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.