### REGIONAL SECURITY SOUTHEAST ASIA

Reproduced from *Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way,* by Mely Caballero-Anthony (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005). 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 the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at < http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

The **Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)** was established as an autonomous organization 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 the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

**ISEAS Publications**, an established academic press, has issued more than 1,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publications 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.

# REGIONAL SECURITY SECURITY SOUTHEASEAN Way

**Mely Caballero-Anthony** 



First published in Singapore in 2005 by ISEAS Publications Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Pasir Panjang 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 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2005 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 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**

Anthony, Mely Caballero-

Regional security in Southeast Asia : beyond the ASEAN way.

1. ASEAN.

2. Conflict management-Asia, Southeastern.

3. National security-Asia, Southeastern.

4. Asia, Southeastern-Politics and government.

I. Title.

JX1979 A621 2005

ISBN 981-230-260-3 (soft cover) ISBN 981-230-261-1 (hard cover)

Typeset by Superskill Graphics Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Oxford Graphic Printers Pte Ltd

# Contents

Acl	Acknowledgements			
INTRODUCTION Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way				
1	Regionalism	and Regional Security: Locating ASEAN	14	
2		echanisms of Conflict Management: le ASEAN Way	49	
3		the Cambodian Conflict: Limits of the ASEAN Way	83	
4	0	ional Forum: Extending the ASEAN Way Regional Order	113	
5		ack Two Diplomacy: Reconstructing Regional s of Conflict Management	157	
6		conomic Crisis and Other Challenges: nts Beyond the Comfort Zone?	194	
7	ASEAN and Civil Society: Enhancing Regional Mechanisms for Managing Security		232	
8	Conclusion:	Beyond the ASEAN Way	255	
APPENDIX I		Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II)	276	
APPENDIX II		Recommendations of the High-Level Task Force on ASEAN Economic Integration	284	

APPENDIX III	ASEAN Vision 2020	294
APPENDIX IV	Declaration of ASEAN Concord	299
Selected References and Further Readings		
Index		
About the Author		

## Acknowledgements

This is a book about ASEAN and its experience on managing regional security. It is also as much a chronicle of how ASEAN's mechanisms of managing conflicts have evolved over a span of more than three decades. This narrative of ASEAN is also about a journey of someone who has sojourned, lived, and worked in many of the capitals in the region and in the process benefited immensely from the guidance and insights of a number of teachers, colleagues and friends whose valuable help made this book possible. In my research and writing of this work, I owe a great many debts of gratitude along the way.

This book started out as doctoral dissertation and I am very grateful for the intellectual guidance of James Tang, Amitav Acharya, and Khong Yueng Foong, who have generously helped me in the process of producing this work. I have never been able to thank them properly, and I wish to do so here. My thanks also to Barry Desker, Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore who has always encouraged his staff to publish their work.

The following institutions have also made my research work possible. My thanks to the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, which welcomed me as a Research Fellow in 1997 and gave me the research grant to embark on this project. To the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, which allowed me to do much of my earlier writings on ASEAN during my time with them as Senior Analyst from 1997–2001, and to its ASEAN-ISIS network members — the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, the Institute of Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Philippines, and Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Thailand — I am extremely grateful for their generosity in providing me the research facilities and the important introductions to a number of valuable resource persons and experts in the field of security and international relations in Southeast Asia. My debt of gratitude to the following individuals for their unstinting support and patience to an itinerant scholar who had little much to offer except a keen interest in domestic and regional politics of the region. My thanks especially to Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, Noordin Sopiee, and Stephen Leong of ISIS Malaysia who were my patient mentors on ASEAN and track two diplomacy in Southeast Asia and the broader Asia-Pacific, and never failed to encourage a young colleague to learn more about Malaysia and the rest of region. My time at ISIS Malaysia also became more meaningful with the help and encouragement of my former colleagues, especially Patrick Pillai who always lent an ear and Susan Teoh who is a gem of a librarian and a great friend.

Let me once again express my sincerest thanks and deepest gratitude to a community of scholars and experts whose dedication to the ASEAN cause is not only inspiring but also humbling: Jusuf Wanandi, Hadi Soesastro, Clara Joewono, Suchit Bunbongkarn, Kusuma Snitwongse, and Kwa Chong Guan who in many ways broadened my understanding of track two diplomacy in Southeast Asia and beyond. And not the least, a heartfelt thanks to Carolina Hernandez, who continues to be an inspiration and role model for what it is to be a mother and a wife, an activist/advocate and an excellent scholar rolled into one.

In my journey with this community, I also have learnt so much from my interactions with Rizal Sukma, Pranee Thiparat, Herman Kraft, Grace Gorospe-Jamon and many others who not only became my sounding board on the various issues of Southeast Asian regionalism but whose friendship and unfailing encouragement I shall always value.

My sincere thanks and appreciation to a number of ASEAN officials and personalities who have unselfishly shared their time and provided me with valuable information on the nature of regionalism in this region. I am most grateful to Surin Pitsuwan, Rodolfo Severino, and Sukhumbhand Paribatra for their generous insights and advice.

Finally, these expressions of gratitude would not be complete if I do not mention the people closest to me. To my mother, brothers, and sisters, whose constant love and support are blessings I shall always treasure. To my son, Jeremy Miguel, whose patience and tolerance of his mother's long hours and absence from home, I am forever grateful. And to my partner Denis — thank you for making it all worthwhile.

Mely Caballero-Anthony November 2004