

# REGIONAL SECURITY: FROM TAC TO ARF

Hubungan Internasional di Asia Tenggara



# OUTLINE OF LECTURE

- ☐ Sovereignty and regional security
- ☐ Territorial disputes in Southeast Asia
- ☐ South China Sea
- ☐ TAC: Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia
- ☐ The ASEAN Way
- ☐ ARF: ASEAN Regional Forum
- ☐ Southeast Asian regional security



# SOVEREIGNTY AND REGIONAL SECURITY

- Maintaining regional security in Southeast Asia
  - Internal (domestic) factors: political legitimacy, state consolidation, internal conflict
  - External (regional and international) factors: regional conflict, neighboring powers, international political structure
- Sovereignty and Southeast Asian regional security
  - Sovereignty: supreme power over esp. a body politic
  - Sovereignty and the state
  - Three dimensions: holder, absoluteness, internal and external
  - Shaky foundation of (internal) sovereignty in Southeast Asia
  - Regional guarantee of (external) sovereignty

# TERRITOTIAL DISPUTES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

## Inter-state disputes in Southeast Asia

- Thailand-Cambodia disputes over Khmer temples

- The row over Angkor Wat in 2003



- The confrontation related to Preah Vihear Temple in 2008



- Malaysia-Singapore disputes



# TERRITOTIAL DISPUTES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

- **The Philippines' Sabah claim**

- Basis: the agreement between Sutan of Sulu and North Borneo Company in 1878
- The Lahad Datu standoff in Feb-Mar 2013



- **Malaysia-Indonesia: Ligitan and Sipidan**

- Two small islands on Borneo's east coast
- Referred to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1998
- ICJ confirmed the sovereignty of Malaysia in 2002

- **Malaysia-Singapore: Pedra Branca**

- Under the administration of the British Strait Settlement Government since 1851
- Agreed to refer the case to ICJ in 2003
- The ICJ ruling in 2008 in favour of Singapore



# SOUTH CHINA SEA

- **The geography of South China Sea**

- South China Sea: semi-enclosed sea surrounded by China, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia and the Philippines
- The Spratly Island archipelago: hundreds of islets, reefs and rocks (mainly Paracel Islands and Spratly Islands)
- Fish stock, undersea oil and natural gas reserves

- **Territorial claims by relevant countries**

- Mainland China, Taiwan (RoC), Vietnam, the Philippines, and Malaysia
- Territorial claims based on different grounds
- About half of the islands have been occupied or garrisoned

- **Declaration on the South China Sea by ASEAN in 1992**

- **Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (2002)**

- **Disputes over oil exploration and land reclamation**

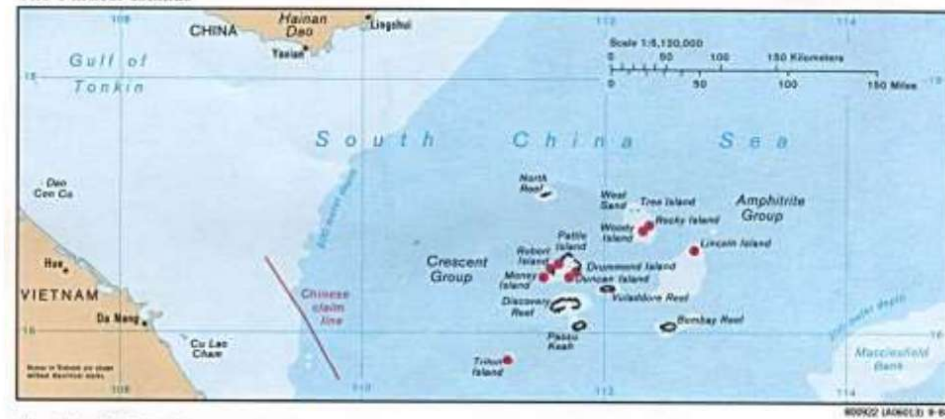


# South China Sea

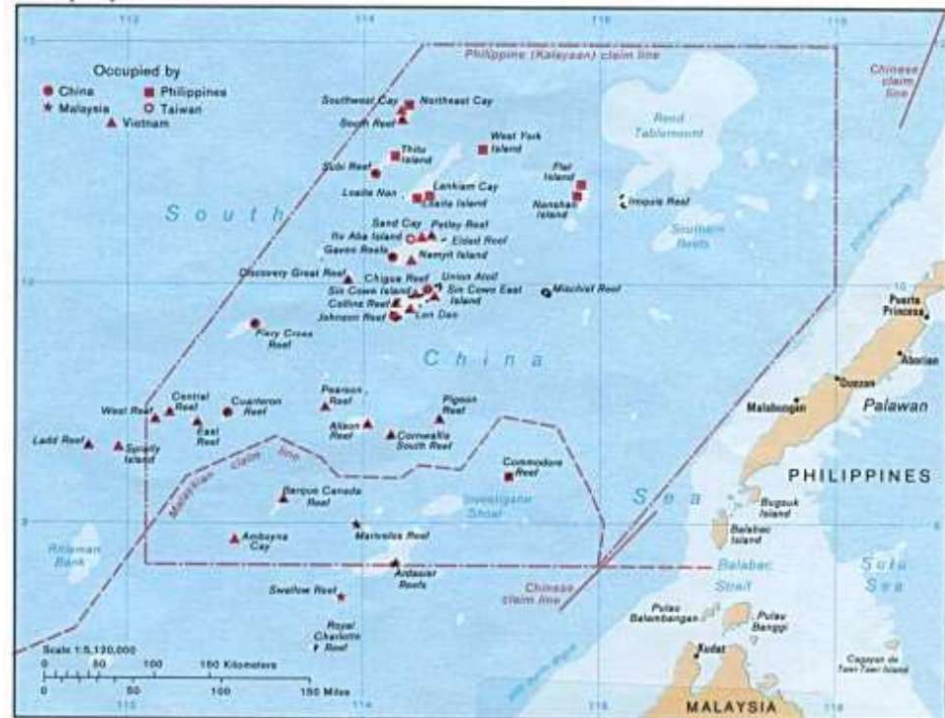
South China Sea Islands



The Paracel Islands



The Spratly Islands





### China's claims versus those of its neighbors





# TAC

- 'Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia'
  - Signed in 1976 during the first ASEAN Summit
- Art. 2 details the principles of TAC
  - Mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and national identity of all nations
  - The right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion
  - Non-interference in the international affairs of one another
  - Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means
  - Renunciation of the threat or use of force
  - Effective cooperation

# TAC

- TAC High Council
  - Art. 14: regional disputes shall be settled by a High Council comprising ministerial level representatives of each member
  - Rules of Procedure of the High Council adopted in 2001
  - However, doubts remain...
- TAC opened to the countries outside of Southeast Asia
  - Papua New Guinea signed the TAC in 1989
  - Today, China, India, Japan, Pakistan, South Korea, Russia, New Zealand, Mongolia, Australia, France, East Timor, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, North Korea, European Union and United States
- Signing the TAC is a precondition to join the East Asian Summit

# ASEAN WAY

- The 'ASEAN way' as a distinctive approach to inter-state conflict in Southeast Asia
- What is the 'ASEAN way'?
  - Based on the principles of TAC
  - Plus informality, consultation, and consensus
  - Mutual interest in maintaining peaceful and stable regional order
- Explaining the 'ASEAN way'
  - ASEAN identity and regional 'socialization'
  - The influences of national interests



# ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM

- Purpose
  - Engaging external partner in regional security dialogue and consultation on political and security issues of common interest
- Facts about the ARF
  - founded in 1994, meet annually
  - Involving 27 states (participants) at the foreign ministerial level
  - Official record: 'Chairman's Statement'
- The operation of ARF
  - Instruments: confidence-building, preventive diplomacy
  - Track II diplomacy: ARF Security Policy Conference
  - ARF 'friends of the chair' (FOC): past chair, incoming chair and foreign minister of a non-ASEAN country
  - Challenge: how to move beyond a 'talk shop'...



# SOUTHEAST ASIA REGIONAL SECURITY

- Significant achievement
  - Despite various challenges to domestic and regional security, Southeast Asia maintained relative stable security environment in the past few decades
- Distinctive security management in Southeast Asia
  - No sophisticated institutional arrangement
  - Regional norms with strong socialization impacts
- Understanding the Southeast Asian security order
  - 'Security community' in Southeast Asia (Acharya)?
  - 'Making process not progress' (Jones and Smith)?



NEXT

# **Engaging External Powers: China, Japan and the US**