

CHAPTER IV

INDONESIA'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARD IMPLEMENTING ASEAN POLITICAL AND SECURITY COMMUNITY 2015

As pioneer and founder of ASEAN, Indonesia actually has important position in the constellation of ASEAN cooperation. ASEAN is a major priority in Indonesian's foreign policy where Indonesia put ASEAN countries in the innermost circle of concentric circles of Indonesian's foreign policy. So because Indonesia puts ASEAN as the primary environment of its foreign policy, Indonesia recognized by another countries as a country that played an important role in the development of ASEAN.

Indonesia is also considered as a country which had major influences on regional stability in Southeast Asia. For example, the statement which expressed by Secretary General of UN, Ban ki-moon said:⁶⁵

"Indonesia is a consistent country in creating Peace-Keeping in the world. So, Indonesia's roles in ASEAN itself cannot be underestimated."

Indonesia has contributed in many aspects for the progress of ASEAN. Moreover after establishment of ASEAN community 2020 and accelerated to 2015 with three pillars; economic community, the political and

⁶⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, "ASEAN dan Perdamaian Kawasan", (Accessed on August 23th, 2013) Available <http://www.asean.com//>

security community and social and cultural community, ASEAN becomes international organization which had many roles to create peace and stability in the world. In term of security aspect, Indonesia played more an important role in the formation and development of ASEAN political and security community. Indonesia's contribution in this community indirectly put Indonesia as the ASEAN member countries which played active in creating peace in regional security.

The process of Indonesian leadership process both traditional and structural position have existed long time ago. The establishment of ASEAN itself cannot be separated from Soeharto, ex- president of Indonesia, who submitted foreign policy in the way of good neighboring. At that time, Soeharto tried to make unaggressive imaging where Indonesia at Old Order Era chose confrontation politic with Malaysia which is considered as a British colonial state. Soeharto take over the power and make reformation of some policies by stopping confrontation with Malaysia. Soeharto want to increase national economic development with supporting regional cooperation and protecting the region. So, Indonesia in meeting with other ASEAN founder tried to purpose the establishment of regional organization and to create peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

In Soeharto era, Indonesia played the roles in many regional and international forums, such as giving ideas in many forums that discussed many issues in the world. In the context of ASEAN, Indonesia got successes in playing its role as a ASEAN leader in Southeast Asia countries. By Soeharto leadership,

Indonesia can establish good relation and cooperation with countries in Southeast Asia.

During New Order era, Development in Indonesia very emphasized an approach of comprehensive security with performing securitization toward every aspect in politic, economy and socio-culture as strategy to create stability and security. Although any domination from military force, New Order government didn't show military organization or military pact as strategy of security and defense both in solving the threat from inside or outside ASEAN region. Doctrine that developed by Indonesia about national defense that adopted from Bali Concord-I as one of pillar which aimed to accelerate economy cooperation, social and socio-cultural in this region made Indonesia create prosperous and peace society and increase peace and stability in regional with respecting justice and law in relation among countries as well as respecting to UN's Charter. Indonesia emphasized ASEAN goals by developing national doctrine which used national ability to solve and keep country from threaten inside or outside ASEAN region and also to achieve national interest. National doctrine is conceptualization which based on Indonesian historical since the struggle to achieve freedom and post-freedom, where every issues or another threaten only can solved by Indonesia without intervention from other country.⁶⁶

Indonesia proposed a paper to create a formation in term of security cooperation and establish military with ASEAN countries. Actually that proposal

⁶⁶ Luhulima, CPF. Dkk, *Masyarakat Asia Tenggara Menuju Komunitas ASEAN 2015*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), page 88.

got rejection from some ASEAN member countries. The result of that ASEAN Summit produced two agreements that are national and regional endurance. This concept is part of Indonesian's contribution in ASEAN in term of legalizing non-intervention principles. Briefly, this organization cannot disturb freedom, sovereignty, equality and national interest of each state in Southeast Asia that means every state must achieve its national interest, free from intervention, subversion and every problem in Southeast Asia must be solved by peace.

From the explanation above, ASEAN is an important regional organization which has special foreign policy, because every ASEAN country becomes the innermost circle from the concentric circle of Indonesian foreign policy. The approach of this concentric circle clarified the big influence of close external environment toward situation of Indonesian domestic. So, creating stability, safe, peace, harmonist a region is very important and all of them become basis of national development of Indonesia. Moreover, Indonesia put ASEAN as main environment from its foreign policy where Indonesia has played the importance role in ASEAN development. That role can see from the Indonesia's role in determining direction of ASEAN development.

As the conclusion to answer the main question of this paper, there are main concerns that Indonesia gives as contribution for supporting and promoting process of implementing the Road Map of ASEAN Security Community 2015. The main concern itself is that Indonesia has recognized by another countries as a country that successfully led and provide facilitates the formulating process of APSC of Plan of Action as mandate in ASEAN Summit-IX.

“Indonesia cannot be drifted by block which brings national interest. So, Indonesia needs a real concept to protect region from blocks with applying security cooperation among ASEAN member states.”

The success put back Indonesia in instrumental position in ASEAN and also become additional values for Indonesia toward state outside Southeast Asia region. Indonesia has the important goals which want to achieve in supporting ASEAN, they are to create safe and peace region in Southeast Asia. So, Indonesia’s diplomacy in that region must be settled to achieve that goal. This diplomacy is needed by Indonesia to develop mutual trust-building and create peace in ASEAN. In other view, Indonesia put ASEAN as a primary foreign policy which played an important role in ASEAN Security community development. 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 representative council, Theo Sambuagadi, in Tokyo, Tuesday, December 11, 2007. He said:⁶⁹

“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

⁶⁹ 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//>

map of the ASEAN Political and Security Community 2015, so Indonesia certainly was given contribution as one of ASEAN member states”.

In addition, Indonesia continued to push for the formation of the APSC concept during 2004, and the APSC concept itself was discussed in many ASEAN meetings. In the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC) which held in Bangkok on January 8th, 1967, ASEAN member countries agreed to give shape to the APSC concept to solve transnational crimes such as terrorism, drug trafficking and human trafficking.⁷⁰

- 2) Indonesia successfully submitted some proposal in establishing a draft plan of ASC

In high-level ASEAN official meeting, Indonesia submitted a draft plan of APSC in the form of over seventy proposals which had a fixed time frame. The proposals included of the democracy, the protection of human rights, commitment to regular elections, free of information, and the establishment of open, tolerant, and transparent societies.⁷¹ Besides them, the proposal also included of the establishment of an ASEAN peacekeeping force on 2012 and the establishment on 2010

⁷⁰ Straits Times, “Joint Communiqué of the Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC),” (Accessed on August 21th, 2013); Available <http://www.Aseansec.org/>

⁷¹ Jakarta Post, 21, 26 February 2004, Barry Wain, “ASEAN – Jakarta Jilted: Indonesia’s neighbors are not very supportive of its vision of a regional security community,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 June 2004.

of an ASEAN peacekeeping center to train this force on 2010. Another proposal put goals to create a network to link outside to plan peacekeeping centers in ASEAN countries. The proposals stipulated that ASEAN peace-keeping force would collaborate closely with the United Nations and would not only respond to emergency situations within the region, but would also do action outside the region with the agreement of countries who accepted this proposal.⁷²

The background of Indonesian's proposal in term of an ASEAN peacekeeping force as part of the APSC concept can be seen in the momentum of East Timor freedom in 1999. At the time, Australia intervened on this conflict, so Indonesia felt that ASEAN, including Indonesia itself, is not yet able to deal effectively the agreement of non-intervened for another country in term of internal problem. In UN-ASEAN Conference-IV which held in Jakarta on February 24-25th, 2004, ex-Indonesian Foreign Minister, Hassan Wirajuda, said:

"Indonesia gives the successfully to solve great number of security problems that ASEAN faced. Indonesia also was an urgent need for ASEAN members to strengthen their own mechanisms for conflict resolution. The most conflict in the world currently is not only conflict

⁷² Barry Wain, "Regional Security – ASEAN Apathy: Indonesia proposes a regional peacekeeping force, but neighbors show little interest," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 May 2004.

and agreed by ten ASEAN member countries when High Level Conference-XXI, which held in Phom Penh, November 18-19th, 2012.

- 5) Indonesia promotes and leads the democracy system as part of applying APSC Blueprint

In political and security aspect, after reformation, Indonesia became the head of state who settled democracy in national life. The successfully Indonesia in establish democratic government made Indonesia as the forth democratic country in the world. As we know that democracy is one of necessary to create stability in a region. Democracy is needed because it put people in the highest level so it will grow mutual respecting each other and crate peace in this life.

- 6) Indonesia was the first country in ASEAN who proposed and promoted the formation of human right commission.

The efforts of ASEAN member countries in resolving human rights violations has different intensitively. Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines can be called as democratization and good promotion of developing human rights in the region. While their neighboring countries are still hampered by several issues of human rights violations, such as 1) authoritarian regime of Myanmar junta that put pro democracy by Myanmar leader Aung San Suu Kyi, discrimination against minorities ethnic, military dominance in the bureaucracy, and some other violation, 2) fragile Democratization which related with human rights abuse, crimes

and corruption in Cambodia, 3) implementation of the ISA (Internal Security Act) that put the political opposition, which included of some tensions of racial discrimination, influence of radical Islam, and the issue of the application of Western-style democracy in Malaysia, 4) violence and discrimination issues toward Montagnards (mountain people ethnicity) in the form of the removal of indigenous tradition and native religion in Vietnam and many other human rights violations in Singapore, Laos, and Brunei where each other have different intensities.⁷³

The establishing of ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) is a new breakthrough of ASEAN in responding to various international issues which related of human rights violations in Southeast Asia. AICHR also became concrete evidence of ASEAN activities in supporting global democratization towards societies. AICHR created as human rights institution in ASEAN which focused on the responsibility for the promoting and protecting human rights in ASEAN.⁷⁴ As continuing the implementation of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD), Indonesia established firstly commission of human right in Southeast Asia. Indonesia's goals in forming a commission of human right is to promote and support the importance of implementing human right protection. Indonesia hoped with the existence

⁷³ Bambang Sucipto, *Hubungan Internasional di Asia Tenggara: Teropong Terhadap Dinamika, Realitas dan Masa Depan*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007), page 56.

⁷⁴ ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2009), 30-31.

of AICHR, Indonesia can solve human right issues in ASEAN especially indonesia.

7) Indonesia active to lead in term conflict in Southeast Asia conflict

In term of conflict resolution, Indonesia also played active to solve some conflict in the Southeast Asia region such as the conflict between Thailand and Cambodia where Indonesia played role as third party to make peace both country. And then, Indonesia also played role in Myanmar issue where Indonesia support Myanmar to be democracy country and solved the problem which used spirit enhanced interaction. In addition, Indonesia also joined in making code of conduct to solve border issue in South China Sea.

8) Indonesia successes leads to promote and provide place for Bali Democracy Forum

Bali Democracy Forum is product of indonesia to promote democracy process in the world specially in Southeast Asia. In 2009, Indonesia pioneered the establishment of the Institute for Peace and Democracy. This Institute is first which established in Southeast Asia. In this regard, Indonesia successfully held six times this forum and many countries participated in supporting this forum. This forum is good idea for the development and the future of democracy in Asia. This forum is not designed to debate democratic system which one is the best, or to find a standard definition of democracy. As we known, there is no perfect

democracy in the world. Democracy in anywhere, and whatever its type is a process that continues dynamically and never finished. The main purpose of Bali Democracy Forum is to establish dialogue and regional and international cooperation in the field of democracy. Indonesia's goal in establishing this forum also is to learn from experiences of each participant countries in implementing democracy. And in Asia itself, actually is rich with these experiences about democracy.

And the last, to support the implantation of road map of APSC 2015, Indonesia successes to provide place for ASEAN Summit and AMM. Some ASEAN Summit which was ever held in Indonesia is:

- ASEAN Summit-1, held in Bali, February 23-24, 1967, which discussed Treaty of Amity Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) and Declaration of ASEAN Concord which reflects confirmation toward Bandung principles, Bangkok Declaration, ZOPFAN Declaration and UN's Charter.
- ASEAN Summit-9 was held in Bali, October 7-8th, 2003, which produce Bali Concord II about ASEAN integration in economy, social and security aspect.
- Extraordinary ASEAN Summit was held in Jakarta at January 6th, 2005, discussed to find solution for handling tsunami and quake which surge Southeast Asia and South Asia region, they are Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Maladewa, India, Myanmar and Sri Langka.

- ASEAN Summit-18 was held in Jakarta on Mei 7-8, 2011 which produce determination about ASEAN connectively and about food and energy resistance.
- ASEAN Summit-19 was held in Bali, Indonesia on November 14-19th, which agreed the draft of Bali Concord III or Bali Declaration on the ASEAN Community in a Global Community of Nation.

Contributions which already explained above are an Indonesia's strategy to achieve the goals in implementing APSC road map. These strategies put Indonesia to lead the formulating process of Plan of Action draft as part of Indonesia's action. In term of APSC, Indonesia success enough to lead formulating process of APSC Plan of Action as mandated by the ASEAN Summit-IX in Bali. The indication is Indonesia as the pioneer of formating APSC Concept, Indonesia successfully submitted some proposal in formating a draf plan of APSC such as establishing democracy forum, human rights commission, commitment to regular elections, the free information, and the creation of open, tolerant, and transparent societies.