

ASEAN REGIONAL ORDER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
ENGLISH SCHOOL THEORY (1967-2015)

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the formation, characteristics and appearance of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional order, within the order concept of the English School (ES) theory in the International Relations discipline. Within the framework of the ES theory, this study focuses on the position of actors in the ASEAN regional order, the features of ASEAN cooperation, internal and external factors that shape ASEAN cooperation, and the normative agenda of the ASEAN regional order. This thesis indicates that from the formation of the order to the community building, how ASEAN cooperation has developed and why ASEAN has yet been ineffective in the face of certain events. In this context, the results of this study can be listed as follows: 1) The interests of the member states, the characteristic of the power balance and the strategies of the great powers for the region, are the most influential dynamics in shaping the ASEAN regional order. 2) Due to the ASEAN regional order, which was based on common rules and principles, some major disputes did not cause an intergovernmental war. Through a regional order, significant economic outputs have been achieved for member states. 3) The normative agenda of the ASEAN regional order transformed from pluralism, which aims to protect the sovereignty, legitimacy and territorial integrity of the member states, to a state-centred solidarism, which included the development and promotion of human rights and involving cooperation from NGOs. 4) Even though the cooperation between states in the ASEAN regional order is constantly strengthening (such as tackling non-traditional security threats, or a single market and production base) in the organizational framework, different attitudes of the member states in practice weakened ASEAN solidarity. 5) Most of the times, ASEAN norms, which emphasize the sovereignty sensitivity of the member states in practice, and the ASEAN way, which envisages flexible cooperation, are dynamics that prevent ASEAN from functioning effectively as seen in economic crisis, regional haze, East Timor issue, and the Preah Vihear dispute. Besides these findings, this study shows that if ASEAN wants to build a stronger regional order, the ASEAN way, which is the method of cooperation between member states, should be more effective and ASEAN's institutional capacity should be stronger.

مُلخّص البحث

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة تشكيل النظام الإقليمي لمنظمة دول جنوبي شرقي آسيا (ASEAN) وخصائصه ومظهره في إطار مفهوم نظرية المدرسة البريطانية (ES) في مجال العلاقات الدولية، وقد ركز البحث على موقف الجهات الفاعلة في النظام الإقليمي لآسيان، وخصائص تعاون آسيان، والعوامل الداخلية والخارجية التي تشكل تعاون آسيان، والأجندة المعيارية للنظام الإقليمي لآسيان، وكشف عن كيفية تطور تعاون آسيان من تشكيل النظام الإقليمي إلى بناء المجتمع، وعجز آسيان عن مواجهة بعض الأحداث، وعليه؛ يمكن إدراج نتائج البحث فيما يأتي؛ (١) كانت مصالح الدول الأعضاء وطبيعة ميزان القوى وإستراتيجيات القوى الكبرى في المنطقة هي الآليات الأكثر تأثيراً في تشكيل النظام الإقليمي لآسيان، (٢) وبسبب النظام الإقليمي لرابطة آسيان على أساس القواعد والمبادئ المشتركة؛ لم يتحول الاضطراب إلى حرب حكومية دولية، وحُققَت نتائج اقتصادية كبيرة للدول الأعضاء. (٣) كما تحول جدول الأعمال المعياري للنظام الإقليمي لرابطة آسيان من التعددية التي تهدف إلى حماية سيادة أراضي الدول الأعضاء وشرعيتها وسلامتها بالنسبة إلى التضامن حول الدولة، ويشمل تطوير حقوق الإنسان وتعزيزها والتعاون مع المنظمات غير الحكومية. (٤) وعلى الرغم من أن التعاون بين الدول في النظام الإقليمي لرابطة آسيان؛ يتعزز باستمرار في الإطار التنظيمي (مثل مكافحة التهديدات الأمنية غير التقليدية وإنشاء سوق واحد وقاعدة الإنتاج)، والسلوكيات المختلفة للدول الأعضاء في الممارسة تضعف تضامن الآسيان. (٥) أحياناً كانت معايير آسيان تعطي الأولوية لحساسية سيادة الدول الأعضاء في الممارسة ومسار آسيان، فتنوخي التعاون المرن، ثم أصبحت آليات منعت آسيان من العمل بكفاءة، كما رأينا في الأزمة الاقتصادية، والضباب الإقليمي، وتيمور الشرقية، ونزاع بريه فيهير، بالإضافة إلى أن هذه النتائج أظهرت أنه إذا كانت آسيان ترغب في إنشاء نظام إقليمي أقوى، فإن مسار آسيان في التعاون بين الدول الأعضاء، ويجب أن يكون أكثر تأثيراً، وأن القدرة المؤسسية للرابطة ينبغي أن تكون أقوى.

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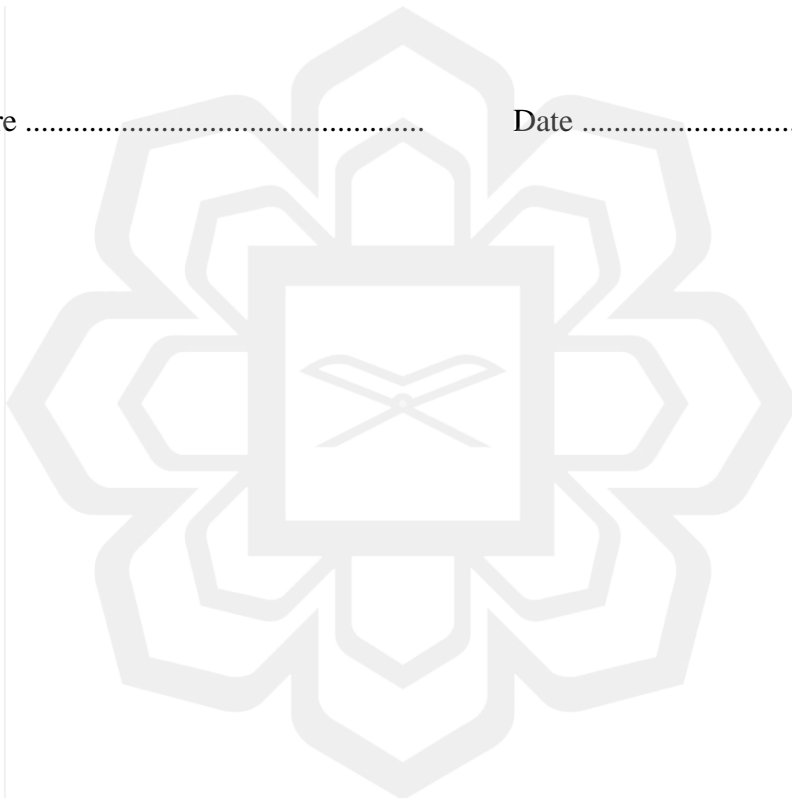
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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“Alhamdulillah. This thesis would not have been possible without the help of Allah s. w. t. Without His blessing, I would not have managed to pursue this study and undergo the challenging process of writing the thesis.”

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Ferhat Durmaz
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AADMER	ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response
ACWC	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting
ADMM+8	ASEAN and its eight Dialogue Partners, namely Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Russia and the US
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFMM	ASEAN Finance Ministerial Meetings
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AHRD	ASEAN Human Rights Declaration
AIP	ASEAN Industry Project
AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
AIA	ASEAN Investment Area
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
APSC	ASEAN Political-Security Community
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASW	ASEAN Single Window
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASP	ASEAN Surveillance Process
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CMI	Chiang Mai Initiative
COC	Code of Conduct
CEPT	Common Effective Preferential Tariff
DOC	Declaration on the Conduct
EAS	East Asia Summit
ES	English School
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ASEAN-6	Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei
IAI	Initiative for ASEAN Integration
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
ICK	International Conference on Kampuchea
INTERFET	International Force in East Timor
IR	International Relations
MAPHILINDO	<i>Malaysia-Philippines-Indonesia</i>
MPAC	Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
MLAA	Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations

NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
The US	The United States of America
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
VLCM	Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace Freedom and Neutrality



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Scholars in the International Relations discipline (IR hereafter) apply theories to explain events more effectively and clearly. One of these theories is that of the English School (ES), which emerged in the post-World War II period. The British Committee on the Theory of International Politics (the British Committee hereafter) played a significant role in the establishment of the ES. The principal representatives of the ES were Charles Anthony Woodward Manning, Martin Wight, Herbert Butterfield, Adam Watson and Hedley Bull (Suganami, 2010: 15-16).¹ Bull in particular developed the notion of order in his valuable study, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (1977). Bull proposed that states can create a cooperative initiative against anarchy within the framework of rules, norms and institutions, and that this initiative can be called 'order'. He argued that for the formation of order, two points are essential: (i) the presence of common interests between states in the face of anarchy; (ii) rules, norms and institutions in line with common interests. Bull also set out five factors which play a significant role in shaping the features of the order: the balance of power, international law, diplomacy, war and great powers (Bull, 1977).

In 1967, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand established the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN hereafter) in Southeast Asia in order to achieve common interests such as strengthening national sovereignty,

¹ C. A. W. Manning was not a member of the British Committee. He was, however, the first person to use the concept of international society which influenced Bull, Wight and others. According to Suganami, therefore, Manning can be accepted within the ES.

ensuring economic development and providing security. These five states accepted several norms such as non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and the protection of territorial integrity. These countries also created mechanisms such as the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) High Council and the ASEAN Secretariat (both formed in 1976). These five states formed an order which is an example of a cooperative initiative against anarchy within the framework of common interests, rules and institutions. ASEAN is therefore a salient example of the ES's view that states can create order through rules and institutions within the framework of common interests in the face of anarchy. Furthermore, economic cooperation was one of the most important topics of inter-state relations in this period. The ASEAN regional order included not only security and politics but also economic issues. This is consistent with Bull's idea that states create not only a political and strategic, but also an economic order. In the following period, after the Cambodia Crisis was resolved in 1991, many scholars, statesmen and writers asked 'What will be the rationale of the existence of ASEAN?' (Narine, 2006: 199-218).

ASEAN went through a remarkable transformation in the post-Cold War era. By accepting Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar as members, the ASEAN regional order represented all of Southeast Asia. ASEAN also sought to strengthen its organizational rationale and order concept through the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). In the post-Cold War era, however, ASEAN faced a number of problems such as economic crises, the atmospheric pollution of regional haze, the lack of strong internal relationships between member states, regional militarization, and economic and political differences between member states. The ES's argument that the enlargement of the order would cause problems in that order became valid for ASEAN. Furthermore, in the face of these problems, ASEAN states'

prioritizing of sovereignty and defending the principle of non-interference showed that cooperation in the regional order was state-centred and limited, as said by the pluralist view in the ES on the nature of collaboration.

In the post-2003 period, with ASEAN Concord II, ASEAN sought to establish a political-security, socio-cultural and economic community. Under the ASEAN charter, which gave ASEAN a legal character in 2007, human rights and democracy became significant issues in the ASEAN regional order. With the ASEAN community decision and the ASEAN charter, it appears that ASEAN developed a state-centred solidarity and cooperation which took account of values such as human rights and democracy, which said by the solidarity view in the ES theory. Nevertheless, in practice, several problems such as non-traditional security threats, human rights violations and the lack of strong institutional structures challenged the ASEAN community-building process and the ASEAN charter. These problems have shown that the goal of community building and a normative approach based on human rights cannot be implemented effectively and precisely in the twenty-first century.

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the formation and development of ASEAN, from 1967 to 2015, within the framework of the order concept of the ES theory. Notably, after the cessation of the international conflict over Cambodia by the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 and the decision in 2003 to build a political-security, economic and socio-cultural community by 2015 in the SEA, the ASEAN regional order became a more critical issue in the post-Cold War era. The crucial question here is to understand how the emergence and development of the ASEAN regional order can be explained in the context of ES theory. Within the framework of the ES theory, therefore, the formation of the ASEAN regional order, its historical evolution and its features in practice are the main topics of this current study. Explaining ASEAN in the context of

the order concept in the ES theory will provide us with a different reading on ASEAN, which is generally examined within the framework of regionalization and identity.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study was designed to examine the emergence and evolution of the ASEAN regional order with reference to the ES. The question which is addressed is how the ES theoretical framework explains the development of the ASEAN regional order regarding both theory and practice. Within the framework of the ES theory, the main purpose of this study is to analyse the features and problems of ASEAN, which was established in 1967, adopted a security perspective with ARF in 1994, decided to build a community in 2003 and gained a legal characteristic in 2007.

The ASEAN regional order could be labelled as one of the many forms of order which could conform to the rules of order advocated by the ES. States in Southeast Asia came together in the context of common interests and they created order through rules and institutions in the face of anarchy. The ASEAN members were able to develop norms and institutions for the conduct of relations. Furthermore, the functional elements of the order, the balance of power, international law, diplomacy, war and great powers, specified by the ES, were instrumental in shaping the nature of the ASEAN regional order both during and after the Cold War.

The transformation of the ASEAN regional order in the post-Cold War era was an important example of the ES's view of how the order evolved. Regarding the transformation of an order, the ES writers said that within the framework of specific methods (such as war and peaceful membership), an order expands to include other states, and that various problems will arise due to the expansion of the order. In the late twentieth century, ASEAN accepted Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar as

members within the framework of specific purposes (such as the one-Southeast Asia goal) and principles (such as peaceful membership). The problems which ASEAN faced were mostly due to the ASEAN-6² and the fact that Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar had different characteristics in terms of economic development level and relationships developed with great powers.

Even though ASEAN strengthened its regional order perspective in the 1990s, it failed to develop significant action in the face of regional problems such as the East Asian economic crisis, regional haze and the East Timor issue between 1998 and 1999. The main reason for this was that the ASEAN states gave higher priority to state sovereignty and non-interference in the face of regional problems. This situation led to a discussion about the legitimacy and effectiveness of the ASEAN regional order. Therefore, with the ASEAN Concord II in 2003 and the ASEAN charter³ in 2007, the ASEAN leaders adopted a perspective of strengthening political, security and economic cooperation and the institutional character of ASEAN. However, ASEAN's community-building process was not supported by strong mechanisms and actions in practice. As seen in the economic cooperation, the unwillingness of the ASEAN governments to follow the basic principles questioned the continuity of the cooperation rules promoted by the ES. Also, the ASEAN governments were very sensitive in terms of political structure/appearance and, most of the time, they did not openly criticize each other in cases of massive human rights violations. Based upon these points, within the framework of the ES theory, this study addresses the following questions:

² The expression ASEAN-6 is a concept used to refer to the founding members of ASEAN (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand), and Brunei, which became a member in 1984.

³ In 2005, a declaration on the preparation of the ASEAN Charter was signed. The ASEAN Charter was adopted at the 13th ASEAN summit in November 2007.

1. Why did Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia create the ASEAN regional order in the face of anarchy?
2. What was the role of the functional elements in the ASEAN regional order?
3. How did the ASEAN political, economic and security order evolve?
4. Why could ASEAN not develop a solidarity cooperation against some regional problems?
5. Why did ASEAN states want to establish a community, and why was the goal of establishing a community not fully implemented?

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study uses the ES as an analysis framework. In the light of this analysis framework, it has five significant objectives:

1. To analyse the dynamics of the formation of the ASEAN regional order in the Cold War period.
2. To learn the functioning of the balance of power, diplomacy, international law, war and great power governance in ASEAN's approach to regional issues.
3. To examine the evolution of the ASEAN regional order in the Southeast Asia region.
4. To determine the reasons for the failure of ASEAN cooperation in the face of some regional problems.
5. To explain why ASEAN adopted a community target and why this goal was not fully implemented.

1.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This is a significant and valuable study for two fundamental reasons.

First, the ES has become one of the most preferred IR theories for explaining regional and international developments at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries. There have not been many academic studies which have examined the ASEAN regional order within the framework of the ES. In the literature, in terms of theory, ASEAN is mostly considered within a constructivist context. This situation can be clearly seen in the works of Amitav Acharya, one of the leading figures in Southeast Asian studies. This current study therefore seeks to enrich the theoretical dimension of ASEAN studies by using ES theory.

Second, ASEAN has become a popular topic in Southeast Asian studies in IR in the post-Cold War era. The main reason for this is that ASEAN underwent a significant transformation both in function and in structure in the post-Cold War era. Many studies of that period have focused on understanding the dynamics of change in ASEAN and the organizational structure of ASEAN (Cotton, 2006: 210-225; Dosch, 2007; Marthy & Natalegawa, 2017: 232-238). Studies have also been conducted to analyse ASEAN as a regionalist and integrative movement (Saravanamuttu, 1986: 204-222; Nischalke, 2002: 89-117; Chandra, 2009). In the literature, some authors have seen ASEAN as an example of a regional order and have examined ASEAN's security and historical evolution in the framework of a regional order (Acharya, 2001). However, the use of the concept of regional order in these works is very different from the ES's concept of order. Moreover, in these studies, the concept of regional order is examined in such a way as to address a single dimension such as security. In contrast to other studies, therefore, the current study is a theoretical and multi-dimensional study since it draws

a conceptual framework on the concept of order and examines three critical areas, politics, security and the economy.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study examines the formation and current appearance of the ASEAN regional order in Southeast Asia in the context of the ES theory. Accordingly, this literature review is divided into two sections. First, this section reviews the literature related to ASEAN studies, and then, it analyses ASEAN works regarding the ES theory. In both parts, this section presents a critical review of pioneering and significant works.

ASEAN Studies

Initially, an assiduous reader will be aware that there are many studies of ASEAN in the literature. The multi-dimensional nature of ASEAN has led to a number of studies related to ASEAN in IR. These studies have investigated many issues from the formation of ASEAN to its external relations, but it can be considered that the works of Michael Leifer, Amitav Acharya and Shaun Narine are more systematic and original in ASEAN studies. The works of these three thinkers and other prominent academics will therefore be examined here.

Leifer was one of the leading scholars in Southeast Asian and ASEAN studies and his works (1974: 309-317; 1989; 1996; 2005: 136-144) have focused on the security dimension or on ASEAN as a whole. Leifer considered various factors and developments and analysed how ASEAN created a regional order in the Southeast Asia region. Even though commentators do not accept Leifer as a representative of the ES, his views are similar to the ideas of Hedley Bull because, like Bull, he claimed that ASEAN emerged as a consequence of the willingness of states to cooperate in order to

combat anarchy in the regional system (Khong, 2005: 26). In addition, “Leifer saw regional order as ‘a structure of regional relationships that are widely accepted’ by the relevant states” (Khong, 2005: 27). In brief, Leifer’s studies act more as a guide to a better understanding of the whole picture.

Amitav Acharya has emerged as a social scientist who has produced efficient and prominent scientific studies of Southeast Asia and ASEAN. Acharya (1995: 175-200; 1997: 319-346; 2001; 2005: 95-118; 2009; 2012) analysed the changes which ASEAN brought to the Southeast Asian region in the context of the ASEAN norms, identity and institutionalization. He has claimed that norms and identities must be taken into consideration when explaining the change in ASEAN. Acharya stated that ASEAN has a process-oriented cooperation by which the member states want to realize their interests around specific principles. He argued that it is difficult to reach a consensus on important issues in an expanding ASEAN. Furthermore, he stated that ASEAN has consistently faced significant challenges such as territorial conflicts, an arms race and uncertainty, and that these problems have prevented the implementation of the community target. Regarding method, all of Acharya’s works have evaluated ASEAN from a specific theoretical (constructivist) or conceptual context (identity and norms). With this quality, his writings are essential reference points in ASEAN studies.

Shaun Narine is another distinguished scholar in ASEAN studies. Narine’s works (1997: 961-978; 1998: 195-214; 1999: 357-380; 2002; 2008: 411-429) have examined ASEAN from viewpoints such as security and historical conversion in the context of regionalism. Narine has maintained that ASEAN is an interpretation of the interests of states which want to prevent the use of force and protect sovereignty. He has regarded ASEAN’s initiatives in Southeast Asia as a reflection of these interests. He noted that in the years following the establishment of ASEAN, it sought to play an

active role in regional security and economic relations through a variety of initiatives. Nonetheless, he has suggested that although ASEAN is a significant organization in the Asia-Pacific region, its commitment to fundamental principles such as non-interference in the internal affairs of member states limits its reform capacity. Furthermore, Narine (2008: 426) stated that the transformation of ASEAN was not functional and effective, and that the future of ASEAN is linked to global events such as China's rise rather than ASEAN's own internal transformation. Narine made remarkable determinations in terms of the content of his studies and referred to the theoretical framework, arguments and examples to support them, so his works are significant secondary sources of this study.

In addition to these key studies, there are other important works relating to ASEAN in the literature. The periodical *The ASEAN reader*, published by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), one of the most famous think-tanks in Southeast Asia, is a prominent example. The first volume was published in 1992, the second in 2003 and the third in 2015, and these works contain mostly brief summaries of important articles about ASEAN. These studies provide the reader with information on a variety of topics, from the most fundamental and vital issues such as political cooperation and security in ASEAN to secondary areas such as tourism in ASEAN countries. These studies do not provide in-depth analyses due to the design of the publication but they are nevertheless helpful for those who want to learn essential information about ASEAN.

Arnfinn Jorgensen-Dahl (1982) produced one of the most important works that can be consulted to understand the functioning and structure of the early period of organization. He analysed how ASEAN, as a regional organization, shaped regional policy, economy and diplomacy. Chin Kin Wah (1984; 1997) saw ASEAN as an