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Indonesia's Political Diplomacy in the Resolution of the Russia–Ukraine Conflict

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ABSTRACT

The armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which erupted in early 2022, has evolved into a global crisis—triggering food and energy shortages and threatening international geopolitical stability. This far-reaching turmoil has demanded diplomatic engagement from peace-committed nations, including Indonesia. This study aims to examine the role and strategies undertaken by the Indonesian government in responding to the conflict, as well as to uncover any underlying national interests behind its peace initiatives. Using a comprehensive literature review, the findings reveal that Indonesia positioned itself as a dialogue initiator and actively pursued bilateral and multilateral communications with the parties involved. While the diplomacy is officially framed as neutral and aligned with Indonesia's constitutional mandate for peace, deeper analysis suggests pragmatic motives—such as safeguarding economic stability and bolstering Indonesia's image as a credible global actor—also influence the peace mission.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Conflict, Russia-Ukraine, Initiation, Role.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a sovereign country that has its own decisions and foreign political journey. As a sovereign nation, Indonesia often participates and appears on the international stage in order to help resolve conflicts occurring in the international sphere. Indonesia often takes part in efforts to play a role and facilitate the creation of dialogue spaces to help peacefully resolve international conflicts through diplomatic channels and forums, acting both as a peace initiator and conflict mediator.

Indonesia itself has several experiences in handling and resolving international conflicts, and has achieved some success in conflict management. Indonesia's experience and foreign political movement in conflict resolution have increased international trust in the Indonesian Government. This also strengthens Indonesia's confidence to continue appearing on the international stage in order to help resolve international-level conflicts. This is also in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely to participate in maintaining world order and peace. This step is taken based on the principles of Indonesia's free and active foreign policy — free to determine the direction of its foreign political policies without influence or interference from other parties, and actively participating in maintaining world peace without joining any bloc,

based on equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other parties. (UU No. 37 Year 1999).

Indonesia once again demonstrated the existence of its foreign policy on the international stage through its diplomatic role in an effort to position itself as a peacemaker in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine that occurred in 2022. In 2022, Russia launched a military attack on Ukrainian territory and officially announced that it was conducting a military operation in Ukraine. Russia carried out this attack to ensure the stability of its national security, defend the interests of the residents of Donetsk and Luhansk, and eliminate Western influence from Ukraine (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). Russia launched a massive assault on Ukrainian territory, which drew responses from the international community, with many countries condemning the attack. Russia attacked major Ukrainian cities such as Luhansk, Donetsk, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. This assault destroyed large parts of Ukraine, damaged public facilities, killed thousands of Ukrainian civilians, and forced millions of people to flee in search of safety (Jazeera, 2025).

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has affected not only the two countries involved but also had a significant negative impact on countries in the European regional area as well as globally, affecting the political, economic, and global security sectors. Politically, for example, the conflict has sparked both support and opposition among global nations. On Russia's side, they are supported by North Korea, China, and other former Soviet states; on Ukraine's side, they are supported by NATO and the United States. This has escalated global political tensions. In addition, many countries have imposed sanctions on Russia, and Russia has responded with counter-sanctions, further worsening global political relations.

This conflict has also affected the stability of the European and global economies. Russia is the third-largest oil producer and exporter in the world, the largest natural gas exporter to Europe and the second-largest globally, and also the third-largest coal producer and exporter in the world. Meanwhile, Ukraine is a major producer and exporter of sunflower oil and one of the largest wheat exporters in the world (Hendrik, 2024). The numerous sanctions imposed on Russia by European countries prompted Russia to retaliate by boycotting the European economy and cutting off gas supplies to several European countries. This disrupted supply chains and other energy sources, which affected global production and markets, leading to shortages and rising global commodity prices. The conflict also devastated Ukraine's economy and trade routes, which negatively impacted the global economy.

The crisis and impacts caused by the conflict between Russia and Ukraine have motivated Indonesia to contribute to resolving the conflict. Indonesia initiated efforts to create a peaceful resolution and offered to act as a mediator, expressing readiness to bridge communication between Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia took steps through diplomatic channels to open spaces for dialogue in search of a resolution to the conflict. This research aims to identify and analyze the role of the Indonesian government, what steps have been taken, and the challenges faced by the Indonesian government in its intention to act as a peacemaker in the Russia–Ukraine conflict, as well as the interests that Indonesia brings in the process (Tempo, 2023).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Indonesia's efforts to mediate the Russia–Ukraine conflict through diplomatic channels have attracted international attention. However, academic literature indicates that the participation of developing countries as mediators in major conflicts remains a relatively new phenomenon and has not been extensively studied. According to Storey and

Choong (2022), Southeast Asian countries tend to respond cautiously to Russia's invasion, but Indonesia has displayed a unique approach through active diplomacy without aligning with any specific bloc (Storey & Choong, 2022). Indonesia's approach, which combines "soft diplomacy" and neutral alignment strategies, makes it an interesting case to study as a form of diplomacy by a populous Global South country.

Historically, Indonesia's experience in mediating international conflicts has been mostly limited to the Southeast Asian region. However, Indonesia's role in the Ukraine conflict marks an important milestone, especially when connected with the concept of "middle power diplomacy." As explained by Sudjatmiko et al. (2022), Indonesia is striving to solidify its geopolitical position in global forums such as the G20 through its diplomacy in the Russia–Ukraine crisis (Sudjatmiko et al., 2022). This creates a novelty space in international relations research by highlighting the proactive involvement of developing countries in global non-regional conflicts—an area previously dominated by major powers or multilateral institutions.

In the context of conflict mediation, the peace proposal presented by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto also introduced a new nuance. Although it sparked controversy and was rejected by Ukraine, the proposal marked the involvement of a defense figure in global public diplomacy, a domain typically dominated by foreign ministries. A study by Tiara & Mas'udi (2023) stated that Indonesia's diplomacy in this case employed a soft-power approach based on personal leadership, not merely institutional diplomacy (Tiara & Mas' udi, 2023). This distinction opens opportunities for new studies on defense diplomacy as a non-traditional instrument in the resolution of international conflicts.

Additionally, criticism of Indonesia's limited experience as a mediator outside the ASEAN region provides a basis to explore the diplomatic capacity challenges of developing countries. Fadlia Alfaini (2022) noted that although Indonesia has previously been involved in mediation efforts in Afghanistan, the implementation was not strong enough to position Indonesia as a major actor in global conflict resolution (Fadlia Alfaini, 2021). Thus, the academic contribution of this research lies in analyzing how Indonesia builds legitimacy as a global mediator and how such efforts could potentially shape the architecture of multipolar diplomacy in the future.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach with a literature review as its primary research method. The focus is to analyze Indonesia's diplomatic role in the Russia–Ukraine conflict based on relevant written sources. Data were collected from various secondary sources, including peer-reviewed journals, reputable news articles, official government reports, international organization documents, and academic publications. The literature selection process followed three main criteria: (1) direct relevance to Indonesia's diplomacy in the context of the Russia–Ukraine conflict, (2) published between 2022 and 2024, and (3) originating from credible national or international sources. The data analysis was conducted qualitatively using a process of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The selected literature was analyzed to identify patterns of diplomacy, political narratives, and indications of Indonesia's national interests, whether explicit or implied, within its peacebuilding efforts. The findings were then synthesized narratively to answer the research questions posed in this study.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

a. The Global Implications of the Russia–Ukraine Conflict

Russia and Ukraine experienced a breakdown in relations following Ukraine's intention to join NATO, a move strongly opposed by Russia. Russia opposed this not without reason, but because it considered Ukraine's step as a threat to the existence of Russia's national security. Russia also perceived Ukraine's move as part of a Western agenda, seeing Ukraine as a tool of Western countries to destabilize Russia. In response, Russia conducted military exercises and deployed weapons and hundreds of thousands of troops along its border with Ukraine. However, despite this, Russia stated that the purpose of deploying troops to the border was merely for military exercises, not to attack Ukraine. Western countries, however, viewed this as a threatening signal that Russia intended to invade Ukraine.

Picture 1. Deployment and movement of Russian troops on the border
Source: (Jazeera, 2025)

Satellite imagery showed the movement and deployment of Russian troops along its border with Ukraine several months before war broke out between the two countries. This triggered concerns among European nations that Russia would invade Ukrainian territory; however, Russia firmly denied any intention of attacking Ukraine (News, 2024).

Picture 2. Map of Russian incursions into Ukrainian Territory
Source: (Jazeera, 2025)

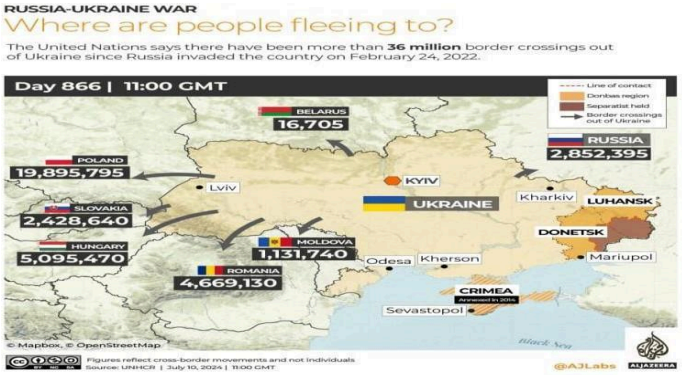
In 2022, Russia launched a military attack on Ukrainian territory and officially announced that it was conducting a military operation in Ukraine (News, 2022). Russia carried out this attack to ensure the stability of its national security, defend the interests of the residents of Donetsk and Luhansk, and eliminate Western influence from Ukraine (Syuryansyah & Berthanila, 2022). Russia launched a large-scale assault on Ukrainian territory, which drew responses from the international community, with many countries

condemning the attack. Russia attacked major Ukrainian cities such as Luhansk, Donetsk, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. This assault destroyed large parts of Ukraine, damaged public infrastructure, killed thousands of Ukrainian civilians, and forced millions of people to flee in search of safety (Jazeera, 2025).

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine not only affected the two countries involved but also had a significant negative impact on countries in the European regional area as well as globally, influencing the political, economic, and global security sectors. Politically, for example, the conflict triggered a divide among global nations. On Russia's side, it received support from North Korea, China, and other former Soviet states. On Ukraine's side, it was supported by NATO and the United States. This situation escalated global political tensions. Moreover, many countries imposed sanctions on Russia, and Russia retaliated with counter-sanctions, further straining international political relations.

This conflict has also disrupted the stability of both the European and global economies. Russia is the third-largest oil producer and exporter in the world, the largest natural gas exporter to Europe and the second-largest globally, and also the third-largest coal producer and exporter in the world. Meanwhile, Ukraine is a major producer and exporter of sunflower oil and one of the world's largest wheat exporters (Fernando, 2023). The numerous sanctions imposed by European countries on Russia prompted Russia to retaliate by boycotting European economies and cutting off gas supplies to several European countries. This disrupted supply chains and other energy sources, affecting global production and markets, and resulted in shortages and rising global commodity prices. The conflict also devastated Ukraine's economy and trade routes, which further negatively impacted the global economy.

Russia began its attack on Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and the conflict has not ended to this day. This ongoing conflict may pose new challenges for international relations and have long-term impacts on global security. There are concerns that the conflict could escalate into a world war, considering the involvement and interference of many international blocs and actors.



Picture 3. The direction of refugee movements from Ukraine
Source: (Jazeera, 2025)

The image above shows the flow of Ukrainian civilians fleeing to other European regions. According to existing data, around 36 million civilians have left Ukraine for border areas. This has the potential to disrupt border security in European countries and has prompted those countries to tighten and monitor their borders in order to prevent security threats such as human trafficking and the circulation of illegal weapons.

NATO and its allies continue to support Ukraine in this war, with NATO even strengthening its troops in Europe and supplying military weapons to Ukraine. This has further escalated tensions with Russia. In response, Russia warned the West and NATO by

deploying its nuclear weapons to Belarus and activating its nuclear arsenal. Meanwhile, the West responded with discussions of deploying nuclear weapons to NATO member states in Europe. This situation raises concerns about the potential for a world war and the use of nuclear weapons in this conflict, which could severely damage and disrupt global security (Storey & Choong, 2022). In addition, the use of mercenaries in this war also threatens global security, as the involvement of hired soldiers from various countries and the rise in illegal arms trafficking further intensify the risks.

b. Indonesia's Position and the Implications of the Russia–Ukraine Conflict for Its National Interests

On February 25, 2022, Indonesia, through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, issued an official state statement regarding the military attack on Ukraine (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). In its statement, Indonesia strongly condemned the military aggression against Ukraine and called on all countries to respect the goals and principles of the UN Charter and international law. Indonesia urged that the conflict be stopped immediately and requested the UN Security Council to take firm action to address the situation. Additionally, Indonesia prepared evacuation measures for its citizens residing in the conflict zone. This was an appropriate initial step by Indonesia—condemning the attack without supporting or blaming any party, thereby maintaining its neutrality and commitment as a non-aligned country.

The crisis between Russia and Ukraine is one of the most phenomenal events or global tragedies that has drawn international attention and impacted many nations. The countries affected by this war are not limited to Russia, Ukraine, or their allies; it has caused repercussions far beyond the European region. This war is not merely a bilateral conflict between Russia and Ukraine, but rather a complex confrontation involving multiple countries and interests. On Russia's side are China, North Korea, and other Russian allies; on Ukraine's side are NATO and its allies.

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has introduced new challenges to global stability and the world economy, including for Indonesia. One of the impacts of this conflict is the shortage and rising prices of global energy. The conflict disrupts the supply of global energy and food resources, as both countries play significant roles and hold major influence in global energy and food exports. Indonesia will be affected by these developments, as the conflict impacts trade performance and cooperation with both Russia and Ukraine. Another significant impact Indonesia will likely face is the rising global prices of energy, particularly oil and natural gas, considering that Russia accounts for 10% of the world's oil exports. These rising prices will put pressure on Indonesia's fiscal condition due to increased subsidy burdens, especially in the energy sector, such as fuel and natural gas. This situation may also lead to higher transportation, logistics, and domestic industrial costs (DPR, 2022).

The Indonesian government must pay close attention to the Russia–Ukraine war crisis, particularly concerning its potential domestic impacts. The government needs to take strategic steps to anticipate the adverse effects on the national economy amid global economic instability. It is also essential for the government to reduce its dependence on Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia needs to seek alternative wheat exporters beyond Ukraine to ensure stable wheat supply and prices within the country.

c. Indonesia's Role in Peacebuilding

Indonesia is a great nation with a noble aspiration to contribute to maintaining order and peace, as stated in the UUD 1945. Every country naturally has its own role in preserving global peace (Pangemanan, 2023). War only disrupts peace, claims lives, and

causes destruction—not only for the warring nations but also potentially bringing negative impacts to the global community. In conducting its diplomatic relations and international cooperation, Indonesia follows a principle of being free and active—free to determine the direction of its foreign policy without being influenced by any other country, and active in maintaining world peace without joining any bloc. Indonesia's foreign policy is based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries (UU No. 37 Year 1999).

The Russia–Ukraine conflict, which began in early 2022 and is still ongoing, has become a global phenomenon that has shattered world peace and brought significant impacts in terms of politics, economics, and global security. Given the complexity and severity of the conflict and its global consequences—including on Indonesia—Indonesia feels called to contribute to peace efforts and participate in the peaceful resolution of the Russia–Ukraine conflict, in accordance with the mandate of the Indonesian Constitution outlined above. In its peace mission to help resolve the Russia–Ukraine conflict, the Indonesian government has utilized diplomacy as its main instrument. Diplomacy is employed to ease tensions and to achieve peace. Indonesia positioned itself as a country willing to act as a peace mediator in the conflict and took the initiative to promote a peaceful resolution. In doing so, Indonesia has taken several strategic diplomatic steps, beginning with open dialogue in international forums and formal diplomatic engagements with both parties involved in the conflict.

1) Indonesia's Political Diplomacy Toward Ukraine

In its effort to act as an initiator and bridge the peace process in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine in order to contribute to global peace, the Indonesian government carried out a series of diplomatic visits and meetings in Ukraine. Indonesia, through President Jokowi and a delegation of diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited Ukraine on June 29, 2022 (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). The meeting took place at the Maryinsky Palace in Kyiv, where President Jokowi and his delegation met directly with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy (Setpres, 2023). This was President Jokowi's first visit to Ukraine. The visit aimed to build and strengthen cooperation between the two countries, as well as to negotiate and discuss possible resolutions to the ongoing conflict (Asmara, 2022). On this occasion, President Jokowi also expressed his concern over the conflict. He emphasized Indonesia's position on the importance of respecting sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the urgency of a peaceful resolution (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022).

President Jokowi held another meeting with the Ukrainian leader during a bilateral meeting on the sidelines of the G7 Summit in Hiroshima, Japan (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). Jokowi expressed his sympathy for the suffering endured by Ukraine and reaffirmed Indonesia's continued support for peace efforts, stating Indonesia's readiness to help mediate. Indonesia's diplomacy toward Ukraine reflects the nation's concern and empathy toward the ongoing conflict and brings a spirit of support to help Ukraine bring the conflict to an end. Indonesia's political diplomacy toward Ukraine is an effort by the Indonesian government to initiate dialogue between Russia and Ukraine and to seek a solution to the conflict. This diplomatic move showcases the role and presence of Indonesian diplomacy on the world stage, and represents Indonesia's willingness to serve as an initiator—and even a mediator—in resolving the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

2) Indonesia's Political Diplomacy Toward Russia

The Indonesian government has once again demonstrated its commitment to playing a role as a peace mediator in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia

continued its state-level political diplomacy by visiting Russia to help resolve the conflict. On June 30, 2022, President Jokowi, along with staff and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, traveled to Russia and was scheduled to meet with President Putin at the Kremlin Palace in Moscow (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). President Jokowi's visit to Russia with his delegation was a reflection of Indonesia's commitment to contributing to global peace. At the onset of the conflict, Indonesia had already responded through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by condemning the Russian attack on Ukraine—without taking sides. Indonesia also called on both countries to immediately resolve the conflict through peaceful means. During the meeting held at the Kremlin, President Jokowi essentially conveyed that he was ready to serve as a communication bridge between Russia and Ukraine.

President Jokowi's diplomatic visit to Russia aimed to discuss humanitarian and peace issues related to the Russia–Ukraine conflict and to engage in dialogue with President Putin to seek a solution that could ensure the global economy remains unaffected. He emphasized that Indonesia has no vested interest in this conflict other than to see the war end peacefully and to restore the global supply chains of food, energy, and fertilizers. Jokowi requested that Russia guarantee the security of food, energy, and fertilizer supply chains, both from Ukraine and Russia. On that occasion, President Jokowi also personally invited President Putin to attend the G20 Summit scheduled to be held in Indonesia (Sudjatmiko et al., 2022).

As a result of Indonesia's diplomatic mission to Russia, Russia agreed to open and guarantee the safety of Ukraine's wheat export routes and to ensure the global supply of Russian fertilizers (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). President Putin also confirmed Russia's participation in the G20 Summit in Bali, Indonesia. During this meeting, Russia proposed several cooperation initiatives with Indonesia, which were subsequently agreed upon. Based on the above, it can be seen that the Indonesian government's visit to Russia was not solely aimed at dialogue for conflict resolution, but also carried underlying domestic interests.

3) Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto's Diplomacy

Indonesia's efforts were not limited to the diplomatic visits to Russia and Ukraine made by President Jokowi. An initiative to help resolve the Russia–Ukraine conflict also came from one of Indonesia's cabinet officials, Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo presented five peace proposals to Russia and Ukraine. He was one of the speakers at the Shangri-La Dialogue held in Singapore on June 2–4, 2024 (Hendrik, 2024). This forum brings together senior officials, defense ministers, and security experts from various countries around the world to discuss and exchange information related to regional and global security stability.

In this forum, Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto expressed his concern about the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine. He called on the United Nations to take a firm stance on the conflict and to assume a central role in its resolution. Additionally, Prabowo presented a peace proposal for both countries. The proposal included five main points: first, a call for both parties to agree to a ceasefire; second, a withdrawal of forces 15 km from the current frontlines; third, the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces and the establishment of a demilitarized zone; fourth, the involvement of an international monitoring contingent; and finally, Prabowo proposed the holding of a referendum (Hendrik, 2024).

The peace proposal submitted by Prabowo at the Shangri-La Dialogue sparked both support and criticism from international circles as well as from within Indonesia. Ukraine firmly rejected Prabowo's proposal. Ukrainian Defense Minister Oleksii Reznikov, in the

same forum, immediately dismissed the proposal outright, calling it strange and suggesting it resembled a Russian proposal (Nusantaratv.com, 2023). Ukraine also officially, through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed its rejection of Prabowo's proposal, stating that the proposal was inappropriate and asserting that Russia is the aggressor. Ukraine demanded that Russia withdraw from its territory and restore its territorial integrity, declaring there was no alternative scenario. Furthermore, Ukraine, through its embassy in Jakarta, requested clarification from the Indonesian government, particularly from Defense Minister Prabowo, regarding the proposal (Atok, 2022).

On the other hand, Russia also responded to Prabowo's peace proposal. Through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia stated that it was open to any peace proposal offered and welcomed any efforts by countries aimed at resolving the conflict peacefully (C. Indonesia, 2023). Within Indonesia, the proposal also triggered public debate. President Jokowi commented on the proposal, stating that it was a personal initiative from Prabowo and did not represent the official stance of the Indonesian government. President Jokowi also stated that he would summon Prabowo to clarify the peace initiative he had proposed (Hantoro, 2023). The Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR-RI) also questioned the government's position regarding Prabowo's proposal, especially after it drew protests from the Ukrainian government. Commission I of the DPR-RI expressed doubts about the proposal, stating that it did not align with the realities on the ground and was inconsistent with customary norms and ethics in conflict resolution. The DPR also questioned whether the proposal represented an official stance that should have been determined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as part of Indonesia's foreign policy mandate (DPR, 2022).

Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, responded to the issue by stating that the Indonesian government's position on the conflict remains unchanged. Minister Retno suggested that the House of Representatives (DPR) directly communicate with Prabowo to obtain clarification. She reaffirmed that Indonesia consistently upholds the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, supports the cessation of war, seeks to ensure that global food supply chains remain uninterrupted, and has also provided humanitarian aid to Ukraine (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022).

Based on the statements above, it can be firmly concluded that the peace proposal submitted by Prabowo does not represent the official stance of the Indonesian government and does not reflect Indonesia's foreign policy. Rather, it was a personal initiative taken by Prabowo out of concern for the conflict. Prabowo himself does not have the authority or capacity to handle foreign policy decisions. According to researchers, Prabowo's peace proposal was a misstep, as such matters fall outside the mandate of a defense minister. It temporarily strained Indonesia–Ukraine relations, as Ukraine objected to the proposal and formally requested clarification from the Indonesian government. Researchers also noted that the incident risked undermining the diplomacy Indonesia had built in its efforts to mediate the conflict and promote peaceful resolution, as it led to a decline in Ukraine's trust (BRIN, 2022).

The Indonesian government, for its part, has consistently maintained a clear position on the Russia–Ukraine conflict: preserving neutrality and advocating for open dialogue between the two countries to reach a peaceful resolution. Indonesia has made efforts to act as a peace mediator and has conducted political diplomacy with both parties.

1) Indonesia's Parliamentary Diplomacy

The Indonesian Parliament (DPR-RI) has also taken part in efforts to support a peaceful resolution to the Russia–Ukraine conflict. At a global inter-parliamentary meeting, the DPR-RI, through its Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Agency, urged the formation of a task force to address the Russia–Ukraine conflict and called on the world's

parliaments to take concrete diplomatic measures to prevent the war from escalating further (DPR, 2022). The IPU Task Force was officially established with the Indonesian Parliament appointed as chair and immediately began its mission to contribute to conflict resolution. The DPR-RI hopes this task force will gain the trust of both Russia and Ukraine so it can operate effectively.

The DPR-RI believes that inter-parliamentary diplomacy can help resolve the conflict. During the IPU General Assembly, the DPR-RI proposed a resolution on the Ukraine conflict. The members of parliament in attendance agreed on a resolution titled: *"Peaceful resolution of the war in Ukraine, respecting international law, the Charter of the United Nations, and territorial integrity."* Additionally, the Indonesian Parliament held meetings with the Ukrainian Parliament to discuss the ongoing conflict and explore possible solutions. The IPU Task Force on conflict resolution, led by the Indonesian Parliament, also made a direct visit to Ukraine to meet with Ukrainian parliamentary leaders.

On a related note, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR-RI) also contributed to peace efforts by holding a meeting with Ukraine's Parliament in Indonesia (MPR, 2022). During the meeting, discussions were held on the developments in resolving the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine, global economic recovery, and the enhancement of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Ukraine. The MPR-RI called for an immediate end to the war and urged that the conflict be resolved peacefully through diplomatic negotiation. The MPR-RI also stated that the Indonesian government is ready to assist in resolving the conflict.

d. Indonesia's Role and Interests in Peace Diplomacy for the Russia–Ukraine Conflict

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which began in 2022 and is still ongoing, has brought numerous negative impacts to global life, including the disruption of political stability, security in European countries, and other nations around the world. The conflict has also triggered an economic crisis and destabilized global economic systems. This prolonged crisis has pushed many countries around the world to seek ways to help resolve the conflict.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia has also felt compelled to respond and to initiate peaceful conflict resolution between Russia and Ukraine. In carrying out its role as a peace initiator, Indonesia has employed diplomatic instruments. It has taken steps by conducting diplomatic visits to both Russia and Ukraine to open channels for dialogue and negotiation in search of a resolution. Indonesia also declared its readiness to act as a communication bridge between the two countries and to serve as a mediator in the resolution process. In addition to diplomatic visits, the Indonesian government has communicated with G20 member states and other global forums to discuss the conflict and explore viable solutions (Sudjatmiko et al., 2022).

Behind Indonesia's peace narrative and actions related to the Russia–Ukraine conflict, however, lie national interests—despite public statements from the Indonesian government claiming neutrality and disinterest in the conflict. Indonesia's peace mission is not solely driven by the aspiration to create global peace and advocate for collective interests. Rather, it also carries underlying national interests (Sorongan, 2023).

Based on the data and explanations presented on the previous pages, the researcher concludes that Indonesia's peace mission is not entirely pure or altruistic, but carries national interests. These interests include: first, ensuring the success of the G20 Summit and reducing tensions among its member states while showcasing Indonesia's presence on the global stage; second, addressing the energy and food crises; third, preventing shortages and rising costs of domestic industrial materials that could lead to fiscal deficits; fourth,

maintaining cooperation with both Russia and Ukraine and ensuring that trade routes and wheat supplies from Ukraine—one of Indonesia's largest wheat exporters—are not disrupted; and fifth, fulfilling the constitutional mandate of the 1945 Constitution, which calls upon Indonesia to contribute to world peace and order.

Indonesia remains committed to contributing to global order and peace based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice, in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution (K. L. N. R. Indonesia, 2022). This commitment is continuously realized through Indonesia's active participation in UN peacekeeping missions. Currently, Indonesia has 4,000 active military personnel deployed as peacekeepers in several countries. These personnel are assigned to different task forces operating in various nations, including UNIFIL (Lebanon), UNAMID (Sudan), MINUSCA (Central African Republic), MONUSCO (Congo), MINUSMA (Mali), MINURSO (Western Sahara), UNMISS (South Sudan), and UNISFA (Abyei, Sudan).

The missions and tasks carried out by Indonesia as outlined above are, for the most part, limited to serving as a contingent or representative deployed to maintain and preserve peace in conflict zones or post-conflict areas, aimed at ensuring security and stability in those regions. These missions do not involve Indonesia acting as a peace mediator in resolving the actual conflicts occurring in those areas. However, this does not mean that Indonesia has never acted as a peace mediator. Indonesia has, on several occasions, played a mediating role—although primarily within its own region of Southeast Asia (Bakrie et al., 2022). For instance, Indonesia served as a mediator in the Myanmar conflict, where it acted as an initiator to open dialogue channels and succeeded in bringing the conflicting parties to the negotiation table (Djumati et al., 2019). Indonesia also mediated the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia and contributed to conflict resolution within Thailand. Additionally, Indonesia played a mediating role in the conflict in the Philippines (Tiara & Mas' udi, 2023).

Outside the ASEAN region, Indonesia has also attempted to act as a peace mediator in international conflicts, such as the conflict in Afghanistan. In this case, Indonesia sought to open dialogue channels with the involved parties in an effort to resolve the conflict (Fadlia Alfaini, 2021). Beyond the examples provided above, the researcher found no concrete cases in which Indonesia played a key role in resolving international conflicts. However, Indonesia has been significantly involved in deploying peacekeeping forces and participating in peace maintenance missions—for example, by sending troops to conflict zones in the Iran–Iraq war (1988), the Somalia war (1992), and the Bosnia–Herzegovina war (1993) (Hantoro, 2023). In summary, it can be said that Indonesia has limited experience in serving as a peace mediator—especially outside the ASEAN region—but has substantial experience in contributing peacekeeping forces to conflict zones (Storey & Choong, 2022).

c. Challenges and Opportunities

1) Challenges in Indonesia's Peace Mission

Indonesia's efforts to contribute to resolving the conflict between Russia and Ukraine are undoubtedly complex and fraught with challenges. These obstacles have the potential to hinder or even derail Indonesia's peace mission. The challenges may stem directly from the conflicting parties themselves—such as a lack of trust—as well as from diplomatic, economic, or defense-related issues.

a) Diplomatic Challenges

Indonesia must maintain its neutrality and ensure that its actions do not escalate tensions in the conflict. It must also preserve diplomatic relations with both countries to

avoid ruptures. A specific challenge lies in the context of the G20 and the risk of rising tensions within it. As the G20 Presidency at the time, Indonesia had to prevent the forum from splintering into two opposing blocs. There was significant pressure on Indonesia from other G20 member states to impose sanctions on Russia or to exclude Russia from the forum. Another diplomatic challenge involves securing international trust and support. Indonesia must be able to garner backing from the global community to act as a mediator and to jointly seek peaceful solutions. Most importantly, it must persuade both conflicting parties—Russia and Ukraine—to place their trust in Indonesia's mediating role. This is particularly crucial in light of Ukraine's earlier objection and skepticism following the peace proposal presented by Defense Minister Prabowo, which led to official protests. Indonesia must now work to regain that trust and re-establish its credibility as a neutral peace advocat (Sudjatmiko et al., 2022).

b) Economic Challenges

Amid the global food and energy crisis triggered by the Russia–Ukraine conflict, Indonesia faces its own internal economic challenges—such as budget deficits resulting from the crisis and its impact on domestic industries, along with disrupted trade flows with both Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia must first be able to manage these issues in order to prevent broader impacts on its national interests. One of the biggest challenges is that Indonesia does not possess strong economic leverage to impose sanctions or exert pressure on either Russia or Ukraine, as Indonesia's economic strength is significantly weaker—particularly compared to Russia. Any misstep could lead to potential retaliation, such as Russia boycotting Indonesian exports, further harming bilateral trade.

c) Military or Defense Challenges

The conflict holds the potential to escalate into a global confrontation between two major blocs, possibly leading to a world war, especially given that both Russia and Ukraine are backed by their respective allies. The conflict has already destabilized security in Europe and could spill over into other regions. Indonesia must prepare itself for worst-case scenarios and work to ensure that the conflict does not affect security and stability in the Southeast Asian region. From a military standpoint, Indonesia's power is far below that of Russia and only slightly comparable to Ukraine's. Therefore, Indonesia lacks the capacity to pressure either party militarily into ending the conflict. It also does not possess the budget or advanced weaponry required to engage directly in conflict zones. Furthermore, Indonesia has no prior military engagement or experience in peacekeeping within the European region—making this a significant challenge should it wish to play a more assertive role.

Military Strength of Indonesia, Russia, and Ukraine

Type	Indonesia	Russia	Ukraine
Rating	13 of 145	2 of 145	18 of 145
Defense budget	139 trillion	1.769 trillion	1.051 trillion
Population	275,7 million people	142 million people	43.3 million people
The people are ready for war	135 million people	46 million people	15 million people
Military Personil	1.050.000	3.570.000	2.200.000
Number of tanks	313 units	14.777 units	1.700 units
Military vehicles	11.604 units	16.383 units	22.110 units
Towed artillery	414 units	6.208 units	1.025 units
Self-propelled artillery	153 units	8.350 units	1.012 units

Rocket launchers	63 units	3.065 units	491 units
Military aircraft	474 units	4.255 units	321 units
Helicopter(s)	225 units	1.547 units	130 units
Aircraft carrier	0	1	0
Warship	255 units	343 sunits	36 units
Nuclear weapons	0	4.489	0
Oil	1,4 million barrels	3.7 million barrels	60 million barrels
Reserves	2,41 billion barrels	80 billion barrels	395 billion barrels
Coal	38,84 billion tons	162 billion tons	34 billion tons

Table 1. Military strength comparison
Source: Global Fire Power

The comparison above presents the military strength of Indonesia, Russia, and Ukraine, compiled by the researcher based on data from Global Firepower. Indonesia currently ranks 13th out of 145 countries in terms of military strength, while Russia ranks 2nd globally, and Ukraine ranks 18th. On paper, Russia's military power is significantly superior to both Indonesia and Ukraine. However, the gap between Indonesia and Ukraine is not as wide. From a military standpoint, or in terms of using force to end the war, it is highly unrealistic for Indonesia to pressure or deter either Russia or Ukraine. Therefore, Indonesia prioritizes diplomacy as the main strategy for resolving the conflict.

2) Indonesia's Opportunities in the Russia–Ukraine Peace Mission

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has brought significant negative consequences not only for both countries but also for the broader European region and the world at large. The war has triggered political tensions across Europe and has clearly led to a global crisis in energy and food resources. In addition, it poses a threat to global security stability, as rising political tensions continue among Western and European nations.

This prolonged conflict is difficult to resolve because both Russia and Ukraine remain steadfast in their positions and military strength. Moreover, the war is no longer limited to these two countries; instead, it has drawn in major global powers who back opposing sides. On Ukraine's side, there is support from the United States and NATO, which continue to provide funding and military aid. On Russia's side, countries like China, North Korea, and Brazil have aligned themselves in support. This international polarization has made the conflict increasingly complex and difficult to end.

The Government of Indonesia, as a sovereign state, must respond to the Russia–Ukraine conflict with sound political judgment and strategic planning. Indonesia has both the opportunity and the capacity to initiate communication and open diplomatic channels to help resolve the conflict. The country must be able to play its role meaningfully by engaging both parties through a balanced approach. As the holder of the G20 presidency, Indonesia had a significant opportunity to contribute concretely to conflict resolution by initiating high-level communication and dialogue with G20 member states to push for a resolution to the war.

However, this path is not without obstacles, as many G20 countries opposed Indonesia's invitation to Russia to attend the G20 Summit and pressured Indonesia to impose sanctions on Russia. Currently, Indonesia's only viable opportunity to contribute to resolving the conflict is through diplomacy—by building trust and dialogue with both Russia and Ukraine. Diplomacy is the only tool Indonesia can rely on, as it lacks the economic strength to exert pressure and does not possess the military resources or capabilities to coerce either country into ending the war.

Indonesia’s chances of successfully mediating the conflict are quite limited, with the likelihood of failure outweighing the chance of success. This is especially true given that Indonesia lacks experience in mediating international conflicts outside of the ASEAN region. Indonesia has never served as a mediator in a major global conflict, and its military forces have no experience in UN peacekeeping operations within the European region (Storey & Choong, 2022).

5. CONCLUSION

The Indonesian government, in its efforts to respond to and seek resolution to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, is undoubtedly guided by its national interests in order to fulfill domestic needs. It would be naive to claim that the Indonesian government has no stake in this conflict; researchers observe that several interests are being carried by Indonesia in its peace mission. The first interest is Indonesia’s desire to ensure that tensions among G20 member states do not escalate or lead to a division into two opposing blocs, as well as to ensure the successful hosting of the G20 summit in Indonesia. This includes addressing the global food and energy crises, preventing shortages and rising prices of global industrial materials to mitigate their impact on domestic industries. The second interest is to ensure that trade flows with both countries are not disrupted and that wheat exports from Ukraine to Indonesia are not obstructed. Another key interest is to establish cooperation and agreements with both countries.

The stages outlined by the Indonesian government in its peace mission to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict involve the use of diplomatic instruments by taking steps such as conducting diplomatic visits to both Russia and Ukraine in order to directly discuss the conflict and seek its resolution with both countries. In addition to these diplomatic efforts, there is also a role played by the Indonesian Minister of Defense, Mr. Prabowo, in international forums to help contribute to the resolution of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Furthermore, there are diplomatic roles and initiatives undertaken by the Indonesian parliament, namely the DPR-RI (House of Representatives) and MPR-RI (People's Consultative Assembly).

The challenges faced by the Indonesian government in carrying out its peace mission for the Russia-Ukraine conflict include the fact that Indonesia lacks experience in resolving international conflicts outside the ASEAN region. Indonesia has never had experience as a mediator in conflicts between nations, and its military, which has served as UN peacekeeping contingents, has never operated or served as peacekeepers in the European region. Another challenge is the presence of numerous major powers backing either Russia or Ukraine, which creates external pressure on Indonesia. Additional challenges include Indonesia’s presidency of the G20, economic challenges, and the ongoing energy and food crises.

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