

The Influence of the Russian and Ukraine Conflict on Indonesian Economic Development Review of Theotonio Dos Santos Theory (Dependency Theory)

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ABSTRACT

February 24, 2022 Russia begins its invasion of Ukraine. The situation and condition of countries in the world that have just started to recover from being hit by COVID-19, are actually made to worry again due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The implications that are felt are quite painful, especially in the economic field. The world economic situation will weaken in line with rising commodity prices, especially in the economic and food sectors due to the conflict. Indonesia is a country that is active in trade transactions both export and import activities will certainly feel the impact of this conflict. In this study, the author places the formulation of the problem, namely how the influence of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on Indonesia's economic development in terms of dependency theory. Then, this research uses the type of research that is carried out by normative research and uses the type of theoretical research (theoretical research). In the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, Indonesia was quite firm in stating its position as a "free and active" country, which is an advantage for Indonesia to be able to continue to carry out investment activities and export transactions with other countries, including countries involved in the conflict. so that the Indonesian economy continues to grow even in unsafe conditions and situations. But on the other hand, it must be remembered that Indonesia is a developing country that still carries the status of a country that depends on developed countries. So, when the economies of developed countries weaken such as the United States, China, and Russia for example, then Indonesia will feel the same way, the Indonesian economy will also be affected by this. This is the description of the dependency theory explanation put forward by Theotonio Dos Santos.

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INTRODUCTION

Until now, a country's economic growth is still used as a touchstone in evaluating a country's economic performance. In classical theory, if a country's economic growth is high, it means that the country has good economic performance, and conversely, if economic growth in a country is low, it can even be said to be negative, then it can be said that the country has poor economic performance. Indonesia, which is currently still a developing country, continues to make every effort to achieve and maintain stable economic growth in a positive direction, although these efforts are hampered by several obstacles, one of which is obstacles that come from outside Indonesia or can be called external factors. An example that is currently hot is the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

February 24 2022 Russia began its invasion of Ukraine, since then the presence of many actors including the European Union has made the situation and conditions increasingly complex. All of these actors have their own interests in the conflict. US interests could be NATO presence and democratization in

the east of Europe, while the EU's priorities are maintaining stability on its eastern borders, offering market openings and the "possibility" of membership, on the other hand, Russia's basic goal is to prevent NATO integration with Ukraine and maintain geopolitical influence, different actors have varying perceptions of the conflict in Ukraine.

In the midst of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, Indonesia certainly cannot close its eyes as if the conflict is not happening because the impact of the conflict will be felt on a global scale, meaning that Indonesia will also feel the impact of the conflict. Especially the impact from an economic perspective, because conflict between countries will certainly have a significant impact on the global economy.

We are talking about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, it can be known first that Russia is the 3rd oil producer in the world, the 2nd natural gas producer and among the top 5 producers of steel, nickel and aluminum. It is also the world's largest wheat exporter (almost 20% of global trade). On its side, Ukraine is a major producer of corn (6th largest), wheat (7th), sunflowers (1st), and is among the top ten producers of sugar beets, barley, soybeans and rapeseed. (Coface, Economic consequences of the Russia-Ukraine conflict: Stagflation ahead, 2022).

These two countries are important producing countries in running the global economy. This means that when a conflict occurs between these countries, other countries will feel the economic impact of the conflict. Indonesia is no exception, Indonesia also felt quite a big impact in the economic sector due to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia as a global economic community will certainly be greatly affected by this conflict. It is feared that this conflict will have an impact on Indonesia's trade with the two countries where Indonesia's main export commodities, namely CPO and its derivatives, are commodities traded to both countries. Apart from that, it is feared that the supply of imported Indonesian wheat flour from Ukraine will also be disrupted. (Sony Hendra Permana, 2022).

Indonesia responded to this concern by adopting a foreign legal political policy, namely freedom to be active. As stated by the Director of Europe II at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Winardi Hanafi, said that Indonesia is consistent with the principle of free and active in responding to the crisis that occurred in Ukraine, "free and active does not mean being actively neutral, but also providing contributions in the form of ideas and assistance to resolve the conflict. . Indonesia's attitude is not just to follow other countries, but is interested in voicing the importance of respecting international legal norms." (UI Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, 2024).

This principle of Indonesia being free to be active means that Indonesia is free to follow other countries' policies or not. This of course cannot be separated from the role of Sutan Sjahrir in New Delhi in 1947, during the Inter Asia Relations Conference. At that time Sjahrir said: "The world seems to be forcing us to make a choice between now hostile forces: between the AngloSaxon bloc and Soviet Russia. But we rightly refuse to be coerced. We seek an international existence, which suits our internal life and we do not want to be trapped in systems that do not suit us and certainly not in systems that are hostile to our goals." (Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. 1995).

No one would have ever thought that the policies taken by Sultan Sjahrir would still be used and maintained to this day. This free and active principle is still used and maintained not without reason, according to the Indonesian writer who believes that this principle can provide benefits for the Indonesian state in making foreign policies, especially in conditions and situations such as facing the Russian and Ukrainian conflict.

Regardless of Indonesia's position in the Russia-Ukraine conflict as a free and active country, on the one hand, Indonesia is still a developing country that has dependency status with developed countries. You can see the process of building the capital of the archipelago in East Kalimantan, where does the budget come from? Of course, from the proceeds of loans (debts) with developed countries, our APBN cannot afford to support the budget for large projects such as IKN. This is proof that our country is still dependent on other countries. This means that our country is very dependent on the situation and conditions, especially in the economic sector in other countries.

Based on this, the author is interested in studying more deeply the influence of the Russian and Ukrainian conflict on national economic development in terms of dependency theory, which the author presents this research in the form of a scientific article. To obtain a focused study, problem identification is formulated as follows: What is the influence of the Russian and Ukrainian conflict on National Economic development in terms of dependency theory?

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was carried out with normative research and used a theoretical research type, where data was obtained from secondary data sources. As for data collection techniques using literature or (library) study methods, the materials obtained will be analyzed descriptively qualitatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which is still ongoing, is expected to have an impact on Indonesia's economic development, especially in the field of trade. The conflict between these two countries has the potential to disrupt transactions in the non-oil and gas sector (decrease) and hamper wheat imports, which could cause the price of a number of foodstuffs to rise in Indonesia. Indonesia, which is a developing country, will certainly feel it when there is an increase in food prices, even though the increase is not large.

(Sony Hendra Permana) It should be noted that Indonesia's trade commodities with these two countries are very important, for example crude palm oil (CPO) and its derivative products. Based on data from the Ministry of Trade, the total value of Indonesia's trade transactions with Russia in 2020 and 2021 is USD 1.93 billion and USD 2.74 billion, respectively. This data shows growth after a downward trend starting in 2018. Then regarding Indonesian export transaction commodities to Russia, such as CPO and its derivatives, rubber, rubber products, shoes, electronics, chocolate and coffee. Meanwhile, Indonesia's import transactions from Russia include iron, steel and chemical products.

On the other hand, the total value of Indonesia's trade transactions with Ukraine from 2020 to 2021 reached USD 1.18 billion and USD 1.45 billion. Trade transactions between Indonesia and Ukraine tend to experience growth, seen from the total trade value between Indonesia and Ukraine in 2017 of only USD 835 million. There are several Indonesian export commodities to Ukraine, such as CPO and its derivative products, paper and cocoa powder. Meanwhile, regarding the list of commodities imported by Indonesia from Ukraine, such as wheat seeds and flour, as well as iron.

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has an impact on the global economy, such as increasing global energy prices. This price increase will certainly affect Indonesia as a country that is active in export and import transactions in the energy sector, especially oil. The increase in oil prices will be a problem in Indonesia, because Indonesia currently has the status of a net importer of crude oil, this is because fuel consumption in our country reaches 1.4 million-1.5 million barrels per day, while oil production What Indonesia can do is only less than 700,000 barrels per day, meaning that the amount of fuel used in Indonesia is not commensurate with the production capacity of petroleum itself, thus causing Indonesia to become a net importer of crude oil.

The conflict started by the Russian attack is expected to have a negative impact on the European economy because energy prices have experienced a significant increase. Natural gas, which is an energy source, has experienced price increases, thereby increasing the basic electricity tariffs in European countries. On the other hand, the consumption sector which is directly related to the living needs of citizens is increasingly under pressure. This conflict has become a serious problem, especially in the energy sector, where this is deeply felt by residents, especially residents with low socio-economic levels. Even globally, financial markets are currently experiencing a period of shock therapy because central banks will continue to fight rising inflation by raising interest rates. This higher interest rate will certainly slow down trade transactions (shopping) and result in pressure on the economy in general. (Ziyad Falahi).

Indonesian President Jokowi reminded all Indonesian people that the world is currently in an unsafe position, apart from Covid-19, this is also due to the war between Russia and Ukraine. The war greatly affected food and energy, which affected various countries. For example, currently the price of oil has doubled in the world, for example in Germany and Singapore, it has reached Rp. 31,000 per liter, Thailand Rp. 20,000, but up to now Indonesia still stands at Rp. 7,650, this is because the APBN is still strong in providing subsidies for the Indonesian people. (Marlinda Oktavia Erwanti, 2022).

On the other hand, the increase in commodity prices that occurred due to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has pushed up inflation in various developed countries, especially Europe. Indonesia itself has succeeded in reducing inflation, starting from July 2022, Indonesia closed the rupiah exchange rate at Rp. 14,834 per US dollar, meaning the rupiah strengthened 0.59% or rose 87.5 points. This is because the US dollar index on July 29 2022 at 15.00 WIB was observed to have weakened by 0.666 points or 0.63 percent to the level of 105.570. So this causes the value of the currency to strengthen not only in Indonesia, but other countries in Asia also experience an increase. (Iim Fatima Timorria, 2022).

Looking at the current state of the Indonesian economy, the author can certainly say that the Indonesian economy is having difficulty continuing to grow, which means that economic development is difficult to carry out during the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, because the conflict is affecting the global economic situation, especially in the field of energy and food commodity trade transactions. According to the author, if we look at the results of the current conflict between Russia and Ukraine, we can relate it to dependency theory.

In this theory, it is stated that poverty and backwardness that occur in developing countries are not the result of the country's internal conditions, but are determined by conditions outside the country. The external situation in question is the dominant intervention carried out by developed countries in the development process in developing countries. With this intervention, the development carried out by developing countries is not running well and effectively in eliminating poverty and underdevelopment in those countries, meaning

that the intervention of developed countries only makes developing countries more miserable and left behind.

It was further explained by Theotonio Dos Santos and Andre Gunder Frank as the main figures of this dependency theory. Theotonio Dos Santos provides a definition of dependency, namely as a relational relationship that has no balance between developed and developing countries in terms of development in both countries. The progress or improvement of developing countries is only a result of the economic expansion of developed countries with their capitalism. So if something bad happens in developed countries, developing countries will feel the impact of that. Meanwhile, if developing countries experience bad conditions, it is not certain that developed countries will also feel this impact. An unbalanced relationship, or you could say positive-negative.

The current situation that is occurring due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict really illustrates what has been stated by the dependency theory above. It can be seen that as a result of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, developing countries are really feeling the impact of this, especially in the economic sector, including Indonesia. Normatively, the ones in conflict are Russia and Ukraine, but in reality Russia is in conflict with Ukraine, the United States and countries that are members of NATO. As the author said at the beginning, there are several actors in this Russian-Ukrainian conflict, so the consequences of this conflict are felt in various countries, especially developing countries, because developed countries feel the bad consequences of this conflict, developing countries will also feel it, this is in accordance with statement from Theotonio Dos Santos above.

In the current conflict between Russia and Ukraine, according to the author, Indonesia is trying to get out of the shackles of dependence on developed countries in adopting foreign legal political policies as a response to the conflict that is occurring. In order to realize this, the Indonesian state continues to maintain the concept of "free and active" in positioning itself towards the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. This concept has actually been stated in law for a long time, namely in article 3 of Law number 37 of 1999 concerning foreign relations.

Based on "article 3 of Law no. 37 of 1999 concerning foreign relations", the meaning of "freely active" is foreign policy which upholds freedom in taking or determining foreign policy attitudes and policies regarding current international problems. This means that Indonesia does not bind itself to any of the world powers. By applying this concept, Indonesia does not side with any country. On the other hand, Indonesia also tries to provide assistance in terms of material contributions, ideas, or active participation in resolving problems that occur, so that the realization of world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice, which is a mandate and ideal. from the Indonesian state as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

If we look further back, the free-active policy that Indonesia is currently implementing in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is more similar to the free-active doctrine expressed by Hatta who said that "Indonesia is sailing between two reefs", according to the author, this doctrine is more suitable in describing Indonesia's current position. This is compared to the doctrine during the time of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono which was known as "sailing in the turbulent ocean". The doctrine at the time of SBY was very suitable in describing the situation and conditions at that time, where the international political situation and conditions at that time were not very clear in black and white and were very unstable (changing rapidly). So SBY used this doctrine with the aim of achieving "zero enemies and thousand friends". If at the time SBY had applied the doctrine put forward by Hatta, it would not have been suitable, because of the lack of clarity between the two main world powers after the dissolution of the Soviet Union at that time. (Agus Haryanto, 2014).

Indonesia's position as a country that is free to be active in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine at this time is more suitable to be described by Hatta's doctrine of "sailing between two rocks" because according to the author the current conflict clarifies the position of actors from world powers who are in conflict in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. . There is a Russian side and a Ukrainian side with NATO, so basically Indonesia is currently sailing between two rocks, on one side the Russian side, on the other side Ukraine and NATO.

According to the author, Indonesia's free and active principles which have been outlined in this state gazette are currently very effective in dealing with the consequences of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In other words, the law on Indonesia's foreign relations is not only useful for determining Indonesia's position on a problem, but is also useful in helping economic development in times of conflict like this. Indonesia's principle of active freedom has succeeded in making Indonesia a country that does not consider any country as an enemy. This makes Indonesia able to survive in situations and conditions like the current ones hit by the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Especially surviving in the economic sector, even in conditions like this, Indonesia is able to build its economy slowly, even though the prices of energy and food commodities are rising, Indonesia is still able to maintain national economic stability, as proven in July 2022, Indonesia closed the rupiah exchange rate at Rp. 14,834 per US dollar, meaning the rupiah strengthened 0.59% or rose 87.5 points, in other words there is progress in the Indonesian economy.

If Indonesia during the Russia-Ukraine conflict decided to side with one of the parties, for example, let's assume Ukraine, the United States and Nato. So of course Russia will not remain silent, and will make it difficult for Indonesia to carry out various transactions at the international level, especially in the economic sector, Russia will stop export transaction activities from Indonesia to Russia and also Indonesia's import activities from Russia. This cessation will certainly have fatal consequences for the Indonesian economy, because we need to know that there are quite a lot of Indonesian export activities to Russia, for example exports of fats and crude oil, rubber and rubber products, as well as electrical machinery/equipment. These three commodities dominate Indonesia's export activities to Russia. Imagine if this export activity was stopped, combined with export activities in other fields, it would certainly have fatal consequences for the Indonesian economy.

Then, if we reverse things like this, for example Indonesia sides with Russia, then of course the United States and NATO will act like Russia which will stop all Indonesian international transaction activities, especially in the field of trade (export-import). Therefore, according to the author, the "free and active" policy implemented by Indonesia is appropriate, so that the performance of the national economy is predicted to get stronger in 2022 and is estimated to grow in the range of 4.8 - 5.5 percent, this is due to Indonesia's investment and export activities. continues to run even though it is hit by the current geopolitical conditions (Ministry of Finance, 2023). It can be seen that the investment aspect in economic development is very important, as stated by Harrod-Domar that investment plays an important role especially in economic development in a country, because of what? because investment has two inherent characteristics, namely generating income and increasing the production capacity of the economy by increasing the capital stock (Jhingan, M.L, 2000). Therefore, we can be sure that even though the current conditions are being hit by geopolitical tensions and Covid-19, Indonesia is still able to continue to grow the national economy, by continuing to carry out investment and export activities. At least Indonesia can maintain economic stability in difficult times like these.

(Kumba Digidowiseiso, 2019) On the one hand, Indonesia's free and active concept has indeed had a positive influence on economic development during the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, but it must be remembered that according to the author, Indonesia is one of the countries that is still dependent on developed countries such as the United States Theotonio Dos Santos explains the relationship of dependency: [Dependency is]... "an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the deprivation of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies... a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which they themselves are subjected". The meaning of Dos Santos' explanation is that the dependence of developed countries is not an implication of the country's economic system not being integrated into the capitalist economic system, but rather the dependence is caused by the monopoly of foreign capital, financing development with foreign capital, and the use of advanced technology at the international and national levels. Things like that are what make developing countries constantly dependent on developed countries.

Apart from that, this dependency theory has also refuted the ideas of Classical Marxists who said that developing countries would be able to progress if developed countries intervened in them to bring capitalism to the developing countries. If it is an analogy, developing countries are considered to have a beautiful sleeping princess, that princess will wake up and show her beauty after a handsome prince touches her. This prince is what is called a developed country with his good looks and abilities, namely capitalism. However, according to dependency theory, when a developing country is intervened by a developed country, the developing country will never progress because it is dependent on the developed country. This dependency already exists in the "neocolonialism" system implemented by developed countries against developing countries without eliminating or replacing the sovereignty of the developing countries. (Arief Budiman, 2000).

The current condition of Indonesia very clearly illustrates what Dos Santos said above. Since the Russian-Ukrainian conflict the global economy has experienced a downturn, especially the United States. As Sri Mulyani said, "The US economy had negative growth in the second quarter, technically entering a recession. China (China) a week ago came out with second quarter growth of almost 0," then the Indonesian Minister of Finance said that "The United States, China and Europe are countries that are destinations for Indonesia's exports. Therefore, if the economies of these countries weakening, demand for exports falls and commodity prices fall" (CNBCIndonesia, 2022). This means that if the economies of developed countries weaken, this will also have an impact on Indonesia's economic conditions. This is what makes the author say that Indonesia is a country that is dependent on the country advanced, which means when the economy developed countries weaken, then Indonesia's economic conditions will also weaken and it will be difficult to carry out economic development.

CLOSING

Currently all countries in the world are being hit by unsafe situations and conditions, because currently we are being hit by Covid-19 and the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Conditions like this of course provide a very hard blow, especially to the world economy. Various commodity prices increased, such as in the energy and food sectors. For example, oil prices have begun to increase in various countries. Indonesia is no exception, our APBN is used as a subsidy so that the Indonesian people do not feel the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, they are starting to scream about their inability to continuously subsidize people's needs.

One of Indonesia's policies in responding to conditions like this is to apply the principle of "free and active" in foreign relations, which principle has been stated in Indonesian law. This principle is quite effective in maintaining national economic stability and even our economy can continue to grow in difficult times like these. The reason is that this principle is able to enable Indonesia to continue carrying out investment and export activities with other countries, even with countries that are currently involved in the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

This principle does provide benefits to national economic development, but on the other hand, we also have to realize that Indonesia is a developing country whose status is dependent on developed countries. This can be proven by the dependency theory proposed by Theotonio Dos Santos. The real evidence can be seen now, when the economies of developed countries such as the United States and Russia are weakening as a result of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, so the Indonesian economy will also weaken, this is even warned by the Indonesian finance minister, Sri Mulyani.

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