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Internal and External Challenges for ASEAN in The Evolving
Regional Architecture
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ASSOCIATION
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The framework of presentation

1. Internal and external challenges for ASEAN.
2. The evolving regional architecture in South-East and East Asia.
3. ASEAN may think to respond to current challenges.
4. ASEAN may do to respond to current challenges and contribute to the evolving regional architecture in South-east and East Asia.

Internal & external challenges for ASEAN

Internal challenges for ASEAN are

1. The improvement of ASEAN centrality in ASEAN's led regional institutions.
2. Enhancing the coherence and the coordination amongst ASEAN member states.
3. Preserving flexibility of ASEAN member states but enhancing the capacity of ASEAN's Secretariat and its institutions/organs.

4. The involvement of NGOs, civil society and business people in development of ASEAN policies & the ASEAN led regional mechanisms is critical to the establishment people ownership of ASEAN.
5. Realizing ASEAN Community in 2015. There is different views between governments views versus business views and people views on the readiness of each ASEAN member state to enter ASEAN Community.

External challenges for ASEAN are:

1. The rivalry of great powers in South-east and East Asia.
2. The overlapping claim and territorial disputes in the South China Sea .
3. The active role of ASEAN in the development of an evolving regional architecture in South-East and East Asia, for instance: East Asia Summit (EAS) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as well as the idea of Indo-Pacific cooperation.

4. Non-traditional security threats, for example: global diseases, natural disaster, new form of terrorism, migration, environmental issues and human rights issues in few ASEAN member states.

The evolving regional architecture in South-East & East Asia

1. ARF is one of primary forums for security dialogue and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.
2. ARF has a consensus based process decision-making and voluntary participation for all participants.

3. ARF applies confidence building measures (CMBs), preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution as its ways to respond the regional and global challenges. ARF's areas of cooperation are disaster relief, counter-terrorism, transnational crimes, non-proliferation & disarmament and maritime security.

4. Two crucial actions may be done by ARF in order to improve ARF's relevance.
 - A. ARF process is not only the promotion of Confidence Building Measures but also development of preventive diplomacy via practical-oriented actions and the implementation of ARF preventive diplomacy work-plan (strengthening CMBs in ARF's areas of cooperation and ARF unit in the Secretariat of ASEAN, capacity building/technical assistance, good offices role, fact-finding and observer mission).

- B. There is a need for a effective coordination amongst ASEAN's led regional mechanisms (ARF, ADMM and ASEAN Maritime Forum) in order to make better responses to the dynamic political landscape at the regional and global levels.
6. Beside ARF, East Asia Summit (EAS) is another crucial forum for political, economic and social cooperation between ASEAN and its external partners in East Asia.
7. ARF and EAS are foundations for the existing regional architecture in South-East and East Asia.

8. There is a possibility that great powers in EAS and ARF may shift a position of ASEAN as a driver and policy initiator within these forums, if ASEAN is passive in the creation of evolving regional architectures. Therefore, ASEAN may prevent domination of great powers in these forums.

9. Indonesia's World Maritime Axis, raised by Elected Indonesian President Joko Widodo, may emphasize on the vision of Indonesia as a driver and a focal point in the India and Pacific oceans. This might inline with Natalegawa's doctrine (Pattiradjawane, 2013) which proposes Indo-Pacific forum as another outlet for political, security and maritime cooperation in the changing geopolitical & economic landscape in the Indo-Pacific region. This may affect the regional architecture in the whole region.

Consequently, the role of ASEAN is crucial to positively contribute in creating an evolving regional architecture through ARF and other mechanisms.

The crucial questions are :

1. What may ASEAN think to respond to those challenges and contribute to the evolving regional architecture?
2. How do ASEAN may respond to those challenges and contribute to the regional architecture in the region?

ASEAN may think that

1. Regional cooperation is a must to respond these challenges through ARF, EAS and Indo-pacific forum. The rationale is these challenges become important when they affect sovereignty of each country in ASEAN and its own territory. These forums need to be effectively linked and led by ASEAN in order to enhance the relevance of ASEAN in these developments.

2. This situation creates a common perspective between ASEAN countries and its external partners about a need for a collective response towards their challenges. This relates to ASEAN's centrality and its common purposes (to preserve peace, stability and security in the South-East Asia region) based on ASEAN's TAC, SEANWFZ, the Declaration of EAS on the Principles of Mutually Beneficial Relations and DoC in the South China Sea.

3. ASEAN member states need to commit themselves on the further integration of South-East Asia by creating ASEAN Community, especially ASEAN Political and Security Community.
4. This implicates to ASEAN member states' perspective on ASEAN's role and the way they conduct ASEAN's external relations in the coherent action.

ASEAN may do

1. The adoption of the principle of axis of symmetrical interests by ASEAN is useful to develop ASEAN as a non-aligned stabilizer in dealing with external parties in the South-east Asia region (Pakpahan, 2012). ASEAN may balance regional and global interests when it relates to its partners. This may strengthen the coherency of ASEAN. Interestingly, Indonesia's leadership matters for preserving ASEAN's centrality.
2. The development and preservation of a communication platform for all persons in charge (with authorities) to deal with political and security issues in ASEAN member states and their external partners.

3. The implementation of a preventive diplomacy through high-level officials coordination within ASEAN and ARF and EAS is a crucial action in order to respond incidents and de-escalate conflicts in the South-East Asia region in an effective way.
4. The collective security cooperation and exercises between ASEAN and its external partners in bilateral way or its friends in the plurilateral way (ARF and EAS). This may share knowledge on new security problems and build their capacity on responding collective security threats.

5. The ASEAN regional integration may continue with the implementation of ASEAN Community. The encouragement of the ASEAN-10 to support the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC) is a crucial action in order to strengthen ASEAN's role as a bridge builder between ASEAN's internal institutions and ASEAN's led regional initiatives, e.g: the relationship between ADMM, ARF and EAS.
6. ASEAN should focus on the development of coordination among regional ASEAN's led initiatives (e.g ARF, EAS and Indo-pacific forum) and avoid overlapping of agendas and policy initiatives within these forums.

7. ASEAN may strengthen capacity of ASEAN Secretariat and streamline its internal structure /organs for supporting the ASEAN regional integration.
8. On financial issues, ASEAN may increase internal member contributions and extend its cooperation with its dialogue partners or regional institutions in order to support and facilitate ASEAN's activities.

9. ASEAN should focus on strengthening its norms and translating them into its policy initiatives (political and economic initiatives), for example: Code of Conduct in the South China Sea and the Indonesia's idea for Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in the wider Indo-Pacific region. These reflect values of ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation.

Thank you