

Challenge 1

Sustaining Democracy and a Diverse Society

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Our dream is to create life in Indonesia and Japan that is of plenty, freedom, and safety and in societies that are peaceful, diverse, and tolerant. In pursuit of this dream, sustaining democracy is crucial, and we are also responsible for being resilient for the future generation. Indonesia is blessed with its strong foundation on the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or ‘Unity in Diversity’, which is now a motto the European Union and South Africa also follow. Japan has also been one of the most sustained democracies in Asia for almost 70 years, with a population of over 100 million. Based on the foundation our predecessors have built with their wisdom and efforts, Indonesia and Japan need to strengthen their ties to work together in tackling the challenges we face in maintaining our democratic, diverse, and united societies.

The challenges facing democracy, diversity, and unity are immense. With technological advancement, democracies will face new challenges in the form of ‘sharp power’, which can use technological strength to undermine our democratic principles. These challenges could weaken public trust in the government through cyber technology and threaten the political platform of an elected government. Economic disparity is also a challenge for maintaining trust in democracy due to its effect of weakening the sense of tolerance among the members in society. This could create vulnerability in maintaining unity and diversity, which should function as the platforms for innovation, growth, and security.

Because of these challenges ahead, we would like to strengthen our foundation of unity in diversity and democracy. Technological progress without the equivalent progress in humanity can fail us. The information revolution, which has led to unprecedented lifestyle, business, and governance changes for society, requires a moral revolution in tandem – a moral revolution that can make people compassionate to diversity and inequality amidst the most tech-savvy generation in both of our nations.

Upholding Democracy as the Basis for Prosperity and Security

Democratic governance faces the following challenges.

1. Economic disparity leads to an undermining of public trust in the process of consensus building. Should the process of consensus building be seen by the people as a trade-off for effective governance, they may support an effective but exclusive method of authority and administration. This could seriously undermine the traditions and principles of Indonesia and Japan for maintaining unity in society.
2. Digitalisation and artificial intelligence undermine sovereignty and credibility and polarise the political spectrum. The risk is that democracy could be considered a liability for effective governance, especially in times of global economic competition vis-à-vis non-democratic countries.
3. Higher population mobility and increasing numbers of foreign migrants could challenge the sense of tolerance and unity. Increasing numbers of incoming foreign migrants are an irreversible trend of globalisation and should be considered a blessing. However, in times of economic difficulty, the divide between nationals and foreigners could challenge the idea of national interests and the public interest, especially in countries like Indonesia and Japan where nationalism carries strong political legitimacy.

Thus, the following are suggestions for areas of cooperation.

1. Democracy education. Democracy should be understood in the sense of 'political participation, dialogue, and public interaction' rather than as a mere 'competitive electoral system'. A key role of Islamic organisations in Indonesia is to strengthen the country's commitment to democracy. Investing in high school and university students for exchange is also crucial.
2. Enhancement of the electoral management security system. Technological cooperation, the establishment of an electoral datacentre, and the prevention of cyberattacks on the electoral process are needed. Threats could come in the form of sharp power, undermining the democratic principle, or they could be simply the rich and powerful manipulating the public's information.

3. Coveillance systems to guard against a systematic attack from a foreign state or company, and the democratisation of cyberspace. Enhancing cybersecurity is of paramount importance. In order to do so, public support for the freedom of information is much needed. A monopoly on information could lead to the absolute manipulation of justice. The state should take the responsibility to protect its people from an abuse of information. Working together to create an anti-information-abuse mechanism of governance is, therefore, key.

Enriching the Islamic Foundation

In order to maintain a democratic, free, and diverse society, we need to count on the leading role of Indonesia's Islamic foundation. Indonesia is not just the largest Muslim majority nation by population but is also a leading model where multiple religions, strong nationalism, and decentralised democracy work together. This foundation should be strengthened in the country but also cherished beyond Indonesia in other countries. Japan is one of those countries as it is becoming a more plural society. Specifically, Japan would be fortunate to have more Indonesian people in all fields of society. To make this happen, we need Islamic support and cooperation to help connect our societies and prevent extremism from making us demonise one another in times of frustration.

We all need the support from the Islamic organisation to keep democracy deeply rooted in our culture and not take it as just another administrative process. The Indonesian model is important since the impact of information and communication technology (ICT) on religious practice naturally includes the risk of radicalisation and the denial of democratic national governance. Therefore, the proactive role of Indonesia's Islamic organisation in building a foundation for society with openness and political diversity should be encouraged.

Promoting Female Muslim Leaders

Another of Indonesia's leading features is the role of female Muslim leaders. Additional focus should be placed on matching Indonesia's talent and Japan's educational skills, and we would like to see leaders in multiple fields of technology, business, and governance. A

female leader in the style of Dr Habibie, a prominent female leader in technology, religion, and government, could be a valuable role model for our societies.

Promoting female Muslim leaders and making the best of the Japanese education, business, and governance systems would create great assets for promoting prosperity with pluralism, diversity, and tolerance both in Indonesia and in Japan. The help of Indonesia's Islamic society of Indonesia, with a special focus on female leaders, is much needed in Japan. Japan is committed to enhancing the expertise of the young generation as a top priority – thus, our cooperation would be most fitting in the long term. A bilateral initiative between Indonesia and Japan for setting educational standards and professional career paths for female Muslims could be used as a model example for other Islam-majority countries.

Disaster Management and Relief

Indonesia and Japan share key features in their landscape, seascape, and geological and meteorological conditions. We are both major maritime archipelago countries – and, unfortunately, we share plentiful experiences of natural disasters, such as tsunamis, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. The two countries lie on a volcanic belt and tectonic meeting points, and climate change is an irreversible trend.

Natural disasters are inarguably a common major security threat and major social risk that not just claim lives and have negative impacts on our economic activities but also reveal political and social divides. Disaster management and relief can test the sense of justice of governance in a diverse society. Depending on its governance performance, a government can either unite or divide a society in times of disaster. Indonesia and Japan should work together in a wider spectrum for the sake of disaster management, control, and relief. This spectrum could include shared military exercises, shared governance knowledge and training, and enhanced shared monitoring and data centres. The two maritime archipelago countries can use this cooperation to take the leadership in tandem and as the pillar of our relationship. Investing in people and the institutions in charge of disaster relief and management should be one of the top priorities in the coming future.

Changing Styles of Governance and Infrastructure

Governance skills will be enhanced and transformed by the continuous pressure arising from the demands and challenges of technological advancement, rapid urbanisation, climate change, and economic disparity. The idea of investing in digital infrastructure should be considered as a public service, not a private corporate investment. The expanded scope of ICT is now not limited to security and business but also increasingly involving core governance activities as well. This digital infrastructure, together with databases, will naturally and ultimately be the new pillar of sovereignty. Information, together with territory and people, will be included in the core domain of sovereignty and government. This will lead to a rearrangement of the idea of public infrastructure. Maintaining stability in society requires keeping communication networks, such as satellite systems, datacentres, and supercomputers, secure.

Urbanisation and Inequality

Urban areas can be an engine of growth but also a prime stage for political and social conflict. Our nations are dependent on the well-being of their megaregions, such as Jabodetabek and the Greater Tokyo Area, each with more than 20 million people. These are enormous assets, but they also pose immense challenges. We share the same size of urban zones, but our challenges are different. Thus, to keep our nations stable and open, we should support each other and mutually manage our needs to ensure our societies remain connected, plural, secure, just, and open.

The common emphasis of our strategies should address enhancing liveability in the urban megacities. This includes both infrastructural and moral upgrades. An environmental upgrade is also crucial, and accessible healthcare for all social classes could provide a foundation for making our diverse society more prosperous and dynamic. In doing so, we would need to accommodate local government leaders and facilitate strong and constant communication, with a priority on intra-city rather than inter-city infrastructure investment. The urban governance partnership should also be a partnership of lifestyle and a trust-building mechanism for managing growing urban issues. ‘Enhancing liveability’

could be a shared standard and purpose of urban governance for decades to come and also a shared dream for the generations to come.

Enhanced Human Mobility, Capacity, and Matching

Japan is facing an ageing society challenge, while Indonesia needs to enhance the skill set of its young human resources to overcome the middle-income trap. Japan needs to attract high-skilled professionals to maintain its connectivity in the Asian human resources market, and Japan, especially, expects Indonesia to be a major partner in sharing those talents. Japan also needs to attract what is currently considered as low-skilled labour and turn it into high-skilled labour. Prime examples are the agriculture and fishery sectors. In both industries, farmers and fishermen can integrate digitalisation skills into their marketing skills with production skills. Many professions could be rearranged to increase their value, and both governments need to work on establishing an effective system for job and workplace matching and enacting significant changes in immigration-related rules and regulations.

Establishing an Integrated Alumni Database

Indonesia and Japan have together developed numerous experts in the past century. However, they have not optimised and maximised the human capital that already exists. The key challenge has been the lack of coordination and communication. Both countries could cooperate easily and quickly to build an alumni database for creating an information platform for cooperation. The platform could be also be expanded to the broader region. The database would be an informal dialogue platform for policymaking, similar to what the United Kingdom has actively been doing – and, importantly, the proactive role of the experts who become the bridge between our nations could be the catalyst for shared social values in the long term.

Challenge 2

The International Order

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Japan and Indonesia, as two maritime democracies and archipelago nations, are in a strong position to further cooperate and contribute to sustaining regional security in the coming decades of a major shift and challenges in the global order. We would like Asia to remain the primary engine of global growth in the decades ahead. To make this a reality, we urge governments to take the initiative to keep the Indo-Pacific region stable and open.

Uncertainty is everywhere. It is natural for the major powers in the coming decades, such as the United States (US), China, and India, to seek unilateral and assertive action. This could corner smaller countries into inconvenient strategic choices. Indonesia and Japan need to strengthen their ties as two regional powers that share common social and political principles, characters, and geopolitical settings. In strengthening our principles of democracy, a rules-based society, respect for human rights, and economic growth, we also need to shape the international and regional order to our principles. Our approach will be based on independence, non-intervention, and multilateralism without seeking domination over one another but rather the building of stability and openness.

Maritime Security and Sea Power: A Geopolitical Challenge

Maritime space has been the foundation of the global order for the past 300 years. This is due to the way global wealth has been created primarily through connectivity and communication lines. Be they the Dutch, the British, or the US, the powers who aspired to shape the global order fundamentally structured their power around maritime order and access. Considering the geopolitics in the information revolution era, our wealth and power remain structured around communication and connectivity. Thus, it was inevitable that the restructuring of the international order would take place in the maritime space. Indonesia and Japan, both as maritime and archipelago nations are, therefore, on the front line of the

new geopolitical challenge. As regional maritime powers, we need to take the lead in finding a new arrangement for the global order. Our strategic goal relies very much on whether the maritime space will become a zone of access and connectivity or one of confrontation and denial. As a regional power, our definition of maritime security has been defined as defensive. We do not perceive our maritime power as an offensive one aiming to annex another territory. As our definition of sovereignty is being more and more de-territorialised due to technological advancement and the interconnected global economy, being a leading maritime nation, we need to redesign our maritime strategies to be more proactive. As our wealth relies on connectivity, the accessibility of the maritime space and the security our lines of communication are of paramount importance for our national interests.

To set the maritime space as an open and inclusive zone, Indonesia and Japan need to create a mechanism for the sharing of information to secure the free flow of information, goods, and people. To train and acquire expertise, we should enhance our defence programmes and integrate them into the navy, coast guard, and police force. The sea lanes from Japan through Indonesia to India are amongst the busiest and most strategically placed in the world. With its high density and geostrategic value, our maritime space needs resilient mechanisms to prevent it from becoming a conflict zone.

Thus, it is crucial to consider the information gaps amongst stakeholders and to create a regional architecture to develop the transparency of the maritime space and maritime activities. These are necessary steps for accommodating assertive action in the region and for defining the maritime space not as an arena of conflict but as an open, wealth-generating zone.

Rule of Law

While the international order is now in transition, the importance of the 'rule of law' in international order is also increasing. History has shown major wars to be a method of rearranging the international order. However, with modern technology and societies being connected beyond boundaries, the conventional idea of war to bring order has to be avoided at all costs. While superpowers will structurally and naturally seek unilateral action based on their power, it is we, the regional powers, who must play the leading role in

upholding legal-based order. Without legal order, the choice of a state's survival could be left to the superpowers, which could lead to Asia becoming a region of disintegration and competition rather than integration and cooperation. As our definition of sovereignty is no longer a set concept, rules-based order in a more connected world could be theme based. Indonesia and Japan jointly nurturing both regional and global mechanisms to support this rules-based order and the strong generation of legal expertise will be critical to our well-being and could also contribute to the common good of the wider Indo-Pacific region.

Cybersecurity

Cyberattacks are rapidly increasing in their range of targets, sophistication, and actors. Anything could be a target, and anyone could be an aggressor. We need to be aware that attacks may not only be on military forces, but the most serious ones could be systematic and coordinated attacks by a state to undermine another state's security and values or, in our case, democracy. Democracy is now being challenged by the so-called 'sharp powers,' as cyberattacks could easily instigate public distrust in a government and undermine the power base of a democracy. Public support is inarguably the biggest power in defence strategies. For democracies like Indonesia and Japan, it is at the heart of securing our democratic system to be resilient against not only forces from within our country but also from abroad as well.

Due to the nature of the cybersecurity dilemma, the more sophisticated the system you create, the more attention you will draw to being attacked in order to show the attacker's skills. So, two aspects are important. The first is to make sure there is a system or a legal setting for ensuring there are ways to counteract an attempted cyberattack. A cyberattack will not stop unless there are serious costs. The second is the intention. An attack could simply be an individual showing off their skills, but it could also be a sophisticated and organised strategy for undermining the core values of a nation.

Defence Capability

The increase in autonomous systems and robotics will be an irreversible trend in establishing a new national security system in the decades to come. Countries with an edge in investing in technological advances will have an advantage, thus creating a new gap

between countries that are capable and those that are not. Autonomous systems and robotics face a strong challenge as they do not have clear mechanisms for de-escalating tensions. Thus, we should work together for the modernisation of our defence systems and cooperate for both capacity building and for establishing a network of shared information and common standard practices.

An Alliance of Mayors and Governors

As our society is undergoing the trend of urbanisation, so should the international order. Many of the challenges in our society can be addressed in urban areas, and it is primarily the responsibility of mayors and governors to solve the issues. The governance standards of these local leaders will be key in the dialogue arena for the international order, or at least the Asian order. While international relations, measured by national power, could go through a series of deadlocks, this new layer to international society could be a key collaboration arena in the region. The advantage of mayors over national leaders is that they are pragmatists, not ideologists or nationalists. Their governance style is based on troubleshooting and is solution based. As Tokyo and Jakarta are amongst the biggest megacities in the world, full of social challenges and both governed by locally elected governors, the two cities should take the lead to create a new arena for cooperation and co-governance, especially in the nationalist era to come.

Global Governance Reform: The United Nations

The global governance system in the 20th century has shown its limits. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is now misrepresenting the state of the international society. There are two problems. The first problem is the bias toward Europe. Four of the five permanent UNSC members are European countries, while the global power and economy are not structured in that way. The second problem is that Asia is represented only by China. With the growing power of China and the growing presence of China-led institutions coupled with the structure of the UNSC, the perception that 'Asia equals China' could be cemented in the international setting, which is troublesome. The above two misrepresentations in the United Nations are common challenges for both Indonesia and Japan. We should propose non-veto permanent membership.

Reframing the Liberal International Order

The liberal international order has been perceived as both a source of economic growth in a globally connected era and also a source of global inequality. Thus, political leaders are always being tempted to ignore or twist how much the liberal international order has functioned as a common space to grow. As our trade and interactions are expected to grow, the importance will not fade but rather increase, despite the current rise in nativism. The liberal international order has functioned as a system for maintaining justice in an era of economic interdependence, especially in terms of trade. However, it has also been treated as a source of global inequality. As we share the economic benefits and the political challenges attached to the existing order, we also share common strategic goals in reframing to survive the order.

An Alliance of Latitude

As the third unbundling is taking place and the flow of people is increasing on a daily basis, the world is connected, but there is one challenge to keeping the network active: time zones. Latitude could be a new geopolitical and geo-economic condition for enhancing technology, and, thus, Japan and Indonesia should create a forum for setting the standards.

Passing the Baton of Friendship and Trust

Challenges could arise if Indonesia and Japan do not learn enough about one another. This could lead to ill-informed leadership while human mobility between the two countries increases. The countries can cooperate by offering opportunities for exchange and sharing amongst mid-career bureaucrats, local government leaders, parliamentarians, and educational institutions. It takes a generation to establish one, and that is what we have achieved thanks to the wisdom and efforts of our predecessors. We cannot afford to abandon this achievement. We need to grow and nurture this trust to enable it to become even more established, and this could prove to be an absolute comparative advantage for our two nations.