

# The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Grace Indonesia-Russia Diplomacy Relations

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**Abstract.** *Indonesia's relations with Russia-Ukraine have been very cordial, especially with Russia, both in terms of economic relations as well as defense and security, where Indonesia often buys weapons and combat equipment from Russia. The Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Friendship of Indonesia-Russia Diplomatic Relations. Data analysis was carried out using an analysis of the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Friendship of Indonesia-Russia Diplomatic Relations. The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Friendly Relations of Indonesia-Russia Diplomatic Relations. As for the benefits of this research Academically, this research is useful regarding the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Peace of Indonesia-Russia Diplomatic Relations, while theoretically, this research can enrich the repertoire of literature in terms of the study of the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Peace of Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and Russia.*

**Keywords:** *Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War, Diplomatic Relations, Indonesia and Russia.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The Impact and Causes of the Russo-Ukrainian Conflict The causes of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict began in 2013, when the president of Ukraine had a deal and the economy with the European Union. After that the conflict occurred because of the separatist movement. According to some researchers, the impact of the Russo-Ukrainian war will not only be felt by the two countries and their supporters, but also globally. The impact was one of the economic and political sectors (Salamon & Siegfried, 1977). Russia's invasion of Ukraine took place with a number of air attacks on military bases and major cities including Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, the Russian invasion resulted in massive sanctions by Western countries to destroy Russia's economy and affirms Russian president Vladimir Putin as guilty.

ANTARA - Russia and Indonesia (27/02/2022) have established close relations, even before the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1950. During a discussion at the ANTARA International Corner program, the Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Vorobieva gave her views on bilateral relations between Russia and Indonesia. RI, and expressed his country's support for the Indonesian presidency at the G20 in 2022. In the midst of the warm political situation in Eastern Europe, just before Russia attacked Ukraine, the Russian Ambassador also spoke candidly about the relationship between the two allied countries. He stressed that his country did not intend to act aggressively. Invasion In Ukraine, How is the Development of Indonesia's Relations with Russia Currently.

Suara.com - (27/02/2022. In the 4th Indonesia-Russia Bilateral Consultation Forum held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 3, 2021, Indonesia and Russia agreed to remove trade barriers in order to achieve the trade volume target expected by the two countries, which is 5

billion US dollars (approximately Rp. 71.67 trillion). In the forum, Indonesia emphasized the need to build strategic partnerships that are more action-oriented, strengthen economic diplomacy and refocus cooperation priorities in order to strengthen relations between the two countries, especially to restore the economy which had slumped due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In an interview on Friday (18/2/2022), as quoted from Antara, Russian Ambassador Lyudmila Vorobieva to Indonesia explained the development of bilateral relations between the two countries. Russian Ambassador: We consider Indonesia as our partner and friend among ASEAN countries, of course in Southeast Asia, and also in Asia Pacific as a whole (Manurung & Bainus, 2021). Indonesia is a leader among ASEAN countries, as well as a very influential country in the Islamic world. And now Indonesia is the president of the G20. So, of course we want to establish closer cooperation with Indonesia, and even become a strategic partner with your country. Looking at the bilateral relations between Russia and Indonesia so far, in the last few decades, the relations between the two countries have gotten better. You know that we were very close in about 1960, during Soekarno's presidency. He has visited our country four times, and even the song "Seduction of Coconut Island" was translated into Russian and became very popular in our country.

Our relationship is getting better, and even the COVID pandemic has not reduced the trade turnover of the two countries which increased 40 percent last year. This is a sizeable percentage and second trade value. Of course this figure has not reached the target of 5 billion US dollars as expected by the leaders of the two countries in 2016, when they met in Russia, in Sochi, when President Joko Widodo attended the ASEAN-Russia Summit. But if this trend continues, we are very optimistic that Indonesia and Russia will achieve this target.

Meanwhile, the political relations between the two countries are also very good. Last year, as you know, our foreign minister visited Jakarta in July. Meanwhile, Secretary of the Security Council General Patricia also visited Jakarta in December. They engage in very constructive discussions. They, both, are also warmly welcomed by your president. We share many views about the situation in the world, and also about the global agenda. We work together as long as Indonesia's non-permanent membership in the Security Council (UN). And we have achieved some significant results from our joint efforts. Then, we also cooperate in various other international organizations. Meanwhile, before COVID, the two countries also recorded a very large number of tourist exchanges. You know that in 2019, we recorded 160,000 Russian tourists going to Bali. And I can confirm that Russians are just waiting for the right time to come to Bali. Again, if you ask Russians about Indonesia, they will say 'Oh, Bali, of course we know. It is a beautiful place'. And of course Indonesia is even more interesting.

Meanwhile, we also recorded around 700 Indonesian students studying in Russia. Our government provides scholarships, and we will increase the number by 100 this year. I am sure there will be a lot of requests for scholarships to study in Russia. So, we are ready to accept more Indonesian students. And I firmly believe that the future of relations between Indonesia and Russia is very good. Russia is one of Indonesia's trading partners as well as a source of investment. And the two countries have agreed to remove trade barriers to achieve the trade volume target.

### **How is the development of the trade agreement between Russia and Indonesia**

Indonesia posted a very large trade surplus with Russia. This can be achieved thanks to the excellent trade relations between Indonesia and Russia. However, to be honest there are still some obstacles from the Indonesian side, and we are trying to overcome those obstacles with our Indonesian partners. Then, we are also considering the possibility of having a free trade zone among the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union, of which Russia is a part. In 2019, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Indonesian government and the Eurasian Economic Commission, which is the governing body of the Eurasian Economic Union (Wilson, 2016). Apart from Russia, there are four other countries that are participants in the

Eurasian Economic Union, and we want not only a free trade agreement between Russia and Indonesia, but also between the Eurasian Economic Union and Indonesia (Kaczmariski, 2017).

Meanwhile, Indonesia and Russia are also involved in a working group and we are considering the possibility of entering into negotiations to reach an agreement on free trade. Hopefully we will get the results soon. Hopefully so.

## **Indonesian - Russia**

### ***Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Russia***

#### **1945 - 2011**

#### ***The Role of the Soviet Union in the Struggle for the Recognition of Indonesian Independence in the International World***

The period 1945-1950 was a period of the Indonesian nation's diplomatic struggle to seek international recognition for the independence and sovereignty of the nation after the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945. The role of the Soviet Union in the struggle of the Indonesian nation was great. The Soviet Union was 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 hoped for support and assistance from the Soviet Union. At the United Nations (UN) the Soviet Union repeatedly raised the issue of Indonesia and demanded the United Nations to stop the Dutch military aggression, as well as calling on the international community to recognize Indonesia as an independent country.

Four days after the start of the work of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), in London on January 21, 1946, the delegation from the Soviet Union who was an envoy from Soviet Ukraine, Dmitry Manuilsky at the UN Security Council meeting raised the issue of the situation in Indonesia and condemned the Dutch Military Aggression. deemed to be a threat to peace and security, and to urge the UN Security Council to take steps to stop the aggression. In addition, the Soviet Union defended Indonesia in meetings at the United Nations and other international organizations. For example, in the 1947-1948 ECOSOC session several proposals were made for the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty and at the Delhi conference, January 1949 the Soviet Union denounced Military Aggression against Indonesia and appealed to the international community to recognize Indonesia's independence. The support from the Soviet Union was warmly welcomed by the Indonesian people and various expressions of gratitude were reflected in the letters or speeches delivered by, among others, by Ali Sastroamidjojo, Djuanda, Sartono, Wilopo and Adam Malik to the Soviet Union envoys at the United Nations, such as A.A. Gromyko, D.Z. Manuilsky, Ya.A. Malik and V. Zorin.

Indonesian diplomat who is Indonesia's representative at the UN, L.N. Palar said that since the first years of the existence of the UN, there had been informal relations between the delegations of the two countries at the UN. He added that the Indonesian people expressed their gratitude for the support given by the Soviet Union delegation to the Indonesian delegation in fighting for independence. At a meeting on May 1, 1946 in Yogyakarta, President Soekarno said that the Indonesian government was ready to establish relations with the Soviet Union and establish their respective representatives in Jakarta and Moscow. To fight for Indonesia in Eastern Europe, Indonesia's representative in Prague, Suripno had a mandate signed by President Soekarno in December 1947 to represent the Indonesian government in negotiating and establishing friendly relations with Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union.

In May 1948 negotiations were held between the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia, M. Silin and Suripno and it was agreed to establish relations between the two countries at the consul level. The Consular Agreement was signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Haji Agus Salim. This shows the relationship between Indonesia and the Soviet Union during the revolution in Indonesia. However, this agreement

could not be realized due to the domestic political turmoil in Indonesia, such as the Madiun incident and the Dutch Military Aggression.

### **Opening of Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and the Soviet Union**

On January 25, 1950 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union A. Vyshinsky submitted in writing to the Prime Minister/Minister of Foreign Affairs Moch. Hatta that the Soviet Union recognized the independence and sovereignty of Indonesia, and the desire to establish diplomatic relations with Indonesia. The Indonesian government welcomes this. In May 1950 the Indonesian delegation led by N. Palar with members consisting of Yusuf Wibisono, Yamin and Hadinoto visited Moscow to conduct negotiations and the results of these negotiations were presented at a Cabinet Meeting attended by President Soekarno, May 16 1950, namely an agreement to mutually open the Embassy and the positive response of the Soviet Union regarding Indonesia's entry into the United Nations.

At the VIII UN General Assembly in September 1953, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Sunarjo informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, A. Vyshinsky of the Indonesian Government's desire to open an Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in the Soviet Union and on November 30, 1953 Minister Sunarjo sent the intent in writing. In response to this, on December 17, 1954 A. Vyshinsky told Sunarjo that the Government of the Soviet Union positively welcomed the wishes of the Indonesian Government and was ready to receive the Indonesian Ambassador in Moscow. In addition, his party is ready to open a representative in Jakarta.

On January 21, 1954, the Government of the Soviet Union gave an agreement to Dr. Soebandrio as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Moscow. On April 13, 1954 Dr. Soebandrio, accompanied by Kumoro, Hudiono Sujoko, Gusti Rusli Noor, Supeno and Sukamto, presented the Letters of Credence to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Voroshilov at the Kremlin who was also present the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Fedorenko, Head of Protocol Section, Molochkov and Head of the Southeast Asia Department, Maksimov. At that time the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia had a temporary office at the Metropol Hotel, then moved to a building on Jalan Sadovo-Somatechnaya 14. Since the 1960s until now it has been located on Jalan Novokuznetskaya 12-14 not far from Red Square and the Russian Presidential Palace." The Kremlin".

On May 24, 1954, the Indonesian government expressed its approval to accept D. Zhukov as Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Jakarta. On August 19, 1954 the first group of Soviet diplomats consisting of Second Secretary Vzhos and Attache Sholmov arrived in Jakarta to prepare for the opening of their representatives. For a while they stayed in one of the former Dutch hotels "Des Indes" which later it was discovered that the first Russian Consulate, M. Bakunin (1894-1899) had offices in that hotel.

On September 14, 1954 D. Zhukov arrived in Jakarta as the Head of Representative for the Soviet Union and his arrival was welcomed by the Head of Protocol at the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kusumo Utoyo. On September 20, 1954 D. Zhukov was accompanied by Second Secretary Vzhos, Third Secretary Sholmov, Third Secretary Kurochkin and Third Secretary Sharobarov and Attache Yuri Sholmov presented the Credentials to President Soekarno. The event was also attended by the Prime Minister/Temporary Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ruslan Abdulgani, Head of the Department of Europe and Africa Nazir Datuk Pamuncak and Head of Protocol Section R.M.A. Kusumo Atmojo.

### **Intimate Relations between Indonesia and the Soviet Union**

The years 1956-1962 were the peak of "intimate" relations between Indonesia and the Soviet Union. This is reflected in the close relationship between the two heads of state through mutual visits. On August 28-12 September 1956 President Soekarno visited Moscow. During the visit, on September 11, 1956 in the presence of President Soekarno and high-ranking Soviet Union

officials such as Mikoyan, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ruslan Abdulgani and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union Gromyko signed a Joint Statement. In June 1961 President Soekarno paid a visit to the Soviet Union and in 1957 Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union K.Y. Voroshilov and in February 1960 Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev visited Indonesia.

As a result of these visits, agreements were reached to improve relations and cooperation in various fields, including political, economic, socio-cultural, humanitarian, and military, such as disbursing financial assistance, building various projects and supplying military equipment from the Soviet Union to Indonesia. Soviet Union aid development projects for Indonesia such as the construction of the "Persahabatan" Hospital, the "Gelora Bung Karno" stadium, Hotel Indonesia, construction of roads, bridges and airfields in a number of areas in Indonesia, construction of steel factories and other facilities.

### **The role of the Soviet Union in the liberation of West Irian**

The West Irian issue was one of the bases for Indonesia's close relationship with the Soviet Union. The government of President Soekarno attempted to completely end the remnants of Dutch colonialism in the Motherland, especially in West Irian. In 1952 the Netherlands unilaterally included West Irian into its territory, while Indonesia considered West Irian to be an inseparable part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

To maintain an open war with the Netherlands, Indonesia needed an Armed Forces with strong military equipment (Cribb, 2001). Indonesia was faced with two choices, namely to approach the United States or the Soviet Union for the procurement of military equipment. Between the two countries, the Cold War is going on and they are fighting for influence over other developing countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia with the principle of a "free and active" foreign policy does not side with any of the blocs. Previously, Indonesia explored the procurement of military equipment from the United States. However, it didn't work because the Netherlands was an ally of the United States. Then Indonesia tried to explore the Soviet Union and received a good response from the Government of the Soviet Union. In a meeting with General TNI A.H. Nasution in Moscow, Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev said that Indonesia could obtain all military equipment in the Soviet Union.

On December 28, 1960, Indonesia signed a contract for the procurement of military equipment and in early 1962 military equipment began to be shipped continuously to Indonesia. In a short period of time the Indonesian Armed Forces became strong, equipped with a number of submarines, fighter planes and other military equipment. By looking at this situation, the problem of West Irian can be resolved through peaceful means and West Irian returns to the bosom of Mother Earth.

### **Relations in the New Order Era**

In 1965 Indonesia was faced with domestic social and political turmoil and the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement of the Indonesian Communist Party. After successfully overcoming this problem, nationally, it was marked by a commitment to economic development that desperately needed investment, foreign trade and assistance from advanced industrial countries, especially from the West, which encouraged the establishment of the New Order era.

At the beginning of the New Order, relations and cooperation between Indonesia and the Soviet Union were not as close as they were in the early 1960s. Therefore, the Soviet Union seemed far from the "radar" of Indonesia. However, efforts to overcome the stagnation of bilateral relations continue.

The breakthrough to re-establish relations between the two countries began with President Suharto's visit to the Soviet Union on September 7-12 1989, where the Declaration on the Fundamentals of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Indonesia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was signed on September 11, 1989. The document has an important meaning

that outlines the basics of friendly and cooperative relations in order to further develop cooperation in various fields.

### **Relations after the Dissolution of the Soviet Union**

In the 1990s, geopolitical changes occurred in international fora which were marked by, among other things, the fall of the Berlin wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a sign of the end of the "Cold War". This also has an impact on relations between Indonesia and Russia. The former Soviet Union visit to Indonesia. In 1997 the Coordinating Minister for Finance, Economy and Industry Ginanjar Kartasasmita and the State Minister for Research and Technology B.J. Habibie visited Russia. Meanwhile, the cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation is getting closer based on the Joint Consultation Protocol signed in 1988. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two countries often meet in various activities, such as at the UN General Assembly or in other international organization meetings.

The desire of the two countries to further enhance relations and friendship is reflected in the desire to renew the Statement on the Fundamentals of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Indonesia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed by President Suharto and President Mikhail Gorbachev on September 11, 1989. A draft declaration was prepared to be signed during President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Indonesia in 1997, but the visit did not take place.

At the end of the twentieth century, precisely in 1997-1998, both countries faced domestic problems as a result of the economic crisis.

### **Relationships in the Millennium**

Entering the Millennium century, Indonesia's relations and cooperation with Russia entered a new phase and experienced significant improvements. This is marked by mutual visits by the Heads of State and government officials of the two countries, as well as mutual support in international forums. Bilateral relations and cooperation are not only created at the government to government (G to G contact) level, but at other levels, namely at the level between business actors (B to B contact), between communities (P to P contact), between media masses, between religious leaders, community organizations and others. At a high level, several meetings between the two heads of state have been recorded, including: (1) The first meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Abdurahman Wahid on the sidelines of the "Millennium Summit" in New York, September 2000; (2) The meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Megawati Soekarnoputri on the sidelines of the APEC forum in Shanghai, October 2001; (3) The meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Megawati Soekarnoputri during President Megawati's visit to Russia, 20-22 April 2003; (4) Meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on the sidelines of the APEC forum in Busan, 19 November 2005; (5) Meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's visit to Russia, 29 November-1 December 2006; (6) Meeting between President Vladimir Putin and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono during President Putin's visit to Indonesia, 6 September 2007.

### **A New Milestone in Indonesia-Russia Relations**

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and the Russian Federation experienced a very significant development after the signing of the Declaration of the Framework of Friendly and Partnership Relations between the Republic of Indonesia and the Russian Federation in the 21st Century (Declaration of the Republic of Indonesia and the Russian Federation on the Framework of Friendly and Partnership Relations). in the 21st Century) by President Megawati Soekarnoputri and President Vladimir Putin during President Megawati's visit to Russia, 21 April 2003. The document forms a new basis for strategic cooperation relations at the global, regional and bilateral levels. In the meeting between the two heads of state, great opportunities were discussed in activating relations between the two countries in the fields of politics, economy and trade, technology and military engineering.

The agreements signed during President Megawati Soekarnoputri's visit to Russia were the Agreement on cooperation in the field of Space Technology and its Utilization between LAPAN and the Russian Aeronautics and Space Agency, the Agreement on Military-Technical cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Russia, Agreement on cooperation and Exchange of Information between Banks Indonesia and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, Agreement on cooperation between Vnesheconombank (the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the USSR) and PT. Bank Mandiri, and the cooperation agreement between Vneshtorgbank (Bank of Foreign Trade) and Bank Mandiri.

During the visit of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to Russia, December 1, 2006, 10 agreements were signed, including the agreement on cooperation in the nuclear sector for peaceful purposes, the visa-free agreement for diplomatic and service passport holders, the agreement on cooperation in the aerospace sector, the agreement on cooperation sister city Jakarta-Moscow, Approval of cooperation with the Attorney General's Office, Approval of cooperation in the field of tourism and cooperation between KADIN.

For Indonesia, the visit of the President of the Russian Federation, September 6, 2007 has strategic and historic significance because it is the first visit by the President of the Russian Federation to Indonesia. During the visit, a number of bilateral agreements were signed between the two countries in the fields of environment, education, culture, sports and youth, investment, tourism, banking and a state loan from the Russian government to the Indonesian government worth US\$1 billion for the procurement of the main weapons system equipment for Russian products.

In 2010 Indonesia and Russia celebrated 60 Years of Diplomatic Relations. Various activities were held both in Indonesia and in Russia, such as; (1) Congratulations to the two heads of state; (2) Roundtable discussion: "60 Years Indonesia-Russia Relations, Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges" in April 2010 in Moscow; (3) The visit of the Minister of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia to Russia in May 2010; (4) Festival of Indonesian Culture Arts Team of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia, DKI Jakarta and DI Yogyakarta in May 2010 in three Russian cities (Moscow, Tver and St. Petersburg); (5) Indonesian cultural performance of the North Sumatra Arts Team in May 2010 in Moscow; (6) Exhibition of Balinese paintings by Russian artists in April-May 2010 in Moscow; (7) Think-tank Seminar: "Advancing Indonesia-Russia" in June 2010 in Jakarta; (8) The publication of the book "Old Friends of the New Era" in June 2010 in Jakarta; (9) Indonesian Culinary Week in July 2010 in Moscow; (10) Promotion of culture and economy of North Sulawesi in July 2010 in Moscow; (11) Awarding of "Friends of Indonesia" in August 2010 in Moscow; (12) Indonesian cultural performances by the ISI Bali Arts Team in August 2010 in three Russian cities (Moscow, Tula and Kazan); (13) The visit of the Minister of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia to Russia in September 2010; (14) Indonesia-Russia Business Forum in September 2010 in Moscow and St. Petersburg); (15) Launching of the Artistic Stamped Envelop in commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia-Russia in September 2010 in Moscow; (16) Trade and Investment fairs in May and September 2010 in Moscow; (17) The visit of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Russia in October 2010; (18) Indonesian cultural performances by the South Sulawesi Arts Team in October 2010 in four Russian cities (Vladimir, Moscow, Kazan and St. Petersburg); (19) Issuance of a commemorative cover of 60 years of Indonesia-Russia Relations in November 2010 in Jakarta; (20) Round Table Discussion: "Years End Conference 2010" in December in Moscow.

Intensive cooperation is also established between the parliaments of the two countries (Otjes & Rasmussen, 2017). As stated in the Parliamentary Declarations of the two countries that the two countries agreed to encourage direct relations between high-ranking parliamentarians and coordination and cooperation in various international parliamentary forums and the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, the two parliaments have always adhered to the stance of respecting the political system adopted by each country. Adhering to the politics of co-existence and not interfering in domestic politics even when necessary to help each other to respect the sovereignty

of each country. To carry out their duties, the two parliaments formed a cooperation group between the parliaments in Russia and in Indonesia.

In July 2011 the Chairman of the Indonesian House of Representatives Marzuki Ali and his delegation visited Russia to fulfill the invitation of the Chairman of the Russian Parliament "State Duma". Increased cooperation between the two countries does not only occur in the fields of politics, economy, trade and investment, social and culture, education, but also in other fields, such as the military, tourism, transportation, disaster management, eradication of terrorism, sports, religion and general elections.

In March 2011 in Moscow Indonesia and Russia signed the Air Service Agreement. In addition, in June 2011 in Moscow a cooperation agreement was signed between the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia and the General Election Commission of the Russian Federation. Departing from the formulation of the problem above, the purpose of this research is expected to be able to examine and analyze the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Peace of Diplomatic Relations between Indonesia and Russia. The benefits of this research consist of academic, theoretical, and practical benefits, as follows; (a) Academically, this research is useful regarding the Impact of the Russia-Ukrainian War on the Friendship of Indonesian-Russian Diplomatic Relations; (b) Theoretically, this research can enrich the repertoire of literature in terms of the study of the Impact of the Russo-Ukrainian War on the Friendship of Indonesian-Russian Diplomatic Relations.

## **METHODS**

Data collection technique Online Data Search / Internet Searching. Internet searching is a technique of collecting data through the help of technology in the form of tools / search engines on the internet where all information from various eras is available in it. Internet searching is very easy in order to help researchers find a file / data where the speed, completeness and availability of data from various years is available. Searching for data on the internet can be done by searching, browsing, surfing or downloading. Types of data is secondary data. Secondary data is data obtained from secondary sources other than field data such as literature data from books, magazines, the internet, the results of previous research. Secondary data is used as a complement to primary data. Secondary data in this study is in the form of data that researchers found on the internet or in books. This research was obtained from various sources, including journals, books, news and websites, media reviews, websites and other relevant sources.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Jakarta - According to a number of researchers, the impact of the Russo-Ukrainian war will not only be felt by the two countries and their supporters, but also globally. One of these impacts is on the economic and political sectors. Russia's invasion of Ukraine took place since Thursday (24/2/2022) with a number of air strikes on military bases and major cities including Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Quoted from CNN, the Russian invasion resulted in massive sanctions by Western countries to damage the Russian economy and asserted Russian president Vladimir Putin as the guilty party.

A number of researchers from the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (INDEF) research institute and the Paramadina Graduate School of Diplomacy said the responses of these various countries could have an impact globally, including Indonesia. Here's more.

### **The Impact of Russia's Attack on Ukraine on the Friendship of Indonesia-Russia Diplomatic Relations**

KOMPAS (2022) The Indonesian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemlu) released an official statement regarding the Russian military attack on Ukraine. Reported from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' website, kemlu.go.id, Friday (2/25/2022), the Indonesian government submitted a five-point statement regarding the military attack in Ukraine.

Five statements by the Indonesian government: (1) Respect for the purposes and principles of the UN charter and international law, including respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, is important to continue; (2) Therefore, a military attack in Ukraine is unacceptable. The attack also seriously endangers the safety of the people and threatens regional and world peace and stability. (3) Indonesia requests that this situation be stopped immediately and all parties to stop hostilities and prioritize a peaceful settlement through diplomacy. (4) Indonesia urges the UN Security Council to take concrete steps to prevent the situation from worsening. (5) The government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has prepared an evacuation plan for Indonesian citizens. The safety of Indonesian citizens has always been the government's priority.

### **Russia is important for Indonesia, Indonesia is important for Russia**

Moscow - Diplomatic and bilateral relations between Indonesia and Russia have been tortuous and in the last ten years have been getting better. Indonesia considers Russia as an important friend. And vice versa. Historical facts also show that Russia has never left Indonesia.

Knitting and improving the quality of relations between the two countries is the main task for Djauhari Oratmangun, the diplomat who is currently trusted as Indonesia's ambassador to Russia and Belarus. As soon as he arrived in Moscow, the capital of Russia a few months ago, Djauhari immediately stepped on the gas to communicate for the sake of improving relations between the two countries. For Djauhari, Russia is an important country for Indonesia.

This country is the largest country in the world. Russia has an area 6 times the size of the United States or 10 times the area of Indonesia. This country also has a lot of natural resources and controls strategic products, including products in the defense sector. From a historical perspective, relations between Indonesia and Russia are also very close.

"It's like Russia is now an old friend in a new era," said Djauhari to several leaders of the mass media in a meeting at the Indonesian Embassy in Moscow, Wednesday (07/04/2012). Several media leaders were in Moscow to attend a worldwide media leaders meeting called the World Media Summit II which was held July 4-8 at the World Trade Center Moscow.

Relations between Indonesia and Russia have existed since the early 1900s. In fact, it was actually earlier than that, because Emperor Nikolei II visited Indonesia for two weeks in 1890. However, after the G30S case and the issue of communism, relations between Indonesia and Russia had been vacant, less harmonious for 30 years. The Indonesian Embassy office, located at Novokuznetskaya Ulitsa 12, continues to operate and changes its ambassadors, but the relations between Indonesia and Russia are tasteless.

"It is only about the last 10 years or so that communication between Indonesia and Russia has been getting better. So far, from the facts, it turns out that Russia has never left Indonesia. At international events, Russia is always in a position to defend Indonesia," said Djuhari. With this spirit between Indonesia and Russia as old friends, Djauhari is sure that the relations between Indonesia and Russia will be more solid and solid in the future. In historical records, there are many examples of how Russia really helped Indonesia. In the book 'Old Friends, New Era' published by the Indonesian Embassy in Moscow and written by Tomi Lebang, it is mentioned how intimate relations between Indonesia and Russia were in the era of President Soekarno. The construction of the National Monument (Monas), which was the idea of President Soekarno, for example, was a Russian aid. The construction of Gelora Bung Karno was also supported by Russia (formerly the Soviet Union-Ed). The Pak Tani statue and the Friendship Hospital are also Russian aid.

Like the saying 'Old love is blooming again', relations between Russia and Indonesia have shown their intimacy again after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Indonesia undergoing reforms in the late 1990s. The diplomats of Indonesia and Russia again carried out intensive communication to build friendships that were once warm and of high quality.

That's why, as soon as he officially became the Indonesian ambassador in Moscow, Djauhari immediately stepped on the gas and held diplomatic meetings with the Russian government. Djauhari wants the friendship between Indonesia and Russia to improve. In addition to handing over his power of attorney as the Indonesian ambassador to Russian President Medvedev, Djauhari also met with Vladimir Putin, who was then Prime Minister of Russia.

Now, Russia is led again by Putin. "Since I served here, I have met Putin three times," said the diplomat who has served in New York and several major countries in the world, including Asean.

The improving relations between Indonesia and Russia are also marked by the presence of several Indonesian ministers in Moscow in recent days. "A few days ago there was a visit by Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security Djoko Suyanto. After that there was Coordinating Minister for the Economy Hatta Rajasa. And just yesterday, July 1, there was Minister for Women's Empowerment Linda Gumilar.

In the next few months President SBY will also visit Russia to attend the APEC Summit which will be held in Vladivostok in September 2012. Vladivostok is Russia's largest port city on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, located in the Russian Far East region and is the capital of the Primorsky Krai province. Located at the end of the Gulf of the Golden Horn, not far from Russia's borders with China and North Korea. On the sidelines of the APEC event, it is certain that SBY will hold a bilateral meeting with Putin to discuss increasing cooperation between the two big countries: Indonesia and Russia.

Hot and Cold Indonesia-Russia Relations Russian President Vladimir Putin and Indonesian President Joko Widodo attend a signing ceremony after a meeting at the official residence of Bocharov Ruchei in Sochi, Russia, Wednesday (18/5). Antara Photo/Reuters/Sergei Karpukhin By: Sammy Mantolas - October 10, 2016 Read Normal 6 minutes So far, Indonesia's relations with Russia have experienced ups and downs related to ideology. During the ASEAN-Russia Summit in Sochi, Jokowi met with Putin and discussed bilateral relations in the fields of defense and investment. Will Jokowi-Putin bring closer relations between the two countries [tirto.id](http://tirto.id) - We are familiar with the adage "In politics there are no permanent friends, only eternal interests." Likewise, Indonesia's relations with Russia. Russia was not close after Suharto was in power since 1966. But the collapse of the Soviet Union and the changing political landscape of Indonesia after the reformation changed that pattern.

Including in the Jokowi era. When the ASEAN-Russia Summit (Summit) took place in Sochi, President Joko Widodo met with Russian President Vladimir Putin. The two discussed bilateral relations in the field of defense, handling illegal fishing, investment in infrastructure and energy in Indonesia. President Joko Widodo also signed an arms trade cooperation between the two countries. This is done because Russia is the second largest arms exporter in the world after the United States. Even in 2015, Russia had exported weapons worth more than \$15 billion. Indonesian Foreign Minister, Retno Marsudi in Russia Beyond the Headlines, said that Russia is an important partner for Indonesia. With Russia, Indonesia was able to establish a strategic partnership in 2003. In addition, Minister Retno also saw that Indonesia and Russia were faced with the same position, namely maintaining peace and stability in the Middle East.

Relations between Indonesia and Russia have basically existed for a long time even before Russia was known as the Soviet Union and finally collapsed in 1991, ending the Cold War period (Strayer, 2016). Early Indonesian-Russian Relations Vladimir I Braginsky, doctor of Indonesian and Malaysian literature at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, England, said that at first the Russians harbored admiration for the archipelago since the 11th century. However, this admiration was mysterious. because they themselves do not know where the archipelago is located, wrote Tomi Lebang in his book *Old Friends, New Era* (2010).

Lebang said that the knowledge of the Russian people about Indonesia mostly comes from myths. The myth is in the form of a belief that the archipelago is the Garden of Eden, which has

wealth in the form of gold and other precious stones. In 1846-1888, Russian anthropologist Miklouho-Maclay conducted an expedition to the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and Papua which would later become Indonesian territory. Even in November 1878, the Dutch government based on Maclay's recommendation to stop human trafficking in Ternate and Tidore. When Indonesia was still under Dutch colonial rule, the Russian Empire had placed its first (and last) consul in Batavia (now Jakarta), namely Modest M. Bakunin. He held the post from 1894-1899. When his tenure in Batavia ended, he published a 456-page memoir entitled *The Tropical Netherlands: Five years on the island of Java* (1902). This book also contains the first Russian-Malay dictionary consisting of about 500 words and expressions. This book became one of the milestones of Indonesian studies in Russia after the founding of the federation of Russian and surrounding countries as: the Soviet Union after 1917. In the early 1920s, Alexander Huber, a graduate of the Moscow College of Oriental Study, began a systematic study of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Based on this research, a 279-page book was launched entitled *Indonesia, Sketsa Sosial-Ekonomi* (1932).

Huber is considered to be the first person to use the name Indonesia in academic writings, which at that time was still known as the Dutch East Indies, East Indies, or Tropical Holland (a tropical region of the Netherlands) (Gouda, 2008). It was only in the 20th century that a German scholar, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel, published the results of his research entitled *Aus Insulinde* which the Dutch criticized for being pro-Indonesian. Not only that, in 1940 Huber also predicted the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia in Indonesian and Indochina brochures. In the same year, Huber was also ordained as the Father of Indonesian Studies in Russia. In 1945, the Indonesian Department was officially established at the Institute for the Study of Asian-African Nations, Moscow State University. Five years later, the Department of Indonesian Philology was established at the University of Leningrad (now St. Petersburg).

Russian-Indonesian relations were also linked when Tan Malaka attended the IV Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1923. Not only Tan Malaka, Munawar Musso who was the leader of the Indonesian Communist Party from the 1920s until the PKI uprising in Madiun 1948 had lived in this city even before returning to Indonesia in 1946. There Musso compiled Indonesian language lessons for Soviet students. These teaching materials were later refined by Semaun who taught Indonesian from 1945-1947 at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Relations. Semaun's revised results were later published as the first Indonesian textbook for Soviet students. Not only that, after the proclamation of Indonesian independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, Russia was one of the countries that continued to support it.

Even in the period 1945-1947 at the United Nations, Andrew Gromyko, one of the leaders of the Soviet Union during the cold war, pioneered the movement to criticize the Dutch who wanted to preserve colonialism in Indonesia. The Russian press was filled with reproductions of Indonesian newspapers depicting a freedom fighter with the slogan "My blood is red, I don't want to be colonized." In 1948, the Soviet Union de-facto recognized Indonesia's independence, followed by a de-jure acknowledgment as well as a proposal to open a diplomatic opening between the Soviet Union and Indonesia on February 3, 1950. This date became the reference for the beginning of official diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Russia. Friendly with Soekarno Deputy Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to the Russian Federation A. Agus Sriyono, on November 28, 2009, once wrote an article entitled "60 years of RI-Russia." According to Sriyono, diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Russia ran so harmoniously during the Soekarno administration. The Soviet Union also became one of the supporters of Indonesia's candidacy as a member of the United Nations, September 1950. In addition, the close relationship between President Soekarno and Russian Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev, which was seen when Soekarno raised the idea of the National Monument in 1955. According to Lebang, Soekarno asked for opinions or advice from Khrushchev regarding the idea.

"Mr. President, if someone is naked, then all you have to do is buy pants. Don't be naked, buy a tie first," said Khrushchev. Soekarno was angry with Khrushchev's criticism. "Well, when the people of the Soviet Union were naked, suffering, the people of Samar near Leningrad were

starving, why did the Soviet Union erect monuments, why erect symbols?" Soekarno replied as fast as lightning. Despite criticizing Soekarno's idea of building a national monument (Monas), the Soviet government in fact provided financial assistance to Indonesia. Not only to build the Monas Monument, this country also contributed to the construction of the Gelora Bung Karno Stadium (GBK). At the same time, the Istiqlal Mosque was also being built. In fact, almost all Indonesian weapons and combat equipment during the Soekarno era, especially Trikora (Tri Komando Rakyat for the liberation of West Irian) and Dwikora (Dwi Komando Rakyat for confrontation with Malaysia), came from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union also provided Indonesia with \$600 million in aid in the form of cruisers, destroyers, submarines, amphibious tanks, and MiG fighters. No wonder the late Lieutenant General Ali Sadikin once said that the Indonesian navy was the second strongest in Asia after the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Soviets also respected the figure of Soekarno. During President Soekarno's visit to the Soviet Union, to be exact, to the city of Leningrad, Soekarno was struck by the shadow of a building in the form of a mosque but was used as a warehouse. When asked about his comments about Leningrad, Soekarno actually told about the condition of the blue mosque he saw and asked for the mosque to be returned according to its function. "Only 10 days after President Soekarno's visit, the building has returned to being a mosque, which is now known as the Central Mosque," wrote Retno Marsudi in *Russia Beyond the Headlines*. President Soekarno was recorded to have visited the Soviet Union three times in the period 1956-1964. He even missed his 60th birthday in Russia.

In celebration of his birthday, Khrushchev gave a birthday gift in the form of a statue of a girl holding an oar, by renowned artist Manizer. The statue was then sent by ship to Indonesia. Until now the statue is on display in Bogor. Russia also sent other works from Manizer to Indonesia, including a statue in Taman Prapatan, Menteng, Central Jakarta, which was later known as Tugu Tani. The close bilateral relationship is also reflected in other fields. In 1956, the first sending of Indonesian students to Moscow began. Of the seven students, two of them are film workers, namely Sjumandjaya and Ami Prijono. Until 1962, there were around 700 Indonesian students studying at various universities in Russia and a number of Navy officers studying in Vladivostok and Leningrad. Suharto Dimming The intimacy between Indonesia and the Soviet Union unfortunately did not last long. After the G30S incident in 1965, the Soekarno government was replaced by Suharto. The political orientation of the Suharto government was at odds with the old government.

As a result, Suharto froze all forms of cooperative relations with the Soviet Union. This was marked by the dissolution of the Indonesian-Soviet Friendship Institute, even though this institution was the main driver of scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries. At that time the most affected were Indonesian students in the Soviet Union. They cannot return to their homeland. The Suharto regime not only revoked their passports, but also severed relations with the official agency that sent them. "Since then we have been the ones who have been prevented from returning home because of the events of September 30, 1965 with TAP MPR No. XXV/1967," Supardi said as quoted by Lebang in his book. Supardi is one of the former Indonesian students in Moscow who later lives in the Netherlands. Besides Supardi, there is also M. Djumaeni Kartaprawa. "During the G30S, we were confused and didn't know what animal the G30S was.

That's why it's absurd to accuse us of being involved, especially until our passports are revoked. It was a brutal policy," said Djumaeni. The same thing happened to Soekarno. This man from Kediri, in 1962 attended the Army Tank and Artillery Academy (Armed), Soviet Union. After the G30S incident, the Indonesian government decided to pay for his living. He was so grateful to Russia for helping him survive there. Even in his old age, Soekarno claimed to get a pension of around \$350 per month. The cost is beyond the coverage of health care and free use of public vehicles in Russia, which they will not get in Indonesia. Back to the Bright Spot The Soviet Union in the early 1990s disbanded. Only Russia and other independent countries were left behind from

the Soviets. The leader of the federation of the Soviet Union, Russia, became the successor of the glory of the Soviet Union.

The Indonesian-Soviet cooperation which was interrupted in the New Order era happened again with Indonesia-Russia cooperation at a time when Russian communism had collapsed (Nurcholis, 2022). Relations between Indonesia and Russia returned to harmony in the style of Megawati as president. In April 2003, President Megawati paid an official visit to Russia and signed a Declaration on the basis of friendly relations and partnerships between Russia and Indonesia in the 21st century. Megawati and Vladimir Putin agreed on closer technical and military cooperation in the future. The article, Bringing Russia to the World and World to Russia, stated that Megawati had signed a contract to purchase two Sukhoi Su-27SK fighter jets, two versions of the SU-30MK, and two Mi-35 helicopters. This harmony can also be seen when Indonesia and Russia held an Indonesian-Russian Cultural Performance in Moscow with the theme "Two Cultures in One Tone," on July 10, 2003. This harmonious relationship continued in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), which strengthened cooperation in the defense sector, and economy. President SBY also encouraged Russian investment to enter Indonesia.

The recorded trade volume between Indonesia and Russia in 2005 reached \$680 million, exceeding the figure in 2004 which only reached \$480 million. SBY plans that by 2015 Indonesia could increase the volume of trade with Russia to \$5 billion. According to Hatta Rajasa, who was then minister of the economy, the volume of trade between Indonesia and Russia over the last five years has increased significantly, increasing by an average of 29.27 percent per year. Currently, during the leadership of President Joko Widodo, the harmony between Indonesia and Russia is maintained. Even during the ASEAN-Russia Summit, the two Presidents of the two countries had signed several bilateral agreements. We will both see whether President Jokowi will strengthen Indonesia-Russia relations more than previous presidents.



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## CONCLUSION

Indonesia considers Russia as an important friend and vice versa. Indonesia has prepared an evacuation plan for its citizens. Djauhari Oratmangun, Indonesia's ambassador to Russia and Belarus, says relations between the two countries are very close from a historical perspective. Relations between Indonesia and Russia have existed since the early 1900s, but relations between the two countries were less harmonious after the fall of communism. Djauhari wants the friendship between his country and Russia to improve. Indonesia's relations with Russia have experienced ups and downs related to ideology. During the ASEAN-Russia Summit, Jokowi met with Putin and discussed bilateral relations. SBY will also visit Russia to attend the APEC Summit which will be held in Vladivostok. Indonesia and Russia established a strategic partnership in 2003. In 2015, Russia had exported weapons worth more than \$15 billion to Indonesia. The

Russian Empire placed its first consul in Batavia (now Jakarta), namely Modest M. Bakunin. He held the post from 1894-1899. Alexander Huber is considered to be the first person to use the name Indonesia in academic writings. In 1940 Huber also predicted the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia in Indonesian and Indochina brochures. Russia was one of the countries that continued to support Indonesian independence after proclamation of independence. Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Russia began in 1950. The Soviet Union provided Indonesia with \$600 million in aid in the form of cruisers, destroyers, submarines, amphibious tanks, MiG fighters. Almost all Indonesian weapons and combat equipment during Soekarno era came from the Soviet Union. In 1956, the first sending of Indonesian students to Moscow began. Russia also sent other works from Manizer to Indonesia, including a statue in Menteng, Central Jakarta. After the G30S incident in 1965, the Soekarno government was replaced by Suharto. One of the former Indonesian students in Moscow who later lives in the Netherlands. Soekarno claimed to get a pension of around \$350 per month.

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