

Managing International 'Relations':  
ASEAN's Dilemma of Attraction-Autonomy Deficits and  
Ideational Changes after the Cold War

by

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## Abstract

Under what conditions do ASEAN states adopt foreign ideas? Why do they find the new ideas more attractive at certain times than others? This article offers a new instrumental explanation that idea receiver-promoter relations provide a powerful constraint on the idea diffusion process within ASEAN. Specifically, I develop a concept of 'the dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits.' One commonality among the cases concerned in this study is that the new ideas were exported by foreign policy elites of major advanced power countries in the West (including Japan from the East). As leaders of weak dissimilar states vis-à-vis the idea-promoters, ASEAN elites share concerns over 'attraction-deficits' since the major powers' disengagement from the region would disrupt their political survival. Ideational engagement can be one of the measures that ASEAN elites can take to cope with the concerns because it is expected to draw the idea-promoters' attention to the region. However, a straightforward pledge of ideational convergence may allow the promoters' increasing pressure on ASEAN leaders for giving up their 'otherness' to an undesirable extent. This could eventually lead concerns over autonomy-deficit to rise. But any divergent moves to buffer autonomy could make the relations with the West distant again, which might lead them to disengage from the region. This can raise their concerns over

attraction-deficits again. This article argues that the pattern and timing of the ideational changes at the ASEAN level was a reflection of ASEAN elites' decisions to manage the dilemma of inversely-related deficits. ASEAN's responses to common security, human rights and Asia-Pacific regionalism will be discussed to support this argument.

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## List of Acronyms

ABAC	APEC Business Advisory Council
ABMI	Asian Bond Markets Initiative
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
CEPEA	Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia
EAFTA	East Asian Free Trade Agreement
EAS	East Asian Summit
EASG	East Asia Study Group
EAVG	East Asia Vision Group
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
EVSL	Early Voluntary Sectoral Liberalization
FTAAP	Free Trade Agreement of the Asia Pacific
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NMI	New Miyazawa Initiative
ODA	Official Development Assistance

PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership

## Chapter 1 Introduction

Realist wisdom tells us that weak states likely adopt norms and ideas that dominant states impose or teach. However, why did the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) adopt a ‘common security’ norm in spite of the cool response to the idea from the United States and China? Some scholars in the constructivist or historical institutionalist school tell us that new ideas will be more easily taken when they “fit” locally. But what do they teach us about the adoption of locally-unfit ideas that sometimes take hold? For example, what made ASEAN leaders adopt human rights as a principle of their regional cooperation arrangements after years of resistance? Others in the constructivist school focus on the process, noting that persuasion and regular interactions through institutional ties have gradually socialized local actors into global culture. But when are these mechanisms less likely to work? Why is it that the idea of inclusive Asia Pacific regionalism is not getting stronger in spite of the increasing level of institutionalization through Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)?

This study observes ideational changes of international regional cooperation arrangements as dependent variables. Particularly, it addresses ideational changes that seem to remain puzzling according to conventional wisdom. Ideational principles are components of institutional designs, which, according to Acharya and Johnston, are defined as “formal and informal rules and organizational features that constitute the institution and that function as either the constraints on actor choice or the bare bones of the social environment within which agents interact, or both.”<sup>1</sup> As Hurrell points out, international institutions work not only “in terms of the provision of international public goods”<sup>2</sup> but also as the sources of rule creation, norm diffusion and socialization.<sup>3</sup> In this sense, the ideational principles of the institutions matter

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<sup>1</sup> Acharya and Johnston 2007, 15-16

<sup>2</sup> Hurrell 2003, 147

<sup>3</sup> Important studies of institution’s diverse roles, beyond instrumental ones, include Finnemore 1993; Barnett and Finnemore 2004; Checkel 2005; Johnston 2008

in setting agendas, empowering certain norms over others, and defining the roles and ideas of participants.

This study asks why and when ASEAN, which encountered new foreign ideas, increased (or decreased) the level of commitment to external ideas about regional cooperation arrangements. The first ideational change investigated is the adoption of common security as an ideational principle of ASEAN's security arrangement established in early 1990s. The idea of common security was new in three aspects. First, the idea became a foundation of multilateral 'security' arrangements. ASEAN's original members previously avoided multilateral security arrangements because they did not want to provoke their Cold War adversaries such as Vietnam and China by strengthening institutional alignments with the United States. Besides, the principle of non-intervention, ASEAN's cardinal norm since its inception, had also helped prevent the development of military cooperation. Second, common security was an idea for 'inclusive' security. Accepting it was particularly striking because ASEAN had firmly opposed including external players, especially great powers, in their regional groupings through the institutionalization of the 1971 Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN). In contrast, common security was an idea that aimed to bring not only ASEAN members together, but also powerful outside players into a single security framework.<sup>4</sup> With Canada's, Japan's and Australia's proposals, ASEAN's original 6 members invited the United States and China as well as major dialogue partners to the common security framework, under the name of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). It has grown into a regional security mechanism consisting of 27 member countries. Third, common security included an idea rooted in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE),<sup>5</sup> which aimed to reject an adversarial approach to security and pursue a 'threat-engaging' approach (as opposed to 'threat-detering') through reassurance and confidence building measures.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Acharya 2009, 115

<sup>5</sup> CSCE's common security consists of six principles: "(1) All nations have a legitimate right to security; (2) Military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving disputes between nations; (3) Restraint is necessary in expression of national policy; (4) Security cannot be attained through military superiority; (5) Reduction and qualitative limitations of armaments are necessary for common security; and (6) "Linkage" between arms negotiations and political events should be avoided" (Palme Commission, 1982, 8-11, cited in Acharya 2009, 113).

<sup>6</sup> Acharya 2009

The second change I examine is the acceptance of human rights at the regional level as a set of common principles that all ASEAN members would aim to achieve. Southeast Asia had been the most resistant region to the global human rights regime. Both the concept and application of universal human rights had been challenged by most member states, which viewed the idea as incompatible with their principles for social unity and stability, effective economic development, and sovereignty. Additionally, some of the countries (Malaysia and Singapore) in the region were the most active promoters of pluralist views of human rights (and Asian values) as a response to increasing pressure from the UN and many Western countries since 1993. In addition, the records of ASEAN states' participation in major human rights treaties remained weak. Although there have been some marked improvements since the 1990s in the participation in human rights treaties by individual states, any regional level arrangement seemed less likely. Southeast Asia remained the slowest region with respect to progress on establishing frameworks for regional cooperation on human rights.

However, ASEAN states have shifted their positions. Since 2003, they have set out plans to establish 'ASEAN communities' (security, cultural, economic and political communities) which include a liberal agenda encompassing human rights. At the ASEAN ministerial meeting in July 2007, member states finally reached a consensus on institutionalizing a set of liberal principles including the rule of law, good governance, and respect for fundamental freedom.<sup>7</sup> Determining why such a shift has occurred since the mid-2000s may also require a temporal comparison with other time periods. Why did states resist establishing regional human rights mechanisms for years? If the Cold War was a factor, how was ASEAN able to resist adopting human rights norms for years after the end of the Cold War? If greater global attention to human rights was a major factor that prompted ASEAN to say yes finally to the idea, why did ASEAN not accommodate surging Western calls in the early 1990s for the universal convergence to a global human rights regime as well as the establishment of regional human rights arrangements?

The third change is a negative one. It concerns the rise and decline of inclusive Asia-Pacific economic regionalism as a principle for economic cooperation within the region. Since the late 1960s, Australia and Japan have promoted a plan to build an extended regional

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<sup>7</sup> Katsumata 2009, 622-3

framework for economic cooperation fostering the idea of inclusive, open, and market-driven economic liberalization. However, ASEAN members remained cool to the idea of inclusive economic regionalism until 1989 when they were invited to participate in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Since its inception, APEC became a major vehicle for economic dialogue and regular interactions in the region. ASEAN members were also involved in the process in order to promote their individual and collective interests. However, the idea of open and inclusive regionalism through APEC started to wane in Southeast Asia. Many ASEAN elites started to lose interest in APEC and focus on more exclusive, East Asia-centered regional arrangements since the late 1990s. Why and how did ASEAN states reach a consensus on the acceptance of APEC membership in the early 1990s? Also, despite the idea-promoters' efforts to socialize all the member states of APEC, why did ASEAN and many of its members not consolidate the idea through deeper institutionalization, but instead start to develop new mechanisms for the regional economic cooperation?

### **Why Ideational Changes? Why Institutions? Why ASEAN?**

Why should one care about ideational changes? Scholars have traditionally studied in detail the importance of power, institutions and domestic politics in understanding international affairs. But the study of ideas (both individually and collectively held) has been marginalized for a long time. Ideas are hard to measure, and the language of politicians or public discourse, which are considered as the major source for understanding ideas, has been perceived merely as cheap talk, politicians' post-hoc rhetoric, or epiphenomena of real causes.

However, such skepticism was challenged by many scholars who have provided both theoretical and empirical support for understanding whether or how ideas matter in foreign policies and international politics.<sup>8</sup> As Legro put it, these scholars have tried to demonstrate that international relations are shaped not only by what actors have (power) or what they know

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<sup>8</sup> Literature on how ideas guide foreign policies includes Adler 1987; Sikkink 1991; Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Risse-Kappen 1994; Johnston 1995; Legro 1995; Katzenstein 1996; Haas 1997; Kier 1997; Berger 1998; Berman 1998.

(information), but also by ideas about how power and information should be used.<sup>9</sup> Some scholars started to focus more on the impact of ideas on institutional stability and changes that rational and historical institutionalists have had a hard time explaining.<sup>10</sup> Sociological institutionalists have tried to challenge a divide between institution and culture and explicitly study the role of culture and cognitive scripts in assigning certain identities or roles to actors. Social constructivists who noted the constitutive power of ideas kindled diverse studies of norms, from the evolution and constitution of norms themselves to both causal and constitutive effects of global norms in changing behaviors as well as preferences of international actors.<sup>11</sup> If ideas matter in changing human actions, policies and institutions, then it might also be important to ask why and when ideas change.

As discussed above, this study addresses changes of the ideational component of institutions. The studies of ideational principles as a part of institutions started to gain more attention in IR and interesting empirical research has accumulated.<sup>12</sup> However, little attention has been given to norms and ideas in institutional settings until recently. Social constructivists in IR have made major contributions to identifying the constitution of these institutional principles and their influences on political changes. But as will be discussed in the literature review section, some of the changes in institutional principles, particularly in the ASEAN context, still remain puzzling.

ASEAN offers an excellent laboratory to study the importance of ideas in International Relations. I use the term ASEAN to refer to a member-driven association in Southeast Asia which reflects the collective stances/positions among its member states. First, ASEAN's survival and position is notable. ASEAN has been controversial as a scholarly subject. The low level and slow pace of cooperation among states have made it look insignificant to many IR scholars. The elites' meetings became routine, but their limited effect on domestic changes has led many Asia specialists to be skeptical about the Association's influence. However, ASEAN has survived for over 45 years. Moreover, despite extreme power disparities between its member states and

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<sup>9</sup> Legro 2005, 3

<sup>10</sup> For a work that puts ideas more explicitly as the main sources of institutional changes, see Blyth 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Nadelmann 1990; Finnemore 1993; Finnemore 1996; Florini 1996; Katzenstein 1996; Price 1997; Hoffmann 2005

<sup>12</sup> Acharya and Johnston 2007

external regional players, it has taken a driver's seat in Post-Cold War regional institution building and has become a venue for future regional cooperation mechanisms around East Asia. Many Asian states are increasingly interested in developing mechanisms for more intense regional cooperation, and ASEAN has been an active leader in this picture. Secondly, ASEAN provides good cases of norm diffusion and socialization. The leaders' responses to global ideas at the ASEAN level varied across time, providing theoretically intriguing questions for those who study the power of ideas and norms. It can also serve as an interesting question for policy makers or global activists because the majority of ASEAN members have been major targets to push, persuade or socialize. At a practical level, understanding the sources of ASEAN states' resistance to or acceptance of foreign ideas becomes an important issue for strategizing the promoting activities of these policy makers and activists.

### **Studies of International Ideational Changes**

This study mainly asks two questions: First, when did ASEAN change its responses to foreign ideas? Second, why did its elites conform more (or less) to foreign ideas about international regional cooperation arrangements? Though existing theoretical frameworks in the IR literature have provided important insight, several changes of institutional principles particularly in the ASEAN context still remain puzzling.

Broadly, literature would suggest four reasons for the ideational changes that this study concerns. First, power-based explanations would suggest that ASEAN's ideational changes (or non-changes) reflect the strategic interests of great powers such as the United States and China. Due to the structural constraints that large power gap produces, ASEAN leaders would be tempted by the side-payments that the great powers offer in exchange of ideational convergence or forced to adopt the new ideas under the great power's pressure.<sup>13</sup> However, it appears that the weak states' ideational changes are not necessarily epiphenomenal to material power distribution. If their accounts are right, ideational principles should not change as long as the material

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<sup>13</sup> For example, Crone 1993; Gilpin 1981; Grieco 1999; Ikenberry and Kupchan 1990; Schimmelfenning 2000



structure and its effects persist. Moreover, according to them, when the United States rose to the status of sole superpower at a global level in the 1990s, the weaker states would have felt greater pressure from the United States for complying with the norms that it advocates. But evidence shows that ASEAN leaders adopted some ideas (e.g. common security) irrespective of America's reserved stance. Also, ASEAN leaders' decisions were not consistent with that of China, another powerful player in the region that is highly influential on ASEAN countries. ASEAN turned to adopt a common security arrangement when China did not support a common security arrangement. Moreover, while some analysts would say that ASEAN's consensus for the establishment of human rights body resulted from powerful pressures from the West, the pressures from the United States and the global community had been constantly high since the early 1990s. It does not explain why a regional human rights body was endorsed in the late 2000s, but not in the 1990s. Obviously, small states are sensitive to what great powers promote in general. But it does not appear that power disparity determines the outcomes.

Secondly, some would argue that ideational changes about regional cooperation arrangements in Southeast Asia are a functional choice of state elites who calculate the best option for maximizing their fixed interests (either private or public) under given strategic circumstances.<sup>14</sup> However, the empirical stories of Southeast Asia's regionalism raise some questions. For example, it is still puzzling what 'functional' benefits drove ASEAN states to accept common security in the early 1990s. As Acharya points out, from a utility calculation perspective, the idea of 'flexible engagement' should have been more acceptable to ASEAN leaders than 'common security' in the early 1990s, because 'flexible engagement' could be a more effective frame for crisis management for ASEAN under post-Cold War uncertainty. However, unlike 'common security,' 'flexible engagement' failed to be institutionalized within the region. Also, the utility potential of 'common security' for crisis management appeared weaker than benefits they would have earned if they had strengthened their alliance with the United States. If a clear functional benefit from 'common security' is hard to see, why were the gains perceived to outweigh this cost? Other neo-liberal theorists would argue that variance in the level or nature of cooperative problems across time affected these ideational changes in Southeast Asia. For example, in the games with a distribution problem, concerns about relative

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<sup>14</sup> An exemplary neo-liberal work on Asian regionalism is Kahler 2000.

gains create zero-sum considerations that can impair cooperation. The zero-sum properties can increase when actors interact bilaterally or with small-N numbers.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the idea of inclusive regionalism will be encouraged when distribution problems get severe.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, in the case of games where actors suffer from free riding or defection (enforcement problems), more restrictive or exclusive regionalism will be taken for effective monitoring and regulation. They would argue that Southeast Asian elites accepted the idea of inclusive Asia-Pacific regionalism in the early 1990s because the zero-sum properties had increased at that point or the enforcement problem had weakened over time. However, evidence tells another story. Concerns about relative gains became less severe among ASEAN members either in trade or in security cooperation. For example, major territorial conflicts among them subsided in the early 1990s, in contrast to the early Cold War period, after years of attempts to build a region without use of interstate violence. Moreover, they have been working together for pan-ASEAN economic integration from the 1990s in spite of a weak level of trade complementarity. The evidence suggests that distributional problems did not dominate the leaders' concerns.

Third, the impact of global social structure on local actors is frequently highlighted.<sup>17</sup> They say that local responses in general result from “the socializing feedback effects of previous international political interactions.”<sup>18</sup> Some argue that local actors are eventually socialized due to the power of norms and social purposes of global polity.<sup>19</sup> Others would expect that local ideas which fit with social structure at the global level will eventually survive.<sup>20</sup> These studies help one to understand the importance of social structural constraints on local actors, but generally lack explanations of variance in the level or the timing of socialization across spaces and periods.

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<sup>15</sup> Koremenos et al. 2001, 784-5

<sup>16</sup> Koremenos et al. 2001, 784

<sup>17</sup> A dominant group of this kind is the so-called ‘world polity’ school, which focuses on the process of socializing “non-modern” state leaders into the “modern” set of norms at the global level. See Finnemore 1996; Meyer 1997; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Hobson 2000.

<sup>18</sup> Moravcsik 1997, 539-40

<sup>19</sup> For example, Finnemore 1993 and 1996

<sup>20</sup> Bernstein 2000

The fourth group, based on constructivist and historical institutionalist perspectives, tries to address this issue, turning attention to the local fitness of foreign ideas as a crucial condition for the ideational changes of local actors.<sup>21</sup> But the local-fit thesis seems limited in explaining the outcomes of ideational changes reflected in the cases of this study. We see in these cases that external ideas which are incongruent with local cultures or institutions are adopted by local actors. For example, why did ASEAN adopt the idea of common security which did not fit comfortably in the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), one of the cardinal principles in ASEAN which opposes multilateral regional security cooperation with external powers? What explains the fact that the liberal notion of human rights was finally endorsed as a regional principle of ASEAN cooperation? Ideational changes occurred in spite of the difficult conditions of local-(un)fitness. When do these “unlikely” changes occur?

In sum, each existing framework provides interesting and important insights, but remains unsatisfactory in explaining variance in the ideational principles at the ASEAN level across cases and time periods.

Literature on Southeast Asian regionalism tends to focus on analyzing the features of certain regional cooperative arrangements or on discussing their goals, functions or roles for international relations. In particular, many of these studies question the durability of ASEAN, asking why ASEAN, despite its functional limit, has endured. Constructivists explain its durability with a common identity as ‘ASEAN-er,’ which was constituted by regular and consistent interactions among Southeast Asian foreign policy elites.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, Narine argues that ASEAN’s durability stems from ASEAN leaders’ efforts to further enhance member states’ capacity as sovereign states.<sup>23</sup> Taking an English School approach, he disagrees with a Constructivist proposition that Southeast Asian countries sustain cooperation which is hard to maintain in international relations. Instead, he argues that cooperation happens all the time in

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<sup>21</sup> For a good review of the local fit scholarship, see Cortell and Davis 2000. Exemplary works include Gourevitch 1986; Steinmo et al. 1992; Helleiner 1994; Risse-Kappen 1994; Cortell and Davis 1996; Checkel 1999; Guiraudon 2000; Farrell 2001; Acharya 2004; Lynch 2004; and Legro 2009. For studies of Southeast Asian case, Acharya 2004; Aggrawal and Chow 2009; Jetschke and Ruland 2009.

<sup>22</sup> An exemplary study is Acharya 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Narine 2006

international relations for state leaders who seek domestic political legitimacy.<sup>24</sup> ASEAN's durability merely reflects such leaders' willingness to cooperate, which one can regularly see in the international society. The durability is not something puzzling as many constructivists note, according to him.

Some ASEAN studies note the procedural principles of the region's cooperative arrangements, discussing why East Asian regional institutionalization is slow or soft compared to Europe and why East Asian state elites favor specific procedural principles such as consensus rather than legally binding agreements.<sup>25</sup> For example, Katzenstein, in line with the historical institutionalist approach, argues that the existing institutional factors in East Asian countries contribute to the underdevelopment of formal institutions in the region. He argues that (1) hierarchical state-society relationships and (2) distinctive state structure in East Asian countries are less suited to deal with formal regional institutions. Highly rationalized forms of bureaucratic Weberian states, which are better suited to formal regionalism, are not present in Asia.<sup>26</sup> As noted above, such a claim helps one understand the continuity of certain patterns of cooperation. But it does not explain well the dynamics of changes, which this study examines, such as why some ideas are chosen, while others are not, and how ideas are adapted in the Southeast Asian context.<sup>27</sup>

While many ASEAN-centric studies contain useful insights on ASEAN affairs, which this study examines, few discuss changes of ideational principles of ASEAN or East Asian regional cooperation either as independent or dependent variables "across cases." Many focus on a specific change in a single issue, highlighting region-specific contexts or relying on some of the theoretical perspectives reviewed above.

For a better evaluation of the previous studies against my observation, most of these case-specific studies will be reviewed in the next chapters on the respective cases. However, it would be useful to discuss here a couple of notable studies which not only address the dynamics of

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<sup>24</sup> Narine 2004

<sup>25</sup> For example, Kahler 2000; Haacke 2003; Webber 2001

<sup>26</sup> Katzenstein 1997, 21

<sup>27</sup> Acharya 2009, 29

changes but also examine the puzzle of ideational changes across cases. Acharya was the first to tackle these questions in the Southeast Asian context, situating ASEAN cases within broader debates in IR. However, as pointed out above and as will be discussed more in the following empirical chapters, his local-fit thesis is limited in understanding why and when locally-unfit ideas were taken up.

Ba's recent book more directly discusses the questions addressed in this study.<sup>28</sup> Taking a constructivist approach, she argues that the major changes in regional arrangements should be seen as products of continuous dialogues and negotiations among ASEAN elites. While her study is consistent with other agency-oriented explanations which highlight the contingent nature of the moments of changes, it also highlights the roles that regional norms such as regional resilience and ASEAN states' shared identity as small states play in forming the negotiating processes. However, even if one adopts her claim that the norms of regional resilience and small state identities were major reference points for some of the discussions among the ASEAN elites, one may still remain puzzled as to how ASEAN elites reached consensus when these regional ideas conflicted. For example, the norm of "regional resilience" encourages leaders to maintain their capacity to retain their regimes' autonomy against external and internal pressures that could defeat them. But the dilemma they face is that there are times that they must compromise and follow the global norm or the hegemon's ideas which may hurt the regimes' autonomy (e.g. accepting a human rights regime) because they are "small states" vulnerable to outside pressures. When do elites prioritize regional resilience and when do they instead compromise it? In other words, one may still wonder under what conditions their concerns based on shared small state identity, for instance, win out over their desire for regional resilience norms and vice versa. My study aims to provide an answer to these questions. Thus, it is complementary, rather than challenging, to her work.

Furthermore, scholars upholding the local-fit thesis might counter-argue that the way that ASEAN elites adopt the foreign ideas is consistent with a conventional thesis that local norms such as consensus and non-interference, or so-called 'ASEAN Way,' plays a consistently powerful role in the norm diffusion processes. But such claims are questionable in two respects.

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<sup>28</sup> Ba 2009

First, as discussed above, in order for the local-fit thesis to have a more explanatory power, the scholars should discuss when or why some norms are adopted in spite of their lack of local fit as shown in cases of human rights or common security norms. Besides, ASEAN's ideational changes such as adopting human rights and other liberal norms were decisions that would weaken the 'ASEAN Way' of non-interference eventually. The 'ASEAN Way' argument would need extra analytical tools to explain it. Second, evidence shows that ASEAN leaders have interfered implicitly and explicitly in neighbors' internal affairs in spite of their vociferous support for non-interference. For example, Jones finds that Southeast Asian states frequently intervene or act as stakeholders in several internal conflicts in other member states, by containing radical communist insurgents during the Cold War and counteracting political instability in Cambodia and East Timor, in line with the interests of business or political elites.<sup>29</sup> Nischalke,<sup>30</sup> Sharpe,<sup>31</sup> and Horn<sup>32</sup> respectively argue that though many within and outside of ASEAN put an emphasis on the ASEAN way of non-interference and consensus, ASEAN decision-makers violated it when necessary. Such discrepancies between the leaders' words and actions might indicate either of the following two things. On the one hand, these principles of sovereignty or non-interference are not as powerful among the elites as frequently argued by outside critics. That is, these are ASEAN's norms, but may be weaker than normally argued. If so, one might wonder why these not-so-strong norms of the ASEAN Way would have been prioritized when the elites considered the concerned ideational changes. On the other hand, these principles may not be regional norms that the elites felt 'right' or taken for granted. In other words, these may not be local 'norms' but intra-regional 'rules.' And such rules of autonomy or non-interference might come from ASEAN members' common 'interests.'

Besides, one issue that can be raised against many ASEAN-centered IR studies is that many of them focus on factors at the regional level such as the consensus-based ASEAN way, Pan-Asianism and regional resilience, but pay less attention to factors at the individual-state level, particularly when they take cross-case comparisons. Considering that ASEAN has been a

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<sup>29</sup> Jones 2010

<sup>30</sup> Nischalke 2000 and 2002

<sup>31</sup> Sharpe 2001, 236-238

<sup>32</sup> Horn 1984, 129-130

member-driven, loosely structured intergovernmental association with a low level of institutionalization and the Secretariat with no mandate, it is striking to see many observers put an unbalanced emphasis on the regional institutional mechanisms, rather than turn their eyes on factors that stem from individual member states.<sup>33</sup>

As for international affairs, government leaders often perceive, interpret and define the meaning of certain environments or certain agendas for cooperation first and then try to set their goals or preferences. They subsequently interact with other parties on the international stage. Obviously, interactions at the international level can change the actors' goals. But when going into international conference halls, these state leaders usually bring their goals or priorities set a priori; sometimes they change their minds, but at other times they do not. While it may sound obvious to many readers that international institutional change is an outcome of multiple-stage deliberations and negotiations, many ASEAN-centric accounts do not explicitly consider that the leaders who participate in ASEAN politics started discussion about their own national goals or concerns at the national level and that the arrangement of these goals affects the final outcomes at the ASEAN level. This study challenges the approach that highlights the outcomes at the ASEAN level as a function of the regional mechanisms only, by discussing goals and concerns at the individual state level first.

## **Arguments**

This study's general argument is that the relationship between idea-receivers and idea-promoters, particularly the arrangement of relations constituted in the dimension of power and identity distributions between the actors, matters and that it consistently affects variance in idea-receivers' commitments to new ideas. Specifically, I employ the concept of 'attraction-autonomy

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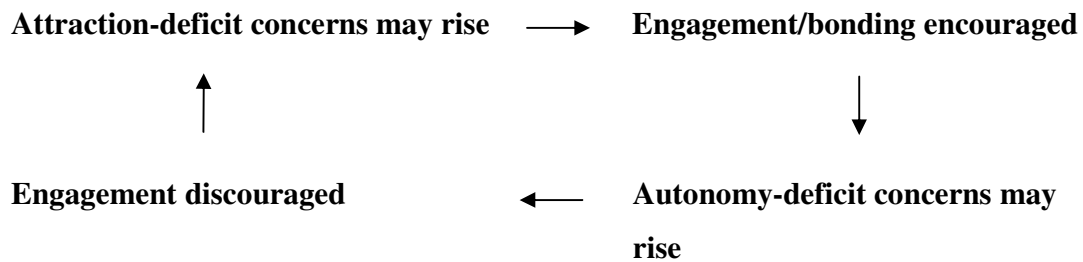
<sup>33</sup> This does not mean that studies rarely exist on the impact of domestic factors on ASEAN's changes. There are studies that focus on domestic/national changes such as democratization or changes of industrial structures of individual member states. However, these studies usually examine one single case, and thus the arguments do not capture well cross-case aspects, in which this study is interested. I will review these studies in the next chapters on the empirical cases.

deficits dilemma,' arguing that the pattern and timing of the ideational changes at the ASEAN level examined in this study is a reflection of ASEAN leaders' decisions to manage the dilemma of inversely-related attraction-autonomy deficits stemming from their relational positions with idea-promoting countries. One commonality among the cases concerned in this study is that new ideas were exported by foreign policy elites of major advanced power countries in the West (including Japan from the East) with an aim to establish common principles on cooperation and interactions with ASEAN elites. Another common feature is that the relations between most ASEAN states and these key promoters were diverging in terms of distribution of both material capabilities and identity. As leaders of such relatively weak and dissimilar states, ASEAN elites have a high level of concern over getting marginalized in the relations. Marginalization can occur in two different patterns. On the one hand, these weak dissimilar states can be easily sidelined or neglected. Many of these states do not hold sufficient capacity to provide their constituents with guarantees for basic territorial and economic security for themselves. Thus these major powers' disengagement in the region would disrupt their political survival. This makes what I call 'attraction-deficits' as a major source of their concerns. As will be discussed in detail, ideational engagement can be one of the short-term measures that actors can take to cope with these concerns because such ideational bonding is expected to draw the idea-promoters' attention to the region, thus lowering the attraction-deficit concerns.

However, the ideational engagement is not cheap because marginalization can occur in the opposite direction that major powers meddle in the internal affairs of the weak dissimilar states. When the 'distant' groups adopt unfamiliar ideas from potential sponsors (major powers) to attract them, these major powers may push the distant groups to change the uncomfortable values that have constituted 'otherness' of their counterparts. This leads to a rise of concern of 'autonomy-deficits.' Then, they may have to buffer their autonomy by disengaging from ideas or rules created by the major powers. However, any divergent moves or self-isolation can make the relations with the major powers distant again, which might lead them to disengage or lose interest in the region. This is problematic particularly when the weaker 'distant' side needs their return when the strategic environment changes.



**Figure 1-1: Dilemma of dual-deficits in relations with major powers**



The balanced management of the dilemma stemming from the inversely-related nature of attraction-autonomy deficits becomes a desirable goal that ASEAN would pursue. My study finds that the dilemma of these dual-deficits captures the consistent pattern of ASEAN's responses to major foreign ideas. The study's findings support this argument.

First, throughout the cases, ASEAN adopted (potential) foreign sponsors' ideas when the existing sponsors got less lenient than at t-1. Leniency can be defined as the quality of being generous or tolerant. The associations between variance in sponsor's leniency and changes in ASEAN's ideational changes can be explained by its leaders' high level of concerns over attraction-deficits. The reception level to the new ideas will increase because ASEAN elites' motivation to engage the concerned idea-promoters gets higher when their existing sponsors turn less generous to ASEAN, compared with others periods (e.g. when the sponsor's commitment level remains high or when ASEAN leaders are confident of their inner capacity to draw foreign attention, etc.). The cases of this study support this argument. ASEAN increased its commitment level to human rights, APEC-centered economic regionalism and common security, all of which were promoted by major Western countries, when its major sponsor countries became less generous and more critical toward Southeast Asia.

Second, findings also suggest that decrease in major sponsors' leniency to the region was necessary but not sufficient for ASEAN's rising level of ideational commitment. The human rights case illustrates this argument. In spite of mounting calls from the United Nations as well as domestic activist groups to establish regional human rights mechanism as well as to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the early 1990s, ASEAN remained the most recalcitrant region to these proposals; rather, it promoted a pluralist notion of human rights and delayed substantial discussion about the regional human rights mechanism until a decade later.

Third, along with decreases in existing sponsor's leniency to the region, this study finds that ASEAN increased its level of commitment to the new ideas to the extent that its leaders could expect local ownership of the ideas. Local ownership of ideas can be defined as a situation where the understanding or implementation of particular ideas is developed in concert with people who are going to live with it in the long run.<sup>34</sup> Though rising concerns over attraction-deficit can increase the likelihood of elites committing more to potential sponsors' ideas than before, the management of attraction-deficit was not the only task that the leaders had to work on. As leaders of 'weak dissimilar states,' ASEAN elites also faced a risk of autonomy-deficits. Thus, they adopted the ideas only to the extent that the risk of autonomy-deficits did not offset the benefit of attracting the sponsors through ideational bonding. If ASEAN states expected the adoption of such ideas to aggravate the autonomy-deficit and put leaders in a dilemma, the leaders did not adopt ideas even though they perceived ideational bonding to help attract the sponsors. As will be discussed, the studies of all three cases of the concerned ideas support this argument.

Fourth, the assurance of local ownership does not suffice to motivate leaders to adopt foreign ideas, either. One could guess that such assurance will make leaders easily embrace new ideas simply because they are politically cheap. But ASEAN leaders did not take the ideas until a possibility of their countries being irrelevant to the foreign idea sponsors pushed them to do so. The story of APEC supports this. The idea of Asia-Pacific economic integration or regionalism which assured full and equal participation of ASEAN members started to spread in late 1970. However, ASEAN leaders had remained reserved until the end of 1980s when the major external sponsors were expected to turn less lenient. In sum, ASEAN increased its commitment to these ideas when both conditions were met. In other words, ASEAN increased its commitment to the ideas when its existing sponsors got less lenient, but only on condition that local autonomy to determine how to participate and implement the ideas was assured to a certain level.

Fifth, ASEAN leaders retreated from their previous commitment to the idea when the idea failed to contribute to drawing more sponsorship from the idea-promoters and they perceived the rising ideational commitment to take away leaders' autonomy at an unexpected

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<sup>34</sup> Hansen and Wiharta 2007, x

level. As discussed in Chapter six, ASEAN leaders found that their commitment to the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism had not helped achieve as much sponsorship from idea promoters as expected. They also found that they might have ended up losing their discretion as the APEC framework progressed. Such disappointments led a revival of East Asia-centered regionalism in the early 2000s, which had been put aside in the early 1990s due to a more extensive support of Asia-Pacific regionalism from many regional leaders.

**Figure 1-2: Dual-deficit dilemma and ASEAN's major ideational changes**

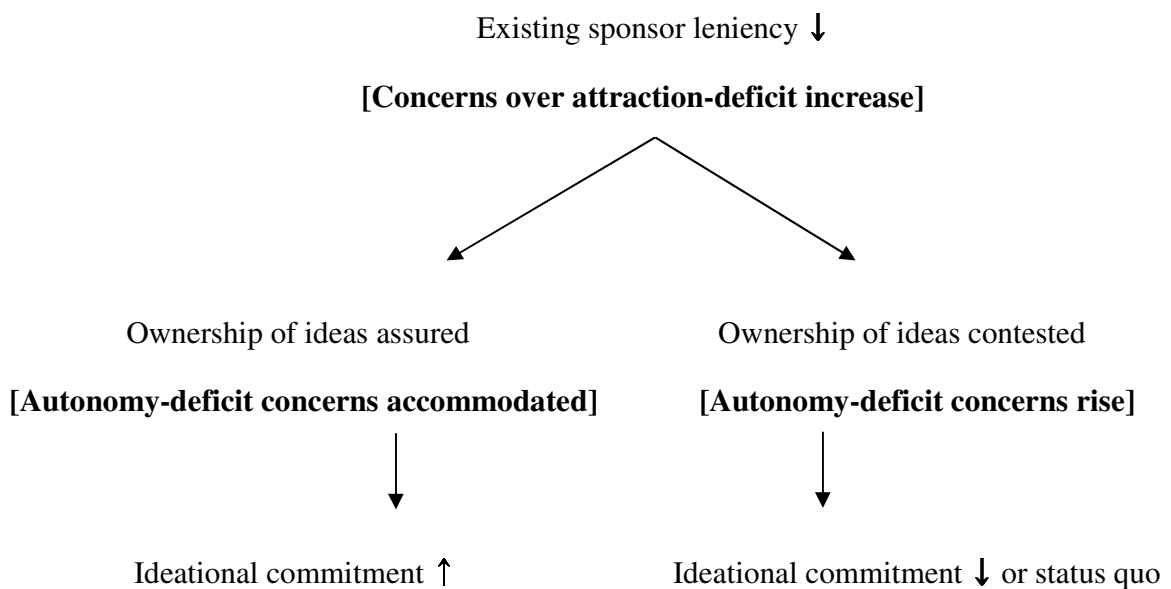


Figure 1-2 describes a pattern of ASEAN's ideational changes that this study finds. To summarize, the dilemma of dual-deficits explains this pattern. A decrease in existing sponsors' leniency triggers ASEAN elites' concerns over attraction-deficits. ASEAN elites become motivated to engage the countries that can provide alternative sponsorship or to re-attract the existing sponsors. One of the measures they can take is to raise their commitment to ideas or institutions that these potential sponsors promote because such ideational engagement can make ASEAN and its member states become less concerned about being left out, by drawing these idea-promoters' attention and bringing them in the regional affairs. However, due to ASEAN

states' distant positions vis-à-vis the idea-promoting countries, the promoters' increasing involvement in the region can lead to a rise in autonomy-deficit concerns. The adoption of the new ideas may give the idea-promoters more legitimate room to meddle in internal normative changes. As ASEAN elites want to avoid perceptions of being subordinate, the ideational engagement with the major sponsors would raise their concerns. But a straightforward rejection of the ideational convergence does not help because it might lead these major powers to disengage or lose interest in the region. This is problematic as it intensifies ASEAN elites' concerns over attraction-deficits which have been already high due to a decrease in the existing patron's sponsorship.

To summarize, a decrease in the existing sponsor's leniency would lead ASEAN elites to be more receptive to ideas exported by potential sponsors. But they are likely to adopt the ideas only in a way that the ownership of the idea is assured. If idea-promoters are willing to accommodate ASEAN's central role in transplanting the ideas in its local context, ASEAN's concerns over autonomy-deficits will be mitigated or at least not rise substantially. The inversely-related nature of dual-deficit means elites will try to manage these concerns in a balanced way. Thus, the commitment to the new ideas will likely increase. However, if autonomy-concerns are not accommodated, ASEAN elites will be less likely to increase their ideational commitment because such ideational convergence will lead autonomy-deficit concerns to rise substantially.

## **Contributions**

This study aims to add value to existing studies on ASEAN's ideational changes in five ways. First, although this study takes an instrumental view of ideational changes, it diverges from the approaches that many conventional interest-based explanations take. Many interest-based explanations in IR would agree that actors would adopt or increase their commitment to ideas when the benefits outweigh the costs of doing so. But they do not pay much attention to how we

know a priori what constitutes the benefits and costs, or what kinds of functions are expected.<sup>35</sup> If we do not identify these sources, a claim that a certain outcome is a function of an actors' interest is underspecified because notions such as interests, benefits or utility are frequently overstretched and applied everywhere. As Hurd points out, interest-based explanations can subsume almost all other categories because power-based or norm-based explanations also assume that actors are interested in pursuing their goals.<sup>36</sup> For example, contractual realist explanations can be considered as a sub-set of interest-based explanations. They are only distinguishable in that they pay more attention to how powerful actors' interests constrain lesser states' interests or behaviors. Likewise, some legitimacy-based explanations can also be categorized into one set of interest-based explanations. Pelc's study is an example. Explaining why states sometimes follow legitimate rules, he revives an interest-based explanation contending that the factor that "compels states to concede to threats legitimately conducted through an institution is the benefit they expect to derive from remaining a compliant member of the institutions."<sup>37</sup> In other words, 'legitimate' institutions are followed because actors are 'interested' in earning good reputations as a member of the institutions. Therefore, to tell us something useful, interest-based explanations must first unpack the content of interests or goals, not assume it. This study pays attention to how actors' goals make ideational changes, but first identifies where they come from. It particularly identifies a largely unexplored set of actors' concerns and tests the strength of this factor against previous instrumentalist explanations that highlight negative pressure such as hegemonic coercion or positive pressure such as provision of side payments.<sup>38</sup>

Relatedly, it attempts to empirically demonstrate the dilemma of dual-deficits that Southeast Asian countries have commonly faced since their independence. Admittedly, a few scholars already note the similar structural fear of marginalization among leaders in the South

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<sup>35</sup> Cottrell 2009, 220

<sup>36</sup> Hurd 1999, 385-6

<sup>37</sup> Pelc 2010, 72

<sup>38</sup> In this sense, my study diverges from instrumental explanations, such as Davies 2013b which understands ASEAN's adoption of human rights as its elites' rational choice without discussing their preferences a priori.

and how it affects their foreign policy decisions.<sup>39</sup> The structural concerns over marginalization are not a new conceptual tool in understanding Third World politics. However, my study differs in attempting to ‘empirically demonstrate’ if and to what extent such marginalization concerns exist in Southeast Asia. Also, my study disagrees with a common premise that the dilemma of structural concerns is universal throughout the South. Rather, it implies that the distribution of dual-concerns varies across Third World countries. Southeast Asian elites tend to face the dilemma because they commonly share substantial concerns over both deficits. However, the distribution of concerns among leaders in other parts of the Third World could differ from that of Southeast Asia leaders (discussed in Chapter 2). In other words, it should be empirically examined, not assumed, which my study does.

Third, my study attempts to show explicitly the association between the dilemma of dual-deficits and ideational changes at the ASEAN level. Previous studies acknowledge structural concerns over marginalization, but few explicitly discuss whether and how the dual-deficits impact their decisions about normative/ideational changes. This study’s findings show that the two factors are positively related and the relationship is consistent across cases in ASEAN. It does not mean to claim that the relational concerns over a dual-deficit dilemma determine all ASEAN’s decisions for ideational changes. However, the goal of my study is to highlight this distinct mechanism of ideational changes to which relatively little attention has been given. The concluding Chapter will discuss this relationship in more in detail.

Fourth, this study aims to advance the literature on idea diffusion and socialization with the implication that the relationship between idea-promoters and idea-receivers can help or disrupt the process of ideational changes. Accumulated efforts to persuade and teach ideas might be necessary steps for gradual socialization. However, my study shows that the process can be disrupted or accelerated by the receivers’ structural concerns vis-à-vis the promoters. This study (Chapter 5 and 6) also shows that the structural concerns derived from idea promoter-receiver relations can explain why ASEAN elites adopted the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism after years of reservations and why human rights were adopted at a particular time period while persuasion by external and internal groups had been consistent. In addition, it suggests that relational

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<sup>39</sup> Acharya 1992; Ayoob 1995; Ba 2009; Snyder 1997

concerns can lead the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism to wane despite years of the promoters' attempts to socialize.

Fifth, my study contributes to the existing discussion about ASEAN by generating falsifiable propositions and testing them. Many studies on ASEAN already provide rich explanations about the contexts and complicated processes of changes. However, attempts to create propositions have been lacking in ASEAN studies. In spite of numerous studies on each respective case, their arguments do not explain well the outcomes across the cases consistently. Making a generalization beyond the region and the cases is not this study's goal, but making a consistent argument at least within the regional context should be a necessary step to contribute to generating new hypotheses for a broader set of cases. In this sense, my study focuses on investigating why the factors highlighted in this study explain outcomes across the cases better than other factors that the competing sets of claims about social behavior would identify.

## **Methods and Data Collection**

The next chapters demonstrate these arguments in the following ways. First, this study undertakes a qualitative comparison as its main method. On the one hand, I apply Mill's method of agreement to examine whether and why ASEAN country leaders shared common concerns over attraction-autonomy deficits in spite of numerous differences in regime type, level of economic development, history, culture and leadership across countries. On the other hand, I undertake temporal comparisons to explain why ASEAN adopted certain ideas at time  $t$ , not at  $t-1$  or  $t+1$ . Comparison is useful to identify factors, which might give notable impacts on the outcomes, out of complicated social contexts. Also, qualitative studies of a small number of cases help to identify whether and how the mechanism of attraction-autonomy deficits works and why it is more valid than other possible logics.

Second, the chapters test the above arguments against alternative explanations. I do not attempt to argue that the relational deficits served as the only mechanism that determines the idea receiver's decisions. But the validity of the argument will increase if the study finds the

identified factors as consistently co-varying with the outcomes, while all the other plausible factors show inconsistent, different values.<sup>40</sup>

As for data collection, let me discuss the limited scope of collectable data in this study. First, as the summary records of consultations at the ASEAN level remain confidential, the collection of data is mostly limited to those from newspapers; memoirs; ASEAN official documents; ASEAN elite-authored articles; websites of related stakeholders (NGOs and local policy institutes at the Track II level); statistical data from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international research institutes; and secondary materials.

Second, while I interviewed members of the ASEAN elites, there were limits to understanding their concerns over the ‘deficits.’ Going through 22 interviews with government officials and Track Two level scholars involved in ASEAN-related policy making, I found the limitations of using interview data in two senses: First, the interviewees could not recall very well events that happened decades ago. Second, it was difficult to discern interviewees’ “political” perceptions. For example, it was questionable whether interviewees would ever tell a foreign junior observer that they had been “afraid” of being neglected or dominated when there were many other explanations to justify what had happened 20 years before. In this regard, I found that published interviews – for example in the popular media – of high-level officials and leaders as well as documents written at the time when the events happened could be more reliable in tracing the elites’ true perceptions.

Admittedly, this approach limits the scope of data collection. As published interviews and newspaper stories disproportionately capture the views of vocal leaders such as Malaysia’s Mahathir, it was difficult to gather views and words of each member state’s elites proportionately. For example, Brunei elites’ views on certain events rarely appeared in the newspapers or published documents, partly because Brunei was not generally proactive in ASEAN affairs. But this does not mean that Brunei elites did not have views or concerns about the ideational changes. Overall, due to the limited scope of data, perceptions or concerns of elites from every member state are not proportionately reflected in this study.

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<sup>40</sup> Gerring 2007, 139



Because of such limits in data collection, this study sets up modest goals. It focuses on testing propositions derived from the theory of dual-deficit dilemma and examines to what extent this theory's expectations would capture the actual outcomes better than the other theoretical explanations. In addition, this study traces ASEAN elites' actions and words to show that the dilemma is a mechanism of ideational changes. With the limited accessibility to the actual evidence of perceptions as discussed above, however, my argument that the dilemma is the causal mechanism will remain limited. Rather, this study focuses more on demonstrating that the propositions, derived from the concept of dual-deficit dilemma, consistently illustrate ASEAN's responses to major new ideas.

## **Contents of the Study**

The next chapters proceed as follows. In Chapter two, the 'dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits' is discussed as a theoretical concept for ideational/normative changes of ASEAN. Also, the chapter provides propositions about what the theory of dual-deficit dilemma expects. Furthermore, the method of data gathering and its limitation is discussed in more detail. Before going into each case study, Chapter three briefly illustrates the level of attraction-autonomy deficits that individual member states face, demonstrating that both deficits have been relatively evenly distributed across the majority of ASEAN states. Chapter four discusses the case of ASEAN's adoption of 'common security' with the establishment of ARF, which supports the expectation of the theory of dual-deficit dilemma. Chapter five and six examine whether the propositions from the dual-deficit dilemma theory are supported, by undertaking temporal comparisons, and discuss why. Chapter five asks why ASEAN leaders increased their commitment to human rights norms in the late 2000s despite previous years of resistance. It particularly compares this period with the early 1990s in which ASEAN remained as one of the most active resistant regional groups when pressure for human rights was increasingly high along with the global movement for the endorsement of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Vienna. This chapter supports my argument that decrease in leniency of the existing sponsors was insufficient for an increasing ideational commitment. As expected in the concept of dual-deficit dilemma, ASEAN's commitment level rose when the leniency of the existing sponsors

decreased and ASEAN's ownership of human rights was assured. Chapter six also supports my claim that ideational changes were a function of ASEAN's collective management of dual-concerns. First, it supports a proposition that ASEAN leaders' concerns over the balance of dual-deficits would lead to ASEAN's positive response to inclusive Asia-Pacific regionalism in 1989. The chapter then discusses why this idea failed to get empowered among ASEAN elites in spite of rising level and frequency of interactions within APEC. Findings support a proposition that failure to cope with ASEAN's dual concerns through ideational bonding within APEC would make ASEAN elites turn their eyes to alternative ideas that are perceived to be more effective in managing the concerns. The last chapter summarizes findings, provide scholarly and policy implications, discuss the limitation of the study and make suggestions for future research.

## Chapter 2

### Dilemma of Attraction-Autonomy Deficits and Ideational Changes

This chapter introduces a new theoretical framework for understanding ASEAN's responses to new foreign ideas promoted by major Western countries. In particular, I pay attention to the nature of affiliations between idea-promoters and ASEAN states as idea-receivers, as well as its impact on the patterns and degrees of receivers' commitment to the idea. The discussion starts by elaborating on the importance of relations between idea-promoters and receivers in terms of power and identity distributions. I then identify a set of structural concerns over attraction and autonomy deficits among ASEAN states which stem from their positions as 'distant' states in relations to idea-promoting countries. In the following sections, I detail how ASEAN elites' concerns over the attraction-autonomy deficits are associated with their responses to foreign ideas. For this purpose, I develop a concept of 'dilemma of dual-deficits' as a mechanism that explains ideational changes within ASEAN. Then, several propositions about ASEAN's responses to the foreign ideas will follow.

#### **Power Relations and Identity Relations between Idea-Promoters and Takers**

A key contemporary school of thought which emphasizes the relations of states at the structural level is neo-realism. Neo-realists share a view that anarchy is an inherent structural feature of the international system, which is relatively immutable and independent from specific historical characteristics of relations among actors. For them, anarchy is a clearly defined structure that determines international outcomes, and the distribution of power is the key variable that determines the relational behaviors of states that want to survive given that structure.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> For example, Waltz 1979, Grieco 1993, Mearsheimer 2001

Constructivists, on the other hand, argue that the nature of anarchy is constituted by the nature of states and their interactions. Therefore, anarchy's outcomes are indeterminate. Anarchy might be a permissive condition, but not a determinative one. What matters more is who constructs the anarchy, with whom and by which means. Social identifications such as "us" or "others" or role identifications as "liberal democrats" or "Asian nationalists" affect how the actors interpret the meaning of relative power, thus the structure of social relations is as important as, or matters even more than, that of power relations.<sup>42</sup> For them, variation in social difference can be independent of variation in material power gap.<sup>43</sup>

Henry Nau's power-identity approach takes account of the combined effects of both power and identity in shaping different types of relational structures.<sup>44</sup> According to him, the interactions of power differentials and identity differentials can produce varying types of relations. First, in the dimension of power distribution, the working mechanism between states with converging capabilities differs from that among states with diverging capabilities. For example, it is likely that interactions between the United States and South Korea during the Cold War would be more hierarchic than those between the United States and its major European allies. It is because a relatively convergent power distribution between Europe and the United States would provide a more conducive condition for establishing a relatively equal partnership that is essential for democratic dialogues and consultations. Whereas, a substantial power gap between South Korea and the United States would make it difficult to practice such democratic interactions, leading to a hub-and-spoke type of relationship between them. Also, persuasion as a mechanism of socialization may be more likely among relatively equal partners than within an imperial situation where the super-ordinate state exports values to its subordinates but resists the reverse.<sup>45</sup> An insight from realists is that one should take the possibility that the distribution of power may work independently to affect the nature of interactions and shape the conditions under which some types of interactions are more likely than others.

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<sup>42</sup> Nau 2002, 19

<sup>43</sup> Johnston 2008, 199

<sup>44</sup> Nau 2002 and 2003

<sup>45</sup> Nau 2003, 214-216

Second, in the dimension of identity distribution, the working mechanism between states with converging identities differs from that among states with diverging ones. So far, identity still remains a rather broad concept without holding any exhaustive list of components. Depending on how one uses this term, it may refer to cognitive, subjective, intersubjective, or institutional aspects. I do not intend to get into debates on what identity is here. Rather, I simply follow the most commonly used definition, which refers to state identity as a social category marked by a label and distinguished by rules/norms deciding membership, goals shared by members, and perceived understanding of material conditions.<sup>46</sup> These social labels may not be able to tell us exactly to what extent the actors' identities converge. But they can be proxy indicators that help us to assess 'social distances' between actors and their counterparts at least in terms of observable values and traits. Considering the identity dimension, one can guess that state leaders that identify each other with common value systems and norms are more willing and able to create pacific relations than those without such common-ness, because at least the former don't have conflicts due to value incongruence. For example, a weak state that shares few norms and rules with a great power will find it difficult to establish a pacific patron-client relationship because it has to destroy or re-design numerous local rules and practices in order to meet the patron's expectations. It will produce a substantial level of social and political costs, compared with other weak states that already have shared similar ways of life and values with their potential patron. This constructivist wisdom implies that the distribution of social identities can also shape the effect of power differentials.

In sum, different kinds of international structure can be built up depending on the relations among the actors which are established along both power and identity dimensions. These relations will form a series of expectations or concerns, which actors should consider in order to decide what they should do and how they should act to get the best outcomes (either strategically or normatively) in the relationship. In the next sections, it is argued that identifying these concerns derived from actors' relational positions can help understand the receivers' responses to new foreign ideas.

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<sup>46</sup> Abdelal et al. 2006, 696

## **Leaders of ‘Distant’ States: Relational Positions of ASEAN Members as Idea-takers**

In the cases of many ideational changes at the ASEAN level, foreign policy elites of great or middle power countries in the West (including Japan from the East) have been the most active promoters of new ideas about international cooperation or global governance with an aim to establish common principles or expectations of interactions with ASEAN elites. Many industrialized countries in the West were active promoters of the liberal notion of civil and political rights. Canada and Australia were main proponents of the institutionalization of common security first developed in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The European Union diffused the concept of regional integration. The government elites and civil society in Southeast Asia started to talk about the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) that originally came from middle powers in the West. The liberal values of governance such as gender equality, labor rights and sustainable development, which began to be institutionalized at the level of ASEAN, were also derived from scholars, government elites and civil societies of the major industrialized countries of the West. When ideas were diffused at multiple levels through diverse transnational networks of groups and individuals, the state elites were usually involved as sponsors of the ideas in the coalition of diffusion, in order to call more effectively for elite-level changes in less democratic settings of the region.

One of the important features in the case of ASEAN is that most ASEAN states have been positioned as ‘distant’ states in relations to these key idea-exporting countries. First, ASEAN member states were distant from these foreign idea-promoters in terms of distribution of material capabilities. In general, international hierarchy in terms of material capabilities is illustrated by a pyramid, in which a few great powers exist on top, several middle powers exist at the next layer, and a number of weak states are positioned at the lowest layer. Though some scholars have tried to define these categories in quantitatively absolute terms, it would be more accurate, as Handel suggests, to view hierarchy as a continuum, where many states are positioned in between two layers and the positions are movable across time.<sup>47</sup> I do not emphasize

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<sup>47</sup> Handel 1989, 11

any artificial limits or boundaries of each category. Instead, I demonstrate the positions of ASEAN states in relative terms. As for quantitative gaps, variations between the major industrial states and ASEAN states are tremendous. To compare values of military expenditures (a proxy of military capabilities) and GDPs (a proxy of economic and social capacity), the capabilities of ASEAN states have ranged from 0.02% to 2.58% of those of the United States. Though relatively smaller, the gaps with other industrial states that may be positioned as middle powers (Australia, Japan, Germany, France and Britain) are also prominent as shown in Table 2-1. Japan by itself does not constitute a dominant power in military terms, but enjoys a high economic supremacy in comparison with ASEAN states, whose capabilities ranged from a low of 0.03% (economic capability gap with Lao PDR in 1990s) to a high of 7.03% (economic capability gap with Indonesia in 2000s) relative to Japan. Major industrial European states have been economically superior as well. The capabilities of ASEAN states have ranged from a low of 0.07% (economic capability gap between Lao PDR and Germany in 1990s) to a high of 10.1% (military capability gap between Indonesia and France in 1980s) relative to major European countries (specifically in comparison with France, Germany and the United Kingdom respectively). In both indicators, ASEAN countries are tremendously distant from the United States, but also far weaker than major non-great powers (or middle powers). Thus, the indicators suggest that they be considered part of the “base” of the pyramid, or as relatively minor powers, at best.

**Table 2-1: GDP and military expenditures of ASEAN states and major idea sponsors (as a percentage of US expenditures)**

	Mean Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (US\$)				Mean Military Expenditure(US\$)			
	1970- 1979	1980- 1989	1990- 1999	2000- 2009	1970- 1979	1980- 1989	1990- 1999	2000- 2009
<b>US</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Japan</b>	32.8	43.68	57.42	36.69	5.3	5.82	13.11	9.04
<b>Europe (UK + Germany)</b>	62.19	56.17	64.59	55.95	38.21	30.04	36.67	28.62

<b>+ France)</b>								
<b>UK</b>	13.81	14.63	16.32	17.2	11.24	10.39	11.65	10.51
<b>Germany</b>	28.43	23.76	29.04	22.02	15.2	10.1	11.46	7.78
<b>France</b>	19.95	17.78	19.23	16.73	11.77	9.55	13.56	10.33
<b>Australia</b>	5.25	4.95	4.96	5.39	2.43	1.97	2.59	3
<b>Brunei</b>	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.07	N/A	0.1	0.12	0.07
<b>Cambodia</b>	0.04	N/A	0.05	0.05	N/A	N/A	0.05	0.03
<b>Indonesia</b>	1.85	2.16	2.19	2.58	1.49	0.96	0.99	0.97
<b>Lao PDR</b>	N/A	0.03	0.02	0.03	N/A	0.01	0.05	0.003
<b>Malaysia</b>	0.64	0.77	1.01	1.16	0.39	0.64	1	0.67
<b>Burma</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.14	0.09	0.77	0.87
<b>Philippines</b>	0.9	0.85	0.9	0.93	0.42	0.33	0.44	0.24
<b>Singapore</b>	0.31	0.48	0.99	1.05	0.31	0.44	1.19	1.19
<b>Thailand</b>	0.91	1.12	1.78	1.51	0.52	0.67	1.06	0.56
<b>Vietnam</b>	N/A	0.54	0.25	0.46	0.71	N/A	0.46	0.56

Sources: GDP: World Development Indicators Database, available at <http://data.worldbank.org/>)

Military Expenditure: The Military Balance. Volumes (1970-2011) London, UK: International Institute for Strategic Studies

Another characteristic that distinguishes between upper and lower measure of non-great powers is whether a state often has the capacity to affect the system. According to Robert Keohane, the upper layer of non-great powers (frequently called ‘middle powers’) consists of states whose leaders believe their country is in a position to have a notable impact on the system.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, militarily and economically weak states have very limited individual influence on the general configuration of international order. They are likely to constitute no more than “a non-decisive increment to a primary state’s total array of political and military resources, regardless of whatever short-term, contingent weight... it may have in certain circumstances.”<sup>49</sup> Usually these weak states are unable to change the policy directions of bigger powers, or the nature of international regimes that great powers or major middle powers aim to build and maintain.

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<sup>48</sup> Keohane 1969, 296

<sup>49</sup> Vital 1971, 9



Because many changes in international relations are out of their hands, they tend to be extra-sensitive to what happens in the outside world and try not to be swept away by external changes.

In addition to their material distance from idea promoters, ASEAN states have been distant in social terms as well, at least until recently. I assess social distances among countries by comparing membership in major social categories, and to what extent they share similar characteristics. Relevant characteristics might include race, religion, language, and types of economic and political governance. As in measurements of power distance, social distance is best viewed as a continuum. Furthermore, relative positions on the continuum can vary across time. The more characteristics the government shares with the concerned idea-promoters, the narrower the social distances will be.

According to these measures, social distance between most ASEAN states and the concerned idea-promoters has been wide as they have shared few social characteristics. Most obviously, they lack religious and race affinity, but other common social categories are also generally lacking. While they have shared an aversion to Communism, which they viewed as an imminent threat during the Cold War, such ideological affinity did not translate into further convergence on national values, norms or political systems.

Tensions between the two sides were particularly high due to incongruence in governance types. The major foreign idea sponsors were all liberal democracies, upholding the protection of human rights, good governance, and the resolution of disputes by the rule of law. ASEAN member countries, on the other hand, consisted of authoritarian republics, monarchies, communist one-party states (although the latter have been more recent entrants), and weak democracies. Thailand and the Philippines have multi-party parliamentary systems, but the political systems have been weak, often prone to repetitive military coups and electoral fraud, corruption, and official intimidation of the opposition. Indonesia is a nascent democracy, but the transition took place only recently. It had been under Suharto's autocratic rule until the late 1990s. Leaders in these regimes frequently tolerated and legitimized illiberal practices and values, resisting socialization into global liberal culture.

In the economic realm as well, ASEAN leaders' preference for authoritative allocation has always been a source of tension with the sponsors that hold liberal value system.<sup>50</sup> Such a tension relates to an old debate between West- and East-Pacific on a liberal market order vs. an East Asian form of capitalism rooted in strong state-business links. Most ASEAN state leaders did not micromanage industries as much as developmental states in the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) did, but engaged actively in industrialization as active lenders, facilitators and regulators. They let private entrepreneurship on export-led industries flourish, but at the same time intervened vigorously to protect certain domestic industries from external competition.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, many of these governments' particularistic political goals for resource distribution led to the emergence of divergent types of economic governance. Dominance of patron-client relationship, cronyism and patrimonial practices has been frequently observed in many of these ASEAN members.

In addition, the process for building "us-ness" between ASEAN and the idea-promoters has been absent or weak, at best. As some constructivists argue, community building may be possible without necessarily belonging to the same social categories as discussed above. For example, security-community practices such as self-restraint and partnership-making may make a 'security community' possible even between actors without shared identities.<sup>52</sup> Also, if there had been substantial institutionalization of the historical relationships between ASEAN states and a major sponsor state such as the United States, it might have been possible for them to build a higher level of trust and further get to the point where 'communitarian' hierarchy could be realized. However, most ASEAN leaders, with the exception of the claimed special relationships of US-Philippines and US-Thailand (to a lesser extent), preferred to align with the major powers on a more tactical basis, avoiding deeper institutionalization of the relations. Leaders in the United States and other advanced countries also preferred it that way. As a result, the majority of ASEAN states retained identities that do not converge in many respects with those of the concerned idea-promoting states, at least until late 2000s.

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<sup>50</sup> Krasner 1985, footnote 14

<sup>51</sup> Solingen 2001, 518-522; Stubbs 2002, 445

<sup>52</sup> Pouliot 2007; Adler 2008

**Figure 2-1: Power-identity distributions of ASEAN countries in relation to major Western powers<sup>53</sup>**

		Distribution of power	
		Converge	Diverge
Distribution of Identity	Converge	US-major European states since 1980s	US-South Korea since 1950s
	Diverge	US-USSR	<b>Relations of distant states: (ASEAN-major Western powers since 1950s)</b>

### **Attraction-Autonomy Deficits of ‘Distant’ States**

The relational position of these ‘distant states’ has become a source of the state leaders’ concerns over relative marginalization. Marginalization can occur in two different patterns. On the one hand, states can be easily sidelined or neglected. One common source of concerns among the leaders of these states is that many of these states do not hold sufficient capacity to provide their constituents with guarantees for basic territorial and economic security for themselves. Thus they often end up choosing to rely on bigger neighbors or credible patron states to guarantee the provision of the goods, and run the risk of compromising their optimal gains. So, their relational positions as weak states become an important concern for their political survival.<sup>54</sup> In particular, if they become increasingly irrelevant to super-ordinate states, the incentives for the super-

<sup>53</sup> This figure is a revision of Nau’s diagram in his work in 2002.

<sup>54</sup> Weinstein 1976, 28; Crone 1993, 503-505

ordinates to prioritize relations with weak dissimilar states would diminish. The stronger side's incentives will get even lower if there is a substantial gap between the contributions that weak states can make and what strong states expect from them. Of course, the interdependent nature of the system makes it possible for the weaker side to gain bargaining power by holding investment hostage or withholding important commodities even when they become less important than before. But in general, the effect is mostly inconvenience for their far larger economic partners unless the weaker side exclusively holds an immense amount of strategically valuable commodities or energy resources.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, any disrupting behaviors from the weaker side may make the relations more distant, inciting super-ordinates to find alternative small partners who can make better contributions to their prosperity or security. The situation may get even worse if competition gets fierce among a large number of weak states looking for potential sponsorship from the relatively small number of available major powers. Overall, the aggravation of the relationship would be costly to the weak states, but less so to the major powers, which keeps the weak states from taking actions that might easily disrupt the relations.<sup>56</sup> In addition, their 'other-ness' can lead these major powers to disengage rather freely because they lack non-material ties (e.g. ethnic affinity, historical attachments, common values that they promote for global/regional governance, etc.) or strong institutions to tie them together.

In sum, the risk of 'attraction-deficit' would concern the leaders of 'weak dissimilar states.' In relative terms, their concern about attraction-deficit would be more likely than that of leaders of major powers that are courted by small nations because of their capital, technology and resources. Also, leaders of 'weak dissimilar states' would be more concerned about attraction-deficits than leaders of weak but similar states or those who have built reliable institutional and personal ties with leaders of super-ordinate states.

On the other hand, the position of weak dissimilar states would make it relatively easy for major powers to meddle in their internal affairs. If strong but dissimilar states find that the strategic values of these weak dissimilar states diminish, they can be more stern and critical of uncomfortable cultural practices and values that constitute 'otherness' of their counterparts. Also,

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<sup>55</sup> Crone 1983, 4

<sup>56</sup> Crone 1983, 6

the counterparts' weakness makes them easier targets, as it is much less costly for the United States to pressure for regime change in (pre-nuclear) North Korea or Myanmar than in China. Great powers or major powers are the ones that have the capacity to impose their preferred system or policy through their individual or collective capabilities. They can impose it, if they want, particularly on the targets which do not possess the equivalent capacity to successfully resist. Therefore, leaders of 'weak dissimilar states' could suffer from a high level of concerns about possible interference or coercive pressure from these bigger powers on their domestic governance. In other words, 'autonomy-deficit' becomes another source of their concern.

### **The Distribution of Attraction-Autonomy Deficits within ASEAN**

The previous chapter argues that the relational position of 'weak dissimilar' states provides a condition under which attraction-autonomy deficits are more likely than that of states within different types of relational structures such as great power-weak power friendship, military rivalry and security community.

Before discussing the impact of the relations between idea-receivers and idea-promoters on the receivers' ideational commitment, one thing that should be considered is that ASEAN as an idea-receiving group is a regional association consisting of ten countries. Therefore, my observation lies both on the individual state level and the regional level. Specifically, I discuss (1) the balanced distribution of dual-deficits in the majority of member states and (2) how the distribution of dual-deficits in each member state plays out at the ASEAN level.

#### **The balance of dual-deficits: Individual state level**

The previous section illustrates that every ASEAN member state shares the relational position and thus remains relatively more vulnerable to these dual-deficits than other states situated in different relationships. But my claim is not that every leader who runs 'weak dissimilar' states

would suffer from the equal distribution of these dual-deficits. The distribution of attraction-autonomy deficits can vary according to each state's particular characteristics. For instance, if leaders of a weak dissimilar state suffer from a substantially high level of security threat, the prevention of the major powers' disengagement would likely become the first priority, and they will be more willing to bond with the potential sponsors than other weak dissimilar states under a lower level of threat. For the former, being left out of a range of sponsor's attention is a highly dangerous scenario. Thus, coping with concerns about attraction-deficit becomes a priority over managing autonomy-deficit. However, to take another example, if the idea of self-determination is what leaders firmly consider as the number one virtue to follow, their concerns about autonomy-deficit will overrule concerns about a bigger power's neglect, irrespective of its actual dire security or economic conditions that may require their assistance (North Korea, for example). For them, being a 'pushover' is more difficult to stand than being bypassed or isolated in international relations. In other words, while the position of weak dissimilar states likely leads to strong concerns over dual-deficits, it does not determine the balance of concerns. Rather, the balance of concerns is a subject of empirical study. Thus, ASEAN states' distribution of dual-deficits should be examined, rather than assumed.

Notably, as will be examined in the next chapter, the majority of ASEAN member states have shared substantial levels of both attraction and autonomy deficits. Though the differences in the distribution of deficits across each state's leadership existed, they remained relatively minor among most member states. The majority of member states shared conditions that would lead moderate to high level of concerns over both attraction and autonomy deficits.

In addition to findings that the majority of ASEAN member states shared the conditions that lead to substantial level of both deficits, an observation of the configuration of dual-deficits at the regional (ASEAN) level also tells us that the dual-deficits were quite evenly distributed in the aggregate. ASEAN includes the Philippines at one end of the continuum whose leaders would likely suffer from high level of concerns about attraction-deficits due to substantial vulnerabilities in security and economic matters but have relatively low level of autonomy-deficit concerns. But ASEAN also includes Myanmar at the other end, whose leaders were obsessed with coping with autonomy-deficit through strict non-alignment policies, thus not afraid of being isolated from the international (more specifically, Western) community. The rest of the ASEAN states appeared to stand in between, juggling relatively equivalent levels of these

dual concerns. Thus, in collective terms, one side of concerns did not exceedingly prevail over the other side. This makes both deficits as critical concerns for ASEAN. The next chapter will show this in detail.

### **Accommodating dual-deficits: ASEAN level**

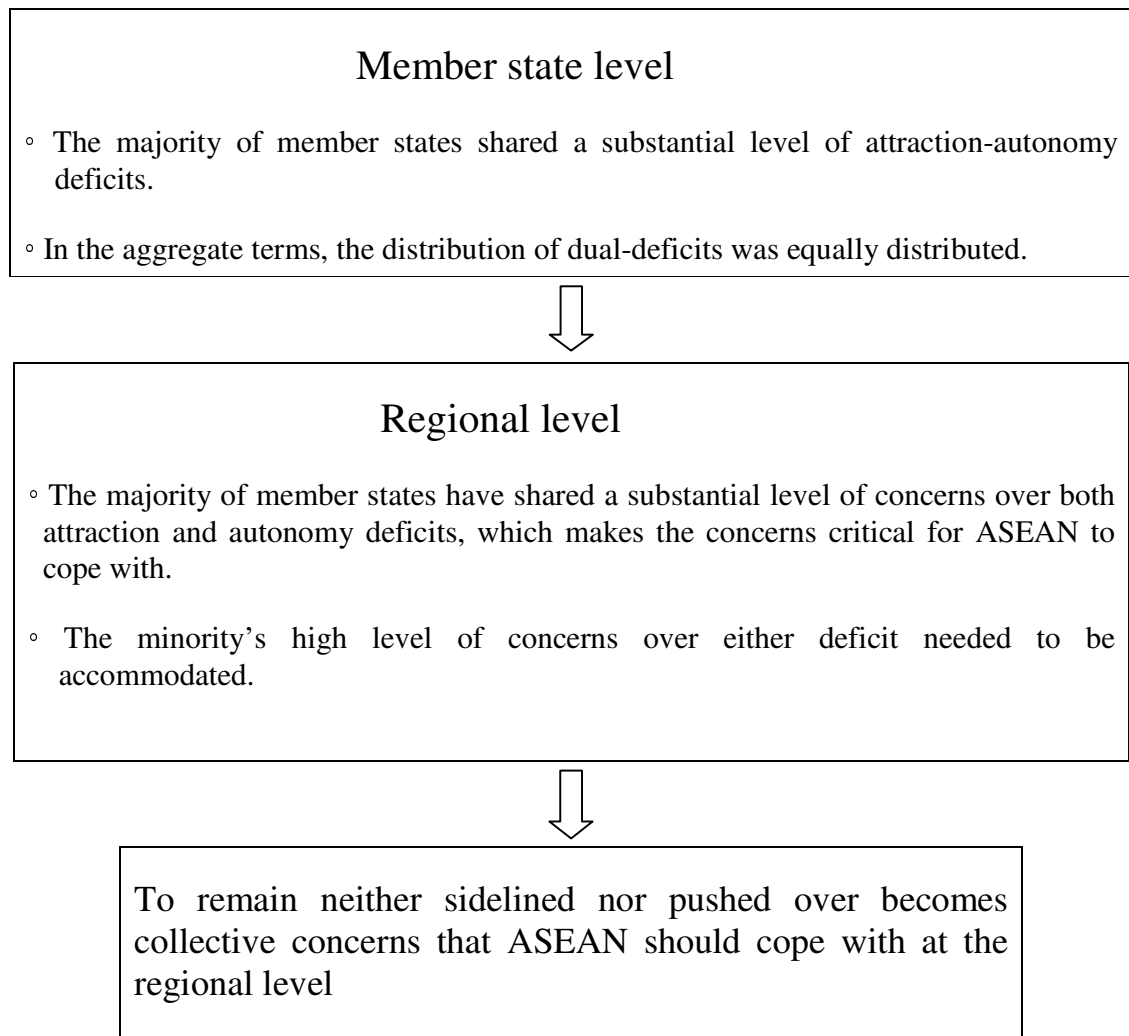
In addition to ASEAN elites' concerns over dual-deficits at the individual state level, a mechanism of consensus-based and accommodative decision-making within ASEAN reinforces the dual-deficit concerns.<sup>57</sup> The findings that ASEAN had a couple of members (notably Myanmar and the Philippines) whose one side of deficit remains disproportionately high indicates that ASEAN should cope with high level of concerns over both deficits regardless of varying severity of concerns that individual members have, since each state effectively has a veto. Consensus grants all members implicit rights to veto any decisions at the ASEAN level, thus even one member can stop certain institutional reforms, though the rest of the members highly support them. So, high level of concerns over attraction-deficit among the Philippine leadership as well as over autonomy-deficit among Burmese leadership should be accommodated equally in order to make even slight institutional changes.

In sum, the dual-deficits became significant agenda items for ASEAN, not only because ASEAN had to consider high level of both relational deficits due to its organizational rule of accommodation (i.e. ASEAN had to address the concerns.), but also, and more significantly, because the dual-deficits were commonly shared concerns among the majority of ASEAN members (i.e. ASEAN wanted to address the concerns.).

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<sup>57</sup> For studies of the procedural principles of the region's cooperative arrangements such as 'ASEAN way,' see Kahler 2000; Haacke 2003; Narine 2004; Webber 2010

**Figure 2-2: The distribution of dual-deficits within ASEAN \***



\* The distribution of dual-deficits of each member state will be examined in the next Chapter.

### **Neither Sidelined nor Pushed-over: Dilemma of Dual-deficits and Ideational Changes**

The main claim of this study is that the dual-deficits, which stem from the relational positions of ASEAN leaders vis-à-vis idea-promoters, have put a consistent constraint on the leaders' choices and the ways that they adopted the ideas. As discussed earlier, ASEAN elites were relatively



more vulnerable to marginalization vis-à-vis Western powers than other actors in different relational positions. However, it does not mean that the leaders always stay alert to a possibility of marginalization. When their states or region become important sites for strategic purposes or resource security of some of these bigger alien neighbors, they can have more diplomatic room to maneuver or increase their leverage in their relations with the more powerful side. But the (real or perceived) marginalization of ASEAN becomes more likely when the major neighbors' interests diverge from those of ASEAN states. And this can occur quite often because the pattern of interests changes frequently, as opposed to power or identity relations which tend to change more slowly.<sup>58</sup> Many of these weak dissimilar actors would seek to address such structural concerns by increasing their internal capabilities. But it usually takes a long time. Becoming 'us' to the more powerful side would also be a good way to reduce the level of these concerns, but some leaders would just want to keep their national identities and not to abandon their differences. Also, even if they choose to become socialized with the bigger partners through more committed interactions, mutual credibility cannot be earned in a short time. Therefore, weak dissimilar groups need additional short-term measures, other than ones for economic development and trust building to tackle these concerns over marginalization which can be triggered frequently.

Ideational or institutional engagement (or disengagement), I argue, can be one of these short-term measures that actors can take to cope with these concerns derived from their distant relations with the major powers. It is because such ideational bonding is expected to draw the idea promoters' attention to the region, thus lowering the attraction-deficit concerns.

However, when actors have to tackle a high level of both attraction and autonomy deficits just like ASEAN leaders do, addressing attraction-deficits becomes a tricky business because of the inversely-related nature of these dual-deficits. For example, when concerns over attraction-deficit rise substantially, weak dissimilar groups might be willing to receive unfamiliar foreign norms or ideas that the potential sponsors support and to change their local normative settings with an aim of constructing a less tense relationship with them. However, in an asymmetric relationship with these foreign idea promoters, a straightforward pledge of ideational

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<sup>58</sup> Snyder 1997, 7

convergence may allow the promoters' increasing pressure on the recipients for giving up their 'otherness' to an undesirable extent. This could eventually lead concerns over autonomy-deficit to rise. Then, those who suffer from a high level of autonomy-deficit may have to buffer their autonomy by distancing themselves from active participation in the international rules created by these promoters, or by establishing alternative options that allow them to exit from the promoters' influence. However, any divergent moves or self-isolation can make the relations with the sponsors more distant, thus allowing them to leave or disregard the region even at a time when the weaker side asks for their return. This scenario is disturbing to those who are concerned about attraction-deficit, and thus such distancing strategy would be avoided. Miles Copeland once said that in the countries where the economic and social conditions are beyond the local resources of a government, the usual outcome is either to fight for more rights to self-determine, or to hold on to foreign aid and protection as an obedient follower of the foreign sponsor's rules.<sup>59</sup> But neither choice seems desirable for ASEAN. Actors who suffer from dual-deficits, such as ASEAN, tend to face a dilemma where disproportionate emphasis on one side of concerns would aggravate concerns about the other deficit. This brings what I call 'dilemma of dual-deficits (or dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits)' into the politics of weak dissimilar idea-receivers.<sup>60</sup>

Due to the dilemma, the balance of the dual concerns should remain as a desirable goal that Southeast Asian elites at the ASEAN level would pursue. The concept of dual-deficit dilemma expects that rising concerns over attraction-deficits in relations to major Western powers would likely make ASEAN leaders more willing to adopt new ideas that they promote, but they would not suffice in raising the leaders' commitment to the ideas. As they want to prevent a new ideational commitment from raising a risk of autonomy deficits, they would adopt the ideas only to the extent that the risk of autonomy deficits does not offset the benefit of attracting the sponsors through ideational bonding. If the adoption of such ideas is expected to aggravate autonomy-deficit, the leaders will not take ideas even though the ideas are perceived to help engage the sponsors. Likewise, the prevention of a rise in autonomy-deficit concerns does

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<sup>59</sup> Copeland 1969, 27

<sup>60</sup> The logic of abandonment-entrapment by scholars on alliance politics inspired the development of this concept of 'dilemma of dual concerns.' For the mechanism of abandonment-entrapment logic, see Snyder 1997; Cha 2000.

not suffice to motivate leaders to adopt foreign ideas. One could guess that the assurance of local autonomy will make leaders easily embrace them simply because they are politically cheap. But ASEAN leaders would not take the ideas until a possibility of their being irrelevant to the foreign idea sponsors pushed them to do so. In sum, ASEAN would increase their commitment to the ideas only on the condition that their rights to determine how to participate in and implement the ideas are re-assured or at least not diminished drastically.

Then, how does one know whether the leaders' concerns over attraction-deficits would rise or fall? Observing variance in the level of existing sponsors' leniency would give an answer to this question. Leniency can be defined as the quality of being generous or tolerant. For example, the decline of existing sponsors' leniency would lead to ASEAN leaders' rising concerns about the sponsors' disengagement, thus attraction-deficits. Whereas, the rise of their leniency would indicate that ASEAN's concerns about being left-out would shrink. The rise and decline of the existing sponsors' leniency can be assessed by observing the shifts in the sponsors' policy priorities, expressed in words as well as in actions. For instance, major sponsors' increasingly critical stance of ASEAN states' domestic policies/practices or the sponsors' policies of increasing disengagement in the region would indicate that the sponsors' leniency is weakening and ASEAN states' leverage is diminishing. The theory expects that ASEAN's weakening leverage would trigger attraction-deficit concerns to rise, motivating ASEAN leaders to take actions to prevent the sponsors from moving Southeast Asia down to the bottom of their priority list. Ideational bonding with these existing or potential sponsors would more likely occur when such motivations are high, because such ideational commitment is expected to draw the sponsors' engagements or attentions to their countries or region.

On the other hand, how do we know when concerns over autonomy-deficits would likely rise or fall? This study observes local ownership of the ideas. Local ownership of ideas can tell us the extent to which the understanding or implementation of particular ideas is developed in concert with people who are going to live with it in the long run.<sup>61</sup> Proxies that convey information on the local ownership of ideas would include foreign idea sponsors' selling strategies, terms of the idea implementation, and the extent to which idea receivers' inputs are

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<sup>61</sup> Hansen and Wiharta 2007, x

accommodated. For example, if idea promoters encourage ASEAN's interpretation of ideas and remain accommodative, not confrontational, towards ASEAN's leading role, or if the idea is accepted in a way that spontaneous engagement is assured, ideational changes would likely occur because leaders' concerns over autonomy-deficit would not be aggravated. On the contrary, if local input is not appreciated, spontaneous followership of ideas is not allowed, or a fixed set of prescriptions is provided by idea promoters in an intrusive way, ASEAN leaders are unlikely to embrace the ideas even at a time when attraction-deficits arise. Figure 1-2 summarizes this.

The concept of dual-deficit dilemma not only provides expectations about when ASEAN is likely to adopt new ideas, but it can also explain variance in the level of ideational commitment even after the ideas are adopted. Propositions below summarize these expectations:

1. When new ideas arrive from major Western powers,

**Proposition 1: The level of ASEAN's commitment to major Western powers' new ideas would likely rise when the existing security or economic sponsors get less lenient, and ASEAN's local ownership of the new ideas is accommodated.**

**Proposition 1-1: The level of ASEAN's reception of major Western powers' new ideas would likely rise at a time  $t$  when their existing sponsors' leniency to the region decreased in comparison with a time  $t-1$ .**

**Proposition 1-2: However, even at a time when the sponsors' commitment level lowers, the level of ASEAN's reception of major Western powers' new ideas would not rise unless local ownership of the ideas is accommodated.**

2. After major Western powers' ideas are adopted in local settings,

**Proposition 2-1: ASEAN's commitment to the ideas would likely rise further if sponsorship from the idea-promoters rises as expected.**

**Proposition 2-2: ASEAN's commitment to the ideas would likely weaken unless sponsorship from the idea-promoters rises.**

**Proposition 3: ASEAN's commitment to the ideas would likely weaken if the ideational changes are expected to take its local ownership away.**

The case studies that follow will conduct two tasks. First, they will demonstrate that these propositions, derived from the concept of dual-deficit dilemma, illustrate ASEAN's responses to major new ideas promoted by major Western powers. Second, in order to support whether this concept of dilemma of dual-deficits is a mechanism of ASEAN's ideational changes, I trace how the identified conditions led to certain outcomes in each issue area. For this purpose, I trace their actions, as well as words expressed in public and private. For example, if specific anxieties are expressed frequently and evenly among many ASEAN elites in the same periods, it could confirm that ASEAN was facing a high level of these concerns. Also, I look at the sources of concerns identified by the leaders, to see whether these sources include changes in the level of major powers' leniency in the region or ASEAN's local ownership. Then, I examine the patterns of ideational changes in associations with the expressed concerns. I rely on a combination of sources to trace ASEAN leaders' concerns: public and private statements or interviews by ASEAN leaders and government officials; official communiqués of meetings of ASEAN heads and foreign ministers; opinions of local experts involved in ASEAN decision-making processes directly (as official dialogue partners) or indirectly (with policy suggestions through semi-governmental, non-governmental projects); and opinions among critics in NGOs and academia.

In order to increase the validity of the argument, despite the limited scope of the data as discussed earlier, the argument is tested against alternative explanations. A process of elimination that shows the other alternative explanations to be inadequate or inconsistent will strengthen a claim that the argument of this study can be better or at least more useful in understanding the politics of regionalism in the Southeast Asian context.

## Chapter 3

### ASEAN Member States and their Dual-deficits

#### **Introduction**

Before I test the propositions and claim that dual-deficit dilemma is the mechanism that explains the concerned ideational changes in ASEAN, this chapter examines the distribution of attraction and autonomy deficits that each ASEAN member state faced. Following up on the brief discussion in Chapter two, it aims to demonstrate that the majority of ASEAN states have faced substantial dual-deficits in relations to the concerned idea-promoters. For this purpose, I examine the security, economic and political conditions of each state that affect its leaders' concerns over attraction-autonomy deficits since its ASEAN membership. Particularly, for a better comparison, I focus on the following indicators that convey information about the level of deficits:

- Security dependence
- Trade dependence (absolute/relative)
- Aid dependence (absolute/relative)
- Principles of foreign affairs and leadership perception

First, security dependence refers to the extent to which external sponsorship from the major powers is desired for national security. On the one hand, it is related to the level of security threat. For leaders of a state facing high security threat levels from a third party, external sponsors' neglect or loss of interest in engaging with their state/region is problematic. Thus, these states are willing to draw the attention of those who can potentially provide them with reliable sponsorship. Meanwhile, government elites of a state facing low security threat levels will fear losing sponsors to a much lower degree as being 'left-out' does not have the same immediate consequences. In the long run, it might be better for them to have sponsors than to be neglected as the future remains uncertain. But they might be less obsessed with fear of being neglected

than those facing high level of security threats. It is important to note, however, that it is not only about the level of threat but about the nature or source of the threat that should be examined. Obviously, the leaders do not rely on the major powers if these powers are a source of the security threat for whatever reasons. Thus, if a country is concerned about high level of security threat but the threat comes from some of the major powers in the West, the country's security dependence on the concerned powers should be coded 'low' as its insecurity comes from the relations.

Second, trade dependence can indicate to what extent the state is vulnerable to external relations. A higher level of trade dependence means a more open economy. For foreign policy elites of a state with high levels of trade dependence, reliable access to external markets is essential for their national economic growth and political survival. On the other hand, elites of a state with a low level of trade dependence would worry less than the former. It is also important to note that trade dependence should also be examined in relative terms. Even though a state is dependent on trade in absolute terms, trade dependence in itself may not provide much useful information if idea-promoting countries are not substantial counterparts in these flows. If ASEAN states do not rely much on the markets of these idea-promoters or have alternative sponsor countries to depend upon, their elites' concerns about attraction-deficits in relation to the idea-promoters might be less substantial than otherwise. If ASEAN states' relative trade dependence on idea-promoting countries is high or moderately high, the state leaders would be concerned about any decrease in the idea-promoters' amount of attention and fear the deterioration of their economic or political relations. Thus, concerns over attraction-deficit would highly matter. In contrast, if their dependence on idea-promoting countries is low, they are unlikely to be concerned about growing irrelevant to GGs. Trade dependence is measured as ratio of international trade to GDP. Relative trade dependence is measured as each country's total trade with each major idea sponsors divided by its own GDP.

Third, aid dependence also informs the level of concern that elites have about marginalization. The elites of a state that is highly dependent on foreign aid would be more interested in maintaining reliable relationship with major external sponsors, than those of a state with moderate or low level of foreign aid dependency. Here, aid dependence is measured as a

ratio of net official development assistance and official aid to GDP.<sup>62</sup> I also examine relative donor leverage of the concerned idea-promoters, indicated by the ratio of net bilateral aid inflows from each idea-promoter to net official development assistance and official aid.<sup>63</sup>

Lastly, political ideology or particularistic perception of a state's top leadership can also affect the nature and level of their concerns, regardless of the country's material conditions. For example, the notoriously firm ideology of self-reliance of Myanmar's leadership strengthened their fears of becoming a pushover, leading them to be more committed to non-interference principles than leaders in other member states. This commitment may be attributable to geopolitics, as Myanmar is surrounded by China and India, two dominant powers of the region, and the history of frequent great power intervention in Indochina. However, this commitment was also affected by the beliefs constituted subjectively or intersubjectively through the (collective) memories and local customs of state elites. I utilize the secondary documents and writings on the state's foreign policy principles or its leaders' grand policy postures are used.

The following sections examine the conditions of individual member states, with a focus on the above factors. I measure the deficits by observing the level of security dependence, trade dependence and aid dependence and the nature of leadership ideology, respectively. Then I code the level of each element as low, moderate-low, moderate-high and high. The coding is based on my observation of qualitative data (leadership ideology, security threat, etc.) as well as quantitative indicators. As this chapter only aims to identify the level of dual-deficits that each government faces in comparative terms, its discussion about each state's particular context will remain limited. Also, the observations are incomplete since I do not undertake thorough comparisons or detailed studies of each country. A detailed illustration and comparison of each state's foreign policy context are beyond the scope of this study. The coding may look too fine,

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<sup>62</sup> According to World Bank, net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursement of loans made on concessional terms and grants by official agencies of the members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. Net official aid refers to aid flows from official donors to more advanced countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the countries of the former Soviet Union, and certain advanced developing countries and territories. Available at [data.worldbank.org](http://data.worldbank.org). Accessed 10 September 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Net bilateral aid flows from donors are the net disbursement of ODA or official aid from OECD DAC members. Australia, France, Germany, Japan, United Kingdom and United States-- the countries that this study notes-- all belong to the Committee. Available at [data.worldbank.org](http://data.worldbank.org). Accessed September 10, 2012

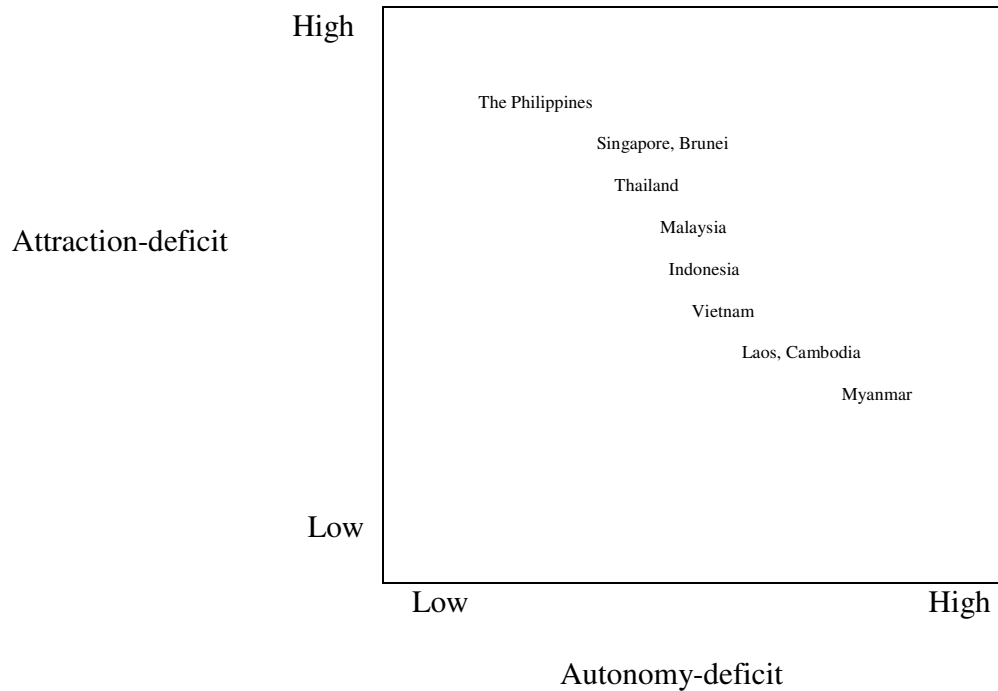
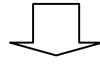


but it was difficult to clear-cut the differences in the distribution of dual-deficits. Therefore, I added extra categories to make the observations not look too curt or oversimplifying.

**Figure 3-1: Summary of the distribution of dual-deficits among ASEAN countries in relations to the major Western countries (after their ASEAN membership)**

Country	Security dependence	Trade dependence	Aid dependence	Leadership	Total	
					Level of attraction-deficit	Level of autonomy-deficit
Indonesia	MH	ML	MH	free and active FP*; non-aligned movement	MH	MH
Malaysia	MH	H	MH	autonomous FP; Asian-values	MH	MH
Singapore	MH	H	L	mini-state vulnerability	H	MH
Thailand	MH	MH	MH	pro-Western; “bend with the wind”	MH	MH
Brunei	MH	MH	L	autonomous FP; mini-state vulnerability	M	M
Vietnam	MH	M	MH	non-interference	MH	MH
Laos	ML	M	H	non-interference	M	MH
Cambodia	ML	M	H	non-interference	M	MH
Myanmar	L	L	ML	autonomous FP; non-alignment	L	H
The Philippines	H	MH	H	pro-Western; democratic convergence	H	M

\* FP: foreign policy, H: high, MH: moderate-high, ML: moderate-low, M: moderate, L: low



### *Indonesia*

**Security dependence:** When first established, ASEAN consisted of state leaders who feared the spread of communism throughout Southeast Asia. The leaders all found communist insurgency to be a major source which disrupted the internal security of their states. The activities of these insurgent groups were particularly threatening because they belonged to the international communist networks sponsored by two major powers surrounding ASEAN - China and the Soviet Union.

Indonesia was no exception. Unlike previous leadership, Indonesian government elites since Suharto acknowledged that the role of external powers could not be entirely removed from

Southeast Asian region as well as from their domestic affairs. The New Order leadership under Suharto shared concerns with other pro-Western neighbors about the rise of communist forces in Asia, especially in China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, backed by Soviet Union.<sup>64</sup> The Suharto government maintained cordial relations with the West, supporting the idea that security alignment with the United States was necessary for deterring the security threats.

As the fear of communist revolutions and imminent external threat gradually subsided with the end of Cold War, Indonesian elites' concerns about attracting these sponsors could have also waned in terms of security issues. However, the engagement of the major sponsors was still desired in the region due to China's rise, which constituted Indonesia's main security concern. Though Indonesia-China relations became less tense, China was considered the largest military threat by the Indonesian military until the early 1990s, and it formulated its military doctrine about the strategies for defense against China's invasion.<sup>65</sup>

**Trade/Aid dependence:** Indonesia's pro-Western stance was beneficial during the Cold War because the West was more willing to provide aid for development compared to the major powers from the Soviet bloc which did not offer much assistance other than the rescheduling of debts.<sup>66</sup>

Compared to other old ASEAN member states, however, Indonesia was less vulnerable to the external environment. Due to a huge domestic market, affluent oil and other natural resource endowment, its dependence on foreign trade was relatively moderate in proportion to GDP. However, its relative trade dependence on major idea-promoters was not to be neglected. Its trade with Japan constituted 13.1% of its GDP on average, the United States 7%, France, Germany and the United Kingdom (hereafter, Europe-3) 3.6%, and Australia 1.5% (see Table 3-2). In addition, during the 1970s and 1980s Indonesia was one of the most heavily indebted countries among all developing countries. Bilateral donation from the concerned idea-promoters

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<sup>64</sup> Anwar 1994, 47

<sup>65</sup> Roy 2005, 317

<sup>66</sup> "Through Malik's eyes," Far Eastern Economic Review, 5 September 1968: 470

constituted more than 50% of total aid, indicating that their individual and collective influence on Indonesia was substantial. Notably, the Japanese government's contribution solely constituted 45.7% of total aid on average.

While the Cold War ended, Indonesian elites' concerns about becoming irrelevant in the global stage did not fall substantially, especially with regard to the change of economic scene. As Table 3-1 below shows, Indonesia in the Post-Cold War became increasingly trade-dependent. Besides, its relative trade dependence with the major Western countries indicated no drastic change, from 29.1% in the Cold War to 25.6% since 1990 (see Table 3-2). Also, the United States was still one of the leading consumers of Indonesian goods, along with Japan and Singapore.

**Leadership perception/ideology:** While Indonesian elites' concerns about attraction-deficits in relations to the concerned idea-promoters were moderately high, their concerns about autonomy-deficit were distinctly high. In order to become "a master of its own destiny," Indonesian government elites pursued 'national resilience' as the most desirable and effective path. The concept of 'national resilience' was based on a premise that the real national security lies not in alliance, but in self-reliance.

The Indonesian government's strong concerns about autonomy also led it to be a leading advocate of the Non-Aligned Movement among countries in the South. Its position was based on the conviction of the first generation leaders that Indonesia should "row between two reefs" and avoid choosing sides between two opposing blocs in order to secure room to act at their discretion.<sup>67</sup> Also, they were the most vociferous opponent to American and Soviet military bases in the region. In spite of pro-Western stance in general, they neither engaged in military alliances with external powers, nor joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) led by the United States. Concerns about interference from major countries in the West have relatively diminished with Indonesia's democratic transition and its gradual uptake of liberal and democratic ideas at both government and societal levels since the early 2000s. However, many

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<sup>67</sup> Ayoob 1995, 103

elites have not abandoned their critical stance against Western-led global projects. In particular, with the Bush administration's campaign for a war on terrorism, US-led invasion of Iraq and related prisoner abuse cases, many leaders in Indonesia, a predominantly Muslim country, were particularly concerned and resented Washington's unilateral actions against the Muslim world.<sup>68</sup>

**Summary:** Both attraction and autonomy deficits have persistently remained as major sources of concerns among Indonesian foreign policy leaders (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate-high, autonomy deficit: moderate-high). The Indonesian foreign policy community's long-lasting principle of 'independent and active foreign policy' (or 'free and active foreign policy') summarizes these dual concerns well. Indonesian commentator Hasjim Djalal explains the meaning of 'independent' foreign policy as follows: "we [Indonesians] interpret independent to mean that Indonesia has the right to judge and determine its own views on world problems and to be free from any power-bloc association existing in the world as well as their military alliance."<sup>69</sup> But the principle also urged the elites to participate actively in international affairs. Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono put it as follows:

Being independent-minded and having freedom of action is indeed critical. But there is no use having an independent mind and freedom of action, if we end-up making the wrong turns or become marginalized... Our independence and activism must therefore be combined with a constructive mindset, so that we can attain our national objectives.<sup>70</sup>

In sum, Indonesian leaders sought to be a responsible actor, but at their own pace and by their own decisions.

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<sup>68</sup> Chew 2009, 15-16

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Jakarta Post, 20 February 1990

<sup>70</sup> Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, speech at the Indonesian Council on World Affairs, Jakarta, 19 May 2005.

## *Malaysia*

**Security dependence:** In general, Malaysia's basic foreign policy posture during the Cold War was anti-communist and distinctly pro-West. In order to prevent internal communist subversion, Malaysian elites since independence sought great powers' engagement in the region to foster reliable security environment. In the early days, it made defense pacts with the Commonwealth countries. Even after doubts increased about security over-reliance on external powers due to the British unilateral decision to disengage in the region, Malaysia sought to engage its major advanced neighbors in the region such as Australia and New Zealand by establishing the Five Power Commonwealth Defense Arrangement. When Malaysian elites proposed the neutralization of the Southeast Asian region through the idea of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in 1971, their original idea aimed to foster reliable security guarantees from outside sponsors and ensure "the right to demand of the guarantor states that they come to the aid of the neutralized state in the event that its status is violated."<sup>71</sup>

Even under Mahathir's leadership, who was well-known for his vociferous anti-West rhetoric, Malaysia relied on Britain and the United States as the guarantors of its security and as balancer against communist China. In particular, Malaysian leaders' fear of China was high, leading them to make favorable relations with communist Vietnam during the Cold War, while many other ASEAN states considered it as a Soviet proxy.<sup>72</sup> In principle, Malaysian elites, as advocates for non-alignment, were critical of the presence of the military bases of dominant powers in the region. However, in practice, the elites supported the credible commitment of the US military to the region. According to Najib Tun Razak, Malaysia-US defense ties are a "well-kept secret."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Wilson 1975, 10. Malaysia's idea of securing neutrality based on external great power guarantees was later rejected by other ASEAN members. Also, major powers such as the United States and Soviet Union did not respond positively to the scheme because it implied big powers' active participations in the region and guarantees of it being a war free zone. Thus, the idea of big power guarantee for neutralization was replaced with the idea of ASEAN's promotion of neutrality of the region, which was realized in 1975 as a blueprint for the ZOPFAN under ASEAN leaders' consensus.

<sup>72</sup> McLaurin and Moon 1989, 196-197

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in Roy 2005, 316

**Trade dependence:** One of the highest goals of the Malaysian elites, who wanted to maintain their regime in a multi-ethnic nation, was to achieve and maintain national unity. Just like the Suharto regime, the national development and fair distribution of wealth was perceived as essential to secure their political legitimacy in order to reduce the possibility of discontents and conflicts among ethnic groups. Thus, economic development was always the number one foreign policy priority. From the 1970s, Malaysian economic growth relied heavily on foreign direct investment, state-led domestic investment and international trade. The Malaysian economy operated as an open economy earlier than their ASEAN counterparts (except Singapore). In particular, as Table 3-2 shows, its relative trade dependence on the concerned idea-promoters, especially the United States and Japan, was high, constituting 23% and 21.9% of the country's GDP respectively. Since the late 1980s, Malaysia's trade dependence has accelerated. Its relative trade dependence with the concerned idea-promoters has also shown a drastic change from 30.2% to 82% of its GDP since the end of Cold War. The United States and Japan have been notably large trading partners since the 1990s, constituting 32.8% and 30.8% of its total trade respectively.

When it comes to aid dependence, Malaysia's was moderate-high and has further decreased as Malaysia went into a middle-income country since the 1990s. Aid during the Cold War mostly came from the major advanced countries, with aid from Japan always constituting more than half of the total amount (see Table 3-4).

**Leadership perception:** Meanwhile, Malaysian leaders' concerns about autonomy-deficits became higher in the early 1970s. Worrying about what would happen after great power disengagement with Britain's abrupt announcement of its withdrawal from the region, they had proposed the creation of a neutralized Southeast Asia through external power guarantees. However, they soon changed their stance and agreed with the revision of the original concept, advocating the autonomous role of ASEAN members in maintaining peace and preventing external interference. Prime Minister Tun Razak's speech at the 1975 ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) is representative of Malaysian elites' growing aspirations against external interference:

The premise of the neutralisation proposal is regional and national resilience. Southeast Asia must stand on its own feet. We - individual countries as well as the region as a whole – must be self-reliant if we wish to survive. If a country or a people values its way of life, it must be prepared to defend it against any form of external encroachment. If a people is not prepared to fight in the defense of its sovereignty and its values, it will not survive- indeed it does not deserve to survive. The best defense lies in the people themselves – in their commitment, their will and capacity.... This is the meaning of and thrust of the neutrality system.<sup>74</sup>

Mahathir's leadership aligned with the aforementioned sentiments. In Mahathir's perception in general, all major powers including the United States were willing to interfere in the domestic affairs of the weak states, when needed.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, Malaysia needed to uphold the principles of non-interference, respect for sovereignty and independence of nations, without which, he claimed, countries in the South would only end up being proxies or pawns of the major powers.<sup>76</sup> Though Malaysia's leadership has changed over generations, the old generation's critical stance against Western-led global governance and advocacy for non-Western values stills lingered in Malaysian foreign policy.

**Summary:** Concerns over dual-deficits have been a major challenge for Malaysian leaders (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate-high, autonomy-deficit: moderate-high). While they normatively advocated autonomous foreign relations just like many other developing states, their actual position in the world as a weak state dependent on external markets led them to seek reliable and generous sponsorship from the major industrial countries in the West as well.

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<sup>74</sup> Tun Razak, address at the 8<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, 13 May 1975, quoted in Saravanamuttu 1983, 96-97.

<sup>75</sup> Tilman 1987, 132

<sup>76</sup> Mahathir, statement at the 7<sup>th</sup> Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned countries, 1983, New Delhi, India, 7-11 March 1983.



## *Singapore*

**Security dependence:** Singapore, according to its long time Foreign Minister S. Jayakumar, has had “no choice but to remain actively engaged with the rest of the world.”<sup>77</sup> With a sense of inherent vulnerability and insecurity to changes in the international and regional environment, its leaders agreed that international and regional stability is a pre-condition for Singapore’s survival and prosperity because it is hardly possible that Singapore as a mini-state can control or withdraw from abrupt external troubles as larger states do.<sup>78</sup> Singapore’s defense budget is an indication of such a sense of vulnerability. The annual budget for defense expense has constantly been around 5% of GDP, and its deterrent and defense capability is beyond the capacity of its neighbors.<sup>79</sup> According to one author, Singapore is “the most heavily armed country on earth with sizeable armed forces crowded into its exiguous territory.”<sup>80</sup> Singapore’s first Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew articulated this aspiration: “In the last resort it is power which decides what happens and, therefore, it behooves us to ensure that we always have overwhelming power on our side.”<sup>81</sup>

Singaporean leaders have courted benevolent external powers that can provide a credible commitment to the stability of the region. Singapore became one of two Southeast Asian members (Malaysia is the other) of the Five Power Defense Agreement (FPDA) set up in 1971 to confirm the commitment of Australia, New Zealand and Britain, following the pullout of British forces east of the Suez. Singapore also publically sought the continuation of the Australia, New Zealand and United States Security Treaty (ANZUS), which aimed to bind these major powers to cooperate on defense matters in the Pacific. Furthermore, it advocated in public the continuation of the US commitment to the region in both security and economic matters.<sup>82</sup> After the Cold War,

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<sup>77</sup> Jayakumar 2011, 22

<sup>78</sup> Tilman 1987, 48-49

<sup>79</sup> Leifer 2000, 3-4

<sup>80</sup> Karp 1990, 348

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Leifer 2000, 5

<sup>82</sup> McLaurin and Moon 1989, 193

this perception persisted. Although the Soviet threat declined, Singapore's leaders believed it should be prepared for any sudden emergence of new threats: “[as the Cold War was over] I do not see any immediate threats to Singapore. However, Southeast Asia being what it is, trouble may break out suddenly, so we have to be prepared. Other states (notably Japan and India from their perspective) are also acquiring the capability to project power into the region.”<sup>83</sup> Based on this perception, the Singaporean leaders upgraded its defense ties with the United States. They also tried enthusiastically to revitalize the FPDA in 1989.

**Trade dependence:** In addition to vulnerabilities in security, Singapore's economic structure strengthened the concerns of its elites about the disengagement of major powers in the region. It was highly dependent on trade already in the 1970s, when other ASEAN countries pursued import-substitution industrialization. Its trade ratio to GDP also gradually increased from 284% in 1975 to 431% in 2005 (see Table 3-1). Its relative trade dependence on the concerned idea-promoters also increased: when it comes to trade dependence on the United States, it was 22% during the Cold War, but rose to an average of 46.25% since the end of the Cold War. Similarly, it increased from 11.3% to 21.25% with three European countries (France, Germany and the UK) and 19.7% to 36.25% with Japan (see Table 3-2).

**Leadership ideology:** Though Singapore's unique status as a city-state made its leaders prioritize attraction-deficit concerns, they were also keen to ensure their political security against external interference in domestic affairs. This desire can be partially explained by Lee Kuan Yew's unchallenged influence on foreign policy-making process. As Singapore's Prime Minister for 30 years, Lee Kuan Yew played a major role in formulating the nation's basic foreign policy goals with the assistance of a few colleagues including the Foreign Minister and Defense Minister. Even after he resigned from the premiership, his policy input as the Senior Minister for the next 14 years and the Minister Mentor for another 7 years remained significant until 2011. His critical position on the liberal norms of global governance and his legacy of so-called “Asian

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<sup>83</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, quoted in Cunha 1991, 60

values” still lingered in Singapore’s foreign policy community.<sup>84</sup> The elites shared a concern that excessive alignments with great powers create a risk of great power interference. In this respect, the leadership of Singapore as a member of the Non-Alignment Movement aspired to take a more autonomous stance in international affairs.<sup>85</sup>

**Summary:** Concerns over both attraction and autonomy deficits remained distinct among Singaporean foreign policy elites (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: high, autonomy-deficit: moderate-high). They called for a credible presence of major powers in the region and their commitment to their relations with Singapore. Due to a perceived innate fragility of a mini nation, Singapore’s leaders remained highly concerned about losing such commitment and this issue often became a priority over the issue of autonomy. However, they wished the influence of major powers to be tamed, too. This is why Singaporean leaders have preferred “balance of influence” situations where several major powers balance each other to prevent any one of them from being Singapore’s sole patron. If influence came from a single source, they worried, the sole sponsor’s power would be unrestrained and Singapore’s autonomy would be compromised.<sup>86</sup>

### *The Philippines*

**Security dependence/leadership perception:** The Philippines is a rather distinct case when it comes to the balance of dual concerns. Unlike most other ASEAN members, Philippine foreign policy elites were willing to accept their special ties with the United States. Most early Filipino elites were solid supporters of their previous colonial power, the United States, because they perceived that, unlike other European powers, the United States had kept the promise of independence to the Philippines. The newly independent government of the Philippines in 1946

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<sup>84</sup> Roy 2005, 314. For the rationale of “Asian values” proponents, see Zakaria 1994 and Goh 1994.

<sup>85</sup> Ayooob 1995, 103

<sup>86</sup> Cheng-Chwee 2008, 177

actually responded to the American colonialists with an expression of gratitude for being a friend, protector and liberator.<sup>87</sup>

During the Cold War, Philippine leaders remained highly reliant on the United States. Particularly in the security domain, Philippine leaders signed the Military Bases Agreement in 1947, the Military Assistance Program in 1947, and the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1961 with the United States to enhance its weak military capability against external communist threats.<sup>88</sup> Also, it was one of only two countries in Southeast Asia (the other is Thailand) that joined the US-led Southeast Asia Treaty Organization despite neighbors' criticism of acting as America's protégé.<sup>89</sup> In addition, the Philippines agreed not to provide a third power with military facilities without America's prior consent.

Autonomy-deficits increasingly became a topic of concern, particularly among a nationalist segment of elites and intellectuals. The merits and demerits of American military bases had been frequently reviewed and criticized since the early 1970s. The Philippines shared with other ASEAN members a concern that too much dependence on external powers would risk their sovereignty, and supported the idea of the establishment of regional groupings which would help them to hang no more "on the coat tails of the big powers."<sup>90</sup>

However, their concerns about autonomy-deficits remained relatively lower than those of elites in ASEAN counterparts. Even when the power of nationalist elements reached their highest levels in the early 1990s, and the nationalist demand for the US base withdrawal finally won out, foreign policy elites' concerns simultaneously increased about the side effects of such withdrawal. In practice, drastic reductions in aid or investment from the United States soon followed the termination of the US base agreement. After the US withdrawal, the Armed Forces of the Philippines was prompted to prepare for a more self-reliant defense capability. However, its government could not replace US military assistance that amounted to \$220 million. Many

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<sup>87</sup> Manuel Roxas, the President of the Philippines as of 1946, cited in Chew 2009, 13.

<sup>88</sup> De Castro 2005, 406

<sup>89</sup> "The American Lock," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 8 July 1972: 22

<sup>90</sup> Carlos Romulo, the Philippine foreign secretary, quoted in "In American Reality," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 30 July 1970: 13

Philippine foreign policy elites confirmed that the country needed more military and economic assistance from external sponsors to soothe domestic sensitivities over their sovereignty issues.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, a rise in tension with China over territorial disputes over the Mischief Reef raised concerns about their lack of reliable sponsorship. Realizing again the importance of an American presence in the region, Philippine government elites signed the Visiting Force Agreement with the United States in 1998. The Agreement signaled the Philippines' return to a bilateral military alliance with the United States within less than ten years of its withdrawal from Subic base.<sup>92</sup>

**Trade/aid dependence:** The economy of the Philippines has been highly dependent on aid, debt and investment from the United States. Until the end of the 1960s, its trade relations with the United States could be described by classical dependency theory, as it was selling agricultural commodity and natural resources to and importing manufactured goods from the United States. Even after export-led industrialization began to be promoted in the 1970s, the Philippines' economic growth remained debt-driven. The United States and Japan were the largest benefactors of the Philippines, both countries enjoyed substantial donor leverage over the country. The ratio of bilateral aid flows from the United States and Japan to net ODA and official aid was 0.3:1 and 0.4:1 respectively during the Cold War. After the Cold War ended, they still remained the biggest donors, accounting for 14% and 49% respectively (see Table 3-4).

**Summary:** The balance of dual deficits has been tilted toward the issues of attraction-deficit (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: high, autonomy-deficit: moderate). Although autonomy concerns have been frequently raised at both state and societal level, attraction-deficit particularly in relations with the United States and Japan has always been a higher priority, thus accounting for the persistence of their dependency on both sponsors.

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<sup>91</sup> De Castro 2005, 408-409

<sup>92</sup> De Castro 2005, 414-416

## *Thailand*

**Leadership ideology:** Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia that has not been under any direct control of colonial powers. Ironically, however, the maintenance of its sovereignty was made possible through their proactive bonding with the major external powers, rather than firm resistance to them. Many commentators note that Thailand's skillful practice of such limited alignment with major powers has been an effective means for keeping its sovereignty intact, without being either entrapped or abandoned. The costs of concessions to rising great powers were not low, but Thai leaders paid them to avoid the worst-case scenario during the colonial years, which was to lose the independence of their nation, as well as to achieve its ultimate goals for its foreign relations: keeping its national sovereignty and minimizing external interferences.<sup>93</sup>

**Security dependence:** Surrounded by communist neighbors in the Indochinese peninsula, Thai leaders confronted a significant communist threat from outside compared to other ASEAN members. As a result, gaining external sponsorship was prioritized over autonomous foreign relations during the Cold War. Seeking a credible sponsorship, especially from the United States, they formed a military alliance with the United States and joined the US-led SEATO along with Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Philippines. Thailand also authorized the presence of a US military base on its soil until 1976 to protect itself against Chinese communism initially, and then against the Soviet threat, followed by the threat from Vietnam's rise.

However, Thai leadership also sought to limit their alignment with the United States. As Vietnam invaded Cambodia soon after the US withdrawal from Vietnam, Thai leaders realized that reliance on US patronage was insufficient. Also, their fear of Chinese invasion gradually subsided with the reassurance of the Chinese leadership; as a result, they took a more favorable stance to China, a newly perceived "prevailing wind" in Asia from the 1970s onwards.<sup>94</sup> The

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<sup>93</sup> Chachavalpongpun 2010, 64

<sup>94</sup> Chachavalpongpun 2010, 81

increasingly cordial relations with China after the Cold War decreased their concerns about attraction-deficits in relations to the United States and other Western allies. Since the later years of the Cold War, Thailand has remained closest with China compared to the original ASEAN members.<sup>95</sup> Thailand became the first Southeast Asian country to conclude a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with China.<sup>96</sup> Also, China has conducted joint naval exercises with Thailand since 2005 and remains a major weapon supplier to Thailand.

**Trade dependence:** However, this does not mean that Thai leaders' interest in engaging the concerned idea-promoters has turned low. The United States remained one of the largest single markets that absorb Thai export products. Thai trade dependence on the United States remained at an average of 15.3% after 1990. In addition, its trade dependence on Japan and three major European countries have been 22.8% and 8.4% respectively (see Table 3-2).

**Summary:** Balancing dual-deficits was a major task for Thai foreign policy community. Ensuring the commitment of the concerned idea-promoters was a high priority during the early years of the Cold War. The level of these concerns has been falling due to its improved relations with China and a diminishing communist threat from outside. But their concerns about disengagement or neglect from the United States and Japan still remain moderately high. At the same time, Thai foreign policy elites have always been concerned about losing their rights to self-determine and being entrapped in great power politics. Though they were sometimes willing to sacrifice their autonomy to some extent in order not to be sidelined, they tried to limit meddling by sponsors in order to avoid becoming a pushover (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate-high, autonomy-deficit: moderate high).

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<sup>95</sup> The original members were Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, with Brunei joining in 1984. The other four members joined after the Cold War: Vietnam joined ASEAN in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999.

<sup>96</sup> Chachavalpongpun 2010, 2-3

## *Brunei*

**Leadership perception:** Just like Singapore, Brunei leaders have always felt highly vulnerable due to the small size of its territory and population. Thus, the leaders concluded that they needed friendly external powers which could “come to the rescue through bilateral arrangements” in case unwanted threats arise.<sup>97</sup> They chose to rely on their colonial power Britain for a long time. Being part of the British foreign policy and its defense network was an important strategic choice for a century before independence in 1984 to guarantee the territorial and political sovereignty of the Sultanate. Also, Brunei remained a reluctant aspirant for national liberation and sought a longer period of preparation for independence when the British colonial power demanded the transfer of responsibility for foreign policies to Brunei leaders.<sup>98</sup> Even after independence, the Brunei Sultan and other elites in his government have maintained solid, cordial relations with Britain and other Commonwealth partners in order to avoid its international isolation. Attaining ASEAN membership right after its independence in 1984 also reflected the leaders’ concerns about their country’s vulnerability.

**Trade dependence/Security dependence:** However, their concerns about attraction-deficit remained relatively bounded. Though they needed a reliable commitment from external sponsors for status-quo of the nation and the region, their concerns were hardly based on an actual imminent security threat or economic dependence. Along with Singapore, Brunei has been an exceptionally rich country in Southeast Asia that is capable of maintaining an ideal welfare system of free education, health care, generous subsidies for housing and cars, and an absence of tax. But it also enjoys much more self-reliant capacity than trade-dependent Singapore, due to its extensive oil and natural gas reserves. Trade dependence has remained between 97% and 115% since the early 1990s, relatively low compared with Singapore or Malaysia (see Table 3-1).

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Menon 1988, 311-312

<sup>98</sup> Leifer 1986, 184-185; Menon 1988, 308-311



Besides, just like many other ASEAN members, the Sultan sought to maintain the country's unique political system. The Sultanate is a political system where sovereignty comes from the Sultan, which is very different from the political systems of the concerned idea-promoters. While the government tolerated a certain level of derogation of sovereignty for territorial and security concerns, the leaders resisted any attempt by external powers, including Britain, to democratize the system. As stated by the Royal Brunei Armed Forces, the main concern of Brunei elites was the “unwanted” interference of external powers to help internal subversion forces or to take control of the country's oil.<sup>99</sup>

**Summary:** In a tiny but well-endowed Brunei, leaders' concerns about both attraction-autonomy deficits appeared substantial, but either deficit was not strong enough to be tilted toward one side (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate, autonomy-deficit: moderate).

## *Vietnam*

**Trade dependence:** Vietnam's foreign policy after its admission to ASEAN in 1995 was based on its new goals for economic development and its political adjustment to the changing global environment. Vietnamese leaders no longer viewed the world as a place divided into two antagonistic ideological camps. They instead came to believe that the nation's international isolation (except ties with the Soviet-controlled Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in the 1970s and 1980s was linked to its poor economic conditions.<sup>100</sup> They concluded that, in order to gain national development which is required to pursue independent foreign policy, they needed to engage Western powers and obtain their investment. In the 7<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress in 1991, Vietnam decided to “diversify and multilateralize economic relations with all countries

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<sup>99</sup> Menon 1988, 311

<sup>100</sup> Dosch 2006, 241

and economic organizations...”<sup>101</sup> The leaders were willing to revitalize relations with these countries: the normalization of the relations with China in 1991 and with the United States in 1995; the restoration of official assistance from Japan in 1992; membership in ASEAN; and cooperation agreement with the European Union.<sup>102</sup> International trade has since expanded in Vietnam. Its relative trade dependence on Japan was on average 15% after 1995; its trade dependence on the United States also experienced a notable increase, from 1% in 1995 to 15% in 2005. A share of its trade with Australia has also been increasing fast (see Table 3-2).

**Security dependence:** Vietnamese leaders also preferred US engagement not only in economic terms but also in security arena. Most Vietnamese elites had a lingering distrust of China. Relations between the two countries remained tense, particularly with territorial disputes in the Spratly and Paracel Islands, and Vietnamese elites feared China’s long-term intention was to become a hegemon in the region.<sup>103</sup> Given that Russia was no longer able to provide Vietnam with reliable security guarantees any more, Vietnamese leaders wanted to maintain US presence in the region to balance China’s influence.

**Leadership perception:** However, just like other ASEAN members, Vietnam also wanted to reduce the influence of the concerned idea-promoters from the West. Though their developmentalist objectives received a wider support, some influential conservative circles in the government were still wedded to Marxist-Leninist ideology. These conservatives were particularly concentrated in the Communist Party, the People’s Army, and the ministries of interior and national defense. These groups warned that a radical opening and convergence to the West could be a threat to one party rule, undermining Vietnam’s socialist orientation and providing opportunities for “foreign reactionaries and imperialists” to hurt national economic

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Thayer 1999, 3

<sup>102</sup> Thayer 1999, 5

<sup>103</sup> Roy 2005, 315

independence and sovereignty.<sup>104</sup> The US State Department's designation of Vietnam as "a country of particular concern" with regard to its human rights records in 2004, the increased criticism of Vietnam's one party rule from Western democracies, and criticism against Vietnam's planned economy strengthened the concerns of Vietnamese elites about external meddling.<sup>105</sup>

**Summary:** A high level of concerns about an autonomy-deficit as well as rising concerns about an attraction-deficit in relations to the concerned idea-promoters has created a dilemma for Vietnam, just like most ASEAN counterparts (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate-high, autonomy-deficit: moderate-high). Following their national economic reform and ASEAN membership, Vietnam wanted to increase its engagement with the former adversaries, including Western idea-promoters, to become an internationally relevant player.<sup>106</sup> The Vietnamese governance has become increasingly active in participating in international institutions and norms that these major powers uphold. At the same time, however, their quest for maintaining the domestic political status quo and autonomous foreign relations has remained a high priority as well.

## Lao PDR

**Security dependence:** A weak and divided country surrounded by Cambodia, China, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam, Laos had remained little more than a pawn in the political games of external powers until the end of the Cold War. During the early years of the Cold War, Laotian soil was a field of proxy wars. The United States and the Soviet Union were not benevolent

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<sup>104</sup> Dosch and Tuan 2004, 201; Thayer 1999, 11 and 14

<sup>105</sup> Dosch 2006, 252

<sup>106</sup> Dosch and Tuan 2004, 207

bystanders but competed for domination.<sup>107</sup> With the departure of the American forces from Indochina, Pathet Lao proclaimed the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 1975, placing Laos within a hierarchical order dominated by the Soviet Union and its regional client state, Vietnam. The Laotian 'special relationship' with Vietnam persisted even after the collapse of the Soviet-led communist camp.<sup>108</sup> As this fraternal nation made some radical foreign policy changes at the end of the Cold War and improved its relations with former adversaries, Laos also took advantage of this relaxed international environment and diversified its foreign relations with its neighbors, including Thailand and other ASEAN states, in order to avoid isolation.

**Trade/Aid dependence:** The Lao relations with the concerned idea-promoters particularly mattered in terms of the country's economic situation. Laos has often been called a "sponge" country due to its aid-driven economic structure.<sup>109</sup> Laos absorbs the highest level of international aid in Southeast Asia, with aid amounting to 23% of its GDP in 2000 and 15% in 2005 (see Table 3-3). Bilateral flows from the idea-promoters constituted a substantial proportion of this aid. Since its ASEAN membership, the ratio of bilateral aid flows from Japan, Australia, the United States and three European countries to total trade amounted to 0.46:1 on average (see Table 3-4). Thais accounted for 50% of FDI in Laos and Americans 25%.<sup>110</sup> Also, funding from multinational institutions such as the IMF and the Asian Development Bank constituted approximately 80% of development expenditure.<sup>111</sup>

**Leadership ideology:** However, the Laotian leaders' motivation to engage the concerned idea-promoters remained limited. First, Laos enjoyed an alternative sponsorship with its socialist neighbors. Laotian President Khamtay Siphandone, in his speech on March 12, 2001, arranged

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<sup>107</sup> Jorgensen-Dahl 1982, 97-98

<sup>108</sup> Pholsena and Banomyong 2006, 15-16

<sup>109</sup> Pholsena and Banomyong 2006, 73

<sup>110</sup> Pholsena and Banomyong 2006, 92

<sup>111</sup> St John 2006

the foreign relations of Laos in a clear order of priority. He claimed that Laos still put the highest priority on its relations and cooperation with “strategic socialist friends,” particularly on “promoting the tradition of special solidarity and cooperation in all domains with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam” and developing “cooperation in all domains with the People’s Republic of China.”<sup>112</sup>

Besides, just like Vietnam and the other new ASEAN members, Laotian leaders’ approach to reform was “perestroika without glasnost (economic change without political reform).”<sup>113</sup> As a socialist single-party state, Laos has been taking steps toward market reforms. However, the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party has resisted sharing its political power with other political groups. Also, just like Vietnam and other new ASEAN members, the government’s poor record of human rights practices was frequently on the spotlight. For example, religious freedom of ethnic and religious minorities in Laos has received a good amount of attention from government and non-government actors in the United States.<sup>114</sup> Although the Party leaders put a new emphasis on a policy of international friendship from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, they confirmed that such a new direction should be based on “mutual respect for liberty and sovereignty, non-interference in the affairs of others, equality and mutual benefit.”<sup>115</sup>

**Summary:** Laotian leaders’ stated aspiration for non-interference. Further, their consistently solid relations with China and Vietnam indicate that they would not be as concerned about reliable engagement of the concerned idea-promoters in their country or Southeast Asia as other old members of the ASEAN. However, the concerned idea-promoting countries have remained significant donors to Laos since the early 1990s. Also, considering Laotian leaders’ new emphasis on diversifying foreign relations, they have a stake in maintaining these sponsors. Overall, Laotian leaders also suffer from a dual-deficit dilemma, although to a relatively limited

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<sup>112</sup> Quoted in Pholsena and Banomyong 2006, 38

<sup>113</sup> St John 2006

<sup>114</sup> Lum 2010, 7

<sup>115</sup> Khamtay Siphandone, political report presented to the Seventh Congress of Lao People’s Revolutionary Party, 12 March 2001, quoted in Pholsena and Banomyong 2006, 45

extent though, in their relations with the concerned idea-promoters (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate, autonomy-deficit: moderate-high).

## *Cambodia*

**Leadership ideology:** Cambodian leaders' concerns about an attraction-deficit in relations to the concerned idea-promoters were limited primarily because of China's provision of development aid and investment. With reliable sponsorship from China, Cambodian leaders have been less vulnerable to the disinterest of other major powers than some of the old ASEAN members with no credible sponsors. Instead, Cambodian leaders prioritized autonomy concerns in relations to the concerned idea-promoters as they were aware that their distinctly different government practices made these Western partners unhappy. Political murders and the violent treatment of ethnic minorities were still prevalent in Cambodia. Democratic institutions were not developed due to the resistance of political elites. Patronage practices have prevailed over democratic institutions in administrative performance and interactions for resource provision and allocations.<sup>116</sup> In response to the political oppression, the United States banned direct government-to-government aids to Cambodia between 1997 and 2007. Humanitarian assistance from the United States continued through NGOs during this period. The Cambodian leaders were highly critical of such actions as great power's political meddling, which violated their cardinal foreign policy principle of non-interference and sovereignty.<sup>117</sup>

**Trade/Aid dependence:** However, it is unlikely that Cambodian elites' concerns about attracting the idea-promoters were negligible. It has to do with the highly aid-dependent economy of Cambodia since the 1990s. After the Vietnamese withdrawal in the late 1980s, Cambodia entered into its reconstruction phase, in which the assistance and investment from

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<sup>116</sup> Dayley and Neher 2010, 265

<sup>117</sup> Robertson 1997

foreign countries and international organizations was of absolute necessity. Over half of the government budget came from external funding from Japan and the European Union. Specifically, approximately 16% of Cambodia's GDP in 2000 and 11% in 2005 came from the international aid community.<sup>118</sup> The Consultative Group for Cambodia, which groups several donor countries and international financial organizations, has met every year since 1996 to provide the Cambodian government with reform guidelines and aid packages annually.<sup>119</sup> Among other countries, Japan, the United States, Europe-3 countries and Australia have been significant ODA donors to Cambodia (see Table 3-4). In other words, the leverage of the idea-promoters as major economic donors remained substantial.

**Summary:** Cambodian elites shared the dilemma of dual-deficits to a limited extent. Their concerns were tilted toward keeping their autonomy in relations to the idea-promoters because of their highly discordant political practices and the rise of China as Cambodia's alternative patron. At the same time, however, the leaders' present focus on national reconstruction has led them to highlight the importance of ensuring commitment from diverse donors beyond its relations with China. Thus, they were also motivated to act in order to avoid being neglected by these idea promoters (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: moderate, autonomy-deficit: moderate-high).

## *Myanmar*

**Leadership ideology:** If the leaders of the Philippines are the ones whose concerns over attraction-deficits are likely to exceed those over autonomy-deficits, the leaders of Myanmar are on the opposite end of the spectrum. Since the period of constitutional building, Myanmar upheld non-alignment and neutralism as the core principles of its foreign policy. Its leaders believed that a tiny nation such as their country was likely to suffer from great power entrapment if it were to

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<sup>118</sup> Dayley and Neher 2010, 263-264

<sup>119</sup> Kyodo News, 21 June 2002

take sides. When the military regime of the State Law and Order Restoration Council/State Peace and Development Council (SLORC/SPDC) took power by coup in 1988, the regime still upheld neutralism and national sovereignty as its core principles of foreign relations. The leaders declared that it was their core duty to counter any type of external interference.

As the Cold War ended and the Western pressure for democracy and liberal economy increased, their concerns about external influence further heightened. According to a military publication, they perceived,

When a market economy is given a free reign, the economy falls into the hands of foreigners. When foreigners become affluent, they begin to interfere and influence national politics. [Our] own nationals become hirelings. This is a neo-colonial pattern based on the economy. Myanmar cannot be allowed to follow the pattern.<sup>120</sup>

Admittedly, some military leaders recognized the necessity to avoid self-isolation and to accept development assistance from external donors as a means to exit from their dire economic situation. However, the ideology of non-interference that was closely held by Myanmar's top leadership prevented the reformers from integrating their economy further into the global market.

**Trade/aid dependence:** China's accommodative sponsorship of the Myanmar military regime since the early 1990s reduced incentive to attract Western patrons. Especially for the SLORC/SPDC regime, which faced a serious internal and external criticism against its coup, China's backing enabled the junta to survive the 15 years of pressures and sanctions from the West.<sup>121</sup> However, too much economic reliance on China raised the importance of not losing out the other powers that can balance the influence from China. This would be one of the international factors why Myanmar has begun to open its market to the West.

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<sup>120</sup> Nawrata 1995, 135

<sup>121</sup> Seekins 2005, 448; James 2004, 534



**Summary:** If Filipino elites were more concerned about being neglected over being pushed-over, the leaders of Myanmar were in an opposite position. They have upheld autonomy as their highest goal to protect their regime. However, years of China's sponsorship have raised concerns about their over-reliance on China; ironically, this concern has raised their fear of being neglected by the rest of the major Western countries (in Figure 3-1, attraction-deficit: low, autonomy-deficit: high).

**Table 3-1: Trade dependence after ASEAN membership\* (% of total trade/GDP)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Indonesia</b>	45	54	43	49	54	71	63
<b>Malaysia</b>	86	111	103	147	192	220	212
<b>Philippines</b>	48	52	46	61	81	105	98
<b>Singapore</b>	284	412	306	345	349	372	431
<b>Thailand</b>	41	54	49	76	90	125	148
<b>Brunei</b>				99	115	103	97
<b>Vietnam</b>					75	112	143
<b>Laos</b>						74	83
<b>Myanmar</b>						1.1	0.25
<b>Cambodia</b>						111	137

Sources: World Development Indicators Database, available at <http://data.worldbank.org/>

\*Brunei became a member of ASEAN in 1984; Vietnam in 1995; Laos and Myanmar in 1997; and Cambodia in 1999. In this study, the data after each nation's membership to ASEAN would be considered.

**Table 3-2: Relative trade dependence after ASEAN membership (% of total trade between each state and major sponsor states divided by the state's GDP)**

		1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>US</b>	6	10	7	5	7	7	7
	<b>Japan</b>	11	24	15	15	14	10	12
	<b>UK</b>	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1
	<b>France</b>	0.3	1	0.4	1	1	1	1
	<b>Germany</b>	1	2	1	2	3	2	2
	<b>Australia</b>	0.4	1	1	2	2	2	2

<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>US</b>	6	14	11	21	38	36	36
	<b>Japan</b>	7	21	20	25	41	32	25
	<b>UK</b>	3	4	3	6	7	5	4
	<b>France</b>	1	2	1	2	4	2	3
	<b>Germany</b>	2	4	3	5	8	5	7
	<b>Australia</b>	2	3	2	3	4	4	6
<b>Philippines</b>	<b>US</b>	4	7	6	9	17	22	16
	<b>Japan</b>	5	6	3	7	13	15	15
	<b>UK</b>	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
	<b>France</b>	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	1	1	1
	<b>Germany</b>	1	1	1	2	3	3	2
	<b>Australia</b>	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Singapore</b>	<b>US</b>	13	25	28	44	56	46	39
	<b>Japan</b>	12	26	21	35	49	35	26
	<b>UK</b>	4	6	4	7	9	7	8
	<b>France</b>	1	3	3	5	7	5	6
	<b>Germany</b>	3	6	4	9	12	9	10
	<b>Australia</b>	4	6	5	5	6	6	9
<b>Thailand</b>	<b>US</b>	3	6	5	11	16	18	16
	<b>Japan</b>	6	8	7	18	26	21	26
	<b>UK</b>	1	1	1	2	3	3	3
	<b>France</b>	0.4	1	1	2	2	1	2
	<b>Germany</b>	1	2	2	4	5	3	3
	<b>Australia</b>	0.3	1	1	1	2	2	4
<b>Brunei</b>	<b>US</b>				5	6	9	9
	<b>Japan</b>				30	38	23	33
	<b>UK</b>				1	3	4	2
	<b>France</b>				0.3	1	0.1	0.1
	<b>Germany</b>				1	2	1	0.4
	<b>Australia</b>				1	2	3	8
<b>Vietnam</b>	<b>US</b>					1	4	15
	<b>Japan</b>					11	16	19
	<b>UK</b>					1	2	3
	<b>France</b>					2	2	2
	<b>Germany</b>					2	3	4
	<b>Australia</b>					1	5	7
<b>Laos</b>	<b>US</b>					1	1	1
	<b>Japan</b>					4	2	1
	<b>UK</b>					0.1	1	1
	<b>France</b>					1	3	2
	<b>Germany</b>					1	1	2
	<b>Australia</b>					n/a	0.2	1
<b>Myanmar</b>	<b>US</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
	<b>Japan</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
	<b>UK</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
	<b>France</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
	<b>Germany</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
	<b>Australia</b>					n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>US</b>					1	21	30

	<b>Japan</b>					3	2	3
	<b>UK</b>					1	3	2
	<b>France</b>					3	2	4
	<b>Germany</b>					1	2	4
	<b>Australia</b>					1	0.2	0.3

Sources: IMF, Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook

**Table 3-3: Aid dependence (% of aid/constant GDP)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Indonesia</b>	4	4	2	2.4	1	1.3	1.5
<b>Malaysia</b>	2	1.2	2	1.5	0.2	0.07	0.03
<b>Philippines</b>	2	1	2	3	1.5	0.9	0.6
<b>Singapore</b>	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.006	0.02	0.001	n/a
<b>Thailand</b>	1.4	3	2.4	1.5	0.7	0.6	0.1
<b>Brunei</b>			0.08	0.1	0.07	0.02	n/a
<b>Vietnam</b>					4.5	7	5
<b>Laos</b>						23	15
<b>Myanmar*</b>						1	1
<b>Cambodia</b>						16	11

Sources: World Development Indicators Database, available at <http://data.worldbank.org/>

\* Data on Myanmar is retrieved from ASEAN Statistical Yearbook 2008

**Table 3-4: Ratio of bilateral aid flows to net ODA and official aid**

		1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>US</b>	0.13	0.12	0.07	0.02	-0.01	0.11	0.06
	<b>Japan</b>	0.29	0.37	0.27	0.51	0.69	0.59	0.48
	<b>UK</b>	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.01
	<b>France</b>	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.07	0.07	0.01	0.01
	<b>Germany</b>	0.06	0.07	0.14	0.06	0.003	0.003	0.07
	<b>Australia</b>	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.07
<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>US</b>	0.02	0.01	0	0	0	0.003	0.05
	<b>Japan</b>	0.64	0.49	0.55	0.80	0.60	0.52	-0.08
	<b>UK</b>	0.08	0.15	0.01	0.06	-0.14	0.004	0.05
	<b>France</b>	0.03	0.002	0.07	0.01	0.12	-0.06	-0.16
	<b>Germany</b>	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.12	0.3
	<b>Australia</b>	0.06	0.05	0.2	0.06	0.21	0.06	0.03
<b>Philippines</b>	<b>US</b>	0.36	0.17	0.29	0.2	0.12	0.13	0.17
	<b>Japan</b>	0.4	0.32	0.52	0.51	0.46	0.53	0.49

	<b>UK</b>	0.003	0.02	0.001	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	<b>France</b>	0	0.02	0.002	0.03	0.04	0.01	-0.02
	<b>Germany</b>	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.09
	<b>Australia</b>	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.08
<b>Singapore</b>	<b>US</b>	0.08	0.08	0.25	-0.65	0.002	0.28	0
	<b>Japan</b>	0.62	0.27	0.34	3.37	0.81	2.68	0
	<b>UK</b>	-0.03	-0.13	-0.08	0.56	-0.08	0.24	0
	<b>France</b>	0	0.1	0.77	-0.78	0.14	1.52	0
	<b>Germany</b>	0.08	0.33	0.28	-0.26	-0.15	-4.12	0
	<b>Australia</b>	0.08	0.08	0.25	-0.65	0.002	0.28	0
<b>Thailand</b>	<b>US</b>	0.15	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02	-0.12
	<b>Japan</b>	0.49	0.45	0.58	0.53	0.8	0.91	1.87
	<b>UK</b>	0.01	0.02	0.003	0.01	0.004	0.001	-0.001
	<b>France</b>	0	0.01	0.02	0.15	0.01	-0.02	-0.01
	<b>Germany</b>	0.06	0.13	0.07	0.08	0.02	0.03	-0.05
	<b>Australia</b>	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.02	-0.03
<b>Brunei</b>	<b>US</b>				0	0	0	0
	<b>Japan</b>				0.8	0.94	0.3	0
	<b>UK</b>				0.002	0.002	0.02	0
	<b>France</b>				0.04	0.02	0.16	0
	<b>Germany</b>				0.01	0.01	0.02	0
	<b>Australia</b>				0.06	0	0.41	0
<b>Vietnam</b>	<b>US</b>					0.001	0.004	0.01
	<b>Japan</b>					0.2	0.55	0.31
	<b>UK</b>					0.007	0.005	0.05
	<b>France</b>					0.11	0.03	0.05
	<b>Germany</b>					0.14	0.002	0.04
	<b>Australia</b>					0.05	0.02	0.03
<b>Laos</b>	<b>US</b>					0.01	0.01	0.02
	<b>Japan</b>					0.32	0.41	0.18
	<b>UK</b>					0.004	0.01	0.001
	<b>France</b>					0.03	0.05	0.07
	<b>Germany</b>					0.06	0.05	0.05
	<b>Australia</b>					0.04	0.04	0.04
<b>Myanmar</b>	<b>US</b>					0	0.03	0.03
	<b>Japan</b>					0.76	0.49	0.18
	<b>UK</b>					0.002	0.01	0.07
	<b>France</b>					0.03	0.01	0.01
	<b>Germany</b>					0.01	0.01	0.03
	<b>Australia</b>					0.01	0.02	0.08
<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>US</b>					0.06	0.05	0.13
	<b>Japan</b>					0.28	0.25	0.19
	<b>UK</b>					0.02	0.03	0.04
	<b>France</b>					0.1	0.05	0.05
	<b>Germany</b>					0.04	0.05	0.05
	<b>Australia</b>					0.05	0.06	0.05

Sources: World Development Indicators Database, available at <http://data.worldbank.org/>

## Conclusion

The country analysis above demonstrates two premises discussed in Chapter two, on which the concept of ASEAN's dilemma of dual-deficits is based. First, it shows that the majority of ASEAN members shared common conditions conducive to the dual-deficits. While the level of concerns over each deficit have ranged from moderate to high across countries, the differences remained relatively minor among most member states. Second, it demonstrates that the dual-deficits at the ASEAN level were quite evenly distributed. While ASEAN has the Philippines in which leaders were likely to weigh attraction-deficits more than autonomy-deficits, ASEAN's collective distribution of dual-deficits was not tilted because it also has Myanmar, in which leaders prioritized autonomy over attraction-deficits. The rest of the member states were exposed to moderate to high level of both deficits. Thus, in the aggregate terms, the distribution of dual deficits remained quite balanced without one side overweighing the other. Figure 3-1 above summarizes this.

In sum, the distribution of the level of attraction and autonomy deficits in each country shows that the dual-deficits became significant for ASEAN. The dual-deficits were commonly shared concerns for the majority of ASEAN members. Most member states have a balanced distribution of the dual-deficits. Furthermore, with the Philippines and Myanmar on each end of the spectrum, ASEAN had to consider a high level of concerns about both relational deficits due to its organizational rule of accommodation. Figure 3-1 illustrates this.

Based on Chapters two and three, the following chapters examine the association between ASEAN's dilemma that the balance of dual deficits brings and its ideational changes, and test whether the propositions derived from the concept of dual deficit dilemma are valid in the studied cases.

## Chapter 4

### Institutionalizing Common Security in Post-Cold War ASEAN

#### **Introduction**

Why did ASEAN embrace common security as an ideational principle of security cooperation of the region and start a policy of ‘engaging’ threats rather than ‘detering’ them? Multilateral common security is a principle that offers alternative ideas for international security to unilateral, zero-sum thinking that prevailed during the Cold War. The idea has its origins in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). According to the Palme Commission Report, which developed the idea for the Conference, common security includes the following elements: “(1) Military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving disputes between nations; (2) Restraint is necessary in expression of national policy; (3) Security cannot be attained through military superiority; (4) Reduction and qualitative limitations of armaments are necessary for common security; and (5) Linkage between arms negotiations and political events should be avoided.”<sup>122</sup> In other words, the idea of common security rejects an adversarial approach to security and pursues a ‘threat-engaging’ approach (as opposed to a threat-detering one) through reassurance and confidence-building measures. According to the principle, security can be mutually achieved by climbing up the ladder from confidence building to preventive diplomacy to eventual conflict resolution, rather than by practices of power balancing.<sup>123</sup>

The six original ASEAN members embraced the idea of common security in 1993 as a basic principle of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as their first multilateral security arrangement.<sup>124</sup> But, as local-fit thesis expects, ASEAN leaders were reluctant to adopt it at first

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<sup>122</sup> Palme Commission 1982, cited in Acharya 2009, 113

<sup>123</sup> Simon 2001, 171-172

<sup>124</sup> The ARF was launched in 1994 with the 6 original ASEAN members, Laos and Vietnam as then-ASEAN observers, Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Republic of Korea, Russia and the United States. With the addition of Myanmar, Cambodia (as ASEAN members), Bangladesh, India, North Korea, Mongolia, Pakistan, East Timor, and Sri Lanka, it now consists of 27 members. For studies of the development and evolution of the ARF, see Emmers 2001; Haacke 2010; Severino 2009. Severino traces chronological records of ARF diplomacy; Emmers discusses the balance of power factor in the establishment of the

because the idea of practicing common security was foreign to many ASEAN elites in two respects: first, common security was an idea for an “inclusive” security. In the eyes of ASEAN elites who had wished to limit the engagement of great powers in its regional security affairs, the inclusive notion of security was incompatible with one that had prevailed in the region. The declaration of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in 1971<sup>125</sup> had remained as a manifestation of ASEAN’s long-time aspiration for neutrality and independence. Though the level of commitment to ZOPFAN varied across countries and skepticism about its practical applicability did not die away, the idea was accepted as a main pillar of the ASEAN grouping because there was a wide consensus that ZOPFAN should be a long-term goal of the region which “had suffered from the ill-considered actions of the super powers.”<sup>126</sup> They agreed that, through the declaration of ZOPFAN, ASEAN aspires to resist alliances with foreign powers; abstain from consenting to intervention by foreign powers in the domestic affairs; resist involvement in any conflicts outside the zone; and ensure the removal of foreign military bases within the member states.<sup>127</sup> As Alagappa noted, the idea of ZOPFAN was based on the premise that the rivalry and intervention of great powers had generated insecurity in the region, so the restriction of big power engagement should be a goal to pursue in Southeast Asia.<sup>128</sup> In other words, ZOPFAN in principle promoted a self-reliant path for development and peace, thus the exclusion of big neighbors from regional issues matters. In this sense, it might be understood why the idea of a US-centered, multilateral security arrangement in East Asia had not been realized, though there was a period (1945-1950) during which some of the local actors and US administration discussed the idea. Of course, there was the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) that had lasted until 1977. However, Thailand and the Philippines were the only Southeast Asian members that joined. Other ASEAN leaders had rejected the idea until the early

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ARF, which will be discussed later; Haacke and others examine how and to what extent the participants have shaped the ARF’s institutions and affected its achievements.

<sup>125</sup> The 1971 ZOPFAN Declaration committed ASEAN to resisting alliances with foreign powers; abstaining from consenting to intervention by foreign powers in the domestic affairs; resisting involvement in any conflicts outside the zone; and ensuring the removal of foreign military bases in ZOPFAN member states. (Acharya 2009, 95)

<sup>126</sup> Alagappa 1991, 273

<sup>127</sup> Acharya 2009, 95

<sup>128</sup> Alagappa 1991, 277-288

1990s. In such a context, the framework for common security did not fit in the sense that it proposed to bring not only ASEAN members together but also external powers into a single security framework.<sup>129</sup> Accepting this new idea would mean allowing for a more direct engagement of these stronger neighbors in their regional issues.

Second, the idea of common security required collective “security” arrangements. ASEAN’s original members had previously avoided collective security arrangements, stating in the 1987 Manila Declaration that “each member state shall be responsible for its own security.” The principle of non-intervention, ASEAN’s cardinal norm since its inception, had also helped prevent the development of military cooperation. According to Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Raul Manglapus, the proposal for multilateral security arrangements in ASEAN was a “tremendous breakthrough” as “nobody even wanted to mention the word security in ASEAN discussion.”<sup>130</sup> So far, ASEAN had approached security matters only on an ad-hoc basis for specific situations, such as Cambodia, or only in bilateral relations. Security or military cooperation between members had increased since the early 1980s. However, all forms of exchange, exercises, and equipment/procedure standardization were bilateral or trilateral; they had not evolved into formal pan-ASEAN arrangements.<sup>131</sup> On the whole, there had been no collective effort for institutionalized cooperation on military or security matters in the region.

Then why did ASEAN states accept the idea of common security in 1993, and not earlier? How did it occur in spite of its members’ reluctance to engage in collective security talks, and particularly to the inclusion of outsiders in such talks? This chapter supports the argument that the theory of dual deficit dilemma can explain the adoption and timing of common security by ASEAN. As the theory expects, the adoption of this foreign idea occurred at a time when the level of existing sponsorship from the United States decreased (or was perceived to decrease) with the end of the Cold War. The import of multilateral common security, despite its ‘unfitness’ with locally pursued ideas, was perceived to lessen ASEAN leaders’ concerns over being sidelined. It supports my argument that joining in security arrangements that could engage major

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<sup>129</sup> Acharya 2009, 115

<sup>130</sup> Cited in Severino 2009, 4

<sup>131</sup> Kusuma-Atmadja 1990, 161-162



powers could be a strategically useful way for ASEAN to reduce the chances of being neglected or left out. Especially when they expect increasingly detached sponsorship from existing patrons due to their diminishing strategic values, ideational convergence could attract states that promote the ideas, and possibly make the relations with the states closer than before. In cases where the idea-promoting states provide alternative sponsorship collectively or individually, engaging them would also decrease the weak counterparts' concerns about attraction-deficit. Foreign policy elites in Australia, Canada and Japan were major exporters of the idea to major policy circles in Southeast Asia. The United States, though it had remained skeptical about the common security concept until 1993 when the new Clinton administration took office, was increasing its attention to the common security arrangement in Asia as its long-time security partners such as Japan and Australia were actively engaged in it. Besides, the leaders of the Soviet Union were also supporting this idea of common security.<sup>132</sup> Mikhail Gorbachev added the idea of common security based on naval arms control and Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as part of his 'new thinking' in 1986 and widely advanced it in favor of multilateralism in regional security. Just like the Australian proposal, Gorbachev's proposal for the establishment of a Pacific Ocean Conference also suggested a Pacific version of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).<sup>133</sup> Such a possibility of Soviet engagement could further strengthen Washington's motivation to participate in the arrangement. In other words, ASEAN members could prevent Washington's further detachment from their regional security issues by making such multilateral arrangements relevant.

In addition, the leaders adopted the idea when ASEAN's steering role in managing the arrangement was guaranteed. As the theory expects, the idea was adopted when the idea-promoters and receivers agreed on the implementation of the idea in a way that mitigated ASEAN leaders' concerns over an autonomy-deficit from rising drastically. That is, the proposal for common security for a security arrangement at the regional level could be institutionalized when some of ASEAN leaders' concerns about interferences from the idea-promoting side were

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<sup>132</sup> Soviet support for regional security arrangements was actually not new as Leonid Brezhnev had proposed an Asian Collective Security System in 1969. But Brezhnev's idea had been dismissed by many Asian states because it was considered as propaganda for expanding the Communist orbit.

<sup>133</sup> Wiseman 1992, 43; Yuzawa 2007, 22

accommodated by the institutional mechanisms in favor of ASEAN's centrality in running the common security arrangement.

The chapter proceeds as follows: first, it illustrates the changes in the level of US sponsorship for regional security at the end of the Cold War period. Next, it traces how the changes led ASEAN leaders to be concerned about the dilemma of dual-deficits at the ASEAN level. Then it shows that ASEAN adopted the idea of common security when the dilemma was addressed with the reassurance of local ownership of the idea. A brief conclusion follows, discussing how this argument differs from existing explanations about the establishment of the ARF.

## **The End of the Cold War and Rising Periphery Fear**

### *Washington's engagement in Southeast Asia decreased*

The Pacific order during the Cold War period was created and sustained on the basis of mutual interest between the United States and smaller Asian countries. While the United States played its hegemonic role in order to contain Communist contagion in the region, the East Asian nations implicitly and explicitly accepted its authority to rule. In return, the United States provided security goods as well as affluent market opportunities so that Asian allies could free-ride and grow under its leadership. As Washington found their cooperation essential for its competition against Communist rivals, ASEAN member states enjoyed relatively high leverage in spite of their weak capacities. The superpower sponsorship provided a certain level of peace, which all the ASEAN countries wanted as a necessary condition for their national development. The superpower sponsorship was essential in containing domestic Communist groups' revolutionary moves, deterring the Soviet Union, and checking China's growing power and Japan's rising ambition for rearmament.

However, the leverage that ASEAN countries had enjoyed started to weaken as the Cold War rivalry came to an end. The expected downfall of the Communist bloc meant a drastic change of the regional threat environment. The US Congress started to question its costly global

defense burdens and free-riding behaviors of its allies. Conservative critics stirred up a suspicion that “Asia is thriving at America’s expense, because the US defends the region and luxuriates on its products.”<sup>134</sup> Since 1989, the US Defense Department has had to scrap several new weapon programs, and reduce the number of naval vessels and aircrafts deployed in Southeast Asia. Congress also forced large spending cuts on Pentagon projects overseas, approving only US\$22 million of the requested US\$99 million for the projects in the Philippines.<sup>135</sup> The new Bush administration announced a plan to cut its military budget by US\$50 billion over the next five years and decrease its military force by 25 percent.<sup>136</sup> According to the plan of the phased withdrawal of US forces from the region, announced by the 1990 US Defense Department’s East Asian Strategy Initiative, the overall force of 135,000 personnel deployed in Asia would be reduced by up to 15,000 during the first phase (1990-92) and the second and third phases would see further reductions in US forces depending on circumstances.<sup>137</sup> Defense Secretary Richard Cheney also foresaw a 20 percent reduction in defense spending from 1985 to 1995.<sup>138</sup> In practice, the US security assistance to Thailand had gradually decreased from US\$92.2 million in 1986 to US\$29.2 million in 1989.<sup>139</sup>

Even if the United States did not withdraw from East Asia, it was expected to concentrate more on Northeast Asia. Major US military bases would remain in Japan and South Korea. Two regional powers, Japan and China, are located in the North. Also, two remaining potential conflict points, Korea and Taiwan, lie in Northeast Asia.<sup>140</sup> According to Robert J. McMahon, the Southeast Asian region “seemed about to be relegated once again to its pre-Cold War status: essentially, as a peripheral area of interest to a superpower with more fundamental interests in Europe, the Middle East, Northeast Asia, and elsewhere.”<sup>141</sup> The region’s importance

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<sup>134</sup> “Crying for attention,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 24 October 1991: 24

<sup>135</sup> “US Congress attacks defense ‘free-riders,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 April 1988: 24-25

<sup>136</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 38; Alagappa 1989, 22-24

<sup>137</sup> “Flurry of signals,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 May 1990: 10

<sup>138</sup> Simon 1990, 84-85; Yuzawa 2007, 38

<sup>139</sup> “The US has slashed its fiscal 1989 security assistance,” *Bangkok Post*, 13 January 1989

<sup>140</sup> Simon 1998, 204-205

<sup>141</sup> McMahon 1999, 184-185

did not lie any more in “the lofty geopolitical calculations that had driven past policy” of the United States.<sup>142</sup>

Moreover, the existing base agreement between the Philippines and the United States was about to expire in 1991, adding a new discomfort to the region. Though many foreign policy officials in the newly established Aquino administration were concerned about the abrupt withdrawal of the US military from their country, negotiating a new base agreement was necessary to soothe political sensitivities and attain the Philippine Senate’s approval. In the circumstance, President Aquino and Foreign Secretary Manglapus criticized ASEAN counterparts for having been free-riding on the security umbrella provided by the US military base in the Philippines and having done nothing to share its cost.<sup>143</sup> Manglapus also repeatedly urged ASEAN counterparts to take more political responsibility for sharing its defense burden if they recognized the importance of US military presence for the sake of regional stability.<sup>144</sup> In spite of several phases of negotiations, a new base agreement signed in June 1991 did not satisfy the Senate, which led the United States to turn over Clark Air Base to the Philippines and to withdraw from Subic Naval Base.<sup>145</sup>

### *ASEAN elites’ concerns over an attraction-deficit increased*

With Washington’s policy changes, ASEAN elites became increasingly concerned about rising attraction-deficits. Such policy shifts at the elite level and the critical mood of the American public and Congress against the existing burden-sharing structure led ASEAN elites to worry about the eventual disengagement of the United States from the region. In a speech at the Indonesia Forum in 1990, Lee Hsien Loong, then Singaporean Foreign Minister for Trade and

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<sup>142</sup> McMahon 1999, 184-185

<sup>143</sup> “President Aquino virtually confronted ASEAN,” Jakarta Post, 24 August 1989; “Fidel Ramos said that US bases provide a strategic umbrella,” Jakarta Post, 25 August 1989; “Foreign Secretary Manglapus was not entirely wrong,” Jakarta Post, 14 May 1990; “Bottom-line debate,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 May 1990: 12

<sup>144</sup> Manglapus, Philippine Foreign Secretary, statement at the conference “A New Road for the Philippines,” Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, October 1986; Kusuma-Atmadja 1990, 164-165

<sup>145</sup> De Castro 2005, 408. For a detailed discussion about bilateral issues over a new agreement, see “Bottom-line debate,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 May 1990: 12; “Sour leave-taking,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 April 1992: 19.

Industry, showed an apprehension about the marginalization of the ASEAN: “ASEAN may no longer weigh as heavily in the calculations of these major players. With the end of the Cold War, they will now feel less need to woo small countries and regional grouping.”<sup>146</sup> Even some Malaysian foreign policy elites, who had been vocal proponents for non-alignment and self-reliance, also expressed their concerns about the perceived US disengagement. During the Cold War, they could gain what they desired in relations with the United States or West European countries because of bipolar rivalry with the Communist front. But such opportunities were missed as the Cold War came to an end, and these elites were concerned about the consequences of such loss of leverage.

Furthermore, according to a Philippine expert on ASEAN, many elites in the region feared that, with the termination of US base in the Philippines, power vacuum without a committed patron would lead to hegemony by one of the regional powers such as China, or fierce struggles among China, India and Japan for a dominant position in the region.<sup>147</sup> India’s influence already extended to the Straits of Malacca in the late 1980s. Also, its naval capabilities expanded rapidly with purchases of a new aircraft carrier and nuclear-powered submarines during the 1980s. The Indian navy was expected to become the largest fleet deployed in the Indian Ocean.<sup>148</sup> Also, an ASEAN expert noted that ASEAN elites perceived Japan as a rising military power which was increasingly interested in protecting international regional shipping routes and that Japan’s rearmament was a possible scenario after US withdrawal if China developed a strong navy.<sup>149</sup> Not only rivalry among regional powers but their potential strategic alliance became a source of concern. For example, some Chinese strategists’ proposal for alliance with Japan to counterbalance the United States worried some ASEAN leaders. Singaporean Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew warned that if the United States withdrew from Asia, “[...] the two major regional powers, Japan and China [...] they either merge or there would be a takeover of one by the other- a colossus so big that the United States and Europe will not be able

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<sup>146</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, Singaporean Foreign Minister, speech at the Indonesia Forum, Jakarta, 11 July 1990

<sup>147</sup> Hernandez 1993, 108

<sup>148</sup> Panaspornprasit 1993, 99

<sup>149</sup> Simon 1990, 89

to balance its weight.”<sup>150</sup> Philippine President Fidel Ramos also expressed a concern: “when elephants fight each other, some grass gets trampled under foot. But when elephants mate, even more grass gets crushed.”<sup>151</sup>

During and after Philippines-US negotiations, ASEAN elites kept expressing their concerns about US withdrawal implicitly and explicitly. Singapore’s Second Minister for Foreign Affairs George Yeo worried that Asia without US engagement would be “frightening” because “a whole chain reaction of destabilization will be triggered off in the region.”<sup>152</sup> According to Singapore’s Lee Hsien Loong, “The USSR may be no less of a threat to the region, but even in this new strategic environment the US deployments are still a force for stability. Any change will be unsettling for the region.”<sup>153</sup> Singaporean officials also believed that the region would be more stable if East Asia could remain in balance when China was rising and the US presence was necessary in order to achieve this.<sup>154</sup> Many Thai strategists as well as Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan also supported the maintenance of the US bases in the region although some of them were reluctant to do so in public as Thailand had closed its own US base earlier. They argued that since the Soviet Union had not demonstrated its fundamental shift in its global foreign policies, a US military presence should be maintained as a security deterrent and a balancer for power equilibrium.<sup>155</sup> Even to the staunch advocates of non-alignment and neutrality, such as Indonesian foreign policy elites, the idea of Southeast Asia without any patron states that were attentive and capable of providing defense goods was not favored. While Indonesian elites have remained persistent advocates for independent and self-reliant diplomacy (Foreign Ministry officials were particularly so), officials affiliated with military or intellectuals

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<sup>150</sup> Lee Kuan Yew, Singaporean Prime Minister, quoted in Funabashi 1995, 175

<sup>151</sup> Fidel Ramos, Philippine President, *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 May 1992, quoted in Funabashi 1995, 175

<sup>152</sup> George Yeo, Singaporean Second Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Jakarta Post*, 24 January 1992

<sup>153</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, Singaporean Foreign Minister, speech at Indonesia Forum organized by the Indonesian Economists Association, Borobudur Hotel, July 1990, quoted in “Greater access for the US to Singapore’s military facilities is good for the region stability,” *Jakarta Post*, 12 July 1990

<sup>154</sup> For example, see Lee Kuan Yew’s comment in Funabashi 1995, 175; S. Jayakumar’s speech, Georgetown University Inaugural Distinguished Lecture on Southeast Asia, 22 April 1996; Goh Chok Tong’s speech, “Challenges for Asia,” Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry Special Seminar, Tokyo, 28 March 2003

<sup>155</sup> “Chatichai favors keeping US bases in the Philippines,” *Bangkok Post*, 19 August 1989; “Sympathy and understanding aside,” *Bangkok Post*, 24 August 1989; “The US is viewed as a benign superpower,” *New Straits Times*, 10 June 1991

in think-tanks, such as the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS),<sup>156</sup> viewed the United States as a benign balancer and positively assessed its benefits to regional security.<sup>157</sup> For example, Jusuf Wanandi, Director of the CSIS, said, “the absence of the US presence is seen as creating new problems for the region, because this may force Japan to increase its military capabilities. The uncertain effect of this development will have an uncertain influence upon China. In addition, despite its grave internal problems, the Soviet Union still possesses huge amounts of military hardware and thus the uncertainty in the region becomes even greater. Hence the preference for maintaining the status quo.”<sup>158</sup> Malaysian elites also showed support for a continued US military presence, though the support was not outright in public. Without its security protection, they believed, the region would suffer from a free-for-all competition. Malaysian Deputy Defense Minister Datuk Abang Abu Bakar in an ASEAN Defense Symposium in 1988 observed that the era of superior US presence and generous access to the US market had ended, and wondered whether a new hegemony in the new era would destroy the fruits of economic and political progress that the non-communist Asian allies had achieved during the previous era.<sup>159</sup> According to Weatherbee, it was also a widely-held view that many government officials of ASEAN member states, though they did not want to go on records, agreed that “a termination of the US base agreements would be inherently destabilizing without major alterations in the policies of USSR and the PRC. The code words for ASEAN support of continuation of the base agreements are an “active US presence.””<sup>160</sup> Eventually in July 1992, all ASEAN members unprecedentedly called publicly on the United States to maintain its presence.

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<sup>156</sup> Indonesian member of ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), which is a network of major think tanks which have been closely aligned with the governments of their countries. Other members include Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Indonesia; the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies in the Philippines; Singapore Institute of International Affairs; the Institute of Security and International Studies in Thailand; Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies; Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace; Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam; and Institute of Foreign Affairs Lao People’s Democratic Republic.

<sup>157</sup> New Straits Times, 10 June 1991; Anwar 1994, 213

<sup>158</sup> Jusuf Wanandi, Director of CSIS (Indonesian Track 1.5 participant institute), address at the seminar on ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990s, Manila, 6-7 June 1991

<sup>159</sup> Abang Abu Bakar, Malaysian Deputy Defense Minister, “Many East Asian countries want the US to remain,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 April 1988: 27

<sup>160</sup> Weatherbee 1987, 1225

Several bilateral agreements came along with the request, which provided the United States with access to the local facilities necessary for the continued presence.<sup>161</sup>

Overall, the end of the Cold War and Washington's substantial reforms of foreign policy priorities heightened ASEAN leaders' anxieties. As Kuik well summarizes, under increasing uncertainties where the US disengagement, power vacuum thereafter and fierce competitions among China, Japan and India to fill in the vacuum are likely, ASEAN leaders were wondering whether they could still remain "relevant" in the new security environment.<sup>162</sup>

### *The idea of common security was proposed in the region*

In the uncertain environment, the idea of common security started to be integrated into the conversation about security in the Asia Pacific region. Many elites in the non-ASEAN countries of the region started to agree with the idea that there should be arrangements for discussions about political and security issues in Asia Pacific. As peace research communities in Australia and New Zealand took up the issue of the alternative security notion from Europe, the security debate became increasingly concerned about the defensive and anti-nuclear message of common security.<sup>163</sup> As Cold War tension subsided, the advocacy for common security and its implementation in the region intensified at the government as well as at Track 1.5 or 2 levels. Particularly, Australian government was a persistent promoter of the idea with proposals in 1987, 1988, 1990 and 1991, suggesting there could be a possible evolution of the Pacific version of the CSCE in the future.<sup>164</sup> A similar proposal came from the Canadian Foreign Minister, Joe

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<sup>161</sup> Antolik 1992, 149; Murphy 2008, 265. Singapore agreed to host a US navy logistics unit after the withdrawal of US military force from Subic Bay in the Philippines. The Philippine President Aquino welcomed this new Singapore-US military pact (Manila Chronicle, 10 July 1990). Malaysia allowed the US fleet to use the Lumut naval base in Perak for repairs on a commercial base. The US Ambassador to the Philippines Nicholas Platt was confident that the United States can "have some kinds of arrangements for training, for use of runway space and so forth in other ASEAN countries" even Philippine pullout looms (Manila Chronicle, 10 July 1990). However, defense specialists said that these offers could not provide substitute facilities enough to avert the drastic decrease of the US presence in the region (Far Eastern Economic Review, 22 November 1990: 21-22).

<sup>162</sup> Kuik 2008, 164

<sup>163</sup> Wiseman 1992, 43-44

<sup>164</sup> Ba 2009, 172



Clark.<sup>165</sup> Both governments actively promoted the development of multilateral channels for dialogues, contacts and compromising strategies across the Asia-Pacific.<sup>166</sup> Japanese foreign ministry officials supported these countries' initiatives in 1990 as they developed more confidence in the positive effects of CBMs through Japan's improved relations with the Soviet Union. They concluded that the time was ripe for a region-wide forum for multilateral security.<sup>167</sup> Overall, the applicability of the CSCE model to Asia Pacific remained in question, but as Richard Smith, then Deputy Secretary in Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, said, there was a consensus among foreign ministry elites in these countries that they "need a forum in which regional security matters could be talked about by regional members."<sup>168</sup> As for the United States, the Bush administration in earlier years had rejected the establishment of common security institutions, and believed that the United States should continue to rely on its hub-and-spoke bilateral alliance system. However, when the Clinton administration took office in 1993, Washington began to take a warmer stance toward the idea of a multilateral security forum. Its high-level foreign policy elites agreed that a comprehensive approach would be necessary to build "a new Pacific community," expressing an acknowledgement that in recent years they had paid "insufficient attention to major transformations under way across the Pacific."<sup>169</sup> Although the Clinton administration remained skeptical of whether the European model of the CSCE could work in more diverse, complicated East Asia, they at least supported the idea that the development of multilateral forums for security consultations was necessary to supplement its bilateral alliances, as well as deal with emerging security concerns that deterrence mechanism could not address.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Jakarta Post, 30 July 1990

<sup>166</sup> Wiseman 1992, 44

<sup>167</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 24-25

<sup>168</sup> Richard Smith, Australian Deputy Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade, quoted in Smith 2007, 6

<sup>169</sup> Winston Lord, US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, quoted in "Group therapy," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 15 April 1993: 10

<sup>170</sup> *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 15 April 1993: 10-11

*ASEAN elites started to talk about the adoption of common security and dual-deficits*

Despite its incompatibility with the idea that had prevailed in the region, the notion of common security gained a positive response from a group of ASEAN elites. By the time of the Singapore Summit in January 1992, several ASEAN leaders, notably from Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines, supported the idea that the invitation of major outside powers to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)<sup>171</sup> could act as a step toward a new regional security framework along the lines of the CSCE. For example, Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus suggested that ASEAN should begin its dialogue on security, and that the dialogue should include not only ASEAN members, but their Asia Pacific allies and those from other continents. He argued that "ASEAN must view the long term, including the vision of ZOPFAN [i.e. regional autonomy]. But ASEAN must also appreciate the short term, immediate requirements of regional security."<sup>172</sup> Thai officials also argued that new security cooperation should address a military dimension, including confidence-building measures, which could eventually prevent participants from making military moves against other counterparts.<sup>173</sup> In the 1992 ASEAN Summit, the Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong also highlighted ASEAN's remaining relevance in the discussion of new security cooperation, saying that "the challenge will be to keep ASEAN relevant and sought after in a situation where the great powers no longer need to compete for ASEAN's support."<sup>174</sup>

However, several leaders were still reserved. Former Thai foreign minister Thanat Khoman expressed his fear that "the emerging new world order had already assigned ASEAN to a secondary role."<sup>175</sup> Many Indonesian leaders believed that to invite the outside major powers to

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<sup>171</sup> The TAC was adopted in 1976 as a fundamental guideline for cooperation, which includes sovereignty, non-interference, peaceful dispute settlement and no use of force as fundamental principles of the Association (Available at [www.aseansec.org/64.htm](http://www.aseansec.org/64.htm)).

<sup>172</sup> Raul Manglapus, Philippine Foreign Secretary, address at the seminar titled "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Cooperation in the 1990s," Manila, the Philippines, 6 June 1991

<sup>173</sup> For example, the views of Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Philippine Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Rodolfo Severino, cited in "The first step," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 June 1993: 18

<sup>174</sup> Goh Chok Tong, Singaporean Prime Minister, quoted in "ASEAN Summit leaders to search for new roles," *Reuter News Service*, 21 January 1992, re-cited in Hay 1996, 256

<sup>175</sup> Thanat Khoman, former Thai Foreign Minister, "Friction in the club," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 22 October 1992: 16

the TAC, which was tailored to Southeast Asian countries, would be to invite the threat of intervention by the big powers.<sup>176</sup> They still opposed the idea of extending ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conferences (PMC), which had been a forum mainly for political and economic discussion.<sup>177</sup> Likewise, the Secretary General of the Malaysian Foreign Ministry, Ahmad Kamil Jaafer, shared the concern that the idea of making a security mechanism, which would group ASEAN with external powers, such as the United States, the European Union, Japan, Canada, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, was premature.<sup>178</sup> Although accepting the proposals for common security might help ASEAN engage these regional powers for a long time, several ASEAN foreign policy elites resisted adopting the concept of common security through inclusive regional security arrangements because it might lead to a more institutionalized influence of bigger external powers. Especially when a broader regional group for common security was proposed at the 1990 ASEAN-PMC between ASEAN leaders and their Dialogue Partners, some of the ASEAN leaders expressed discomfort with the moves to expand the membership of the arrangement, including great and middle powers in the region, because they could lose ASEAN states' independence in determining their own agenda in their own way. According to a foreign relations officer interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, ASEAN elites were reserved because they wanted to, "make sure the group's identity would not be washed away" with the acceptance of this new idea of security practice.<sup>179</sup> Indonesian elites perhaps best represented this view. At a news conference after the PMC, Ali Alatas expressed his reservations, saying that ASEAN members' security talks would remain "very much anchored on ZOPFAN ideas," and further asked the Dialogue Partners "to know a little bit more about our thinking on ZOPFAN as our input into the discussions on what the future may bring to us."<sup>180</sup> The previous Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusuma-atmadja, did not welcome the idea either. He noted in a speech that any profitable discussion on regional security issues, such as South China Sea

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<sup>176</sup> "Action at last," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 February 1992: 11

<sup>177</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 31-32

<sup>178</sup> Ahmad Kamil Jaafer, Malaysian Secretary-General of Foreign Ministry, "George Yeo said the prospect of Asia without US forces for the next 20 years was frightening," *Jakarta Post*, 24 January 1992

<sup>179</sup> Quoted in *Jakarta Post*, 30 July 1990

<sup>180</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, quoted in *Jakarta Post*, 30 July 1990

disputes, must exclude outside involvement.<sup>181</sup> A Singaporean diplomat, according to FEER, also opposed the idea at 1991 ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, claiming that ASEAN's task should remain "to keep discussions of security within ASEAN's orbit."<sup>182</sup> An Indonesian diplomat confirmed this view: "We don't want to see the region amalgamated."<sup>183</sup>

In sum, ASEAN elites saw the benefits of engaging outside powers in regular consultations on their regional security. When they perceived Washington's commitment to the region to diminish, they could have thought that embracing the idea of regional common security arrangements as proposed by external players would not only prevent the ASEAN countries from a power vacuum, but also assuage their concerns about becoming less relevant to the major powers. However, the decision was not easy because they were also concerned that bringing big powers back in would result in more interference from these outsiders.

***ASEAN adopted common security to the extent of securing its ownership of common security implementation***

In order to tackle the dilemma of dual-deficits, ASEAN elites needed to accommodate both concerns in a balanced way. The following development helped address them. First, the dilemma abated when ASEAN leaders secured their principal leadership in managing how ideas were put into practice. At the 1992 Summit, ASEAN leaders initiated a formal discussion about Asia-Pacific security issues for the first time. Particularly, the Summit encouraged the creation of a new security forum for the wider region, but suggested the role of ASEAN as its pivot by extending the existing ASEAN-PMC dialogue process for this role. According to Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Badawi, ASEAN must "remain resolute and steadfast in defending ASEAN positions and interests lest the ARF process moves irreversibly[...] [Leaders] must not allow ASEAN to be taken for granted by others, or worse, be used by others to secure their own

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<sup>181</sup> Mochtar Kusuma-atmadja, former Indonesian Foreign Minister, speech at the workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, Bali, Indonesia, 22 January 1990

<sup>182</sup> Quoted in "A bit more backbone," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 August 1991: 11

<sup>183</sup> Quoted in "The first step," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 3 June 1993: 18

interests.”<sup>184</sup> Surin Pitsuwan, Thai Deputy Foreign Minister, also emphasized that ASEAN was and would be “fiercely protective” of its leading role in the new security framework.<sup>185</sup> The leaders realized that in order to achieve these goals it was essential for ASEAN to take a steering role in this wider regional arrangement.

The ARF, created in 1993, ensured such status for ASEAN. ARF members agreed that ASEAN would be the venue for ARF’s annual meetings, dominate the agenda and always be represented by one of its members in every inter-sessional study group, each of which consisted of only two states.<sup>186</sup> Also, in order to avoid unwelcome input from non-governmental actors, ASEAN leaders demanded that the activities of any relevant non-governmental organizations or institutes should “result from full consultations with all ARF participants.”<sup>187</sup>

Second, ARF members agreed that the emerging arrangement should not pursue a premature institutionalization. As former ASEAN Secretary-General Rodolfo Severino noted, there was a concern that multilateral conflict resolutions might give certain powers more room to get involved in the delicate bilateral issues such as the South China Sea, as well as in internal conflicts. Thus, placing informal, consensus-based dialogue as a primary rule of the Forum was reassuring in that “nobody would railroad or ram through measures that others might deem to be threatening to them.”<sup>188</sup>

Third, the idea-promoting side was willing to reflect ASEAN’s concerns. For example, Japanese elites’ strong support of such a scheme helped abate ASEAN elites’ concerns. Since Sato Yukio began to lead the task for regional multilateralism as Director General of the Information Analysis, Research and Planning Bureau at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreign ministry officials were generally more in favor of utilizing existing frameworks such as ASEAN and ASEAN-PMC than copying the CSCE. Japan’s Nakayama proposal for establishing

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<sup>184</sup> Abdullah Badawi, Malaysian Foreign Minister, quoted in “Malaysia laments ASEAN’s lack of resolve,” *Straits Times*, 30 July 1995

<sup>185</sup> Surin Pitsuwan, quoted in *Business Times*, 25 July 1994, cited in Ba 2009, 181-182 and 280

<sup>186</sup> Simon 1998, 205; Severino 2009, 16-18

<sup>187</sup> Severino (former ASEAN Secretary-General) 2009, 17-18

<sup>188</sup> Severino 2009, 17

a regional security forum was also compatible with the idea that basing a new arrangement on ASEAN-PMC could be the best possible approach to develop political and security dialogue processes among countries.<sup>189</sup> When the Indonesian leadership remained hesitant to fully support the idea to set up a Senior Officials Meeting (SOM), proposed by Japan for the preparations for further security talks at the ministerial levels, Japanese officials retreated from their seemingly leading role in launching the arrangement, and instead backed Singaporean officials as leading local promoters that could replace themselves.<sup>190</sup> Also, in order to allay ASEAN leaders' concerns, Japanese leaders intentionally employed the term 'mutual reassurance,' rather than 'confidence building,' which implies discussions about institutionalization in the military dimension.

Elites of the other idea-promoting countries were also willing to accept the idea that ASEAN would take a steering role in the new arrangement. Leaders in Canada and Australia avoided calling for directly transplanting European ideas into the region, and instead agreed to follow input from ASEAN and Japan on how to discuss and implement new security ideas.<sup>191</sup>

The process was finally launched under the name of ARF, where the agenda for common security concerns could be discussed in the region. Participant countries declared their commitment to foster "the habit of constructive dialogue and consultation"<sup>192</sup> for the sake of "the promotion of confidence building, development of preventive diplomacy and elaboration of approaches to conflicts."<sup>193</sup> The Indonesian leadership, the last to say yes to the idea of a multilateral common security framework, though initially reluctant, finally accepted the importance of promoting "a wider framework for security dialogue beyond the limited bounds of

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<sup>189</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 25-28; Also see Foreign Minister Nakayama Taro's address to the 120<sup>th</sup> Session of the National Diet, 25 January 1991

<sup>190</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 44-45

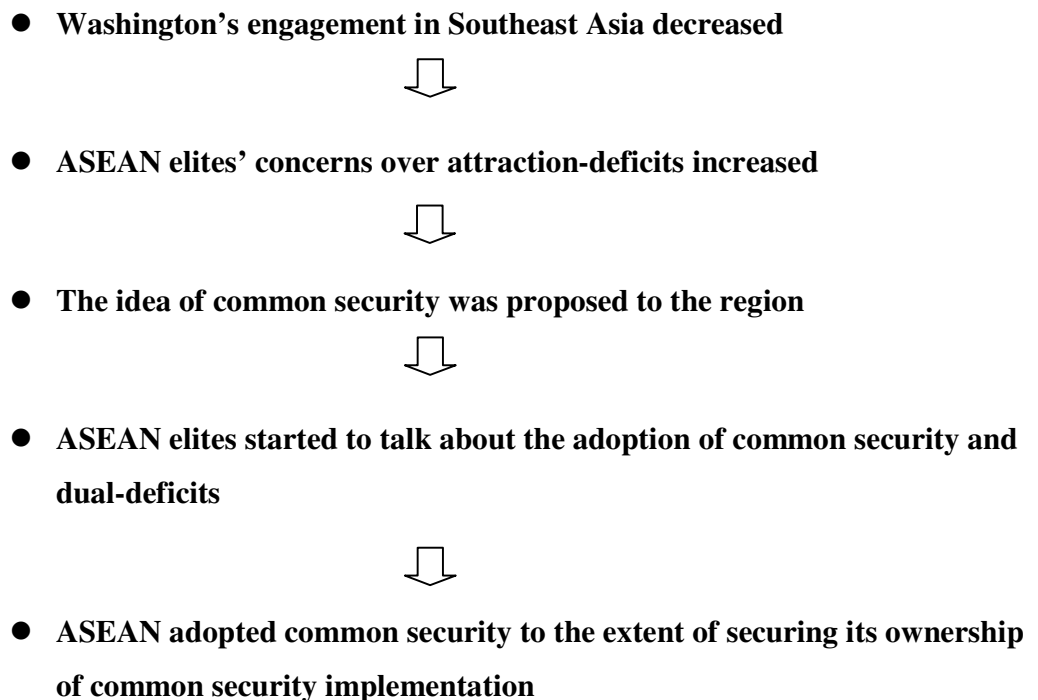
<sup>191</sup> Yuzawa 2007, 28-29

<sup>192</sup> ARF Chairman's Statement, Bangkok, 15 July 1994. Available at <http://www.aseansec.org/2105.htm>

<sup>193</sup> ARF Chairman's Statement, Brunei Darussalam, 1 August 1995. Available at <http://www.aseansec.org/2106.htm>

the Association itself.”<sup>194</sup> But it was on the condition that the arrangement was named after “ASEAN” and took a forum-format, the simplest to institutionalize.<sup>195</sup>

**Figure 4-1: Summary of ASEAN’s adoption of common security**



The theory of dual-deficit dilemma can explain the story above. When Washington decreased its security commitment to the region with the end of the Cold War, ASEAN elites’ concerns over attraction-deficits rose substantially. At that time, several developed countries started to propose the idea of common security to the region. Many ASEAN elites supported the ideational bonding with the developed countries that promoted the idea because it could have mitigated their rising fear of being left out. It might have also helped the United States to remain committed to the

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<sup>194</sup> Leifer 1996, 8

<sup>195</sup> Antolik 1994, 120

region since its close allies of the region, including Australia, Japan and Canada, would participate in the regional common security arrangement they proposed to Southeast Asia. However, in an asymmetric relationship with these major powers, many ASEAN elites were concerned that a straightforward adoption of the imported idea might allow the promoters' increasing influence on ASEAN countries in terms of shaping the regional security structure. This led some of the elites, especially from Indonesia, who had persistently favored neutral, autonomous diplomacy, to continue to resist adopting the idea. However, such resistance could have also raised attraction-deficit concerns. It could have made the relations with the potential sponsors more distant at a time when many elites in the region wanted to engage these possible sponsors. Given an increasing US disengagement from the region, distancing themselves from these potential sponsors would have been troubling to them.

In order to tackle the dilemma, Southeast Asian elites accommodated both concerns at the ASEAN level. They adopted the idea of common security to mitigate their concerns over attraction-deficits. But they expended considerable diplomatic energy to design the ARF in a way to enable it to secure ASEAN's voice in implementing the ideas so that the ideational change would not aggravate ASEAN elites' autonomy-deficits.

## Conclusion

This chapter's argument diverges from several existing explanations of ASEAN's adoption of common-security or the establishment of the ARF. A functionalist explanation also provides a possible answer to this puzzle. For example, Kawasaki contended that establishing the ARF is the ASEAN elites' choice to induce international assurance against defection among participants.<sup>196</sup> However, as Korenemos *et al.* pointed out, the assurance would require tight or exclusive institutional formats, rather than loose, informal and inclusive arrangements such as

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<sup>196</sup> Kawasaki 2006, 227-9



ARF, for a better monitoring against potential defection.<sup>197</sup> It is unclear why ASEAN leaders intended to build such a loose institution while seeking the prevention of members' defection.

A domestic politics explanation, such as Jones's, also does not provide a clear explanation.<sup>198</sup> For example, if an expanded regional institutional cooperation through ARF or APEC is, as Jones alludes, a function of the ruling capitalists' core interest in the stability of the region, which is required for freer access to markets, it remains puzzling why the ruling coalitions advocated a common security arrangement, the functional utility of which is questionable over bilateral mechanisms that would guarantee more credible sponsorship of the United States.

Also, in contrast to a common realist expectation, ASEAN leaders' conversion was not a response to great powers' coercive demand or hegemonic pressure. The United States was reserved until the last minute and China was also reluctant to accept the idea. Rather, it was the perceived disengagement or neglect of the United States that motivated ASEAN leaders to seek a new ideational bonding with the idea-promoters so that they would not be left out in the new security environment.

A local-fit thesis that highlights ideational or institutional constraints of ASEAN's local settings<sup>199</sup> may answer why common security was localized in a compatible form with the 'ASEAN Way,' but remains insufficient to explain why ASEAN adopted it in spite of its incompatibility with ASEAN's core principle of the ZOPFAN. The local-fit thesis might respond that the variance was due to the leaders' selective consideration of the ideational fitness or due to the hierarchy of local norms. However, scholars that support this argument have paid little attention to such variance. It remains unclear in their explanations how the hierarchy of local norms, if any, works or how we know on what basis the leaders make such selective considerations. In addition, a local-fit thesis does not explain when the new ideas are likely to be adopted. The dual-deficit dilemma explains these unanswered questions.

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<sup>197</sup> Korenemos et al. 2001

<sup>198</sup> Jones 2010

<sup>199</sup> Khong and Nesadurai 2007; Acharya 2004

My argument is compatible with a variant of realist explanations which focuses on the strategic interest of ASEAN states, not that of great powers. However, while the existing works consider the establishment of ARF as a reflection of Southeast Asian states' strategy to indirectly balance against the potential rise of China,<sup>200</sup> this chapter disagrees with them, noting that Indonesia, which held the most prominent leadership in ASEAN and thus felt most threatened by China's rise in terms of diplomatic status as well as national capability, remained the most reluctant to build the ARF. Rather, my focus on temporal variance in the level of ASEAN's dual-deficits in relation to the concerned idea-promoting countries can explain the source of intra-regional dissonance and hesitancy before the decision, which was not clearly identified in the existing explanations.

This chapter supports my claim that the dual-deficit dilemma vis-à-vis the concerned idea-promoters better explains when and how ASEAN elites adopted common security. Adopting common security exported by the major powers could be a strategically useful way for ASEAN to reduce the chances of being neglected or left out. Especially when they expect an increasingly detached sponsorship from the United States (i.e., a rise of attraction-deficits), ideational convergence could attract the idea-promoting states (potential sponsors), thus making their relations closer than before. At the same time, however, the idea was adopted when there was an agreement between idea-promoters and receivers that the idea would be implemented in a way to mitigate the receivers' autonomy-deficit concerns. The proposal for common security for a security arrangement at the regional level was institutionalized when the concerns of ASEAN elites about interferences from the idea-promoting side were accommodated by the institutional mechanisms in favor of ASEAN's leading role.

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<sup>200</sup> For example, Emmers 2001; Goh 2007/08; He 2008

## Chapter 5 Institutionalizing Human Rights in ASEAN

### **Introduction**

Southeast Asia had been one of the most resistant regions to the global human rights regime for years. Both the concept and application of human rights had been challenged by most member states, which viewed the idea as incompatible with their principles for social unity and stability, effective economic development, and sovereignty. Additionally, many of the countries in the region were the most active promoters of the ‘pluralist’ views of human rights as a response to increasing pressure from the United Nations, the United States, and other Western countries since the end of the Cold War. The records of ASEAN states’ participation in major human rights treaties remained weak. Although a few member states showed some marked improvements since the 1990s in their participation records at the national level, any regional level arrangement seemed less likely. Southeast Asia remained the slowest region with respect to progress on establishing frameworks for regional cooperation on human rights.

However, ASEAN states have shifted their positions. Since 2003, they have set out plans to establish “ASEAN Communities (security, cultural, economic and political communities)” which include liberal agendas encompassing human rights. At the ASEAN ministerial meeting in July 2007, the members reached a consensus on institutionalizing a set of liberal principles including the rule of law, good governance, and respect for fundamental freedom within the newly established ASEAN Charter and building the ASEAN Inter-governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR).<sup>201</sup> Also, the governments signed the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers. Moreover, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) aside from AICHR. The Philippine Foreign Secretary Alberto Romulo

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<sup>201</sup> Katsumata 2009, 622-623. The establishment of the AICHR has received substantial scholarly attention; For analyses of its development, see also Ciorciari 2012; Davies 2013a and 2013b.

said, “this is a historic decision. This is a victory for human rights.”<sup>202</sup> As Nguyen Trung Thanh, a Vietnamese representative to the High Level of Task Force, put it, the establishment of these mechanisms meant that there would be a platform now “for member countries to sit down and discuss with each other how to settle matters that affect all.”<sup>203</sup>

Despite criticism of those who see these changes cosmetic, the creation of human rights mechanisms within ASEAN was not without cost, especially for hard authoritarian regimes such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (hereafter, CLMV countries). According to Rafendi Djamin, an Indonesian representative of the high level panel for AICHR and coordinator for the Indonesian NGO Coalition for International Human Rights Advocacy Group, AICHR not only aimed to promote human rights norms throughout the region but also to provide a space to encourage human rights protection: “this body explicitly says there is going to be a dialogue process between the human rights commission and civil society. When it comes to dialogue, you can bring the victims of human rights abuses to talk at the body. Exposure is protection. The governments would feel the pressure once they learn that victims have established contact with the human rights body.”<sup>204</sup> In other words, it allowed deeper pressure from other member countries and the engagement of other member countries became more legitimate. The changes were limited but progressive.

Why did such a recalcitrant region decide to establish a regional human rights mechanism? Why did they say yes to human rights in the late 2000s, but not in other time periods? For these questions, a temporal comparison between the late 2000s and the early 1990s is instructive. In the early 1990s, human rights rose to one of the top global agendas. The 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna was the main scene of attempts by liberal states to re-affirm the 1948 Human Rights Declaration and to establish global standards for the

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<sup>202</sup> Albert Romulo, Philippine Foreign Secretary, “ASEAN agrees on landmark human rights commission,” *Straits Times*, 31 July 2007

<sup>203</sup> Nguyen 2009, 100; also, see Termsak Chalermapalanupap (Director, ASEAN Secretariat), “10 facts about ASEAN human rights cooperation,” Available at <http://www.aseansec.org/HLP-OtherDoc-1.pdf>. Accessed 15 February 2012.

<sup>204</sup> Rafendi Djamin, Indonesian representative of the high level panel for AICHR, quoted in “ASEAN makes rights body toothless,” *Jakarta Post*, 28 February 2009

notion of rights.<sup>205</sup> In spite of intense external pressure, however, ASEAN members refused to accept human rights as a norm for regional cooperation. What explains differences in their responses between these two time periods?

This chapter supports my argument that ASEAN's dilemma of dual-deficits in relation to idea-promoting countries explains variance in its responses to human rights. ASEAN leaders increased the level of commitment to human rights in the late 2000s when the ideational change was expected to ameliorate their concerns about attraction-deficits vis-à-vis the United States and other major Western states and such ideational change was not expected to raise autonomy-deficits in relations to them. As Proposition 1 expects, ASEAN increased its commitment to human rights norms when its major existing sponsors got less lenient and ASEAN's ownership of human rights was assured. On the other hand, they remained reserved in the early 1990s because their concerns about autonomy-deficits rose in relations to the major idea-promoting countries. As expected in Proposition 1-2, ASEAN did not adopt human rights in the early 1990s though its major sponsor, the United States, decreased its commitment. This supports my claim that attraction-deficit concerns are not sufficient for ASEAN's ideational changes. Because of the dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits, the elites did not join the global human rights regime while ASEAN's ownership of the norm was contested. Figure 5-1 below summarizes the argument.

This chapter compares these two periods. First, it traces the story of the early 1990s, explaining why their response remained reserved at that time. Next, it discusses why the leaders increased their level of commitment to human rights in the late 2000s. It particularly focuses on identifying different conditions between these two time periods which resulted in different responses. Alternative explanations are then considered in comparison to the dual-deficit explanation. To conclude, I provide a brief summary of findings.

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<sup>205</sup> Mohamad 2002, 233

**Figure 5-1: Temporal comparison of ASEAN's responses to human rights**

**Promotion of Human Rights (by most major Western countries)**



	Early 1990s	Mid-late 2000s
Major sponsor leniency	<b>Decrease</b> (attraction-deficit concerns rise)	<b>Decrease</b> (attraction-deficit concerns rise)
ASEAN's idea ownership	<b>Contested</b> (autonomy-deficit concerns not tamed)	<b>Assured</b> (autonomy-deficit concerns accommodated)
ASEAN's commitment level to human rights (outcome)	<b>Remain reserved:</b> <b>No institutionalization of human rights mechanism</b>	<b>Rise:</b> <b>Establishment of human rights mechanism</b>

**Critical Reservation of Human Rights: The Story of 1993**

ASEAN's participation in the global human rights regime remained weak in the early 1990s despite the increasing promotion by major Western countries and transnational advocacy groups during the period. Despite increasing concerns over attraction-deficits, ASEAN leaders did not endorse the institutionalization of human rights because their input on the implementation of the norm was challenged by human rights promoters' demand for global convergence; such demands came especially from the United States. This increased ASEAN elites' concerns over autonomy-deficit. As a result, ASEAN remained reserved to human rights.

*Western powers' leniency to Southeast Asia decreased and ASEAN elites were worried about decreasing sponsorship*

The end of the Cold War was followed by increasing concerns of ASEAN elites over decreasing sponsorship. As discussed in the previous chapter on common security, the downfall of the Communist bloc, policy shifts in Washington, and the critical mood of the American public and Congress against the existing burden-sharing structure led ASEAN elites to worry about the eventual disengagement of the United States from the region. In a speech at the Indonesia Forum in 1990, Lee Hsien Loong, then Singaporean Foreign Minister for Trade and Industry, showed apprehension: "ASEAN may no longer weigh as heavily in the calculations of these major players. With the end of the Cold War, they will now feel less need to woo small countries and regional grouping."<sup>206</sup> Even some Malaysian foreign policy elites, who had been vocal proponents for non-alignment and self-reliance, also expressed their concerns about the perceived US disengagement. During the Cold War, Malaysian elites could play the Soviet or Communist card to gain what they wanted in relations to the United States and Western European countries. The major Western powers had taken a soft approach to Asia and other developing nations, emphasizing its political neutrality to the South. They had remained silent against human rights activists' complaints over human rights abuses in many Asian countries including Indonesia, Malaysia, China and Sri Lanka, and kept providing these governments with military and economic support.<sup>207</sup> However, the Soviet collapse reduced incentives to tolerate the human rights abuses of authoritarian governments in an effort to maintain anti-Communist alliance.<sup>208</sup> As the Cold War came to an end, Malaysian elites were concerned about the consequences of the loss of leverage. Prime Minister Mahathir described his fear of marginalization that increased with the end of Cold War bipolarity as follows: "Weak nations with no leverage can only become weaker... Without the option to defect to the other side, we can expect less wooing but more threats."<sup>209</sup> Noordin Sopiee, Director of ISIS, Malaysia's influential think-tank,<sup>210</sup> also commented that most Third World countries would be more

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<sup>206</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, Singaporean Foreign Minister, speech at the Indonesia Forum, Jakarta, 11 July 1990

<sup>207</sup> "Under Western eyes," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 March 1991: 20

<sup>208</sup> "Vienna showdown," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 June 1993: 17

<sup>209</sup> Mahathir, cited in Foot 1996, 20

<sup>210</sup> The Malaysian member of ASEAN-ISIS

peripheralized because superpowers would tolerate the indulgence of the lesser powers less when bipolar rivalry was over.<sup>211</sup>

### ***Human rights grew stronger globally***

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and major advanced countries in Europe became more involved in building a global human rights regime; new norms such as responsibility to protect and human security also emerged. Humanitarian interventionism became more prominent with NATO's military actions in Somalia and former Yugoslavia. The newly elected US President Bill Clinton affirmed his willingness to spread American values and to undertake domestic institutional reforms for this task. For example, the State Department created a new position of Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs in order to handle democracy, human rights, labor and environmental issues. The White House's National Security Council created three new positions for democratization and human rights.<sup>212</sup> The Ministry of Defense also implemented internal reforms, replacing the existing offices of international affairs with a few posts handling new issues of human rights violations and democracy in the post-Cold War period. The administration also created a new post of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Human Rights and appointed Morton Halperin who had led projects on possible US actions for legitimate self-determination movements.<sup>213</sup>

Europe also took a similar turn in foreign policy. With the end of the Cold War, the European Community (EC) foreign ministers declared that they would impose tough political and economic conditions on their financial assistance programs for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. At the same time, Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands pushed EC to apply similar criteria on other continents. In the beginning of the 1990s, EC started to introduce tougher guidelines on its foreign aid program for Asia, declaring that the new policy reflected "a legitimate concern under international law, essential for the creation of a sound political climate

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<sup>211</sup> Noordin Sopiee, Director of Malaysian Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), cited in Foot 1996, 20

<sup>212</sup> "Do unto others," Far Eastern Economic Review 1 July 1993: 18

<sup>213</sup> "Telltale titles," Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 February 1993: 15



fostering peace, security and cooperation.” Officials said that such political criteria would apply to all aid disbursed by EC and its member states – estimated approximately at US\$28 billion annually.<sup>214</sup> EC also wanted to include a human-rights clause in its cooperation agreements with ASEAN that would allow it to suspend aid to human rights violating countries.<sup>215</sup> Besides, along with these post-Cold War changes, many groups in Southeast Asian civil societies tried to engage more in the West’s increasing effort to build a human rights regime. The voices of intergovernmental and transnational pro-human rights coalitions for the institutionalization of regional and domestic human rights mechanisms in East Asia increased.

***ASEAN elites were concerned about dual-deficits and called for the pluralistic implementation of human rights***

Pro-human rights voices increased within ASEAN’s (then) six countries. NGOs, scholars and lawyers in the region pushed ASEAN harder to establish a regional human rights mechanism. The Philippines expressed its exceptional support at the governmental level. In particular, Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Roberto Romulo was one of the few among government elites in ASEAN who called for an end to excuses for “the separate advocacy of the various sets of human rights.”<sup>216</sup>

However, these voices had to be compromised at the ASEAN level because the idea of joining the global human rights regime concerned many ASEAN leaders who suffered from substantial levels of autonomy-deficits. The elites quickly linked human rights with the issue of sovereignty and power differentials in the international system and highlighted each nation’s own discretion to implement these rights on the basis of cultural and contextual differences.<sup>217</sup> Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai, the first democratic leader that came to power in 1992

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<sup>214</sup> Quoted in “Under Western eyes,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 14 March 1991: 20

<sup>215</sup> “Values for money,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 June 1991: 9-10; “ASEAN rejected a US bid for support to prod Myanmar toward democracy,” Jakarta Post, 24 July 1991

<sup>216</sup> Roberto Romulo, Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary, quoted in “Romulo criticized what he called the use of the issue as an “ideological weapon,” Jakarta Post 17 June 1993

<sup>217</sup> “Cultural divide,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 June 1993: 20; “Standing firm,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 April 1993: 22; Acharya 2003, 154

without military or aristocratic sponsors, claimed that Thailand did not share an individualistic view on human rights; the interest of society, state and nation was also a crucial condition that could be prioritized over individuals.<sup>218</sup> Instead of imposing incompatible values, each nation or region should have the right to define human rights and rights to interpret and implement them in their own settings. Noordin Sopiee from the Malaysian ISIS also worried that the adoption of human rights norms would be “generally threatening to the interests of the weaker nations since double standards will abound and it will be the strong who will determine its very selective application.”<sup>219</sup> Malaysian Foreign Minister Ahmed Badawi warned that “attempts to impose the standard of one side on the other... tread upon the sovereignty of nations.”<sup>220</sup> A representative from Myanmar agreed on this matter, “Asian countries with their own norms and standards of human rights should not be dictated [to] by a group of other countries who are far distant geographically, politically, economically and socially.”<sup>221</sup> This was a sensitive issue for Indonesian politicians as well because they worried that Indonesia, a country consisting of diverse ethnic and religious groups, might run the risk of civil wars if it adopted the Western notion of human rights principles which focus on individuals’ rights over state’s right to impose order if it violates individual rights in the process.<sup>222</sup> Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas’ comments were explicit: “in a world where domination of the strong over the weak and interference between states are still a painful reality, no country or group of countries should arrogate unto itself the role of judge, jury and executioner over other countries.”<sup>223</sup> Ali Alatas believed that “If you [the West] want to evaluate us, do it on the totality, not just civil and political rights. We are all for democratization, not just within countries but also between countries – democratization of international relations.”<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Chuan Leekpai, Thai Prime Minister, “Standing firm,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 15 April 1993: 22

<sup>219</sup> Noordin Sopiee, cited in Foot 1996, 21

<sup>220</sup> Ahmed Badawi, Malaysian Foreign Minister, quoted in *Straits Times*, 23 July 1991

<sup>221</sup> A Myanmar government official, quoted in “Standing firm,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 15 April 1993: 22

<sup>222</sup> “Indonesia runs the risk of a civil war,” *Jakarta Post*, 2 April 1993

<sup>223</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, speech at the Second World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 14 June 1993.

<sup>224</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, interview with *Far Eastern Economic Review* 11 July 1991: 12.

As a response to the global demand for conformity, Mahathir went one step further, suggesting communitarian and collective “Asian values” as an alternative moral standard of his region. Singapore agreed, invoking the Confucian idea of “community over individual.”<sup>225</sup> Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew shared the view with Mahathir on this matter. He pointed out that democracy would lead to “disorderly conditions which are inimical to development.”<sup>226</sup> The Singaporean Foreign Minister also claimed that it was too much to expect the citizens of the newly-independent nations to have the same rights as those enjoyed by citizens of the countries which had evolved into full democracies over 200 years, especially when the citizens of the new nations lacked social and economic pre-conditions to exercise such rights.<sup>227</sup> The other ASEAN leaders did not directly challenge their discourse but provided tacit support to it.<sup>228</sup>

#### *Washington denied ASEAN leaders’ inputs*

However, such a pluralistic input received a serious backlash from human rights advocates including the state sponsors of the West. In particular, the US government pushed for international scrutiny for other countries with poor human rights records. The US Chief Delegate Kenneth Blackwell at a conference in Geneva in April 1993 complained that “no more than a dozen countries... are hell-bent on derailing the [Vienna] conference,” among which Southeast Asian countries were particularly noted. Some US officials placed Indonesia and Singapore in the worst group and ranked Malaysia and Burma as unhelpful countries.<sup>229</sup> The US Secretary of State Warren Christopher was clear about this: “[the United States] will never join those who would undermine the Universal Declaration... those who desecrate these rights must know that

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<sup>225</sup> Mahubani (Singaporean high-level government official) 1992, 15

<sup>226</sup> Lee Kuan Yew, quoted in China News (Taiwan), 21 November 1992

<sup>227</sup> Wong Kan Seng, Singaporean Foreign Minister, cited in Straits Times, 17 June 1993; also Jakarta Post, 19 July 1991

<sup>228</sup> Kraft 2001, cited in Nesadurai 2009, 108

<sup>229</sup> Kenneth Blackwell, US official, quoted in “Vienna showdown,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 June 1993: 17

they will be ostracized. They will face sanctions. They will be brought before tribunals of international justice. They will not gain access to assistance or investment.”<sup>230</sup>

*ASEAN remained reserved about the global human rights regime*

ASEAN elites were not happy about the response. The firm stance of the idea-promoting side intensified the elites’ concerns about their autonomy. According to a senior ASEAN official in his interview with FEER, “most of Asia does not want to be Western. Asia is economically successful. We can’t be pushed around. We feel culturally more confident.”<sup>231</sup> Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Ghafar Baba also stuck to Malaysia’s original position, “no ready-made model can be prescribed and no group should take upon themselves the role of judge and jury in the matter of common concern to the international community as a whole.”<sup>232</sup> Thai Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri added, “[the international community’s concerns about human rights] should in no way be translated into interference in domestic affairs or serve as a pretext for encroachment on the national sovereignty of a state.”<sup>233</sup> As for the West’s intention to link aid with human rights, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas reacted against such moves, claiming that Indonesia could do a lot with Western partners regarding human rights issues but it did not want them to be “a condition” for cooperation.<sup>234</sup>

Instead of the endorsement of the global human rights regime, ASEAN elites played leading roles in a pan-Asian regional meeting in Bangkok to give regional inputs on the draft of global human rights declaration.<sup>235</sup> The Bangkok Declaration, the final product of the pan-Asian

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<sup>230</sup> Warren Christopher, US Secretary of State, quoted in “No country should arrogate unto itself the role of judge,” Jakarta Post, 16 June 1993

<sup>231</sup> An ASEAN country official, quoted in “Vienna showdown,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 June 1993: 18

<sup>232</sup> Abdul Ghafar Baba, Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, quoted in “ASEAN was formulating a common position ahead of the global conference,” Jakarta Post, 16 April 1993

<sup>233</sup> Prasong Soonsiri, Thai Foreign Minister, quoted in “Romulo criticized what he called the use of the issue as an “ideological weapon,” Jakarta Post, 17 June 1993; Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai also presented a similar view in “Standing firm,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 April 1993: 22

<sup>234</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, interview with Far Eastern Economic Review. See “Live and let live,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 July 1991: 12

<sup>235</sup> Australia and New Zealand were not represented in the meeting due to pressure from other Asian countries.

consultations, reflected most ASEAN leaders' willingness to challenge the Western attempts to establish one universal framework on human rights. ASEAN leaders agreed to reiterate the endorsement of the 1948 United Nations Charter which states the promotion and protection of human rights as a matter of priority for the international community. However, instead of participating further in the global regime through ratifying diverse international human rights conventions and treaties, they expressed in the Bangkok Declaration numerous qualifications on the United Nations' draft on Vienna Declaration and the Program of Actions for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, advocating a pluralistic notion of human rights (including rights to development) and respect for non-interference, non-selectivity and consensus in the implementation.<sup>236</sup> According to Japanese Ambassador to the UN Shunji Maruyama, "it is clearly the Bangkok Declaration that insists most strongly on non-interference in internal affairs and on such objectives as economic development" in comparison with the inputs from Africa and Latin America.<sup>237</sup> In spite of criticism from the North, each ASEAN member government and its leaders not only endorsed the Bangkok Declaration, but also reiterated collectively its main points at the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) in the following month as ASEAN's common position.<sup>238</sup>

As for the Vienna Conference's call for the establishment of regional human rights mechanism, ASEAN foreign ministers declared collectively that they would "consider" building the appropriate one, but reaffirmed the priority of each state's decision to establish its national commission.<sup>239</sup> This pledge was recalled in the subsequent annual AMM communiqués, but it

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<sup>236</sup> Bangkok Declaration 1993

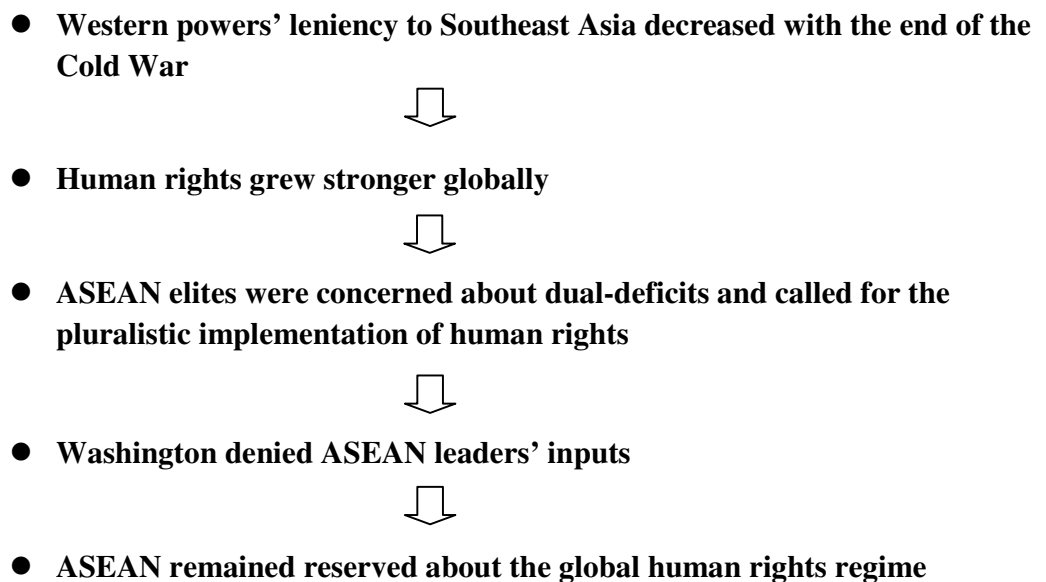
<sup>237</sup> Shunji Maruyama, Japanese Ambassador to the UN, quoted in "Vienna showdown," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 June 1993: 17

<sup>238</sup> The statements are as follows: "They [ASEAN foreign ministers] noted that the UN Charter had placed the question of universal observance and promotion of human rights within the context of international cooperation. They stressed that development is an inalienable right and that the use of human rights as a conditionality for economic development and development assistance is detrimental to international cooperation and could undermine an international consensus on human rights. They emphasized that the protection and promotion of human rights in the international community should take cognizance of the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of states. They were convinced that freedom, progress and national stability are promoted by a balance between the rights of the individual and those of a community, through which many individual rights are realized, as provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." See Joint Communique 1993.

<sup>239</sup> Joint Communique 1993. As of April 1993, the Philippines was the only ASEAN member which had the national commission on human rights. Indonesia established its commission in June 1993, following Suharto's order in

was not tabled as a government-level agenda for another 10 years. ASEAN went further, supporting Mahathir's 1997 proposal for a global "review" of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>240</sup> Though the review was not conducted due to the Asian financial crisis, ASEAN in 1990s had remained as a main challenger to the diffusion of human rights until the early 2000s when changes started to occur.

**Figure 5-2: Summary of ASEAN's reservation toward human rights in the early 1990s**



Overall, the story above supports one of the propositions derived from the dual-deficit dilemma; the level of ASEAN's reception of major Western powers' new ideas would not increase unless local ownership of the ideas is assured. Political leverage of weak dissimilar states started to

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January. Observers suspected that Suharto's decision, which is assumed to be the result of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' persuasion, was aimed at removing Indonesia's blotted image after 1991 Dili Massacre in East Timor by its army troops. See "Living down Dili," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 February 1993: 13.

<sup>240</sup> Kraft 2001, cited in Nesadurai 2009, 108

decrease with the end of the Cold War; it became hard to expect generous support from the United States and other major powers as the bipolar rivalry waned. ASEAN elites' concerns over attraction-deficits rose. Around that time, a global demand for the human rights regime increased, with an increasing push from the West. Southeast Asian leaders also discussed the regional adoption of the norm. The region's ideational convergence to the global human rights regime might have been able to attract major developed countries' attention to the region, thus mitigating concerns over becoming irrelevant.

However, ASEAN refused to participate in the global effort to institutionalize liberal human rights in the region because, for most member state elites, compliance to the global campaign was expected to aggravate their autonomy-deficits. ASEAN provided its input on the UN discourse, emphasizing regional entitlement to the particularistic understanding of human rights. However, the attempt received strong criticism, especially from the United States, a promoter of human rights. As the concept of dual-deficit dilemma expects, despite decrease in the sponsorship of the United States and major European countries, ASEAN did not embrace the idea as ASEAN's ownership of human rights norms was not accommodated, raising ASEAN leaders' concerns over an autonomy-deficit.

## **Institutionalized Acceptance of Human Rights: The Story of 2003 onwards**

### *Western powers' leniency to Southeast Asia decreased*

In the early 2000s, ASEAN and its member states started to face again an increasing "criticism of irrelevance" vis-à-vis their major dialogue partners. A common perception among Southeast Asian leaders emerged that East Asia's economic centre of gravity shifted markedly toward Northeast Asia and away from Southeast Asia since the financial crisis because of differences in the speed of recovery between the two regions,<sup>241</sup> and thus various measures should be taken to compete with its Northern neighbors for foreign investment.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> A study by Singapore's DBS bank argued that on the basis of measurement of economic growth rate, stock market liberalization, foreign investment, and readiness to exploit business opportunities, the economic center of

China's rise was a particular concern because China became the largest single recipient of FDI after 1997 while ASEAN countries were facing a downturn. China's FDI inflows grew to \$50 billion per year; it alone had drawn 60% of the total foreign direct investment flown to East Asia in 2000.<sup>243</sup> Meanwhile, ASEAN's share of FDI inflows to China, Hong Kong and ASEAN countries decreased to 20% from 2000 onward while it constituted 40% of the inflows during 1992-1997.<sup>244</sup>

Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong warned that "ASEAN... is being seen as helpless and, worse, disunited" with a failure of tackling the crisis and much of its stature was gone.<sup>245</sup> Singaporean Foreign Minister S. Jayakumar also agreed, "Perceptions can define political reality- if we continue to be perceived as ineffective, we can be marginalized as our dialogue partners and international investors relegate us to the sidelines."<sup>246</sup>

### *Human rights became a critical agenda of the region*

While the marginalization of the region became more likely, news from Myanmar on its Black Friday incident further provoked the rest of ASEAN.<sup>247</sup> The incident was particularly disturbing because it happened when the international community started to express hope that Myanmar's 'new dawn' was coming as Aung San Suu Kyi had been released unconditionally on May 2002.

gravity in East Asia markedly moved to Northeast Asia and away from Southeast Asia. Cited in "Asians take steps to unify Southeast and Northeast Blocs," International Herald Tribune, 25 November 2000

<sup>242</sup> International Herald Tribune, 25 November 2000

<sup>243</sup> International Herald Tribune, 25 November 2000; Ravenhill 2006, 655

<sup>244</sup> Ravenhill 2006, 656-657

<sup>245</sup> Goh Chok Tong, Singaporean Prime Minister, quoted in "ASEAN struggles to change its reputation as weak, helpless and divided," International Herald Tribune, 22 April 1999

<sup>246</sup> Jayakumar (former Singaporean Foreign Minister) 2000, cited in Jones 2010, 494; A word of ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan also confirmed this concern about irrelevance: "When [Japanese] Prime Minister Fukuda left China with a feeling of closer affinity with China, I received an SMS saying now ASEAN loses its relevance... We must find new added value to still attract the major countries, and one way is to live up the Charter" (interview with Jakarta Post, 17 January 2008).

<sup>247</sup> For a detailed illustration of ASEAN's responses after the incident, see Haacke 2005



However, as she received a great acclaim from inside as well as outside Myanmar, the anxious junta tried to suppress her rise again, physically attacking Aung Suu Kyi's supporters one night in May 2003, leaving dozens dead. Right after the incident, the military junta announced her detention in a Yangon prison.<sup>248</sup>

International pressure surged. Not only did Western donors and Japan threaten to withdraw aid from Myanmar but they also initiated new sanctions on Myanmar. Since Myanmar had been a member of ASEAN since 1997, more international audiences turned their attention toward ASEAN and called on its members to pressure the junta to release Aung San Suu Kyi and start the national conciliation process. The United States refused to participate in any Myanmar-chaired ASEAN meetings and threatened to cut funds for regional development if Myanmar took over as the chair of ASEAN in 2006. A former US-ASEAN Business Council President Ernst Bower warned, "[...] ASEAN's global profile could be severely damaged by Myanmar's chairing of the grouping. Such damage would come at a time when it can be least afforded."<sup>249</sup> In 2005, the US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice skipped ARF meetings for the first time to further pressure ASEAN. Similarly, the European Union took a hard stance; it threatened to hold the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) meetings only if the junta did not participate in them or made political concessions before participation.

### *ASEAN elites' concerns over attraction-deficits increased*

ASEAN leaders read these as a signal from Western countries that they would keep away from the region if it was dragged along by Myanmar. The majority of ASEAN members started to feel that Myanmar's intransigence was embarrassing ASEAN and would result in the loss of their international credibility. Malaysian Foreign Minister Syed Hamid said that the detention of Aung San Suu Kyi damaged ASEAN's reputation and urged a need to resolve this issue in a way that ASEAN's reputation and image would not be questioned.<sup>250</sup> The credibility issue was

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<sup>248</sup> Kuhonta 2006, 349; "ASEAN insists on release of Suu Kyi," Jakarta Post, 30 June 2003

<sup>249</sup> Ernst Bower, former US-ASEAN Business Council President, quoted in Channel News Asia, 22 July 2005

<sup>250</sup> Syed Hamid, former Malaysian Foreign Minister, cited in "Junta's detention of Suu Kyi tests ASEAN credibility," Straits Times, 17 June 2003

consistently raised by ASEAN leaders, who were concerned that the intransigent Myanmar prevented ASEAN countries from attracting foreign investment and business opportunities from the outside world.<sup>251</sup> However, the junta was determined to resist pressure and instead showed a willingness to retreat further into isolation.

With no prospect of Aung San Suu Kyi's release and lack of progress in political reconciliation, some ASEAN leaders called for a review of the constructive engagement approach which ASEAN had held since its beginning. A Malaysian Foreign Ministry official told the press, "there was one obstacle – Myanmar...It has become increasingly clear that the Myanmar issue would have to be solved so that ASEAN officials could concentrate on trade talks with the world."<sup>252</sup> Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas also pointed out that ASEAN's previous performance had been based on mere declarations and suggested that "it is about time that ASEAN changed several of its traditional ASEAN ways because of tougher competition and interdependence among nations."<sup>253</sup> The Philippine Secretary of Foreign Minister Blas Ople also opposed the principle of absolute non-interference in case one country's domestic affairs negatively affected its neighbors.<sup>254</sup> Surprisingly, Malaysia's Mahathir, who had been the most vociferous opponent to external interference, went further, suggesting that Myanmar should be expelled from ASEAN in case ASEAN's international policy was held hostage by the Myanmar leadership: "We are not criticizing Myanmar for doing what is not related to us, but what they have done has affected us, our credibility."<sup>255</sup> Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong also noted that the incident in Myanmar made ASEAN elites realize "in an interdependent world, developments in one ASEAN country could impact on ASEAN as a whole."<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> For example, Malaysian former Prime Minister Mahathir, quoted in *The Age* (Melbourne), 22 July 2003; Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, quoted in *Associate Press*, 25 July 2006; Philippine Foreign Minister Romulo, quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, 12 April 2005; Blas Ople, Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs, quoted in *Agence France Press*, 18 June 2003; Ong Keng Yong, ASEAN Secretary General, quoted in *Agence France Press*, 18 April 2006

<sup>252</sup> A Malaysian Foreign Ministry official, quoted in *Straits Times*, 19 December 2005

<sup>253</sup> Ali Alatas, former Indonesian Foreign Minister, quoted in "Sanctions, voting proposed for ASEAN Charter," *Jakarta Post*, 5 April 2006

<sup>254</sup> Blas Ople, Philippine Secretary of Foreign Minister, cited in *Agence France Press*, 18 June 2003

<sup>255</sup> Mahathir, quoted in "ASEAN and Aung San Suu Kyi," *Jakarta Post*, 24 July 2003

<sup>256</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, Singaporean Prime Minister, quoted in "PM holds talks with Myanmar leaders," *Straits Times*, 31 March 2005

Criticism of Burmese leadership also came from ASEAN commentators inside the region. Indonesian economist and executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies Hadi Soesastro noted, “there has been much soul-searching in ASEAN during the past year that coincided with the onset of the crisis...ASEAN’s future relevance to its members and to the region suddenly becomes a relevant question in many quarters...ASEAN, some have argued, cannot maintain its relevance if it continues to be inhibited by the principle of non-intervention that it has held sacrosanct.”<sup>257</sup> A foreign affairs advisor to Indonesian President Habibie, Dewi Fortuna Anwar, also criticized ASEAN members of having grown used to sweeping problems under the rug, calling for changes in the ASEAN way of doing business.<sup>258</sup> ASEAN Secretary General Ong Keng Yong noted that a decisive moment of action finally came when ASEAN leaders felt that ASEAN’s competitive edge had been eroded. ASEAN needed to reform and consolidate itself in order to reassure external sponsors’ continued commitments.<sup>259</sup>

Overall, ASEAN leaders felt that they risked sliding into insignificance vis-à-vis major Western countries.<sup>260</sup> While they struggled to recover from the 1997 financial crisis, China took up the large amounts of investment from the advanced world. South Korea, another Northern neighbor, was recovering faster from the financial crisis. Besides, criticism surged from the United States and major European countries against political debacles in Myanmar and ASEAN’s continuing inaction. To avoid being sidelined as insignificant actors and suffering from its association with Myanmar, they had to be seen to do something. They believed that to stay as benign spectators would “take the shine off” the region’s profile eventually and help push China to the center of Asia’s geopolitics.<sup>261</sup> With increasing international criticism and pressure

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<sup>257</sup> Soesastro (Executive Director of the CSIS) 1999, 159; for a similar view, see a view of Bantarto Bandoro, a scholar affiliated in CSIS, shown in “ASEAN’s noninterference principle to be tested,” Jakarta Post, 17 June 2003.

<sup>258</sup> Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a foreign affairs advisor to Indonesian President Habibie, cited in “ASEAN struggles to change its reputation as weak, helpless and divided,” International Herald Tribune, 22 April 1999

<sup>259</sup> Ong (former ASEAN Secretary-General) 2009, 108

<sup>260</sup> “ASEAN at a crossroad,” Jakarta Post, 8 August 2005

<sup>261</sup> “Yangon chairmanship up in the air at ASEAN huddle,” Straits Times, 25 July 2005

on the Burmese junta, ASEAN leaders found it necessary to play a meaningful role in order not to be sidelined.<sup>262</sup>

*ASEAN elites started to discuss the institutionalization of human rights*

In order to address their weakening position in relations to the major external allies, ASEAN members collectively initiated ambitious projects.<sup>263</sup> Discussions about regional integration through the establishment of free trade area, common investment market and pan-ASEAN infrastructure began to flourish with the goal of creating a grand market which would be as attractive to foreign business and investments as markets in China and India. They also initiated a pan-ASEAN community building process based on what they learned from European practices. They not only accelerated these existing projects, which had made little progress before, but they also brought up an eye-catching agenda for ASEAN's development.

ASEAN's construction of a regional human rights body began in this context. In 2003, Indonesia drafted a plan of action for ASEAN communities consisting of three issue pillars and proposed the inclusion of democratic values and human rights as the agenda for ASEAN Security Community pillar.<sup>264</sup> Based on the 2004 Vientiane Action Program, the process sped up when leaders in the 2005 Summit agreed to confer ASEAN a legal personality by drafting the ASEAN Charter that would serve as a constitution of ASEAN.<sup>265</sup> Particularly, the newly democratic Indonesian government was a strong advocate of ASEAN's turn to liberal space during the institutionalization since 2003. According to Indonesian Foreign Minister Hassan

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<sup>262</sup> For example, see Thai Foreign Minister Surakiart's comment at Asian Tribune, 24 July 2003. Available from <http://asiantribune.com/news/2003/07/24/fm-asean-wont-let-other-groups-take-lead-myanmar>. Accessed 25 May 2012

<sup>263</sup> Makarim Wibisono, the SOM leader of Indonesia which initiated ASEAN Community projects, confirmed this view at the seminar on "Regional Preventive Diplomacy: The Role of ASEAN in Managing Tensions in the Wider Asia-Pacific Region," Jakarta, Indonesia, 28 January 2014

<sup>264</sup> Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 July 2004. Accessed at Factiva, 20 April 2010

<sup>265</sup> ASEAN, Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Establishment of the ASEAN Charter, 12 December 2005

Wirayuda, “We can’t become the ASEAN community that we have envisioned ourselves to be until and unless the promotion and protection of human rights is pervasive in our region.”<sup>266</sup>

***ASEAN elites expressed concerns about autonomy-deficit that might rise with the adoption of human rights***

However, the creation of a human rights body was apparently not an easy process due to the dilemma of inversely-related deficits. The institutionalization of members’ engagement in the global and regional human rights regimes could have received international acclaim and prevented angry sponsors from taking leave of the region. But it might have also widened a space where the promoters of human rights inside as well as outside the region could more legitimately meddle when the ASEAN states’ internal businesses negatively affected human rights issues.

According to the memoir of Tommy Koh, Singaporean representative to the High Level Task Force (HLTF) which was established as the Charter drafting committee,<sup>267</sup> the positions of HLTF members were divided into three camps: opposition from Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam; Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore in the middle; Indonesia in favor; and the Philippines reserved in the first place but more in favor later.<sup>268</sup> A diplomat confirmed in an interview with Reuters that Myanmar representative to the HLTF opposed the inclusion of a provision of inter-governmental level human rights body in the Charter, and representatives from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were also reluctant, asking for more time.<sup>269</sup> According to an ASEAN Secretariat official, Vietnam, Laos and Myanmar threatened twice to walk out of the entire Charter-making process when it was suggested that the Charter include a clause on regional

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<sup>266</sup> Hassan Wirayuda, Indonesian Foreign Minister, quoted in “ASEAN human rights,” Jakarta Post, 21 December 2006

<sup>267</sup> The HLTF consisted of each government’s representative assigned to draft the Charter to be submitted to the foreign minister.

<sup>268</sup> Koh et al. 2009 (collection of the memoirs of HLTF members)

<sup>269</sup> An ASEAN country diplomat, cited in Reuters, 30 July 2007. Available from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/07/30/us-asean-idUSSP28331120070730>. Accessed 15 July 2012

human rights mechanism.<sup>270</sup> In 2005 when international pressure against Myanmar's chairpersonship in ASEAN meetings surged, the Lao and Cambodian governments called for ASEAN to adhere to the principle of non-interference, stating that to take away its chairpersonship would be a bad precedent for ASEAN.<sup>271</sup> At an ASEAN foreign ministers' retreat in 2005, Myanmar Foreign Minister Nyan Win tried to convince other members to hold firm against international pressure: "That is their [the West's] attitude, not ours. We can decide ourselves because we are an independent country."<sup>272</sup> According to Thai Foreign Minister Kantathi Suphamongkhon, the Myanmar junta consistently made it clear that their changes should be autonomous: "they [Myanmar's leadership] don't like pressures. They like suggestions from us."<sup>273</sup>

It might be right to argue that some of the original member states' domestic transitions to democracy led to an increasing convergence in values and practices with human rights sponsors, and thus these government elites were concerned relatively less than in the early 1990s about how to preserve disparate practices without conforming to liberal global norms under pressure.<sup>274</sup> Such changing domestic environments might have contributed to making the government elites act less resistant to ASEAN's liberalization.

However, such a claim remains limited. According to some Indonesian sources, Indonesia was the only country that supported the idea of establishing a human rights body that could provide the explicit protection of human rights victims of the region.<sup>275</sup> The government elites from Thailand and the Philippines, the earliest members which went through democratic transitions in the region, remained passive or reserved to pushing for a more progressive body.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> An ASEAN Secretariat official, cited in Jones 2010, footnote 8

<sup>271</sup> Roberts 2010, 124

<sup>272</sup> Nyan Win, Myanmar Foreign Minister, quoted in Channel News Asia, 24 April 2005

<sup>273</sup> Kantathi Suphamongkhon, former Thai Foreign Minister, quoted in One India News (Bangalore, India), 20 April 2006. Available at <http://news.oneindia.in/2006/04/20/myanmar-tells-asean-it-doesnt-like-pressure-1145536932.html>. Accessed May 20, 2012

<sup>274</sup> For example, Dosch 2007

<sup>275</sup> "Human rights: a struggle going nowhere?," Jakarta Post, 24 July 2009; the author's interview with an Indonesian senior expert (1.5 Track) also confirmed this view (Kuala Lumpur, May 30, 2012).

<sup>276</sup> A senior Indonesian scholar, confidential interview with author, Kuala Lumpur, 30 May 2012

It might have to do with the fact that these democratizing states were not yet entirely free from becoming a target for interference from the international community due to their illiberal domestic practices that still existed. The government elites in Brunei and Singapore were still highly critical of international convergence to liberal norms. Many elites in Brunei and Singapore remained firm believers of nation-building through illiberal or elite-led governance practices, which, they claimed, had exerted a positive influence on the national progress and low level of societal discontent that both governments had enjoyed for years. For example, former ASEAN Secretary General and Singaporean diplomat Ong Keng Yong asked: “The rest of the world think they know what is good for all of us. But what we are saying is, ‘please allow us some democracy of idea, democracy of option.’ You are advocating democracy but you are saying your idea is the only workable idea. Is it fair to us?”<sup>277</sup> The Malaysian leadership, although it was embracing democratic rhetoric domestically since the Reformasi movements which began in the late 1990s, still strongly defended states’ rights to secure national security and maintained coercive legislation that prohibited political opposition, free expression of opinions and open debate.<sup>278</sup> Thailand also suffered from persistent political instabilities and domestic political divisions which frequently ended up with its military’s violent involvement in democratic institutions. Besides, Thai Prime Minister Thaksin, who was in office while the ASEAN reform process was ongoing, took an uncompromising and harsh position in handling insurgency in Southern Thailand, arousing indignation from the international community. As separatist campaigns escalated, his government responded with a violent suppression by 40,000-deployed combat troops and police forces, which resulted in the notorious records of human rights violations. In a word, many ASEAN member states showed a few signs of democratic transitions but many of their government practices still remained incompatible with Western standards or did not reach the expectations of most human rights promoters.

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<sup>277</sup> Ong Keng Yong, former ASEAN Secretary-General, quoted in “Confrontation never the answer for ASEAN,” *New Straits Times*, 20 November 2007

<sup>278</sup> Lee and Nesadurai 2010, 108-109

*ASEAN accommodated dual concerns, pursuing an autonomous adoption of human rights*

In spite of rising concerns over autonomy-deficits among the leaders, ASEAN adopted human rights norms at the regional level. With failure to reach consensus after a series of negotiations, the HLTF representatives had referred the issue of a human rights body to their foreign ministers. According to Indonesian Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda, the HLTF had only come up with the wording that ASEAN members “shall cooperate to establish a human rights body.” However, at a meeting on 30 July 2007, to the surprise of several HLTF members, their foreign ministers promptly reached an agreement for the inclusion of human rights and other liberal norms.<sup>279</sup> They concluded that the ASEAN Charter would clearly stipulate that ASEAN member states adhere to the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and good governance; respect and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms; strengthen democracy, and promote social justice.<sup>280</sup> They also agreed to include in the Charter an article of the establishment of an ASEAN human rights body, named the AICHR, “in conformity with the purposes and principles of the ASEAN Charter relating to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”<sup>281</sup>

However, the way ASEAN implemented the agreement reflected its dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits. Although the foreign ministers agreed to establish a regional human rights body, it was on the condition that their concerns over both deficits were accommodated. According to Wiwiek Setyawati, Director of Human Rights Affairs at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, “the underlining message from the ministers was that the panel [who would draft the Terms of Reference (TOR) for the establishment of the purposes, principles and mandates of the human rights commission] has to be realistic by looking at the comfort level of the ASEAN members and at what stage of democracy they are in. If something is not do-able, the foreign ministers will reject it.”<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> See Koh et al. 2009 (the memoir of HLTF members); also, see “ASEAN agrees on landmark human rights commission,” *Straits Times*, 31 July 2007

<sup>280</sup> ASEAN Charter, Preamble, Article 1 (purposes), Article 2, (principles) and Article 14.

<sup>281</sup> ASEAN Charter, Article 14

<sup>282</sup> Wiwiek Setyawati, Director of Human Rights Affairs at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, quoted in “ASEAN rights body risks losing power,” *Jakarta Post*, 22 July 2008



After a series of negotiations following the foreign ministers' pledge, ASEAN elites decided the specific form and substance of human rights cooperation at the ASEAN level. First, they agreed to start talking about human rights with common themes that all members had shared. For example, all member states joined the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child; all except Brunei were parties to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; six of them joined the International Labor Organization's Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention.<sup>283</sup> A regional consensus on these specific issues was relatively easy, leading ASEAN leaders to sign the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers and to establish Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children, aside from the AICHR.

Second, the proposals for introducing voting systems (especially from the Indonesian side) to replace consensus-based decision making rules were dropped. The maintenance of consensus-based rule implied that the members are reassured that they would run little risk of being trapped in the obligations to which they were not ready to commit.<sup>284</sup>

Third, they rejected any regional mechanisms for enforcement. The Indonesian government had eagerly proposed that the AICHR have monitoring, education, standard setting, investigation and advisory services mechanisms.<sup>285</sup> However, Indonesia remained the only member to support an enforcement mechanism for human rights protection as an integral part of the AICHR. Other countries, including democratizing ones, remained silent or ambiguous about their positions.<sup>286</sup> According to the Vietnamese representative to the HLTF, a common understanding among officials was that ASEAN needs to make sure that, "human rights should not be left as an excuse for outsiders to intervene into the ASEAN's own affairs."<sup>287</sup> Thai Foreign Minister Kasit Piromya added, "We deal with it [human rights violations] through good offices first and then arbitration. We do it in a civilized way – working together from inside out

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<sup>283</sup> Severino (former ASEAN Secretary-General) 2006, 151-152

<sup>284</sup> Katanyuu 2006, 841; Beyer 2011, 5

<sup>285</sup> "ASEAN rights body risks losing power," Jakarta Post, 22 July 2008

<sup>286</sup> A senior Indonesian scholar, confidential interview with author, Kuala Lumpur, May 30, 2012; also "ASEAN-compromising-even on human rights," Bangkok Post, 22 July 2009

<sup>287</sup> Nguyen (the Vietnamese representative to the HLTF) 2009, 103

and not waiting for outsiders to punish us.”<sup>288</sup> In other words, most of them put additional emphasis on autonomous reforms, not pressured ones. In order to achieve the goal, a mechanism to sanction non-compliance was a risky option which would provide external sponsoring countries, the United Nations or pro-liberal civil societies with a wider and more legitimate venue for legal appeals and pressures.

As long as the possibility of idea-promoters’ influence is tamed, ASEAN’s pro-liberal reforms would also benefit the new member states. As for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, the relational positions vis-à-vis major Western powers would generally lead them to have substantial concerns over autonomy-deficits. However, as discussed in Chapter three, their concerns over attraction-deficits vis-à-vis the West were not negligible due to a high level of aid dependence and their security condition. Particularly, given that the ASEAN membership is expected to positively affect the Indochinese nations’ effort to improve foreign relations with external regional powers through regular contacts and membership in extra-regional treaties and organizations, the institutionalization of dialogues about such global norms at the ASEAN level could help Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in terms of managing their growing concerns over attraction-deficits in relations to the major Western powers.<sup>289</sup> For example, ASEAN’s backing helped Vietnam to get an admission to the APEC and the World Trade Organization. Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar also expected the same level of support from ASEAN when they tried to obtain membership to the same organizations. The outcome was not entirely positive, but it was arguably better for them to have ASEAN on their side than to not. In addition, Vietnam’s relatively higher eagerness to attract these idea-promoting countries than other new members would have motivated its elites further to play a role in persuading the new members to join the arrangements for human rights. An aspirant to become a leader in Indochina, Vietnam was concerned that Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar would become more tilted toward China.<sup>290</sup> In order to constrain the rising leverage of China vis-à-vis these smaller states in Indochina, the

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<sup>288</sup> Kasit Piromya, Thai Foreign Minister, quoted in “ASEAN-compromising-even on human rights,” Bangkok Post, 22 July 2009

<sup>289</sup> Dosch and Tuan 2004, 208; Nguyen and Luan 2001, 189

<sup>290</sup> Dosch 2006, 250

engagement of the United States, Japan and other major Western powers in the regional affairs was highly desired.

The changed position of the Myanmar leadership in favor of human rights institutionalization was more surprising than those of the other three countries, so it might need a separate explanation. Though attracting the human rights-promoters must not have been a highly desired goal for the Myanmar elites, the way that ASEAN institutionalized the norm accommodated Myanmar's strong concerns about autonomy-deficits. ASEAN elites' community-building projects proceeded simultaneously with an appeasement policy toward Myanmar. Although ASEAN elites kept urging Myanmar to speed up its domestic reforms and pressuring it not to act 'selfishly,' they steadfastly expressed their collective support to the Myanmar leaders' road map and tried not to humiliate the junta. In the face of the junta's uncooperative responses (or no response to ASEAN's request sometimes), ASEAN leaders remained committed to the principle of engagement, persuading the West to understand the junta's main concerns about national integration and trying to appease the junta with patience.<sup>291</sup> For example, the leaders of newly democratized Indonesia wanted to push ASEAN's regional integration agenda to the next level by establishing communities where democratic values are shared and rule-based governance is the norm. In order to secure its leadership on the projects, Indonesia needed Myanmar's consent. It may not be a coincidence that the ASEAN leaders soon contradicted an unprecedentedly critical call for the political reform and the release of Aung San Suu Kyi made at the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting a few months earlier. They also expressed support to Myanmar's plans for political reconciliation in the Chair Statement of the 2003 ASEAN Summit to save Myanmar's face from international humiliation.<sup>292</sup> In addition, from Chuan Leekpai's democrat administration to Thaksin Shinawatra's conservative coalition, Thailand consistently maintained its policy of constructive engagement with Myanmar.<sup>293</sup> In particular, the Thaksin government refused following the West-led sanctions and instead provided Myanmar with psychological support for the junta's claimed roadmap to democratic governance. Other ASEAN states, notably Singapore and Malaysia, also kept providing the junta

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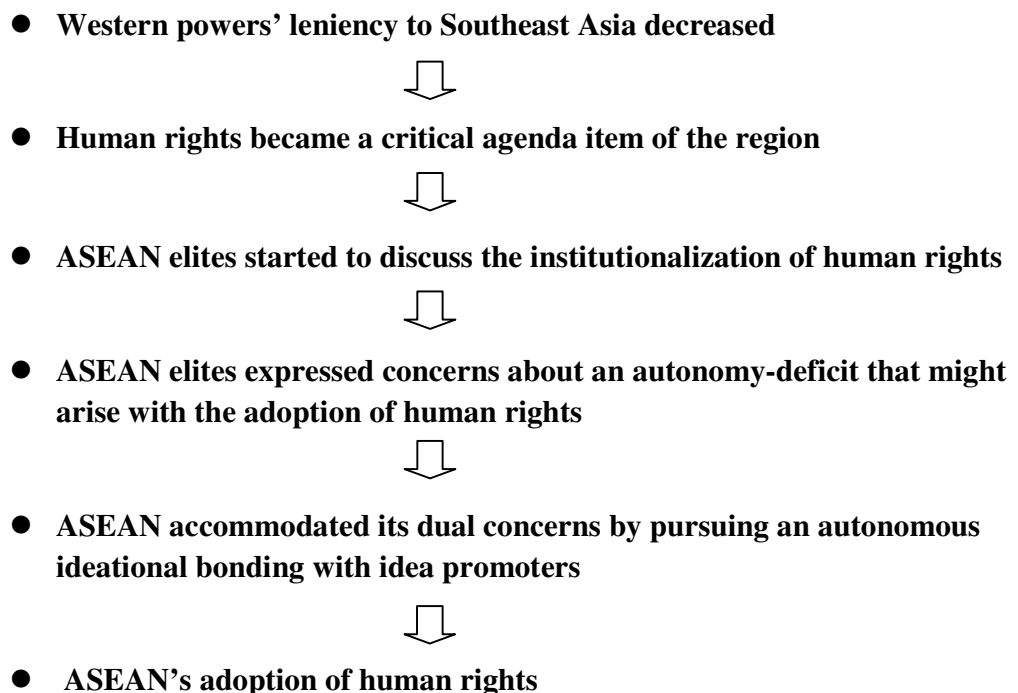
<sup>291</sup> "Indonesia to continue engaging Myanmar after failed UN vote," Jakarta Post, 15 January 2007

<sup>292</sup> "ASEAN cautiously encourages Myanmar," Jakarta Post, 7 October 2003

<sup>293</sup> James 2004, 540

with political and economic support in diverse issue areas such as trade facilitation, military equipment, human resource development and investment.<sup>294</sup> These accommodative practices led the junta to feel its relations with the ASEAN counterparts as getting “socially closer.” In such relations, remaining as a sole recalcitrant participant would have been a politically expensive burden. Besides, considering that the ASEAN human rights arrangements were established with the above-mentioned buffering mechanisms against interference from the idea-promoters, the participation in the arrangements could be a better choice for them. As a former diplomat of Myanmar noted, Myanmar deliberately chose to be a part of ASEAN, siding neither with China nor India,<sup>295</sup> which is consistent with its leaders’ persistent attempts to maintain its autonomous foreign diplomacy.

**Figure 5-3: Summary of ASEAN’s adoption of human rights**




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<sup>294</sup> James 2004, 540-542

<sup>295</sup> Moe Thuzar, former diplomat of Myanmar, interview with author, Singapore, 22 March 2012

Overall, the way that the human rights mechanism was institutionalized within ASEAN is compatible with the expectations of the dual-deficit dilemma argument. With the slow recovery of the region from the 1997 financial crisis and the rise of alternative investment destinations and markets such as China and India, ASEAN elites started to worry that ASEAN as well as their own countries might lose their relevance in the global scene. Moreover, the news about the political oppression of Myanmar's military regime provoked global criticism not only against the regime but also against ASEAN for not doing anything. This further heightened the ASEAN elites' concerns over their attraction-deficits. In order to mitigate their fear of becoming 'irrelevant,' ASEAN elites initiated many ambitious projects. One proposal was to institutionalize human rights within ASEAN, which had been resisted for years. However, illiberal practices and political oppression were still prevalent in most member countries, especially in the new members; the idea of having a human rights body within ASEAN provoked many elites' concerns about unwanted foreign influence. However, maintaining the status-quo could have further increased their concerns over attraction-deficits, by creating an impression that Southeast Asia was not ready to join the global trend in favor of liberalism and human rights. ASEAN might have been considered a group without willingness and capacity to address critical regional issues such as Myanmar's political oppression. As a result, ASEAN might have lost the major powers' attention.

In order to cope with the dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits, ASEAN elites accommodated both concerns. They adopted human rights as a fundamental principle that constitutes the ASEAN Charter and attracted positive attention from the West. However, they did not endorse fully the mechanism of enforcing what they would discuss at the ASEAN level. ASEAN elites adopted the liberal principles for the organization, but in a way that some of their concerns over autonomy-deficits were not aggravated.

## Conclusion

Findings in this chapter support my argument that ASEAN elites' dilemma of dual-deficits would explain their commitment to human rights. As expected in the theory, the elites became more willing to adopt this foreign idea since the mid-2000s when the existing patrons' leniency fell and the idea-receivers' ownership for the implementation of ideas was confirmed (Proposition 1). When the leniency of existing patrons decreased, ASEAN elites were motivated to increase their commitment level to human rights so as to get the attention of the idea-promoters back and avoid being irrelevant to the idea promoters (Proposition 1-1). Converging attitudes or behaviors could bring these 'recalcitrant others' more opportunities to bond with the (potential) sponsors, thus ameliorate the level of their concern about being sidelined. ASEAN's stated goals to manage 'crucial global issues' and demonstrate to the outside world its capacity as an effective organization were indications of the leaders' willingness to draw attentions from their sponsors again.<sup>296</sup> However, as the event of 1993 shows, a decrease in the sponsors' leniency was not sufficient to make them take the idea (Proposition 1-2). Human rights failed to be institutionalized at the ASEAN level in 1993 because the idea-promoters' unilateral demands for convergence led to the rise of ASEAN leaders' concerns about autonomy-deficit. On the other hand, the level of commitment to human rights grew substantially in the late 2000s when not only the existing sponsors' leniency fell but ASEAN's ownership in the implementation of human rights was also institutionally ensured. In other words, what they wanted was the balanced management of dual-concerns so that they neither remained left-out nor pushed-over in their relations with the concerned idea-promoters.

This chapter finds that major existing views on ASEAN's current soft liberalization do not seem to capture sufficiently some puzzling pictures of ASEAN's turn to liberalization. For example, Katsumata notes that ASEAN's liberal turn is an act of emulating Europe.<sup>297</sup> While this may be a partial explanation of the practices of ASEAN leaders, it cannot explain the timing of such a turn. Why did ASEAN leaders start to emulate Europe after resisting years of pressure

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<sup>296</sup> ASEAN, Chairperson's Statement of the Twelfth ASEAN Summit, Cebu, the Philippines, 13 January 2007

<sup>297</sup> Katsumata 2009, 620

from the West? Why did they emulate Europe in the late 2000s, not the early 2000s or earlier? The dual-deficit dilemma can answer the questions about the timing. ASEAN elites adopted the idea when their concerns over attraction-deficits rose. At the same time, however, they embraced the ideas only to the extent that the risk of autonomy-deficits did not offset the benefit of attracting the sponsors through ideational bonding.

Meanwhile, Dosch puts emphasis on the indirect impact of the domestic democratic transitions of several ASEAN countries.<sup>298</sup> However, democratization of some old ASEAN members, particularly Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, cannot answer why the majority of non-democratic ASEAN members decided to accept ASEAN's liberal turn. One might speculate that these major old members provided side-payments in return for such a liberal turn or socialized the new members through persuasion, but there is little evidence of the exchanges of any material side-payments. Neither is there evidence that the rest of the members came to believe that such a liberal turn was normatively right way to go. Besides, as discussed above, both the Philippines, a country with the longest tradition of promoting human rights and democracy in the region, and Thailand, another country that was relatively more willing to adopt Western ideas than other ASEAN members, remained rather hesitant to Indonesia's idea of strengthening the mechanisms for human rights protection at the ASEAN level, rather than playing a role as active local promoters. The explanation does not provide sufficient answers to the variance in leaders' responses and actions.

Some others highlight the evolutionary process of human-rights regime making, especially at the non-governmental level. I do not attempt to argue that the idea of the establishment of regional human rights body just emerged out of nowhere due to the elites' stated concerns. Apparently, the decision to establish a regional mechanism was made on the foundation of the accumulated efforts by diverse non-governmental actors.<sup>299</sup> Civil society in Asia had come together since the early 1980s to work for the establishment of a regional human rights mechanism. Following a series of UN resolutions for regional human rights mechanisms in

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<sup>298</sup> Dosch 2007 and 2008

<sup>299</sup> There are many studies which highlight the roles of non-state actors. For example, Davies 2013a; Hernandez 2006; Kraft 2006

the 1970s,<sup>300</sup> several legal personalities established Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia and drafted an ASEAN's declaration on the basic duties of ASEAN peoples and governments in 1983.<sup>301</sup> The end of the Cold War brought the region into a more open environment for building regional coalitions on multiple levels. The voice for human rights from non-governmental sphere and academics became stronger. The ASEAN-ISIS started the Colloquium on Human Rights in 1994 and facilitated the processes for cooperation at the non-governmental level. With support from private donor organizations, the ASEAN-ISIS built a regional coalition of individuals and groups from ASEAN countries in 1995, dubbed the Regional Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, and established it as an ASEAN dialogue partner in 1998. The Working Group launched diverse workshops and proposals to move forward the intergovernmental process of human rights discussion in the region.<sup>302</sup> Parliamentarians from some ASEAN countries, notably Malaysia and the Philippines, lent support to the efforts.<sup>303</sup> Forum Asia, a pan-region coalition of NGOs, was also formed in order to advocate a human rights mechanism at the ASEAN level and kept trying to engage in multiple programs to encourage an official regional mechanism.<sup>304</sup> However, these accumulated processes appear insufficient to understand when or how such efforts came to fruition. Rather, considering that such effort has been constant since the early 1980s, it would be legitimate to claim that what triggered ASEAN leaders to pick up on this 'let's talk about human rights' card on the table was the elites' rising concern over increasing irrelevance in the early 2000s.<sup>305</sup>

For some critics, the inclusion of the human rights mechanisms within ASEAN in the late 2000s was nothing but a hypocritical performance which would exert no political costs on the authoritarian regimes of the region. The skepticism might lead one to wonder whether such institutional developments since 2003 can be qualified as ASEAN elites' increasing commitment

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<sup>300</sup> For the list of UN resolutions on related topic, see Phan 2008, 2

<sup>301</sup> "Development has for long been a catchphrase for inter-ASEAN relations," Jakarta Post, 17 May 1993

<sup>302</sup> For a detailed discussion about the process, see Vitit 1999

<sup>303</sup> Phan 2008, 3-4; Hernandez 2006, 16

<sup>304</sup> Chalida, Director of People's Empowerment Movement, interview with author, Bangkok, 24 May 2012

<sup>305</sup> Thai Foreign Minister Nitya Pibulsonggram noted, "We addressed the human rights problem because we want international recognition. If we had not addressed it, our region would not be accepted" quoted in "Regional rights body agreed to in principle," Bangkok Post, 3 March 2007.



to the idea of human rights in comparison with their response in the early 1990s. Some scholars claim that many authoritarian leaders in the South sign international human rights conventions because the participation of such international institutions can create opportunities for authoritarian leaders, particularly those who are autonomous from domestic pressures, to display legitimating commitment to the global regime without much political cost.<sup>306</sup> However, one should not underestimate ASEAN's development simply as another cosmetic gesture of political elites. Such criticism is not sufficient for answering why it took ASEAN member states so many years to finally agree on the creation of this "hypocritical" mechanism. Also, it is unclear why they publicly opposed the adoption of the notion of "universal" human rights until the early 2000s, receiving such an unwanted, 'de-legitimizing,' spotlight from external audiences. Admittedly, there has been discordance between the leaders' rhetoric on human rights and their actual practices, which allows one to call these changes hypocritical. However, I argue that ASEAN's changes are not an example of authoritarian leaders' easy hypocrisy or well-calculated attempt to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs.<sup>307</sup> Rather, my study implies that the inevitable need to manage the dilemma of ASEAN's dual-deficits better explains the source of these practices within ASEAN.<sup>308</sup> The human rights mechanism was installed in the region mainly for a better international profile,<sup>309</sup> but in a way that ASEAN governments could control the management of sensitive human rights issues without a direct scrutiny from major Western powers.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> For example, Hafner-Burton et al. 2008

<sup>307</sup> Krasner 1999

<sup>308</sup> For example, Lipson (2007) notes the diverging sources of hypocritical practices conducted by international organizations such as the United Nations. According to him, the de-coupling practices of words and actions in UN peacekeeping operations were inevitable choices of the organization, rather than the outcome of fully rational decisions.

<sup>309</sup> Chalida, Director of People's Empowerment Movement, interview with author, Bangkok, May 24, 2012

<sup>310</sup> A Cambodian senior NGO activist, confidential email interview with author, July 30, 2012.

## Chapter 6

### Rise and Fall of APEC: Dilemma of Dual-Deficits and Commitment to Asia-Pacific Regionalism

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapters focused on showing that the concept of “dual-deficit dilemma” can help understand when ASEAN elites adopted new foreign ideas at certain time periods and not others. This chapter addresses a case of what happens *after* they are adopted. Can the dual-deficit dilemma provide a consistent explanation about what would happen after adoption? Does the concept tell us when the ideas adopted by ASEAN would become more powerful or weaker in the region?

This chapter discusses these questions by examining a case of ideational changes related to economic regionalism in Southeast Asia. The idea of developing a pan Asia-Pacific economic community was realized in 1989 when ASEAN states, hesitant about the idea in the previous years, finally adopted proposals from Australia and Japan to establish the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). However, despite more than 20 years of existence, APEC continued to go through an identity crisis. Its ambitious goal to turn the Asia Pacific rim into an economic zone with shared standards, rules and principles has been undermined by alternative paths that East Asian counterparts chose.<sup>311</sup> A survey by the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council in 2006 showed that despite years of institutionalization and interactions within APEC, only 42% of 370 regional opinion leaders agreed with the statement that APEC is as important today as it was in 1989. As for APEC’s main challenges, 63% of respondents pointed out member economies’ lack of commitment and 30% of them noted competition from East Asian-centered arrangements.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> “As APEC gathers, doubt over trade goals,” International Herald Tribune, 15 November 2005

<sup>312</sup> Financial Times, 13 November 2006

In addition, the leaders of many ASEAN member economies have been increasingly active since the late 1990s developing East Asian-centered arrangements. Interestingly, the idea of East Asia-centered economic arrangement had been already raised by Malaysian leaders in the early 1990s when APEC started to establish. But the idea was not fully realized until the late 1990s. Major advanced members had opposed it as it might have undermined the effective management of cooperation within APEC. Some ASEAN members had also remained passive or ambiguous about the idea. However, in the late 1990s, the idea of East Asia-centered economic regionalism re-emerged. This time, most ASEAN states became willing to develop this idea either for alternative or supplementary purposes to APEC.

This chapter supports an argument that the dilemma of attraction-autonomy deficits explains these events. ASEAN elites first adopted the idea of Asia-Pacific economic regionalism when they perceived the governments of the United States and Europe to pay more attention to trade with other proximate developing nations. It was the time when ASEAN leaders' concerns about the weakening sponsorship of the West increased. They perceived that their participation in APEC would provide opportunities to engage the United States as well as Japan and Australia in the region. However, as the theory expects, they negotiated the terms of economic regional cooperation through APEC in a way that ensured their rights to autonomous decision making.

As time went by, however, ASEAN elites increasingly felt that the expected sponsorship from the major economies that promoted APEC did not materialize. Also, they perceived the promoters of the Asia-Pacific grouping to be increasingly intrusive within APEC, which further raised skepticism of APEC's value in managing their dual-concerns. In this context, as the concept of dual-deficit dilemma expects, the level of ASEAN elites' commitment to Asia-Pacific regionalism weakened. Instead, their participation in alternative economic cooperation arrangements has been increasing.

The findings are consistent with the propositions derived from the dilemma of dual-deficits. As Propositions 1 and 1-1 expect, the level of ASEAN's commitment to the idea of APEC rose when its major existing sponsors (i.e., the US and other Western powers) got less lenient and when idea-promoting countries assured ASEAN's ownership to the implementation of the idea. Also, evidence supports Propositions 2 and 3 in that ASEAN's commitment to APEC has been weakening as the sponsorship from APEC promoters was found insufficient and the

leaders perceived that APEC’s development took away ASEAN’s idea ownership. The findings are summarized as follows:

**Figure 6-1: Temporal comparison of ASEAN’s responses to APEC**

**Promotion of APEC (by Japan, Australia and United States)**



	Early 1990s	Late 1990s-early 2000s (after new ideas adopted)
Major sponsor leniency	<b>Decrease</b> (Attraction-deficit concerns rise)	<b>Decrease</b> (Less sponsorship than expected)
ASEAN’s idea ownership	<b>Assured</b> (Autonomy-deficit concerns accommodated)	<b>Contested</b> (Autonomy-deficit concerns rise again)
ASEAN’s commitment level to Asia-Pacific regionalism (outcome)	<b>Rise:</b> <b>Adopting APEC idea at the ASEAN level</b>	<b>Waning:</b> <b>Rise of East-Asia centered regionalism (alternative to APEC)/ Diffusion of preferential trade arrangements (less compatible with APEC idea)</b>

The chapter discusses the rise and fall of ASEAN leaders’ commitment to Asia- Pacific economic regionalism. The first section examines why ASEAN elites adopted the idea of APEC-centered inclusive economic regionalism in 1989 after years of reservations and rejection. It particularly focuses on showing that the propositions from the concept of dual-deficit dilemma can rightly expect the outcomes. Then I trace why such hard-won idea waned among ASEAN

elites in spite of years of increasing interactions for its diffusion and show that this study's argument can explain the outcome. The section concludes with a summary of the argument and discussion of alternative explanations.

## **ASEAN and Rise of Asia-Pacific Regionalism**

The idea of Asia-Pacific economic integration had a long history. The first major initiative for Asia-Pacific regionalism was a proposal in 1965 by Japanese economist Kiyoshi Kojima for a Pacific Free Trade Area (PFTA) which includes Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States as full members and the developing nations of the region as associate members. Though the idea was not realized, it laid the foundations for Pacific Trade and Development (PAFTAD) in 1968, which worked as an epistemic community of local economists under Japanese sponsorship. At the first PAFTAD conference, Kojima proposed to establish an Asian version of the OECD, dubbed the Organization for Pacific Trade and Development (OPTAD), to promote inter-state economic cooperation and policy coordination in trade, investment, and aid issues in Asia Pacific. However, other government officials' responses to the initiative remained cool.<sup>313</sup>

With Japanese and Australian economists' support, the OPTAD idea was revived in 1979. The goals remained the same but the idea entrepreneurs called for expanded full membership including countries in Southeast Asia and South America. However, ASEAN countries' responses were still lukewarm. The idea did not fit well with a set of their foreign policy concerns as well as their existing practices.

Firstly, the idea of economic regionalism made little sense to many of the nations at that time. As Miles Kahler notes, the export strategies of ASEAN countries during the Cold War were geared toward the US market, thus bilateral bargaining with the United States and membership of global trade regime such as the GATT best guaranteed the market access for

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<sup>313</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 51-52

them.<sup>314</sup> Secondly, some ASEAN governments feared that a move to free trade in the Asia-Pacific would consolidate the current North-South relations, making ASEAN economies confined to be suppliers of raw materials.<sup>315</sup> For example, Tan Sri Ghazalie Shafie, Malaysian Minister of Home Affairs, expected that the obligation of the OPTAD would be asymmetrical, forcing ASEAN states to undertake liberalization while leaving protectionist measures of advanced member countries unaddressed.<sup>316</sup> This was what the Group of 77 had warned against at the United Nations. It also did not fit with the New International Economic Order (NIEO) that many ASEAN leaders supported as members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Moreover, the fact that the idea had been initiated and discussed under Japan and Australia's leadership and that the first OPTAD conference was held without a prior consultation with ASEAN states raised ASEAN elites' concerns that such a grouping would turn hierarchical, placing advanced and advancing nations into two unequal positions.<sup>317</sup> Therefore, the promoting side of the OPTAD idea and ASEAN state elites made a compromise to establish the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC), a tripartite organization consisting of academics, business and government representatives, to further study the concept. But ASEAN leaders had not adopted the idea of building institutions for regional economic integration at the official government level until Australian Prime Minister Hawke officially renewed a discussion about the idea in January 1989 by announcing the proposal for building an Asia-Pacific economic cooperation arrangement, which was later labeled as APEC.

Refining the OPTAD concept, Hawke proposed a regional forum aimed to support a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round and facilitate trade within the region.<sup>318</sup> Again, Japan became a key promoter of the idea.<sup>319</sup> The United States also became one of the most active and supportive players soon after Hawke proposed the idea. Though it had traditionally

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<sup>314</sup> Cited in Funabashi 1995, 178

<sup>315</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 57

<sup>316</sup> Ghazalie Shafie, Malaysian Minister of Home Affairs, cited in Ravenhill 2001, 57

<sup>317</sup> Ravenhill 2001 57-58

<sup>318</sup> Ravenhill 1999, 232

<sup>319</sup> For detailed illustration of strategies and tactics of the Australian and Japanese promotion of the idea, Funabashi 1995

been “the hub” connecting “the spoke countries” in the West Pacific through bilateral agreements, the United States had no problem with the spoke countries connecting with each other and making a circle. Washington’s priority was to secure an American seat in the regional forum and to make sure that the United States would participate in designing the regional economic order in Asia.<sup>320</sup>

The ASEAN members’ first response to Hawke’s proposal was again a careful reservation. ASEAN foreign ministers produced an AMM communiqué in six months after the Hawke proposal, taking note of the external demand for a regional economic cooperation mechanism among Pacific-rim countries. But ministers of Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand confirmed that they “would not be tempted to take part in the setting up of a fresh mechanism which would only overlap with the existing mechanism for cooperation between the group and its dialog partners in the Pacific.”<sup>321</sup> However, this early skepticism was soon replaced with a positive consensus toward the acceptance of APEC membership. After two decades of external effort to sell the idea, it finally started to be institutionalized. Below, the theory of dual-deficits explains why this occurred.

**Table 6-1: History of the idea of inclusive Asia-Pacific economic regionalism**

Suggested modality of the idea implementation	PFTA (1965)	PAFTAD/OPTAD (1968)	OPTAD revived (1979)	APEC (1989)
ASEAN’s response to invitation	Reserved	Reserved	Reserved	Supportive

<sup>320</sup> Munataka 2006, 69

<sup>321</sup> Cited in “ASEAN ended its two-day AMM,” Jakarta Post, 5 July 1989; also “Thai FM warned of the danger of creating a protectionist trade bloc,” Jakarta Post, 10 July 1989; “ASEAN to discuss Australia’s proposal for an Asia OECD,” Jakarta Post, 13 September 1989

*The US and major European powers' leniency to Southeast Asia decreased and ASEAN elites were worried*

As economies with increasingly export-dependent structures since the 1980s, ASEAN countries faced a new external environment where the decline of the Cold War was increasing the major advanced countries' leverage against their smaller allies including ASEAN members themselves. Besides, with a decline of the rival Communist sphere, competition among weak states increased for securing economic sponsorship from fewer major countries. This enabled the potential patrons to push more for unilateral changes of policies as well as "fairer trade" under the principle of reciprocity. During the Cold War, the United States had tolerated so-called crony capitalism in many East Asian countries in order to stabilize their allies of the region as well as to demonstrate the superiority of the market systems. But as their core enemy declined, Washington paid more attention to re-shaping global economic structure with common institutions and rules that require heavier compliance.<sup>322</sup> Washington called for more aggressive trade policies based on the principle of specific reciprocity and enacted Super 301 provisions in the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act for retaliations against countries which would restrict US market interests.<sup>323</sup> As Washington announced that the Generalized System of Preferences would be withdrawn from four Newly Industrialized Countries in East Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan) in the beginning of year 1989, it also warned other ASEAN countries that their privileges might be discontinued. Since 1989, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) increasingly pushed for Washington's actions against Malaysian and Indonesian governments accused of violating labor rights. Washington also charged Thailand for the insufficient protection of intellectual property rights.<sup>324</sup>

Combined with the shifts in Washington's policies, the increasing moves for selective trade arrangements in North America and Europe concerned ASEAN leaders. Such moves were triggered by the slow progress in the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations. With the sluggish development of multilateral talks, major economic powers started to pursue regional or bilateral

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<sup>322</sup> Catley 1999, 168

<sup>323</sup> Lim 2001, 63; "Growing pains," Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 May 1989: 32

<sup>324</sup> Wagner 1989, 44



arrangements as potential substitutes. An American plan to enter into North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) started to become more concrete with the positive response from Canada. In addition, the Bush administration proposed bilateral free trade arrangements as alternative paths to trade liberalization and identified only a few countries in East Asia – Australia, Japan, South Korea and Singapore – as their potential partners.<sup>325</sup> ASEAN elites were increasingly concerned about such shifts. They were concerned that their region consisting of weak states would be “at the mercy of major industrial powers” and most of them would be excluded.<sup>326</sup> The US market was particularly important for most ASEAN states. As of 1987, trade with the United States accounted for 22% of ASEAN exports. Also, the American market absorbed more manufactured goods from ASEAN than Japan, importing goods worth more than US\$200 billion a year.<sup>327</sup> Thus, ASEAN elites were worried whether the United States was moving away from multilateralism and going for more protectionist measures that would make preferential access to the US market difficult. They feared that with the initiation of the NAFTA, Mexico would be a principal source for the US imports of labor-intensive products and a major recipient of the US investment.

A series of studies produced during this period also confirmed their concerns. For example, World Bank economist Alexander Yeats claimed that with the inception of the NAFTA, Asian manufacturers would suffer from an export displacement of up to US\$400 million annually, which is much larger than US\$10 million for other regional exporters of the same products.<sup>328</sup> Also, a study by DRI/McGraw Hill, a US consulting firm, estimated that 38% of Mexican exports to the United States would be motor vehicle parts and electronic goods. The same products comprised approximately 55% of Malaysia’s exports to the United States. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir noted, “If the privileges of the NAFTA are extended to all the Central and South American countries, not only will the Americas be self-contained and

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<sup>325</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 81-82

<sup>326</sup> New Straits Times, 5 June 1991; Ravenhill 2001, 81-82

<sup>327</sup> Alagappa 1989, 25-27; “New kid on the bloc,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 August 1992: 50-51

<sup>328</sup> *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 August 1992: 50-51

independent of all resources and products from the rest of the world but the bloc can use its economic strength to bludgeon the non-EC countries into economic submission.”<sup>329</sup>

The European Economic Community (EEC) was also preparing for the creation of Single Market set to be effective in 1992. Although changes in Europe’s internal trade policies were not accompanied by any notable changes of its external trade regime, ASEAN elites remained unsure whether European integration policies could converge with negotiations within the GATT and how this would affect their access to European markets as non-EEC members. Prospects were not good in general. The concerns were that the EC countries’ manufacturing investment outside of Europe would lower. Also, European business would prefer to look inside Europe for product and component sourcing after 1992.<sup>330</sup> Malaysian Trade and Industry Minister Rafidah Aziz noted, “The possibility is very real that future investments in the region could be diverted to the EEC’s own low-cost member countries.”<sup>331</sup> Mahathir added, “Fears have been expressed that large-scale Western assistance to Eastern Europe will be at the expense of other developing countries [...] the question in our mind is whether Eastern Europe will now draw away the already sparse inflow of European investments into Southeast Asia. Despite assurances that more would be done to encourage greater investments in ASEAN, European investments continue to lag behind those from other regions [...] it would be disastrous for us if a combination of 1992 Single Market and special trading privileges for Eastern Europe lead to diminished market access for ASEAN exports.”<sup>332</sup>

In addition, like the United States, the European Community increasingly called for fair responsibility and reciprocity in its future relations with non-EEC countries. The EEC’s 1985 White Paper declared that “the commercial identity of the Community must be consolidated so that our trading partners will not be given the benefit of a wider market without themselves

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<sup>329</sup> Mahathir, speech titled “ASEAN in the 1990s and beyond” at the US Council of Foreign Relations, New York, 26 September 1991.

<sup>330</sup> “The dragon’s long reach,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 5 May 1988: 23; “Europe’s single challenge,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 5 May 1988; 127-129

<sup>331</sup> Rafidah Aziz, Malaysian Trade and Industry Minister, quoted in “An ASEAN minister expressed doubts over the creation of the single EC,” *Jakarta Post*, 11 July 1989

<sup>332</sup> Mahathir, speech titled “The impact of a changing world on ASEAN-European community relations,” at the 8<sup>th</sup> Asean-European Community Ministerial Meeting in Kuching, Malaysia, 16 February 1990.

making similar concessions.”<sup>333</sup> Its 1988 Cecchini report also warned that “if the fruits of the European home market are to be shared internationally, there must be a fair share out of the burdens of global economic responsibility... on a firm basis of clear reciprocity.”<sup>334</sup> Such a stance added fear that protectionism in the North would rise and their regionalism would benefit at the expense of an open multilateral trading system.<sup>335</sup>

Furthermore, since 1985, China and Vietnam (a non-ASEAN country at that time) had also become important FDI destinations for low-waged labor intensive industries in East Asia. It concerned ASEAN leaders even more as the increase in wages and labor shortages of their region might have made their countries relatively less attractive to foreign investors. Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong noted, “unless the ASEAN can match the other regions in attractiveness, both as a base for investments as well as a market for their products, investments... are likely to flow away from our part of the world to the single European market and NAFTA.”<sup>336</sup>

Washington reassured ASEAN that shifts in its regional policies were mainly aimed to enhance the resiliency of the trading system and to further promote liberalization; European leaders also claimed that Europe would not become a fortress. However, ASEAN leaders, according to Indonesian Trade Minister Arifin Siregar, wanted to “prepare also for the worst.”<sup>337</sup> They shared a primary economic purpose that investment diversion to other parts of the world should be avoided.<sup>338</sup> In this regard, they initiated the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) to prevent the diversion. But considering that ASEAN had a combined market of only one-tenth of NAFTA or EEC, they believed AFTA would be insufficient to secure foreign investment and assistance from major economic powers.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Cited in *New Straits Times*, 5 June 1991

<sup>334</sup> Cited in *New Straits Times*, 5 June 1991

<sup>335</sup> See Mahathir’s concern expressed in his speech at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 18 October 1989; “New kid on the bloc,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 August 1992: 50-51.

<sup>336</sup> Goh Chok Tong, Singaporean Prime Minister, quoted in Tarling 2006, 201

<sup>337</sup> Arifin Siregar, Indonesian Trade Minister, quoted in *Jakarta Post*, 3 June 1991

<sup>338</sup> Bowles 1997, 224

<sup>339</sup> For example, “ASEAN... not strong enough to protect free trade,” *Jakarta Post*, 8 October 1991

*ASEAN elites started to discuss the adoption of Asia-Pacific regionalism*

Under the circumstances, many ASEAN elites saw the concept of a wider Asia-Pacific cooperation as one way to secure a certain level of consistent engagement not only from the idea-promoting countries such as Japan and Australia, but also from other rich neighbors to be invited to the framework. The favorable stances particularly came from foreign policy elites in the countries with a high level of concern over attraction-deficits. For example, many elites in Singapore supported the idea of a Pacific economic regional arrangement from the beginning. Lee Hsien Loong pushed other members to be part of the process of Asia-Pacific community making, claiming that the participation in Asia-Pacific arrangements would enhance ASEAN's status. Lee Hsien Loong expected, "at a time when Eastern Europe is attracting more attention from the developed countries, APEC will provide an extra incentive for the US, Japan and the other major regional economies to strengthen their ties with ASEAN."<sup>340</sup> Many officials in the Philippines and Thailand also supported the idea. Philippine Finance Minister Jesus Estanislao argued that Asia-Pacific cooperation would be a middle layer between ASEAN at the sub-regional level and the GATT at the global level, which would effectively help ASEAN finalize the Uruguay Round.<sup>341</sup> Thai elites also thought an Asia-Pacific grouping in general under Japan's leadership could enhance its bargaining power vis-à-vis emerging integrated markets in Europe and North America.<sup>342</sup>

But the issue for ASEAN was to see intra-ASEAN skeptics change their minds as ASEAN business rested on consensus. In particular, Indonesia, which took an implicit and explicit leadership role within ASEAN, had been a long-time skeptic of ASEAN's participation in a wider regional framework. Also, Malaysia had been skeptical of benefitting from a regional cooperation led by advanced countries.

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<sup>340</sup> Lee Hsien Loong, speech delivered at Indonesia Forum meeting, Jakarta, 11 July 1990.

<sup>341</sup> Jesus Estanislao, former Philippine Finance Minister, cited in Funabashi 1995, 67

<sup>342</sup> "Growing pains," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 18 May 1989: 32

However, even skeptics within the region started to agree that to secure more engagement with the rich neighbors would be politically useful to cope with ASEAN's concerns. As a leading analyst on ASEAN put it, "the West and the North has continued to be the primary source of capital and technology which the non-aligned nations badly need for development," whether they liked it or not.<sup>343</sup> The CSIS Director Jusuf Wanandi called for ASEAN countries' increasing engagement in the world economy. One notable change in the global economy, according to him, was that "the third world is lagging much farther behind and as the cold war ended it will receive much less attention from the industrialized world."<sup>344</sup> Supporting an idea of ASEAN becoming a part of the Asia-Pacific community, he claimed that ASEAN needed to re-think the assumptions of local principles such as the ZOPFAN which considered ASEAN as "a self-contained sub-region" and move forward to be "an integral part of the wider Asia Pacific region".<sup>345</sup> In sum, after its historical reservation to several invitations to similar arrangements, there was a growing idea within ASEAN elites that Asia-Pacific economic cooperation could be a useful mechanism to prevent ASEAN countries from receiving less attention from major countries with the end of the Cold War.

***ASEAN elites were concerned about autonomy-deficits that might rise with their participation in Asia-Pacific economic regionalism***

In spite of the expected positive gains, the idea of 'integrating with North' was also difficult for ASEAN leaders to accept. For example, many officials in the Suharto government viewed APEC through a North-South prism and preferred to keep great powers out of regional affairs.<sup>346</sup> They were concerned that "disparities in income, technology and skill level among APEC economies could lead to asymmetrical dependence, heightened tension and North-South polarization in

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<sup>343</sup> J. Soedjati Djihadono, quoted in Foot 1996, 21

<sup>344</sup> Jusuf Wanandi, Director of CSIS, address at the seminar on ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990s, 6-7 June 1991, Manila, the Philippines

<sup>345</sup> Jusuf Wanandi, address at the seminar on ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990s, 6-7 June 1991, Manila, the Philippines

<sup>346</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 106

APEC.”<sup>347</sup> Particularly, their differences in local economic principles and practices from Anglo-Pacific economies were a distinct source of concerns among ASEAN elites. Despite changing domestic economic structures of many ASEAN member states which required more integration into the liberal global economy, economic liberalization was not yet a pervasive principle. Their governments promoted an open economy with more trade with external partners, but preferred to do it in their own way. Strategic state interventions in the growth of major industries were still taken for granted. Also, politics and business were largely mixed where many high-level politicians and government officials were business persons who had accumulated wealth from government-connected companies. Despite several rounds of liberalization in the 1980s, several domestic sectors in Indonesia continued to enjoy a high level of protection from the state. Also, Suharto’s relatives and political allies were major beneficiaries of rents stemming from tariffs and other trade barriers.<sup>348</sup> In the case of Malaysia, six out of the top ten taxpaying companies in the late 1980s were government-controlled. Also, Malaysian ruling parties and top politicians were building huge business empires through their political influences.<sup>349</sup> The government sought selective protection of its domestic manufacturing sector with Mahathir’s emphasis on heavy industries. The tariff rates for iron and steel rose by 289 percent in 1987 and pioneer industries such as automobile sector were protected by a list of prohibited manufactured imports.<sup>350</sup> In Thailand, key political figures in parties and governments had a business background. As of 1986, 47.7% of the Thai Cabinet consisted of businesspersons.<sup>351</sup> Those who were involved in manufacturing sectors supported liberalization for their business interests. But they did not want to liberalize domestic practices based on business-politics linkages, which had given them monopolistic privileges in amassing wealth.

Thus, the idea of making regional economic arrangements with bigger neighbors who would push for convergence toward more liberal standards and practices might risk a possibility of the neighbors’ increasing interference. Particularly considering that the proposal for APEC

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<sup>347</sup> Soesastro 1994, 49

<sup>348</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 106

<sup>349</sup> Camroux 1994, 428

<sup>350</sup> Lim 2001, 66

<sup>351</sup> Laothamathas 1988, 454

came a month after the conclusion of the Canada-US FTA, it was more likely that many ASEAN leaders saw APEC as an idea arising from the new US interest in promoting such convergence including the reforms of domestic institutions on environment and labor standards.<sup>352</sup>

Thus, many elites in the ASEAN governments except Singapore, a nearly perfect open economy, remained reserved or hesitant to accept the idea. Among others, the Malaysian government was the staunchest critic of the idea. When the idea was delivered, Mahathir clearly told Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade Secretary Richard Woolcott that Malaysia did not endorse it and was not positive about the Australian proposal.<sup>353</sup> Mahathir particularly opposed the inclusion of the United States into the Asia-Pacific grouping. He believed that the United States increasingly sought specific reciprocity throughout the 1980s and increased its demands for more access to foreign markets.<sup>354</sup> Though the idea came from Australian Prime Minister, Mahathir and Thai Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun were particularly suspicious of the US role in designing and promoting it.<sup>355</sup>

Leaders from other ASEAN countries took more reserved stances, but had sympathy for his arguments. According to Trade Minister Arifin Siregar, Indonesia feared that, “the ASEAN role might weaken under such an enlarged economic cooperation forum, especially in view of the fact that international economy talks have so far been dominated mostly by the European Economic Community, Japan, and the US-Canada.”<sup>356</sup> Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Conception and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas also expressed concerns that these external big powers would become intrusive patrons who try to fix the internal problems of their weak partners like ASEAN.<sup>357</sup> As Ba notes, the intra-regional debates about APEC lied less on the economic benefits of Asia-Pacific cooperation and more on whether such mechanism would

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<sup>352</sup> Stremiau 1994/95

<sup>353</sup> Mahathir, cited in Lim 2001, 64

<sup>354</sup> Asiaweek, 4 October 1996: 47

<sup>355</sup> Funabashi 1995, 177; Nesadurai 1996, 32

<sup>356</sup> Arifin Siregar, Indonesian Trade Minister, quoted in “ASEAN will discuss Australia’s proposal for an Asia-Pacific economic cooperation forum,” *Jakarta Post*, 8 September 1989

<sup>357</sup> Jose Conception, Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary, cited in Lim 2001, 64

marginalize Southeast Asian countries and existing ASEAN processes.<sup>358</sup> According to an Indonesian diplomat, “Indonesia would like ASEAN to hijack this [APEC] initiative but doesn’t know how to do it.”<sup>359</sup>

*ASEAN sought conditions for Asia-Pacific regionalism to abate the leaders’ concerns over dual-deficits*

The elites had to address the dilemma. As illustrated, the concerns over the loss of power to control their own affairs had existed when similar proposals for Asia-Pacific communities were made in the past, and thus they could have rejected the APEC concept this time again. However, under the increasingly less lenient leadership of the United States, if they had not bought the idea they might have suffered from being, to use Noordin Sopiee’s word, “peripheralized.”

As a result, they decided to join the Asia-Pacific grouping, but in a way that could prevent autonomy-deficit from rising substantially. In July 1989, ASEAN Foreign Ministers reached a consensus at the ASEAN-PMC to endorse APEC. In August 1989, ASEAN Economic Ministers also declared their support. But the acceptance was made under several conditions.<sup>360</sup> First, ASEAN elites decided to take a collective position within APEC.<sup>361</sup> When accepting the invitation of the first APEC meeting held in Canberra, they emphasized they wanted to maintain ASEAN identity and unity in the meeting and would disagree with any moves to make APEC a new trade bloc. According to Noordin Sopiee, Director General of ISIS in Malaysia in 1990, ASEAN agreed to join an Asia-Pacific grouping because it would be ASEAN’s loss to refuse to accept it and lose voices if the development of the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism would likely proceed with or without ASEAN. But, he argued, “APEC process will assuredly undermine ASEAN cohesion if some ASEAN countries feel that there is no need to work out an ASEAN

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<sup>358</sup> Sydney Morning Herald, 8 November 1989: 7; Japan Economic Journal, 18 November 1989: 5; Christian Science Monitor, 6 November 1989: 10; Japan Economic Newswire, 25 July 1990, all cited in Ba 2009, 142

<sup>359</sup> Sydney Morning Herald, 23 October 1989:5, quoted in Ba 2009, 142

<sup>360</sup> ASEAN’s Kuching Consensus in February 1990 summarizes their input on how they wanted to approach the concept of Asia-Pacific regionalism.

<sup>361</sup> “Interview with Lee Kuan Yew,” Bangkok Post, 18 September 1989



consensus and that we can each act on our own.”<sup>362</sup> Even Thai and Philippine elites, who were favorable to the APEC idea from the beginning, also emphasized the importance of ASEAN’s collective grouping in its influence in the world and in dealing with the big powers.<sup>363</sup> When ASEAN foreign ministers met other Asia-Pacific counterparts at the first APEC ministerial meeting in June 1989, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas pointed out that ASEAN had been the only provider of a platform for intergovernmental cooperation in Asia-Pacific since 1984 through its PMC schemes with dialogue partners. He argued that ASEAN’s identity and cohesion should not be diluted in any enhanced format.<sup>364</sup> For further reassurance of the ASEAN as a group, they called for ASEAN Secretariat officials’ participation in APEC senior officials’ meetings. They also demanded that at least every other ministerial meeting be held in an ASEAN member country.<sup>365</sup> According to an Indonesian scholar, from the beginning of the grouping, ASEAN wanted to be acknowledged as “APEC’s co-pilot.”<sup>366</sup>

Second, ASEAN elites wanted to take the consensus principle as an APEC way of making decisions. It was a guarantee in general that no collective action could be taken over any member’s objection. It was a reassurance specifically to ASEAN that outside powers could not force liberalization on their own terms on weak states and that the weak states would be allowed to determine the pace of liberalization of their own.<sup>367</sup> ASEAN leaders such as Mahathir warned that without community-making through consensus, they might be bulldozed, bludgeoned or bullied by bigger powers.<sup>368</sup> They wanted to place great economic powers such as the United States and Japan in “the one among equals” category so that they could not dominate the processes.

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<sup>362</sup> Noordin Sopiee, Director of Malaysian ISIS, Jakarta Post, 1 August 1990

<sup>363</sup> Ramos (also Mahathir, Malaysian Prime Minister), cited in Hay 1996, 263; Sydney Morning Herald, 23 October 1989: 5, cited in Ba 2009, 142

<sup>364</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, statement at the initial exploratory meeting on Asia-Pacific cooperation, Canberra, 6-7 November 1989.

<sup>365</sup> Munataka 2006, 70

<sup>366</sup> Soesastro 2003, 2

<sup>367</sup> Wesley 2001, 197; Ruland 2002, 58

<sup>368</sup> Mahathir, speech titled “the Pacific era,” the 27<sup>th</sup> International General Meeting of the Pacific Basin Economic Council, Kuala Lumpur, 23 May 1994.

Third, ASEAN opposed hasty institutionalization of the idea. Leaders in Malaysia and Thailand were especially adamant. According to Nesadurai, an analyst in the Malaysian ISIS, they feared that an institutionalized APEC would “allow the US to ‘capture’ APEC and use it as a vehicle to impose Washington’s economic agenda on regional states.”<sup>369</sup> Thai Commerce Minister Subin Pinkayan warned in his capacity as the Chair of ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting, “We should also avoid a situation whereby this forum could be turned into another channel for bilateral trade pressures.”<sup>370</sup> Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas agreed, claiming that the institutionalization should go gradually and, if possible, use the existing ASEAN mechanism.<sup>371</sup> Bringing up Malaysia’s reservation on the participation of APEC, ASEAN pressured APEC entrepreneurs to reassure them that APEC would remain an informal consultative group dedicated to helping advancing nations upgrade their performances.<sup>372</sup> ASEAN members emphasized that consultation and suasion should count more than legal contracts or binding decisions.<sup>373</sup>

### *Idea-promoters accommodated ASEAN’s position*

The government elites of Australia, Japan and the United States, the most active promoters of the APEC concept, were attentive to ASEAN’s concerns about losing control of its economies. Thus, the promoters agreed that the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism would be developed on the condition that these specific principles of participation called on by ASEAN members were met. They did not want to scare ASEAN away from the start and add another failure in their persistent effort to launch the idea of Asia-Pacific economic region from a decade before.<sup>374</sup> Consequently, the Chairman’s report of APEC’s first meeting identified APEC as “a non-formal forum for

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<sup>369</sup> Nesadurai (lead scholar in Malaysian ISIS) 1996, 32

<sup>370</sup> Subin Pinkayan, Thai Commerce Minister, quoted in “ASEAN’s identity and cohesion should be preserved,” Jakarta Post, 7 November 1989

<sup>371</sup> Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, statement at the initial exploratory meeting on Asia-Pacific cooperation, Canberra, 6-7 November 1989

<sup>372</sup> Mahathir 1994, 96

<sup>373</sup> Mahathir, speech titled “Creating an APEC community” at the Manila Dialogue, Manila, 23 November 1996

<sup>374</sup> Funabashi 1995, 66; Ravenhill 2001, 84

consultation among high-level representatives of significant economies in the Asia-Pacific region” and acknowledged ASEAN’s concern that APEC “should complement and draw upon, rather than detract from, existing organizations in the region.”<sup>375</sup> The promoters refined and implemented the idea in a way that the receivers’ autonomy-deficit concerns would not rise due to the adoption of the idea.

***ASEAN elites started to regularly participate in APEC***

The idea-promoters’ willingness to accommodate ASEAN elites’ concerns could mitigate their anxieties over the loss of autonomy. Malaysian leaders, the most resistant to the idea of Asia-Pacific community, also had little reason to oppose the participation in APEC if it was designed as such. In spite of their original skepticism of APEC, Malaysian leaders, like other ASEAN members, also faced the potential dispersal of bigger economies’ investments as a result of the rise of other developing nations. That is one of the reasons they promoted an alternative concept for a wider regional cooperation under ‘East-Asia centered’ framework. However, as will be discussed below, the major economies, including Japan, had not been receptive to Malaysia’s East Asian framework at that time as the framework was thought to cause distractions among countries when APEC had an ambitious launch. Besides, other ASEAN counterparts also remained reserved about Malaysia’s proposal and preferred to focus more on the building of the APEC mechanism. In this context, joining the Asia-Pacific regionalism could at least serve to relieve the attraction-deficit concerns that Malaysian elites also shared.





**Figure 6-2: Summary of ASEAN’s adoption of Asia-Pacific economic regionalism**

- **The US and major European powers’ leniency to Southeast Asia decreased and ASEAN elites were worried**




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<sup>375</sup> APEC Chair Summary Statement, 6-7 November 1989, cited in Ba 2009, 144

- **ASEAN elites started to discuss the adoption of Asia-Pacific regionalism again**  

- **ASEAN elites were concerned about autonomy-deficits that might rise with their participation in Asia-Pacific economic regionalism**  

- **ASEAN sought for conditions for Asia-Pacific regionalism to abate the leaders' concerns over dual-deficits**  

- **Idea-promoters accommodated ASEAN's position**  

- **ASEAN elites started to regularly participate in APEC**

To summarize, the theory of dual-deficit dilemmas explains why ASEAN adopted the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism. The elites adopted it, after years of reservations, at a time when they expected existing sponsor countries to grow less lenient and expected the acceptance of this idea to buffer interference from idea-promoters. When the United States and other major European countries were increasingly focused on building their own regional blocs as well as becoming more aggressive on demanding specific reciprocity, ASEAN elites' concerns over attraction-deficits rose. Around that time, the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism returned with Australia's proposal and many ASEAN elites warmed to this idea as the ideational engagement could secure the attention of idea-promoting countries as their (potential) sponsors. However, many of them were also concerned that such an engagement might allow the promoters' increasing influence on them. But if they had not participated in the APEC, they might have ended up being more neglected, which would have further heightened ASEAN elites' concerns about attraction-deficits. To cope with the dilemma, ASEAN elites accommodated both concerns at the ASEAN level by adopting Asia Pacific-centered regionalism, but in a way to secure their voices on the implementation of the idea.

## ASEAN's Waning Interest in Asia-Pacific Regionalism

If the theory of dual-deficit dilemma is valid, one can expect that the degree of idea acceptance will decline when ASEAN's expectations about abating dual-deficits are not met even after it adopts the idea. This section discusses the relations between shifts in the idea's expected value and subsequent changes in the ASEAN elites' response to them. Specifically, it argues that APEC's failure to meet the expectations of ASEAN leaders to cope with the dual-deficit dilemma has led the leaders to decrease their commitment to the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism and turn their attentions to alternative ones.

### *APEC evolved against ASEAN elites' expectations about their autonomous participation*

Though APEC began with the rules and designs aimed to prevent ASEAN elites' autonomy concerns from rising, they soon became a topic of contention as APEC members were gradually divided over whether these rules were worth maintaining for the making of the Asia-Pacific economic community.

First, in spite of ASEAN leaders' preference for slow, gradual institutionalization in which every member economy was comfortable, APEC evolved at a faster pace since the 1993 Seattle Summit to a more formal, institutionalized forum. The initiatives for such a change mostly came from the Anglo-Pacific states. The US Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger suggested that the year 1993, when the United States chaired APEC, should be time for transition to "move beyond the phase of institutionalizing APEC to making it operational," suggesting that APEC include formal agreements and treaties on trade, investment, customs, dispute settlement, and administrative measures.<sup>376</sup> Similar proposals were made at the same time calling for APEC to turn into 'a GATT for Asia Pacific.'<sup>377</sup> According to some American officials, the increasing levels of interactions required more formal guidelines of behaviors and

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<sup>376</sup> Lawrence Eagleburger, US Acting Secretary of State, quoted in Soesastro 1995, 485

<sup>377</sup> Soesastro 1995, 485

systematic coordination. As a result, numerous committees and projects were developed to support various official meetings. In addition, the permanent Secretariat was established to provide administrative support for their work. As Fred Bergsten, American scholar and chair of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to APEC ministers, noted in his presentation of an EPG report, “Leaders in Seattle began the process of converting APEC from a purely consultative body into a substantive international institution.”<sup>378</sup>

Another issue on which APEC member economies had diverging views was about the procedural principles for implementing the plans for liberalization. Again, it was mostly a division between Anglo-Pacific members and East Asians. For example, Fred Bergsten started to argue that non-discriminatory free trade was not desirable because it did not give APEC much leverage in global negotiations. He argued that APEC should apply pressure to secure reciprocal tariff concessions from non-APEC trade partners, calling for specific reciprocity terms and modalities among APEC economies.<sup>379</sup>

Third, some of the APEC members became increasingly critical of the domestic affairs of Southeast Asian countries since the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. They attributed the crisis to the lack of democratic transparency in the crisis-afflicted countries. Many of the leaders, including US President Bill Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers and Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific Paul Wolfowitz, called in public for the structural reforms of domestic institutions and democratic elections as pre-conditions for favorable foreign investment as well as international rescue efforts.<sup>380</sup> Also, most Western member economies were exposed to their citizens’ public protests who wanted to put the issues of human rights and the environment on the table. At the 1997 Vancouver meeting, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Minister of Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy pushed APEC to put these issues in its agenda list.<sup>381</sup> The Canadian government also sponsored an APEC People’s Summit consisting of civil society actors, in

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<sup>378</sup> Fred Bergsten, Chair of Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to APEC ministers, quoted in Soesastro 1995, 483

<sup>379</sup> Dent 2009, 29

<sup>380</sup> Kivimaki 2000, 538

<sup>381</sup> “Rights issue get greater attention at APEC meeting,” Jakarta Post, 24 November 1997; “APEC: Where’s plan B?,” Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 December 1997

which the Indonesian government's poor human rights record became a major target of criticism.<sup>382</sup> At the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Summit, the US Vice President Al Gore publicly endorsed the Malaysian Reformasi movement, which was led by Mahathir's political rival Anwar Ibrahim,<sup>383</sup> and left the Summit immediately after making a speech as an act of protest against the political reprisal against Anwar.<sup>384</sup> Other representatives from Western members also used APEC as a venue in which they could express their concerns about this political scandal. The US Secretary of State and Canadian Foreign and Trade Ministers met Anwar's wife. The Australian and New Zealand Prime Ministers expressed concerns over Anwar when meeting with Mahathir.<sup>385</sup> At the 1999 Auckland Summit, the representatives of New Zealand also had to face their citizens' protests against the Indonesian military's violation of human rights in East Timor.

***ASEAN elites were increasingly concerned about losing autonomy in APEC framework***

Many ASEAN leaders were concerned about these changes. First, they worried about APEC's institutionalization at this fast pace. They endorsed certain institutionalized procedures required to resolve a deadlock, but reluctantly. For example, Malaysian Minister of Trade and Industry Rafidah Aziz expressed her concerns in an interview saying, "APEC is slowly turning out to be what it wasn't supposed to be, meaning that APEC was constituted as a loose consultative forum."<sup>386</sup> Some ASEAN leaders perceived these changes as an indication that APEC was

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<sup>382</sup> "Rights issue get greater attention at APEC meeting, Jakarta Post, 24 November 1997

<sup>383</sup> During the financial crisis, Anwar, then Finance Minister, and his faction saw Mahathir and his aids as trying to bail out their loyalists and attacked Mahathir's plan as the corrupt practice of cronyism and nepotism. Thereafter, Anwar was dismissed from his government position and brought to a trial for sodomy. This event became an impetus for nation-wide demonstrations for the release of Anwar as well as Malaysian Reformasi.

<sup>384</sup> Al Gore's speech received furious responses from Mahathir government. Trade Minister Rafidah Aziz called it "the most disgusting speech I have [she has] ever heard in my life," and Foreign Minister Abdullah Badawi accused Gore of going beyond interference to incitement (quoted in Jakarta Post, 20 November 1998). This episode, however, turned to help Mahathir strengthen his anti-Western (more specifically anti-US) rhetoric and diplomatic strategies.

<sup>385</sup> "Mahathir under fire at APEC," Jakarta Post, 20 November 1998

<sup>386</sup> Rafidah Aziz, Malaysian Minister of Trade and Industry, quoted in Straits Times, 24 March 1994

“evolving in line with US preferences” to turn it into a trade negotiating body.<sup>387</sup> Washington’s effort to institutionalize the processes was at odds with the ‘agreement by consensus’ rule that had originally reassured ASEAN that bigger neighbors’ voices would not prevail. Of course, ASEAN elites were aware that the consensus rule would make it difficult for them to make ambitious progress and thus agreed that there should be some qualifications for its application. However, they did not want to abandon it as a general principle for APEC decision-making processes. They kept on re-iterating the principle: Indonesian President Suharto proposed ‘broad consensus,’ Thai Deputy Prime Minister Supachai ‘pragmatic consensus,’ and Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong ‘flexible consensus.’<sup>388</sup> A premise that APEC decisions should be based on consensus still prevailed among ASEAN elites.

Besides, an increasing emphasis on a reciprocal and binding approach was, from many ASEAN leaders’ points of view, against the principle of a voluntary approach which had been agreed on at the launch of APEC. In the words of a senior official from the Japanese Ministry of Economic, Trade and Industry, an agreement was originally made among APEC members that the APEC process should be based on “voluntary, yet concerted liberalization on a peer pressure basis.”<sup>389</sup> The agreement differed from an approach at the global level (i.e., GATT) which viewed “liberalization efforts [as] concessions to be granted to trading partners only in exchange for reciprocal actions.”<sup>390</sup> However, from 1994 onwards, the APEC’s Eminent Persons Group (EPG) increasingly advocated specific commercial liberalization and ASEAN leaders were increasingly concerned that the epistemic community (i.e., EPG)’s policy recommendations would become APEC’s core agenda. With ASEAN and other East Asian economies’ strong support, APEC members agreed at the 1995 Osaka Summit to leave it up to each economy to determine the content of the Individual Action Plans (IAP) on trade and investment liberalization and that the Action Plans of each economy would be undertaken in a non-binding basis. But in the wake of IAP’s limited progress, the United States proposed an alternative initiative called Early Voluntary Sectoral Liberalization (EVSL) at the 1997 Vancouver Summit, which targeted

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<sup>387</sup> Nesadurai 1996, 46

<sup>388</sup> Straits Times, 17 November 1994

<sup>389</sup> A senior official in Japanese Ministry of Economic, Trade and Industry, quoted in Funabashi 1995, 96

<sup>390</sup> Parrenas 1998, 240



fifteen specific industry sectors for fast track liberalization to catalyze a whole liberalization process.<sup>391</sup>

Opinions were divided again. As some scholars noted, Anglo-Pacific economies viewed the scheme as ‘voluntary’ since APEC members had voluntarily nominated sectors and supported the initiative as a whole package. But, for several Southeast Asian counterparts such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand, the scheme was supposed to be ‘voluntary’ in the sense that each economy could determine which sectors to prioritize over others according to the different scope and stage of each member’s economic development. They found that an attempt to harden the EVSL into a whole package was a challenge to the principle of ‘concerted unilateral approach,’ with which APEC started.<sup>392</sup> As Wesley put it, APEC’s concerted unilateral approach was based on the idea that liberalization is not a zero-sum game but brings optimal gains for the whole region as well as for each participant economy.<sup>393</sup> It promotes unilateral liberalization to extend the benefits to non-APEC economies as well as APEC economies through the most-favored-nation status. Therefore, from the perspective of some ASEAN leaders, there should be no specific concession-trading or binding agreements in such a situation because the effect of liberalization would eventually provide all the participants with increasing absolute gains.<sup>394</sup> However, the EVSL scheme was based on the recognition that GATT-type concession trading and issue linkage was necessary for a balance between sectors. Furthermore, the voting process involved choosing 15 out of 41 sectors for the package which concerned ASEAN leaders in favor of consensus-based decisions.<sup>395</sup> According to the leaders, wide economic disparity across members required the Asia-Pacific grouping to give them more ‘flexibility,’ not less as suggested by those who argued that legal rules and binding contracts are the only effective means.<sup>396</sup> Malaysian Trade Minister Rafidah Aziz was adamant, “You can’t do anything binding in APEC,

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<sup>391</sup> Dent 2009, 29-30

<sup>392</sup> Dent 2009, 31

<sup>393</sup> Wesley 2001, 200

<sup>394</sup> Wesley 2001, 200; Jayasuriya 2001, 39

<sup>395</sup> Wesley 2001, 200-201

<sup>396</sup> “Ministers’ opinions mixed on APEC ground rules,” Jakarta Post, 23 November 1996

period.”<sup>397</sup> As a result of objections and reservations from these ASEAN countries, APEC had to give up discussing the EVSL initiative within the region and sent the issue to the WTO for further negotiations.

In sum, unlike what ASEAN leaders expected in the beginning, the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism had evolved into a framework that raised concerns over external interference. The United States and other Western partners sought changes to the mechanisms that had been designed to help reduce ASEAN’s concerns over autonomy-deficits, by putting increasing emphasis on reciprocal and binding approach to fasten the liberalization.

***APEC did not bring ASEAN states as much sponsorship as expected***

Not only did APEC fail to tame ASEAN leaders’ autonomy concerns, but it also made ASEAN leaders grow skeptical of the possibility that their engagement in the Asia-Pacific mechanism could help them draw as much sponsorship as they wanted from these APEC-promoting countries.

Firstly, as years went by, developing nations in ASEAN had to lower their expectations for development assistance and cooperation projects within the APEC mechanism. The United States wanted to strengthen APEC as a regional arrangement for trade and investment liberalization while developing economies, including most ASEAN economies, wanted to balance the agenda for liberalization with those for development assistance. However, the United States was reluctant to accept it. According to the US Ambassador to APEC Sandra Kristoff, “the APEC forum should not function in a ‘North-South manner’ as a body to disburse official development assistance (ODA) and other funds.”<sup>398</sup> Japan was the only advanced economy which actively initiated projects for economic cooperation with developing partners. ASEAN member economies welcomed Japan’s ‘Partnership for Progress’ (PFP) proposal. But some US officials thought of it as diversionary, worrying that PFP might be a reflection of Japan’ attempt

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<sup>397</sup> Rafidah Aziz, Malaysian Trade Minister, quoted in Jakarta Post, 23 November 1996

<sup>398</sup> Sandra Kristoff, US Ambassador to APEC, quoted in Kyodo News Service, 24 February 1995

to buy up APEC through its ODA.<sup>399</sup> The division of preferences continued, even after Anglo-Pacific group and ASEAN member economies made compromise to place liberalization and development as equally important pillars for APEC's progress. Persistent differences in priority remained as hot issues for debates. For example, several Southeast Asian member economies kept expressing their support for APEC's eco-tech programs for its emphasis on development cooperation and capacity building. They argued for greater integration between the eco-tech programs and commercial liberalization so that weaker member economies could obtain better institutional infrastructure and regulatory capacities to meet the challenges posed by liberalization. However, Washington disagreed, wanting to keep the two programs separate and prioritize the latter over the former. The eco-tech program ended up being under-funded, the annual budget of which did not exceed US\$2 million up to the year 2000.<sup>400</sup>

In addition, and more importantly, there was lack of active assistance from the major advanced economies within APEC to the economic hardship of their APEC partners after the 1997 East Asian financial crisis. According to Funston, the United States had promised at the APEC meetings in 1997 to organize a meeting of financial ministers and central bankers to discuss the crisis issue, but there had been no signs of urgency.<sup>401</sup> The US inaction was similar when the crisis spread to Indonesia. Only later when the problems spread to South Korea, Washington started to show some urgency in addressing the issue.<sup>402</sup> According to an Indonesian official, "APEC was not there. It responded [only] slowly."<sup>403</sup>

The major economies such as the United States, New Zealand and Australia, from which ASEAN leaders had expected more reliable sponsorship, did little more than call for a strict compliance of the crisis-hit Southeast Asian countries with the IMF's prescription.<sup>404</sup> In the case

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<sup>399</sup> Funabashi 1995, 99

<sup>400</sup> Dent 2009, 34

<sup>401</sup> Funston 1998, 31

<sup>402</sup> Kim Kihwan, presentation titled "Economic integration in the Asia-Pacific: Current problems and how they should be resolved" at the 29<sup>th</sup> Pacific Economic Community Seminar, Taipei, 28 November 2005.

<sup>403</sup> Kobsak Chutikul, an Indonesian government official, quoted in *Business World*, 1 October 1999: 6, cited in Ba 2009, 210

<sup>404</sup> "APEC: Where's plan B?," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 December 1997

of Australia, the Howard government announced in September its so-called ‘Howard Doctrine,’ which called for Australia’s disengagement in East Asia and its role of “regional deputy” to the global interests of the United States by demonstrating its separateness from Asia.<sup>405</sup> Developing integrated responses to the financial crisis through APEC, obviously, was not on his government’s ‘To-do’ list. Though the Doctrine faced backlash even inside of Australia within a few weeks, it sent a disappointing signal to ASEAN counterparts that Australia would always be on the side of the United States.<sup>406</sup> Also, according to *Far Eastern Economic Review*, some of the leaders from advanced member economies shared a view that APEC’s duplication of the roles that the IMF or World Bank had taken could at best be wasteful and at worst lead to competitive forum shopping.<sup>407</sup> Rather, these leaders from the North wanted to revive at least something out of the EVSL debacle and push more for commercial liberalization in the subsequent APEC meetings while major East Asian developing nations needed more urgent relief assistance to recover from financial crisis.

In addition, the United States appeared to block additional sources of contributions to the region’s recovery. When the crisis started to affect wider regions in East Asia, Japanese Finance Minister Hiroshi Mitsuzuka proposed the establishment of an Asian Monetary Fund (AMF) for bailing out crisis-stricken countries of the region. The AMF proposed that, in order to counter future economic instability, approximately US\$ 100 billion be prepared and administered in a new regional institutional structure. It was a particularly welcomed proposal for crisis-affected ASEAN countries as the scheme imposed no conditions attached to the IMF package. However, the United States, Europe and IMF raised strong objections to this proposal. Washington squashed this bid at the APEC Finance Minister’s meeting and the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Summit endorsed only the IMF’s plan for the crisis.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> “Howard doctrine has tarnished us in Asia’s eyes,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 2000

<sup>406</sup> “Reappraising APEC’s relevance to East Asia,” *New Straits Times*, 7 September 2007

<sup>407</sup> “APEC and Asia’s crisis,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 May 1998

<sup>408</sup> Berger 1999, 1023

*ASEAN elites were concerned that APEC would not meet the expectations about its utility to address their attraction-deficit concerns*

APEC's evolution as such led ASEAN leaders to see that the expected sponsorship from these APEC promoters would not be achievable through this institutional bonding.<sup>409</sup> In particular, a sense of disappointment increased among ASEAN elites due to a lack of extended assistance from the United States, a major economic sponsor for most original ASEAN member states. According to Ann Marie Murphy, there was a rising sense of betrayal among the ASEAN elites when the Clinton administration declined to make additional contributions to the IMF bailout.<sup>410</sup> ASEAN elites also resented Washington's decision not to aid Thailand or any other ASEAN countries in comparison with its active support of Mexico when it had gone through a similar crisis four years before.<sup>411</sup>

As a Vietnamese diplomat put it, many ASEAN elites perceived that ASEAN became diluted in the APEC process.<sup>412</sup> Suharto complained about the attitudes of major advanced countries in coping with the financial upheavals. He called for more contributions from these advanced APEC members in ensuring currency stability.<sup>413</sup> Mahathir also complained that "APEC has come to dominate the East Asian economy, but was either unwilling or powerless to help the East Asian countries during the economic and financial turmoil."<sup>414</sup> A prominent Malaysian journalist similarly wrote that, "the grouping [APEC] is impotent and unable to rise to the occasion. It is not designed, nor will its most powerful member allow it to come to the "aid" of developing countries... Some of its members are focused more on "pricing open" markets in the name of "trade liberalization" and "globalization" than to pay attention to the needs of the

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<sup>409</sup> For commentaries about APEC's lack of response to Asian crisis, "APEC: Where's plan B?" Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 December 1997; "APEC and Asia's crisis," Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 May 1998; Beeson 1999

<sup>410</sup> Murphy 2008, 268. She also quotes Thai journalist Kavi Chongkittavorn: "[Thai Prime Minister and his government] would have assumed that the US is interested to see Thailand survive the financial turbulence intact given its credentials as a developing country that has a democratic political system. They would have thought that US assistance would be automatic without making request."

<sup>411</sup> "ASEAN hands Myanmar off to UN," Jakarta Post, 28 July 2006

<sup>412</sup> A Vietnamese diplomat, confidential interview with author, Kuala Lumpur, 30 May 2012

<sup>413</sup> "IMF slow in aiding ASEAN to deal with currency crisis," Jakarta Post, 17 September 1997

<sup>414</sup> Mahathir, quoted in Chin 2003, 407

poorer members.”<sup>415</sup> Several scholars also expressed concerns. For example, American EPG member Fred Bergsten noted, “most East Asians feel that they were both let down and put upon by the West” during the crisis.<sup>416</sup> Japanese expert Tsutomu Kikuchi also pointed out a sense of shared humiliation in post-crisis East Asia, which triggered Asian leaders’ desire to be more autonomous from “the IFIs [International Financial Institutions] based in Washington, the authorities of the United States, and the private (predominantly Anglo-Saxon) markets that took their cues from both.”<sup>417</sup>

### **ASEAN elites started to turn their attentions away from Asia-Pacific economic regionalism**

APEC’s (perceived) failure to check the advanced nations’ unilateral approach to trade frictions and financial crisis throughout 1990s led ASEAN elites to wonder if the idea of one Asia-Pacific economic region would still need to be cultivated. Southeast Asian member economies gradually turned their attentions from Asia Pacific-driven liberalization to other schemes and ideas. First, ASEAN leaders brought the idea of ‘East Asian’ grouping on the table again. Secondly, bilateral and trilateral preferential trade deals started to bloom, which conflicted with the idea of region-wide unilateral liberalization which APEC supported. The next sections detail these developments.

### Re-rise of East Asia-centered regionalism

First, the idea of East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) re-emerged in the late 1990s with the prevailing perceptions that APEC had failed to ameliorate the ASEAN leaders’ concerns. The Asia-Pacific grouping’s indifference to the East Asian financial crisis was a wakeup call for many ASEAN elites to realize that the expected sponsorship from Asia-Pacific grouping was and would be hard to achieve. Moreover, the United States and other Anglo-Pacific economies’ push

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<sup>415</sup> “Crisis shows region must take care of itself,” New Straits Times, 13 September 1999

<sup>416</sup> Cited in Capie 2004, 155

<sup>417</sup> Tsutomu Kikuchi, Japanese commentator, quoted in Capie 2004, 155

for a more institutionalized, negotiation-based grouping raised Southeast Asian state leaders' concerns over the asymmetrical decision-making structure where their voices might be heard less. A common perception among ASEAN elites was that the existing multilateral frameworks including APEC served the interests of the West in general and the United States in particular.<sup>418</sup> Under the circumstances, ASEAN elites started to turn their eyes to alternative ways to draw more reliable sponsorship from major economic powers as well as avoid marginalization. The idea of East Asian regionalism, which had been suppressed and put aside due to the establishment of APEC in the early 1990s, re-emerged around this time and received new attention.

Malaysia strongly advocated this idea. Malaysian leaders believed that if Japan had led a certain type of East Asian arrangement, it would have not delayed in assisting the crisis-hit countries in Asia and the crisis-afflicted countries would have not resorted solely to the prescriptions of IMF and other US-led institutions.<sup>419</sup> A Malaysian journalist Hardev Kaur noted, "the combined resources available in the East Asian economies – some of the world's highest foreign reserves are in Japan, China, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea – would be better able to face up to external challenges."<sup>420</sup> The Malaysian government's position, reflected well in the words of Abdul Jabar, a spokesperson at the Malaysian Embassy in Washington D.C., was still valid: "Malaysia is a small country, and our voice may not be heard. ASEAN is not big enough to carry clout. But if China, Korea and Japan are with us, perhaps people would pay attention."<sup>421</sup> The elites of other ASEAN states, especially Thailand, were also supportive. For example, Thai Special Advisor to the Minister of Commerce, Sura Sanittanont, advocated a revival of the idea of having East Asian processes. He pointed out that while the developed world continued to preach to crisis-hit countries on the need for domestic reform, they did not

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<sup>418</sup> For discussions about rising skepticism among ASEAN leaders of APEC and other multilateral institutions, see Ruland 2002; Bangkok Post, 23 November 2004; Munataka 2006; Hernandez 2007; "Reappraising APEC's relevance to East Asia," New Straits Times, 7 September 2007; Hu 2008; "East Asia, APEC and Obama in Singapore," New Straits Times, 12 November 2009

<sup>419</sup> For example, see Mahathir's view, cited in "Crisis shows region must take care of itself," New Straits Times, 13 September 1999; Leong 2000, 90

<sup>420</sup> Business Times, 22 August 1998

<sup>421</sup> Abdul Jabar, spokesman for Malaysian Embassy at Washington D.C., LA Times, 4 March 1991, cited in Ba 2009, 145

see the urgency of the need to reform global financial institutions. “Asian countries cannot wait,” he argued, “to be prepared for the next crisis to hit the region and they would need their own regional arrangements for that.”<sup>422</sup> Furthermore, with Japan, which had previously been a skeptic of the EAEG/EAEC concept, now in favor of the idea of East-Asia centric regional arrangements, ASEAN elites were able to push further this time for implementing it in concrete forms.

In December 1997, ASEAN endorsed the first ASEAN Plus Three (APT) arrangement for economic cooperation among 10 ASEAN states and China, Japan and South Korea. To provide a financial base for the APT projects, Japan proposed within the APT arrangement the New Miyazawa Initiative (NMI) in October 1998, a scaled down version of the AMF proposal which had been killed by IMF and Washington.<sup>423</sup> At the same meeting, leaders also agreed to establish a regional recovery plan that would connect ASEAN countries with these three Northern neighbors through the ASEAN-based Hanoi Plan of Action within a wider East Asian community scheme.<sup>424</sup> In May 2000, APT Finance Ministers decided to establish the first regional financial swap arrangement under the so-called Chiang Mai Initiative, which would include an expanded ASEAN Swap Arrangement and a network of Bilateral Swap Arrangements among APT countries, in order to provide countries suffering from short-term balance of payment deficits with liquidity support.<sup>425</sup> In addition, the Asian Bond Markets Initiative (ABMI) became the second main structure of APT-led regionalism. It was designed to create a regional pool of local currency bonds issued by governments and companies in order to reduce over-reliance on US-dollar dominated assets as well as equity markets for investment funds and to make East Asia more self-sustainable in the long run.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Sura Sanittanon, Thai Special Advisor to Minister of Commerce, quoted in *New Straits Times*, 13 September 1999

<sup>423</sup> The NMI included a US\$3 billion Asian Currency Crisis Support Facility. In addition, Japan proposed additional US\$5 billion Special Yen Loan Facility at the 1998 APT Summit that would offer long-term loans for development projects in crisis-affected countries.

<sup>424</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *Asian Economic Crisis and Japan’s Contribution*, October 2000. Available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/asia/crisis0010.html>. Accessed 25 July 2012; also see Dent 2009, 9

<sup>425</sup> For details of Chiang Mai Initiative, see Sohn 2005, 497-498

<sup>426</sup> Dent 2009, 12-13



The APT framework grew at a fast pace since the 3<sup>rd</sup> APT Summit in 1999 when the leaders issued a joint statement on building what Philippine President Joseph Estrada called “a family from the happy union of the north and the south” and addressed eight fields of functional cooperation under the name of ‘East Asian Cooperation.’<sup>427</sup> According to Fred Bergsten’s words, “America pushed [...] successfully for relying on the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum [in the early 1990s]. With little fanfare, however, Asia has now created the ‘ASEAN+3’ with precisely the same membership (ASEAN, China, Japan and South Korea) envisaged by Dr. Mahathir.”<sup>428</sup> Though it started as a cautious consultative arrangement, APT also became a significant cornerstone of the subsequent East Asian processes. In Mahathir’s words, APT was evolving into a necessary balance to the European Union and NAFTA.<sup>429</sup> Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi also described the APT as “the best vehicle for Asian community building” and noted that “only the ASEAN Plus Three process seeks to build an Asian community, or to be more exact an East Asian community.”<sup>430</sup>

The APT framework also created another East Asia-centered arrangement. At the 1998 APT meeting, the leaders agreed to set up an East Asia Vision Group (EAVG), with South Korean President Kim Dae Jung’s proposal, to study effective cooperation in the region. At the 2000 APT meeting, with the EAVG’s proposal, the East Asia Study Group (EASG) was also set up to study the desirability of the creation of another East Asian processes. Subsequently, the creation of an East Asian Summit (EAS) was proposed as a separate regional framework. During the 2004 APT Summit, the member countries agreed to hold the East Asian Summit (EAS) in 2005 as a strategic forum in which leaders can discuss any emerging challenges and adjust to the changes in the international environment. In spite of objections from China and Malaysia, India, Australia and New Zealand were invited as new members in an inaugural Summit. From the eyes of active inviters such as Indonesia and Singapore, the inclusion of these new members would

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<sup>427</sup> Joseph Estrada, former Philippine President, quoted in “ASEAN aims for an East Asian community,” *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 1999

<sup>428</sup> Fred Bergsten, Chair of Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to APEC ministers, quoted in “East Asia may lead the way,” *New Straits Times*, 18 July 2000

<sup>429</sup> Mahathir, cited in Hund 2003, 387

<sup>430</sup> Abdullah Badawi, Malaysian Prime Minister, quoted in “ASEAN plus 3 best avenue for Asian community building,” *New Straits Times*, 25 May 2007

not only help differentiate EAS from APT, but, as one Indonesian expert noted, the new members would also be able to take a balancing role, preventing the Summit from being China-centric in case ASEAN would not participate in EAS as a bloc.<sup>431</sup>

For many ASEAN foreign policy elites, developing East Asia-centered mechanisms through APT or EAS schemes would have been a proper transition from the Asia-Pacific framework as the latter was failing to manage ASEAN leaders' dual-concerns. The East Asia-centered regionalism could cope with their concerns over an attraction-deficit by securing stable interactions with dominant potential sponsors. But ASEAN leaders were also able to secure room for their voice on the development of the idea by sitting in "a control tower" and steering the direction of regional cooperation, as a Vietnamese diplomat put it.<sup>432</sup> ASEAN was placed in a central position to operate the APT framework; governments also agreed that ASEAN members would take the steering role within EAS, with the ASEAN Secretariat tasked with formulating the agenda of cooperation.<sup>433</sup> Moreover, they decided that membership would be given to the applicant countries which are full dialogue partners with ASEAN and agreed to accede to one of the ASEAN's cardinal norms, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC).<sup>434</sup> According to Michael Vatikiotis, a long-time journalist and observer of the development of ASEAN, what was notable in the EAS process was that "Southeast Asia, itself imperfectly incorporated under the ASEAN umbrella, successfully projected its political centrality in a wider region fast becoming a function of the economic weight of China and India."<sup>435</sup> In other words, with the development of East Asian regionalism, ASEAN countries were able to increase their leverage and avoid being marginalized.<sup>436</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> "East Asia Summit: Exclusive or inclusive?," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 5 April 2005; A senior Indonesian scholar, confidential interview with author, Kuala Lumpur, 30 May 2012

<sup>432</sup> A senior diplomat from one of ASEAN countries, confidential interview with the author, Kuala Lumpur, 30 May 2012.

<sup>433</sup> "EAS offers bullish view of Asian regionalism," *New Straits Times*, 19 December 2005

<sup>434</sup> "The role of EAS in an East Asian community," *Jakarta Post*, 23 June 2005

<sup>435</sup> Michael Vatikiotis, quoted in "EAS offers bullish view of Asian regionalism," *New Straits Times*, 19 December 2005

<sup>436</sup> "ASEAN aims for an East Asian community," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 1999

### Increasing preferential trade agreements

Another feature which indicated ASEAN's shift of attention from APEC was that preferential trade agreements have bloomed in the region since the late 1990s, which conflicted with APEC's idea of region-wide multilateral liberalization. According to Dent, until 1997 the Asia-Pacific region accounted for 10% of all free trade agreements throughout the world. However, the number of agreements in the region increased at a faster rate than any other parts of the world. By the end of 2010, 44 FTAs were in effect, 6 were being signed, 48 were being negotiated, and 30 were being proposed.<sup>437</sup>

Such bilateral or trilateral preferential arrangements were not only at odds with inclusive Asia-Pacific liberalization but also diverted ASEAN elites' attentions away from APEC processes. The APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC), a private sector lobby group for the APEC, warned, "proliferation [of preferential trade agreements] can have perverse effects of creating distortions and increasing the cost of doing business."<sup>438</sup> APEC officials and advisory organs such as the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) tried to fix the inefficiencies and lessen the added costs of such a noodle bowl effect, providing a guideline for 'best FTA practices.' Also, with pro-liberalization governments' support, the ABAC advocated for a Free Trade Agreement of the Asia Pacific (FTAAP) from the early 2000s in order to revive some of APEC's original program for converging standards and rules of liberalization as well as to harmonize numerous sub-regional FTAs. But the actual practices and the guideline did not converge; several ASEAN economies continued to be reluctant in advocating for the development of a pan Asia-Pacific FTA.<sup>439</sup> Instead, ASEAN elites tried to move forward on economic integration at the ASEAN level first and strengthen economic cooperation with their dialogue partners bilaterally or trilaterally. Also, some of them started to review the East Asian FTA (EAFTA) or Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia (CEPEA) model developed as an alternative East Asian framework for the liberalization of the region. These new

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<sup>437</sup> Kawai and Wignaraja 2011, 7

<sup>438</sup> "As APEC gathers, doubt over trade goals," International Herald Tribune, 15 November 2005

<sup>439</sup> Dent 2007, 452. The proposal was supported by Australia, Chile, Canada, New Zealand, Singapore, Taiwan and the United States while the opposition came mostly from China, Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan and the Philippines at the 2004 APEC Summit. For more details about disparity between APEC's guideline and actual FTA practices of the region, see Dent 2009, 32-33.

ideas were not always consistent with an ‘Asia-Pacific-wide’ FTA which many APEC elites from Anglo-Pacific economies advocated. For example, Fred Bergsten expressed a concern that the EAFTA could “create a new Asian bloc that, along with the European Union and North American Free Trade Agreement, would produce a tripolar world with all its inherent instabilities.”<sup>440</sup> But major ASEAN economies including Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand were supportive of these East Asian arrangements.

In sum, the idea of Asia-Pacific regionalism started to be compromised, particularly by the emergence of alternative arrangements for economic cooperation of the region. Of course, the re-emergence of East Asian frameworks and the proliferation of bilateral/trilateral PTAs in itself may not necessarily indicate that Asia-Pacific regionalism was dying down. Obviously, ASEAN economies still participated in the APEC. Strong APEC advocates, mostly officials and scholars in the advanced member economies, were still establishing new committees and programs as well as studying for more efficient administration and implementation of the rules within the APEC framework.<sup>441</sup> However, quite a few members of APEC were diverting their attention and energy away from an Asia-Pacific grouping. Particularly, the foreign policy elites in ASEAN members are putting more energy on these new mechanisms as they were designed to secure ASEAN’s centrality. In other words, ASEAN members tried to develop alternative platforms for pan-East Asian regionalism. It may not indicate, at least at this point, that Asia-Pacific grouping is being replaced by these other arrangements, but may indicate that the level of acceptance of the Asia-Pacific centric regionalism has weakened at least among ASEAN elites.

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<sup>440</sup> Fred Bergsten, American EPG representative to APEC, quoted in Dent 2007, 466

<sup>441</sup> Some argue that the United States also lost interest in APEC since the East Asian financial crisis and has been increasingly advocating for building alternative mechanisms that they can control. A proposal of Project 5 initiative was an indicator for this, which suggests an FTA among five like-minded countries (the US, Chile, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand). More currently, the Obama administration initiated Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement in 2011 as an alternative way in which Washington can regain its leadership in Asia and engage in the region on its own term. Less than half of the APEC member economies are committed to TPP negotiations at the current stage.

**Figure 6-3: Summary of ASEAN leaders' waning interests in APEC**

- APEC evolved against ASEAN elites' expectations about its autonomous participation
- ↓
- ASEAN elites were increasingly concerned about losing autonomy in the APEC framework
- ↓
- APEC did not bring ASEAN states as much sponsorship as expected
- ↓
- ASEAN elites were concerned that APEC would not meet their expectations about its need to address their attraction-deficit concerns
- ↓
- ASEAN elites started to turn their attentions away from Asia-Pacific economic regionalism

## Conclusion

This chapter showed that the expectations of the concept of dual-deficit dilemmas are valid in the case of Asia-Pacific economic regionalism. It supports my argument that ASEAN elites adopted APEC-centered regionalism when the governments of the United States and major European countries were turning their attention to other developing nations in their proximity. It is because the elites thought that adopting the idea could be useful in reducing the chances of being neglected. At the same time, as expected in my theory, ASEAN elites adopted the idea in a way that tamed their concerns about autonomy. However, some of the ASEAN leaders' remaining skepticism gradually strengthened as APEC evolved into something that would hamper the balanced management of these concerns. As the expectations about local autonomy as well as more sponsorship were not met through Asia-Pacific regionalism, they increasingly turned their attention toward a re-emerged proposal for East Asia-centered arrangements. It was because the

new arrangements were expected to bring deeper engagement of potential sponsor countries but also to secure ASEAN's central positions, which could help them avoid unwanted external interference. Overall, this chapter confirms Proposition 1, 2 and 3. It supports a proposition that the level of ASEAN's commitment to major Western powers' ideas would likely rise when its existing sponsors became less lenient and the idea-promoters assured ASEAN's local ownership of the new ideas. Also, it supports another expectation that ASEAN's commitment to the ideas would weaken unless sponsorship from the idea-promoters rises or if ASEAN's ownership of the idea is expected to be taken away or weakened.

My theory of dual-deficit dilemma complements but differs from several existing explanations about the development of economic regionalism in East Asia. First of all, a dominant group of explanations about the empowerment of Asia-Pacific regionalism highlights domestic politics.<sup>442</sup> For example, Solingen suggests a domestic coalition analysis, arguing that the rising political power of internationalist forces from the 1980s led to the establishment of APEC which would promote an open economy and export-led integration into the global economy. Although her claim captures a dominant factor that leads to a generic trend toward export-led liberalization of the regional economy, it is not sufficient to explain why leaders of certain countries such as Malaysia kept advocating East Asian processes without the United States, rather than APEC, since the beginning of 1990s when their internationalist constituencies were more dependent on the US market than other APEC supporters such as Indonesia. Also, it remains still debatable that such a clear-cut divide between nationalist and internationalist coalitions existed in Southeast Asia as Solingen described. For example, Jayasuriya has argued that most Southeast Asian economies accommodated both nationalist and internationalist coalitions under the so-called embedded mercantilist practices.<sup>443</sup> With such a blurred cleavage, it might be less likely that domestic struggles among distinct interest groups were decisive forces that explain the rising and waning of ideas in economic cooperation.

Second, quite a few works on East Asian economic regionalism pay attention to the contingent nature of ASEAN politics. For example, Higgott and Stubbs argue that the political

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<sup>442</sup> Crouch 1984; Solingen 1998, 1999, 2001 and 2008

<sup>443</sup> Jayasuriya 2001, 26-29

debates over ASEAN identity among states mattered in developing East Asian regionalism.<sup>444</sup> Calder and Ye employ a critical juncture framework, highlighting the importance of uncertainty and the role of leadership in reducing the uncertainty.<sup>445</sup> Also, Rapkin, and Rapkins and Webber respectively highlight the impact of weak US leadership on the emergence of East Asia-centered economic cooperation arrangements.<sup>446</sup> According to them, ASEAN elites perceived that IMF policies actually worsened the situation, which led to skepticism of the legitimacy and efficiency of US-led global financial arrangements. Thus, ASEAN leaders' increasing willingness to create alternative cooperation arrangements that would help buffer the region. My argument is compatible with these studies in highlighting the impact of the growing negative perceptions on the changing patterns of economic regionalism in East Asia. But my argument differs from theirs in that it attributes such perceptions to attraction-autonomy deficits that originated from a persistent nature of relationships between ASEAN states and the promoters of Asia Pacific-centered economic regionalism, rather than the contingent leadership itself.

Third, taking a realist instrumental premise, Kai He employs the concept of 'institutional balancing' to explain the changing patterns of economic regional cooperation institutions.<sup>447</sup> He argues that East Asia-centered regionalism with the exclusion of the United States was the outcome of balancing strategies of Southeast Asian leaders against the United States when they realized that they were under Washington's unipolar leadership in an economically interdependent world. However, his explanation does not answer why several ASEAN members supported the inclusion of the United States into the EAS framework that emerged soon after. In other words, if he is right in that the exclusion of the United States and major Western countries in the APT (and the early EAS) reflected ASEAN's strategy of institutional balancing, his theory does not explain why some of these ASEAN elites enthusiastically supported the inclusion of these Western countries within an East Asian framework during a similar time period. Also, the institutional balancing approach is based on a problematic assumption that all ASEAN members share a view on how they deal with these external powers. He might argue that ASEAN

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<sup>444</sup> Higgot and Stubbs 1995

<sup>445</sup> Calder and Ye 2004.

<sup>446</sup> Rapkin 2001; Webber 2001

<sup>447</sup> He 2008; For a study of institutional-balancing approach to ASEAN as a whole, see Ruland 2011

supported the inclusion of the United States in EAS in order to institutionally “balance” rising China. However, there was a division of views within ASEAN about EAS membership. For example, Indonesia and Singapore are the members that supported America’s inclusion while Malaysia did not like the inclusion of Western countries as well as the United States. The institutional-balancing approach does not explain such an internal difference. My argument might be compatible with his work in understanding the institutional changes as the outcome of ASEAN elites’ management of their international relations. However, my study can better capture why ASEAN wanted to design new institutions as such. That is, it claims that ASEAN wanted to make ideational/institutional changes to cope with both attraction and autonomy deficit concerns in a balanced way. APEC-centered regional framework did not function well as it did not provide as much sponsorship from idea-promoters as expected. Also, the idea-promoting sides’ increasing aspiration for more institutionalized, legalistic approach raised ASEAN members’ concerns about autonomous participation. My study also implies that ASEAN’s institutional balancing to the major Western countries would take a different shape from that of other actors that are positioned differently in relations to the major powers.

Furthermore, my argument may provide constructivist socialization literature with an implication that gradual socialization could be easily disrupted depending on the relationship between socializers and socializees. While several constructivist scholars such as Risse *et al.* tend to highlight that the instrumental adoption of norms would be an early stage that actors go through before long-term interactions for socialization,<sup>448</sup> this chapter implies that the years of institutionalized socialization did not necessarily lead to deeper integration of norms. Instead, as the case of APEC shows, the process could be disrupted by a persistent effect of structural concerns such as relational deficits which ASEAN elites had to cope with.

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<sup>448</sup> Risse et al. 1999



## Chapter 7 Conclusion

This study's general argument is that ASEAN's major ideational changes were not about ideas per se, but about the management of relations with idea-promoting countries. Specifically, it asserts that the pattern and timing of ASEAN's ideational changes reflected its attempts to manage the dilemma of structural anxieties, stemming from their relational positions vis-à-vis major industrialized Western states that promoted the ideas. Here, the concept of 'attraction-autonomy deficit dilemma' was employed to explain when and why the deficits derived from the relational structure affected the elites' decisions about ASEAN's normative change.

The evidence supports the propositions derived from the theory. The theory expects that ASEAN is likely to adopt new foreign ideas on the condition that ASEAN is expected to become neither pushed-over nor left-out. First, the findings support propositions 1, 1-1 and 1-2 (summarized in Chapter two) that the level of ASEAN's commitment to major Western powers' new ideas would likely rise when its major existing sponsors get less lenient and its local ownership of the new ideas is assured. ASEAN's commitment to human rights, Asia-Pacific centered regionalism and common security increased under these conditions because (1) ASEAN leaders' motivation to engage the countries that promoted these ideas got higher so that it could reduce their rising concerns over attraction-deficits and (2) the assurance of its ownership of the ideas prevented their concerns over attraction-deficit from offsetting the expected benefit of attracting the idea promoters. The findings also support propositions 2 and 3 (in Chapter two). Even after the adoption of new ideas promoted by major Western powers, ASEAN elites retreated from the previous commitment to APEC-centered economic regionalism because the idea failed to contribute to drawing as much sponsorship as expected and, as the APEC framework progressed, the elites feared that they would have ended up losing their discretion.

I do not attempt to argue that the relational concerns over dual-deficit dilemmas determine all ASEAN's decisions for ideational changes. However, I attempt to argue that ASEAN's relational position vis-à-vis major Western powers has consistently affected the way ASEAN adopted the new ideas or the timing in which they were adopted. In addition, this study

stresses ‘relations,’ but does not assert that ASEAN leaders’ relational concerns vis-à-vis major Western powers are fixed or immutable, either. This study rather agrees with a constructivist premise in that the balance of dual-deficits co-varies with the nature or configuration of material and social relations with idea-promoting countries. In other words, the relational concerns over attraction-autonomy deficits can vary across times, and thus the extent to which the dual-deficit dilemma works can change in the long term.

This study diverges from major existing explanations but complements, rather than rejects, them. First, the study’s argument is consistent with a basic view of realism that asymmetric power relations affect ideational changes of local sites. However, while previous studies highlight straightforward incentives with which stronger idea-carriers provide weaker receivers, or coercive measures as primary mechanisms of ideational changes, my study introduces a new mechanism focusing on the goal of the receiving sides that emerges from their weak positions to idea-promoting countries. Also, this study diverges from the neo-realist perspective in assuming that material exchange relations are ontologically prior to any types of social relations.<sup>449</sup> It rather claims that social distance matters as much as material distance in determining the distribution of attraction-autonomy deficits.

Second, this study takes a conventional area specialists’ emphasis on local agency, but diverges from attempts to overemphasize it. This study pays attention to the receiving side, suggesting a new mechanism which identifies idea-receivers’ relational concerns. For example, it agrees with Acharya that the politics of smaller states in adopting new ideas for regional cooperation arrangements can tell a lot about the empowerment of ideas.<sup>450</sup> But his overemphasis on local agency (perhaps intentional for the purpose of highlighting local agency that was frequently downplayed in the IR literature) seems to make the story incomplete without considering strong constraints that smaller states have to face due to disparity of power and identity. My study avoids producing a deterministic explanation by considering a series of actors’ decisions and actions under uncertainty. But it first takes the structural disparity between

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<sup>449</sup> Evans 1995, 26

<sup>450</sup> Acharya 2009

idea promoters and receivers seriously. In other words, it takes neither an explanation relying too much on structure, nor “agency can do everything” approach.

Third, the assurance of local autonomy only does not motivate leaders to adopt foreign ideas. Some realist wisdom will tell us that such assurance will make leaders easily embrace them because they are politically cheap. They do not have to sacrifice their sovereign rights to comply with the newly expected principles or rules even after they participate. But empirical evidence suggests otherwise. ASEAN leaders tended not to take the foreign ideas until a possibility of their being irrelevant to the idea-promoters pushed them to do so. Therefore, ‘low political cost’ explanation does not suffice in explaining ASEAN’s ideational changes. Even though there were no strong enforcement mechanisms, the elites made political pledges to follow the ideas in a more institutionalized way. Institutionalization makes their actual practices monitored or censured by internal and external observers more easily. In this sense, having a human rights body or institutionalizing interactions for common security made things more visible and messy. That is, ASEAN’s ideational changes were the moves that increased politically costs.

Fourth, the expectations of scholars from the liberal school of thought in International Relations, or those who focus on politics at the domestic/transnational societal level, remain somewhat inconsistent with the outcomes that this study observed.<sup>451</sup> This might have to do with domestic institutions through which the diffusion of ideas gets filtered. Obviously, the foreign policy making processes in authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia were much less plural than democratic ones, and the top leadership enjoyed more domestic autonomy in making foreign policy decisions. Some would counter-argue that authoritarian regimes, though generally characterized as having strong autonomy from the influence of the masses, are not very autonomous from socio-economic elites, especially of military and business actors.<sup>452</sup> But there was little evidence that ASEAN military bureaucrats were systematically involved in the process of buying into common security.<sup>453</sup> In the case of human rights, transnational and

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<sup>451</sup> Each empirical chapter discusses this in more detail.

<sup>452</sup> Dosch 2007, 25

<sup>453</sup> A senior researcher, confidential interview with author, Singapore, 21 March 2012

domestic groups' advocacy for human rights mechanism likely had a cumulative effect on the institutionalization of human rights. However, little evidence shows that their activities caused the change as discussed above. Economic policy issues are considered as a core of domestic political struggles in general, and Southeast Asia was no exception. Many existing works on the issue of regional economic cooperation arrangements in East Asia highlight a positive association between the political rise of export-oriented industrialists in most Southeast Asian countries and the creation of regional economic arrangements such as APEC. But their explanations are limited or inconsistent in explaining why East Asia-centered regionalism became more salient than a more inclusive Asia-Pacific regionalism that should be more attractive to both exporters and importers of the ASEAN economies. The limited explanatory power of domestic politics explanations might relate to asymmetric power relationship between political elites and business groups in several Southeast Asian countries that was constant over the years, albeit waning. For example, patron-client relationship between senior political elites and major business groups was the dominant pattern of interactions in many Southeast Asian countries. As firms usually gained what they wanted through such personal relations, they had weak incentives to put collective pressure on state officials for policy changes by organizing associations or building institutional relations with political parties. In such political systems, elites 'inside' the client group rarely compete with each other and the opinions of elites 'outside' the group are hardly considered.<sup>454</sup> For example, though business groups' collective actions or lobbies started to increase in Indonesia from the early 1990s, patrimonial linkages still remained a norm in the Indonesian setting.<sup>455</sup> In Thailand, though the number of business people entering politics increased rapidly,<sup>456</sup> their input on economic policy formulation was still limited because of the military and government officials' dominant power in the policy processes, as well as relative disinterest of these politicians in foreign policy development.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> Jorgensen-Dahl 1982, 187-188

<sup>455</sup> MacIntyre 1994, 253-257

<sup>456</sup> A number of business people entered politics since early 1970s. Almost 53% of the executive committees of three political parties came from business backgrounds in 1974. Also, business became the largest group in the House of Representatives in the 1975 election, constituting 35% of the membership; the proportion reached almost 50% during the 1980s (Laothamatas 1994, 201).

<sup>457</sup> Laothamatas 1994, 202-203

When it comes to ASEAN diplomacy, top leadership has played the most active roles to date. Since its early years, ASEAN was organized and sustained by only a few foreign policy elites as well as heads of the states. Though it has changed to a certain extent, as each state's government expanded in size and capacity, it is a general perception that ASEAN politics continues to depend on the commitment of top elites, who are more sensitive to the impact of relational international structure on their national survival than any other societal group.<sup>458</sup> Therefore, I do not assert that the domestic policy-setting did not affect the leadership perception, but rather that the impact remained rather weak. As Tilman points out, top executive leadership in each member country was able to make the final policy decisions if they chose to do so.<sup>459</sup> If more ASEAN member states' foreign-policy making processes become more pluralist with the expanded systematic involvement of government officials and deeper societal input, the members' decisions for developing ASEAN might also have to go through more complicated processes, even if ASEAN affairs do not become a salient issue for the majority of their constituents. But evidence tells us that, at least so far, government heads and their foreign ministers have played prevailing roles in ASEAN politics compared to any other actors. This study confirms Deutsch's claim that if such a prevailing body exists, the state will maintain consistent foreign policies for a long time.<sup>460</sup> In sum, this study claims that the explanatory power of international structure overrides the influence of these domestic factors when it comes to the changes of ASEAN; the "internationalist" approach can provide a more consistent and accurate explanation about the regional ideational changes in Southeast Asia, at least so far.

This study can also provide some implications for policy-makers who pursue Southeast Asia's ideational congruence by diffusing their norms or rules. First, the relationship of idea-receivers to idea-promoters has a significant impact on receptive behaviors. Findings of this study suggest that, when faced with the external actors' promotion of new ideas, the primary concern of the idea-receiving side was not just the contents of ideas per se, but the relations with the idea-promoters that the ideational changes would affect. Several previous studies already

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<sup>458</sup> Ravenhill 2001, 69-70; Tilman 1987; Anwar 1994; Sheridan 1997; Dosch 2007; Boyce 1977; Camroux 1994; Milne and Kauzy 1999; Robertson and East 2005; Dayley and Neher 2010

<sup>459</sup> Tilman 1987, 57

<sup>460</sup> Deutsch 1988, 111

pointed out the issue of ‘who’ carries the ideas to ‘whom,’ such as the importance of idea entrepreneurship;<sup>461</sup> idea-carriers’ features such as their experiences, capacity or strategy;<sup>462</sup> and idea-receivers’ characters.<sup>463</sup> This study adds to literature that the relational structure between idea-promoting side and idea-receiving side matters in the process of idea delivery and reception. That is, in order to diffuse ideas to ASEAN, idea-promoters may want to understand the structural concerns that ASEAN elites would face in terms of power and identity distribution in relation to the promoters. This work implies that, regardless of the quality or power of ideas themselves, idea-receivers, especially when they are positioned as weak other groups, may put the strategic impact of the ideational changes first, rather than be willing to participate in what Risse calls ‘communicative’ or ‘arguing’ actions.<sup>464</sup>

Second, this study provides some lessons on how to deliver ideas. To take an example, it would be counterproductive if international norm-makers push ASEAN to reform to the extent that ASEAN’s concerns on autonomy-deficits increase significantly. Also, while numerous studies in the norm diffusion literature have focused on the effective strategies that the norm diffusing side should take to convert the receiving-side, the impact of the timing of diffusion has not been largely explored. The theory presented here implies that the issue of ‘when’ to deliver ideas and call for receivers’ commitment also becomes important in forming strategies for successful diffusion. For instance, this study confirms a view that ASEAN leaders care about the major Western countries’ calls for ASEAN’s normative changes. But it disagrees with the argument that a deeper engagement of or persuasion from the West therefore would work for ASEAN’s normative congruence with the West. Rather, my study suggests a different mechanism, noting that, ironically, when there is an increasing detachment of ASEAN’s major sponsors from the region, instead of increasing engagement, ASEAN leaders might be more willing to listen to new ideas promoted by the major powers which could potentially provide sponsorship because of a rise of their attraction-deficit concerns.

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<sup>461</sup> Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Garcia 2006; Nadelmann 1990

<sup>462</sup> Keck and Sikkink 1998; Checkel 2001; Crawford 2002

<sup>463</sup> Acharya 2004 and 2009; Levitsky and Way 2006

<sup>464</sup> Risse 2000

This study can be extended in the following directions. First, further tests can be made if idea-receivers' positions, stemming from the distributions of power and identity between idea-receivers and idea-promoters, can also have an impact on the process of idea delivery and reception in other regions or countries. This study's aim is limited to understanding ASEAN and its propositions may not be applicable to other parts of the world because they come from attraction-autonomy deficit dilemma that ASEAN particularly holds. However, the basic argument for the impact of the relational structure between idea-receivers and promoters on the ideational changes of the receiving side may still be valid in understanding the cases of other regions. Also, testing its validity on a larger number of cases would strengthen my argument.

Second, the basic argument of this study can be extended to the observations of the idea-taking patterns of the individual Southeast Asian countries. While this study briefly looks to the balance of power/identity distributions in each member country, their idea-taking (non-taking) patterns at the country level were not the outcomes (i.e., dependent variables) that this study notes. Besides, as discussed above, some of the countries may suffer less from the attraction-autonomy deficit dilemma due to their particular balance of dual-deficits. If the relational positions vis-à-vis idea-promoting countries have notable impacts on idea-receiving patterns at the individual country level, this study's framework can also contribute to comparative studies, especially in the field of foreign policy making, and thus widen the audience by drawing country specialists' attentions as well.

Third, the concept of attraction-autonomy deficit dilemma can be used to explain other notable phenomenon around ASEAN politics. The dilemma, for instance, could be a useful tool to understand why ASEAN has been holding on to the idea of "ASEAN centrality," while attracting major Dialogue Partners from outside ASEAN. To take another example, the dilemma would provide a new conceptual tool to explain ASEAN's hypocrisy, which refers to consistent disparity between ASEAN's words and actions. As implied in the previous chapter on human rights, ASEAN's discordance between words and practices was not necessarily an example of political leaders' cheap hypocrisy, but of their inevitable need to manage the dilemma of ASEAN's dual deficits. This challenges rational explanations about hypocrisy, which have been predominant within the IR literature.

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### **Statistics, Statements, Speeches and Interviews**

ASEAN elites' speeches and views

- Ali Alatas, statement at the initial exploratory meeting on Asia-Pacific cooperation, Canberra, 6-7 November 1989
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