

CHAPTER I

1.1 Significance

The first idea of this research departs from the interest of authors toward study about ASEAN regional cooperation particularly ASEAN political and security cooperation that is the focus idea of Indonesia as a foreign policy to create a peace in Southeast Asia. In addition, the reason in determining of this title is because; firstly, from the authors' knowledge is still limited research which discussed a study that focused on the Indonesia's contributions in creating peace and stability in Southeast Asia region through implementing road map of ASEAN Security Community. The important point in discussing this topic is Indonesia's foreign policy decision which affects Indonesia's position as a positive country and a power to force direction and ASEAN security objectives in managing the dynamic and balance region.

Secondly, the articles which ever written is very limited which discussed about the differences of public perception between international community and Indonesia community itself that related with Indonesia's capability to create peace in the Asia Pacific region through ASEAN political and security Community in the condition of Indonesia which was considered not able to create a safe and peace country from security issues. Thirdly, this paper also describes topic that are still discussed by many scholars who regard this topic as one of issues that are still update. And this topic will also bring deeply understanding about the Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN which put a

particular interest in the context of Indonesia's efforts to solve the problem of security issues based on ASEAN Political and Security Community treaties.

Fourthly, this paper will explain about Indonesia role which put its national interest as basic in determining the direction and objectives of Indonesia's foreign policy through Political and Security Community with implementing the strategies to create security in the region, so this paper would be a reference for actors (other countries) in efforts to create and improve security in both the regional or global scale. And the last, this paper was chosen because author has the confidence to finish this paper due to the availability of data, enough time to manage the data, theoretically the authors can understand the problems that arise in this theme, and can relate to theory and concepts which considered clear to answer the problem in this research. This fact actually inspires the author to take this topic as a title of this research. Later, the author hopes this paper can be useful for scholar of scholars of international relation.

1.2 Background

Since the establishment of ASEAN in 1967, this international organization had a goal to create regional security in Southeast Asia, so now ASEAN is faced by a major organizational-structural change on geopolitical order in Southeast Asia that will threaten not only security of ASEAN member countries but also all country in the world. The ASEAN recently is more going into significant change on geopolitical order either in the

Southeast Asia region or international order. Upheavals situation which made the world recently become a serious concern for ASEAN which also related to political and security issues that occurred such as terrorism, insurgency and cross-border crimes created unstable relationship among ASEAN member states, conflicts which related to claim border and the intervention of external forces as an overview of the geopolitical order changes in Southeast Asia today.

One of the reason which make political and security issues become various issues in the context of Southeast Asia region especially around ASEAN member countries is because every country have different perspective in every political and economic aspect. As we know that, all countries in the world have different condition include ASEAN member countries. So, ASEAN which considered as aregional organization must have an ability to re-establish new framework to create mutual and close cooperation among ASEAN member countries with more than emphasis on approaches in the politics and security aspect. When ASEAN is more than 45 years, ASEAN consider that Southeast Asia, region needs a condition which has better relationship intensity among ASEAN member countries, especially in term of political and security aspect.

Since ASEAN was born on 1967, ASEAN which come from length "Association of South East Asian Nations", is a regional organization which was formed by five main states as founding father, they were Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. They agreed and signed

ASEAN Declaration that called as Bangkok Declaration. This declaration was signed by five foreign ministers of each State on August 8, 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand. Five foreign ministers themselves were: Adam Malik from Indonesia, Tun Abdul Razak from Malaysia, S. Rajaratnam from Singapore, Thanat Koman from Thailand and Narcisco Ramos from Philippine.¹

Five founder states in establishing ASEAN have different motivations each other, such as Indonesia which want a balance situation between great powers and states who joined in non-aligned movement. Philippine which wants to be known as a part of Southeast Asian community because at that time most of Southeast Asian countries called Philippine as "America in Asia", so Philippine joint in ASEAN to get sovereignty from Southeast Asia countries. Thailand has the goals to reconcile and create peace among countries in Southeast Asia which still had conflict and confrontation each other. Malaysia aims to end many confrontation with its neighboring countries, while Singapore as a country that is liberated from Malaysia Federation, wants to improve relationship with the neighboring countries and want to get benefit from economy cooperation among countries in Southeast Asia.²

¹ ASEAN Secretariat of Indonesia Foreign Affairs ministry, *ASEAN Selayang Pandang*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1992), 2-3.

² Bando, Bantarto, *ASEAN dan Tantangan Satu Asia Tenggara*, (Jakarta: CSIS, 1997), 10-11.

Besides five ASEAN founder state, which consist of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippine and Singapore, ASEAN membership increased after Brunei Darussalam was officially accepted as sixth member of ASEAN member on January 7, 1984, and followed by others countries in Southeast Asia, they are; Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia in 1995, 1997, and 1999. So now, ASEAN has ten members in Southeast Asia.³ After ASEAN had strong members, ASEAN started to run some policies that were made together to achieve prosperity and peace in the world especially in Southeast Asia.

In running out its policies, ASEAN has basic principle based on mutual agreement which known as Bangkok Declaration. These basic principles include five points which must be settled by every ASEAN member states. First, ASEAN member states must respect freedom, equality, integrity and national identity of all nations. Second, each state has the right to solve its domestic problems without any interference from other states. Third, every ASEAN member state must solve any differences which happened among countries with peace. Fourth, ASEAN was supposed to reject the using of power which can create violence. And the last, ASEAN improved good cooperation effectively among ASEAN member states.

Beside ASEAN principles, ASEAN also has objectives or purpose. The objective itself is that ASEAN want to increase economy and social

³ S. Rajaratman, *ASEAN: The Way Ahead*, (Singapura: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 1992), 103.

cooperation. This objective and purpose also clearly could be understood in one of point in Bangkok Declaration which said:⁴

"Going to put forward the economic and social cooperation as an expression or manifestation of ASEAN solidarity".

To realize economic cooperation itself, ASEAN must create stable condition and safe region. During special meeting among foreign ministers in new real politics, it was officially started by resulting the Declaration of ASEAN Concord or Bali Concord I in the High Level Conference (ASEAN Summit) in Bali February 24, 1976.

The establishment of Bali Concord I itself still concerned with the ASEAN leader expectation to create ASEAN as a peaceful and neutral region, and there was no external interference from super power countries outside the region. It happened because at that time the condition of global politics was being split into two world poles that were between the Western (U.S.) and Eastern (Soviet Union) that were known as the Cold War. Actually Cold War itself actually was more understood as an ideology war between democracy and communist. One of those ideologies is communist which succeeded in influencing Vietnamese's political system when at that time still not yet joined in ASEAN membership. This situation exactly very disturbed the

⁴ ASEAN Documents series 1967-1985, in C.P.F. Luhulima: *Masyarakat Asia Tenggara Menuju Komunitas ASEAN 2015*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008).

realization of stability region where ASEAN countries were generally much closer in the direction of western democracy.

To respond the influence of communism, which entered in region of Southeast Asia especially Vietnam when at that time it followed the flow of communism, and to realize purposes and objectives which put in Bangkok Declaration, ASEAN created many principles of cooperation that entered into the Bali Concord I, which includes:⁵

1. Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration (ZOPFAN), ZOPFAN Declaration is ASEAN's efforts to create a peaceful, free, and neutral region from any form of external intervention in Southeast Asia. ZOPFAN also covered widely region in Asia Pacific which includes major powers in term of voluntary self-restraints. Thus, ZOPFAN didn't override the role of major powers, but it enable their involvement constructively in solving regional security issues.
2. Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). The main purpose of TAC is to employ peaceful means in peaceful settlement of disputes, which are basic principles to guide relationship with another states.
3. Agreement on the Establishment of ASEAN Secretariat.
4. Treaty of Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ). The formation of SEANWFZ indicated as countries' efforts in Southeast Asia

⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, "The Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, Indonesia, 24 February 1976", (Accessed on 10th November, 20122); Available from <http://www.asean.org/news/>

to increase regional peace and stability both regional and global levels, and in order to participate in supporting efforts to generally and completely achieve nuclear weapons disarmament.

5. The establishment of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). ARF itself is one dialogue forum to discuss about peace and security, and this dialogue becomes a new breakthrough for ASEAN member countries and another countries around ASEAN especially Asia Pacific Countries. Security here clearly becomes a basic understanding to grow and develop Confidence-Building, it means that between ASEAN and Pacific Countries will equally respect each other not to do violence such as war in every problems that arise and will probably happen. Therefore, ASEAN used preventive diplomacy on the settlement of border or territorial conflicts in Southeast Asia.⁶
6. The establishment of cooperation in combating cross-border crime.
7. The establishment of ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), AIPA is a forum to conduct a dialogue with members parliamentary member from ASEAN Dialogue Partner countries which are as Observers such as Australia, Canada, China, European Union, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Russia, and South Korea.
8. The establishment of ASEAN human rights mechanism.

Cold War Experience for over two decades until rising two giant countries in Asia (China and India) and the situation of crisis economic

⁶ C.P.F.Luhulima, *Asean Menuju Postur Baru*, (Jakarta:CSIS,1997), 97-98.

globalization became reason for ASEAN member countries to unite in one vision community. Another reason why ASEAN more emphasizes in political and security approach is because ASEAN not only conducted security issues which related with defense and military threats (traditional), but also responded broader issues regard to non-military threats as well as transnational crime, terrorism, separatism, piracy and other (non-traditional). From the basic explanation above, ASEAN grows the ideas for increasing cooperation among ASEAN member countries by creating an ASEAN Community idea, where this idea focuses on the realization of political and security cooperation.

On ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM)-36 in Phnom Penh on June 2003, Indonesia successfully proposed the establishment of the ASEAN Security Community as one of some pillars in ASEAN Community concept. Actually Indonesia proposed ASC based on Indonesia geopolitical interest that considered the importance in supporting regional security. Indonesia itself looked that growing mutual interdependence in security situation will create awareness in keeping safety among countries in an area or region. Therefore, Indonesia changes its security approach that tends from security against to security with.⁷

On ASEAN Summit-IX in Bali, October 2003, Indonesian's idea about the ASC approved by the other ASEAN Leaders who signed ASEAN

⁷ Abdul Rivai Ras, "Gagasan Komunitas Keamanan ASEAN dan Kepentingan Geopolitik Indonesia", (Accessed on 29th December 2012); Available from <http://www.Sinarharapan.co.id//>

Declaration or Bali Concord II. Bali concord II is an effort to strengthen and increase ASEAN roles and cohesiveness in the future. The contents of Bali Concord II itself contains three pillars of ASEAN Community, there are ASEAN Political and Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Social and Culture Community.

The goals of Bali Concord II officially could see on ASEAN Vision 2020 which established on ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Kuala Lumpur in 1997, where three pillars of ASEAN Community will run 2020. ASEAN Vision 2020 aspires as a great society which has broad-mindedness; live in a peaceful, stable and prosperous environment, united by the partnership in dynamic development and the society who care each other.⁸ Commitment to realize the ASEAN Community in 2020 eventually accelerated to 2015 with signing of "Cebu Declaration on the Acceleration of the Establishment of an ASEAN Community by 2015" on ASEAN Summit-12 in Cebu, Philippines, January 2007. In this moment, ASEAN leaders will agree "One Caring and Sharing Community" that used to achieve cooperation, create solidarity, reduce the poverty and enjoy a sense of security, including human security.

⁸ Direktorat Kerjasama ASEAN, Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, *ASEAN Selayang pandang* Edisi 19, (Jakarta: Direktorat Kerjasama ASEAN, 2010), 34-41.

The implementation of ASEAN Political Security Community road map in 2003-2013 impacted some affects on level of security and stability in Southeast Asia. The developments include:⁹

1. The establishment of ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint. ASEAN SOM Working Group (WG SOM) have agreed ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC) Blueprint draft by dividing into three characteristics, there are; (A) a Rules-based Community of Shared Values and Norms; (B) a Cohesive, Peaceful, and Resilient Region which Shared Responsibility for Comprehensive Security, dan (C) a Dynamic and Outward Looking Region in a Globalized World.
2. The establishment of ASEAN Charter. The purpose of creating ASEAN Charter itself is to transform ASEAN from a wide political association to an international organization which has legal personality, based on rule-based organization, and has an effective and efficient organizational structure.
3. The establishment of Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters (MLAT). This treaty created base on ASEAN cooperation in criminal law.
4. The establishment of ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT). The Convention provides a legal basic in order to increase ASEAN

⁹ Direktorat kerjasama ASEAN, Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, "Komunitas Politik—Keamanan ASEAN", (Accessed on 13th January, 2013); Available from <http://www.tabloiddiplomasi.org//>

cooperation in term of combating terrorism. In addition, to create a regional character, ACCT is comprehensive (covering aspects of prevention, enforcement and rehabilitation programs). It will increase new positive values if it is compared with other similar conventions.

5. The establishment of ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM), ADMM aims to promote regional peace and stability by dialogue and cooperation in term of defense and security aspect.
6. The establishment of ASEAN Extradition Treaty.
7. The establishment of code of conduct in solving the conflict of South China Sea.
8. Establishing Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC). This treaty is ASEAN efforts to maintain regional peace and stability in increasing good cooperation with some countries such as China, India, Japan, Pakistan Russia, South Korea, New Zealand, Mongolia, Australia, France and East Timor and North Korea.
9. Creating the progress in treaty South-East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ). After ten years, SEANWFZ Commission in 2007 successfully created a major review toward SEANWFZ.
10. The establishment of Cooperation in Combating Transnational Crime. This cooperation produced Mutual Legal Assistance treaty in Criminal Matters, ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism, and ASEAN Convention on Human Trafficking.

11. The establishment of Cooperation in term of Immigration and Consular.
This cooperation produced ASEAN Framework Agreement on Visa Exemption and Guidelines for the Provision of Emergency Assistant by ASEAN Missions in Third Countries to National of ASEAN Member States.
12. Creating the progress in ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA).
AIPA is an additional to make dialogue with parliamentarians from countries of ASEAN Dialogue Partners which become the observers such as Australia, Canada, China, European Union, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Russia, and South Korea.
13. The establishment of ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism.

For another similar forum, ASEAN also successfully established a dialogue partnership and cooperation forum such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN European Meeting (ASEM) and ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and South Korea).¹⁰ So that ASEAN called as one of the group or regional organization that successfully brings an new approach together regionally and internationally.

The purpose of ASC establishment itself is not only to create peace and stability in region but also to increase the existence of Indonesia in order to return a strategic centrality of Indonesian's role in ASEAN and to

¹⁰ ASEAN Secretariat of Indonesia Foreign Affairs Ministry, *Twenty-seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Regional Forum, and Post-ministerial Conference with Dialogue Partners*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1994), 34-22.

in creating ASEAN Community. When Indonesia led ASEAN, absolutely Indonesia received some critics for other countries. The critics were related with strong historical factors that affected Indonesia's role in ASEAN. This factor makes assumption that Indonesia has given idea to create ASEAN organization. At that time, Cold War situation between the United States and Soviet Union led any proxy war in Mekong countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia which caused worried for Indonesia. In addition, there is conflict among neighboring countries that resulted in unstable condition. For example, Indonesia and Malaysia conflict, where both of them have border conflict which create a slogan in Indonesia "Ganyang Malaysia". Other countries which has border conflict at that time is between Philippines and Malaysia, Thailand and Malaysia. These conditions are not conducive for investment and development that are pursued by Indonesia. In Soeharto era, he tried to solve the problem in Indonesia. President Soeharto is more pragmatic in using this new institution to actualize stability. This stability was used to support Suharto policies to encourage economic growth. For Indonesia, the formation of APSC is not only to be an important role of momentum of Indonesia leadership in ASEAN, but also to show that ASEAN always become a major priority for Indonesia's foreign policy. The success of Indonesia put back its role into instrumental position in ASEAN and become basis to increase Indonesia's foreign policy towards other countries outside ASEAN region.

ASEAN Political and Security Community will bring ASEAN's political and security cooperation in a high level and will ensure that ASEAN member countries live in the world which loves peaceful, fair, democratic and harmonious environment. Therefore, the APSC must prevent the establishment of a defense pact, military alliance or joint foreign policy.¹⁴ APSC itself has the principle of comprehensive security that recognizes the interconnected relationship among states to maintain the security for ASEAN member countries which influence each other. So, ASEAN must be an organization that can keep and protect international security from international crimes.

The first steps of ASEAN in realizing APSC is when some leaders of each ASEAN member countries agreed the establishment of plan of action of political and security cooperation in the momentum of ASEAN Summit-X in Vientiane, Laos, November 29 – 30, 2009. ASEAN Political and Security Community Plan of Action is a blueprint for political and security cooperation, which not only provided basic guidelines for ASEAN security arrangements, but also used a set of political social values in developing political and security. Plan of action also has goal to deep regional integration and narrow gap within ASEAN member states. Generally, ASEAN Security Community Plan of Action consists of six major components; they are (1) Political Development : (2) Shaping and Sharing of Norms, (3) Conflict

¹⁴ Konrad Advenaver Foundation & Institute For Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), *Security and Regional Order in ASEAN and the Role of External Powers*, (Manila: Konrad Advenaver Foundation & ISDS, 1997), 96.

Prevention, (4) Conflict Resolution, (5) Post conflict Peace Building and (6) Implementing Mechanisms.¹⁵

For Indonesia itself, ASEAN Community becomes an important momentum particularly for developing economic and security aspects. Indonesia as a pioneer of establishing ASEAN understands that ASEAN actually chose economic rather than security aspect. This statement comes from the assumption if ASEAN countries achieve prosperity, then peace will be realized in the region.¹⁶ But the main point here is that ASEAN established to achieve peaceful in Southeast Asia for long time either by economic community, social and cultural community or political and security community.

In other view, Indonesia put ASEAN as a primary foreign policy which played an important role in ASEAN development, Indonesia is also considered by countries outside ASEAN as the backbone of ASEAN because they value Indonesia as a country that possess great effect on regional stability in Southeast Asia. For example, the statement which expressed by a Chairman of the Commission on Security Parliament of Japan, Chiken Kakazu when he met Chairman of Commission I from Indonesia

¹⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, "ASEAN Security Community Plan of Action", (Accessed on January 13th, 2013); Available <http://www.ASEAN.org//>.

¹⁶ Yarnis Sikumbang, "Politik Luar Negerii Indonesia terhadap ASEAN", (Accessed on 12th December, 2012); Available from www.academia.edu//

representative council, Theo Sambuagadi, in Tokyo, Tuesday, December 11, 2007. He said:¹⁷

“The efforts to create stability in East Asia inevitably will put Indonesia as main state. Stability in Southeast Asia will influence security in East Asia, and of course this is much influenced by Indonesia, so the role of Indonesia in ASEAN cannot be underestimated. In other words, Indonesia is a country that has important role in ASEAN especially in implementing of the road map of the ASEAN Political and Security Community 2015, so Indonesia certainly was given contribution as one of ASEAN member states”.

1.3 Research Question

Based on my background above, research question that I used in this paper is: What is Indonesia's contributions toward implementing the Road Map of ASEAN Politic and Security Community 2015?

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The main concept that I use in completing this thesis is the concept of international organization by Teuku May Rudy, Daniel S. Cheever and H. Field Haviland Jr which will be completed by Mochtar Mas'od's view that explains about the concept of contribution which given by every member of international organization. The increasing technology development, especially in the aspect of transportation, information and communication

¹⁷ The statement from a Chairman of Commission on Security Parliament of Japan, Chiken Kakazu, Tuesday, December 11th, 2007, (Accessed on November 20th, 2013); Available from <http://www.Kompas.com//>

encourages individuals and other groups who changed state or non-state actor to join in cooperating with other parties outside of their country both state actors or another non-state actor. The frequency of cooperation and common goals in cooperation itself make the actors create an international organization.

According to Rudy May Teuku, definition of International Organization in his book "Administration and International Organizations" asserts that "the International Organization is study of cooperation which is across borders of State on the basic and complete organizational structure. and he projected to implement function in order to get the achievement of goals that needed and agreed between government and non-government on different countries.¹⁸ While according to Daniel S. Cheever and H. Field Haviland Jr., international organizations is Any cooperative arrangement is instituted among states, Usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions is implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities.¹⁹

Basically, focus in international relations is not only between country and country or individual and country, but also between country and international organizations. The reason is because now international organizations recognized its success in solving many formal treaties that related with national boundaries which are set to create institutional in order to

¹⁸ T. May Rudy, *Administrasi dan Organisasi Internasional*, (Bandung: Refika Aditama, 2005), page 3.

¹⁹ Daniel S. Cheever, and Haviland Jr., H. Field, *Organizing for Peace: International Organization in World Affair*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1967), page 23.

facilitate cooperation among the parties that are involved in the various fields. International organizations as international actors are considered to provide benefits to state, where they played an active role in international relation.

In a government, there is not a country that can run alone without the supports of other countries. An interaction that occurs in international organizations made because every country needs another countries. So, it will establish a pattern of relationships that called international relations. Relationship or interaction can form cooperation, competition and conflict. Certainly, a relation is a pattern of cooperation. Therefore, the establishment of an international organization is aimed to make cooperation among two countries or more in international organization that is known as international cooperation. In an international cooperation, it will meet many national interests of many countries that cannot be settled in their country.

the appearing an universal international organization with the goal to maintain world peaceful in the world is one way to organize international community politically as reaction toward anarchy that is caused by many armed disputes both between countries and groups in a country. It result in the formation of international organizations was created because member states' pretension want to solve the problem of transnational. So to achieve peace, they need diplomacy as a theory in international organizations in the resolution of problem. Later, this theory is considered as new understanding in international relations.

The requirements of the establishment of international organization establishment itself related with four elements that must be possessed by every organization, the elements consist of:²⁰

1. Membership
2. Cooperation
3. Objective
4. Environment

Concerned with the elements of international organizations, membership is the most important element in the formation of an organization. In this case, an effective actor in international organizations is a state. A state is a member of international organization which is very complicated. Because state involves sovereign nations, it makes a state become a more complicated mechanism among human groups. The concept of state itself is an actor who must be simply understood, where state is a government that had sovereignty and recognized by other state. In interacting with another countries, every state has national interest that will be achieved.

In achieving the goals of national and international organization itself, each member must run their functions properly, so the goal cannot be achieved from beginning purpose. In addition, international organizations also should have a function for its members, where one of the

²⁰ Nurul, "cirri-ciri, unsure dan teori organisasi", (Accessed on January 3th, 2013); Available from <http://www.nurulasmi31.blogspot.com//>

functions that must be performed by each member of organization international is though giving contribution according to their ability and position of each member. Membership is defined as a person's position in society or social group organization, while the contribution is a dynamic aspect of membership. If a member run their rights and obligations based on the membership principle then indirectly it has given a contribution in that organization. That condition could be interrelated and cannot be separated because the membership and contribution are two sides of a coin.

According to T. Coser and Rosenberg Anthony with his book "An Introduction to International Politics" describes definition of contribution is a demand that is given structurally (norms, expectations, restrictions, responsibilities) where demands are series of pressure to connect, guide and support the functions in organization.²¹ Whereas, Mochtar Mas'oeed asserted that the contribution is an effort which used to perform by members that occupied a position. This is a behavior that is attached at position which used to make living up to higher position. In other words, the members' position in organization is a static element that indicates actor position on community or organization. So that, every member will give a contribution for each position within the organization. from the explanation above, contributions include three things:

²¹ T. Coser and Anthony Rosenberg, *An Introduction to Internatioanl Politics*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976), page 232-255

Contribution is a mean or norms that associated one's position in society. Contribution in this meaning is a structure of regulations that is given by members in an organization. A member who joined in international organizations creates a rule in the form of norms that will govern any action or policy that would be done by each member to achieve common goals. Norms that have been established also will be implemented by each member. In this case, the contributions of each member are as a structure of rules that guide a person in public life.

Contribution is a concept about what can be done by members of community in an organization. Every member in international organizations have different capability from one and another. Based on the capabilities of each member, they should be able to implement their ability as a form of contributions which is given for international community under working system of international organizations. Thus, a contribution can be considered as an effort or participation which is run by a person or organization in achieving a goal.

Contributions also can be considered as important members' attitude to interact in social structure of community. A member is said as giving a contribution if they can run their rights and obligations within organization. There is no contribution without membership's position. In this case, every member run their roles to give contribution according to its position in society.

From some explanation above, it can be concluded that the contribution is an implementation of the obligation, duties and functions in accordance with the member's position in international organizations. Besides the contribution is a behavior or attitude, duties that has big influence on an event. ASEAN which is one of the international organizations which works to develop problem solving for Asia states, especially Southeast Asia countries through a cooperation. Seeing of their purpose and objectives, every member of ASEAN gives their contribution in achieving the goal. Therefore, in this context, the contribution is as an involvement or active participation in an achievement that is made by every ASEAN member country toward ASEAN political and security community in Southeast Asia within realizing ASEAN Community 2015.

As already described above, the definition of contribution is a behavior or attitude, duties that has big influence on an event. Moreover, the word of behavior or attitude itself can be assumed as an action such as leader, initiator, and creator norm interpreter and has special meaning in the context of the way of ASEAN member state contribution for ASEAN organization. ASEAN member states must act to promote and implement ASEAN agenda by their role such as leading the process of formatting some agendas, plans, programs which has big influence for that organization. Agenda here is to establish ASEAN Community 2015 which has three pillars, there are economy community, social and cultural community and social and political community. This thesis actually will explain ASEAN member states which give

contribution to implement one of ASEAN agenda that is Political and Security Community. Countries which joined in ASEAN must give their role and act in doing their duties to help ASEAN for achieving the goals with implementing the Road Map of ASEAN Political and Security Community.

The Meaning of Road Map itself is a clear work plan that describes what must be done to achieve the goal. A roadmap is generally arranged as a part of the strategic plan. In this case, ASEAN tries to put Road Map to emphasis the efforts for implementing goals in APSC. In the process to implement APSC, Indonesia as a country that joined in an international organization under ASEAN has a duty to act in its attitude with giving contribution to implement road map of APSC and this situation make Indonesia run some action such as leading and proving facilities in formulating the process of plan of action draft as its road map. Indonesia also creates and maintains a regional environment with a good position for its citizens or international community.

All Indonesia efforts are the way to give chance and support as much as possible in order to achieve national interest. Besides, Indonesia which is also an democracy country which had the largest area in southeast Asia had capability to influence global and regional stability. Indonesia political, economic, social, and security condition make Indonesia to be strategic country and active membership in international organizations.

1.5 Hypothesis

Based on theories and analysis from the framework outlined above, the hypotheses on this paper is: Indonesia has successfully led the formulating process of ASEAN Political and Security Community Plan of Action draft as mandated by the 9th ASEAN Summit in Bali.

1.6 Methodology

In the process of this paper, making the authors used descriptive method as a model of research. This descriptive method aimed to describe or illustrate a number of variables which related to the problem.²²

descriptive method has two characteristics, namely:²³

- Strengthen attention on actual problems which still conducted..
- Describe the facts about the issues as such doing investigated.

The activities in collecting data used technique with collecting data from sources that are generally documents. This technique is also called as document study or literature study which can be taken from libraries, newspapers, books, magazines or other documents as data that collected.²⁴

According to the research methods to analyze data, this research used a qualitative approach. This method is analytical descriptive studies which more focused on documents, particularly related with primary data that

²² Sanafiah Faisal, *Format-format Penelitian social: Dasar-DASAR DAN Aplikasi*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1997), page 20.

²³ Hadari Nawawi, *Metode Penelitian Bidang Sosia*, (Yogyakarta: GajahMadaUniversity Press, 1995), page63.

²⁴ Rianto Adi, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial dan Hukum*, (Jakarta: Granit, 2004), page 61.

are derived from legal documents and statements from the Indonesian's government. Besides primary data, there is also secondary data that are derived from reference books, scientific journals, newspapers, and media online from internet sites and other media which are relevant with data that are needed. Qualitative methods can be interpreted as research procedures which produces descriptive data which can include speech, writing and the behavior or action. Furthermore, data that collected will be explored deeply so ultimately it will produce conclusion to answer problems. In this framework, it will describe the data which does not give its interpretation. To find the data, the writer should present with holding on principles in understanding reality or evaluative.²⁵

1.7 Range of Research

Focusing more on the topic research, the author make limit the time which the research is conducted. The author is going to explain Indonesian's contribution toward implementing the road map of ASEAN Political and Security Community 2015 from the period of 2003 until 2013 because it is period which make ASEAN Summit decide to apply APSC; the writer also collect the data as long as it is relevant to be used in this research.

1.8 Objective

The purpose of this thesis is to make complete explanation about Indonesia's contribution in implementing the road map of ASEAN political and security community. The involvement of Indonesia as one of ASEAN

²⁵ Burhan Munsin, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Perkasa, 2001), page 187.

founder in implementing Politic and Security Community is Indonesia's contributions to ASEAN. Author also tries to analyze how far Indonesia was implemented strategies, mechanisms and approaches in supporting and contributing it's role in protecting and preventing security and stability in the Southeast Asian, especially through the road map of ASEAN Politics and Security Community.

1.9 System of Writing

The outline of my thesis research is follows:

In the CHAPTER I, I put significant on the beginning part of this chapter which explains about the introduction of my mind or idea in the process of creating my research. In this part, I try to inform readers about my reason in choosing Indonesian's contribution toward implementing the road map of ASEAN Political and Security Community 2015 become my title in this research. Next, I will discuss about the background of this research, where I try to discuss simple explanation about the way of the theme that I used as material of my research. Later, I put my research question as an important point in formulating my paper. Next, I will elaborate the Theoretical framework, Hypothesis, Methodology, Range of Research, Objective and Systematical of Writing.

In CHAPTER II, I try to explain the dynamic of ASEAN ways, where I put ten sub-chapters as the point of views that I will explain in this chapter. Each of the Chapter will explain about the background of ASEAN Establishment, kinds of cooperation before the establishment of ASEAN

which elaborate in some cooperation that establish before the formation of ASEAN such as SEATO, ASA, MAPHILINDO, ASPAC and SEAMEO. Next, this research will discuss about the establishment of forum and dialogue before ASEAN, the emblem of ASEAN which will explain about the meaning of ASEAN purpose, and this chapter will also explain about the motivation of ASEAN founder countries, the aim and purpose of ASEAN, ASEAN Cooperation, ASEAN agendas and organization structure which is more elaborated in some important agenda of ASEAN before ASEAN Summit-1, after ASEAN Summit-1 and after ASEAN Charter establishment. Next will discuss about ASEAN Community and the last will discuss about ASEAN membership.

In CHAPTER III, I try to elaborate ASEAN Political and Security Community. In this chapter, I have eight sub-chapter that will explain briefly the important content or information which are related with ASPC. In the first sub-chapter I will explain about the historical background of establishing APSC. Next, will discuss about the changes concept in the APSC of security environment, purpose of APSC, the characteristic and element of APSC, the progress of APSC, and next about APSC Blueprint, the Vientiane Action Program of APSC, and later will discuss about the implantation of APSC.

In CHAPTER IV, I try to elaborate about Indonesia's contribution toward implementing the ASEAN Political and Security Community. Here, there are two Sub-chapters. Firstly will discuss about the success of Indonesia in term to lead the formatting process of APSC Plan of Action.

The last, CHAPTER V contain the conclusion from all of chapters
and also answer the question of research.