

*Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific Series*

Series Editor: **Mark Beeson**, Winthrop Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Western Australia

*Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific* showcases new research and scholarship on what is arguably the most important region in the world in the twenty-first century. The rise of China and the continuing strategic importance of this dynamic economic area to the United States mean that the Asia Pacific will remain crucially important to policymakers and scholars alike. The unifying theme of the series is a desire to publish the best theoretically-informed, original research on the region. Titles in the series cover the politics, economics and security of the region, as well as focussing on its institutional processes, individual countries, issues and leaders.

*Titles include:*

Stephen Aris  
EURASIAN REGIONALISM  
The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

Toby Carroll  
DELUSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT  
The World Bank and the Post-Washington Consensus in Southeast Asia

Aurel Croissant and Marco Bunte (*editors*)  
THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Shahar Hameiri  
REGULATING STATEHOOD  
State Building and the Transformation of the Global Order

Lee Jones  
ASEAN, SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERVENTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Hiro Katsumata  
ASEAN'S COOPERATIVE SECURITY ENTERPRISE  
Norms and Interests in a Regional Forum

Erik Paul  
OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA  
A Study of the Nation-State, Regional and Global Order

Joel Rathus  
JAPAN, CHINA AND NETWORKED REGIONALISM IN EAST ASIA

Barry Wain  
MALAYSIAN MAVERICK  
Mahathir Mohamad in Turbulent Times

Robert G. Wirsing and Ehsan Ahrari (editors)  
FIXING FRACTURED NATIONS  
The Challenge of Ethnic Separatism in the Asia-Pacific

---

**Critical Studies of the Asia Pacific Series**

**Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-22896-2 (Hardback) 978-0-230-22897-9  
(Paperback)**

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and one of the ISBNs quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke,  
Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

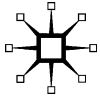
---

# ASEAN, Sovereignty and Intervention in Southeast Asia

Lee Jones

*Lecturer in International Relations, Queen Mary, University of London, UK*

palgrave  
macmillan



© Lee Jones 2012

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2012 ISBN 978-0-230-31926-4

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2012 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries

ISBN 978-1-349-33984-6      ISBN 978-0-230-35627-6 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230356276

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

*To my parents, Diane and Paul*



# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Note on Citations</i>	xii
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
ASEAN and non-interference: A misplaced consensus	2
Structure of the book	8
1 Theorising Sovereignty and Intervention	10
Organised hypocrisy?	11
Sovereignty as a technology of power	15
Explaining sovereignty regimes	23
Method, evidence and scope	29
Brief outline of the argument	33
<b>Part I The Cold War</b>	<b>37</b>
2 The Social Foundations of ASEAN and 'Non-Interference'	39
From <i>Konfrontasi</i> to ASEAN	40
Indochina: Non-interference and intervention	48
3 East Timor: ASEAN and Third-World Colonialism	58
Indonesian intervention in East Timor	59
A grab for territory and resources?	65
The other ASEAN states: Cooperation and complicity	67
4 Cambodia: Representation, Refugees and Rebels	75
Understanding ASEAN's initial reaction	76
Representation: ASEAN as the Khmer Rouge's UN champion	80
Rebels and refugees: ASEAN's Aid to anti-Vietnamese guerrillas	82
Representation II: ASEAN's construction of the 'Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea'	85

<b>Part II</b>	<b>The Post-Cold War Period</b>	<b>93</b>
5	ASEAN after the Cold War: Capital, Crisis, Conflict	95
	The rise of capital	97
	Southeast Asia in crisis	107
	ASEAN in the long shadow of crisis	113
6	Cambodia: From Cold War to Conditionality	128
	The rise of capital and the 'new look'	129
	UNTAC: Welcoming the 'new interventionism'	131
	From UNTAC to the 1997 'coup'	133
	Creeping conditionality for ASEAN membership	140
7	East Timor: Interdependence and Intervention	150
	The early 1990s: Enforcing 'non-interference'	152
	ASEAN's support for humanitarian intervention in East Timor	157
	Why did ASEAN states (not) intervene in East Timor?	163
	The CLMV states	166
	The core ASEAN states	168
8	Burma: ASEAN's Image and the 'Regional Interest'	180
	Constructive engagement: Asian values-style regime change	183
	The post-crisis push for 'flexible engagement'	190
	Illusive payoffs: The revival of constructive engagement	196
	New crises, attempted interventions and the ASEAN charter	203
	Conclusions	211
	Summary of findings	211
	Implications for understanding 'non-interference' and norms	218
	Implications for understanding Southeast Asian regionalism	222
	Final thoughts on 'non-interference'	225
	<i>Notes</i>	229
	<i>References</i>	234
	<i>Index</i>	253



# Acknowledgements

The greatest pleasure in seeing this book finally come to press is the opportunity to acknowledge all the help and support I received in researching and writing it. Scholarship can seem a rather lonely, individuated task at times but, like all production, intellectual production is actually an intensely social activity. It involves not only standing 'on the shoulders of giants' to contribute to ongoing debates, but it is also enabled and enriched by countless discussions, arguments, criticisms, and acts of kindness.

I will forever be grateful to Allan Patience who first introduced me to the study of International Relations (and ASEAN) in his course at the University of Tokyo in 2002. As a working-class youth who was the first in my family to attend university, without Allan's encouragement and mentorship, I would never have even embarked upon graduate study, let alone written this book. He has been a superb teacher and friend, lending unstinting support since we first met.

This book emerged out of research subsequently undertaken for my postgraduate studies at the University of Oxford, where I had the privilege to be supervised by Andrew Hurrell. Andy's kind and supportive, yet critical and rigorous approach taught me a great deal and is, I hope, reflected here. Yuen Foong Khong's robust guidance and help in arranging fieldwork was also much appreciated. Rosemary Foot's advice was also extremely useful, both at the formative stages of my project and when she later became my internal examiner. My external examiner, the late Fred Halliday, was not only a source of intellectual inspiration but also rightly pushed me to develop my theoretical framework much further when writing this book. His passing was a great loss to us all.

At Oxford, I was particularly fortunate to meet other, far more talented graduate students who became close friends and collaborators. Conversations with Alastair Fraser, Chris Bickerton and Phil Cunliffe profoundly changed the way I thought about the world. I cannot express my debt to them enough. Our collaboration in the 'Sovereignty and its Discontents' BISA working group, alongside other valued interlocutors including David Chandler, James Heartfield and Rahul Rao, inspired an interest in sovereignty and intervention that will probably persist for a lifetime. A host of other friends also made Oxford

an intellectually stimulating and enjoyable place to be. I am particularly thankful for the companionship of Emily Paddon and Vidya Kumar.

As will become apparent to readers, this book emerges out of a particular 'political economy' approach to understanding Southeast Asian politics. This approach was pioneered by scholars based at or linked with the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, Perth. At its most basic, this book tries to apply their insights about the nature of state power in Southeast Asia to deepen our understanding of international relations in that region. Whether I have done this successfully or not, I greatly admire their work and owe them a significant intellectual debt. Two directors of the Centre, Garry Rodan and Richard Robison, have provided valuable comments on my work and have been very supportive and generous. The Centre's Shahar Hameiri has also significantly influenced my thinking and research agenda, becoming a friend and close intellectual collaborator.

Many other individuals and institutions helped make this book possible. The Economic and Social Research Council and Nuffield College, Oxford, financed the fieldwork. Ambassador Barry Desker, dean of Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, graciously provided a base for me there, while Beth Dunlap generously housed me in Jakarta. Many people kindly gave their time to be interviewed. Hannah Chandler at Oxford's Bodleian Library and the excellent librarians at Nuffield College worked tirelessly to help me access far-flung research materials. The warmth, encouragement and advice of my colleagues at Queen Mary was very important to me as I wrote the book. I am particularly grateful to Ray Kiely, James Dunkerley, Jeremy Jennings, and Rick Saull, and especially to Toby Dodge, who has unselfishly helped me in countless ways. The editor of this series, Mark Beeson, showed consistent faith in the manuscript and has been critical in bringing it to press, as have Christina M Brian and her colleagues at Palgrave. My thanks also to Palgrave's anonymous reviewer, and to the reviewers for *The Pacific Review*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, and *Asian Security*, where some of the ideas and material in the book were explored for the first time.

The text used in the epigraphs is reproduced by kind permission of their respective publishers. The sources are indicated in the text. Thanks also to the United Nations' Cartographic Section for the use of their map of Southeast Asia. Every effort has been made to trace rights holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publishers would be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

Above all, I am grateful to my family for all their love and support. My mother and grandmother in particular instilled in me an inspirational love of learning for its own sake and a rejection of injustice and oppression in all its forms. Along with my partner, Ian, and many good friends, my family have supported me constantly.

Whatever is good about this book, then, I really owe to others – even if none of them may actually agree with very much of what I have written. Its shortcomings, however, are of course mine alone.

# Note on Citations

*UN Documents* are cited as follows. 'A' indicates a General Assembly document. 'C.', followed by a number, indicates a committee of the General Assembly, the most commonly cited being C.4, the decolonisation committee. 'BUR' denotes the General Committee. 'E' denotes the Economic and Social Council, under which the UN Human Rights Commission (C.3) used to fall. 'S' indicates a Security Council document. 'PV' indicates a Provisional Verbatim record and 'SR' a Summary Record. They are preceded by the session number in the case of General Assembly records, or by the meeting number in the case of Security Council records. Page numbers follow. E.g., 'A/35/PV.4, p. 2' indicates page two of the provisional verbatim record of the 35<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly. RES indicates a resolution, followed by the number of the resolution for the Security Council, or by the session number and resolution number for the General Assembly. E.g., S/RES/688 (1990) indicates Security Council Resolution 688, passed in 1990; A/RES/45/3 indicates General Assembly Resolution 3 of the 45<sup>th</sup> session. 'L' denotes a draft resolution. 'Add.' and 'Rev.' following a reference denote additions and revisions to the original document.

*British Foreign and Commonwealth Office documents* are cited by their title, where one exists, followed by their location in the British National Archives at Kew, as follows: FCO folder number/subfolder number/document number. # is substituted for missing document numbers.

# List of Acronyms

AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AIETD	All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue
AIPMC	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus
AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
APCET	Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APODETI	<i>Associação Popular Democrática Timorese</i> (Timorese Popular Democratic Association)
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASDT	<i>Associação Social-Democrata Timorese</i> (Timorese Social-Democratic Association)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
BAKIN	<i>Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara</i> (State Intelligence Coordinating Agency)
BCP	Burmese Communist Party
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FRETILIN	<i>Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente</i> (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
FUNCINPEC	<i>Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif</i> (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOLKAR	<i>Partai Golongan Karya</i> (Party of the Functional Groups)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor

IR	International Relations
JIM	Jakarta Informal Meeting
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front
KR	Khmer Rouge
MAC	<i>Movimento Anti-Communista</i> (Anti-Communist Movement)
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLD	National League for Democracy
PAP	People's Action Party
PAS	<i>Parti Islam SeMalaysia</i> (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party)
PKI	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Communist Party)
PPA	Paris Peace Agreements
PPP	People's Power Party
PRB	<i>Partai Rakyat Brunei</i> (People's Party of Brunei)
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SNC	Supreme National Council
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
SRP	Sam Rainsy Party
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TRT	Thai Rak Thai
UDT	<i>União Democrática Timorese</i> (Timorese Democratic Union)
UMNO	United Malay National Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNCHR	United Nations Commission for Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Administration in Cambodia
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor
US	United States of America
VCP	Vietnamese Communist Party
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

