INDONESIA'S READINESS AND CHALLENGE IN IMPLEMENTING ASEAN COMMUNITY PROJECT;
ANALYZING OF POLITICS AND SECURITY ASPECTS

Laode Machdani Afala, S.IP, MA[1], Restu Karlina Rahayu, S.IP, M.Si[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explain Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing the ASEAN Community Project. ASEAN Community has been running for more than one year, since 2015. ASEAN Community as part of the regionalization process is intended as a way to enhance cooperation and unity among ASEAN countries. However, the process requires the readiness of a country in various aspects, one of which is the security and political conditions of a country. Using a political security approach, this paper seeks to address Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing this ASEAN Community. Based on the findings, this paper concludes two points; Firstly, Indonesia is facing many challenges both internally and externally, especially in an effort to give the protection and guaranty at the level of individuals associated with human rights issues. Some challenges can be seen from the increasing restricted civil liberties, intolerance action, and the use of threat of some groups in many areas. Secondly, as the first consequence, Indonesia's political and security situation is internally unstable in which causes a divided society and a stagnant democracy. This condition implicitly describes the condition of Indonesia's readiness and challenges in implementing the ASEAN Community project.

Keywords: Political and Security, Democracy, Readiness, Challenge, ASEAN Community

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to know more deeply the readiness and challenges being faced by the state of Indonesia in its efforts to engage in the phase of ASEAN Community development from 2015 to 2017, particularly in the political and security aspects. ASEAN Community is a major project initiated by ASEAN countries to enhance cooperation and unity as one region. In the grand design of the ASEAN political and security community of 2025, the creation of stable and peaceful political conditions is one of the important agenda of the ASEAN Community. This is in response to the increasing number of threats to human security both internally and externally of a country, so that those prompt

[1] **Brawijaya University, Malang**, Indonesia.
[2] **Brawijaya University, Malang**, Indonesia Corresponding author.
Tel.: 081343995515/08156161601 | E-mail address: laode.machdani@gmail.com & restukarlina@gmail.com.

ASEAN countries to take steps to provide the prevention and protection towards human security.

The idea of ASEAN Community has been implemented since the end of December 2015. It was originally pioneered since 2003 while an Asia Pacific conference meeting held in Bali. The meeting resulted in an agreement known as Concord II, which was followed by next meetings in Cebu, the Philippines in 2007, and the last meeting in Singapore in the same year. At the last meeting, ASEAN members agreed to accelerate the development plan of ASEAN Community in December 2015. There have three main pillars in ASEAN Community, namely the political and security pillar, economic pillar, and social and cultural pillar as the main form of cooperation among ASEAN countries. Based on the vision of ASEAN Community 2025, the aim is to create an integrated, peaceful, and stable society with equal well-being.

In the effort to achieve the vision, especially in political and security aspect, each ASEAN country is being faced with a number of problems both internally and externally. Some problems faced by each ASEAN country in regionalization of ASEAN Community are like; firstly, each country has a different political and security situation. It will certainly affect the role of a State in the effort of the ASEAN Community development. Secondly, the process of integrated ASEAN region have an impact on the increasing of human mobility. This indirectly contributes to the security and political stability of a State. Based on UNHCR data beginning 2017, there have currently 14,425 thousand immigrants with 8,039 thousand refugees and 6,386 asylum seekers who came in Indonesia. They come from Myanmar, Afghanistan and Syria. The amount is certainly different from the number of other visiting that come into Indonesia. Meanwhile, in BPS data, until December 2016, the number of foreign tourists visiting Indonesia reached 1.11 million people. Indeed, the human mobility will certainly affect human security in a country.

Thirdly, the principle of non-intervention applied among ASEAN countries, indirectly also affects the inhibition of the ASEAN integration process as an integrated region both in political-security, economic, and socio-cultural aspects (Lee Jones, 2012). In that case, Chin (2007: 397) mentions that ASEAN political and security community is an operational mode or a softer approach to the agreement of non-intervention between ASEAN countries. A number of security problems that have occurred in some ASEAN countries such as the conflict between Islam and Buddhist groups in Myanmar and the uprising in the Philippines are hampered by the non-intervention principles. On the other

hand, those problems can also be considered as a failure of ASEAN in creating a peaceful and harmonious society.

In general, the studies of security issues and political stability in the process of regionalization has been undertaken by Karl Deutsch (1957) and Amitav Acharya (2001). Deutsch introduced the term of security community concept followed by Acharya in discussing the security issues of the region. The security community is defined as a community group integrated into a common community where joint problems can be resolved through the path of peaceful change. In security community concepts, the presence of an integrated region like ASEAN will always be in a dilemma security situation between the national interest and the interests of the region. Acharya (2001: 453), more explicitly explains that the issue of regional security cannot be separated from the problems of national security (national interest) and human security.

Thus, ASEAN regional integration efforts will certainly be influenced by the internal security and political conditions of a country. The more unstable the condition of political and security of a country is, the worse the readiness of a country in development of ASEAN Community is. In the context of the State of Indonesia, the security and political issues are in an alarming situation. A number of issues such as conflict and violence between groups and those involving the state has colored the current history and politics of Indonesia in recent time (see Herbert Feith & Lance Castles, 1988; Gerry van Klinken, 2007; Cornelis Lay, 2009). On the basis of this, this study attempts to examine more deeply how the readiness of the Indonesian state in the security and political sector is in the process of regionalization of ASEAN.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

In analysis, this study uses a political security approach. This approach is part of the concept of human security concept developed by Unite Nation through the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) in respond to the security issues being faced by modern humans. The concept of human security was also introduced by Amitav Acharya (2001) who studies security not only as part of the protection of sovereignty and military threats, but also the agenda of promoting collective human security agenda in various sectors such as economy, food, health, environment and others. According to him, the concept of human security is presented as a means of reducing the cost of violent conflict, as a strategy for the government to solve basic human needs problems and the inequalities of globalization, and as a framework to provide social security networks to
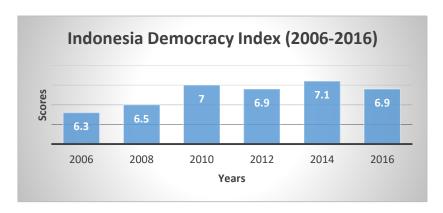
marginalized and impoverished societies (Acharya, 2001: 443). In general, this human security concept is a people-centered and multi-sector concept. This concept seeks basically to understand conditions that threaten human survival, livelihood, and dignity.

Through the use of a political security approach, this study focuses only on tracing on the protection of human rights, protection against civil of liberty, and protection against political repression and violence against human rights. The aim is to know Indonesia's state of readiness and challenge in the implementation phase of ASEAN Community (2015-2017) in politics and security aspects.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Protection of Human Rights

Currently, Indonesia is one of the democracy countries in ASEAN. Since the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, under the leadership of Suharto, Indonesia entered a new political change from an authoritarian state to a democracy. This era marks various changes and political dynamics. The amendment of the 1945 constitution accompanied by the emergence of democratic and decentralization policies in the political aspect has pushed the Indonesian state into a democratic country. The condition has opened the course of human rights issues as an important agenda in the transition of Indonesian political change. Nevertheless, despite many changes in various sectors, the political and human rights conditions remain problematic. The following data is published by BTI (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index) on the condition of Indonesian democracy and human rights.

Source: adapted from BTI report

In the 2010-2016 range, based on the Indonesia Democracy Index (2016) published by the BTI Democracy Index, Indonesia is in the status of defective democracy. It is showed by the score that slowly declined from 7 in 2010 to 6.9 in 2016, even in 2014 its status increased in 7.1. Compared with other ASEAN members such as Singapore, Philippines, and Thailand, Indonesia is more democratic than others. In general, the index implicitly indicates that within the range of ASEAN Community Implementation (2015-2016), Indonesian democracy declined slowly by -0.1. The index uses several indicators such as stateness, political participation, the rule of law, the stability of democratic institutions, and political and social integration. Those indicators explain that the capacity of the state in political development, especially political and security aspects is weak. Those data are also confirmed by BPS on IDI (Indonesian Democracy Index) released on September 2017, which stated that Indonesia's democracy index has decreased in the last two years in 2015 and 2016. IDI score in 2014 was 73.04, in 2015 decreased to 72.82, and continued to decline in 2016 to 70.09.

In the Setara Institute report on the Human Rights Index (2010-2016), Indonesia's human rights index increased significantly from 2.21 to 2.83. In 2015-2016 in which the ASEAN Community was implemented, the index increased significantly from 2.45 to 2.83. The index showed an increase, but some human rights issues related to religious freedom, showing a steady decline. It is caused by intolerance actions, radical and fundamental movements, identity politics, terrorism, and massive discrimination in some parts of Indonesia. Overall, in protection of human rights Indonesia is facing some threats that are conducted by group and State. Based on Setara Institute and Kontras reports 2016, Indonesia State still has minim role in solving a number of human rights cases such as massacres case of 1965-1966 (see Human Rights Watch Report 2017) and in providing protection and guaranty of human rights for minority groups.

3.2 Protection from State Repression, Military Dictatorships and Abuse

In connection with the protection of military dictatorship and political repression, such indications are indicated in several cases, such as when Probowo Subianto proposed to reintroduce a pre-democratic constitution in the 2014 presidential election. He managed to collect about 47% of votes potentially indicating the vulnerability of democracy. Probowo Subianto was a presidential candidate with a military background and he was suspected in involving in a number of cases related to human rights abuses. Besides, appointing Wiranto, indicted as a crime against humanity by an UN-backed

tribunal, by Jokowi in July 2016 as security minister indicated weak commitment of the State to human rights (see Human Rights Watch Report 2017).

Furthermore, in the end of 2016, there was treason case of anti-Jokowi activists such as Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Ratna Sarumpeat, Ahmad Dhani, and others. They were suspected of mass profiling and rebellion against the government. The arrest of those activists indicates the existence of repression by the state. In the same time, it shows unstable politics and security conditions. Another case was about the issuance of law (Perppu) no. 2/2017 on mass organizations. The enactment of the law is regarded as another indication of state repression. It is because the presence of the law has had an impact on the disbanding of one of the non-formal organizations like HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia). The case is contrary to the right of freedom of expression. In addition, the Law (Perppu) leads to state authoritarianism because the decision of disband of organizations deemed to be in conflict with Pancasila or the state is determined by the government as the executive.

3.3 Protection of Civil Liberty

Another characteristic of this political security approach is related to the protection of civil freedom. Based on the Indonesian Democracy Index published by BPS in September 2017, the civil liberty such as freedom of assembly and association, freedom of expression, freedom of belief, freedom and discrimination, decreased significantly in the last two years (2015 and 2016). There are two indicators of the cause, namely: firstly, the threat or use of violence by government officials that impedes freedom of assembly and association. Secondly, the threat or use of violence by the people that hampers freedom of assembly and association (Kompas, 15/9/2017).

The weakening of the aspect was also reinforced by data from the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFEnet) until September 2017 with the arrest of six activists who were convicted using the Electronic Information and Transaction Act. By 2016, the number of people arrested is 10 people and in range, from 2013 to 2015 there were 17 activists who were convicted by government (Kompas, 18/9/2017). The case shows a criminalization of activists and other parties who have different opinions with the government. It became a symbol of the decline in the quality of Indonesian democracy. Additionally, the discrimination of a number of religious groups against other religious groups and persecution case has also contributed to the decline in civil liberty. The prominent case in persecution was in Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (former Jakarta Governor) in Blasphemy case. Based on SAFEnet Report in June 2017, there had been

66 cases of persecution. All the cases show some problems in protection of civil liberty in Indonesia.

3.4 Reflection; Indonesia in ASEAN

Basically, Indonesia has been a member of ASEAN for 5 decades. Indonesia is the pioneer of the establishment of ASEAN with Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand which resulted in the ASEAN declaration on August 8, 1967. At the age of 5 decades ASEAN, Indonesia should have become a successful and stable country in preparation especially in the effort to build ASEAN Community. The idea of ASEAN Community is, in essence, a continuation of the initial idea of ASEAN pioneering. In other words, Indonesia's readiness in creating a harmonious, peaceful society and the creation of a stable internal political condition through membership in ASEAN should be mature.

4 CONCLUSION

From the existing political and security conditions, Indonesia is basically not quite ready to participate and implement the ASEAN Community. However, if we compare with other ASEAN members such as Singapore, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia is still better than those countries. This is due to the unstable political situation and the increasing threat of security to people. Some of these problems are threats to civil liberties, threats to human rights, and the state repression and abuse. It can also be showed by Indonesia's democratic status that has been experiencing weakness and decline throughout the years of 2015 till 2017. All political and security cases, indeed, influence the readiness and challenges of Indonesia in implementing ASEAN Community.

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