Understanding ASEAN

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Understanding ASEAN

**edited by
Alison Broinowski**

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Map of Southeast Asia Showing ASEAN Countries

Editor's Foreword

From ASEAN's earliest days, it has had its share of admirers and detractors. The Association has aroused suspicion, antagonism, resentment, respect and fulsome praise, but most generally, curiosity. Observers of Southeast Asian affairs in government, universities, in business and in the Press continue to question the nature and purpose of ASEAN: why it was formed, what ASEAN gives its members which they would not otherwise have, what effects it has on its neighbours and how they should deal with it, what direction ASEAN will take in the future, and even whether it has a future.

More particular questions also arise: will ASEAN achieve a Zone of Peace? To what extent does regional co-operation override national competition in ASEAN? How will the ASEAN countries reconcile export-led growth with the need to expand their industrial and agricultural production for domestic consumption? Is ASEAN set to follow the newly industrialising countries of East Asia, and to emulate Singapore, ASEAN's most atypical member? What happens to ASEAN when the present leaders change? Will ASEAN become a common market? How will ASEAN cope with Vietnam, the Soviet Union, China, the United States, and with Japan? Will ASEAN develop a common foreign policy?

For people dealing with these questions, the need for a convenient source of information on ASEAN, on both general and specialised levels, has become obvious. This book is an attempt to meet that need by addressing the questions

in a factual, objective way. It does not aim to arouse controversy or to make sensational revelations: we leave that to others.

In planning the book, I have deliberately crossed disciplines and national boundaries to bring together contributors who are officials, academics and journalists, with a common interest in Southeast Asian affairs: some are nationals of ASEAN countries, while all the others live or have lived in the region. All write here in a private capacity, and from publicly available sources. Since the organisations with which we are professionally associated have not intervened in any way in our project, we do not intend that they should be implicated in any of the views we put forward.

We sought to adopt a consensus approach, discussing the issues among ourselves, reading and commenting on each others' drafts, and trying to arrive at views which could be reflected in the final chapter. Inevitably, differences exist between us on some points, and I have preferred to let these remain to stimulate further inquiry, rather than take them out of the text to achieve unanimity.

Earlier accounts of ASEAN have been written by economists, by foreign relations specialists, by investment consultants and by governments: we are indebted to their detailed work. Others have approached ASEAN from fixed ideological positions which we have tried to avoid. In keeping with the widening impact of ASEAN, and growing interest in it, our intention has been to match that range in our coverage of ASEAN affairs. We have paid close attention to the original blueprint for ASEAN economic co-operation drawn up by a United Nations team in the early 1970s, because it remains relevant as a basis for many of the decisions ASEAN is now making, and because most other studies have neglected it.

As well as tracing the antecedents, development and structure of ASEAN and its co-operative efforts both economic and political, internal and external, we have tried throughout to take account of the Association in terms of its five countries and to give due weight to the differences between them. Chapter 9, which deals in detail with the difficulties facing some of the individual countries, provides a perspective on ASEAN which contrasts with the measured

optimism of the rest of the book. It is a view supported by some reports of the Asian Development Bank, IBRD and ILO, and its inclusion in any realistic assessment of ASEAN is essential. We have selected ASEAN's relations with Japan and with Australia for special scrutiny, since they demonstrate similarities and differences in ASEAN's approaches to the dialogue countries, as well as in the responses to ASEAN of the two countries themselves. If this way of dealing with the subject succeeds in covering the full range of ASEAN's affairs without sacrificing depth, and if it answers some questions while stimulating others, it will have served its purpose.

I acknowledge with appreciation the support of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and particularly of its Director, Mr R. L. Harry. Dr Carlyle A. Thayer, Dr Ross Garnaut, Dr Nancy Viviani, Dr John Funston and Dr Peter King read parts of the manuscript and made useful suggestions, and Professor J. A. C. Mackie and Dr Milton Osborne gave me valuable advice in the preparatory stages. Professor Estrella Solidum's work on ASEAN and defence, while it does not appear as a chapter, provided an important point of reference, and will I hope find its proper place in a larger study. I was particularly fortunate, just before completion of the manuscript, in having the opportunity to discuss it with the Secretary-General of ASEAN, Ambassador Narciso G. Reyes, who was present at ASEAN's birth and whose knowledge of ASEAN from the inside has few rivals. Finally, David Irvine's contributions to the book included many hours of hard work beyond those he gave to his own chapter, and I am grateful for them.

ALISON BROINOWSKI
Canberra, December 1980

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Abbreviations

AAECP	ASEAN—Australian Economic Cooperation Programme
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN—CCI	ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Aid
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
EC	European Community (ies)
ECAFE	(United Nations) Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
EEC	European Economic Community
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICAP	International Civil Aviation Policy (Australian)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NPA	New People's Army (Philippine)
SCCAN	Special Co-ordinating Committee of ASEAN Nations

SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality
ZOPIGN	Zone of Peace, Independence and Genuine Neutrality