



THE HABIBIE CENTER

**Talking ASEAN on Democracy
26 November 2014**

**ASEAN Political-Security Community: Where is it going?
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CSIS – November 2014

Human Rights

- Declaration on the Advancement of Women (1998), Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (2004), Declaration Against Trafficking in Persons, particularly
- National Human Rights Institutions: The Philippines (1987), Indonesia (1993), Malaysia (1998), Thailand (1999), Myanmar (2011)

Democracy

- Promising development in the relationship between ASEAN and CSOs: adopting the word “people” in many ASEAN documents, ASEAN supported ASEAN’s first ASEAN People Assembly (2000), ASEAN roadmap uses the term “people-centered”

Basic Ingredients

- (description): Does ASEAN fit some basic definition of a security community?
- (propositional concept): if ASEAN is a security community by definition, is it also an SC in which ASEAN rather than some other factor has caused regional security to exist?
- (a normative project): should it be a policy goal of governments?

Concept and Definition: Key Questions

[adopted from Emmerson, 2005]

- An SC: a group that has become “integrated”, where integration is defined as the attainment of **a sense of community**, accompanied by formal or informal institutions or practices,.....**to assure peaceful change** among members of a group with reasonable certainty **over a long period of time**. Such community could either be “**amalgamated**” *through the formal political merger* of the participating units, or remain “**pluralistic**”, *in which case the members retain their independence and sovereignty*

Deutsch (1961)

- A group of sovereign states that share both an expectation of intramural security and a sense of intramural community. *Security* is the presence of a durable peace among these states.....*community* is the presence of a **cooperative identity** among these states...

Emmerson (2005) on PSC

- ASEAN to become a comprehensive security community (CSC) more attuned to the region's own needs and characteristics....go beyond military security to give equal importance to the non-military kind and move beyond war-prevention 'to prevent and resolve conflicts and disorder'.

Rizal Sukma (2003)

- “through an agreed mechanism”
- Two domestic concerns with regional impacts: narcotics trafficking, cross-border pollution, maritime piracy, humanitarian crises (natural disasters and gross violation of **human rights**).

CSC: the requirement

- BC II committed that ASEAN will achieve a “Security of Community”, but it will not be “amalgamated”, no joint foreign policy.
- Rizal’s “proposal” did mention “human rights”, but did not mention “democracy”.
- BC II did mention “democracy”, but did not mention “human rights”: an ASEAN Security Community that would lift cooperation “to a higher plane”, one where the region’s countries would “live at peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, **democratic** and harmonious environment”.

Bali Concord II (2003)

- Only Indonesia has been rated “free” by Freedom House Survey (2013), others are “partly free” or “not free”
- In terms of press freedom, none of ASEAN member countries are rated “free” by Freedom House Survey (2014), Indonesia and the Philippines are rated “partly free”.

Current Situation

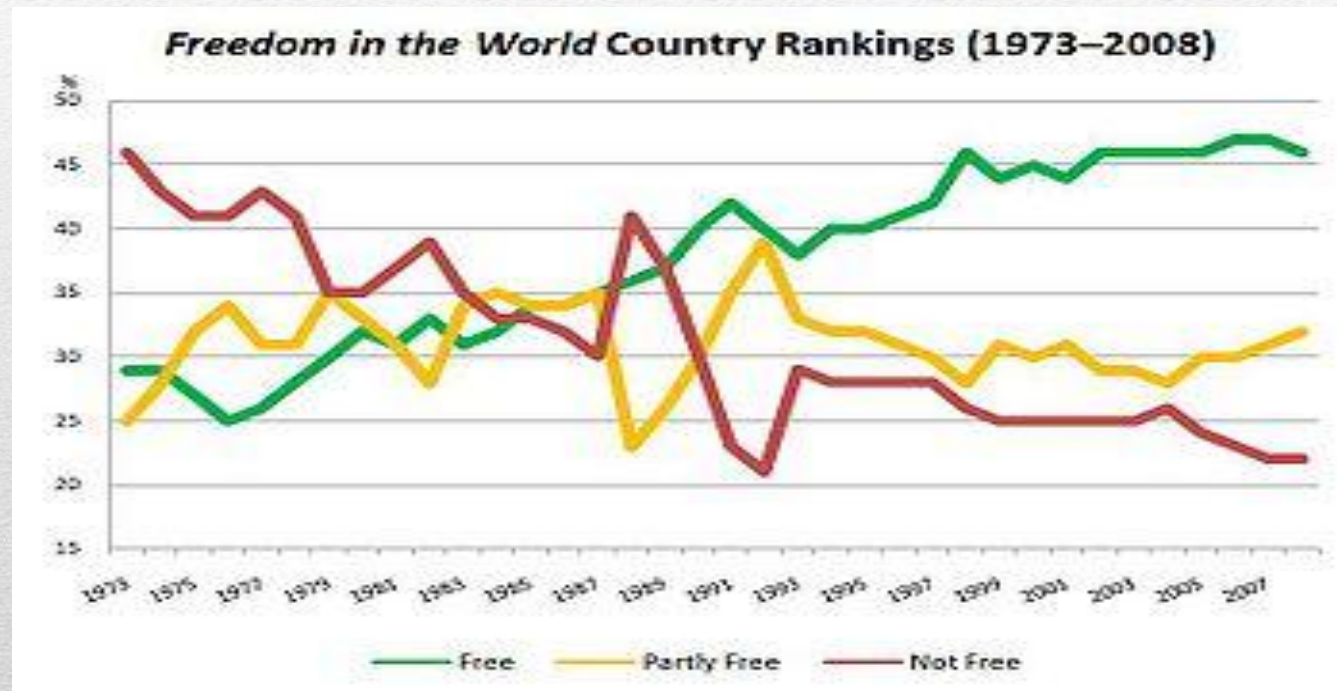


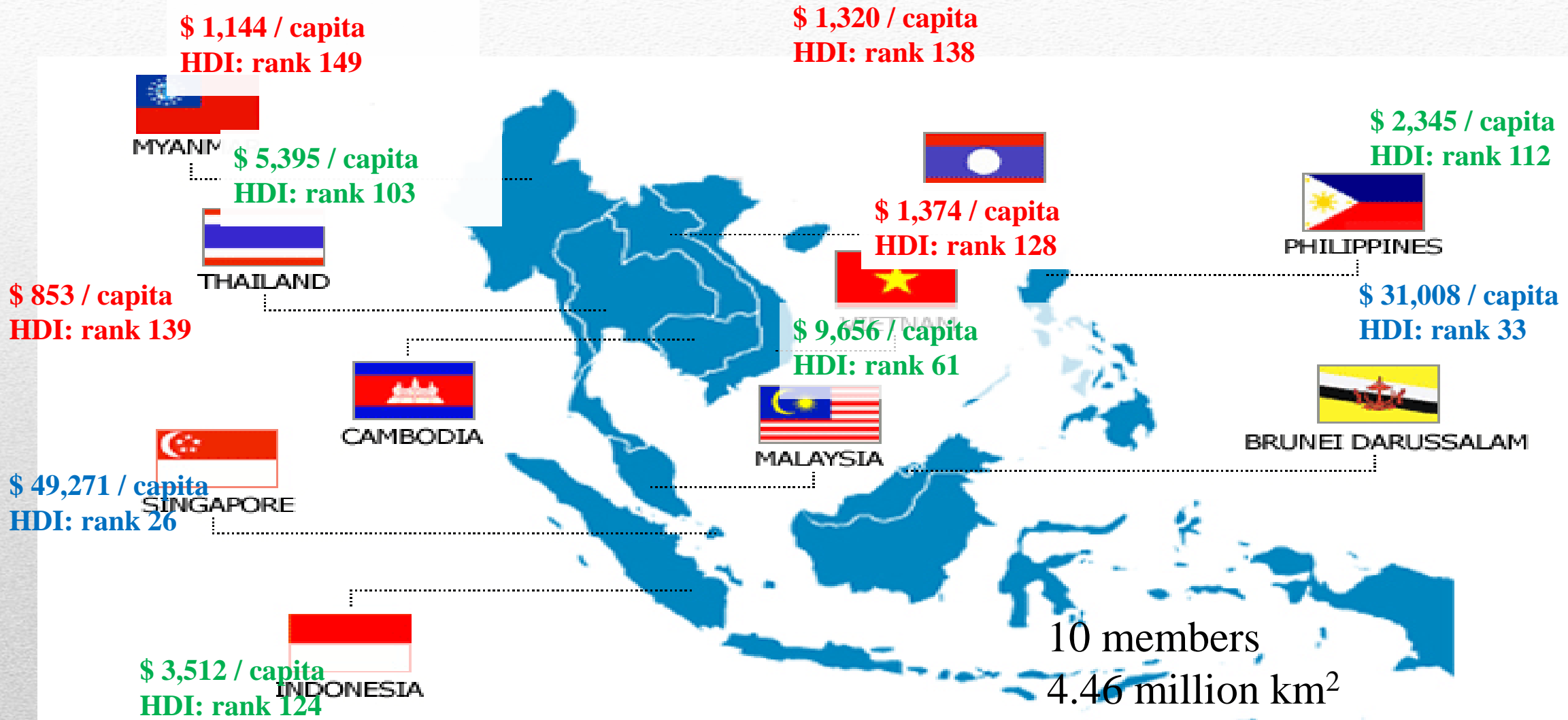
Table 2 Global Trend in Democracy 1973-2008

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Brunei	-	-	-	-	5.5	5.5
Cambodia	1.5	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.8	2.1
Indonesia	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.8
Lao PDR		3.3	2.6	1.9	2.0	2.1
Malaysia	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.1	4.5	4.4
Myanmar	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.4
Philippines	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.4
Singapore	9.3	9.2	9.3	9.2	9.2	9.3
Thailand	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.5
Vietnam	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7

Table 3 Corruption Perception Index 2005-2010

- Lack of democracy
- Imbalanced development concepts and the Asian Tigers (while promotion of democracy, respect for human rights, good governance and peaceful conflict resolution are the pillars of APSC, many of ASEAN member states achieve successful economic development through authoritarian governments.
- Problematic notions of non-interference in domestic affairs
- Asian Values: competition between universal values versus “regional” values.

Current Situation: Problems that cause the dismal record in progress (Wirajudha, 2012)



10 members
 4.46 million km²
 ~ 601 million population
 \$ 1.8 trillion GDP (nominal)



Thank you
