for work in these regions of the world with great focus.

V. CONCLUSION

Indonesia and Russia bilateral relations still need to be enhanced in challenging the global uncertainty and the changes in the strategic environment. Indonesia and Russia have several similar views on global issues, such as the support to strengthen the United Nations systems and multilateral free trade arrangements based on the World Trade Organization (WTO). Therefore, in the bilateral relation framework, there is many opportunities to strengthen strategic defense cooperation, including in trade, investment, and tourism, while promoting Russia as a destination for science and advance technology studies.

Defense diplomacy is actually a form of diplomatic activity or its essence as military cooperation carried out bilaterally and multilaterally to discuss strategic issues in order to realize defense stability and maintain security and sustainable peace. In the end, diplomatic activities and strategic defense cooperation are one way to discuss any matter with a mutually beneficial end result for Indonesia and Russia, so that neither party will be harmed. Defense diplomacy should be carried out by involving armed forces, infrastructure as a security policy, and diplomacy as the spearhead of Indonesia's foreign policy instruments based on national interests.

In Southeast Asia, this two countries relation eventually have existed since the early 1900s. It was even earlier than that, due to the Emperor Nikolei II visit to Indonesia for two weeks in 1890. However, the implementation of Indonesia's defence diplomacy still has not yet optimized due to the lack of achievement and result based on the national defence system issues. Indeed, Indonesia and Russia need one another. In the end, with the common goal of realizing international stability, then, world peace, security and prosperity require joint efforts that are coordinated and sustainable.

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