Reproduced from ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat, by Elizabeth P. Buensuceso (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2021). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS Publishing. Individual chapters are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>.

ASEAN Centrality

The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Singapore APEC Study Centre, and the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

ASEAN Centrality

An autoethnographic account by a Philippine Diplomat

ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO



First published in Singapore in 2021 by ISEAS Publishing 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg *Website*: <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

© 2021 ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the author and her interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Name(s): Buensuceso, Elizabeth P., author.
Title: ASEAN centrality: an autoethnographic account by a Philippine diplomat/by Elizabeth P. Buensuceso.
Description: Singapore : ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references.
Identifiers: ISBN 978-981-4951-64-7 (soft cover) | ISBN 978-981-4951-65-4 (pdf)
Subjects: LCSH: ASEAN. | Southeast Asia—Politics and government. | Regionalism (International organization).
Classification: LCC JZ5333.5 A9B92

Typeset by Stallion Press (S) Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Mainland Press Pte Ltd

CONTENTS

xi xiv xvi 1
xvi
1
1
5
8
14
15
16
18
18
21
23
24

3. ASEAN Diplomacy and ASEAN Centrality	26
Insistence on ASEAN Centrality an Offshoot of	
Post-Colonialism and Cold-War Stigma	26
What They Say About ASEAN Diplomacy	29
What They Say About ASEAN Centrality	32
What I Say About ASEAN Diplomacy and	
ASEAN Centrality	37
4. ASEAN Centrality as an Expression of ASEAN Leadership in the Region: The Philippine Chairmanship of ASEAN	
in 2017	39
Framework Agreement on the Code of Conduct in the	
South China Sea	45
The Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the	
Rights of Migrant Workers	46
The Philippine Mission to ASEAN and the Philippine	
Chairmanship	50
5. ASEAN Centrality as a Principle of Diplomacy Among	
Member States	64
Conceptual Framework of the Jakarta Platform	65
Jakarta, the Hub of Regional Multilateralism	67
ASEAN Centrality in the ASEAN Committee of	
Permanent Representatives (CPR)	69
Strengthening ASEAN Centrality through the CPR	
and the JCM	73
Format of the CPR Meeting	76
Who Participates in the Meetings of the CPR?	77
The Agenda of the CPR	78
ASEAN Centrality In Spite of Conflicting	
Bilateral Disputes	81
ASEAN Centrality through ASEAN Consensus	
or Without	82
ASEAN Consensus on the South China Sea Issue	82

	ASEAN Consensus on Illegal Unreported and	
	Unregulated Fishing (IUUF)	87
	ASEAN Consensus on Use of the Name of the	
	Chemical Weapon "VX sarin" in the ASEAN Text of	
	the EAS Leaders' Declaration	89
	ASEAN Centrality Despite Inability to Amend/Update	
	the ASEAN Charter	89
	The Tone and Language of the CPR	93
	ASEAN Centrality in the ASEAN Connectivity	
	Coordinating Committee (ACCC)	96
	ASEAN Centrality in the ASEAN Institute for Peace	
	and Reconciliation (AIPR)	101
6.	ASEAN Centrality as a Principle of Diplomacy with	
	ASEAN's External Partners	107
	ASEAN Centrality in the CPR Interface with High Level	
	Officials of External Partners	111
	CPR Refusal to Meet with Unfriendly Partners	115
	ASEAN Centrality in the Relations of the ASEAN	
	Connectivity Coordinating Committee (ACCC) with	
	External Partners	116
	ASEAN Centrality in the EAS Ambassadors' Meeting in	
	Jakarta (EAMJ)	119
	ASEAN Leadership in Negotiating the Four EAS	
	Statements	122
	EAS Leaders' Statement on Chemical Weapons	124
	EAS Leaders' Statement on Anti-Money Laundering and	
	Countering the Financing of Terrorism	127
	EAS Leaders' Statement on Cooperation in Poverty	
	Alleviation	128
	EAS Leaders' Statement on Countering the Ideological	
	Challenge of Terrorism and Terrorist Narratives and	
	Propaganda	129
	Negotiations on the Manila Plan of Action on EAS	
	Cooperation with focus on the Regional Security	
	Architecture (RSA)	131

Extended 1	Plan of Action (POA) or a Negotiated New	
POA and	d Inclusion of Maritime Cooperation as an EAS	
Priority	Area of Cooperation	131
ASEAN R	esolution on the Title of the EAS Plan of Action	132
ASEAN S	ays No to the Continued Delay in Negotiating	
the EAS	Terms of Reference (TOR)	135
Procedures	Employed in Negotiating EAS Documents	138
ASEAN C	entrality in the ASEAN+1 Mechanism	140
ASEAN +	USA: The CPR and Vice President	
Michael	Pence	144
ASEAN-C	hina JCC	145
ASEAN S	ays No to Lecturing by External Partners	146
ASEAN C	entrality in the ASEAN Plus Three (APT)	
Meeting		149
Failure to	Practise ASEAN Centrality in ASEAN's	
Dealings	s with its External Partners in Jakarta	152
7. ASEAN C	Centrality as an Aspiration to Raise the Level	
of Awarer	ess About ASEAN	156
A Final W	ord from the Author	165
Bibliography		169
Annexes		173
Annex A	List of documents issued by ASEAN in	
	2017	175
Annex B	Terms of Reference for the Joint	
	Consultative Meeting (JCM)	178
Annex C	Terms of Reference for the ASEAN	
	Connectivity Coordinating Committee (ACCC)	182
Annex D	Terms of Reference for the ASEAN Institute	
	for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR)	186
Index		193
About the Au	thor	204

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	ASEAN Timeline	16
Figure 4.1	Logo of the Philippine Chairmanship of	
	ASEAN	44
Figure 4.2	Routing Slip of the Philippine Mission	52
Figure 4.3	EAMJ Mangrove Planting Event Organized	
	by the Philippine Mission	59
Figure 4.4	Receiving the Best DFA Organization Award	
	from Secretary Alan Peter Cayetano	62
Figure 5.1	Conceptual Framework	66
Figure 5.2	Chairing a CPR Meeting	69
Figure 5.3	CPR and the ASEAN Disability Forum	71
Figure 5.4	Format of the CPR Meeting	77
Figure 5.5	Proposed Amendments to the ASEAN Charter	91
Figure 5.6	8th ASEAN Connectivity Symposium	99
Figure 5.7	Launch of the ASEAN Women for Peace	
	Registry	104
Figure 6.1	CPR Meeting with Foreign Minister Wang Yi	113
Figure 6.2	Physical Format of the EAMJ	120
Figure 6.3	Format of an ASEAN-China JCC Meeting	140

Figure 6.4	Format of the Joint Sectoral Cooperation	
	Committee (JSCC)	142
Figure 6.5	Co-Chairing ASEAN+1 Meeting with Vice	
	President Michael Pence	144
Figure 6.6	Format of the ASEAN Plus Three (APT)	
	Meeting	149
Figure 7.1	Speaking at the Habibie Center	159
Figure 7.2	Co-panelist in the Perspective Show of Channel	
	News Asia	160
Figure 7.3	Speaking at the Maritime Security Conference	
	in Victoria, Canada	162
Figure 7.4	Speaking at the ASEANNALE 2018	164

ABBREVIATIONS

AADCP II	ASEAN-Australia Development Cooperation Program II
ACB	ASEAN Center for Biodiversity
ACC	ASEAN Coordinating Council
ACCC	ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee
ACJCC	ASEAN-China Joint Cooperation Committee
ACTIP	ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons,
	Especially Women and Children
ADF	ASEAN Disability Forum
ADMM-Plus	ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AEMM	ASEAN Economic Ministers' Meeting
AFDM	ASEAN Finance and Central Bank Deputies' Meeting
AFRP	ASEAN Secretariat Financial Rules and Procedures
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AMS	ASEAN Member States
APCSS	Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies
APSC	ASEAN Political-Security Community
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

ASEAN-IPR	ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASRR	ASEAN Secretariat Staff Rules and Regulations
AWPR	ASEAN Women for Peace Registry
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
COC	Code of Conduct in the South China Sea
CPR	Committee of Permanent Representatives
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources,
	the Philippines
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs, the Philippines
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia
DOC	Declaration on the Conduct of the Parties in the South
	China Sea
DPs	Dialogue Partners
DSG	Deputy Secretary General
EAMJ	EAS Ambassadors' Meeting in Jakarta
EAS	East Asia Summit
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
EU	European Union
FOIP	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
GAM	Free Aceh Movement
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GMM	Global Movement of Moderates
GMMF	Global Movement for Moderates Foundation
IAI	Initiative for ASEAN Integration
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Academy
IPS	Indo-Pacific Strategy
IRRI	International Rice Research Institute
IUUF	Illegal Unregulated and Unreported Fishing
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JCC	Joint Cooperation Committee
JCLEC	Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation
JCM	Joint Consultative Meeting
JOIN	Japan Overseas Infrastructure Investment Corporation

xii

JPM	Joint Preparatory Meeting
JPM	Philippine Mission to ASEAN
JSCC	Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee
LIB	Lead Implementing Body
MAPHILINDO	Malaysia-Philippines-Indonesia Organization
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPAC	Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NEXI	Nippon Export and Investment Insurance
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PCA	Permanent Court of Arbitration
PCs	Participating Countries
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PR	Permanent Representative
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
RSA	Regional Security Architecture
SDP	Sectoral Dialogue Partner
SEARRCT	Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SEOM	Senior Economic Officials' Meeting
SOM	Senior Officials' Meeting
STOM	Senior Transport Officials' Meeting
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TOR	Terms of Reference
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

FOREWORD

The book, *ASEAN Centrality: An Autoethnographic Account by a Philippine Diplomat*, written by the Department of Foreign Affairs' resident ASEAN specialist, Ambassador Elizabeth P. Buensuceso proves the point that diplomats and scholars should join forces to make this world a more coherent, more compassionate and more affable place to live in.

Ambassador Buensuceso's evocative, direct, uncomplicated but authoritative style is a refreshing departure from the boring reportage of ASEAN reports and treatises on the one hand and on the other, the incomprehensible balderdash of some academics pretending to interpret diplomacy from their distorting lenses of the wrong grade. Never since the renowned former ASEAN Secretary General Rodolfo Severino do we find the rare combination of the academic perspective beautifully blended with the actual experience of a seasoned diplomat as in this author.

ASEAN Centrality is a concept that has, time and again, been put to the test. Once again, the world is experiencing a creeping polarization among the powers and countries of the world. And once again, their chosen theater is the region where the ASEAN Member States are in the midst of two of the most volatile flashpoints in the world—the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea. The region has gotten a new name: the Indo-Pacific arena, resurrected from its uncertain beginnings in 1994 when it was first broached. The big powers are now testing and approaching ASEAN for alliances and cooperation. How ASEAN will take advantage of the opportunities of this renewed interest and not be swept away in the currents of contending forces will once again bring ASEAN Centrality to the fore and its greatest test. Even political instability among its members, as in the current crisis in Myanmar, is a clarion call for ASEAN Centrality to play its part and acquire substantive meaning beyond mere intention.

Ambassador Buensuceso makes an inventory of various definitions and views on ASEAN Centrality, juxtaposes them with her own take, and concludes that indeed, ASEAN Centrality should be understood from the point of view of one who has experienced and practised it. Her definition is fact-based and practical. It can be operationalized, observed, and put to test easily. It can serve the interest of ASEAN in a practical manner. She is able to define her parameters of what constitutes ASEAN Centrality that makes for an interesting, informative reading.

I am honoured that the book is published during my term as Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines. I would urge all students and practitioners of ASEAN diplomacy, especially diplomats of the Philippines and ASEAN Member States, to read this book and savour its unique approach and style. It does not merely inform, it educates, uplifts and sometimes, entertains.

TEODORO

Secretary of Foreign Affairs

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give back all glory and honour to God Almighty who is the Author of all good and perfect things and the source of all wisdom.

I thank Claire for her invaluable technical help and research support.

I am grateful to Dr Jean Saludadez, Program Chair and Vice Chancellor of the UPOU, Dean Joefe Santarita and Dr Grace Alfonso of the UP Asian Center.

I dedicate this book to the officers and staff and their families of the Philippine Mission to ASEAN in Jakarta, circa 2013–2019. I also appreciate Karen and Sab for always being there for me.