

ROAD TO INDONESIA ASEAN CHAIRMANSHIP 2023: INDONESIA FOREIGN POLICY PATTERN IN ASEAN

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ABSTRACT

After Indonesia became the chairperson of the G20 forum in 2022, Indonesia took another turn as chairman of the ASEAN forum in 2023. This momentum is necessary since 2023 is a political year in Indonesia, where Jokowi will enter the edge of his term in 2024. This research aims to identifying the low hanging fruits, in the context of Indonesia Chairmanship in ASEAN 2023, Rational Choice Theory will be used to answer the policy outcome that Indonesia used to influence national interest through the ASEAN. The vital Indonesian position of ASEAN might be divided into four phases. The first was during the founding of ASEAN itself, which resulted from the Bangkok declaration in 1967, and Indonesia's first chairmanship of ASEAN in 1976. The second was in 2003 when Indonesia had just shifted to democracy, the third was when Indonesia finally became a fully adopted democracy in 2011. Finally, In the current situation, many scholars believe ASEAN is at its lowest point in the last decade. Indonesia may use this momentum to restore ASEAN's position to become a regional organization that is considered not only in Asia but also at the global level, as mentioned in Bali Concord. This article aims primarily to identify the pattern of Indonesia's foreign policy through ASEAN and give suggestions for the foreign policy that may be in line with Indonesia's current national interest and leave legacy marks for Jokowi during Indonesia's Chairmanship of ASEAN. The result is Indonesia should Acknowledge the Myanmar Crisis, to secure its 2023 Chairmanship in ASEAN which will impact to 2024 General Elections.

INTRODUCTION

Association of South-East Asian Nations (Hereafter: ASEAN) as the organization nowadays many scholars believe ASEAN is at its lowest point

compared to last two decades, say His Excellency Dr. Hassan Wirajuda, Minister of Foreign Affairs 2001-2009. During the public forum hosted by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

and Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Centre for International Studies on 29 September 2022 at The Westin Hotel Jakarta. His Excellency mentioned that we could not compare ASEAN with other regional organizations such as European Union (EU) because these two organizations are different in many aspects. Like the issue of Brexit that was a famous couple of years back, but in ASEAN, no one was interested in leaving the organization. His Excellency stressed that the Chair (Indonesia) should lead the organization by revisiting the Bali Concord document that delivers the three pillars of ASEAN and other documents that are still relevant for the current situation.

The next Indonesia Chairmanship of ASEAN in 2023 coincides with the political year of Indonesia since 2024 was the election year for Indonesia. It was also the final term of Joko Widodo's (Hereafter: Jokowi). Undoubtedly, Jokowi will put some legacy under his presidency, both domestically and internationally. Indonesia Chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 is a momentum of Jokowi for leaving some legacy Internationally after the succession of G20 Indonesia precedence in 2022. The last two presidents, Megawati Soekarno Putri, left marks on Bali Concord II, followed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Hereafter: SBY) with Bali Concord III.

This article has divided the Indonesian foreign policy pattern into four primary timelines of leadership. First is the foreign policy under Soeharto, which we describe as the foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy foundation for ASEAN. Second is the transition of domestic politics into a democracy under Megawati Soekarno Putri, which resulted in Bali Concord II and a

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Soeharto and The Founding of ASEAN 1967

In the beginning, ASEAN is not the first regional organization in Southeast Asia. We found SEATO (the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization) to combat communism in Southeast Asia. Still, only two members from

glimpse of the ASEAN three pillars. Third, when Indonesia was under SBY when Bali Concord III was signed, that clearly defined three ASEAN Pillars. Finally, this article will classify the challenges which may appear when Indonesia became chair under the Jokowi period. In the final section, the research question may appear: Is it Jokowi as the successor of SBY and Megawati will initiate the next Bali Concord to preserve the status quo? Alternatively, he chooses to put a new policy for his legacy. Which option is the best for Indonesia's interest in the ASEAN Chairmanship 2023?

METHOD

This article employs Indonesia's outlook on its foreign policy outcome through ASEAN. Rational Choice Theory will be used to answer the policy outcome that Indonesia used to influence national interest through the ASEAN. The main objective of rational choice theory is that when facing all possible options, people may choose the best option, probably resulting in the best outcome. (Elster, 1989, p. 22) Rational choice has evolved in several variations. According to Mancur Olson, individuals with their interests rarely take action to defend the collective welfare. (Olson, 1965)

In analyzing the research problem, this research uses the qualitative method. A qualitative methodology is a generic name for calling various technic, such as observation, participant observation, intensive individual interview, and focus group discussion interview, that are eager to understand of experience of key informant practice to put them in the discussion context. (Lareau, 1996).

Southeast Asia, Thailand, and the Philippines, were among eight members. SEATO then failed. At the beginning of 1961 Malaya Federation founded the cultural and economic called Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), which aims to push economic and cultural cooperation. Malaya, as the initiator, wants to invite other Southeast Asian countries, but no one is interested.

ASA is not growing due to the dispute amongst its members when the Philippines claimed Sabah in 1962. (Suryadinata, 2019) When Soeharto took his seat as the President of the Republic of Indonesia in 1966, he aborted the confrontation with Malaysia. And he tries to prove to the west that he will decline Sukarno's aggressive behavior.(Suryadinata, 2019)

ASEAN was founded on 8 August 1967 by Foreign Ministers from five countries in Southeast Asia, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. The Declaration document was very brief, and it contains five articles. It declared the establishment of an Association for Regional Cooperation among the Countries of Southeast Asia to be known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It spelled out the aims and purposes of that Association. (ASEAN, The Founding of ASEAN, 2022)

From the beginning, the aims and purposes of the establishment of ASEAN are mentioned in the second article of the declaration which the narrations are:

Table 1. The Aims and Purpose of ASEAN Establishment

Section	Narrations	Purposes Classification
One	To accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South-East Asian Nations	Regional Cooperation
Two	To promote regional peace and stability	Security

Three	through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;	Regional Cooperation
Four	To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;	Education: Transfer knowledge
Five	To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade, including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the	Education: Agriculture, Economic, Infrastructure

	living standards of their peoples;	
Six	To promote South-East Asian Studies	Education: International Relations
Seven	To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves	International Cooperation

Source: The ASEAN Declaration. Bangkok, 8 August 1967 (ASEAN, asean.org, 2022)

The establishment of ASEAN is primarily to promote education and transfer knowledge. As in sections four to six, section five specifically mentioned, *“To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries...”* that in all five countries, their primary diet is rice and represented in the seal of ASEAN. Another section that could be interesting is section six, which narrated *“To promote South-East Asian Studies,”* Nowadays, we can easily find this South-East Asian study program at some reputable universities.

Regional cooperation is the second most common classification, as mentioned in sections one and three. Those two sections have a broad nuance covering economic, social and cultural, scientific, technical, and administrative fields. This broad nuance is identical to the current situation in the late '60s when most members are newly established nations.

The last classifications are security and international cooperation, which are mentioned in sections two and seven. Section two does not manifest the framework of security cooperation, just generic words about promoting regional

peace and stability referring to principles of the UN charter. Those generic narrations also appeared in section seven, not genuinely mentioning the real focus. Those generic and diplomatic words may represent that ASEAN is a neutral organization, which not take sides in the current global condition at that time, where the structure of the global hierarchy was divided by two powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The uncertain condition of the cold war between the United States, and the Soviet Union, also the war that still happened in the Indochina region, initiated the spirit of neutrality. On that note, five members of ASEAN had a meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, to secure ASEAN as a zone of peace, neutrality, and freedom from outside powers. This document is also known as Kuala Lumpur Declaration 1971. (ASEAN, icnl.org, 2022)

The Bali Concord

The Bali Concord is a series of official documents signed in Bali, Indonesia. Bali Concord I established the framework of ASEAN, which includes Political, Economic, Social, Cultural, and Information, also Security. This document also marks the necessary establishment of the ASEAN Secretariat. Meanwhile, the spirit of the declaration is analyzed down below.

Table 2. Bali Concord I Declaration

Declaration	Narrations	Purposes Classification
One	The stability of each member state and of the ASEAN region is an essential contribution to international peace and security. Each member state resolves to eliminate threats posed by subversion to its stability, thus strengthening national and	Security

Two	ASEAN resilience. Member states, individually and collectively, shall take active steps for the early establishment of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality.	Political		Six	complementarity of their respective economies. Member states, in the spirit of ASEAN solidarity, shall rely exclusively on peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences.	Political
Three	The elimination of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy is a primary concern of member states. They shall therefore intensify cooperation in economic and social development, with particular emphasis on the promotion of social justice and on the improvement of the living standards of their peoples.	Social & Cultural		Seven	Member states shall strive, individually and collectively, to create conditions conducive to the promotion of peaceful cooperation among the nations of Southeast Asia on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.	Political
Four	Natural disasters and other major calamities can retard the pace of development of member states. They shall extend, within their capabilities, assistance for relief of member states in distress.	Social & Cultural		Eight	Member states shall vigorously develop an awareness of regional identity and exert all efforts to create a strong ASEAN community, respected by all and respecting all nations on the basis of mutually advantageous relationships,	Political
Five	Member states shall take cooperative action in their national and regional development programmes, utilizing as far as possible the resources available in the ASEAN region to broaden the	Economic			and in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations.	

Source: The Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, Indonesia, 24 February 1976 (ASEAN, 2022)

The Bali Concord I Declaration's purposes classification is security, political, social, and economy. Meanwhile, the nuance of this declaration is mainly political, as mentioned in points two and six to eight. This declaration is signed a decade after the ASEAN establishment. It also reflects the global situation in which the Cold War still happened, although the Viet Nam war was just over.

In Bali Concord I, it was also emphasized that there is a pattern of continuity between the three main points in the agreement. Building economic integrity also requires the role of a secure political environment that can provide a strong foundation generated by economic cooperation, as well as political solidarity and security. The Bali Concord also emphasizes the importance of adhering to the principle of non-interference. The economic sectors relatively do not have a robust change since 1967, so the narrative is still generic. On the same occasion, it also discusses the Treaty of Amity Cooperation (TAC) which was signed on the same occasion, concerning guidelines of fundamental principles of mutual respect and non-interface. This document shall be ratified by each country interested in joining ASEAN or establishing connection and cooperation with ASEAN.

“Megawati” the transition to Democracy

The falling of Soeharto new order influencing Indonesia foreign policy to ASEAN. Narration of reform put the new chapter for Indonesia domestic politics, but in other hand those changed instability of domestic politics. Indonesia attention to ASEAN declining, until the period of Megawati presidentship. Hassan Wirajuda, is the architect behind Indonesia foreign policy under the Megawati era. He change the task force in ministry of foreign affairs into geographical order. He also creating the tailor made Directorate General for ASEAN. From this DG Indonesia initiative has formulated and delivered to ASEAN

meetings till today. Once Hassan Wirajuda said is it important to Indonesia to reflecting its democracy value in regional level. And finally those democracy value successfully listed at Bali Concord II. (Sinaga & Khanisa, 2019)

Meanwhile, the Bali Concord II, is the declaration document which all ASEAN Member State (AMS) signed to adopt The framework to achieve a dynamic, cohesive, resilient and integrated ASEAN Community, which divided by three division of communities, namely: ASEAN Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. It was done in Bali 7 October 2003.

Table 3. Bali Concord II Declaration

Declaration	Narrations	Purposes Classification
One	An ASEAN Community shall be established comprising three pillars, namely political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation that are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing for the purpose of ensuring durable peace, stability and shared prosperity in the region;	Political
Two	ASEAN shall continue its efforts to ensure closer and mutually beneficial integration among its member states and among	Security

Three	<p>their peoples, and to promote regional peace and stability, security, development and prosperity with a view to realizing an ASEAN Community that is open, dynamic and resilient;</p> <p>ASEAN shall respond to the new dynamics within the respective ASEAN Member Countries and shall urgently and effectively address the challenge of translating ASEAN cultural diversities and different economic levels into equitable development opportunity and prosperity, in an environment of solidarity, regional resilience and harmony;</p> <p>ASEAN shall nurture common values, such as habit of consultation to discuss political issues and the willingness to share information on matters of common</p>	Social & Cultural	Five	<p>concern, such as environmental degradation, maritime security cooperation, the enhancement of defense cooperation among ASEAN countries, develop a set of socio-political values and principles, and resolve to settle long-standing disputes through peaceful means;</p> <p>The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) is the key code of conduct governing relations between states and a diplomatic instrument for the promotion of peace and stability in the region</p>	Political
Four	<p>ASEAN shall</p>	Security	Six	<p>The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) shall remain the primary forum in enhancing political and security cooperation in the Asia Pacific region, as well as the pivot in building peace and stability in the region. ASEAN shall enhance its</p>	Political

	role in further advancing the stages of cooperation within the ARF to ensure the security of the Asia Pacific region;	
Seven	ASEAN is committed to deepening and broadening its internal economic integration and linkages with the world economy to realize an ASEAN Economic Community through a bold, pragmatic and unified strategy;	Economy
Eight	ASEAN shall further build on the momentum already gained in the ASEAN+3 process so as to further draw synergies through broader and deeper cooperation in various areas	Political
Nine	ASEAN shall build upon opportunities for mutually beneficial regional integration arising from its existing initiatives and those with partners, through enhanced trade and investment	Economy

	links as well as through IAI process and the RIA	
Ten	ASEAN shall continue to foster a community of caring societies and promote a common regional identity	Social & Cultural

Source: Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) (ASEAN, 2022)

SBY Thousand Friends, Zero Enemy

Indonesia foreign involvement under SBY is at the peak, the outcome of foreign policy based on his “Thousands Friends, Zero Enemy” impacted in regional and Global level. Indonesia play his role as a peace maker for conflict in south china sea, by initiating the code of conduct on south china sea. Indonesia's belief as a big country and destined to be a leader of other nations does not mean an attitude of arrogance or feeling superior to other nations. For Indonesia, the attitude of restraint plus contribution to regional cooperation has made ASEAN member countries give respect and recognition to Indonesia as *primus inter pares*. (Anwar, 1994)

Finally the Bali Concord III was signed in 7 November 2011. Mostly the contains of the document still same with previous document, meanwhile this document recall and acknowledge some others meeting documents related to this document. This declaration also stressed the importance of three ASEAN pilar which already establish in previous meeting, to classified the aims of document, we provide matrix below:

Table 4. Bali Concord III Declaration

Declaration	Narrations	Purposes Classification
One	A more coordinated, cohesive, and coherent ASEAN position on global issues of common interest and concern, based on a shared ASEAN global view, which would further enhance ASEAN's common voice in relevant multilateral forum	Political
Two	An enhanced ASEAN capacity to contribute and respond to key global issues of common interest and concern which would benefit all ASEAN Member States and its people	Political

Three	A strengthened ASEAN Community centred on ASEAN as the foundation, while upholding the fundamental principles, values and norms of ASEAN	Social & Cultural
Four	A strengthened capacity of the ASEAN Secretariat which is able to support the vision and development of the ASEAN Community in a global community nations	Political

Source: Bali Declaration on ASEAN Community in A Global Community of Nations (ASEAN, 2022)

The declaration of Bali concord III, mostly about political, although there is one point related to Socio-Culture but nuance of politics are vividly appears. It's not surprising, if the pattern of declaration contain more politics purposes, at that time chair was Indonesia, and the president of Indonesia at that time is Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, that have foreign policy "a thousand friends, zero enemy". We can conclude that this is one of SBY agenda to leave some legacy in his second of Indonesia president.

Pattern of Indonesia Foreign Policy through ASEAN Chairmanship

As one of founding nation of ASEAN in 1967, Indonesia in the beginning years of

ASEAN succeed to infiltrate their interest through the charter of ASEAN, as mentioned in section four, five, and six of declaration. At that time Indonesia was at the phase of development, so education is a key for national development. At the beginning of foundation of ASEAN, no one is appointed as a chair, but Thailand is hosting the meetings. The two things may highlighted is on chapter five is reconcile the environment of peoples of ASEAN which depending on agriculture, which in line with policy of Soeharto who just became the 2nd president of Indonesia, who have policy at that time to made Indonesia as an agrarics country. This charter most predominantly influence with Soeharto domestic policy of "Pelita", which also reconstruct bilateral relationship with Malaysia and Singapore, and re-registered as United Nations members.

Indonesia is initiating the Bali Concord, which took place in Bali 1976. At that time Indonesia domestic situation relatively secure. But again we can see the pattern that also appears in ASEAN Declarations 1967. Such as in declaration point three "The elimination of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy is a primary concern of member states..." Which again basically copy paste from Soeharto "Pelita" policy.

At the edge of 90's Southeast Asian facing the economic crisis, that followed by resignation of Soeharto as Indonesian president, following that moment Habibie became the third Indonesian president. During Habibie era East-Timor became independence. Habibie presidency is not that long, only a year, before Abdurrahman Wahid took his place. Indonesia becoming chair for ASEAN, that again took place in Bali. The domestic situation at the time relatively un-certain, because of 2002 Bali bombings, and global situation also still uncertain regarding 9/11. At this chairmanship Indonesia does not really took his opportunity as chair to put domestic agenda in declaration. But the Bali Concord II is the beginning of defining ASEAN

Community, which has three pillars, namely security and political, economy, and Socio-Culture.

Finally at 2011 Indonesia become chairman of ASEAN, which took place at Jakarta and Bali. At this time Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was the president, and the ASEAN summit is at his beginning of second term he has initiate the basis of Indonesia foreign policy “thousands friends, zero enemy”. At the same time Indonesia also initiate the Bali Concord III, which are one legacy of SBY for ASEAN.

Rational Choice: Regional Issues that may appear during Indonesia ASEAN Chairmanship 2023

On political and security issues, it is estimated that they will still be influenced by important issues such as: (i) the development of political rivalry between the United States (US) and the People's Republic of China (PRC); (ii) the establishment of QUAD (The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) security cooperation between the US, Australia, India, and Japan; (iii) the establishment of the AUKUS defense pact between the US, Australia and the UK; (iv) registered in the South China Sea (SCS); (v) the crisis situation after the military takeover of power in Myanmar in 2021; and (vi) the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022. These situations are undeniably a big challenge for ASEAN, but also need to be seen as an opportunity to establish cooperation with all parties regardless of ASEAN's relatively neutral position and affiliation to one power. (Kedeputian Polhukam, Setkab, 2022).

Table 5. The Issues Against the Rational Level

Issues	Rational Level	Reasons
the development of political rivalry between the United States (US) and the	Low	Not the issues that might impacting public opinion in Indonesia due to national election 2024

People's Republic of China (PRC) the establishment of QUAD (The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) security cooperation between the US, Australia, India, and Japan	Moderate	Might be directly impacted to Indonesia national security. But not common issue for public opinion in Indonesia
the establishment of the AUKUS defence pact between the US, Australia and the UK	Moderate	Might be directly impacted to Indonesia national security. But not common issue for public opinion in Indonesia
registered in the South China Sea (SCS)	Important	Indonesia is non claimed states, but if Indonesia can solve the problem, it may upscaling Indonesia position
the crisis situation after the military takeover of power in Myanmar in 2021	Very Important	Indonesia is biggest Muslim country in the world, this situation is important for Indonesia public opinion
the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022	Important	If Indonesia can solve the problem, it may upscaling Indonesia position internationally

Source: Sekretariat Kabinet Indonesia (Kedeputian Polhukam, Setkab, 2022)

From the matrix above, the recommendation for issue to be raised and fix as soon as possible is the crisis situation after the military takeover power in Myanmar 2021. Although the real issue is

not about religion, but the public opinion in Indonesia believe that the victims of crisis situation is Rohingya ethnic, and it may influencing the public opinion in Indonesia either positively or negative towards Indonesia action as Chair. Indonesia shall fix this problem to secure the 2024 general election vote.

CONCLUSION

The pattern of Indonesian chairmanship in ASEAN has changed from time to time. In the new order, Indonesia is one of the initiators of the organization's founding, which also significantly planted the seeds of the blueprint of ASEAN. During the reformation era, Megawati's presidency, Indonesia initiated the three pillars of ASEAN under the Bali Concord II, although the prominent architect was Hassan Wirajuda as Foreign Minister. When SBY took his presidency, he had the concept of foreign policy "thousands friends, zero enemy," which can be seen by the involvement of Indonesia in several policies that he initiated. Indonesia also created the Bali Concord III, a blueprint of ASEAN Community 2015. Jokowi should **grab low-hanging fruit** if he wants to secure a legacy for his term, reflecting the rational level of low to moderate. On that note, solving the Myanmar crisis after the military takeover is a crucial issue to fix, which may also influence the 2024 election result.

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