



Discussion Report Talking ASEAN Webinar

on

Russia-Ukraine Conflict:
ASEAN Responses and the Possible Implications
to the Upcoming G20 Summit

Jakarta, April 22nd 2022



Introduction

On Friday, 22 April 2022, The Habibie Center convened the Talking ASEAN Webinar entitled “**Russia-Ukraine Conflict: ASEAN Responses and the Possible Implications to the Upcoming G20 Summit**”. The webinar featured **Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D** (Professor of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia), **Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, SH., LL.M, Ph.D** (Rector, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani), and **Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D** (Indonesian Ambassador for the United Nations for the period of 2004-2007 and Professor, Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia). Also, this event was moderated by **Taufan Samudra** (Researcher of ASEAN Studies Program, The Habibie Center).


The objectives of this webinar were to: (a) discuss the recent Russia-Ukraine conflict development; (b) analyze the responses from AMS to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, including from Indonesia, as the Chair of 2022 G20; (c) identify potential economic, political, and security impacts of the conflicts for the ASEAN region, and the conflicts for the ASEAN region; and (d) discuss the possible implications of the ongoing conflict at the upcoming G20 Leaders’ summit.

This discussion report summarizes the key points of each speaker, as well as the question and answer session that followed.

PRESENTATION FROM THE PANELIST



Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D
(Professor of International Relations,
Universitas Indonesia)



Prof. Evi Fitriani began her presentation by raising three issues: the Russia – Ukraine conflict, ASEAN responses to the conflict, and pressure on the Indonesian G20 presidency. First, the Russia-Ukraine conflict can be analyzed from several angles and she perceived the conflict from the international relations perspective. The media reported the conflict as a tragic war, including many casualties, demolishing buildings, and so on. There are unbalanced pictures and information about the war in media because the ratio is one five between the war itself and the tragedy. Moreover, media have been dominated by western media. Prof. Evi stressed that the conflict is complex and is not as simple as the media frame it.

As Russia did the violation of human rights and sovereignty of Ukraine, international pressure on Russia is one thing to be considered. In international politics, due to the redistribution of wealth, power, and influence, there have been a lot of countries as emerging powers. Therefore, Russia tried to revive itself under Putin's administration. The conflict is not the war between Russia and Ukraine but between Russia and western countries, particularly the United States and its allies. As a result, Russia's insecurity would drive the nation to launch aggressive military operations toward countries on its border, such as Crimea, Georgia, and Ukraine.

Although the conflict demolishes Ukraine's infrastructure and at the same time damages Russia's reputation, it benefits western military industries, and gas and oil companies. If we see the response of western countries, there is an imbalanced response to what happened in Ukraine and the Middle East. There is an apparent double standard in these issues because western countries condemned Russia's aggression on Ukraine but did not condemn Israel's actions against Palestine.

Secondly, Prof. Evi explored ASEAN responses to the Russia – Ukraine conflict. She highlighted that ASEAN should learn from the Ukraine case that leaning toward one particular major power when a country at its competitor's border is dangerous. ASEAN as a security community is built to stabilize the region. So far, ASEAN has managed to minimize conflicts in Southeast Asia, such as incidents in Preah Vihear and the South China Sea. However, when ASEAN has to act externally and create ASEAN external policy, it is problematic because the ASEAN Member States do not share similar threat perceptions. Apart from that, ASEAN Member States have different levels of engagement with different external powers, including the United States and Russia. At the country level, each ASEAN country reacts based on its interests. For instance, Singapore condemned Russia, Myanmar supported Russia, and other countries kept silent because the conflict was not their priority or responded mildly or unclearly to avoid being the supporters of any side.

Indonesia's position is quite different because of its free and active foreign policy. Indonesia tried not to be part of the problem by not leaning toward the United States or Russia but finding reconciliation between the conflicting parties. Forcing ASEAN to have one voice is counterproductive because it will damage ASEAN. The lesson learned from the Ukraine case is that a small country is very fragile and will have to bear the consequences if the country leans toward the major power.

The presentation was then continued by analyzing pressure on the Indonesia G20 presidency. Prof. Evi contended that the Russia – Ukraine conflict is not pressuring Indonesia but pressure on the whole G20 members. G20 is a forum to cooperate in the economic sector to stabilize the world economy and prevent the world from crisis. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and geopolitical crisis in Europe, G20 has become more important than before as the world needs good cooperation among economic leaders to stir the economic recovery. In response to this, as the 2022 G20 presidency, Indonesia has proposed three priority issues: health, digital economy, and energy transition.

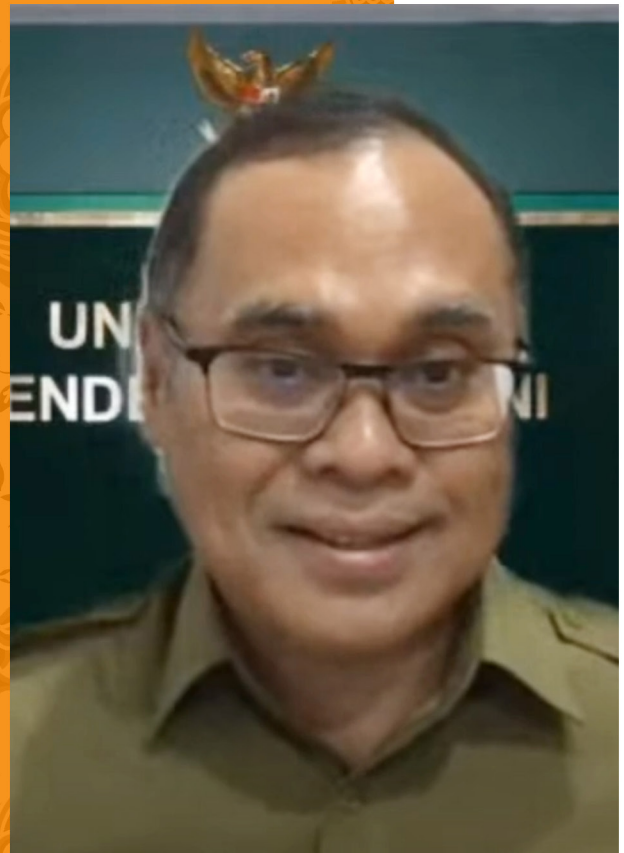
Regarding the Russia – Ukraine conflict and the controversy about excluding Russia from G20 meetings, Indonesia has to get approval from all G20 members because Russia is an original member of the G20. Hence, it is not Indonesia's decision to invite or exclude Russia from the G20 meetings. There will be division in the G20 reaction to the issue because some

countries will support Russia, and they would like to have Russia still in the G20, while others expressed disagreement.

Indonesia suggested an inclusive approach by proposing to invite Russia and put a mechanism of dialogue. Indonesia's action is on the right track as it is the Indonesian way to solve the problem. Compared to western countries' approaches that used condemnation and exclusion, Prof. Evi argued that it did not work for Russia and proposed to have a dialogue would be a better approach.

The western countries' approach to pressure the Indonesian G20 presidency not to invite Russia is a neorealism approach. The western countries tried to dominate the institution, which is G20, for their purpose. Hence, Indonesia needs to work for more innovative solutions by engaging both sides and collaborating with other member countries to find a compromise. Prof. Evi emphasized that total diplomacy needs to be employed by involving all levels of Indonesian stakeholders to understand the conflict and find agreeable solutions.

PRESENTATION FROM THE PANELIST



**Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, S.H.,
LL.M., Ph.D**
(Rector, Universitas Jenderal
Achmad Yani)




Prof. Hikmahanto's presentation shed light on the understanding of the war: Russia-Ukraine conflict development. The Russia – Ukraine conflict started with a statement that Russia launched a Special Military Operation to free Ukraine's citizens who have Russian descent and to maintain Russian Culture in Donbas. The basis for Russia to launch the Special Military Operation is Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and preventing genocide by the authority of Ukraine in Donbas. Russia has notified the United Nations Security Council to launch this military action. The military target of the operation shifted when Russia started to attack Kyiv, it may be intended to capture Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky, so Ukraine would never join NATO.

In Prof. Hikmahanto's perspective, the war is no longer a conflict between Russia and Ukraine but a conflict between Russia and the United States and NATO. The United States and its allies condemned the Special Military Operation. The United States and Australia stated that if Russia joins the G20 forum, they will not come, meaning that they have judged Russia is violating the United Nations Charter. Yet, condemning and excluding Russia from the international forum will not stop Russia's action against Ukraine. Prof. Hikmahanto argued that it is a mistake for the United States and its allies. As Russia has a nuclear weapon, has veto power in the United Nations Security Council, and is the ten largest economic power in the world, so, the United States and its allies cannot treat Russia the same as Iran, Iraq, or Libya.

In order to stop the Special Military Operation, the United States has been hesitant to send its troops and military capability due to the possibility of nuclear war. The United States understands that once they are involved in the Ukraine war, Russia will not hesitate to use its nuclear war. Consequently, the United States and its allies do various strategies to stop the Special Military Operation, such as condemning Russia for its action in the United Nations General Assembly, imposing economic sanctions against Russia and conglomerates, expelling Russia from various international organizations and forums, as well as providing military assistance (funds and military equipment) to Ukraine.

Prof. Hikmahanto also emphasized that Russia's military target has shifted from genocide issue to becoming a war for a noble purpose (the war to make Russia). Noble war, in this case, means that Russia will fight against those who try to make Russia surrender or Russia as if it is not a big country any longer. It is marked by Russia's launching Sarmat intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) test to show the United States that Russia needs to be recognized as a big power.

The presentation was continued by a thorough explanation with regards to the responses from the ASEAN Member States to the Russia – Ukraine conflict. ASEAN Member States Foreign Ministers have issued official statements that they are 'deeply concerned' with the war in Ukraine. However, they avoided direct criticism of Russia because they did not



say whether the Special Military Operation was an invasion or aggression. At the state level, Singapore is the only AMS that is consistent with the policy of the United States, including imposing economic sanctions against Russia. As a result, Singapore is the only ASEAN country listed by Russia as an unfriendly country.

Furthermore, there will be potentially economic, political, and security impacts of the Russia - Ukraine conflict on the ASEAN Region. The impacts of the conflict would be mainly on the economic sphere, in particular trade and stock and currency exchange. However, if war continues to escalate, it may have a political and security impact on the ASEAN region. If ASEAN Member States have to take a side between Russia and the United States, how each ASEAN Member State deals can be analyzed through the relations with either the United States or Russia and with its public as the public may support Ukraine or Russia.

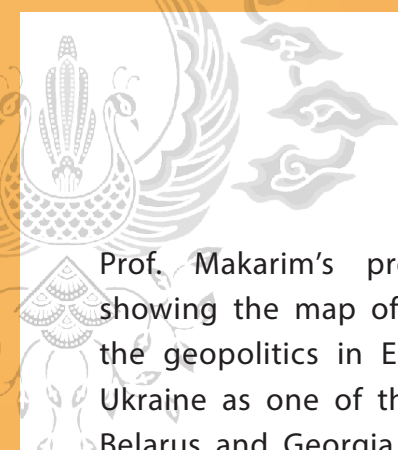
Additionally, Prof. Hikmahanto also delivered possible implications of the ongoing conflict at the Upcoming G20 Leaders' Summit. The G20 may be unsuccessful if a boycott from Australia, Canada, and other allies of the United States is realized. The first incident happened during the G20 Finance meetings in Washington DC, to which delegations from the United States, Canada, and the UK walked out when the Russian delegation started to speak. It is not directed to Indonesia as the Chair when they walked out and for Indonesia,

a walk-out is acceptable as long as the Head of State and Head of Government attend G20 Leaders' Summit. Prof. Hikmahanto concluded that the G20 is on the brink of collapse if the United States and its allies refuse the attendance of Russia, to which China and other countries alike may be against the United States' position and its allies. The world may enter into a 'divided world' again, not because of ideology or influence, but it is more because we do not want the United States to dominate the world.

PRESENTATION FROM THE PANELIST



Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D
(Indonesian Ambassador for the United
Nations (2004-2007)/Professor,
Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia)




Prof. Makarim's presentation started by showing the map of Ukraine to understand the geopolitics in Europe. Russia considers Ukraine as one of the buffer states besides Belarus and Georgia because of its location on the border with Russia. The signs of tensions had previously been reported by the international media, on 24 February 2022, when Russia launched aerial, maritime, and land offensive military missions from three entry points, the North, South, and Eastern part of Ukraine. Three days earlier, the government of Russia formally recognized the independence of Luhansk and Donetsk – two provinces in Eastern Ukraine with a majority of Russian speakers. Separatist troops loyal to Moscow had occupied the two provinces.

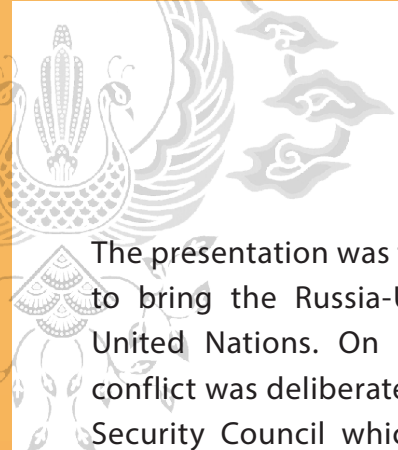
The genesis of the conflict began with the demonstration of the Ukraine people who were against President Victor Yanukovich's decision to reject trade cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union. Later on, this grievance escalated into a political movement to topple President Yanukovich from power. There is a transformation of Ukraine's foreign policy from Moscow oriented policy to the European Union. The fall of President Victor Yanukovich changed the orientation of Ukraine's foreign policy from Moscow to the European Union. This policy pivot disappointed Moscow.

The disappointment seemed to have run deep as President Vladimir Putin is adamantly convinced of Ukraine's long past as an integral part of Russia and has sought to reunite into

one country as had historically been the case. President Vladimir Putin publicly declared that Russia is seeking the demilitarization of Ukraine. Ukraine's membership in NATO is considered by President Vladimir Putin as a threat to Russia's national security. Regarding the perception of threat, Russia observed very carefully the progress has been taken by NATO toward the former Uni Soviet states. The progress can be seen when Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined NATO in 2004. Five years later, in 2009, Albania and Croatia joined NATO. Subsequently, Montenegro and Northern Macedonia joined NATO in 2017. In 2021, the United States even proposed that Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Ukraine be integrated into NATO at the NATO Conference.

Moving on to Ukraine options, Prof. Makarim stated that geographically, Ukraine is located between the European Union and Russia. From a geopolitical standpoint, Ukraine's current challenging situation is partly due to the cataclysmic effect of being located between these two powerhouses. However, from a foreign policy perspective, Ukraine's President faces a dilemma. Ukraine is attracted by the economic development potential of NATO member countries. On the other hand, Ukraine is influenced by the advancement of Russia's weapons system and high technology. In other words, Ukraine faces two choices in its foreign policy orientation, asymmetric in nature, either towards NATO or Russia.





The presentation was then followed by efforts to bring the Russia-Ukraine conflict to the United Nations. On 26 February 2022, the conflict was deliberated in the United Nations Security Council which has the mandate to issue legally-binding resolutions on issues of international peace and security. However, the United States' proposal to deplore the Russian attack was rejected by the Russian veto. The United States then introduced a debate on the Russia - Ukraine conflict issue into a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Eventually, the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly was adopted.

Furthermore, at ASEAN regional level, ASEAN Foreign Ministers declared a joint statement on 26 February 2022, consisting of three points: (1) deeply concerned over the evolving situation and armed hostilities in Ukraine, calling on all relevant parties to exercise maximum restraint and make utmost efforts to pursue dialogue through all channels in accordance with international law, the principles of the United Nations Charter and Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia; (2) there is still room for a peaceful dialogue to prevent the situation from getting out of control; and (3) for peace, security, and harmonious co-existence to prevail, parties must uphold the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and equal rights of all nations. At the same time, the ASEAN Member States did have different views. Singapore expressed its position to impose sanctions on Russia. In contrast, the

Myanmar junta was in favor of Russia. Vietnam calls for dialogue, and Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines favor the resolution.

Prof. Makarim also shared his thoughts about Indonesia's response to the Russia – Ukraine conflict as the Presidency of G20 in 2022. If the member countries of G20 will see in the opening of the Summit that the conflict is still unresolved, some of them will utilize G20 to put pressure on Russia. It will create polarization in the G20 and affect the future of the G20. He thought it was a correct action that Indonesia sent an invitation to President Vladimir Putin to attend the G20 Summit because Russia is a legitimate member of the G20. It is also admirable if Indonesia, as the Presidency of G20 with the support of ASEAN, takes the initiative to bridge the gap between conflicting parties.

To conclude, Prof. Makarim provided recommendations for ASEAN in supporting Indonesia's G20 presidency to address the Russia – Ukraine conflict. ASEAN Member States have to unify their position to support Indonesia in the G20 forum. Moreover, the ASEAN principles are relevant to mitigating the Ukrainian conflict. If the Ukrainian conflict is resolved before the G20 Summit opening, the G20 member countries will possibly focus on the substances during the G20 Summit.



QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION



Questions

Taufan Samudra (The Habibie Center):

In the early days of this war, some observers still believed that the war could be ended as long as Russia found a graceful exit mode. This approach was tried before through a number of meetings, such as in Belarus and Turkey. However, as the war has now escalated, do you think there is still a chance for a “face-saving” exit for Russia that can lead to a peaceful resolution or it is next to impossible to think of it now? As mentioned by Prof. Hikmahanto, Putin already considered it a noble war, which means that he will fight till the end until Ukraine surrenders?

Responses

Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, SH., LL.M, Ph.D (Rector, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani):

The effort to make peace has to be a continuous effort by countries worldwide, including Indonesia. Indonesia can be a mediator, using its capacity as the head of the Presidency of G20. Indonesia can go to the United States and ask the United States and NATO to have a return guarantee that they will not accept Ukraine as a member of NATO. This is to say that Ukraine should remain neutral and if it is not enough, Indonesia can go to the United Nations and ask the United Nations General Assembly to issue a resolution similar to Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a city and is being internationalized, so there are no “countries” that will try to dominate Jerusalem. If Indonesia secures that, then Indonesia can go to Russia. If Indonesia can offer Russia that the United States is agreeable to a written guarantee that Ukraine will not become a member of NATO and NATO will not expand more, maybe Russia would say that they would be willing to stop the war. It is because, for Russia, the war has been costly.

Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D (Indonesian Ambassador for the United Nations for the period of 2004-2007 and Professor, Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia):

Prof. Makarim believed that the ceasefire process would be reached before the opening of the G20 Summit because Turkey had already acted as a mediator between Russia and Ukraine. In practice, Russia is willing to accept that Ukraine becomes a member of the European Union, but Ukraine also accepts that Ukraine will not be a member of NATO. However, even though NATO and the western parts are not part of the military conflict, they are sending troops and weapons to Ukraine. So, Ukraine is not just Ukraine alone, but Ukraine is supported by the western weapon system. Therefore the reaction becomes longer. Prof. Makarim considered that China and Russia have the policy to control some areas so that they are there during the resolution of conflict.

Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D (Professor of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia):

In international relations, we do not know what will happen until it happens. However, we can work on its scenario based on the most significant variables in this war: Russia, Ukraine, and western countries. Russia is under pressure now to win the war and has already used so many resources. “Face-saving” diplomacy has not been immersed so far, but it will be difficult for Russia to stop. An option to persuade Russia to stop, for instance, do not make Russia as the world’s enemy. As Russia has other allies like China, this variable can also shape Russia’s options. Variable for the western countries, if the war in Ukraine stopped, the western countries already put arms in Poland. Poland already received western countries’ strategic arms and Poland’s President expressed very strong sentiment against Russia. This is another trigger for another war against Russia. If the war in Ukraine is stopped, another war will occur in the future.

We can analyze from three scenarios as usual: the most positive, the most pessimistic, and the middle. Indonesia’s position is essential, but I doubt it will be too much to hold a responsibility to be an arbiter or mediator of this war. Prof. Evi contended that the UN Security Council should take more steps, considering Indonesia’s resources concentrate on the G20 main agenda. Acting as a mediator will need not only a skill but also resources and credibility. Hence, Indonesia needs to cooperate with other credible mediators as well.

Questions

Iwan (Indonesian Ministry of Defense):

In addition to impacting the global economy, [what the] mapped allied countries do, show the preparation of the new world order?

Responses

Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D (Professor of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia):

Prof. Evi argued that the current situation might be one of the steps toward a new world order. If we go back to the theory of the rise and fall of a major power, the period when the old hegemony is going away and the new hegemonic is not coming yet is the most destabilized time. Maybe this is the phase when the hegemonic power is fading away, but the challenger is not yet established as a major power. This is part of the world order transition. Now, Russia and China are trying to challenge and contribute to the new world order.

Another point is that if the United States and western countries decide not to participate in the G20 forum, we may not have G20 but G10 or G12, and this is another movement too. The G20 was initiated by the G7 group to manage the world economy during the crisis in 2008. We also have to consider China's position and reaction, which will be very important to see what kind of world order in the future. We do not know the time, but perhaps not in the short time.

Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, SH., LL.M, Ph.D (Rector, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani):

Prof. Hikmahanto agreed with the statement that we are going to enter into the new world order, as he mentioned earlier, a divided world. Not because of communism or liberalism, but because of whether countries will still accept western hegemony led by the United States or they will not accept the United States hegemony. Secondly, it may be divided because of the economic issues. Therefore, it is not easy for the United States and its allies to have the trust of many countries anymore.

Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D (Indonesian Ambassador for the United Nations for the period of 2004-2007 and Professor, Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia):

Prof. Makarim leaned toward supporting the idea that the world may be entering the process of formulating the international world order because the current global governance is not working very well. For example, on the issue of international conflict, the United States is designed to resolve the problem.

In articles one and two of the United Nations Charter, the role of the United States is to maintain international peace and order. In fact, in the Suriah crisis, more than 500,000 were killed, but the United Nations could do nothing. Moreover, more than 500,000 in Myanmar were moved from the country to Bangladesh, which is very clearly not in line with international law. It means that the current global governance that is working based on the formula created in 1945 is no longer in line with the current geopolitics and geostrategic in the world. It needs adjustment to be able to be responsive to the current process. The ineffectiveness of the United Nations Security Council is because there is no democratic process in the United Nations system. The United Nations' mechanism has followed an old system derived since the beginning of the United Nations in 1945. The constellation of the political structure in 1945 is different from the political structure now. Therefore, the situation in Europe, particularly in Ukraine, indicates a step toward formulating a new international order that we expect to help the ineffectiveness of the current global governance.

Questions

Fadel (Universitas Indonesia):

Has ASEAN or Indonesia already mentioned the importance of peace of the Taiwan Strait to the What has happened in Ukraine-Russia can also happen to other countries and regions. Is it possible for Southeast Asia, the Indo-Pacific, or the South China Sea to become the next battlefield for the major power? How relevant is ASEAN to anticipate and overcome the said possibilities?

Responses

Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, SH., LL.M, Ph.D (Rector, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani):

Russia recognized the two republics before attacking Donbas (eastern part of Ukraine). Russia has a security pact, and based on this, Russia exercises article 51, which says that self-defense is not only individual self-defense but also collective self-defense, meaning that the battlefield can be in Asia, especially within China. So, possible conflict across the Taiwan Strait might become the next battlefield for the major powers.

Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D (Indonesian Ambassador for the United Nations for the period of 2004-2007 and Professor, Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia):

The issue of uncertainty of international law is now dominating a world affair. For instance, an issue like how the future of Taiwan is. The intention of China is critical in creating a global structure. Another example is Russia's perception of threats. They believed in Gorbachev, who was leading the country. They got a report from Gorbachev that the United States promised that there would be no extension of NATO to Eastern Europe. However, in 2004, Bulgaria, Estonia, and Slovakia became NATO members. What has been said earlier by the leaders is not kept by all the conflicting parties. If that exists, what will be the guiding principle of the country's behavior in the future? Therefore, to see a new world order that is more rule-based, we have to respect the commitment that the conflicting parties have already achieved. It would make the world become safer and prosper.

Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D (Professor of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia):

In Southeast Asia, the closest countries that are possible to be like Ukraine are countries on the border of China, such as Vietnam, Lao, Cambodia, and Myanmar. It is also the lesson that ASEAN has to learn. Being a country next to a giant or big power in the region, for example, China in Asia is very dangerous if a country takes sides. So, the best way for ASEAN is not to take sides but ASEAN works with all major powers.

If all ASEAN countries do not take sides, they will not have to experience what happened with Ukraine. ASEAN centrality is essential because ASEAN needs to be neutral, not to take sides, but to cling to ASEAN itself.

Questions

Arya Gunawan (Jakarta):

Putin himself was a good example of a “double standard” approach. He questioned the world why there was no condemnation of Israel within the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, including in the events where Israel attacked Palestine. This implies that Putin recognizes that no country can attack another sovereign country. However, he launched an attack against Ukraine. He initially only wanted to topple Zelensky because Zelensky was not in line with Russia’s interests, unlike Zelensky’s predecessor Petro Poroshenko. Of course, this includes Putin’s worries about Zelensky’s plan to join NATO. Nevertheless, how come you launch an attack against a sovereign country to kick out a democratically-elected leader? This is similar to what Israel did to the success of Hamas in winning the election in Palestine or what the United States and western allies did to Mohamed Morsi in Egypt.

Responses

Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, SH., LL.M, Ph.D (Rector, Universitas Jenderal Achmad Yani):

On the issue of the use of force, under the United Nations Charter, use of force may not be invoked by any country, except for article 51 on self-defense and article 42 if the United Nations mandate it. However, in reality, everyone will invoke article 51 when they are attacking, the same as Russia did when they attacked Ukraine for anticipatory self-defense. The same case for Israel when they attack Palestine, especially Hamas. They will say that this is anticipatory self-defense.

Putin cannot accept Israel’s attack on Palestinians, but he can accept the attack on Ukraine because, from Russia’s perspective, they will say that they are using article 51, although, from the other perspective, it is a violation. Russia already notified the United Nations Security Council when they first attacked Ukraine. This also happened in the United States. From the observers’ point of view, they refer to a double standard. From the beginning of Russia’s attack on Ukraine, Prof. Hikmahanto said that he never judged whether it was self-defense or an attack on the territorial integrity of another state. Once you judge that this is a violation of Article 2 paragraph 4, you will be sided with the United States. If you say that this is the right of Russia to exercise its self-defense, then you will side with Russia. If you are taking it aside, how will you create peace?

Prof. Makarim Wibisono, Ph.D (Indonesian Ambassador for the United Nations for the period of 2004-2007 and Professor, Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia):

As former Human Rights Special Rapporteur of United Nations in Palestine, Prof. Makarim knew the situation faced by the Palestinian that they are suffering very much from the policy taken by Israel and the way Israel attacked Gaza. The world was very quiet about the situation. He was in question with a Palestinian family in Jordan. They all blamed him because the United Nations could do nothing to see the attack on Palestinians and how Israel treated Palestinians. On the other hand, something happened in Ukraine and the reaction taken by the media was so massively against the position of Russia. There are double standards in these two cases. It is time for us to seek an alternative new world order to provide a better world to address conflicts.

Prof. Evi Fitriani, Ph.D (Professor of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia):

Mentioning a double standard is unavoidable if you have interests, you will apply the double standard because you have to protect somebody. Western countries have applied a lot and some other countries have also done it. With the development of media, social media, and technology where everyone can be a citizen journalist, Prof. Evi thought the double standard would be problematic because many people will find the proof. So, the rule of civil society and the use of social media will help force those who apply the double standard.



ABOUT ASEAN STUDIES PROGRAM

The ASEAN Studies Program was established on February 24, 2010, to become a center of excellence on ASEAN related issues, which can assist in the development of the ASEAN Community by 2015. The Habibie Center through its ASEAN Studies Program, alongside other institutions working towards the same goal, hopes to contribute to the realization of a more people-oriented ASEAN that puts a high value on democracy and human rights.

The objective of the ASEAN Studies Program is not merely only to conduct research and discussion within academic and government circles, but also to strengthen public awareness by forming a strong network of civil society in the region that will be able to help spread the ASEAN message. With the establishment of ASEAN Studies Program, The Habibie Center aims to play its part within our capabilities to the ASEAN regional development.

ABOUT TALKING ASEAN

Talking ASEAN is a monthly public dialogue held at The Habibie Center in Jakarta. Covering a wide array of issues related to ASEAN, Talking ASEAN addresses topics of: Economic Integration, Socio-cultural, & Democracy, human rights and regional peace, among others. Featuring local and visiting experts, Talking ASEAN is one of a series of twelve dialogues regularly held each month and open to a target audience consisting of ASEAN officials, foreign ambassadors & diplomats, academics, university students, businesses, and the media.

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