

CHAPTER II

THE DYNAMIC OF ASEAN WAYS

Southeast Asia Region is an area which almost countries in that region ever been colonized by western countries such as Portugal, Spain, France, Dutch, US and England. After Southeast Asia countries liberated from colonization and became sovereignty countries, Southeast Asia countries faced internal issues which resulted in high tension and unstable security in that region. Those issues were regional conflict such as confrontation between Malaysia and Singapore from Malaysia Federation, Sabah issues and separation of Singapore from Malaysia Federation.

The situation above made Southeast Asia countries create cooperation to decrease suspension feeling, to develop mutual trust and to support cooperation in developing region. The meetings which established intensively among foreign minister of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippine, Singapore and Thailand produced draft of Joint Declaration. It is includes the awareness to increase mutual understanding to create good neighbor and cooperation which was useful for among states which related by historical and cultural. The positive impact from decreasing mutual suspension feeling and developing mutual trust to solve issues in Southeast Asia produced the effort to create cooperation in regional organization. The efforts to create regional cooperation produced the agreement of ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration) on August 8th, 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand. This momentum called as the establishment of ASEAN (Association of

South East Asian Nations). In the beginning of its establishment, ASEAN has great influences for countries in the world especially in the Southeast Asia and Asia Pacific.²⁶

2.1 The Background of ASEAN

Since 2000 BC, all region in Southeast Asia was dissemination area of the Austronesia's culture and language. This culture came from the center of Tonkin gulf and Mekong river valley. Austronesia's culture and language were basic of life and social order of nations in Southeast Asia.

In the first century, most of Southeast Asia region got influences from outside region. That influence came from India's civilization and culture (Hinduism and Buddhism). While the territory of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (Cambodia) got a lot of influences from the China's civilization and culture.²⁷

At that time, some large and small kingdoms was born and grown up where they are commonly Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic. In 16th century, western nations arrived and gave influences in this region. Early, they came as traders but later they changed their mission to be the occupiers. One by one they conquered the independent kingdoms and eventually all of Southeast Asia region fell into their colonies (except Thailand).

The western nations which came into Southeast Asia region were the British imperialist which dominated Malaysia (1814), Singapore (1849),

²⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, "The ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration), Bangkok, 8 August 1967", (Accessed on January 13th, 2013); Available <http://www.ASEAN.org//>

²⁷ Dian Andita, "History of Southeast Asia", (Accessed on February 2th, 2013); Available <http://www.historyworld.net//>

Burma (1894), and North Borneo (1880). And then, there was French Imperialist which controlled Indochina (Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos) since 1896. Next, Kingdom of Spain controlled the Philippines until 1898. And then, in the same year, the United States occupied Spain and Philippines which fell under US. Meanwhile, Indonesia was fully dominated by Dutch colonial government since 1908, although many Indonesian regions one by one they occupied into the hand of Dutch colonial government since the 17th century.

In the year of 1941, World War II broke out in Pacific region. This condition made Japan attacked and occupied the Pearl Harbor.²⁸ Later, one by one East Asian countries, South Asia and Southeast Asia fell into Japan occupation. At that time, the central government was in Dalat (Saigon), a city in Vietnam. This situation showed that Southeast Asia was a geopolitical and economic region that had a huge strategic value to influence the world which put Southeast Asia became the target to get interests among super power countries in the world.

These were the reasons of western nations colonized Southeast Asia:

1. Southeast Asia region is a very strategic location for shipping and trading;
2. Southeast Asia region has much natural resources;
3. Southeast Asia region has big population that is good enough as potential buyers of industrial goods (market potential).

²⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica, "World War II", (Accessed on February 3th, 2013); Available <http://www.britanica.com//>

Beside the similarity of historical background, there were other similarities which are shared by fifth founder of ASEAN member states, they were:²⁹

1. Southeast Asia region countries are the developing countries;
2. Southeast Asia region countries have Raw Materials income, except Singapore;
3. Southeast Asia region countries still need foreign investment and sophisticated technology to build their national economy;
4. Some countries in Southeast Asia region are Agrarian countries (except Singapore) and industrial countries.

Since the United Nations was formed in 1945, the idea to create a regional cooperation arrangement is used as a supporting mean to achieve global cooperation that is is launched by many parties. Both of regional cooperation and global cooperation in the Charter of the United Nations are viewed as an agenda that must be created to achieve peace in the world. Both of them are the commitment which was taken by UN's initiatos, so the next generation of this organization never got back experience of warfare which occurred in World War I and II

Since 1945, many commitment that created regional cooperation influenced almost all regions in the world such as in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America. One of the basic assumptions of regional

²⁹ Syahmin AK, *Masalah-Masalah Aktual Hukum Organisasi Internasional*, (Bandung : CV ARMICO,1988), Page 210.

cooperation was that geographical condition would make easier to get efforts of mutual understanding among neighboring countries. So, the problems resolved immediately based on a peaceful way.³⁰

While the second assumption achieve the countries which implemented regional cooperation that must be obeyed some benefits that came from the attachment on a mutual effort rather than activities development separately and individually. This assumption is known as a convergence of interests that inevitably caused by political decision.³¹ Departing from both assumption above, we can understand that after the end of World War II and after the establishment of United Nations, many countries in the world started to create regional cooperation. One of regional cooperation itself is ASEAN organization.

2.2 The Establishment of Cooperation before ASEAN

ASEAN inevitably can not be separated from the development of regional cooperation in Southeast Asia in the past. Before the formation of ASEAN in 1967, Southeast Asian countries made various efforts to mobilize regional cooperation both intra and extra-regional such as the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), Malaysia, Philippine and Indonesia (MAPHILINDO), South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC).

2.2.1 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

³⁰ Luhulima, C.P.F., dkk, *Dimensi Kerangka Kegiatan dalam Kerja Sama ASEAN*, (Jakarta: Seknas ASEAN Deplu RI, 1986), 6.

³¹ Budiono Kuusumohamidjojo, *Asia Tenggara dalam Perspektif Netralitas dan Netralisme*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1985), Page 23.

When North Vietnam collapsed into communist regime in 1954, these conditions threaten United States as a pioneer in Western Block. It was because the defeat of Western country brought bad effect where countries in Asia Southeast would fall into communist, it was like a series of domino card. That situation arose and developed the domino theory.

In the framework of communist regime in Southeast Asia, on the 8th September 1954, SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) was established in Manila. Thus, SEATO became the first regional cooperation in Southeast Asia. The members of SEATO are United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. Because of only two states from Southeast Asia which originated in this organization, so SEATO was considered as organization which had limited credibility.³²

2.2.2 Association of Southeast Asia (ASA)

When Malaysia Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, visited Philippines in 1959, he proposed a draft to establish cooperation that could protect and promote its national interests. After Philippines agreed cooperation draft, Malaysia and Philippine invited the other countries in Southeast Asia, but unfortunately only Thailand which received that draft. Because of that reason, on July 31th, 1961,

³² U.S. Department of State, "Milestones: 1953-1960: SEATO, 1945", (Accessed on December 31th, 2012), Available <http://www.history.state.goverment//>

Malaysia, Philippine and Thailand through a declaration in Bangkok officially established the Association of Southeast Asian (ASA).³³

ASA was a cooperation that possessed goal to block influences of communist. But many Southeast Asian countries didn't want to join in ASA (including Indonesia). The reason that caused some countries in Southeast Asia refused to join in ASA because they considered ASA as the imperialism of United States. Later, in September 1963, this regional organization was no longer effective again because at that time there was political dispute between Malaysia and Philippine (Sabah conflict).³⁴

2.2.3 Malaysia, Philippine, Indonesia (MAPHILINDO)

After ASA was frozen because of the problems of Sabah, Philippines developed an idea to create greater Malaya Confederation. Besides the idea, Philippine viewed some purpose to find a resolution conflict from the dispute between Malaya with the Philippines and Indonesia on the other side about North Borneo (Sabah) which will enter Malaysia Federation. Because of that, in August 1963 there was a high level meeting in Manila between Soekarno, Tengku Abdul Rahman and Diosdado Macapagal, in where they agreed to take the beginning steps toward the establishment of a new regional

³³ Somsaxdi Xuto, *Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia*, (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1973), Page 27.

³⁴ Alison Broinowski, *Understanding ASEAN*, (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), Page 9.

cooperation that called as MAPHILINDO (Malaya, Philippines, and Indonesia). Actually, this cooperation was formed to prevent Malaysia as imperialist country.³⁵

When Malaysia was inaugurated on 16 September 1963 which included Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore and Malaya raise Indonesia to have confrontation against new federation of Malaya. Philippines, which does not a diplomatic relationship with Malaysia decided to cooperate with Indonesia. Finally, MAPHILINDO practically had paralyzed, even though Indonesia and Philippine still continued the meetings and kept good relation and cooperation each other.³⁶

2.2.4 Asia and Pasific Council (ASPAC)

Asia and Pacific Council (ASPAC) formed in 1966 by Japan, South Korean, Taiwan, South Vietnam, Malaysian, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. The existence of ASPAC was ended, because this organization chose RRC block.

2.2.5 South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO)

Indonesia, Malaysia, Laos, the Philippine, Singapore and Vietnam created South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO). This organization was established on 7

³⁵ MAPHILINDO. *The Manila Agreement*, (current notes on international affairs, vol.34 no. 8, 1963), 5- 7.

³⁶ Richard Butwell, *Southeast Asian Today and Tomorrow: Problems and Political Development*, (New York: Praeger Publish, 1969), Page 211.

February 1968 with the goal to advance cooperation among Southeast Asian nations in education, science, and culture.

2.3 The establishment of forum and dialogue before ASEAN

Besides the establishment of some cooperation, the countries in Southeast Asia also created communication forums that are joined by the outside Southeast Asia countries such as ESCAP, KAA and Colombo Plan. Economic Commission for Asia and Far East (ECAFE) was formed on May 28, 1947 and was transformed into the Economy and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP). ESCAP was UN specialized agency that has given inspiration for increasing regional cooperation in Southeast Asia.

Whereas Colombo Plan had the goals to develop Southeast Asia and South Asia economic cooperation. In January 1950, the Existence of Colombo Plan gave the benefits in encouraging the importance of regional cooperation. Besides communication forums among Southeast Asia countries, they also created the formation of Asian-African Summit. Asian-African Summit sometimes called as Bandung Conference was a summit between Asia and Africa countries which got new independence or freedom. This summit was held by Indonesia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan. The coordinator of this meeting is Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ruslan Abdul Gani. This conference was held on April 18 - 24th, 1955, in Merdeka Building, Bandung. All members of Bandung Conference had the goals to promote economic and cultural cooperation in Asian-African and also to against colonialism or neocolonialism from United States, the Soviet Union,

or other imperialist countries.³⁷ Finally, this meeting produced ten Bandung Principles which contained the meaning about an effort to support world peace and to make cooperation by encouraging the creation of peaceful world order and based on mutual respect to the sovereignty and integrity of each country.

In addition, communication between Southeast Asia countries was created by forums of non-aligned movement. Non-Aligned Movement arose from Asian-African summit where was it held in Indonesia. The countries which was not pro on one particular block declared their desire not to join in the Eastern or Western ideological confrontation. The founders of this movement included of Josip Broz Tito (president Yugoslav), Soekarno (president Indonesia), Gamal Abdul Nasser (president Egypt), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (prime minister India) and Kwame Nkrumah (president Ghana).³⁸

A principle of the Non-Aligned Movement consisted of:

1. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and the sovereignty;
2. Non-aggression Agreement;
3. Non-intervene in internal affairs;
4. Equality;
5. Keeping peace;

³⁷Wikipedia, "Konfrensi Asia-Afrika", (Accessed on August 9th, 2013); Available <http://id.wikipedia.org/>

³⁸ Wikipedia, "Gerakan non--Blok", (Accessed on August 9th, 2013); Available <http://id.wikipedia.org/>

Besides the formation of cooperation and the dialogue forums which held before ASEAN established, ASEAN also needed an understanding to follow the momentum which occurred in Southeast Asian around 1965-1966. The momentum closely related to the formation of ASEAN. When Indonesia arose the momentum of New Order era which replaced the Old Order era. In New Order era, there were a momentum that encouraged the birth of ASEAN establishment where confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia was finished, so the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia became good relationship.³⁹

At the same time, there also happened another momentum. The momentum itself was exchange the Philippines' leader from President Macapagal to President Marcos. When Philippine under Macapagal President, the Philippines and Malaysia have been strained by disputes of Sabah. That Problem made bad relation between both countries. And Marcos appeased Philippines toward Sabah. That situation helped to improve and restore relation between Philippine and Malaysia.

Later, another momentum also was followed the expulsion of Singapore from federation of Malaysian federation. This momentum gave a new atmosphere in Southeast Asian region which was hit by crisis confrontation. Previously, when Singapore still joined with Malaysia, there was a difference in managing economic policy eventually became the impetus for Singapore to get out from that federation.

³⁹ Estella D. Solidum, *Toward A Southeast Asian Community*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press., 1974) Page- 8.

All those momentums caused positive effects that encouraged the formation of regional cooperation organization which structured and had vision and mission for the countries in Southeast Asia region. Consultative meetings which conducted intensively among Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippine, Singapore, and Thailand produced a draft of Joint Declaration. It included awareness for increasing mutual understanding to be good neighbors by promoting peace, security and regional stability among Southeast Asia countries and developing good cooperation among countries which had similarity in history and culture. Thus, this condition affected Southeast Asian countries to create ASEAN as regional cooperation organization which had same vision and mission.⁴⁰

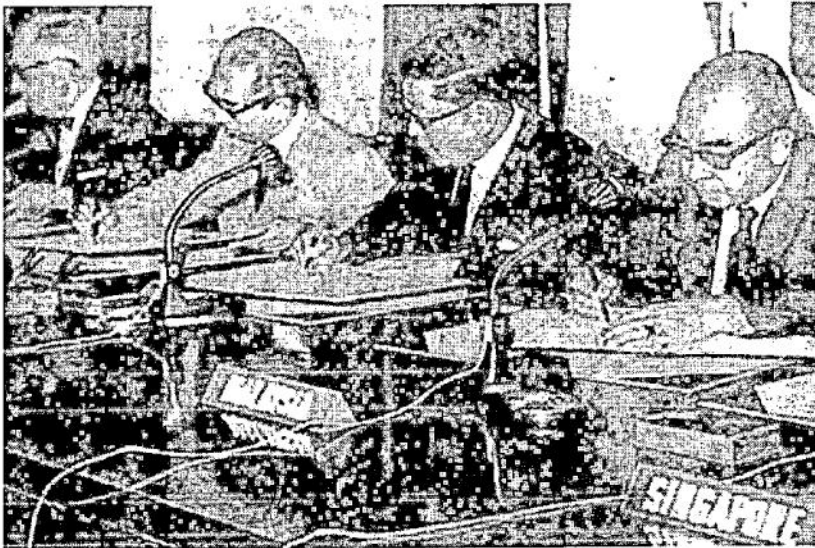
ASEAN is the abbreviation of "Association of South East Asian Nations" which means a regional organization that is established by five countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand by signing the agreement of ASEAN Declaration or Bangkok Declaration on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand. That date is also celebrated as the birth of ASEAN.⁴¹ The fifth foreign ministers who come as the representative of each founder countries are:

1. Adam Malik from Indonesia
2. Tun Abdu Razak from Malaysia

⁴⁰ Hatmosuprobo Suhardjo, *Sejarah Asia Tenggara*, (Yogyakarta : IKIP Sanata Dharma, 1983), Page 45.

⁴¹ M. Sabir, *ASEAN Harapan dan Kenyataan*, (Jakarta : Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1992), page-30.

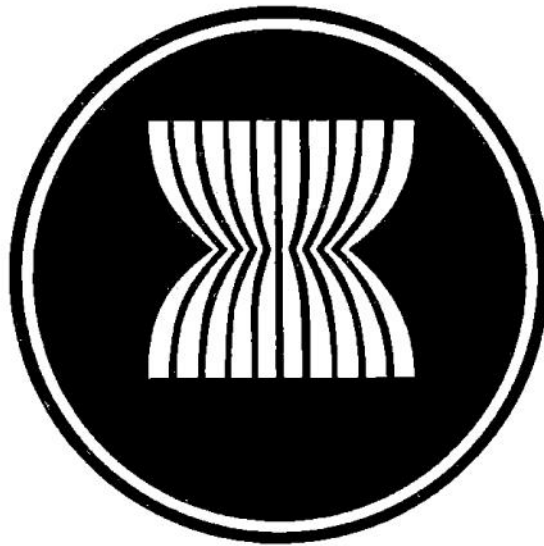
3. Rajaratnam from Singapura
4. Thanat Koman from Thailand
5. Narcisco Ramos from Philiphine



Picture1. The momentum when five foreign minister signed Bangkok Declaration on August 8th, 1967, in Bangkok, Thailand.

2.4 The Emblem of ASEAN

As the legal organization, ASEAN also has a symbol. The ASEAN's symbol describes as below:



Picture 2. ASEAN symbol.

The explanation of ASEAN symbol is:

- 1) Circle, means that ASEAN is unity. there are two circles, outside circle and inner circle. The outside circle is blue color that symbolizes peace and stability. Whereas inner Circle is white color that symbolizes purity and sincerity.
- 2) Ten rice stalks, symbolize the number of ASEAN members and yellow as rice color symbolizes prosperity.
- 3) ASEAN words and blue circle symbol, symbolizes friendship.
- 4) Basic colors red, symbolizes persistence and dynamism.

The meaning of ASEAN symbol describes some points, they are:

- 1) ASEAN solidarity and agreement.
- 2) Entanglement in cooperation for achieving prosperity of ASEAN people

3) Faithful to the peace and stability in the ASEAN region and the world.

2.5 Motivation of ASEAN's Founder Countries

Indonesia had foreign policy that called free and active policy. It means that Indonesia run to do multilateral and bilateral cooperation by not join into one block either communist block or capitalist block. This non-aligned is a characteristic of international cooperation that adopted by Indonesia.

In New Order era, Indonesian cooperation policy changed where in the past, Indonesia focused in running multilateral and bilateral cooperation but now Indonesia focuses on regional cooperation. at the time, Indonesian's motivation was to get back trust which had credibility that has been destroyed by the politics of confrontation against Malaysia which occurred in the Old Order Era. And then, Indonesia valued about safety considerations to support the development process in its country.⁴²

In addition, Indonesia also played important role in establishing ASEAN. The role itself is that Indonesia wanted a balance condition between states that made alliance with the super power stases and the countries that joined in non-aligned movement. Different with motivation of Indonesia, Philippines' motivation to join in ASEAN regional cooperation was that Philippine wanted to be known as part of Southeast Asian country. We knew that most other countries in Southeast Asia called Philippines' as America in Asia.

⁴² M. Sabir, *ASEAN Harapan dan Kenyataan*, (Jakarta : Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1992),

Thailand as one of members country that joined in ASEAN had noble motivation. it wanted to reconcile countries in Southeast Asia that still have conflict or confrontation. While Malaysia confrontation had another motivation to join into ASEAN. Basically Malaysia assumed that Indonesia under the new order government would more be easily to defuse than during old order under Soekarno. So, if we looked at the motivation of Singapore as a country that separated from Malaysia federation, they assumed that if it joined in ASEAN cooperation, it would be able to improve relations with its neighbors and it wanted to get economic benefits from this cooperation.

From differences of their motivation above, there was singular determination to establish a new regional cooperation. The Fifth countries which came together in Bangkok, Thailand, on August 5th, 1967 agreed to complete the final draft of the ASEAN formation. During that meeting, there arose a problem about foreign bases issues. As we know that Indonesian produced SEAARC draft which contained the explanation about the reliance. It was foreign bases that was temporary and should not be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence and those collective defense arrangements should not be used to serve special interests for big country. But the Philippines wanted to cross that approach. It could give bad impact to US' cooperation that had a Security Agreement with the Philippines. Philippines in this position was supported by Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. Adam Malik as Indonesia representative could not accept the critics from Philippines and earnestly it suggested to be leader in ASEAN summit. The purpose of

Indonesia itself was that Indonesia wanted to keep important goals in the New Order's of political survival. Finally, among countries agreed to eliminate the last part explanation on that agreement and became that collective defense arrangements should not be used to serve the special interests of the big countries.

Another term, there are some editorial changes which eventually put in the Bangkok Declaration which said:

“Confirms that all foreign bases are temporary and only stand as long as are still desired by that State and foreign bases did'nt meant to subvert the national independence of countries in that region or disrupt the process of national development”.

With the agreement that achieved about the foreign bases, each countries felt worry. For Indonesia that is joined non-aligned, it is certainly bad situation. Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand which were still a member of SEATO and AMDA actually improve their image as not part of western stooge in the eyes of their people and the world generally.

2.6 The Goals of ASEAN

According to Bangkok Declaration, the goals of ASEAN establishment are:⁴³

- 1) To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in this region through mutual efforts in a spirit of equality and friendship to strengthen the foundation of peaceful community in Southeast Asian nations which is prosperous and peaceful;
- 2) To increase peace and stability regional by respecting justice and rule of law in relationship among countries in this region as well as obeying the principles of the United Nations' Charter.
- 3) To increase active cooperation and mutual assistance in matters of common problems which become mutual interest in economic, social, technique, science aspect;
- 4) To provide mutual assistance in form of training and researching in the term of education, profession, techniques and administration aspect;
- 5) To increase programs of agriculture and industries, the expansion of trading and assessment of international commodity problems. Improvement means the way of transportation and communication as well as the improvement of living standards of their peoples;
- 6) To promote assessment of Southeast Asia;

⁴³ Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, *ASEAN Selayang Pandang*, (Jakarta: Sekretariat ASEAN, 1992), 1-3.

- 7) To maintain close cooperation and useful by regional and international organizations which have the similarity purpose to making cooperation among them.

2.7 ASEAN Cooperation

2.7.1 ASEAN Economy Cooperation

Since ASEAN summit-I in Bali 1976 ago, ASEAN Economy Ministers was increased their agenda. In the Declaration of ASEAN agreement explained that in the framework of economic cooperation, there had some agenda that had been agreed, such as:⁴⁴

- Primary commodities, especially food and energy;
- Cooperation in trade and industrial aspect;
- Approaching to face the issues of international commodity and economic in outside the ASEAN region;
- Mechanism of ASEAN Economy Cooperation.

2.7.2 ASEAN Security Cooperation

This cooperation intended to create security, stability and peace world especially in ASEAN region. Cooperation in politics and securities aspect already used a political instruments, such as:

- a) Zone of Peace, Freedom And Neutrality (ZOPFAN);
- b) Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia;

⁴⁴ Justy mone, "Indonesia Menuju ASEAN Economy Community", (Accessed on November 13th, 2013); Available <http://www.kompasiana.com//>

- c) Treaty of the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Freedom Zone (SEANWFZ).

Beside the third political instrument above, there is also a forum for cooperation in the aspect of politics and securities which is called as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Some form of political and security cooperation in ASEAN , they are:

- a) Treaty of Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters (MLAT) .
- b) ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT)
- c) ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM) which aims to promote regional peace and stability through dialogue and cooperation defense and security aspect.
- d) Treaty of combating transnational crimes which include of combating terrorism, drug trafficking, money laundering, human smuggling and trafficking, pirate and international economic crime ;
- e) Cooperation in the aspect of law; immigration and consular affairs, as well as institutional among parliament.

2.7.3 ASEAN Social and Culture Cooperation

in Declaration of ASEAN Concord especially for the social and cultural aspect, there is some cooperation that defined, such as:

2.7.3.1 Social

1. Social development cooperation. This cooperation put emphasis on prosperity of low-income groups and rural population opportunities to get productive job by a reasonable payment.
2. Give Assistance for active participation of all ASEAN society, especially women youth in constructing business.
3. Intensification and expansion cooperation in solving population growth problems in ASEAN and arranging a new strategy theory in collaboration with international agencies.
4. Intensification of cooperating among member countries as well as international bodies which agreed in preventing and eradicating drug abuse and trafficking illegal drugs.

2.7.3.2 Culture

1. Introduction of ASEAN and its Member States through educations or institutions.
2. Assistance to scholars, writers, artists, representatives of mass media to play role in fostering a regional friendship.
3. Spreading the assessment of Southeast Asia problems through close cooperation among national institutions.

2.8 ASEAN Agenda and Organization Structure before and after ASEAN

Summit-I

2.8.1 Before ASEAN Summit-I in Bali 1976

To achieve ASEAN's goal and objective as already mentioned previously, ASEAN made a draft of an organizational structure which at this time it has been developed by ASEAN declaration which was the basis of ASEAN establishment. Structure of ASEAN organizational before ASEAN Summit-I in the Bali 1967 based on Bangkok Declaration on August 8th, 1967 are:

- a) Annual Ministers Meeting. This meeting is a highest meeting which is attended by Foreign Ministers of ASEAN member countries.
- b) ASEAN Standing Committee (ASC). This committee is a body which relates two meetings of ASEAN Foreign Ministers to solve problems which need decision from ministers. This committee also is led by Foreign Affairs Minister where the meeting has the members of ASEAN representative from each member states.
- c) The Standing Committee and Special Committees.
- d) ASEAN National Secretariat. This secretariat sets in every ASEAN member states.

In ASEAN development process, the structure as described above increases ASEAN roles in term of implementation of ASEAN Secretary-General meeting where their duties beside preparing the ministerial meeting,

as well as coordinating and discussing the reports of the standing committees and special committees.

2.8.2 After ASEAN Summit-I in Bali 1976

There is some meeting that is created by ASEAN member countries after ASEAN Summit-I, they are:

- a) ASEAN Summit Meeting. This meeting is highest authority in ASEAN. This meeting holds if needed to give ASEAN direction to produced good policies.
- b) Annual Ministerial Meeting. Role and responsibilities of this meeting is to formulate ASEAN agenda policies and coordination. And then ASEAN Annual Ministerial Meeting will check implications in political aspect on ASEAN decision.
- c) Economy Ministerial Meeting. This meeting hold two times in a year which has duty or obligation to formulate policies and make coordination which specially related with ASEAN cooperation issues in economy aspect and also make evaluation from all result by other committee.
- d) Other Ministerial Meeting (Non-Economy). This meeting is to formulate policies such as education, healthy, social, cultural, worker, science and technology. This meeting still not get legitimize and will held if it necessary.
- e) Standing Committee. This committee has same duties as before ASEAN Summit-I. In developing, this committee is larger than

ASEAN National Secretariat General Directorate from state members who before called as ASEAN Secretariat which has duties to prepare report for judgment and ASEAN standing committee decisions.

2.8.3 After ASEAN Charter

The formation of ASEAN organization structure will always develop and change according to world development such as ASEAN Charter that officially created by leader of ASEAN member countries. And Now ASEAN organization structure change based on ASEAN Charter consists of:⁴⁵

1. ASEAN Summit Meeting. In ASEN structure after ASEAN Summit-1 in Bali, the highest authority in ASEAN is ASEAN Summit Meeting, which consist of all leader of each ASEAN members countries, that established in every three times meeting in a year based on ASEAN Summit-IV decision. This meeting will decide direction of ASEAN cooperation. There is some ASEAN Summit that ever held by ASEAN member state.
 - a) ASEAN Summit-I that held in Bali, February 23-24, 1967. This meeting discussed Treaty of Amity Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) and Declaration of ASEAN Concord which reflected confirmation toward Bandung principles, Bangkok Declaration, ZOFPAN Declaration and UN's Charter.

⁴⁵ Rangi wirasakti, "Keanggotaan dan Struktur ASEAN", (Accessed on January, 13th, 2013); Available <http://www.wirasaktirangi.blogspot.com//>

b) ASEAN Summit-II that held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia at August 4-5th, 1977. This meeting produced some agendas, such as:

- Struggle for peace, free and neutral region in Southeast Asia;
- Increasing economy, social and cultural community;
- Give freedom to Southeast Asia countries to put their political line without any interference;
- Developing peace relation with all states in other Southeast Asia such as Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

c) ASEAN Summit-III that held in Manila at December 14-15th, 1987.

This meeting produce:

- Ratification about ASEAN Principles;
- ASEAN cooperation solidarity in many aspects including against protectionism of industrial states;
- Involving society in ASEAN member countries with increasing private roles in ASEAN cooperation;
- ASEAN cooperation solidarity to protect security and stability in ASEAN region;
- ASEAN cooperation to develop mutual relation in economy, social and political development as well as continually structural reformation for increasing cooperation to economy growth in region.

d) ASEAN Summit-IV that held in Singapore, January 27-28th, 1992.

This meeting produced:

- Agreement frameworks of increasing ASEAN economy cooperation;
 - ASEAN embodiment as free trade area which called ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).
- e) ASEAN Summit-V that held in Bangkok, December 14-15th, 1995. This meeting discussed about the efforts to enter Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar and Vietnam become ASEAN member states and strengthening ASEAN identity.
- f) ASEAN Summit-VI that held in Hanoi, December 15-16, 1998. This meeting agreed full acceleration of AFTA implementation to January 1, 2002 with flexibility to some products and agreed Hanoi Plan of Action.
- g) ASEAN Summit-VII that held in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunnei Darussalam, November 5-6th, 2001. This meeting produced HIV/AIDS declaration and terrorism declaration when at that time related with WTC bombing in U.S.
- h) ASEAN Summit-VIII that held in Phnompenh, November 4-5th, 2001. This meeting produced Declaration of Terrorism which related with Bali and Philippine bombing and also produced ASEAN Tourism Agreement.
- i) ASEAN IX which held in Bali, October 7-8th, 2003. This meeting produced Bali Concord II about ASEAN integration in economy, social and security aspect.

- j) ASEAN Summit-X that held in Vientiane, November 29-30th, 2004. This meeting agreed Plan of Action together of ASEAN people about socio-culture and security integration of priority sectors.
- k) First Informal ASEAN Summit that held in Jakarta at January 6th, 2005. The meeting discussed to find solution for handling tsunami and earth quake which ever attacked Southeast Asia and South Asia region, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Maladewa, India, Myanmar and Sri Langka.
- l) ASEAN Summit-XI that held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on December 12-14th, 2005. This meeting produced the agreement of economy cooperation with South Korea, MoU ASEAN Korea Center establishment, and ASEAN Summit draft of East Asia which given label Declaration of Singapore in term of climate change, energy and environmental.
- m) ASEAN Summit-XII that held in Cebu, Philippine on January 11-14th, 2007. This meeting discussed issues about security region, negotiation of World Health Organization (WHO), energy security in Southeast Asia, protecting AIDS virus, nuclear issues in Korea as well as acceleration of establishing ASEAN Community from 2020 to 2015.
- n) ASEAN Summit-XIII that held in Cha Am, Hua Hin, Thailand on February 27th-March 1th, 2009. This meeting produced some agreement such as trade agreement in economy cooperation and

mutual cooperation between ASEAN and Korea Center, and agreed this meeting also agreed ASEAN Center.

- o) ASEAN Summit-XIV that held in Bangkok, Thailand, on February 28th – March 1th, 2009. This meeting produced the agreement of Free Trade Area ASEAN-Australia-New Selandia.
- p) ASEAN Summit-XV that held in Hua Hin, Thailand, on October 23-26th, 2009. This meeting produced Declaration of Cha-am Hua Hin about inauguration of human right commission among ASEAN government and strengthening education cooperation to achieve ASEAN community.
- q) ASEAN Summit-XVI that held in Hanoi, Vietnam, on April 8-9th, 2010. This meeting discussed the agreement to arrange step and direction to accelerate ASEAN integration and to use more capability effectively in handling regional and global challenge.
- r) ASEAN Summit-XVII that held in Hanoi, Vietnam, on October 28-30th, 2010. This meeting produced the efforts of ASEAN Community in 2015 and other regional and international issues.
- s) ASEAN Summit-XVIII that held in Jakarta on Mei 7-8th, 2011. This meeting produced determination about ASEAN the agreement to keep food and energy resources.
- t) ASEAN Summit-XIX that held in Bali, Indonesia on November 14-19th, 2011. This meeting agreed the draft of Bali Concord III or Bali

Declaration on ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nation.

- u) ASEAN Summit-XX that held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia on April 3-4th, 2012. This meeting produced Phnom Penh Declaration on ASEAN; One Community, One Destiny, and Phnom Penh Agenda on ASEAN Community Building, and also produced the agreement of Drug-Free ASEAN 2015.
- v) ASEAN Summit-XXI that held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia on November 18-20th, 2012. This meeting produced the establishment of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership by ASEAN leader and other dialogue partners.
- w) ASEAN Summit-XXII that held in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, on April 23-25th, 2013. This meeting discussed about the readiness of ASEAN member states in entering ASEAN Community in economy, political and security, and socio-cultural on 2015. This meeting also shared about issue of South China Sea.
- x) ASEAN Summit-XXIII that held in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, on October 9-11th, 2013. This meeting produced a vision after establishing ASEAN Community and developed friendship and cooperation which relating with Asia Pacific region in the way of principles and rule of TAC and East Asia Summit Declaration about principles for mutually beneficial relationship (Bali Principles), agreeing the establishment of ASEAN Regional

Mine Action Center (ARMAC) and declaring ASEAN Security Outlook (ASO) which saved information about ASEAN contribution for peace.

2. ASEAN Annual Ministerial Meeting (AMM). AMM has role and responsibility to formulate policy line and ASEAN activity coordination. This meeting also checked political implication as ASEAN decision where in all ASEAN activities have political and diplomatic implication. In special case, all foreign ministers established the meeting more than one times in a year. And then, the activities that run between two AMM in a year, become the responsibility of ASEAN standing committee.
3. ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM). In economic aspect, AEM is highest institution in deciding policy in ASEAN economy cooperation. At the beginning, this meeting was held two times in a year and now changed to once times in a year. Later this meeting started to legalize in ASEAN Summit-II. On ASEAN Summit-IV, ASEAN leaders created AFTA Committee to control and give value toward schema of effective preference tariff on ASEAN Free Trade Area. AMM and AEM give report to ASEAN Leaders when ASEAN Summit held. AEM also created economy committees which include of:
 - Committee on Finance and Banking (COFAB) in Thailand;

- Committee on Food, Agriculture and Forestry (COFAF) in Indonesia;
 - Committee on Industry, Mineral and Energy (COIME) in Philippine;
 - Committee on Transportation and Communication (COTAC) in Malaysia.
4. Joint Ministerial Meeting (JMM). This meeting created by ASEAN Summit-II and this meeting will held if there need to arrange across border coordination and to create consultation about ASEAN agendas.
 5. Others Ministerial Meeting (Non-Economy). Besides ministerial meeting above, there is ministerial meeting of environmental, workers, healthy, social, judicial affairs, education, science and technology which held based on necessary.
 6. Committee on Trade and Tourism (COTT) in Singapore.
 7. ASEAN Community Councils. This council consists of three pillars, those are ASEAN Political and Security Community Council, ASEAN Economy Community Council and ASEAN Socio-Culture Community Council.
 8. ASEAN Coordinating Council. This council consists of ASEAN Foreign Affairs minister of ASEAN with their duties to make coordination on ASEAN Community Councils.

9. ASEAN Sector Ministerial Bodies. In this body, ASEAN ministers established some meeting which related with special body in economy cooperation such as agricultural, energy and forestry. This meeting also will establish if there need to give drift for ASEAN cooperation. And this meeting was been produced the establishment of ASEAN Economic Ministerial Meeting (AEMM).
10. ASEAN Permanent Representative Committee. This committee included of permanent representative on each ASEAN member countries.
11. ASEAN Secretary General which assisted by ASEAN general secretary representative and ASEAN secretariat. ASEAN Secretary General have mandate to promote, give suggestion, create coordination for ASEAN agendas. ASEAN general secretary has responsibility to run ASEAN assembly and all ASEAN ministerial meeting. ASEAN secretary general led ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta and also led permanent committee meeting based on the leader of permanent committee, Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM) which consists of Senior Official Meeting (SOM), Senior Economic Officials Meeting (SEOM) and ASEAN General Directorial Meeting.
12. ASEAN National Secretariat. This secretariat led by senior official to establish internal coordination in each ASEAN countries. In term of Bangkok Declaration said that to achieve ASEAN purpose and goals,

ASEAN created ASEAN National Secretariat in every member state with goal to establish accumulation duty from each member state and prefer Annual Meeting or Special Meeting for Foreign Minister, Permanent Committee Meeting and ASEAN committee.

13. ASEAN Human Rights body. This body will support and promote Human Right protection in ASEAN.
14. ASEAN Foundation. This function will help ASEAN General Secretary in increasing the understanding about ASEAN, including the establishment of ASEAN identity.
15. Senior Officials Meeting (SOM). This meeting officially legalized as part of ASEAN mechanism on ASEAN Summit-II and must be responsibility to handle cooperation in politic and security aspect. SOM will hold if there is needed and report directly to AMM.
16. Senior Economic Officials Meeting (SEOM). This meeting officially created as part of ASEAN mechanism on ASEAN Assembly-III. And on ASEAN Summit-V, this meeting agreed five economy committees:
 - Committee on Finance and Banking (COFAB)
 - Committee on Food, Agriculture and Forestry (COFAF)
 - Committee on Transportation and Communication (COTAC)
 - Committee on Trade and Tourism (COTT)
17. ASEAN high Official Meeting in others aspect. This meeting actually handled other problems such as social, cultural and other

functional cooperation. Those meeting also was legalized by committees which include of :

- Committee on Culture and Information (COCI)
- Committee on Social Development (COSD)
- Committee on Science and Technology (COST)

18. Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM). This meeting was created by ASEAN Assembly-III. This meeting included of ASEAN Secretary General, SOM, SEOM, and ASEAN general director. JCM also will hold if there needed and led by ASEAN General Secretary to coordinate some sectors of ASEAN agendas on the level of official government.

19. ASEAN Dialogue Partners. In applying ASEAN cooperation with Dialogue Partners countries, every member has opportunity to give their responsibility as coordinator in mutual relationship with special dialogue partner countries. Based on decision of AMM-XVIII in Malaysia, all coordinator states took turn in once times of three years according to alphabetic series.

20. ASEAN committee in third country. Beside the establishing coordinator country, in cooperation with the third country, ASEAN also created committee in every dialogue partner countries which used as connector of ASEAN dialogue agenda. Some ASEAN committee which established in third countries are:

- ASEAN Brussels Committee (ABC)

- ASEAN Canberra Committee (ACC)
- ASEAN Ottawa Committee (AOC)
- ASEAN Washington Committee (AWC)
- ASEAN Committee in Tokyo (ACT)
- ASEAN Committee in Wellington (ACW)
- ASEAN New Delhi Committee (ANDC)

Besides committee above, there are some ASEAN committees in the other third countries which become United Nation's office are:

- ASEAN London Committee (ALC)
- ASEAN Paris Committee (APC)
- ASEAN Bonn Committee (ABC)
- ASEAN Geneva Committee (AGC)

21. ASEAN Regional Forum. The establishing ARF is continually from ASEAN Summit-IV agreement which talked about politic and security issues by Singapore Declaration in 1992. This forum has been followed by ASEAN member countries and some countries in Asia Pacific, America and Europe which have influenced global and regional situation. The first ARF meeting was held in Bangkok on July 25th, 1994. This forum also has followed by all participant countries, seven dialogue partner countries, three observer countries, two consultative partner countries (China and Russia) and two ASEAN guest partner countries which support ARF as mode to share about political and security issue in regional area.

2.9 ASEAN Community

In 21st century, ASEAN agreed to develop an integrated region by forming community of Southeast Asian nations which were in dynamic partnership. The community is expected to be realized in 2020 as stated on ASEAN Vision 2020 in Kuala Lumpur 1997. To realize these expectations, ASEAN agreed to establish Bali Concord II on ASEAN Summit-9 in Bali, 2003, which approved the establishment of ASEAN Community. ASEAN Community consisted of three pillars, that was ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) ASEAN social and Cultural Community (ASCC).

ASEAN Political and Security Community pillar has the goals such as to increase cooperation in political and security aspect, to maintain peace and promote human right values and to make democratization in ASEAN region. Political and Security Community based on a comprehensive in term of security approach, and this community did not form a military defense agreement with mutual foreign policy. Political and Security Community refers to the legal law in politic and security aspects, such as treaty of Zone of Peace, Free and Neutral, Treaty of Amity Cooperation in the Southeast Asia, and the Treaty of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Southeast Asia. Another Reference is UN Charter, ASEAN Charter and the principles of other international law which relate each other.

ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is community which works together in an effort to make deeply and broadly economy aspect in ASEAN

region and out of this region. ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) aims to establish ASEAN as a single market. AEC also is a community which bases on dynamic and competitive area. AEC has equal development and promotes to accelerate economic integration in ASEAN region. AEC is realized by a blueprint which contains work plan until 2015. The implementation of that work plan is done by observing the different levels of development on each member countries. Economic cooperation covers the aspect of industry, trade, investment, services transportation, telecommunication, tourism, and finance. In addition, economy cooperation also covers agriculture forestry, energy minerals as well as small and medium enterprises.

ASEAN Social and Cultural Community pillar is a platform to strengthen ASEAN integration. This cooperation aims to strengthen awareness, solidarity, partnership, and to make one identity for All ASEAN people. ASEAN socio and cultural cooperation includes some aspects of culture, information, education, environment, science and technology, natural disaster management, healthy, employment, social development, poverty, women roles, youth role, drug prevention, improvement of public administration and civil service. In this case, ASEAN Community puts his way in people-centered with purposes to strengthen solidarity and unity in diversity of cultural characteristic among ASEAN member countries. Unity and solidarity are built by strengthening the common identity and social development which have mutual care, sharing, and harmony.

ASEAN also committed to strengthening the unity and mutual understanding toward the differences of culture, historical, religion and civilization for realizing ASEAN Community by 2015. During ASEAN Summit-X in Vientiane, Laos 2004, the concept of ASEAN community was progressed by Plan of Action (PoA) establishment for each pillar which was a long-term program for the realization of ASEAN community. ASEAN Summit-X also integrated three of ASEAN community PoA into Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) as the basis for the short-medium term program in the period 2004-2010.

ASEAN community achievement got stronger power with accepting Cebu Declaration on the Acceleration of the Establishment of an ASEAN Community 2015 by ASEAN Leaders on ASEAN Summit-12 in Cebu, Philippines January 13th, 2007. According to this declaration, ASEAN leaders agreed to accelerate the establishment of ASEAN Community from 2020 to 2015. Beside the effort to realize ASEAN community, they also agreed to arrange a constitution which would become strong basic for ASEAN member states cooperation. In this term, ASEAN Charter drafting process was started since 2006 by the establishment of the Eminent Persons Group and then was followed by the High Level Task Force to conduct negotiations on the draft of ASEAN Charter in 2007.

On ASEAN Summit-XIII in Singapore 2007, ASEAN leader from each member countries agreed ASEAN Charter which changed ASEAN form from widely association to a rule based on organization that had legal

personality. ASEAN Charter was a document that transforms ASEAN to an International organization that has a strong legal law, clear rules, and has an effective and efficient structure organization. ASEAN charter started effectively at December 15th, 2008 after all ASEAN member countries submitted document of notification to the ASEAN Secretariat. In relating that point, Indonesia ratified ASEAN Charter by Law No. 38, 2008.

ASEAN charter contained principles that was authorized in all ASEAN agreements and declarations. ASEAN Charter consisted of one preference, thirteen chapters and fifty five articles. ASEAN Charter used in providing legal and institutional of ASEAN framework. Both of them had strong regional solidarity to realize an ASEAN Community that was political cohesion, economy integration and social responsibility in order to face effectively challenges and opportunities now and future.⁴⁶

According to explanation above, the goal and objective of ASEAN described:⁴⁷

1. Protecting and increasing peace, security and stability as well as more strengthen the values that oriented on peace in the region;
2. Increasing regional organization by developing cooperation in many aspect of politic, security, economy and social-culture;
3. Guarding Southeast Asia as Nuclear Weapon Free Zone;

⁴⁶ Rudy, "Sejarah Singkat ASEAN", (Accessed on August 9th, 2013); Available <http://www.kisah-grgrup.blogspot.com//>

⁴⁷ Op.Cit., Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, page1.

4. Guarantee that ASEAN society can live in peace region with fair, democracy and harmony world;
5. Creating one market which produces stability, prosperous, competitive and integration economically by effective facilitation to trade and invest which have good and service traffic and free infestation; providing facilities for the economy actors, professional worker and widely capital flow;
6. Reducing poverty and limiting gap among states in developing ASEAN by aid and mutual cooperation;
7. Strengthening democracy, increasing good governance and rule of law, and promoting and protecting human right and fundamental freedom by running right and obligation of ASEAN member state;
8. Responding effectively security threaten based on security principles;
9. Promoting continually development to guarantee and protect environment in Southeast Asia such as natural resource, keeping cultural heritage, and people who has high live quality;
10. Developing human resources by increasing good cooperation in education aspect and strengthening ASEAN community;
11. Strengthening cooperation in developing security in ASEAN and making ASEAN society free from drugs crimes;
12. Inviting ASEAN society to join and get benefit from integration process of ASEAN Community;

13. Increasing ASEAN identity by developing awareness which will protect cultural diversity and cultural heritage in Southeast Asia;

14. Protecting centrality, unity and ASEAN proactive role as the main activator in relationship with external partners in open, transparency and inclusive region;

Meanwhile, in achieving the objectives above , ASEAN member countries run the basic principles which included with:

1. Respecting the independency, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, national identity of all ASEAN Member States;
2. Increasing mutual commitment relationship and collective responsibility in increasing peace, security and prosperity in the region;
3. Refusing aggression and threaten or using power or the other actions which is contrary with international law;
4. Facing the peaceful settlement in solving the problems;
5. Refusing the intervention, subversion and coercion in internal of ASEAN Member States;
6. Respecting to the right and obligation of every member state for keeping their national interest;
7. Providing consultations about the matters that influenced ASEAN's common interest of ASEAN;
8. Running the rule of law, good governance and democracy principles;
9. Respecting fundamental freedoms, promoting and protecting of human rights and social justice;