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ASEAN Intelligence Cooperation QUA Regional Constellation Preventive: An Enigma

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Abstract:
ASEAN community began to see the urgency of the dynamic threats in the region. Cooperation effectiveness through intelligence information sharing by ASEAN states member in Our Eyes Initiative framework propose problem solving on counter terrorism as well as radical groups. This article will examine the used of intelligence cooperation as one of the actions to tackling the gaps from the previous collaboration during cooperation in preventing arms trade and money laundering. In literature review, it briefly found scarcity in terms of preparations of intelligence cooperation between ASEAN countries, along with overlap activity and accuracy of intelligence institutions. It can be concluded that various preparations are still needed in managing intelligence among ASEAN member states. Other than that, each country's national international interest will continue to overshadowed ASEAN member states in solving regional constellation, in addition to uphold the value of the ASEAN Way which is primary to each member states.

Keywords: ASEAN, intelligence cooperation, our eyes initiative, dynamic security governance, regional security complex

1. Introduction

The transnational nature and region's dynamic could be used as a fundamental derive to conduct cooperate amongst countries in order to maintain stability and focusing on national's interests. ASEAN itself has been the major community based in the region as well as guidance conduct for its member countries without compromising personal interests and goals. One of the flaws faced by ASEAN member states including but not limited to terrorism, radicalism, and extremist groups that create an impact to regional stability in Southeast Asia. Moreover, most ASEAN member states are familiar with terrorist threat since 9/11 tragedy in the United States, with multiple attacks carried out by the extremist terrorist group including Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). Major terrorist attack in the heart of Indonesia capital, Jakarta, in January 2016 became the momentum of the complexity over terrorist group throughout the Southeast Asian region.

Through regional agreement expected to leveraging balance and stability amongst ASEAN member states. ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting or known as ADMM is a platform to deliberate regions' defense issues. ADMM works as a platform to actively involved in dialogues and practical cooperation to overcome traditional and non-traditional security issues that include maritime security, disaster management, peace operation, post conflict resolution, and other humanitarian cooperation(Rusfiana, 2014, p. 153). Through ADMM, Indonesia is potentially reinforced its defense capability, even the most strategic choice to endorse the prosperity and peace mission.

According to Ryamizard Ryacudu, former Indonesia Defense Minister, tried to introduce the Our Eyes Initiative (OEI) as a cooperation to cope with terrorism issue through the discussion at ADMM 2018 in Singapore(Wulolo, 2019, pp. 1-2). OEI cited as a cooperation framework through intelligence information will include terrorist actor location without any political interest during the fight against terrorism. Intelligence sharing information in international relations shows a necessary precondition to foreign policy. This process affected by general perception about 'keeping state secrets' in support of national interest.

Despite ASEAN efforts to managing intelligence cooperation, others fundamental issues like border clashes to non-interference to each domestic affair tend to be a satire in conduct to co-ops. It could be an enigma for ASEAN to installed additional counter terrorism cooperation program. As this purpose of the paper to examine the intelligence take-over in capacity building relations and cooperation between countries as part of reciprocal relations. Moreover, ASEAN positions

with member countries that are independent, but on one hand is firm to non-interference which ASEAN Way as its guidance. Therefore, the optimization in intelligence cooperation as effort to tackling terrorist threat, radicalism, and extremist groups became a challenge in the integrity of the ASEAN security community. In this paper, ASEAN intelligence cooperation will be catechized to seize the enigma in response to regional constellation

2. Methodology

In order to ground our study, we employ three conceptual frameworks, namely intelligence cooperation, regional security, and dynamic security governance. As seen below, those three concepts are deeply engaged to understand and identify the possibilities to conduct intelligence cooperation in ASEAN security community in tackling terrorism issues.

The data contained in this study focuses on an explanation of the terrorism attack occurred in Southeast Asia. In effect, how ASEAN communities involved to win this battle. The data on the terrorism issue was contained in this article, including the background of intelligence cooperation, terrorist activity in the Southeast Asia and dynamic security governance to explain the analysis. The technique used to collect data in this writing uses sources from various literatures such as online mass media, journals, and books related to data and theories as set out in this paper.

In this writing, the research design uses qualitative research designs. Analyzing data about the terrorist attack in Southeast Asia and intelligence cooperation conducted by ASEAN community by describing it and combining it with the theories that have been elaborated in literature studies such as the theory of regional security and dynamic security governance. Descriptive approach is used to process data so that it can be examined more deeply and clearly.

3. Literature Review

3.1. Intelligence Cooperation

Intelligence considered being part of studies of strategy and as national asset. Intelligence activity focused on preventing threats in conjunction with fear management that build as institutionalized scheme to use in an analyst basis to gather reliable information(Crawford, 2011, p. 167; Hammond, 2011). Moreover, analysts have theoretical focus on intelligence as information, data, and knowledge provide about the potential opponents as it aims to identify threats (Gentry, 2016, pp. 465-489; Wetzling, 2006). Intelligence develop as activities to shift risk in order to common security and provide objective analysis intended to influence operation. So that, the purpose of the uses of intelligence have primarily as humanitarian assistance that involved many acts of activities that challenge the agent also undoubted potential for victory if utilized well.

As today, intelligence play a significant role in the public affairs, predominantly in western societies. The early years of twenty-first century established the intelligence epicenter to national and international security over various forms of institutionalized activities with a self-image 'truth unto power'(Scott & Hughes, 2009, pp. 6-7; Wetzling, 2006). Also, as cited in Munton (2009), which Michael Herman observed a decade ago, that 'Modern intelligence is a multinational activity', thus 'national intelligence' power is a beyond national function and capability as well to the foreign cooperation is an oxymoron. Thereby, intelligence cooperation might need a justification. In addition, 'state secret' which is shared to other countries as well as contradiction, so it is clear the amount shared is actually considerable and authoritatively.

Intelligence cooperation was developed in international relations theory as realist approach, where the main actor is the state and its interests, as well to implication of anarchy system(Snidal, 2012, p. 85). This assumption also co-related with another scholar theory called rational choice, where rationality utilized as personal gain, and has impact on politic culture in a bigger scale(Rendall, 2019; Steiner, 1990). As arranged, strengthening and patterning international cooperation efforts in the field of intelligence are the choice of state actors in producing security as well as efforts to preserve national goals. Inherently, intelligence collaboration on a mission of 'sharing information' will be charged 'reciprocal' material to its country partners. Mainly, intelligence cooperation can produce various forms of offer, both in quantity and quality, besides the principle of sine qua non will always be present in the interests of 'sharing the secret'.

3.2. Regional Security

Regional security or regional security complex approach according to Buzan and Waever is defined as a process from securitization, de-securitization and other things related to security analysis(Buzan & Wæver, 2003). Also, regional security complexity has focused on the grouping of countries which dominate the security consideration of their member states(Xheladini, 2016). Therefore, cooperation process amongst regional area have adopted various system to maintain a shared interest in an area while still considering national interests as the main objective.

David Lake and Patrick Morgan have a more inclusive prospective of the regional constitution, where regional behavior will be different from the international system and require a different policy approach(Kilroy Jr. & Hataley, 2017). Thus, regional polemics have significant impact on greater power. As a result, any challenge and security that happened to be in the region could make an impact to surrounded countries. This situation encourages regional community to cooperate in order to maintain security. The example of regional security as seen on ASEAN Defense Minister's Meeting (ADMM), where all ASEAN members cooperate to counter terrorism and others security sector agenda. In this paper, the concept of regional security in this study will explain the necessity of intelligence cooperation between ASEAN member states.

3.3. Dynamic Security Governance

Politic-economic escalation processes that have previously been linked to certain scale units, such as the national scale has shifted in the form of new governance within the scope of global governance and regional governance(Jäger & Köhler, 2007). Global governance can define as a global order that is intentionally developed through institutions, norms, formal, and informal agreements to rule the interdependence relations between two or more states in completing their capacity and capability to solve common problems(Benedict, 2015; Apriwan, 2011). As a result, global governance also has a role in the formulation of global threats and as the fundamental perception of cooperation without any structural hierarchy.

Meanwhile, in the regional level, regional governance or regionalism tend to focus to form voluntary associations to unite resource in joint functional and institutional arrangements as a counter to global problems in spaces that are limited(Kacowicz, 2018). In addition, regional governance is different from global governance that tends to be monopolistic and the system aims to assist in government reparations to work effectively, legal, and inclusive(Higgott, 2005). Both, global and regional governance have the same methods that focused on common interests and problem solving. As a result, it creates the concept of global security and concept of peace in regional area to follows the international agreement.

The security challenges need a proper solution, in the context of ASEAN, norms and non-intervention become the most important value. Therefore, a dynamic governance model with close cooperation among states is necessary to address security issues and maintain peace in the region. Ultimately, this scale influences each other politics process in certain territorial units that are able to articulate interests and enter the realm of the object of study. Also, the global security complexity has led to a stage of resolution in the form of cooperation, both regionally and globally.

4. Analysis

4.1. ASEAN Cooperation in Counter-Terrorism

Terrorist group in Southeast Asia dominated by religion extremist, especially with the spread of Islam ideology in the region and actively mix with local culture considerably relevant in the jamaah. Radical Islamism has raised its head in the region especially after 9/11 attacks which has set a benchmark for a new era in terrorism involving stronger and violent tactics used(Debnath, 2017, pp. 156-157), followed by aggressive bombing attack in Bali that killed more than 200 people in 2002. Multiple terrorism threat in ASEAN region arise in year 2016 with the existence of extremist group called IS or Islamic State. The structured approach by IS groups considering the location of regional areas and transnational agenda. Over time, IS efforts to seize Asia territory gradually continue spread around Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia in particular.
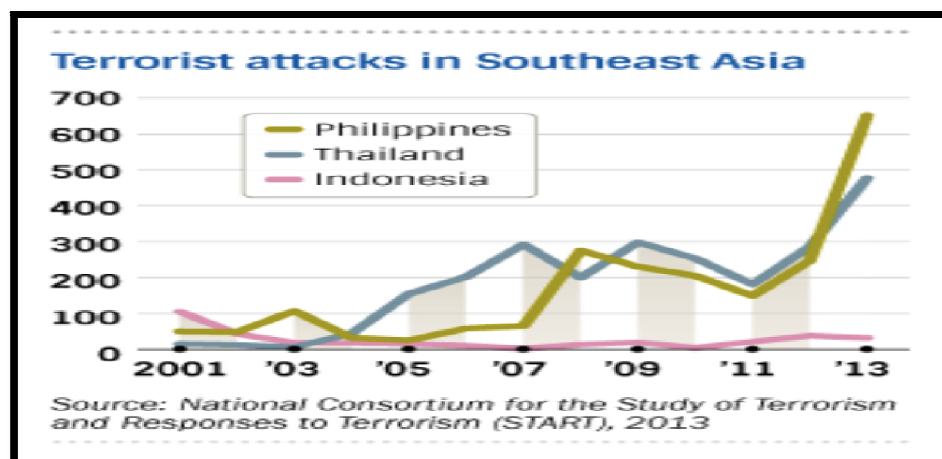

Figure 1: Terrorist Attack in Southeast Asia 2013
Source: Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism in Debnath, 2017

The following is the 2013 data released by Study of Terrorism and responses to Terrorism concerning the difference number of terrorist attack in Southeast Asia. The manifestation of terrorist threat likely more prominent in ASEAN region, with the most high-frequency in Indonesia, Philippines, and Thailand. From these data, it can be seen that escalation of terrorist attack happened to be in Philippines and Thailand, yet Indonesia has more fluctuating situation amongst them.

In response to the evolving terrorism threat and extremist group broaden to ASEAN region, the capacity in each country has built in service to better counter it. However, ASEAN member states historically have their own way to handled terrorism. As example, Malaysia and Thailand have relied more on coercive, militaristic responses, whereas Indonesia and Singapore have mostly adopted a non-military, law enforcement approach to handling the problem(Tan Seng, 2018, p. 140). Within the dissimilar ways of combating terrorism attack in each ASEAN member states resulting the terrorism group spread across.

The extremist group in the region at the time also served as regional hub for al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda provides financial, operational and ideological support to various groups, such as Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf Group in Philippines, Lashkar Jundullah in Indonesia, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) in Malaysia, Jemaah Salafiyan in Thailand, Arakan Rohingya Nationalist Organization (ARNO) and Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) in Myanmar and Bangladesh, also Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a Southeast Asian group that happened to be presence in Australia(Debnath, 2017, p. 157). Not all countries in Southeast Asia face with the same group, although this terrorist group conspiring in particular nexus.

Albeit, ASEAN introduce cooperation manner as an effort to strengthen capabilities to counter terrorism. ASEAN has been adopted bottoms-up approach to fight off terrorism which include inward looking regional stability and security(Debnath, 2017, p. 159). Their defense establishment have many forms including joint exercise, sharing information, and enhancing their force capabilities within existing framework such as the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), also it spins of, the ADMM+ which comprises the collaboration with Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Korea and United States(Tan Seng, 2018, p. 141).

Beforehand, ASEAN response in counter-terrorism has brought Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism in November 2001 and Declaration on Terrorism a year after. Those agenda served as from of anticipation after 9/11 and Bali bombing attacks. Through ASEAN Ministerial Meeting has brought together respective ministers to constitute the ASEAN's counter-terrorism collaboration(Debnath, 2017, p. 159). Though, this discussion not always problem-free.

Behind the collaboration response, there are limited role translates into over-arching weakness within ASEAN counter-terrorism effort, inter alia(Borelli, 2017, pp. 14-20):

- ASEAN Ways as a culture that adopted by member states promotes consensus, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in the domestic affairs amongst states. As implication, limitation of the roles in counter-terrorism only discover as the regular agenda rather than optimization on making policies in counter-terrorism effort.
- Extensive process and response in making new policies. ASEAN has failed to impose itself as the dominant forum for regional counter-terrorism policy-making in part to use bilateral agreement.
- ASEAN produces 'Soft laws' with many uncertain obligations for display varying levels of commitment in implementation level. As such, ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) respectively do not actively utilized, yet still allow unprofessional context to save time and benefit to implement agreement.
- Official arrogance, where non-intervention domestic matters the most amongst ASEAN member states. Apart from the rhetoric beliefs regarding regional counter-terrorism, rather than acting as a driving force for the implementation of new measures.
- Un-resolved territorial claims, where the national borders have historically suffered from weak governance caused by ongoing dispute amongst ASEAN member states. Therefore, this unclear sign could produce the development of terrorism nexus in the region.
- Lack of preventive counter-terrorism, their main strength still considering in providing procedure rather than robust preventive strategies.

Realistically, counter-terrorism effort in ASEAN region has measures several to more disappointment. The situation led to cooperate an agreement in the form of bilateral and trilateral among ASEAN member states. Therefore, ASEAN has various challenges in being able to answer operational responsibilities in counter-terrorism and other hybrid threats that occur in the region. In addition, to focusing on policy development, they need to balanced response in handling internal and external matters such as strengthening military bodies also other sharing-information cooperation through intelligence cooperation to answer the challenges of hybrid threats in the ASEAN regions.

4.2. Our Eyes Initiative as Intelligence Cooperation in ASEAN

Discussing about counter-terrorism in Southeast Asia region, Indonesia has a role in ADMM-Plus through the submission of intelligence cooperation in the Our Eyes Initiatives (OEI) program. The mechanism of supervision and handling carious threats of terrorism and radicalism, the commitment of regional security is the main objective of this initiative. Indonesia has a big concern on defense cooperation in the region based on previous incidents occurred. OEI collaboration involve the military, intelligence service, the police, and other government agencies. The involvement from each actor pillars are needed to develop existing information. The purpose of the information campaign is to consolidate by means of intelligence collection, analysis and information distribution though media operations and public diplomacy in order to counter insurgent motivation, sanctuary, and ideology(Wulolo, 2019).

Since it was introduced by the Minister of defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Ryamizard Ryacudu, OEI has been jointly discussed by six countries through Joint Working Group meetings held in Jakarta by 2017 and in Bali by 2018(Kemhan, 2018). The technical implementation is similar to the intelligence cooperation undertaken by the United States in overseeing the Soviet Union during the cold war. Through this initiative, the defense organization could communicate the intelligence information exchanges related to terrorism group and develop data collection on extremist activities in each region(Gnanasagaran, 2018). So that, the goal of forming this intelligence cooperation is not only focused on terrorism, according to the framework of Our Eyes Initiatives is in response to the realm of reginal complexity associated with foreign terrorist fighters, violent extremist group, radicals to terrorist network in the region.

As a form of transnational threat, terrorism is deemed necessary to actively involve on various cooperation in each region. OEI itself includes the implementation of the 'soft approach' policy that was approved by member countries in providing information related to terrorist group nexus. This cooperation based on 'New Craft of Intelligence' with shared global open source network that will provide an asymmetrical advantage in counter regional challenges(Wulolo, 2019). In

forming various agreements agreed upon in the ASEAN, the most valuable prioritized always about confidence building measure and non-interference. So that, to optimizing OEI as well as overcoming the threat of terrorism in Southeast Asia region will be considered in mutual trust and adaptive strategy innovation.

4.3. The Enigma of Intelligence Cooperation in ASEAN on the Security Community Preposition

Historically, ASEAN comes out as a regional international trade community in Southeast Asia region that is oriented to the principle of mutual trust and non-intervention(Aik, 2016). This culture called 'ASEAN Way' which promotes consensus, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in the domestic affairs of each member states. In addition, ASEAN as a regional community is guided by three ASEAN pillars; which includes the ASEAN Economic Community, the ASEAN Politic-Security Community, and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. These three values are upheld as the main shield listed in the ASEAN charter as a guideline in the certainty of effective non-intervention cooperation.

ASEAN as institution have their own negotiating mechanism in producing consensus among member states by minimizing disagreements in policy implementations. The promotion of democracy and peace began to generally echoed within the scope of ASEAN member countries. Even international relations theorists have never put ASEAN as a part of their argument in speaking of democratic peace(Choiruzzad, 2013). It happened because the ASEAN democratization initiative in the ASEAN Political and Security Society (APSC) has no significant effect. The establishment of APSC is a manifestation of the value of the ASEAN Charter that adheres to the principle of democracy, the rule of the law and good governance, while upholding the protection of human rights(Choiruzzad, 2013).

The values adopted by ASEAN is still dominated by disintegration as the implications of non-intervention in supporting the national interests of each member states. Other than that, tension between member states as experienced by Indonesia and Malaysia and the Philippines with Malaysia in the issues of national borders also invite instability in the region. Therefore, ASEAN framework made as able to facilitate security cooperation(Oh, 2013);

- Mitigation of latent tensions between members remaining from the confrontation period
- Providing economic benefits for member states development which will contribute to political stability through improving domestic social condition
- Promote internal security that is vulnerable to intrigue from outside forces.

The last premise has become the main focus since the presence of cooperation efforts in tackling crime and threats in the region, one of which is cooperation in the exchange of intelligence information in Our Eyes Initiative. Another challenge faced by ASEAN in the current global constellation is ASEAN's involvement in the Indo-Pacific concept. The Indo-Pacific concept has increasingly pressed countries in the region since the policy issued by the American leader, Donald Trump, during his 2017 visit to Asia which brought a vague concept and became known as 'a Free and Open Indo-Pacific', where ASEAN member states stand to impartial for power competition in Indo-Pacific region.

Through this position, ASEAN insist to their value in Indo-Pacific concept and Our Eyes Initiative. The doctrine is the ASEAN Way which fully covers equality in sovereignty, non-intervention of domestic problems, decision making based on consensus and informal situation(Oh, 2013). On the other hand, this doctrine tends to be permissive if it is clashed with norms and cultures adopted by ASEAN member countries. However, there is an opinion expressed by Nguyen(2016), that the non-intervention norm is a result of the involvement of a group of countries which has a greater influence on ASEAN member states. This principle required a non-political contribution in order to fulfil its ASEAN Way' values.

Nevertheless, ASEAN non-intervention principle is not solely to save the sovereignty of member countries. Each country has their own interests and priorities, systematically or politically, depending on the immunity of each country(Nguyen, 2016). It should be remembered that the principle of diplomacy is the key to the resilience of ASEAN institutions. Constructively, values such as non-intervention to the primacy of diplomacy are built by the ideas from each multicultural member states. This culturalist or constructivist approach focuses on the importance of cultural norms and ideologies(Oh, 2013).

However, in order to overcome regional security issues, the norms adopted by ASEAN can be an example in carrying out dynamic security governance described by Kai He. The key concept of dynamic security governance is relied on the correct framework and adaptivity related to the issues. Furthermore, the dynamic emphasis on the balance of cooperation, in which the three layers of security governance cannot stand alone and are sustain to one another.

The existence of more dynamic governance is to overcome regional security challenges and threats can be offered as a solution to the enigma of collaborative in ASEAN. Especially, in welcoming intelligence cooperation without any political intervention. Continuity on the balance principle obtained by each member states, encompassing power, trust, and cooperation in governance is intended to supervise member countries as claimed to prevent hierarchy. Although it sounds difficult to achieve, it is not impossible for organization such ASEAN to construct concrete steps in resolving the problems and threats of regional security. moreover, with the formulation of solutions and a threat-oriented framework, the products will be more targeted.

In the development of the international security, regional cooperation plays a significant role. The collaboration of each member of regional community, could be beneficial to eradicate certain common threats. The benefits of intelligence information sharing are numerous, including increasing distribution of work, more coordinated knowledge and reducing competition among nation states. This contribution of intelligence information sharing can also develop compelling strategy to combat terrorism in the region.

5. Conclusion

Various threats faced by ASEAN member states, including Indonesia certainly require concrete actions and not only rely on the personal capabilities, but also involve active cooperation with country-partners. In essence, all forms of cooperation and foreign policy adopted by Indonesia prioritized on its objectives and interests. In the case of terrorism and radicalism, at the transnational level, certainly require cooperation with various parties to succeed. As a result, Indonesia can retrieve information about terrorist nexus and radicalism group in Southeast Asia region. Various policies have adopted non-intervention principle of ASEAN, including ASEAN Politic and Security Community to deal with regional and global constellation. So that, dynamic security governance approached is considered in the renewal of intelligence cooperation amongst ASEAN member states. In conclusion, ASEAN still get a positive response as an effort to participate in achieving institutional peace without damage its principle values.

6. Recommendation

Despite all the efforts that have done, ASEAN intelligence cooperation still need a strong fundamental framework, in order to maintain the ASEAN value that called ASEAN Way. However, the difficulty itself lies in disentangling the casual traits in the evolution of intelligence, from resources to the advanced technology that will be beneficial to combat terrorism in the regional. Many of this cooperation have lacked an explicit organizational structure, so that ASEAN will need to prepare organizational management and network structure for advance strategies and decision-making. Supporting the program, it is also will enhanced the value of ASEAN security community and its commitment to combat terrorism.

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