

Analysis of Indonesia's National Interest in Cooperation with South Korea for the Development of KFX/IFX Fighter Aircraft (2008-2023)

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ABSTRAK

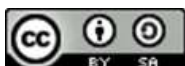
Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kerja sama pengembangan pesawat tempur KFX/IFX antara Indonesia dan Korea Selatan pada periode 2008–2023. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi pustaka untuk memahami faktor-faktor yang melatarbelakangi keputusan Indonesia dalam kerja sama ini. Kerangka pemikiran yang digunakan adalah teori kepentingan nasional Donald E. Nuechterlein, yang mencakup empat aspek utama: kepentingan pertahanan, ekonomi, ideologi, dan tata internasional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Indonesia memilih terlibat dalam pengembangan pesawat tempur KFX/IFX karena dinilai lebih menguntungkan dibandingkan dengan opsi pembelian pesawat dari negara lain. Dari sisi pertahanan, kerja sama ini bertujuan meningkatkan kapabilitas teknologi alutsista nasional. Secara ekonomi, proyek ini mendukung penguatan industri dirgantara domestik dan transfer teknologi. Dari aspek ideologi, kerja sama ini sejalan dengan prinsip politik luar negeri bebas-aktif. Sementara itu, dalam konteks tata internasional, keterlibatan Indonesia dalam proyek ini mencerminkan upayanya dalam memperkuat posisi strategis di kancah global. Dengan demikian, kerja sama ini tidak hanya berdampak pada modernisasi pertahanan, tetapi juga mendukung pembangunan ekonomi dan diplomasi Indonesia di tingkat internasional.

Kata Kunci: Kerjasama, Pesawat Tempur KFX/IFX, Korea Selatan, Kepentingan Nasional

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the KFX/IFX fighter development cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea in the period 2008-2023. This study uses qualitative methods with a literature study approach to understand the factors behind Indonesia's decision in this cooperation. The framework used is Donald E's theory of national interest. Nuechterlein, which covers four main aspects: defense interests, economics, ideology, and international order. The results showed that Indonesia chose to be involved in the development of kfx/IFX fighter aircraft because it was considered more profitable than the option to purchase aircraft from other countries. In terms of defense, this cooperation aims to improve the technological capabilities of the national defense equipment. Economically, the project supports the strengthening of the domestic aerospace industry and technology transfer. From the ideological aspect, this cooperation is in line with the principle of non-active foreign policy. Meanwhile, in the context of International Governance, Indonesia's involvement in this project reflects its efforts in strengthening its strategic position in the global arena. Thus, this cooperation not only has an impact on defense modernization, but also supports Indonesia's economic development and Diplomacy at the international level.

Keywords: Cooperation, KFX/IFX Fighter Aircraft, South Korea, National Interest



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INTRODUCTION

International relations basically cover all aspects of human social life that are international in nature. In meeting the needs of their country's life, every country in the world will interact with other countries to meet their national needs. The phenomenon of interdependence between countries and interconnectedness between problems has indeed been seen in the interaction of international relations. This is reflected in the formation of regional cooperation groups both based on geographical and functional proximity which is increasingly widespread. International cooperation is a manifestation of relations between nations based on national interests. National interests are related to national goals within a certain period of time which contains real goals that must be realized. Success in realizing national goals can ensure the survival of the nation.

In the modern era, a cooperation between two or more countries is developed on behalf of their respective national interests, namely what is called bilateral and multilateral cooperation. In the era of globalization, the era of uncertainty and no particular pole of power, the occurrence of single and asymmetrical power, greatly creates uncertainty in the life of international relations between communities. In the world of international relations, cooperation is a relationship between one country and another, with a common goal and mutual benefit. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1997) suggest that international cooperation generally takes place in decentralized situations where the lack of effective institutions and norms for culturally different and geographically separate units makes the need to overcome problems concerning insufficient information about the motivations and goals of various parties very important (Bilqis, 2017).

In Indonesia's history, it has been the victim of an embargo from the United States from 1999-2005, causing Indonesia to have difficulty getting maintenance and obtaining spare parts for the operation of its combat vehicles. As well as Indonesia's lag in developing its weapons and military sector can have a negative impact on the country. On the other hand, every country in the world carries out the development of the military sector transparently so that the country continues to strive to make a well-built and efficient defense system. In this case, the Indonesian government issued a policy of aligning the minimum essential force. Essential Force. Minimum Essential Force (MEF) is a national development policy aimed at improving the defense and security sector to correct the planning factors and implementation mechanisms. The embargo experience and the lagging of war technology are strong reasons for Indonesia to pioneer the independence of its defense industry (Bilqis, 2017).

The Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership was signed by Indonesian President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono and South Korean President Roh Moo Hyun on December 4, 2006 in Jakarta. The Joint Declaration covers 3 (three) pillars of cooperation, political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, trade and investment and socio-cultural cooperation. In the political field, the relationship and weight of RI-ROK political cooperation continues to be maintained and strengthened by the intensity of visits by high dignitaries of both countries, both high-ranking Indonesian officials to South Korea and vice versa, which is quite high. To strengthen the relationship between the two countries in order to further advance the cooperative relationship between the two countries made a joint fighter development program that aims to meet the needs and challenges of the two countries in the next 30-40 years. Named Korea Fighter Xperiment / Indonesia Fighter Xperiment or KFX / IFX. This fighter aircraft itself is actually an old Republic Air Force (ROKAF) project that can only be implemented now.

Indonesia through PT Dirgantara Indonesia under the auspices of BUMN cooperates with KAI (Korean Aerospace Industries) South Korea to produce KFX / IFX fighter aircraft or Korean Fighter Experiment / Indonesian Fighter Experiment. This cooperation agenda is included in 7 Cooperation programs that are highly prioritized in the development of national defense (MoD, 2018). National defense (Ministry of Defense, 2018). Indonesia and South Korea have cooperated several times in the procurement of the main defense system equipment (alutsista), but KF-21 Boramae is special. The KF-21 Boramae is a long Indonesian-Korean project that began with a memorandum from both countries expressing interest in developing a fighter aircraft in 2009. Two years later, the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Defense Acquisition Program Agency (DAPA) of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Korea signed a memorandum of understanding on the development of the KFX/IFX fighter jet (ANTARANEWS, 2022).

KFX/IFX aircraft development cooperation The project began with a letter of intent (LoI) between Indonesia and South Korea signed in 2009. Furthermore, on July 15, 2010, there was a memorandum of understanding (MoU) signed by the two defense ministers in front of the President to establish a cooperative relationship to develop the KFX/IFX fighter aircraft. Departing from the aim of wanting to develop and strengthen diplomatic cooperation relations between the two countries finally made a program to develop the KFX/IFX fighter aircraft Indonesia in conducting cooperation in the field of fighter aircraft development requires a consideration related to the benefits to be obtained and equality between the negotiating parties. In conducting cooperation, of course, all parties involved have their respective interests, especially in obtaining benefits. So that Indonesia strives so that these interests can be accommodated so that cooperation can be implemented. Fighter aircraft program The KF-X/IF-X fighter program is funded 80% by the Republic of Korea and 20% by the Republic of Indonesia. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Defense, the program aims to build Indonesia's capability to enable it to defend its airspace, establish and enhance a sustainable Indonesian Defense industry, and deliver fighter aircraft to the Indonesian Air Force.

METHODS

The type of research the author uses is using a qualitative descriptive method. Qualitative method is a qualitative research method is a way or research method that emphasizes analysis or descriptive. In a qualitative research process, the subject's perspective is emphasized and the theoretical basis is used by the researcher as a guide, so that the research process is in accordance with the facts encountered in the field when conducting research. While descriptive means research whose purpose is to present a complete picture of a social setting or intended for exploration and clarification of a phenomenon or social reality.

RESULT

This research uses the national interest theory of Donald E. Nuechterlein. Donald said that the definition of national interest is the action of a country towards other countries, which is certainly influenced by many factors that lead to their respective national interests. Donald E. Nuechterlein defines that national interest is a need and a necessity. The desires of one country are linked to those of other countries in the external environment.

National Interest according to Donald E. Nuechterlein is a condition in which the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to another sovereign state consist of external factors. Nuechterlein divides national interests into 4, namely;

1. Defense interests, namely the protection of the state and its citizens from threats of physical violence directed from other countries and or externally inspired threats to its system of government.
2. Economic interests, namely improving the welfare or economy of the country through relations with other countries.
3. World order interests, namely the interest in maintaining or maintaining a favorable international political and economic system for countries and citizens in dealing with other parties or countries.
4. Ideological interests, defending or protecting the country's ideology from the threat of other countries' ideologies.

National interest is closely related to a country's foreign policy because national interest can determine decision makers in determining the direction, formulating and determining the actions of a country in the international world. The reason the author chose this theory is because according to the author's view in this study the theory of national interest according to Donald E. Nuechterlein is very relevant to analyze the reasons for Indonesia to cooperate in the development of the KFX/IFX fighter aircraft with South Korea.

1. Defense Interests

Improving the country's defense and also mastering the technology of making fighter aircraft independently are things that Indonesia wants to achieve. KFX/IFX is expected to be able to answer these challenges, KFX/IFX fighter aircraft will become the country's defense equipment that will add to Indonesia's air defense equipment which will increase the country's defense. Indonesia is one of the most archipelagic countries in the world with a lack of security in an increasingly advanced era. National security can be interpreted both as a condition and as a function. As a function, National Security will produce and create a sense of security in a broad sense, which includes a sense of comfort, peace, tranquility and order. This kind of security condition is a basic human need in addition to welfare. The understanding of the meaning and substance contained therein will vary depending on values, perceptions and interests.

The development of the defense industry in Indonesia is one of the government's focuses for strengthening defense and security, which is expected to meet the needs of defense equipment in achieving the Minimum Essential Force (MEF) in 2024, as well as achieving independence in the procurement of defense equipment in 2029 as stated in the defense industry master plan. The defense industry as contained in the RPJMN 2020-2024 is considered not optimal. Achievements as contained in the MEF, that the contribution of the defense industry in the fourth quarter of 2018 was only 35.9% of the specified target of 49% (Asep Ahmad, 2021) To realize the ideals of the Indonesian state which has a capable air defense and is able to compete, it is necessary to modernize obsolete defense equipment and improve the capabilities of the domestic defense industry. Defense equipment needs such as replacing the F-5 Tiger fighter to the Sukhoi SU-35 fighter, F-16 Viper, upgrading the T-50i jet trainer and so on. (Astaryadi Eka, 2018) Then looking at the lack of capability of the domestic defense industry and the lack of availability of combat equipment and the attitude of dependence on outside producers, the Indonesian government took the initiative to empower the potential of the domestic industry to become a supplier of weapons for the Indonesian war fleet.

The development of Indonesia's main weaponry system began in 2010 and was carried out in several stages. Where each stage is intermittent for 5 years. The first phase of the fulfillment of the minimum essential force (MEF) began in the 2010-2014 range. Then the fulfillment of MEF phase II has taken place from 2015-2019. Then the fulfillment of MEF phase III will soon be implemented from the range of 2020-2024, and the fulfillment of MEF phase IV will be planned from 2025-2029. (Ervita L Zahara, 2020) As a concrete step to develop the national defense industry, Indonesia collaborated with South Korea in the development of the KFX/IFX fighter aircraft or what is known as the KF-21 Boramae Jet aircraft. This program was initiated by the South Korean government which was then welcomed by the Indonesian Ministry of Defense. This fighter development program departs from South Korea's insecurity from various threats that come especially from North Korea. Therefore, the military transformation program that was intensified by South Korea was built to anticipate threats from North Korea, which has been building a larger military defense than South Korea. (Andrew Tan, 2020).

The KFX/IFX fighter development program started in the era of the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and continued by the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo as a national program. President Yudhoyono decided that Indonesia would partner with South Korea for the development of a 4.5 generation fighter known as KFX. Such cooperation made sense as the program was costly, while the market was highly segmented and highly competitive. Indonesian Defense Minister Purnomo Yusgiantoro during SBY's tenure and Republic of South Korea Ambassador to Indonesia Cho Tai-young signed the KFX/IFX joint engineering and development agreement in October 2014 in Surabaya, East Java. The South Korean government bears 60% of the financing, 20% is borne by Korea Aerospace Industries (KAI), while Indonesia finances the remaining 20%. (CNBC, 2019) Deputy Minister of Defense M. Herindra assessed that the KFX/IFX Development Program is one of the national programs that has strategic value for the Indonesian nation, because it aims to meet the needs of the Air Force fighter aircraft for the period 2025 - 2040. "The KFX/IFX development program is a national program," Herindra said, quoted from kemhan.go.id, Monday (17/7/2024). Therefore, related to the technology transfer process that has been agreed upon, the Deputy Minister of Defense hopes that it can run in line with the operational requirements of a major weaponry system (alutsista), to support Indonesia's goal of developing and utilizing the National Defense Industry. In addition, this program is also beneficial for improving the capabilities of the human resources of both countries. Indonesia, for example, has sent 37 engineer personnel and two test pilot personnel from the Indonesian Air Force who are internationally certified to participate in activities in South Korea as an effort to transfer technology. (KEMENHANRI, 2021)

The KFX/IFX (KF-21 Boramae) fighter development cooperation is a cooperation that has three stages that will be carried out by the two countries, namely, the first stage is the Technical Development Phase (TDP) / Technology Development, then the second stage Engineering and Manufacturing Development Phase (EMDP) / Engineering and manufacturing development, and the third stage Producing Development Phase (PDP) / Production. The three stages are already listed in the MoU of the Cooperation program that is being carried out. The first stage of the TDP is the technology development stage, which will describe the configuration and key technologies that will be applied to the airframe. Overall, this project will be funded by the South Korean Ministry of Defense, the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Korean Aerospace Industry (KAI) with a ratio of 60% to be borne by the South Korean government, 20% by the Indonesian government and 20% by KAI.

The aircraft developed by these two countries are predicted to have better capabilities than the aircraft owned by Indonesia itself. The KFX/IFX fighter aircraft is a 4.5 generation aircraft while the fighter aircraft owned by Indonesia is now a 4th generation fighter aircraft such as the US-made F-5E Tiger and F-16 Fighting Falcon, and Sukhoi aircraft. Fighter aircraft such as the US-made F-5E Tiger and F-16 Fighting Falcon, and Russian-made Sukhoi SU-27 and SU-30 Flanker aircraft. The KFX / IFX aircraft itself has semi-stealth technology, which means that even though weapons such as missiles can still be read by opposing aircraft, the aircraft engine is not read by opposing aircraft. Furthermore, it has electronic jammer technology with this technology that can make the enemy aircraft electronic system unable to function anymore. In addition, this aircraft is also reinforced with radar technology that can capture enemy aircraft that are above or below the aircraft. This aircraft will later strengthen Indonesia's qualified air defense guard.

2. Economic Interests

According to Donald Nuecherlein, the second pillar, namely economic interests, is a relationship between two or more countries that aims to increase an economic value where the relationship will produce certain benefits. (Donald E Nuechterlein 1979) In this case, the KFX/IFX fighter development project between Indonesia and South Korea runs in accordance with the corridor of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia concerning the defense industry Article 4 Number 16 of 2012 which states that the implementation of the defense industry has a function to increase economic growth and can absorb labor (UURI, 2017). Then it is also listed in PERPRES number 136 of 2014 concerning the IFX fighter development program. IFX fighter development program. In chapter 3 article 7 states that the implementation of the IFX fighter development program must prepare national resources which include; human resources, infrastructure development, technology development and strengthening the work network system. Then in article 8 it also states that; human resource development referred to in article 7 is the recruitment of experts, increasing competence through education and training programs and providing incentives for researchers and engineers in related fields of expertise (PERPRESS, 2014). This is supported by the presidential chief of staff Dr. Moeldoko, Moeldoko assessed that there are three major issues that are present in the sustainability of the KFX/IFX fighter development cooperation program. First, regarding intellectual property rights, the agreement system, and marketing rights. These three issues, according to Moeldoko, need to be resolved immediately to continue this cooperation. Indonesia cooperates with South Korea in the development of the KFX/IFX fighter jet. The two countries agreed on a US\$8 billion or Rp121.35 trillion project. In the project, Indonesia will get a transfer of fighter jet technology. The project is expected to produce 120 units of fighter jets for South Korea and 48 units of fighter jets for Indonesia. In accordance with the agreement in the MoU, Indonesia bears 20 percent of the payment, which is certainly very beneficial in addition to being able to transfer technology and also get 48 units of 4.5 generation fighter jets with semi stealth.

The KFX/IFX fighter development mega project is the first project developed by Indonesia together with South Korea handled by KAI (Korean Aerospace Industries) and PT Dirgantara Indonesia. Referring to this MoU of cooperation, the mega fighter development project. KFX/IFX involves domestic professionals to participate in engineering development including design, analysis, testing and prototyping of the aircraft. In the second phase, Indonesia will send scientists who will be dispatched in stages over the next 10 years. Furthermore, Indonesia through PTDI set up Design Center

Indonesia (DCI) to build technology, infrastructure and simulation capabilities. In this place, all stages of KFX/IFX work in South Korea will be communicated. DCI is a mirroring of the Design Center building which was also built in Sacheon, South Korea. The Design Center in Sacheon is a kind of sealed and sterile building (Anggi Kusumadewi, 2016). In addition to utilizing Indonesian human resources in the development of this fighter, Indonesia also has the opportunity to expand PTDI's wings to be more competent in making fighter aircraft and able to compete with the world. Where PTDI is only able to dabble in making transport and helicopter type aircraft (PT DI). PT Dirgantara Indonesia is a company that produces aircraft to meet the needs of civil airlines, military operators, and special mission needs. PTDI is one of the aerospace companies in Asia and the only one in Southeast Asia with core competencies in aircraft design and development, aircraft structure manufacturing, aircraft production, and aircraft services for civil and military from light and medium aircraft since its establishment in 1976. In addition to making aircraft designs PT DI has also begun to develop in the manufacture of defense equipment in order to strengthen the country's defense system and provide maintenance services for machines aircraft, as well as being a sub-contractor for the world's aviation industries such as Boeing, Airbus, General Dynamic, Fokker and so on (Adang Setia, 2018).

Seeing the opportunities that exist, it is not impossible that Indonesia will develop its aviation industry through PT DI so that in the future PT DI will be able to compete internationally. At present PT DI's achievement is to be the only aviation industry in Southeast Asia capable of making airplanes and helicopters, although in terms of industrial independence it cannot be said to be good, considering that a number of parts of production still rely on supporting parties from other parties. But with the cooperation of the development of KFX / IFX fighter aircraft with KAI is expected to be able to strengthen the ranks of the defense and aviation industry that is more advanced and able to compete in the international arena through the transfer of technology. In terms of political economy, Indonesia has an advantage in cooperating with South Korea on the KFX/IFX fighter development mega project. Since the beginning of the strategic partnership relationship between Indonesia and South Korea in 2006, as well as the agreement of the MoU on cooperation in the development of KFX/IFX fighter aircraft in 2010 which also includes cooperation programs in the field of politics and defense in the Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership, Indonesia has the advantage of being able to reduce research and development (R&D) costs in the process of making fighter aircraft which of course requires enormous costs. Looking from the past, Indonesia had planned to develop and manufacture the N- 219 aircraft, which cost millions of dollars. 219 which cost millions of dollars. Then the N-250 Gatotkaca aircraft which also costs very expensive up to 25 times that of the N-219 aircraft. Designing and manufacturing aircraft is indeed a high-end industry that requires a lot of money. The N-219 and N-250 Gatotkaca aircraft fall into the category of small aircraft classes, and when compared to the KFX / IFX fighter aircraft, eating the cost of research, development and production certainly costs a lot.

3. Edeological Interests

In fighting for and defending national interests, efforts are needed that include political activities and foreign relations based on provisions that are a further elaboration of the philosophy of Pancasila, the Preamble and Body of the 1945 Constitution and the Outlines of State Policy. The rationale underlying the Law on Foreign Relations is that the organization of foreign relations and the implementation of foreign policy require provisions that clearly regulate all aspects concerning the means and mechanisms for

implementing these activities. In the era of an increasingly advanced world as a result of the rapid development of science and technology globally, as well as increased interaction and interdependence between countries and between nations, international relations are increasingly characterized by cooperation in various fields. The progress in development achieved by Indonesia in various fields has led to an increase in Indonesia's activities in the international world, both from the government and private / individual, bringing about the need for increased protection of the interests of the state and citizens.

As written in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 37 of 1999 concerning foreign relations. Article 2 reads that the implementation of the Republic of Indonesia's foreign policy must be a reflection of the nation's ideology. Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation is an ideological foundation that influences and animates the foreign policy of the Republic of Indonesia. The implementation of a free and active foreign policy is based on basic law, namely the 1945 Constitution as a constitutional foundation that cannot be separated from the national goals of the Indonesian nation as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution in the fourth paragraph. The implementation of the Republic of Indonesia's foreign policy cannot be separated from the conception of National Resilience. National Resilience is the condition of the life of the Indonesian nation based on the Archipelago Concept in order to realize the deterrence and endurance to be able to interact with the environment at a time in such a way as to ensure the survival and development of the life of the Indonesian nation to achieve national goals, namely a just and prosperous society in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila. Furthermore, it is also explained in Article 3 of Law Number 37 of 1999 that Indonesia adheres to the principle of free and active politics. What is meant by "free and active" is a foreign policy which is essentially not a neutral policy, but a foreign policy that is free to determine attitudes and policies towards international problems and does not bind itself fully to one world power and actively contributes, both in the form of ideas and active participation in resolving conflicts, disputes and other world problems, for the realization of world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice. Departing from this, it is important for Indonesia to establish cooperation in developing the defense of the country's sovereign territory by cooperating in the development of the KFX / IFX fighter aircraft with South Korea.

The KFX/IFX fighter development cooperation is a major project carried out by the South Korean government together with Indonesia, which is executed by the KAI and PTDI aerospace industries. South Korea, which is known as a country with rapid technological development, and is one of the defense equipment manufacturers in the world, is one of the reasons for Indonesia to accept the offer of the fighter aircraft project. Although politically, South Korea is a country affiliated with the United States, which is known as a superpower. From an ideological point of view, there are real differences but so far this has not caused problems. This can be seen from the trade cooperation in the purchase of Russian Sukhoi SU-35 fighter aircraft carried out in 2017. In fact, Indonesia does not only buy fighter aircraft but there are other types of defense equipment including BTR-80A military transport armored vehicles and BMP-3F infantry fighting vehicles. In addition, Indonesia is also listed as a user of the Kalashnikov assault rifle, popularly known as the legendary AK-47. Indonesia also imports Mi-35 and Mi-17 helicopters from Russia, as well as weapon systems and other military hardware. This action proves that Indonesia does not move based on the demands of any country, Indonesia moves freely and proves that Indonesia strongly maintains its free and active ideology by not joining any bloc.

Such cooperation and buying and selling can be clear evidence that Indonesia's foreign policy stance is non-aligned. Indonesia can benefit from the achievement of its national interests in various aspects, ranging from increasing defense, ideology, economy to the international world order. This is in line with the concept of national interest according to Nuechterlein, "National national interests are directed at achieving benefits in the aspects of ideology, defense, economy and international world order". So that Indonesia's decision to cooperate with other countries has no limits as long as it is still profitable and prioritizes the principles of national interest. In addition, Indonesia's free-active political system is in line with Indonesia's defensive-active defense system. In the sense that Indonesia as a sovereign state is free to cooperate with any country without relying on certain blocs. Defensive-active means that TNI forces are built to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and are not shown to carry out offensives to other countries, but are still required to be active to anticipate developments in the strategic environment. Therefore, Indonesia does not prohibit cooperation with any country, apart from being a clear proof that Indonesia's politics are free and active, it also considers that there are many benefits that will be achieved, especially in the field of defense.

4. International Order Interests

Furthermore, in the interests of the international order, Indonesia is one of the countries in ASEAN which has a considerable influence as one of the founding countries that contributed significantly in various aspects in the formation of ASEAN. For this reason, Indonesia must also maintain its existence in the ASEAN region, therefore the purpose of establishing cooperation in the development of the KFX / IFX fighter aircraft with South Korea, among others, is to maintain its existence by obtaining technology transfer benefits which are expected to allow Indonesia to produce its own fighter aircraft which can then enter the commercialization line so as to improve the country's economy and stabilize international politics and economics, especially at the ASEAN level. In accordance with what was said by the Head of the Public Communication Center of the Ministry of Defense, Brigadier General TNI Totok Sugiharto, emphasized that in the KFX / IFX cooperation, Indonesia must get technology transfer so that the technology in KFX / IFX can be made in Indonesia. This is so that Indonesia not only benefits outsiders, but can also develop its own technological capabilities. (Muhammad Hendarty, 2019)

Technology transfer, also known as technology commercialization, is the process of transferring capabilities, knowledge, technology, production methods, production samples, and facilities between government agencies, universities, and other institutions with the aim of ensuring that scientific and technological advances are accessible to various parties. Technology transfer usually occurs to coordinate the process of transferring technological knowledge from developed to developing countries, which is often interpreted as an effort to assist developing countries in developing their industries with the aim of improving the quality of life. It has an important role in developing and transforming them into new products, processes, applications, materials, and services. (Myrobin, 2017)

In this collaboration Indonesia is represented by PTDI and South Korea is represented by KAI assisted by the United States company Lockheed Martin. Lockheed Martin's role is as a source of technology transfer needed for the development of KFX/IFX. (Semmy Tyar 2017) The aircraft to be produced from the KFX/IFX project is a continuation of the T-50 Golden Eagle, an aircraft developed by South Korea and the United States. In addition, South Korea has an offset agreement with the United States for the purchase of this century's most advanced fighter, the F-35 JSF. From this offset, it is expected that 25

technologies that have been successfully implemented on the F-35 JSF can be applied to the aircraft resulting from the KFX/IFX project.

The systemic aspect that underlies the emergence of the KFX/IFX project stems from South Korea's desire to build its own fighter aircraft with high stealth capabilities to deal with the often threatening North Korean combat power. The effort to build "self-defense" can be categorized as an institutional aspect because it relates to South Korea's internal response to the external systemic conditions that surround it. The KFX project can be said to be one of South Korea's internal responses, because through this project South Korea aspires to have a locally made fighter aircraft. (CNN, 2021) The North Korean threat is still a concern, but the increasing military power of China and Japan, which adds to the security dilemma in East Asia, is also a threat to South Korea's sovereignty. Meanwhile, Indonesia has at least three main motivations in accepting South Korea's offer to cooperate in this development. First, to build independence in the defense sector. Indonesia has experienced various embargoes from Western countries, so it can be said that having money (to buy weapons) is not necessarily able to use it freely. Second, is the technological motivation, where Indonesia is still very minimal in terms of defense technology. This joint development is expected to enable technology transfer to Indonesia. Third, is the contribution to the economy. A project with a budget as large as KFX can have a multiplier effect on the economy, which is expected to be as advanced as the United States that already relies on its defense sector industry. Thus the convergence of the goals of these two countries rests on an understanding of the world order. From this understanding of the world order, there are other derivatives of perceptions of the international economy and international security that reduce threat perceptions. Indonesia has an interest in advancing an independent defense industry, while South Korea wants to stabilize its military power in the Asian region, especially in East Asia.

This study aims to determine and analyze Indonesia's interests in establishing cooperation in developing KFX/IFX fighter aircraft with South Korea using Donald e Nuechterlein's national interest theory. In order to fulfill its national interest, Indonesia accepted South Korea's invitation to develop the 4th generation KFX/IFX (Korean Fighter Experiment/Indonesian Fighter Experiment) aircraft. In this cooperation project, Indonesia is represented by PT Dirgantara Indonesia and from the South Korean side it is taken over by KAI (Korean Aerospace Industries) in cooperation to carry out a series of defense equipment production that will strengthen national defense and fulfill Indonesia's national interests, namely defense interests, economic interests, geological interests, and international order interests in accordance with what is stated by important figures and official state documents as follows:

Table 1. Analysis of Indonesia's Foreign Policy

State Action	National Interest	Evidence	Description
Indonesia establishes cooperation in the construction of fighter aircraft	Defense Interests	- Statement of the Deputy Minister of Defense	Website Kemenhan.go.id, kompas.com
		M. Herindra	
		- RPJMN Document	
KFX/IFX with South Korea	Economic Interests	- residential staff statement Dr. Moeldoko	Website ksp.go.id Antaranews.com

		- PERPRESS 136	
		- year 2014	
		- MoU	
		- Cooperation on KFX/IFX Fighter Development	
	Ideological Interests	- Indonesian Law 37 1999 and the preamble of the 1945 Constitution 4th paragraph about free and active politics	Law of the Republic of Indonesia and the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution
	International Order Interests	- Statement of General Totok Sugiharto	Nasionaltempo.com

Source : Research data processed in 2025

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of cooperation between Indonesia and South Korea in the development of kfx/IFX fighter aircraft, it can be concluded that this policy is driven by various national interests, namely defense, economy, ideology, and international order. From the defense aspect, this project aims to improve the capabilities of the Indonesian military industry to support the independence of alutsista. Economically, this cooperation has the potential to strengthen the national aerospace industry and open up opportunities for technology transfer. In terms of ideology, this policy is in line with the principle of non-active foreign politics, as stipulated in the Constitution and laws. Meanwhile, in the context of the international order, Indonesia's involvement in the project reflects its active role in global defense cooperation. Thus, the KFX/IFX cooperation not only has an impact on defense modernization, but also strengthens Indonesia's strategic position at the international level.

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