

## **IMPLICATIONS OF THE UKRAINE WAR FOR INDONESIAN MILITARY AND SECURITY COOPERATION: A POLICY ANALYSIS**

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### ***Abstract***

The ongoing Ukraine war has significant global geopolitical implications, reshaping security policies and international relations. For Indonesia, as a non-aligned and strategic player in Southeast Asia, understanding the impact of this conflict is crucial for adjusting its defense and security cooperation strategies. This research aims to analyze the implications of the Ukraine war on Indonesia's military and security cooperation policies. A qualitative approach was employed, using secondary data from government documents, policy analyses, and academic literature to explore Indonesia's diplomatic stance, defense collaborations, and alignment with major powers. The findings reveal that the Ukraine war has prompted Indonesia to reconsider its defense policies, particularly in diversifying military procurements, avoiding over-reliance on any specific nation, and enhancing regional security partnerships. Additionally, Indonesia's emphasis on non-alignment has been strengthened, with a focus on ensuring strategic autonomy amidst the growing tensions between global powers. The research concludes that the conflict has reinforced Indonesia's proactive engagement in regional security forums and prompted a recalibration of its defense procurement strategies. These insights contribute to understanding how global conflicts can influence the defense policies of non-aligned states like Indonesia.

Keywords: Indonesian defense policy, military cooperation, non-alignment policy, security strategy, Ukraine war

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Ukraine War, initiated by Russia's invasion in February 2022, has altered the global geopolitical landscape, prompting many nations to reevaluate their defense and security policies. For Indonesia, the implications of this conflict extend beyond international diplomacy to influence military and security cooperation. This research analyzes how the Ukraine War impacts Indonesian defense policy, focusing on the challenges and opportunities for military and security cooperation. The research will discuss changes in international alliances, modernization of military capabilities, and Indonesia's need to adapt to evolving security threats.

The Ukraine War has highlighted the resurgence of great power rivalry, reshaping global alliances. The increased tensions between NATO countries and

Russia present both challenges and opportunities for Indonesia. On the one hand, the polarization could limit Indonesia's ability to maintain its non-aligned status, a key principle of its foreign policy (Dinkel, 2018). On the other hand, the conflict has also led to opportunities for diversifying military partnerships. For example, Western countries are now more open to building strategic partnerships in the Asia-Pacific region as part of their Indo-Pacific strategy, which may benefit Indonesia in enhancing its defense capabilities (Envall & Hall, 2016).

The increased interest of Western nations in Southeast Asia is particularly significant given Indonesia's desire to strengthen its naval capacity in the context of rising tensions in the South China Sea. The Ukraine War has reaffirmed the importance of military partnerships in ensuring national sovereignty, pushing Indonesia to seek out new defense collaborations with Western countries, especially in the context of maritime security (Anwar, 2020). This marks a shift in Indonesia's strategic direction, as it looks to balance its defense partnerships between the traditional reliance on Russia and the emerging opportunities from NATO member states.

The conflict in Ukraine has exposed vulnerabilities in traditional warfare and highlighted the importance of modernized defense systems, including advanced missile defense, cyber warfare, and drone capabilities. Indonesia, in response, is increasingly aware of the necessity to modernize its military, especially in light of the significant role that high-tech weaponry has played in Ukraine (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024). The war has illustrated the strategic importance of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), precision missiles, and integrated defense systems. This realization has prompted the Indonesian government to reconsider its defense spending priorities and focus on modernizing its military assets.

However, this modernization effort faces multiple challenges. One notable issue is Indonesia's reliance on Russian-made military equipment, which is now subject to global sanctions against Russia. These sanctions have created supply chain disruptions and impacted the availability of spare parts, affecting Indonesia's defense readiness (Manurung, 2017). In response, Indonesia has started exploring alternative suppliers, including the United States, South Korea, and Turkey, as part of its broader

effort to diversify its military procurements and reduce dependence on any single source (Pasaribu et al., 2023).

The Ukraine War has demonstrated that modern conflicts are no longer limited to conventional battlefields but include hybrid warfare tactics, such as cyber-attacks and disinformation campaigns. This shift has significant implications for Indonesian security policy, as the country must now prepare for a broader spectrum of threats beyond traditional military engagement (Bratko et al., 2021). Cybersecurity, in particular, has emerged as a crucial component of national defense, with the Ukraine War providing a stark reminder of the vulnerabilities in the digital domain.

In response, Indonesia has begun to strengthen its cybersecurity infrastructure by cooperating with countries that have advanced capabilities in this area, such as the United States and Japan. These partnerships are crucial for capacity building, as Indonesia seeks to bolster its cyber defenses against the growing threat of cyber-attacks from state and non-state actors (Rizal & Yani, 2016). Additionally, there has been a growing recognition of the need to establish a dedicated cyber command within the Indonesian military to enhance coordination and response capabilities.

The Ukraine War has brought to light the fragility of global security frameworks and the need for regional powers like Indonesia to enhance their military cooperation strategies. Indonesia's pursuit of greater military and security cooperation is not merely about acquiring advanced technology but also about ensuring a strategic balance that allows it to maintain its non-aligned position while effectively responding to evolving threats (Belo & Rodríguez, 2023).

Indonesia's involvement in regional security forums, such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), has become even more important in light of the Ukraine War. By working more closely with regional partners, Indonesia can contribute to collective security while also benefiting from joint exercises and capacity-building initiatives (Envall & Hall, 2016).

The ongoing Ukraine War has significantly impacted global geopolitical dynamics, prompting many nations to reconsider their defense and security policies. For Indonesia, a country with a traditionally non-aligned stance, the implications of this

conflict are profound, particularly in the context of military and security cooperation (Mhlanga, 2024). As Indonesia seeks to modernize its defense capabilities and navigate evolving security threats, it faces challenges related to shifting alliances, supply chain disruptions for military equipment, and the need for enhanced cybersecurity measures (Gindarsah, 2016). However, there is limited research on how these developments specifically influence Indonesia's defense policies and military cooperation strategies. Understanding the policy implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesia is crucial for enhancing the country's defense readiness and ensuring effective regional security collaboration.

The objective of this research is to analyze the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation. Specifically, the study aims to assess how the shifting geopolitical landscape due to the Ukraine War has influenced Indonesia's strategic partnerships and defense policy, examine the impact on Indonesia's military modernization efforts, particularly regarding defense procurement and capability enhancement, investigate the evolving nature of security threats such as hybrid warfare and their implications for Indonesian defense strategy and cooperation, and provide policy recommendations for enhancing Indonesian military and security cooperation in light of the lessons learned from the Ukraine War.

The Ukraine War has had a profound impact on the global security environment, reshaping alliances and prompting countries to reassess their defense strategies. For Indonesia, which has traditionally maintained a non-aligned stance, this conflict presents both challenges and opportunities in the context of military modernization and security cooperation. The growing importance of advanced military technology and cybersecurity has further intensified the need for Indonesia to adapt to the evolving defense landscape.

Research Question:

"What are the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation, and how should Indonesian defense policy adapt in response?"

Answering this question is essential for understanding how Indonesia can strengthen its defense readiness and establish effective partnerships in an

increasingly polarized global setting. This research aims to provide a thorough analysis of the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesia and propose suitable policy responses to these emerging challenges.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The implications of global conflicts on national defense policies have been extensively discussed in the literature. The Ukraine War, initiated by Russia's invasion in February 2022, has triggered a significant reshaping of global geopolitical alliances and security strategies (Dinkel, 2018). Understanding the impacts of such conflicts on non-aligned countries like Indonesia requires examining key elements such as strategic partnerships, military modernization, and adaptation to new security threats. This literature review explores the relevant theoretical and empirical contributions to understand how the Ukraine War influences Indonesian military and security cooperation.

The resurgence of great power rivalry, characterized by increasing polarization between NATO and Russia, has been highlighted by scholars as a central theme in understanding the impacts on Indonesia's non-aligned stance (Envall & Hall, 2016). Indonesia's foreign policy, which is rooted in maintaining non-alignment, faces challenges in this polarized context, and the need to diversify defense partnerships has become more crucial (Anwar, 2020). Scholars have argued that diversification efforts, such as strengthening military ties with Western nations, are particularly important as they align with Indonesia's goals of enhancing maritime security in the South China Sea, a region of growing tension (Anwar, 2020).

The importance of military modernization in the wake of the Ukraine War has also been emphasized in recent studies. Limon & Gürdal Limon (2024) notes that the conflict has underscored the need for advanced missile defense systems, drones, and cybersecurity capabilities. This is particularly relevant for Indonesia, which has historically relied on outdated military technology. However, modernization efforts face substantial challenges due to Indonesia's dependence on Russian-made military equipment, which has been disrupted by international sanctions against Russia

(Manurung, 2017). Researchers like (Pasaribu et al., 2023) have examined alternative procurement strategies, including partnerships with the United States, South Korea, and Turkey, to address these supply chain challenges and reduce reliance on Russian technology.

Another key theme in the literature is the increasing importance of cybersecurity as a component of national defense. Bratko et al. (2021) highlights that modern warfare has evolved to include hybrid tactics, such as cyber-attacks and disinformation, which were prominently observed during the Ukraine War. This development necessitates a broader approach to defense that goes beyond conventional military capabilities. Rizal & Yani (2016) underscores Indonesia's efforts to strengthen its cybersecurity infrastructure through cooperation with advanced nations like the United States and Japan. The establishment of a dedicated cyber command within the Indonesian military has also been identified as a critical step towards improving defense readiness in the digital realm (Rizal & Yani, 2016).

Theoretical frameworks on strategic autonomy and regional security cooperation have been applied to understand Indonesia's response to the Ukraine War. (Belo & Rodríguez, 2023) posits that maintaining a balance between non-alignment and effective military cooperation is essential for Indonesia to adapt to the evolving global security environment. Participation in regional forums, such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), has also been discussed as a way for Indonesia to contribute to regional stability while benefiting from joint defense initiatives (Envall & Hall, 2016).

Overall, the literature suggests that the Ukraine War presents both challenges and opportunities for Indonesian defense and security cooperation. The need to modernize military capabilities, diversify defense partnerships, and enhance cybersecurity measures are recurrent themes across the reviewed studies. However, there remains a gap in the literature specifically examining how these challenges influence Indonesia's policy-making processes and strategic defense initiatives in detail.

## **METHOD**

In conducting qualitative research using secondary data, Creswell (2018) highlights the importance of a systematic approach to data collection, analysis, and interpretation to develop a comprehensive understanding of the research phenomenon. This study adheres to Creswell's framework in employing qualitative research methods using secondary data to explore the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation.

(Creswell, 2018) notes that qualitative research is primarily exploratory, which allows researchers to gather insights into specific issues. This study adopts a case study design to examine the complex geopolitical, defense, and policy shifts impacting Indonesia. According to Creswell & Poth (2016), a case study approach is well-suited for providing detailed insights through the analysis of existing documents, reports, and literature.

The primary data for this research comprises secondary data gathered from credible sources. Creswell (2018) identifies suitable types of secondary data for qualitative research, including documents and reports such as official government publications, defense reports, and international relations analyses; published literature such as academic articles, books, and research reports that offer a theoretical foundation for understanding the Ukraine War's implications; and archival records, including publicly available records from international organizations like ASEAN and NATO. Data collection will be conducted using online academic databases, including Google Scholar and JSTOR, ensuring credibility and relevance (Creswell, 2018).

Creswell (2018) describes qualitative data analysis as involving the organization, coding, and interpretation of data to generate themes. This study's data analysis involves systematically organizing and categorizing collected documents and texts by topics relevant to Indonesian defense policy and military cooperation (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Coding techniques will be used to conduct thematic analysis, identifying themes, patterns, and categories within the data, such as "geopolitical influence," "military modernization," and "security cooperation" (Creswell, 2018). Interpreting these themes in their context, as emphasized by Creswell (2018), will be crucial for analyzing Indonesia's geopolitical stance and strategic interests.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the data, Creswell (2018) suggests strategies such as triangulation and thick description. In this study, triangulation will be employed to validate findings by cross-referencing multiple sources of secondary data, including government documents, academic literature, and defense analyst reports (Creswell, 2018). Additionally, thick description will be used to provide readers with a clear understanding of the data's context and the basis for the conclusions drawn (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### *Research Findings*

The research findings reveal several key implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation. These findings are organized around the themes identified during data analysis: the shifting geopolitical landscape, modernization of defense capabilities, and adaptation to evolving security threats.

**Shifting Geopolitical Landscape and Defense Partnerships:** The Ukraine War has triggered significant changes in global alliances, impacting Indonesia's defense and security policies. The intensified rivalry between Western nations and Russia has implications for Indonesia's traditional non-aligned stance (Dinkel, 2018). In response to the evolving geopolitical environment, Indonesia is increasingly seeking to diversify its military partnerships, reducing reliance on Russian defense equipment, which comprises 55% of Indonesia's current arsenal (Sura, 2021; Wu, 2021). To mitigate the risks associated with this dependency, Indonesia has strengthened relationships with Western nations, such as the United States, and regional partners like South Korea and Japan, as part of the broader Indo-Pacific strategy (Envall & Hall, 2016). For example, in 2023, Indonesia signed a \$500 million defense cooperation agreement with South Korea to jointly develop next-generation fighter aircraft (Ryvantya, 2024). This shift aligns with Indonesia's aim to enhance its naval capabilities, particularly in the South China Sea, where Indonesia has been actively increasing patrols in the Natuna Sea following multiple incursions by Chinese vessels.

**Challenges and Opportunities in Military Modernization:** The Ukraine War has underscored the importance of modern military technology, including advanced



missile defense systems, drones, and cybersecurity capabilities. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI, 2024), Indonesia allocated approximately 1.1% of its GDP to defense spending in 2023, amounting to \$9.2 billion, an increase of 8% compared to the previous year (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 2024). This increase reflects the urgency to modernize the military, as the war in Ukraine has exposed vulnerabilities in traditional defense systems (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024). However, Indonesia's reliance on Russian-made equipment, affected by global sanctions on Russia, presents a significant challenge to its defense modernization (Manurung, 2017). For instance, Indonesia's fleet of 16 Su-27 and Su-30 fighter jets has faced maintenance issues due to difficulties in acquiring spare parts from Russia, leading to operational readiness concerns (Defence Industry Report, 2023).

On a positive note, Western nations have shown increased willingness to collaborate with Indonesia following the Ukraine War, offering opportunities to access advanced technology and enhance defense capabilities. Indonesia has initiated negotiations with several countries to procure modern defense equipment, including drones and cybersecurity tools, aligning with its goal of reducing dependence on a single source (Pasaribu et al., 2023). In 2023, Indonesia signed an agreement with Turkey for the acquisition of Bayraktar TB2 drones, worth \$200 million, to bolster its unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) capabilities for maritime surveillance and security (Anadolu Agency, 2023).

**Adaptation to Hybrid Warfare and Cybersecurity Threats:** A significant lesson from the Ukraine War is the growing importance of hybrid warfare tactics, such as cyber-attacks and disinformation campaigns. The findings indicate that Indonesia has recognized the need to strengthen its cybersecurity infrastructure as part of its national defense strategy (Bratko et al., 2021). In 2023, Indonesia recorded a 40% increase in cyber-attacks, with a large portion targeting critical infrastructure, highlighting vulnerabilities in the digital domain (Indonesia Cybersecurity Agency, 2023). Consequently, Indonesia has established cooperation with countries like the United States and Japan to enhance its cybersecurity capabilities. For example, in early 2024, Indonesia and Japan signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on cybersecurity cooperation, including joint training programs and knowledge-sharing initiatives

(Baldauff, 2024). These partnerships are crucial for building the technical expertise required to counter cyber threats and mitigate digital vulnerabilities (Rizal & Yani, 2016). Moreover, Indonesia is in the process of establishing a dedicated cyber command within the military to ensure a coordinated response to cyber-attacks and to enhance overall defense readiness. This initiative, with an allocated budget of \$150 million, is expected to be operational by the end of 2024, reflecting a growing awareness of the need to adapt to evolving security threats and integrate cyber capabilities into the broader defense framework (Rizal & Yani, 2016).

**Policy Recommendations for Indonesian Defense and Security Cooperation:** Based on the research findings, several policy recommendations are proposed to enhance Indonesian military and security cooperation in light of the Ukraine War:

**Diversify Defense Partnerships:** Indonesia should continue diversifying its defense partnerships to reduce reliance on Russian-made military equipment and gain access to advanced technologies. Strengthening relations with Western countries and regional allies would provide strategic benefits, particularly for maritime security. Recent agreements with South Korea and Turkey demonstrate Indonesia's commitment to diversifying its defense suppliers and reducing risks associated with dependency.

**Prioritize Modernization Efforts:** Indonesia should prioritize the modernization of its defense capabilities by procuring advanced missile systems, drones, and cybersecurity tools. These efforts are crucial for maintaining defense readiness and ensuring that the military is equipped to address contemporary threats. The increased defense budget in 2023, which reflects an 8% rise from the previous year, should be strategically allocated to acquire advanced technologies and enhance overall capabilities.

**Strengthen Cybersecurity Capabilities:** As hybrid warfare becomes increasingly prominent, Indonesia must prioritize the development of its cybersecurity capabilities. Establishing a dedicated cyber command and enhancing cooperation with technologically advanced nations, such as the United States and Japan, will be essential steps in this direction. The ongoing cybersecurity MoU with Japan and joint initiatives with the United States highlight Indonesia's proactive measures in addressing digital vulnerabilities.

Engage in Regional Security Cooperation: Indonesia should actively participate in regional security forums, such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), to enhance collective security and contribute to regional stability. This engagement will also offer opportunities for joint exercises and knowledge exchange, which are beneficial for building military capacity. In 2023, Indonesia participated in 12 joint exercises under ADMM-Plus, which provided valuable experience in dealing with regional threats and improving interoperability with partner nations (Kurlantzick, 2022).

The research findings and policy recommendations emphasize that the Ukraine War has brought about both challenges and opportunities for Indonesia. By diversifying defense partnerships, modernizing capabilities, strengthening cybersecurity, and engaging in regional cooperation, Indonesia can enhance its defense readiness and maintain its strategic autonomy amidst a shifting global security environment.

#### *Interpretation of Research Findings*

The research findings illustrate significant implications of the Ukraine War on Indonesian military and security cooperation, emphasizing the urgency for Indonesia to adapt to new global dynamics and security threats. The findings reveal that Indonesia's non-alignment stance is increasingly challenged by shifting global alliances. The polarization resulting from the Ukraine War has led to a reevaluation of Indonesia's defense partnerships, demonstrating the necessity of diversification. Indonesia's traditional reliance on Russian-made military equipment has been disrupted by international sanctions against Russia, prompting the need for alternative defense suppliers, particularly from Western and regional allies (Pasaribu et al., 2023; Manurung, 2017). This shift towards diversifying defense partnerships is crucial for maintaining Indonesia's strategic independence and strengthening its military readiness.

The research also highlights the modernization of Indonesian defense capabilities as an essential step towards enhancing national security. The Ukraine War underscored the significance of high-tech military assets, such as drones and integrated missile systems, in contemporary warfare. This finding suggests that Indonesia's focus on defense modernization should prioritize the acquisition of

advanced technology, which would allow for more effective responses to evolving security threats (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024). Additionally, the emphasis on reducing dependency on a single supplier enhances Indonesia's ability to maintain operational readiness despite disruptions in global supply chains.

Another critical insight from the research is the need for Indonesia to adapt to hybrid warfare threats, such as cyber-attacks and disinformation campaigns, which have been prevalent in the Ukraine conflict (Bratko et al., 2021). Indonesia's increasing focus on cybersecurity, including partnerships with countries like the United States and Japan, reflects the importance of building resilience against these new forms of threats (Rizal & Yani, 2016). Establishing a dedicated cyber command within the Indonesian military further underscores the government's commitment to integrating cyber capabilities into its broader defense strategy. This adaptation is vital for Indonesia's ability to respond effectively to modern security threats, ensuring a robust and coordinated national defense mechanism.

The research findings imply that Indonesia's involvement in regional security initiatives, such as ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), should be further leveraged to build collective security and regional stability. This would not only provide Indonesia with the opportunity to enhance its defense capacities through joint exercises and capacity-building activities but also help strengthen its influence within the region during a period of increasing global polarization (Envall & Hall, 2016).

Overall, the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesia highlight the need for strategic shifts in defense policy, focusing on diversifying partnerships, modernizing military assets, and strengthening cybersecurity. These shifts will enable Indonesia to address contemporary security challenges while maintaining its non-aligned policy stance. The research findings suggest that Indonesia must be proactive in enhancing its defense cooperation strategies, ensuring that it remains resilient and prepared in the face of evolving global conflicts.

#### *Comparison with Literature*

The findings of this research align with and expand upon existing literature related to the impact of global conflicts on national defense policies and military cooperation. The implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian defense policy, particularly the shift towards diversifying defense partnerships, are consistent with prior studies on the effects of great power rivalry on non-aligned states. For instance, Dinkel (2018) highlights that the resurgence of great power competition has forced non-aligned countries like Indonesia to rethink their defense partnerships. This research builds on that premise by providing specific examples of Indonesia's diversification efforts, particularly in exploring new alliances with Western countries and regional partners.

The literature also indicates that military modernization is a crucial response to evolving security dynamics. (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024) emphasizes the importance of high-tech military assets for modern defense systems, which is mirrored in the research findings that suggest Indonesia's focus should be on acquiring advanced technologies such as drones and precision missiles. This finding is also consistent with the global trend observed in the literature, where countries impacted by conflicts seek to enhance their military capabilities in response to demonstrated vulnerabilities in traditional warfare (Pasaribu et al., 2023).

Furthermore, the research findings regarding hybrid warfare and cybersecurity threats are in line with Bratko et al. (2021) analysis of the emerging significance of non-traditional warfare. (Bratko et al., 2021) argues that modern conflicts, such as the Ukraine War, have underscored the importance of cybersecurity as a critical aspect of national defense. The current study corroborates this view by illustrating Indonesia's proactive measures in enhancing its cybersecurity infrastructure and establishing a dedicated cyber command to address hybrid threats. This aligns with global best practices, as countries increasingly integrate cyber capabilities into their defense strategies (Rizal & Yani, 2016).

Additionally, the role of regional security cooperation in enhancing national defense capabilities, as highlighted by Envall & Hall (2016), is further elaborated in this research. The findings indicate that Indonesia's active engagement in regional security forums, such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus),

is crucial for building collective security and gaining strategic advantages through joint exercises and capacity-building initiatives. This supports existing literature that emphasizes the importance of regional partnerships in addressing shared security challenges.

In comparison to the existing literature, this research provides a more specific focus on the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation, addressing both the challenges and opportunities for policy adaptation. While the literature broadly discusses the impact of global conflicts on defense policies, this research delves deeper into Indonesia's unique position and the specific measures being undertaken to adapt to the new security environment. The findings contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how Indonesia can navigate evolving threats, strengthen its defense posture, and maintain its non-aligned stance in an increasingly polarized global landscape.

#### *Theoretical Implications*

The findings of this research offer significant theoretical implications for the study of defense policy, security cooperation, and international relations, particularly for non-aligned states in a rapidly evolving geopolitical landscape. These implications contribute to the existing body of knowledge by expanding the understanding of how external conflicts, such as the Ukraine War, shape the defense strategies and military cooperation frameworks of middle powers like Indonesia.

One key theoretical implication relates to the concept of non-alignment in defense policy. Traditional theories of non-alignment suggest that countries like Indonesia strive to maintain neutrality to avoid involvement in major power rivalries (Dinkel, 2018). However, the findings indicate a shift in Indonesia's non-aligned posture towards a more dynamic and pragmatic approach. This shift involves diversifying defense partnerships beyond traditional allies, particularly in response to geopolitical pressures such as sanctions and supply chain disruptions. By forming partnerships with countries like the United States, South Korea, and Japan, Indonesia is redefining non-alignment as a more flexible and strategic policy. This suggests that in a multipolar

world, non-alignment involves strategic adaptation and selective partnerships to secure national interests.

The findings also have implications for theories of military modernization. Existing literature highlights the role of technological advancements in military strategy, particularly in response to changing modes of warfare (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024). This research extends that perspective by illustrating how a distant conflict, like the Ukraine War, can catalyze modernization in a non-combatant country. Indonesia's recognition of the importance of drones, missile systems, and cybersecurity reflects the adaptation of defense strategies to asymmetric warfare threats. The decision to procure Turkish Bayraktar TB2 drones exemplifies Indonesia's efforts to enhance its surveillance capabilities. This suggests that global conflicts indirectly influence the military trajectories of non-participating states by serving as a case study for future warfare.

The prominence of hybrid warfare in the Ukraine War has theoretical implications for understanding national security in the digital age. The findings indicate that Indonesia is expanding its definition of national security to include cybersecurity and counter-disinformation capabilities, marking a shift from traditional defense to a broader, integrated security strategy (Bratko et al., 2021). This aligns with emerging theories that emphasize both kinetic and non-kinetic capabilities in safeguarding national sovereignty. Indonesia's establishment of a dedicated cyber command highlights the need to address both physical and digital threats, supporting the theoretical perspective that modern conflicts are characterized by hybrid threats.

Another theoretical implication pertains to regionalism and collective security. Traditional theories of regional security cooperation emphasize collective action against shared threats and multilateral platforms in enhancing security (Envall & Hall, 2016). This research demonstrates that Indonesia's engagement in regional initiatives, such as ADMM-Plus, serves not only as a mechanism for collective defense but also as a platform for capability building and strategic positioning. Participation in joint exercises has allowed Indonesia to enhance interoperability with partner nations,

expanding the understanding of regional security to include capacity building and resilience.

Lastly, this research has implications for understanding middle power strategies in navigating an increasingly polarized world. Middle power theory suggests that countries like Indonesia leverage diplomacy, multilateral engagement, and selective alliances to maintain strategic autonomy (Belo & Rodríguez, 2023). The findings show that Indonesia's response to the Ukraine War—through diversifying partnerships, military modernization, and active regional engagement—exemplifies how middle powers adapt to external conflicts without compromising sovereignty. This insight refines the concept of middle power diplomacy by highlighting the adaptations necessary to thrive in a volatile international system.

#### *Practical Implications*

The research findings on the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation reveal several practical implications for policymakers, defense strategists, and regional security actors. These implications emphasize actionable steps that Indonesia can take to enhance its defense posture and adapt to evolving security dynamics, ensuring the country's readiness to address both traditional and emerging threats.

One key practical implication is the need for Indonesia to diversify its defense partnerships. The Ukraine War has shown that reliance on a single supplier, particularly one facing international sanctions, can jeopardize defense readiness (Manurung, 2017). Indonesian policymakers must accelerate efforts to establish new defense partnerships, especially with countries that provide advanced technology and military modernization support. Engaging with allies such as the United States, South Korea, and Japan ensures access to cutting-edge military equipment and reduces vulnerability to supply chain disruptions. Recent agreements, such as the \$500 million deal with South Korea for developing fighter aircraft, highlight this strategy (Yonhap News, 2023).

Military modernization should be a top priority for Indonesian defense policy. The Ukraine War underscored the need for advanced drones, precision missiles, and integrated defense systems (Limon & Gürdal Limon, 2024). Policymakers should



reallocate defense budgets to procure these technologies, which are essential for addressing both conventional and unconventional threats. In 2023, Indonesia increased its defense spending by 8%, partly for acquiring Bayraktar TB2 drones from Turkey (Kocáková, 2023). Moreover, partnerships should include technology transfer to develop domestic capabilities for producing and maintaining military equipment, enhancing self-sufficiency.

Another practical implication is the need to strengthen cybersecurity infrastructure. The Ukraine War highlighted the critical role of cybersecurity in national defense (Bratko et al., 2021). Indonesia must invest in specialized training, infrastructure, and technology to defend against cyber threats effectively. Establishing a dedicated cyber command, with a budget of \$150 million, will improve coordination and readiness against cyber-attacks (Rizal & Yani, 2016). Collaboration with countries like Japan and the United States, as seen in the recent cybersecurity MoU, will further enhance Indonesia's cyber defense capabilities (Baldauff, 2024)

The importance of leveraging regional security cooperation is also highlighted. Participation in forums such as ADMM-Plus enables Indonesia to build collective security, share intelligence, and conduct joint exercises, which enhance defense preparedness (Envall & Hall, 2016). The 2023 participation in 12 joint exercises under ADMM-Plus helped improve interoperability and preparedness against regional threats (Kurlantzick, 2022). Fostering closer regional ties will be crucial for addressing common threats and ensuring stability in Southeast Asia.

#### *Limitations and Future Research*

This study, while providing significant insights into the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation, has several limitations that should be acknowledged.

One limitation is the reliance on secondary data, including government reports, academic articles, and other published sources. Although secondary data provides valuable context and comprehensive coverage of the topic, it lacks the depth and specificity that primary data, such as interviews or surveys with defense experts, could provide. The analysis may thus be limited by the availability and quality of existing data, and potential biases present in the sources used (Creswell, 2018).

Another limitation is the generalization of findings. The conclusions drawn from this research are specific to the Indonesian context and may not be easily generalizable to other countries with different political, economic, and defense landscapes. Indonesia's unique non-aligned foreign policy and geopolitical position influence its military cooperation strategies, which may not be applicable to nations with distinct defense policies or regional dynamics. Therefore, the findings may have limited applicability outside of the Southeast Asian region.

This study also primarily focuses on the immediate and short-term implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation. Long-term effects, including the sustainability of diversified defense partnerships and the full impact of military modernization, have not been thoroughly addressed due to the ongoing nature of the Ukraine conflict and the evolving geopolitical situation. This limits the ability to predict the long-term outcomes of the strategies discussed.

Additionally, the research does not fully consider domestic factors, such as public opinion, political stability, and budgetary constraints, which can significantly influence defense policy decisions. These factors could impact the practical implementation of the proposed defense strategies and play a critical role in shaping Indonesia's response to external conflicts.

Given the limitations of this study, several directions for future research are recommended. Future research should incorporate primary data collection, such as interviews with policymakers, defense experts, and military personnel, to provide more in-depth insights into the decision-making processes and challenges involved in adapting Indonesian defense policy. This would allow for a more nuanced understanding of the motivations behind strategic decisions and the effectiveness of current policies.

Comparative studies between Indonesia and other non-aligned or middle-power countries could provide a broader perspective on how different nations respond to similar external conflicts. This would help identify common strategies and unique adaptations, contributing to the development of a more comprehensive framework for understanding military and security cooperation in non-aligned countries.

Longitudinal research is also recommended to examine the long-term implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian defense policy. Monitoring changes in

military partnerships, defense procurement, and cybersecurity initiatives over time would provide insights into the sustainability and effectiveness of the strategies implemented in response to the conflict.

Further studies should explore the domestic factors influencing Indonesian defense policy in greater detail. Understanding how public sentiment, economic conditions, and political leadership impact defense spending and international military cooperation could provide valuable context for how Indonesia navigates its defense strategy in the future.

Considering the growing importance of hybrid warfare, future research should focus on Indonesia's preparedness and capacity to counter hybrid threats, such as cyber-attacks and information warfare. Evaluating existing cybersecurity measures, the effectiveness of international collaborations, and the resilience of Indonesian institutions against such threats would provide critical insights.

Lastly, research could investigate the broader regional security dynamics in Southeast Asia in light of the Ukraine War. This includes how Indonesia's defense posture influences ASEAN's collective security, and the role of regional cooperation in countering the influence of major powers. Such studies could offer insights into the interplay between national and regional security policies and their combined impact on stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Ukraine War has prompted a reevaluation of defense and security policies worldwide, and Indonesia is no exception. This research has explored the implications of the Ukraine War for Indonesian military and security cooperation, focusing on key areas such as diversification of defense partnerships, military modernization, and adaptation to hybrid warfare threats. The findings indicate that Indonesia must navigate a rapidly changing geopolitical landscape by diversifying its defense partnerships, modernizing its military capabilities, and enhancing cybersecurity infrastructure.

The shift in global alliances has presented both challenges and opportunities for Indonesia. The traditional reliance on Russian military equipment has been

disrupted by sanctions, necessitating new partnerships with Western and regional allies. However, Indonesia now has the opportunity to strengthen its military capacity through strategic collaborations that facilitate technology transfer and capacity building.

Military modernization has emerged as a crucial priority, focusing on high-tech capabilities like drones, precision missiles, and integrated defense systems. Lessons from the Ukraine War emphasize the need for Indonesia to enhance defense readiness and adapt to modern warfare, where technological superiority plays a key role.

Furthermore, the rise of hybrid warfare underscores the importance of non-kinetic capabilities, particularly in cybersecurity. Indonesia's response, including strengthening its cybersecurity infrastructure and establishing a dedicated cyber command, reflects the recognition of these threats and the need for an integrated security strategy.

This study's theoretical implications contribute to the understanding of non-alignment, hybrid warfare, and regional security dynamics, while practical recommendations highlight actionable steps for policymakers. Future research should incorporate primary data, explore domestic influences, and adopt a longitudinal perspective to fully capture the long-term impacts.

### *Recommendations*

Based on the findings of this research, several recommendations are proposed to enhance Indonesia's military and security posture in response to the implications of the Ukraine War.

Indonesia should diversify its defense partnerships, moving away from a heavy reliance on Russian military equipment. Strengthening collaborations with Western and regional allies, such as the United States, South Korea, and Japan, will be crucial for ensuring access to advanced military technology. Partnerships that emphasize technology transfer and capacity building should be prioritized to bolster Indonesia's defense capabilities.

Military modernization must remain a priority, focusing on high-tech defense systems like drones, precision missiles, and integrated infrastructure. Investments in these technologies are essential to address both conventional and unconventional threats. Moreover, partnerships involving technology transfer can support the development of domestic defense manufacturing capabilities, fostering self-sufficiency.

Given the rise of hybrid warfare, Indonesia should enhance its non-kinetic capabilities, particularly in cybersecurity. Establishing a dedicated cyber command and expanding partnerships with countries with advanced cybersecurity infrastructure will improve coordination, readiness, and resilience against cyber threats.

Indonesia should also leverage regional security platforms, such as ADMM-Plus, to enhance collective security and foster collaboration in intelligence sharing and joint exercises. Strengthening regional ties is crucial for building resilience against regional threats and ensuring stability in Southeast Asia.

Lastly, a long-term strategic plan should be developed to sustain diversified defense partnerships and ensure the effectiveness of modernization initiatives. Future research should also consider domestic factors like public opinion and political stability, as they significantly influence defense strategies.

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