

The Challenges of Indonesian Foreign and Security Policies towards the emergence of Asean Security Community (ASC)

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ABSTRACT

ASEAN has grown and developed into an established model of regional cooperation after the European Union. Ironically, this only lasted until 1997, because since the 1998 economic crisis hit various countries, ASEAN began to show its weaknesses. Internal conflicts in member countries occur, thus requiring efforts to consolidate and reinvigorate regional cooperation which will further ensure the return of joint commitments after more than decades.

On the other hand, when referring to the official ASEAN document in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), adopted from the 9th ASEAN Summit in October 2003, Indonesia, which first proposed the ASC (ASEAN Security Community) concept, has presented a concept paper entitled "Towards ASEAN Security Community", which places a strong emphasis on democracy and the human rights agenda which are the two main substances in the construction of the ASEAN Security Community.

There are two types of challenges that are still being faced by ASEAN member countries. The first is traditional challenges such as border disputes, and the second is non-traditional challenges that are transnational in nature, such as terrorism, human rights and democracy enforcement, narcotics, piracy, human trafficking, money laundering, illegal logging and natural disasters. Based on this background, the formulation of the problem in this research is on how is Indonesia's foreign policy and security policy implementation in the process of transforming the ASEAN Security Community format into an ASEAN Political Security and Community (APSC). This research focused on the challenges of the implementation of Indonesian foreign and security policies towards the process of the transformation period.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

After the end of the Cold War, international relations have had a new perspective in addressing security threats. In the Southeast Asian region, ASEAN is one of the regional organizations that strives to maintain peace and stability in order to achieve prosperity for the community through efforts to establish an ASEAN Community with three pillars, one of which is the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC).

ASEAN sees the importance of strengthening cooperation to respond to the phenomenon of shifting concepts and facts of security as a way to maintain the stability of relations between countries in the region. Moreover, the Southeast Asia Region has dynamics and potential for inter-state and intra-state conflicts marked by a number of civil wars and separatism. The ASEAN Code of Conduct, which has been an instrument for conflict resolution, has become ineffective in dealing with the swift dynamics of change in the security environment both within the region and outside the region.

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The increasing political and security instability in the Southeast Asian region between 1998 and 2004, for example, has proven that ASEAN is not really an efficient regional organization. The perception of threats to ASEAN regional stability is not only sourced from countries outside the region, nor is it solely military in nature which is part of the character of war between countries (traditional perceptions) [1]. In this regard, there are a number of changing trends, including among others:

1. The increasingly widespread acts of separatism in ASEAN member countries, including the separatist movement of armed groups in Papua who want to separate themselves from Indonesia.

2. Acts of local terrorism in recent years that have occurred in a number of ASEAN member countries. The issue of terrorism has become a concern for many countries after the 911 incident or the attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon. Currently, no country dares to say that it is free from the threat of all forms of terrorism.

3. Transnational crime (transnational crime). Southeast Asian security issues related to transnational crimes will be a big challenge for ASEAN's development in the future. This is because the crime itself is difficult to formulate, in fact it often appears as a new problem as a transnational issue. Several crime problems that threaten the security and stability of Southeast Asia such as illegal migration, drug trafficking, human trafficking and threats to the environment. The domestic toll of drug addiction is particularly worrying, as it leads to lost productivity, soaring healthcare costs, and the accelerated spread of AIDS through contaminated needles. Drug use is not only a social phenomenon, this situation has a broad impact on political issues and has implications for security aspects.

4. Border conflict disputes. Disputes over the Paracel and Spratly islands as well as maritime boundary disputes between countries on a bilateral basis, are one of the problems that are directly affected by inconsistent commitments and policy uncertainty of the countries involved in them. Uncertainty in the territorial boundaries between several countries in Southeast Asia makes variants and potential conflicts open.

2.0 Literature Review

To explain Indonesia's foreign policy and security policy in the transformation of the ASEAN Security Community (ASC) cooperation into the ASEAN Political Security and Community (APSC), it can be defined through various theories and concepts. First, the theory and concept of regionalism to explain how ASEAN's progress has been in regional and global politics, as well as how the dynamics and evolution of ASEAN's development into a regional organization; Second, the theory and concept of the regional security complex and the security community to explain the ASEAN Security Community (ASC) and ASEAN Political Security and Community (APSC); Third, foreign policy and security policy which will explain Indonesia's political and security policies in facing the transformation of the two concepts above.

2.1 Regionalism

Regionalism is a concept and link in international relations that is of great interest and is widely discussed by practitioners and academics of international relations. Practically, this concept is often used interchangeably with the concept of a region/region, sub-region/sub-region, or sub-system.

[2] argues that regionalism is a grouping of nation-states with the aim of forming a clear political unity, namely to establish order. Meanwhile, according to [3], regionalism is often analyzed in terms of the level of social cohesiveness (ethnicity, race, language, religion, culture, history, awareness of a common heritage); economic cohesiveness (trade patterns, economic complementarity); political cohesiveness (regime type, ideology); organizational cohesiveness (existence of regional institutions).

Region or region defined by [4] as a collection of countries or a number of countries that are interrelated and have an attachment because of geographical proximity and have a degree of interdependence that is mutually beneficial in its formation. Meanwhile, according to [5] reveals that regionalism arises because of various determining factors such as geographical proximity of the region, similarities or similarities in identity, and/or because of reciprocal relationships that arise from cooperation.

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Fawcett and Hurrell added that the word regionalism can also refer to the cooperation carried out by countries within the same region to achieve various goals. This cooperation serves to respond to challenges that come from outside the region and to position the region in international institutions. Apart from this, regionalism also functions as a forum for building and promoting shared values and resolving common problems that arise from the strong level of regional interdependence.

It must be admitted that after World War II the order of world relations underwent a significant change, when the characteristics and focus shifted, so that it was no longer solely on issues of conflict and security. Today, the world's attention is actually promoting economic cooperation such as trade, investment and industry by building trading blocks in various parts of the world.

After the end of World War II, the phenomena of globalization and regionalism have become an important subject in the study of International Relations. Even in the last decade, regionalism and regionalization have become special multi-disciplinary studies which include, among others, linking Regional Studies, Comparative Politics, International Economics, Geography, International Relations, Security Studies and International Political Economy [7]. According to Holsti, the process of cooperation can be seen from

how the state approaches to realize what will be initiated, in this case with regard to the problems that form and then form inter-state linkages followed by a series of negotiations, and end it with an agreement, agreement or the like which win-win solution.

This concept is used to help see the role and process that ASEAN does in responding to security issues that occur in Southeast Asia. Initially, the formation of ASEAN itself could be seen as a form of cooperative effort from countries in the Southeast Asian region in building progress in this region. Furthermore, ASEAN continues to grow by establishing the ASEAN Community and the ASEAN Charter. The agreements formulated by ASEAN such as the establishment of the TAC, ARF, and others are products of regionalism formed in the Southeast Asian region.

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In line with the end of the cold war, the contestation between the existing thought groups led to four basic questions related to the security formulation. According to [9] the four basic questions about the security concept include: What is security? (What is security?), Whose security are we talking about? (Whose security?), What counts as a security issue? (What things can be considered as security issues?) and the last one is: How can security be achieved? (How can security be achieved?).

Thus, through Murtimer's four basic questions, the first two groups of security studies emerged, namely the Toronto School and Aberystwyth (Welsh) School which are often known as critical security studies approaches. The Toronto School was pioneered by [10], while the Aberystwyth (Welsh) School was represented by the thoughts of [11] and [12]. Meanwhile, Copenhagen School can be explained through the thoughts of [13]. [14] Conducted a study on the synthesis of the development of the three concepts of security studies with an emphasis on human security as a core concept of security emancipation.

In the study of International Relations and international politics, security is an important concept that is always used and seen as a constant exclusive feature of international relations [15]. Meanwhile, power is the ability of a political unit (state) to prevent conflict and overcome obstacles [16]. This implicitly concludes about the existence of a security factor as an element that drives efforts to achieve power itself.

From this description, it appears that security studies is one of the main branches in International Relations which often in security studies presents "Constructivist Thinking" in codifying narratives to read security practices in the international system [17]. ; [18]. The emergence of social constructivism as an approach widely used in international security studies resulted in a consequence of the debate in international relations studies in the early 1990s between those who supported rationalists and those who supported reflectivists [18]

2.2. Foreign Policy and Security Policy

2.2.1. Foreign policy

According to [19] the notion of foreign policy is a set of formulas for values, attitudes, directions and targets to maintain, secure and advance national interests in the international arena. In addition, more specifically, foreign policy is designed to protect national interests, national security, ideological goals and the prosperity or welfare of a country. One way to understand the concept of foreign policy is to separate the two words into 'politics' and 'foreign'. Practically, the study of foreign policy will always be placed at a crossroads between the domestic or internal policy aspects of a country and the external aspects of a country.

Meanwhile, according to James Rosenau in 'World Politics: An Introduction' [20], the definition of foreign policy is the overall effort of a country's attitudes and activities to obtain maximum benefits from its external environment or relations. Furthermore, according to Rosenau, there are steps in making foreign policy as follows: first, to define the national interest in specific goals and objectives; second, determining situational factors internally and externally within the framework of foreign policy objectives; third, analysis of domestic capabilities to achieve the desired results; fourth, develop plans and strategies to use domestic capabilities; fifth, carry out the necessary actions, and; sixth, conducting a review and evaluation of the implementation and progress achieved.

In the book entitled 'Foreign Policy in Transformed World' by Mark Weber and Michael Smith, foreign policy is defined as a whole component consisting of efforts and the achievement of goals, a set of values and decisions made and actions by the state with the government as a representation. in the context of external and international relations. Meanwhile, according to Kautilya, foreign policy is understood as the actions of every nation in the political, economic and military spheres in accordance with its interests to optimize its strengths and interests which often ignore the principles of morality and obligations in relation to other nations. Kautilya further divides foreign policy into six types, namely: sandhi (accommodation), vighraha (offensive/war), asana (neutrality), dvaidhibava (ambiguity in policy/pragmatism), samsarya (seeking help and protection), and yana (use of coercive means). In a modern sense, George Modelski introduced the definition of foreign policy as a series of activities developed by communities with the aim of changing the behavior and actions of other countries and to adapt their activities to the international environment.

3.0 Research Methodology

The research design in this paper uses qualitative research with the object of research on foreign policy and security policy of the Republic of Indonesia through ASEAN cooperation in order to improve regional stability and security. The qualitative research used in this study is related to Indonesia's foreign policy in enhancing security cooperation in the ASEAN region through strengthening political and security cooperation (ASEAN Political Security and Community (APSC)).

The use of qualitative research in this case aims to understand or study the systems and processes that occur and take place within the ASEAN Security Community (ASC) which adheres to the principle of comprehensive security which recognizes the interrelationships between political, economic, social and cultural aspects in line with the ASEAN Vision. 2020. From qualitative research that departs from understanding in studying systems and processes that occur/take place within a certain period of time, this research studies the dynamics of Indonesia's foreign policy and security policy in changing

the format of cooperation and transformation of the ASEAN Security Community (ASC).) became the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC).

3.1 Unit of Analysis

To obtain primary data in qualitative research, the selected informants are divided into two parts, namely the main informants and supporting informants, who are selected purposively based on their activities and background experience, so that it is in line with the aims and objectives of this study. In this study, the informants are as follows:

1. Director of Political and Security Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia;
2. Staff of the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Polhukam) RI;
3. Dr. Rizal Sukma (CSIS International Relations expert and former Indonesian Ambassador to the UK);
4. Prof. (Ris.) Dr. Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (expert in Defense Studies and International Relations and former Indonesian Ambassador to Tunisia);
5. Prof. (Ris.) Dr. Indria Samego (expert in Political Economy and Security Studies).

During the research, the author collects documents relevant to the object of research, both those obtained from open sources such as general mass media (newspapers, magazines, books/literature, office reports, and websites) and closed sources from certain institutions.

3.2. Data Collection Techniques and Research Instruments

Data collection techniques in this study include library research, documentation research, and interview techniques. Library research is carried out in relation to various kinds of data relevant to the study of foreign policy issues and regional security studies. This data is in the form of written variants as well as electronic written sources such as books, e-books, scientific journals, e-journals and sources from periodicals such as magazines, e-magazines, newspapers. , e-news, here are various websites regarding all activities or analyzes regarding Indonesia's foreign policy and security policy through ASEAN political and security cooperation

4.0 Conclusion

Security Policy

The issue of national security is a basic need to protect and safeguard the national interest of a nation that is a state by using political, economic and military power to deal with various kinds both coming from outside and from within the country. National security can also be interpreted as the need to maintain and maintain the existence of the state through economic, military and political strength as well as the development of diplomacy.

This concept emphasizes the government's ability to protect the territorial integrity of the country from threats that come from outside and from within the country. Some important steps in the implementation of national security include the use of diplomacy to mobilize allies and isolate threats, effective arrangement of the armed forces, implementation of the concept of civil defense and preparedness in dealing with emergency situations, for which each country prepares national security policies.

National security policy is guaranteed by economic policy, military policy and diplomatic policy. Military policy is the most important component of national security policy with security considerations in the defense sector implying the ability of a nation to

defend itself and/or deter military aggression. The military security and defense sector also implies the ability of a nation to enforce its policy choices through the use of military force.

Military power and the defense sector include all aspects of state tools and resources in a country that can be used immediately for war purposes. The assessment of military strength is based on a number of indicators of military strength, namely personnel strength, air power, sea power, land power, logistical strength, natural resources, geographical strength, and financial. Each indicator has several sub-indicators that will form the core strength of the battle (firepower). Military and defense strategies will later combine all of these elements to become a force to support political attitudes, including if it is decided to declare war with other countries.

Prussian war strategist, Karl Maria von Clausewitz in his book 'On War' [21] states that defense planning with the aim of creating peace, must be carried out with readiness to face war. According to Clausewitz, planning for war and its readiness is a form of readiness to create peace (Defence planning in hope of peace, although inevitably in readiness for war). So far, discussions on defense planning have often focused on crisis situations and ignored peaceful or normal situations. Whereas, in normal situations, defense planning is also necessary. In normal situations, the state has a policy that becomes a reference in policy. This is because there are several opinions that place the political context as the top pillar in the discussion of defense planning. They consider the issue of defense planning very closely related to the political context of a country.

Thus, security analysis requires a perspective that places the state and the system into a mutually beneficial reciprocal relationship in which the state is partly formed by itself and partly formed by an environment of anarchy and rivalry between states. The domestic environment and international dynamics are both the most important things for security analysis because of the complex relationship between them[22]. The main foundation in this approach is a security lens which can be interpreted as the exercise of freedom from certain threats or the ability of a country and its people to maintain their independence identity and functional integrity against certain forces that they consider hostile (hostile) [23].

Although there are three levels of security in the problems of human life, namely: individual security, national security, and regional and international security, basically the core concept of the three levels is national security. This is because the state is the central point that dominates the regulation of relations and security conditions between the other two levels. People may become victims of war, or objects of war but also play an important role as part of the defense component in dealing with enemies of other countries. The government in addition to protecting the people from enemy threats, also often acts in an authoritarian way which in turn can become a threat to society; as well as the threat of the state from the enemies of other countries.

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