

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Indonesia's well known as the archipelagic country with a lot of islands and a large territory. In 2019, Indonesia has 16.671 islands which is already validated by UNGEGN as the country with the sixth most islands in the world (Laut, 2020). Indonesia was also nominated as the fifteenth largest country in the world with a total area of 5.180.053 km²; Indonesia's water area is 3.157.483 km² and its land area is 1.922.570 km² (Statistics, 2022). In terms of the big and large region, Indonesia must protect their territory and its population. To fulfill these goals, Indonesia must have an advanced defense system tool such as the fighter jet. From the calculation of Mahfud MD as the Indonesian Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security with Prabowo Subianto as the Indonesia Minister of Defense, Indonesia needs 200 units of fighter jets. Currently, Indonesia only has 17 units of fighter jets and their already quite old (Chacha, 2022). Due to this demand, Indonesia had two options to make it real. First, make the fighter jet themselves. Second, buy the fighter jet from another country. Since the first option required too much time to produce a single fighter jet with a lot of requests, clearly this choice is irrational (Justive, 2022). Then it is more rational to have chosen the second option since Indonesia has a good bilateral diplomacy with some countries in the world.

The option of Indonesia to buy the fighter jet was already done in the Megawati President era with Russia in procurement of SU-27 and SU-30 in 2003 and continued until 2012 (Lidwina, 2020). Since Indonesia and Russia had a great fighter jet procurement history and bilateral diplomacy and relations between them, Indonesia decided to buy SU-30 from Russia to fulfill their need and goal. Afterwards, General Ryamizard who served as the Indonesian Minister of defense, in September 2015 introduced the decision to buy the SU-35 from Russia as the

new and continues model of SU-30 also to deactivate the United States F-5 (Greenless, n.d.). Furthermore, on August 10, 2017, whilst Indonesia visited Russia, Indonesian government considered the country's sovereignty consisting of airspace security signed an MoU which was accompanied through an agreement to buy SU-35 from Russia on February 14, 2018.

Marsekal Fadjar Prasetyo as the Chief of Staff of the Air Force of Indonesia, stated the agreement for signing the implementation would be effective from August 2018 and the delivery of SU-35 to Indonesia would be introduced in 3 phases with details of the division, the first phase in 2019 as many as two SU-35 aircraft, followed by the second phase as many as six SU-35 units in 2020, and the third phase in August 2020 as many as three units (Amalia, 2017). However, the agreement to buy Russian-made fighter jet was cancelled. While Indonesia canceled the procurement of SU-35 from Russian, Indonesia started to look for Dassault Rafale from France and F-15 EX from America.

B. Research Question

In keeping with background that specify explain earlier, then the research question might be consciousness as “Why on 2019 Indonesia decided to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia?

C. Theoretical Framework

To reply to the research question, the research of “Indonesia’s Decision to Cancel the Procurement of SU-35 from Russia” the writer will use foreign policy as a theory and rational actor as a model in a theoretical framework.

1. Foreign Policy Theory

The observation of international relations is closely related to the foreign policy of a country wherein the country acts as an actor who will later perform foreign policy practices to be able to attain national interests (Yani, 2021). According to Starr in 1988 foreign policy is the planning process, implementation

process, and strategies used to achieve an interest that will be achieved by a country is defined as foreign policy. In details, foreign policy is also a series of policies of an actor in the political and security aspects which will later be determined by a country to achieve national interests and how to relate to the state and other actors (Starr, 1988).

Indonesia as a republic in carrying out its foreign policy is to use the principle of being free and active based on Pancasila and the 1945 constitution. Situations that require making decisions and movements based on an orientation which will consist of attitudes, perceptions, and values which are embraced or believed through a country state, which includes the example of Indonesia's foreign policy which is based on the orientation of the values of Pancasila and the constitution 1945 that is free and active. In the defense and security components of Indonesia, one in all which is consistent with Indonesia's defense policy, specifically, to enhance the improvement of the defense system.

Previously, the former Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Ryamizard Ryacudu said the procurement of the SU-35 would be completed in 2019. However, the contract was cancelled, followed by Marsekal Fadjar Prasetyo who personally acknowledged the barriers to the procurement were due to the shadow of US sanctions. Therefore, the procurement of the SU-35 between Indonesia and Russia has relevance or is related to how Indonesia's foreign policy behaves and decides something, to achieve common interests and minimize losses that will later be received by Indonesia by considering the relationship between Russia and the US. With Indonesia's attitude which will later be implemented through foreign policy instruments that will be conducted by Indonesia.

2. Rational Actor Model

The most widely stated overseas policy evaluation approach is the rational actor model. Based on Graham Allison on the Cuban Missile Crisis during 1962 rational actor model is a model that try to provide an explanation for

international activities through recounting the pursuits and calculations of countries or governments is the trademark of the rational actor model (Allison, 1969). This model oscillates between choice and preference wherein choice presupposes a decider and a choice among options with reference to some aim. It also relies on character country-level interactions between countries and authorities conduct as units of evaluation; it assumes the provision of complete data to policymakers for optimized choice making, and that actions taken all through time are each regular and coherent.

There are 4 principal steps within the rational actor's selection-making method: discover the problem, outline preferred results, examine the results of potential policy choices and, make the most rational decision to maximize beneficial consequences. The rational actor theoretical method may be beneficial to expertise the goals and intentions in the back of a foreign policy action. However, critics of this version consider it does not account for instances while whole data might not be to be had, in addition to the incredibly subjective idea of rationality or elements that could inhibit rational decision making.

Furthermore, this model explains how the decision making must make sense be rational. In the case of Indonesia's decision to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia. It shows that the option to buy SU-35 from Russia has a lot of costs for Indonesia rather than the benefits, such as Indonesia will be antagonized by countries that oppose Russia and will be considered an ally of Russia due to the SU-35 procurement in the middle of Russia-Ukraine war that will make Indonesia in a wrong position in the world peace. Indonesia will also get strict and disadvantageous sanctions due to CAATSA such as banning financial transactions, stopping financial support, and blockading visas from Russia's competitor country. In brief, CAATSA (Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act) is an US law that imposed sanctions on Iran, North Korea, and Russia that signed on August 2, 2017, in the President Donald Trump era. This law was rooted in a bill public law 15–44 of an amendment to the underlying Iran sanctions that introduced by Russia continue to involve in

in the wars in Ukraine and Syria.

Regard to Russia, this bill was designed to countering Russian influence in Europe and Eurasia act. Then, this bill provides sanctions for some activities concerning cyber security, crude oil projects, financial institutions, corruption, human rights abuses, evasion of sanctions, transactions with Russian defense or intelligence sectors, export pipelines, privatization of state-owned assets by government officials, and arms transfers to Syria. For this case, Indonesia related to the sanction of transactions with Russian defense or intelligence sectors in willing to buy SU-35 from Russia.

Moreover, the other option being to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia has more benefits rather than the costs, such as Indonesia will not be antagonized by countries that oppose Russia. Indonesia will not be considered an ally of Russia in the middle of Russia-Ukraine war because Indonesia does not buy the SU-35 from Russia, Indonesia did not get some strict sanctions due to CAATSA because Indonesia obeys to the CAATSA to do not buy weapon from Russia, Indonesia's relations and cooperation with US and France become more powerful because of the procurement of Dassault Rafale from France and F-15 EX from US, and Indonesia's image and relations with countries in the world are still running great because Indonesia does not make a deal and defense security with Russia in the middle of Russia-Ukraine war. From thus data shows how rational Indonesia's decision making for this case.

D. Hypothesis

Indonesia decided to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia because:

1. Indonesia does not want to be considered as an ally of Russia and antagonized by countries that oppose Russia and in the middle of Russia-Ukraine war.
2. Indonesia does not want to get strict sanctions coming from the CAATSA for buying weapons from Russia.

3. Indonesia's relations and cooperation with United States and France become more powerful because of the procurement of Dassault Rafale from France and F-15 EX from United States.
4. Indonesia's image and relations with countries in the world are still running great because Indonesia does not make a deal and defense security with Russia in the middle of Russia-Ukraine war.

E. Research Methodology

This study will use a qualitative research method using an explanatory type of research in which it will reveal the problems raised through secondary data sources collected through journal articles, books, relevant internet pages, reports and documents that have credibility that can be accounted for. The data analysis technique in this study uses content analysis, which is to analyze in-depth discussions of the content of written or printed information in various mass media. The information that will be obtained from the data analysis will be considered by the authors so that they can draw conclusions and provide answers to the problems regarding Indonesia's decision to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia.

F. Scope of Writing

This research was conducted to determine the rationale of Indonesia decision to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia in 2019-2022. In collecting the data for this research, the writer would limit this research only focuses on clarifying several reasons, fact ad data from Indonesia in cancelling this procurement. A few reasons are related to Indonesia's rational decision making, CAASTA from US and Russia position in the middle of Russia and Ukraine war.

G. Writing Systematics

In this observation, the writer will divide into four chapters. In each chapter will explain in detail. Clarification in every chapter will associated with each other to offer a clean and systematic foundation for the primary research problem.

Chapter I is an introductory chapter which includes the background of the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypotheses, research methodology, scope of writing and writing systematics.

Chapter II will focus on explaining the Indonesia's threats and obligations in protecting the country's territory, providing an overview of Indonesia's defense and security needs, also examine Indonesia's fighter jet maintenance and comes from.

Chapter III will explain the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Russia, Indonesia's considerations in buying SU-35 from Russia, CAATSA and the United States (US) responses to the plan, and Indonesia's decision to cancel the procurement of SU-35 from Russia.

Chapter IV Conclusion.