



# The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on Indonesian Political Economy

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**Abstract.** Early in February 2022, the Russian fighter fleet appeared on the Ukrainian border more specifically, in Belarus and the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine erupted once more. Given that these two nations are important producers and exporters of a variety of commodities, the impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict on the global economy is substantial. In international trade, Russia and Ukraine play key roles. Of course, this conflict also has an impact on Indonesia as a member of the world economy. It is expected that this battle may affect trade between Indonesia and the two nations because CPO and its derivatives, Indonesia's principal exports, are exchanged between them. Additionally, it is anticipated that the supply of wheat flour imported by Indonesia from Ukraine will be interrupted. By gathering, choosing, and reviewing facts, opinions, and information from books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and the internet, this study employs a literature review. The theory applied is Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory, which considers conflict as involving three main categories of organizations: conflict groups, interest groups, and pseudo groups. A collection of individuals who have positions and share similar role interests is referred to as a pseudo group. In the sociological sense, interest groups are groupings, and they are the actual causes of intergroup conflict. The main objective of this study is to determine how much the political and economic situation in Indonesia has been impacted by Russia and Ukraine. The result is that Indonesia has been impacted by the war in the political and economic spheres between Russia and Ukraine. The unpredictability of the trade balance had a considerable economic impact, particularly on the oil and gas and non-oil and gas industries. Additionally, because Russia is one of the biggest oil suppliers in the world, it is feared that domestic oil prices may rise. Indonesia must adhere to the political principle of being independent and proactive in its response to the turmoil in Ukraine.

**Keywords:** conflict · impact · economy · politics

## 1 Introduction

Early in February 2022, the Russian fighter fleet arrived on the Ukrainian border specifically, in Belarus and the battle between Russia and Ukraine erupted once more. Although diplomatic attempts have been undertaken and have not yielded a result, it is believed

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that the Russian military dispatched in sufficient numbers would be utilized as a force to invade Ukraine and be the reason for the development of tensions in relations between Russia and Ukraine.

From the standpoint of NATO members, the escalation of tensions in the relations between Russia and Ukraine cannot be separated from Russia's actions, which not only led to a crisis in Ukraine, but also in its relations with the nations of the European Union and the United States that joined NATO, namely the alliance of European nations, the United States, and Canada in the field of defence (Hidriyah 2022).

Since 2014, Russia and Ukraine have been at odds with one another. President Viktor Yanukovich was overthrown at that time by the more independent-minded Ukrainian people. Viktor's preference for trade connections with Russia was rejected, which led to pro-EU protests. The removal of Viktor led to tension inside the Ukrainian administration, which eventually split into pro-European Union and pro-Russian factions. Politicians and members of Crimean society are pro-Russian. Unfortunately, Russia's interest in ending the situation in Ukraine has evolved into a plan to use Russia to acquire control of Crimea. Russia appears to have benefited from Crimea's advantageous location by increasing its sway over Eastern and Central Europe. When the Crimean conflict concluded on March 16, 2014, by joining Russia and seceding from Ukraine, the Crimean parliament ultimately held a referendum. Ups and downs in Russia-Ukraine relations persisted after the Crimean crisis until February 2022 (Hidriyah 2022).

Early in February 2022, Russia started to invade Ukraine. This prompted a response to the rise in global oil prices, which reached their highest level since 2014 when they surpassed \$100 per barrel. Due to Russia being one of the main suppliers of the world's 10% oil demand, global oil prices have increased (Media 2022).

As important producers and exporters of many commodities, Russia and Ukraine have a substantial impact on the global economy. In international trade, Russia and Ukraine play key roles. Of course, this conflict has an impact on the Russian and Ukrainian supply chains (Julita Sembiring-Kembalen 2022).

The second-largest crude oil exporter is Russia. Next, ranked third for exporters of coal, first for producers of wheat, and seventh for producers of liquefied natural gas (LNG). Ukraine is currently the biggest exporter of seed oil worldwide. The following are wheat number 5 and corn number 4. As a result, the impacts of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine will be felt everywhere. Inflationary pressure is the most noticeable effect.

Inflation will be impacted by how the war in Russia and Ukraine affects Western nations. Furthermore, because the Middle East and North Africa are popular tourist destinations for Russian and Ukrainian visitors, these regions are also impacted by rising commodity prices. The availability of natural gas remains a major issue in Europe, however.

The global economy will be affected by the rise in commodity prices brought on by the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Rising commodity costs, particularly those for oil and processed mining industry products, will impede global economic growth.

The global distribution of food raw materials will be hampered by this battle. Additionally, the potential imposition of sanctions against Russian exports will raise the cost of commodities. Additionally, the rising cost of food and energy will result in higher

worldwide inflation, which will impede the global economic recovery, especially in the United States. Financial markets may be affected by economic sanctions placed on Russia by the United States and other nations. This will affect the possibility of a Fed interest rate increase, which will affect the world economy. The threat of exchange rates, changes in the composite stock price index, or JCI, and rising inflation as a result of shocks from the commodity market would affect many countries, particularly emerging ones (Permana 2022).

Of course, this conflict also has an impact on Indonesia as a member of the world economy. It is expected that this battle may affect trade between Indonesia and the two nations because CPO and its derivatives, Indonesia's principal exports, are exchanged between them. Additionally, it is anticipated that the supply of wheat flour imported by Indonesia from Ukraine will be interrupted. In addition to having an impact on the world economy, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict also has political ramifications for both nations and other nations throughout the world, including Indonesia.

A literature review from various earlier investigations is included in this study. Initially, a piece by (Bakrie, Delanova, and Yani 2022) on "The Influence of the War between Russia and Ukraine on the Economy of Southeast Asian Countries" illustrates how the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is extremely dangerous for world markets. In this study, it was discovered that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine undoubtedly had an effect on the economic sector, that the conflict naturally resulted in the restructuring of international trade, and that nation with relations with Russia and Ukraine will have a significant impact on their nation's national interests. The direct repercussions of war, such as broken global supply chains and rising energy and food costs, are being felt in Southeast Asia.

The second research from (Abi, Landra, and Utari 2015) under the heading Russian Intervention in Ukraine from the Viewpoint of International Law. This paper examines the reasons for the intervention as well as the legitimacy of Russia's intervention in Ukraine from the standpoint of international law. This analysis determined that Russia's engagement against Ukraine was unlawful because it contravened the principle of non-intervention outlined in numerous pieces of international law.

The third research from (Kamasa 2016) with the title "Ukrainian Crisis and Its Impact on Global and Regional Political Orders". This essay explores how, in contrast to other research, the Ukrainian crisis prompted a new strategic environment change in Europe and an effort to protect the current world order from anti-systemic attacks. The conclusion of this essay reveals that the resolution of the Ukraine issue will have an impact on not just Ukraine's future, but also on the start or foundation of a new equilibrium in the global and regional political order.

The latest research from (Zehfri 2022) with the title "The Impact of the Russia-Ukraine Conflict on the Indonesian Trade System". The findings of this analysis suggest that Indonesian legislation, the World Trade Organization/GATT, and international trade regulations are all involved in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

The impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict has been covered in numerous prior research. The influence of the Russia-Ukraine conflict directly on politics and the economy, however, has not been discussed. As a result, the main goal of this study is to

determine how much of an impact Russia and Ukraine have had on Indonesia's political and economic situation.

## 2 Research Method

In order to analyze this issue, literature is studied, and data, opinions, and information from books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and the internet are gathered, chosen, and reviewed. This problem's analysis is qualitative in nature and employs the deductive method. Reading and recording texts, processing research materials, and conducting literature studies are all activities that are related to gathering information from libraries (Zed 2003). Various reference books and comparable earlier research findings that are helpful for creating a theoretical foundation for the subject to be examined can also be studied as part of a literature study. Literature research also refers to the process of gathering data via reading books, articles, notes, and other materials that are pertinent to the issue at hand (Nazir, Moh. 2009).

In order to understand the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the author applies Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory. Dahrendorf contends that society has two faces in the writings of George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman (conflict and consensus). With his conflict theory, Dahrendorf contends that imposed non-freedom unites society. As a result, some positions in society grant authority and influence to others. This social reality supports Dahrendorf's main argument, which holds that disparities in the authority structure are constantly a deciding element in social conflict (Tualeka 2017).

Pseudo-groups, interest groups, and conflict groups are the three main sorts of groupings that Dahrendorf associates with conflict. A collection of individuals who have positions and share similar role interests is referred to as a pseudo group. The true causes of intergroup conflict are interest groups. They possess a structure, an organizational form, a plan or goal, and members. These numerous interest groupings give rise to conflict groups, or parties to group conflicts.

The link between conflict and change is the final component of Dahrendorf's theory of conflict. In conclusion, Dahrendorf added that conflict groups form and that their actions lead to alterations in societal systems. The changes that take place are even more drastic as the fight intensifies. If there is violent conflict as well, abrupt structural alterations will take place (Dewi 2019).

"Diplomacy" is a different theory that can be applied. In his book, *Guide to Diplomacy Practice*, Sir Ernest Satow offers a description of effective diplomatic techniques. When it comes to managing official relations between the governments of sovereign states, Sir Ernest Satow defined diplomacy as "the use of intelligence and tact." In order to find a solution or an exit to pursue a peaceful resolution, diplomacy is a crucial component (S.L Roy 1995).

## 3 Result and Discussion

- A. *The Effect of the Conflict in Russia and Ukraine on Indonesia's Economic Situation*  
The crisis between Russia and Ukraine will ultimately hurt a lot of parties, including both European and non-European nations. The war that is occurring in the Eastern

European region will affect relations between nations throughout the world, including Indonesia, with Russia and Ukraine. Cooperation in the economic and trade sectors pertaining to the economic interests of the people in each country may be a part of the unsettling relationship.

Regarding the trade balance, the crisis between Russia and Ukraine has a significant impact on Indonesia. The conflict caused a deficit in Indonesia's trade balance with the two nations from January to March 2022. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), Indonesia had a cumulative trade imbalance with Russia of 204.6 million US dollars. Between January and March 2022, the deficit with Ukraine amounted to 13.5 million US dollars. The trade balance position between the two nations was remained in surplus for the same time period in 2021. While Ukraine has a surplus of 53.6 million dollars, Russia has a surplus of 42.2 million.

The value of Indonesia's exports to Russia during the preceding two months, namely January and February 2022, was US\$332.1 million. In the meantime, Russia's imports to Indonesia were worth US\$ 347.1 million. The composition of Indonesia's mainstay exports remains unchanged from 2021 in terms of commodities, with fats and oils accounting for 204.4 million US dollars, machinery or electrical equipment coming in second with 21.8 million, and machinery and mechanical equipment coming in third with 16.5 million US dollars. Indonesia imports iron and steel worth US\$ 135.0 million, fertilizers worth US\$ 95.6 million, and mineral fuels worth US\$ 63.9 million from the Russian side.

The value of Indonesia's exports to Ukraine is \$417.0 million in 2021, notwithstanding the percentage of its commerce with that country. Then, Ukraine imported \$1,040.9 million into Indonesia. In terms of trade, Indonesia's primary exports to Ukraine total \$368.7 million in fats, oils, and vegetable products. These are followed by paper or cardboard (\$5.6 million) and shoes (\$5.1 million).

Cereals worth US\$ 946.5 million are imported by Indonesia in the greatest quantity from Ukraine. Iron and steel, valued at 53.3 million US dollars, and machinery and mechanical equipment, valued at 10.9 million US dollars, came next. Indonesia's exports were worth US\$ 28.7 million in the first two months of January and February 2022, while its imports were worth US\$ 35.6 million. The composition of export goods is the same, with footwear accounting for US\$ 1.1 million, paper or cardboard for US\$ 1.4 million, and animal or vegetable fats and oils for US\$ 20.5 million. The composition of Ukraine's imports to Indonesia is unchanged; it consists of cereal products worth \$15.7 million, iron and steel worth \$15.0 million, and machinery and mechanical equipment at \$200,000 in total.

Currently, Russia and Ukraine are two of the nations that produce the most wheat, accounting for 13% of the world's total production. For Indonesia, which now imports wheat, this price increase would undoubtedly have a significant impact. 2021 will see Indonesia import \$3.54 billion worth of wheat, 25.91% of which, or \$919.43, will come from Ukraine (Kompas.com 2022a). The interruption of the supply of imported wheat from Ukraine will be directly impacted by the presence of a conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Additionally, this war will raise the price of wheat on a global scale, which will have an effect on local food production of products like noodles, wheat flour, bread, cakes, and others that use wheat as a primary ingredient.

Due to the disruption in the supply of wheat, the Association of Indonesian Food and Beverage Entrepreneurs (Gapmmi) is still debating a plan to raise the price of processed foods made from wheat (Permana 2022). The cost of processed foods manufactured from wheat will inevitably grow if the war lasts a long period. High reliance on these two commodities is believed to drive up the cost of other goods as well, resulting in unchecked inflation. The government needs to be aware of this, especially given the fact that the Covid-19 pandemic hasn't helped economic conditions and increased community burdens.

The crisis in Russia and Ukraine also affects rising energy prices globally, lowering Indonesia's non-oil and gas exports and impeding imports of a number of foods, including wheat. Indonesia will be substantially impacted by this price increase. Being the largest thermal coal exporter in the world, Indonesia will benefit greatly from the rise in coal prices by seeing a huge increase in the value of its exports. On the other hand, as Indonesia currently imports crude oil, rising oil prices will be an issue. The large value of petroleum imports caused a deficit in even Indonesia's trade balance. Although Indonesia's oil production capability is less than 700,000 barrels per day, the country now consumes 1.4 million to 1.5 million barrels of gasoline per day (BBC News 2022).

In particular, transportation and other businesses that use unsubsidized fuel are impacted by the rise in oil costs. The economic cost of fuel will rise as a result of the rise in oil prices, potentially raising the price of non-subsidized fuel in Indonesia, which is now one of the ASEAN region's cheapest nations. As an example, the cost of unsubsidized fuel is IDR 28,500 per liter in Singapore, IDR 19,300 per liter in Thailand, IDR 19,200 per liter in Laos, IDR 18,500 per liter in the Philippines, IDR 16,800 per liter in Vietnam, IDR 16,500 per liter in Cambodia, and IDR 15,300 per liter in Myanmar (CNBC Indonesia 2022).

When considered from the perspective of Dahrendorf's conflict theory, change and conflict are intimately related. Numerous developments were place throughout the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In conclusion, Dahrendorf added that conflict groups might emerge and that their actions can cause social systems to shift. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine, a large country, will cause changes in the social structure of both those two nations and other nations engaged in international cooperation. The changes are even more drastic as the war between Russia and Ukraine worsens. Violence during extreme warfare will cause abrupt structural alterations. such is adjustments to each nation's economic and political policy. like Russia, which now exports all of its energy and raw materials in rubles. As retaliation for the sanctions imposed on him by western nations, Russian President Vladimir Putin changed the currency policy employed in the commercial transaction. The long-term goal of using the ruble is to lessen the dominance of the dollar in setting pricing for commodities and energy around the world. to boost the ruble's value as well (Andrianto 2022).

The Indonesian government can also adopt Dahrendorf's suggestions for policy changes to react to the growing cost of oil due to the crisis in Russia and Ukraine. This is due to the possibility that things could get worse if the Russo-Ukrainian War continues to escalate and the price of crude oil rises above US\$120 (Rp1.72 million) per barrel. The price of fuel and basic power tariffs shouldn't increase till the end of

the year if the government is able to increase compensation payments to Pertamina and PLN. The State Budget is strong enough to be used as a cross-subsidy because the government is currently reaping the benefits of increased state earnings from coal and palm oil, which are estimated to reach Rp. 111 trillion.

The government should therefore raise energy subsidies for fuel and LPG as well. The subsidy's budget is currently somewhere between Rp. 134 trillion and Rp. 180–200 trillion, but that amount is anticipated to rise. Additionally, the government should take its time withdrawing social and financial aid that was given to the neighborhood during the pandemic. After being battered by the economic catastrophe brought on by the epidemic, the Indonesian economy still needs time to recover. According to reports, the average person's income has not yet fully recovered, thus the rise in commodity prices brought on by the Russo-Ukrainian conflict will further reduce the average person's purchasing power (BBC News 2022).

#### B. *Russia-Ukraine Conflict's Effect on Indonesian Geopolitics*

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has an effect on many facets of life globally, particularly how food is supplied and distributed. One of them is how each nation, including Indonesia, is currently geopolitically situated. The merits and cons of the Russian President's participation before the G20 summit in Bali are affected for Indonesia by this circumstance. To decide on Indonesia's foreign policy stance and role as the G20 Presidency in November 2022 in Bali, it is important to have a thorough understanding of both the pros and cons of the scenario.

The dispute between Russia and Ukraine complicates Indonesia's role as G-20 presidency. Because the parties to the conflict (Russia and Ukraine) are G-20 members, the war's conflict of interests and political contestation are reflected in the G-20's dynamics. The G-20 presidency of Indonesia has raised questions and sparked debate in the nation.

It will undoubtedly be very challenging in these circumstances, when Indonesia will hold the G-20 presidency in November. Determining which is more important—domestic interests or international law—is a difficult task.

The US and its allies had explicitly urged that Russia not be included at the G-20, and the crisis that transpired between Russia and Ukraine itself caused an increasingly crystallized split among the members of the G-20. However, Brazil and China argued that Russia ought to participate as a G-20 group. The implementation of the G-20 in Bali is plagued by the head of state's threat to boycott, but Indonesia, which is holding the G-20 presidency, is committed to making the G-20 a platform for economic cooperation that upholds harmony and unites all parties.

Indonesia's decision to refrain from imposing sanctions on Russia in light of the lack of an official UN decision is unquestionably justified. Because Indonesia upholds the principle of integrity and respects international law and because the United Nations did not officially provide sanctions at the time of the war, Indonesia does not join in imposing sanctions. This does not imply that Indonesia is pro-Russia.

Indonesia has, however, steadfastly opposed a war breaking out between Russia and Ukraine up until this point. The Russian-Ukrainian conflict is also thought to have an impact on Indonesian society, in addition to foreign policy. Indonesia repeatedly stresses that it adheres to international norms and rules. (FISIP UI 2022a) through the G20 forum's Indonesian Presidency. In fact, Indonesia is under



obligation as host to prevent the forum from being used as a forum for disputes over the Russia- Ukraine conflict. As stated in the constitution and mission, Indonesia's duty is to promote the G20 meeting as a venue for resolving many of the difficulties that third-world nations face. (FISIP UI 2022b)

Additionally, it has little impact from a geopolitical standpoint, particularly in terms of security. It is quite distant given the geographic separation between Indonesia and the two at war. Indonesia is seen to be able to help end the dispute, though. Through a variety of diplomatic avenues, Indonesia could try to mediate the issue. In order to find a peaceful resolution to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, diplomatic efforts become an extremely crucial component. For instance, the G20, which includes both Russia and Indonesia as members, is the most prominent multilateral organization. In addition, Indonesia is now in charge of the G20 Presidency. The bilateral approach can also be used, taking into account the lengthy history of relations between the two nations going back to the Soviet era as well as Indonesia, which is expected to become Russia's key partner in many future collaborations. (Kompas.com 2022a)

### C. *Indonesia's Position in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict*

Indonesia was compelled to take a position in response to the crisis that broke out between Russia and Ukraine. The most significant event Indonesia has witnessed is the Russian military assault on Ukraine, which puts public safety at risk and imperils regional and global peace and security. It is crucial to uphold the aims and tenets of the UN charter as well as international law, which includes respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Indonesia requests that the Kremlin's military attack end and that diplomatic measures take precedence. In this instance, Indonesia requests that the crisis be resolved swiftly, that all parties halt violence, and that diplomatic efforts be focused on finding a peaceful solution. Indonesia requests that the UN Security Council take immediate action to stop the situation from getting worse. De-escalation, in Indonesia's opinion, is the appropriate course of action in this situation, as it will improve the efficiency of the negotiation process and enable the opening of humanitarian lines. (Arbar 2022)

The Indonesian government has made at least four points in response to the crisis between Russia and Ukraine. First, Indonesia is concerned about the escalation of the armed conflict on Ukrainian soil, which poses a major threat to public safety and affects regional peace.

Second, Indonesia highlights the importance of upholding international law and the UN charter with relation to the integrity of a country's territory and decries any activities that do so. Third, Indonesia reiterates that all parties should place a high priority on diplomacy and discussions in order to prevent conflicts and advance peaceful resolutions. Fourth, in accordance with the developed contingency plan, the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI) has taken action to save Indonesian people in Ukraine. (Merdeka.com 2022)

Indonesia is consistent with the principle of being free and active in responding to the crisis in Ukraine. Free and active doesn't just mean impartial and active; it also provides ideas and support for resolving conflicts. Additionally, Indonesia does not simply adopt other nations' attitudes. Instead, it wants to emphasize how crucial



it is to uphold international legal standards. Indonesia will keep pushing for an end to the use of force and for peaceful dispute resolution amongst all parties. (Intania 2022)

As is well known, Indonesia joined the Non-Aligned Movement and formed a foreign policy. This policy seemed to underline Indonesia's non-adherence to either the US or the Soviet bloc during the Cold War in terms of its foreign policy. Indonesia has become a non-aligned nation up until this point.

It is impossible to forecast when the Russian-Ukrainian dispute will finish because everything still rests on the leaders' efforts, the two sides' agreement, and their individual defensive egos, which could blow up and start a war. In order to allay concerns about the outbreak of a new world war, the international community must continue to seek a peaceful resolution through communication and a diplomatic strategy. Indonesia needs to participate in finding the best way to resolve the Russia-Ukraine issue as a member of the international community with an autonomous and engaged foreign policy. (Hidriyah 2022)

## 4 Conclusion

Indonesia's trade performance with Russia and Ukraine may be affected by the ongoing conflict between the two nations. The disagreement may lower Indonesia's non-oil and gas exports and obstruct wheat imports, which might raise the cost of numerous food products there. Trade between Indonesia and Russia and the Ukraine is not particularly significant. The impact of the ongoing conflict is only expected to be in the neighborhood of 1% on imports and exports. Crude palm oil (CPO) and its derivative products are among the commodities that are exchanged between the two nations but are also highly vital to Indonesia.

It influences Indonesia's geopolitical situation in addition to its economic and commercial components, though not significantly. The merits and negatives of the Russian President's attendance before the G20 summit in Bali were influenced by the crisis situation that developed between Russia and Ukraine. Of course, it is important to fully comprehend the advantages and disadvantages of this circumstance in order to decide Indonesia's foreign policy stance and position as well as Indonesia's participation in the G20 Presidency in November 2022 in Bali.

The dispute between Russia and Ukraine complicates Indonesia's role as G-20 presidency. Because the parties to the conflict (Russia and Ukraine) are G-20 members, the war's conflict of interests and political contestation are reflected in the G-20's dynamics. The G-20 presidency of Indonesia has sparked internal conflict and debate. Given the circumstances, Indonesia must adhere to the ideal of being independent and involved in the crisis in Ukraine. Free and active does not necessarily imply neutral activity; it can also imply providing ideas and aid in resolving disputes.

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