ASEAN and Regional Peace in the South East Asia

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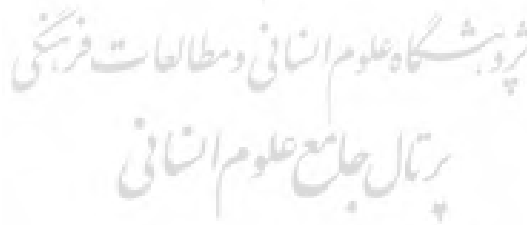
Abstract
The peace and looking for ways to keep it have been one of the most essential obsessions of the human beings throughout the history. Creation of regional or international organizations is considered as a way to peace building and keeping. In fact, one of the causes of transformation of international organization after the Cold War has been settlement of peace and security. The role of international organizations in order to settle conflicts is more vital and important, because most of these organizations have the ability and legitimacy to play an important role in this regard. In this regard, this article using descriptive- analytic method is intended to investigate the question: "why after the Cold War we have witnessed lower conflicts and tensions in the South East Asia than Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus and Africa?" Research findings show that ASEAN has had an effective role in peace building and peace keeping through creating norms and regimes of peaceful settlement of disputes and strengthening interdependency, and even it has been successful to make a security community.

Key words: Peace, Interdependency, International Regimes, Southeast Asia, ASEAN

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Introduction

The peace and looking for ways to keep it have been one of the most essential obsessions of the human beings throughout the history. Even in the establishment of the new international society based on the charter of the UN, peace keeping has been considered as the major objective of the UN, to the point that, respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms have been considered as an instrument to reach that objective. Such view is also reflected in the introduction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights.

There are different views about the possibility of peace. Some like realists believe that hopes for international cooperation and 'perpetual peace' (Kant) is a utopian delusion and the anarchic structure of international system does not allow sustainable peace. Vice versa, Liberals have a broadly optimistic view of human nature. Humans are self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures; but they are also managed by reason and are capable of personal self-development. Liberals therefore condemn the use of force and aggression; for example, war is always seen as a choice of the very last recourse. As such, the use of force may be justified, either on the grounds of self-defense or as a tool to counter oppression, but only after reason and negotiations have failed (Heywood, 2011: 56).

Human has taken different ways to reach peace; one of them has been creating regional or international organizations. In fact, one of the causes of transformation of international organization after the Cold War has been settlement of peace and security. Meanwhile, the role of international organizations to settle conflicts is more vital and important, because they have, as transnational organizations, the ability and legitimacy to play an important role. In this regard, ASEAN as an international organization was formed in 1961 by Malaysia, Thailand and Philippine to develop economic and cultural cooperation and to crate regional peace and stability. The article is intended to investigate these questions: *"why after the Cold War we have witnessed lower conflicts and tensions in the South East Asia than Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus and Africa?,* and *by which means ASEAN has been essential to keep and build peace?''* The research hypothesis is that *"ASEAN has had an effective role in peace building and peace keeping through creating norms and regimes of peaceful settlement of disputes and strengthening interdependency"*. It should be noted that in this article peace is considered in its negative sense, the absence of interstate war.

1- Theoretical Framework

Not to mention, this article is based on liberalist theories which believe in possibility of peace and cooperation in international society. The following section outlines the theoretical toolkit of the article. In fact, the theoretical framework of this article consists of the following elements:

Interdependence Liberalism

Interdependency theories which have trade and economic relations as their basis originate from commercial liberalism in the nineteenth century, whose key theme was a belief in the advantages of free trade. Free trade enables countries to specialize in the production of the goods and services from which they can benefit the most and are

capable of producing (Heywood, 2011: 62). However, free trade has more importance in drawing states into a web of economic interdependency which means that the material costs of international conflict are so large that warfare becomes basically unthinkable (Keohane & Nye, 1987: 727). Free trade would draw people of different races and languages together in what Cobden described as 'the bonds of eternal peace' (Cobden, no date, cited in: Gary Galles, 2012[1]). Not only would free trade maintain peace for negative reasons (the fear from being deprived of essential goods), but it would also have positive functions in order to ensure that different peoples are united by shared values and a common culture of commercial, and so would cause a better understanding of others.

Giving priority to interdependency which is central to commercial liberalism has been further developed by neoliberals into what Keohane and Nye called "complex interdependency", viewed as an alternative theoretical model to realism. Complex interdependency is an idea that people and governments are influenced by external happenings, i.e the actions of their counterparts in other countries (Keohane & Nye, 1987: 730-1). This not only applies in the economic realm, but also in relation to a range of other issues like climate change, development, and human rights. Relations between and amongst states have also changed, not least through modern states' inclination to give priority to trade over war and through a tendency towards warm cooperation or even integration.

International Regimes

Puchala and Hopkins argue that "A regime is a set of principles, norms, rules, and procedures around actors' expectations converge… for every political system there is a corresponding regime…. Regimes constrain and regularize the behavior of participants, affect which issues among protagonists move on and off agendas, determine which activities are legitimated or condemned, and influence whether, when, and how conflicts are resolved (Puchala & Hopkins, 1982: 246).

In the past decade, international institutions have been mainly analyzed by Neoliberal or interest-based theories of regimes. They have put emphasis on the role of international regimes, which help states to realize common interests, as they consider states as "rational egoists" who pursue their own objectives and gains. Neoliberals have mainly used economic theories of institutions, which focus on information and transaction costs. Game-theory models have also been used to portray a set of interests which underlie different types of regimes, and they also influence the possibility of creation of a regime. Although power-based theories might impinge on the realm of institutionalism, interest-based theories of regimes definitely take an institutionalist perspective, that is, effectiveness and resilience of regimes are portrayed. Regimes are conducive to coordinating states' behavior so that they may avoid outcomes which are below the standard level. Also, maintaining existing regimes, in spite of the absence of operative factors which bring them together, can be shown to be an interest of states. The institutionalism of neoliberals, nevertheless, is expected,

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[1]. "Richard Cobden: activist for peace". By Gary Galles, on 24 November 12, from website <

http://www.cobdencentre.org/2012/11/richard-cobden-activist-for-peace/>

which is suggested in the rational choice models upon which their theories are based, since preferences and identities of actors are considered as exogenously given which are not affected by rule-governed practices or institutions (Hasenclever & et al, 2004: 4).

According to Neoliberals, institutions come into existence to make cooperation among states easier on matters of common interest and they adopt a mediator role. However, Neorealists emphasize that such cooperation is difficult and prone to break down as states put emphasis on 'relative' gains, but neoliberals believe that "absolute" gains receive the uttermost attention by states. It mentioned that states are inclined to cooperate when there is a tangible gain in real terms instead of outdoing their competitor. To explain the origins and development of formal institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the European Union, Neoliberals refer to such arguments. Also, they consider more informal institutions important so that they adopt a theory called 'new' institutionalism, which defines institutions as sets of norms, rules and 'standard operating procedures', which are internalized by those who work within them that explains the importance given to international regimes within neoliberal theory (Heywood, 2011: 65-7).

2- Historical Background
On 8 August 1967, five men signed in the Thai capital of Bangkok a declaration establishing a new regional association. The document that they signed, entitled the ASEAN Declaration and thereafter also known as the Bangkok Declaration, had five introductory and five operative paragraphs as follows:

- Economic growth, social progress and cultural development;
- Regional peace and stability;
- Economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative cooperation;
- Mutual support in training and research;
- cooperation in agriculture and industry, trade, transportation and communications, and the improvement of living standards;
- Boost in Southeast Asian studies;
- Collaboration with regional and international organizations (Severino, 2008: 2-3).

Living in peace, peaceful settling of disputes, and cooperating for common purposes were the common themes underlying these objectives. The new association was the first in bringing all of Southeast Asia region into one inter-governmental association. ASEAN was established as a means to maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia by providing a forum for the discussion and resolution of regional issues which had the potential to destabilize the region (Wong, Mistilis, & Dwyer, 2011: 882).

ASEAN provides an important and rich area of investigation into the study of peace building and peace keeping. Since its formation, ASEAN has remained alive through a major shift in the regional strategic environment of Southeast Asia. In the 1960s, the prospect for regional security and stability was unpleasant. The region was demonstrated variously as a 'region of revolt', the 'Balkans of the East', or a 'region of dominoes'. The following features characterized the geopolitical landscape of Southeast Asia: the weak socio-political unity of the region's new nation-states, the problem of legitimacy in several region's postcolonial governments,

interstate territorial disputes, intra-regional ideological polarization and intervention of external powers. These conflicts created a threat not only to the survival of some of the region's new states, but also to the outlook for regional peace as a whole (Acharya, 2003: 4).

Peace and stability in the region, however, was not achieved with the establishment of ASEAN in August 1967. As interstate disputes (such as that between Malaysia and the Philippines over Sabah) became worse, indeed, doubts were cast on the survival of ASEAN. Also, the slow advent of functional cooperation, including trade liberalization, was clear. ASEAN's plans, such as Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), for regional order were not promising, i.e. no sign of concrete progress**.** However, ASEAN survived and its members claimed that their grouping was one of the most successful experiments in regional cooperation in the developing world by the early 1990s. The essence of the claim entailed ASEAN's role, to moderate intra-regional conflicts and to reduce the likelihood of war. The members did not engage in a war since 1967 after founding the grouping. Also, ASEAN, with its leadership role in controlling the peace process, claimed a management role in keeping order, which ended up in the Paris Peace Agreement on Cambodia in 1991. After receiving international recognition, some of ASEAN's leaders questioned the feasibility of Western models of regional cooperation compared to ASEAN Way, a model emphasizing informality and organizational minimalism. After the settlement of the Cambodia conflict, trust was put in ASEAN, i.e. the countries of Asia Pacific region accepted ASEAN's nominal leadership and institutional model as the basis for creating a regional

multilateral security dialogue, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Also, ASEAN inclined towards adopting a role in regulating the behavior of major powers and in creating a stable post-Cold War regional order in the Asia Pacific (Ibid: 5).

The unique method of working of ASEAN —so called the "ASEAN way"— has not only attracted great academic interest, but it has also been imitated to some extent by other institutions like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum (Beeson, 2009: 17). Nikolas Busse argued that the "ASEAN way" is the method adopted by ASEAN to deal with conflict situations (Busse, 1999: 47). ASEAN Way is a unique product of the region and continues to influence the conduct of international relations in Asia-Pacific.

ASEAN has been able to influence both the Southeast Asian region and the wider Asia-Pacific region. In the context that this region had not witnessed establishing such institutions, ASEAN was entitled to be considered because of its role in the establishment of political coordination and cooperation. In fact, ASEAN has a wider comparative significance in this context, because it is perhaps the most enduring organization amongst organizations which have emerged from the "developing world" (Beeson, 2009: 17).

3- Research Findings

The article hypothesis is "ASEAN has had an effective role in peace building and peace keeping through creating norms and regimes of peaceful settlement of disputes and strengthening interdependency". So, this section investigates norms of settlement of disputes and also, the level of interdependency in this region.

1- Interdependency Before and After the Establishment of ASEAN in the Region

ASEAN was established on August 8, 1967, in Bangkok by the five initial Member Countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Brunei joined on January 8, 1984, Vietnam on July 28, 1995, Laos and Myanmar on July 23, 1997, and Cambodia on April 30, 1999. The main goal of ASEAN is to promote intra-regional trade by reducing tariffs between member states. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the share of intra-ASEAN trade in the total trade value of its Member Countries was between 12% and 15% (http://www.aseansec.org). ASEAN member states have achieved considerable progress in reducing trade barriers between them since the late 1960s. As a result, intra-regional trade grew from 15% of ASEAN's total trade in the early 1970s to almost 25% in 2012s (Fig. 1).

Table 1. ASEAN trade by selected partner country/ region, 2012

Table 19
ASEAN trade by selected partner country/region, 2012
as of December 2013
ASEAN Statistics

value in US$ million; share in percent

Partner country/region	Value			Share to total ASEAN trade		
	Exports	Imports	Total trade	Exports	Imports	Total trade
ASEAN	323,855.0	278,193.2	602,048.2	25.8	22.8	24.3
Australia	45,724.3	23,774.8	69,499.1	3.6	1.9	2.8
Canada	6,576.9	5,758.5	12,335.4	0.5	0.5	0.5
China	141,892.0	177,592.8	319,484.8	11.3	14.5	12.9
EU 28 1/	124,891.7	117,707.2	242,598.9	10.0	9.6	9.8
India	44,055.4	27,760.3	71,815.8	3.5	2.3	2.9
Japan	126,507.0	136,376.8	262,883.7	10.1	11.2	10.6
Republic of Korea	55,030.3	75,999.8	131,030.1	4.4	6.2	5.3
New Zealand	5,561.7	3,663.1	9,224.8	0.4	0.3	0.4
Pakistan	5,255.6	1,050.0	6,305.6	0.4	0.1	0.3
Russia	4,875.6	13,282.6	18,158.2	0.4	1.1	0.7
US	108,035.7	91,991.5	200,027.2	8.6	7.5	8.1
Total selected partner countries/regions	992,261.1	953,150.8	1,945,411.9	79.1	78.0	78.5
Others 2/	262,319.5	268,696.0	531,521.3	20.9	22.0	21.5
Total ASEAN	1,254,580.7	1,221,846.8	2,476,933.2	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ASEAN Merchandise Trade Statistics Database (compiled/computed from data submission, publications and/or websites of ASEAN Member States' national ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) units, national statistics offices, customs departments/agencies, or central banks)

Symbols used
- not available as of publication time
n.a. not applicable/not available/not compiled
Data in italics are the latest updated/revised figures from previous posting.

Notes
Some figures may not add up to totals due to rounding off errors.
1/ Includes Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom and Croatia
2/ Includes of all other countries and those that could not be attributed to specific countries.

Source:(http://www.asean.org/images/resources/2014/Jan/StatisticUpdate28Jan/table19_as20Dec13.pdf)

ASEAN introduced the first Preferential Trading Arrangement in 1977, which contractually adapted tariff reductions among ASEAN economies. In 1992, the "Framework Agreement on Enhancing Economic Cooperation" was adopted at the Fourth ASEAN Summit in Singapore. It comprised a scheme of the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) within the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). It was expected that the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers can promote greater economic efficiency and productivity. Increase in competitiveness of production locations in ASEAN was the ultimate goal of this process.

The Fifth ASEAN Summit held in Bangkok accepted the Agenda for Greater Economic Integration, which included an accelerated timetable for the start of AFTA from a 15-year timeframe to 10 years. In 1997, the ASEAN leaders adopted the

ASEAN Vision 2020, which called for ASEAN Partnership in Dynamic Development intended to forge closer economic integration within the region. The vision declaration resolved to create a stable, prosperous and highly-competitive ASEAN Economic Region, which was characterized by free flows of goods, services, investment, and capital. It was

hoped that increase in integration would lead to a process of economic development that would reduce poverty and socio-economic injustice (Welfens & et al, 2009: 77). ASEAN and most member countries have entered into bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs) with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region (Table1).

Table 2. East Asian FTAs (As of end of 2004)

In Action	Under Negotiation	Under Study
Bangkok Treaty (1976)	China-ASEAN	Japan-ASEAN
AFTA (1992)	Hong Kong-New Zealand	Korea-ASEAN
Singapore-New Zealand (2001)	Japan-Mexico	Korea-Singapore
Japan-Singapore (2002)	Japan-Korea	Korea-Australia
China-Hong Kong (2003)	Japan-Thailand	Korea-New Zealand
Singapore-Australia (2003)	Japan-Philippines	Singapore-Chile
	Japan-Malaysia	Singapore-Chinese Taipei
	Korea-Chile(concluded)	Thailand-US
	Singapore-EFTA (concluded)	Thailand-Peru
	Singapore-US (concluded)	ASEAN-India
	Chinese Taipei-Panama (concluded)	ASEAN-US
	Thailand-Bahrain (concluded)	
	Thailand-India (concluded)	
	Thailand-Australia	

Source: (Urata, 2004, 3. Cited in: www.oecd.org/dataoecd/36/55/31098183.pdf)

It is obvious that the process of ASEAN's intra-regional tariff and non-tariff reduction have been influential in the observed integration in this region. The most significant evidence of the fact is the rapid increase in the intra-ASEAN trade (see Fig. 1). It seems possible that the integration-led tariff reductions are considerably central to economic growth in this region.

The main trait of the development of ASEAN intra-region market is the process of regional trade liberalization. An important terrain in ASEAN regional economic cooperation from its beginning has been the trade liberalization processes, which mainly includes reduction of tariff

and trade facilitation. After several decades' growth, average tariff of ASEAN countries have reduced greatly (Guangsheng, 2006: 65).

In recent years, East Asia has been experienced the emergence of a number of new partnership agreements. Membership in international Organizations does indeed increase inflows of foreign direct investment (Dreher, Mikosch, & Voigt, 2015: 346) and economic and technical cooperation (Urata, 2004: 1). In response to these developments, a number of initiatives were accepted in order to promote regional economic cooperation. These initiatives comprised cooperation in securing greater foreign investment through creating an

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ASEAN Investment Area, liberalization of the service sector including tourism, maritime transport, air transport, telecommunications, construction, business and financial services, and cooperation in intellectual property matters encouraged through creating an ASEAN Patent System and an ASEAN Trademark System.

Figure 1. Noodle Bowl Syndrome in South-east Asia
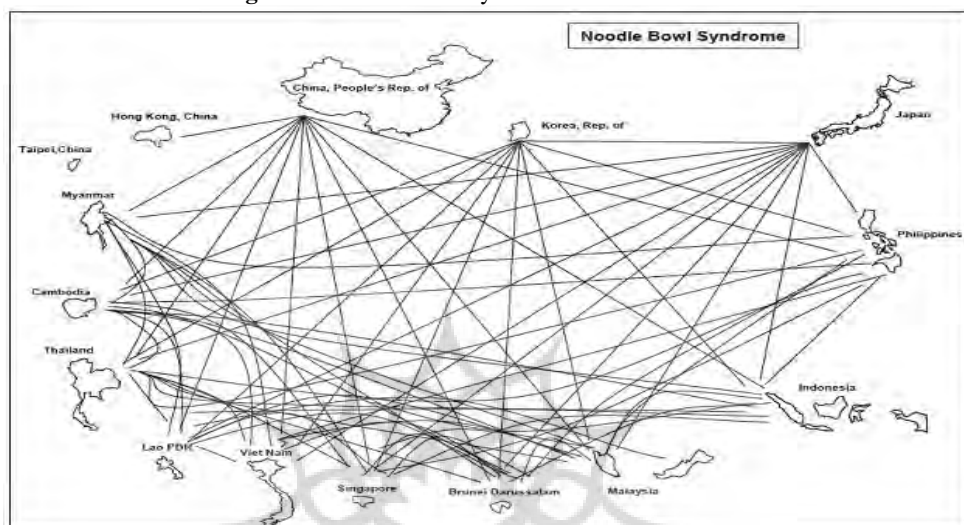
Note: The map shows FTAs signed or under negotiation as of January 2006. East Asia includes the members of ASEAN and China, Japan and Korea   Source: (Baldwin, 2007, 5)

Another form of economic cooperation in Southeast Asia has developed outside the ASEAN framework which is called variously 'natural economic territories' (NETs), 'sub-regional economic zones' or 'growth triangles'. These forms show a so-called 'market-driven' approach to the regional economic cooperation. The NETs have brought together geographically adjacent areas within two or more states with natural economic complementarities. As Acharya argued the emergence of these NETs has been noted for their potential to foster greater regional peace and stability (Acharya, 2003: 143).

Taking steps to strengthen economic cooperation was resulted from the Asian economic crisis. ASEAN responses to criticisms of its failure for not taking appropriate action to deal with the crisis were as follows: Moving forward the AFTA timetable, coordinating financial supervision though holding meeting of ASEAN finance ministers, and making ASEAN's investment climate strong response (Statement on Bold Measures', 6th ASEAN Summit, 1999)[1]. These responses approved ASEAN's constitutive norm of 'open economies', as well as a deepening of multilateralism. The establishment of an ASEAN Surveillance Process was another step which includes peer review and honest exchange of views and information on important finance

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[1]. 'Statement on Bold Measures', 6th ASEAN Summit, Hanoi, 16 December 1998, <http://www.aseansec.org.id>

affairs. The Process was 'intended to prevent future crises through the conduct of early warning system and regional economic surveillance exercise'. In this regard, it would involve 'a peer review process and the exchange of views and information among the ASEAN Finance Ministers on macroeconomic and finance matters' (Economic Cooperation, ASEAN Annual Report, 1999)[1].The creation of new institutions, including a forum of ASEAN Finance and Central Bank Deputies, an ASEAN Surveillance Coordinating Unit (ASCU) based at the ASEAN Secretariat and the ASEAN Surveillance Technical Support Unit (ASTSU) based at the Asian Development Bank in Manila, is resulted from this process (ASEAN Finance Cooperation, 1999)[2]. In general, South-East Asian current economic performance is very

and institutional changes (Stuchlíková, 2008: 92).

Another plan was the so-called ASEAN+3' framework which was moved forward by the Asian crisis, and brought ASEAN together with China, Japan and South Korea that was intended to deal with economic and security issues (Acharya, 2003: 145). The economic integration policy in ASEAN + 3 seems to have arrived at an important point in its development. ASEAN follows a selective widening strategy, which differs from that of the European Union, namely the new EU member countries are integrated by being members, but China, Japan and Korea integrate separately with ASEAN (Heiduk & Yioing, 2005: 15).

Regional economic interdependency in ASEAN is compatible with the norms of the ASEAN Way, which include soft institutionalism, consultations and consensus and the illusion of highly legalistic procedures and mechanisms. In terms of its effects, beside of increase in the costs of conflict, it is also an important measure to practice multilateralism and the prospect for collective identity (Acharya, 2003: 200).

In the viewpoint of "development regionalism", as Hetnne & et al., pointed out, the benefits of regionalization in Southeast Asia are as follows: to bring political stability to NIE-strategy and developmental authoritarianism of Southeast Asia; to reduce military costs; to strengthen dynamic economic links through several ways, including regionalized network production, trade, investment and allocation, three growth engines and policy coordination in accepting foreign capital; to enhance collective negotiation capability in foreign affairs; to improve in the situation of global politics and economy; to establish resource management mechanism (Hettne & et al, 2001: 14). It is hoped that ASEAN would alleviate intra-regional conflicts and create 'an environment conducive to economic development and the reinforcement of social and political stability' (Drummond, 1985: 263). ASEAN member states intend to establish the ASEAN Community by 2015. A key component of this goal is the formation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). There has been significant progress in regional cooperation to achieve the competition policy targets listed in the AEC Blueprint (Lee & Fukunaga, 2014: 77).

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[1]. 'Economic Cooperation', in *Annual Report 1998–1999,* Association of Southeast Asian Nations, <http://www.asean.org.id>

[2]. 'ASEAN Finance Cooperation', from Website <http://www.aseansec.org>

Figure 2. Consolidation and Integration in Asia
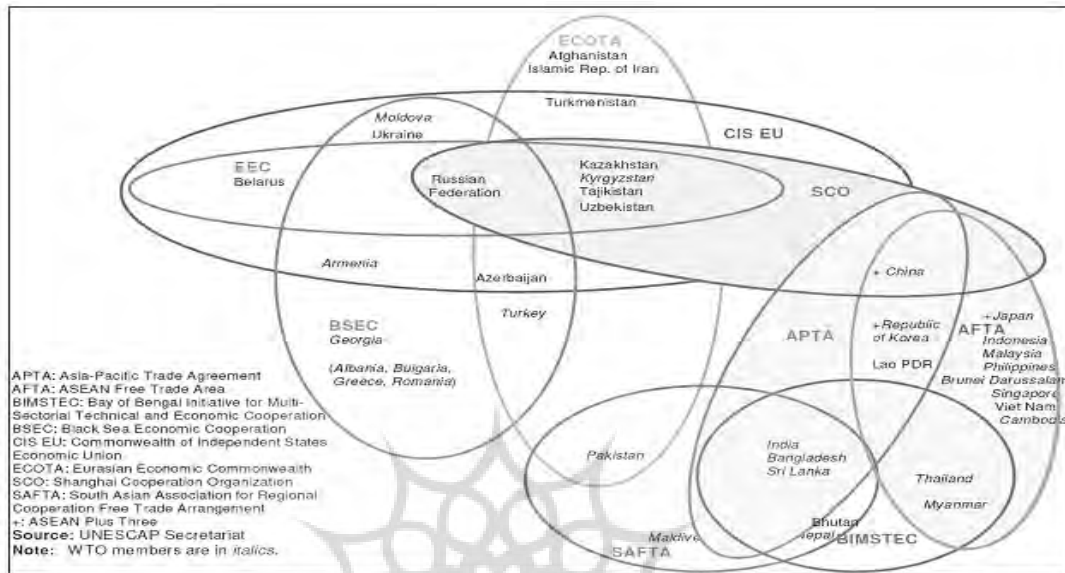
(**Source:** UNSCAP, 2007)

ASEAN economic integration has brought the following benefits:

- First, it has created a peaceful, cooperative and coordinative macro environment, which is definitely necessary for economic development.
- Second, it has reinforced external development strategies of member countries and has influenced internal economic development model. Regional economy has become an integral part in external development strategies of member countries.

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2- ASEAN and Creating Common Identity and the Norms of Disputes Settlement

All social communities depend on norms of behavior. The definition and functions of norms are multitude. Kratochwill present a widely used definition: norms are 'standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations'

(Kratochwill, 1989: 59).The main function of norms in this sense is "to prescribe and proscribe behavior". Norms help actors to distinguish between 'normal' and 'abnormal' behavior and 'to coordinate expectations and decrease uncertainty, to influence decision making, and to legitimate their actions and the actions of others'. Norms are central to international order by refusing actions which are harmful to the collective goals, by providing a framework for dispute settlement, and by creating the basis for cooperative schemes and action for mutual benefit (Ibid: 70).

From its inception, ASEAN's founders adopted and specified a set of norms for intra-regional relations, which are as follows:

- **Non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes**

Avoidance of use of force to settle interstate disputes is the first set of norms. 'the immediate task of ASEAN…is to attempt to create a favorable condition in the region whereby political differences and security problems among Southeast Asian nations can be resolved peacefully'(ASEAN, 1975: 65). The founding Bangkok Declaration of 1967 which outlined the purposes of ASEAN emphasized the promotion of 'regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of the law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter' (The Text of Bangkok Declaration of 8 August 1967, ibid. p. 86). The 1971 Kuala Lumpur Declaration mentioned several principles of the UN Charter as the source of these ASEAN norms, like 'abstention from the threat or use of force', and 'peaceful settlement of international disputes' (Text of Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 27 November 1971, ibid., p. 90). The idea of ASEAN itself was understood in the process of intra-regional negotiations which led to the end of confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia.

- **Regional autonomy or 'regional solutions to regional problems'**
Dependence of the region's countries on extra-regional powers to protect against internal and external threats was one of the major points of contention and constraints on regionalism in Southeast Asia since the Second World War. In these conditions it was expected the emergence of the principle of regional autonomy would cause controversy. Yet, the need for greater self-reliance to manage the region's security problems emerged as a key ASEAN norm. Sino-Soviet competition, Soviet Union proposition for an Asian Collective Security

Arrangement' and Chinese warnings concerning Soviet 'hegemony' enforced the ASEAN countries to make a united response to the new form of Great Power competition. In this context, regionalism is a useful means to enhance the bargaining power of small and weak states. While regionalism may not enable the ASEAN states to prevent the Great Powers from interfering in the affairs of the region, but it can cause that when the great powers make their agreements take consideration to the interests of the region's countries (Acharya, 2003: 51-3).

- **No military pacts and preference for bilateral defense cooperation**
ASEAN's founders did not agree with any form of multilateral military cooperation within their institutional framework. The US defeat in Indochina and the USA's call to ASEAN members to consider the main responsibility of their own defense through regional cooperation did not change ASEAN's position related to this issue (Frost, 1980: 10). Not only the ASEAN leaders rejected formal multilateral defense cooperation, but also did express their approval for the 'continuation of cooperation on a non-ASEAN basis between the member states in security matters in accordance with their mutual needs and interests'. This brought advocacy of bilateral border security arrangements and intelligence sharing that had already developed among ASEAN states on a bilateral basis. For ASEAN members, bilateralism provided more advantages than a formal multilateral alliance system.

The fact that ASEAN's founders should not deal with military issues and security cooperation should be undertaken only on a bilateral basis had a major impact on ASEAN's ability to manage internal

conflicts. Many of the intra-ASEAN bilateral security agreements were developed to manage border security problems. As Mohamad Ghazali Shafie pointed put it out, the ASEAN countries were prudent to create 'mechanisms or apparatus…to resolve border problems locally and not at the capitals which would turn a pimple into a boil due to undue publicity' (Ghazali Shafie, 1997: 3). In this sense, bilateral security cooperation in ASEAN worked as a basic building block of multilateralism.

-   **The doctrine of non-interference**
Perhaps, the doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states can be considered as the single most important principle underpinning ASEAN regionalism. The founding Bangkok Declaration of 1967 invited Southeast Asian states to 'ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation'. This agenda was intended not only to prevent interference by extra-regional powers, but also by Southeast Asian countries in the affairs of other members. The Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the ZOPFAN of 1971, not only provide a framework for ASEAN's relations with extra-regional powers, but also committed ASEAN's members to 'the worthy aims and objectives of the United Nations', including 'respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states' and 'non-interference in the affairs of States'. Article 2 of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, adopted by ASEAN at its Bali summit in 1976, also included a statement of the principle of 'non-interference in the internal affairs of one

another'. The Declaration of ASEAN Concord, also adopted at Bali, specified that 'member states shall vigorously develop… a strong ASEAN community…in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations[1].'

Actually, the obligations resulted from imposing ASEAN's doctrine of non-interference had four main aspects, to paraphrase Acharya: (1) avoidance of criticizing the actions of a member government towards its own people, including contravention of human rights, and of making the domestic political system of states and the political styles of governments a basis for deciding their membership in ASEAN; (2) criticize the actions of states which were considered to have broken the non-interference principle; (3) avoidance of recognition, sanctuary, or other forms of support to any rebel group who is intended to destabilize or bring down the government of a neighboring country; (4) make political support and material assistance to the member states to campaign against disruptive and destabilizing activities (Acharya, 2003: 58).

The norms of non-use of force and regional autonomy reflect ASEAN's security concern against interstate disputes and extra-regional threats, but the doctrine of non-interference can only be understood in the context of the domestic security concerns of the ASEAN states.

2-1. The Role of Norms in peaceful Settlement of Cambodia Conflict
The attack and the decade-long occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese forces created

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1. For the text of the Bangkok Declaration and all other ASEAN documents mentioned in this article, see: *ASEAN Documents Series, 1967–1988,* 3rd edition (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1988).

the most serious security challenge to ASEAN since its inception. ASEAN saw Vietnam's action as a flagrant contravention of its norms. Also, Cambodia conflict tested intra-ASEAN relations, and its emerging culture of unity and consensus. Dissension within ASEAN members regarding how to deal with the conflict challenged ASEAN's claimed role in the peaceful settlement of regional disputes without interference by outside powers. This section reviews ASEAN's role in the Cambodia conflict with the particular purpose of showing the extent to which it was central to the merge of ASEAN's norms and complied with its claimed goal of providing a 'regional solution to the region's problems'.

ASEAN's response to the crisis was compatible with ASEAN's norms and included the following purposes:

- Avoidance of recognition of Vietnamese-installed Phnom Penh government;
- Ensuring the international isolation of Vietnam;
- Forcing Vietnamese forces to withdraw from Cambodia;
- Preventing Vietnamese intrusion on Thailand;
- Ensuring a peaceful, neutral and democratic Cambodia;
- Ensuring ASEAN's leadership in the peace process, and the eventual settlement would protect ASEAN's security interests and would not be completely dictated by outside powers (Chee, 1980: 12).

ASEAN chose more indirect means, and made engaged the larger international community. From the earliest stages of the conflict ASEAN focused on the UN (Goh, 2003: 116), and tried to settle the conflict via the UN. ASEAN persuaded the international society and the Security Council to force Vietnam to leave Cambodia by isolating the regime, diplomatically and economically. ASEAN hindered the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) from obtaining the Cambodian seat at the United Nations, and consequently from becoming the legitimate government in Cambodia. In the 34th session of the General Assembly, ASEAN member states (Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore rather than others) had an important role in opposing India's proposition to leave vacant the Cambodian seat at the UN. ASEAN succeeded in blocking India's proposition throughout the UN sessions 34 to 37 (from 1979 to 1982), and the Cambodian seat at the United Nations remained firmly with the Democratic Kampuchea (DK) or Khmer Rouge. ASEAN was prudent in its approach to the situation in Cambodia. ASEAN called foreign ministers to withdraw from Cambodia and to dismantle Phnom Penh government so Cambodians could exercise their right of self-determination through elections. ASEAN were less "confrontational" in their tactics and invited the different sides to talk with the more neutral member states within the Association, such as Singapore. In April 1981, the Singaporean government called all sides to participate in talks related to the creation of a coalition government, and at the same time, Thailand's foreign minister visited Washington, DC, to seek support for the proposition (Ibid: 117). ASEAN achieved a satisfactory result in their management of the Cambodian situation, without the use of military enforcement. The tactic adopted by ASEAN showed that the norms of non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and the doctrine of non-interference have been accepted and

institutionalized by ASEAN members, and ASEAN has been effective in peaceful settlement of the disputes. Norms helped to define ASEAN's role in Cambodia conflict. Such instances concerning to the peaceful management of conflict are rare in the developing world. Indeed, few other regional associations outside of the Euro-Atlantic context can claim this distinction.

3- ASEAN as a Security Community

A security community, as Deutsch defined it, is a group that has 'become integrated', where the achievement of a sense of community, being coexisted with formal or informal institutions or practices, being sufficiently strong and widespread to assure peaceful change among members of a group with 'reasonable' assurance over a 'long period of time' characterize the integration (Deutsch, 1961: 98). Such communities could either be 'amalgamated', in which the formal political participating units merge together, or remain 'pluralistic', in which the members keep their own independency and sovereignty which is the subject of this article.

A pluralistic security community may be defined as a 'transnational region comprised of sovereign states whose people maintain dependable expectations of peaceful change' (Adler & Barnett, 1998: 30). Such a community could be identified in terms of several features, but two are central. The first is the absence of war, and the second is the absence of significant organized preparations for war in relation to any other members. Regional security communities, as Yalem notes, 'are groups of states that have 'renounced the use of force as a means of resolving intraregional conflicts' (Yalem, 1979: 217). So, it is an ability to resolve conflicts peacefully, rather than the absence of war by itself, a feature

that discriminate a security community from other kind of security relationships.

In a real sense, ASEAN is a security community. It has developed networks for peaceful contact and cooperation to the extent that inter-state violence would be unthinkable. It has developed informal processes to resolve regional problems in non-violent ways, and provided a regional situation in which bilateral disputes are resolved by conducting peaceful negotiations. The gaps in the Southeast Asia were alleviated by ASEAN attempts, which could have not been possible otherwise. ASEAN has based norms for inter-state relations in the region, which set up a mutual reassurance of peaceful intentions. Not only these norms have taken the attention of the members, but also important non-regional states have accepted them. They have proclaimed the region as off-limits to nuclear weapons. ASEAN through a number of forums and processes has engaged the major outside powers with interests in Southeast Asian affairs and of strategic importance to the region. In fact, ASEAN's inception has increased the member states' 'geopolitical weight', thus outside power should consider their interests.

ASEAN can be considered as a regional force for peace and stability. Regular meetings have helped member states establish a degree of mutual confidence. Since its inception, despite occasional border conflicts, a large-scale war has not occurred between ASEAN members. ASEAN was central to found the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994, and has also contributed to the establishment of other regional meetings such as the ASEAN+3 process, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and the Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD). Moreover,

ASEAN had an effective role in the formation of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and in its development (ESCAP, 2008: 17). The absence of war among the ASEAN members since 1967 is certainly important (It should be noted that not only has ASEAN itself been free from an inter-state war, but also no ASEAN country has had outright war with a non-ASEAN state since its inception).

Finally, considering the rank of ASEAN countries in Global Peace Index would be more useful. In effort to measure peacefulness, the GPI investigates the extent to which countries are involved in domestic and international conflicts. GPI consider peace in its positive and negative sense. The table below shows the rank of ASEAN members in the world and also in the Asia-Pacific region.

Table 3. ASEAN Members rank in GPI(In the World and Asia-Pacific Region in 2014)

Country	Rank in the world	Rank in the Asia-Pacific region
Singapore	25	4
Malaysia	33	6
Lao PDR	38	7
Viet Nam	45	9
Indonesia	54	11
Cambodia	106	14
Thailand	126	16
Philippines	134	17
Myanmar	136	18
Brunei Darussalam	#	#

Source: Global Peace Index, 2014 No Data

4- Conclusion

What distinguishes this article from others is the fact that this article is tried to expound ASEAN's success in conflict mitigation (peace in its negative sense) using the two theories (Interdependency and Liberal Institutionalism). In fact, we investigated the role of the two theories as tools for ASEAN to prevent war, and we were not intended to quote the process of the creation of security community or economic integration.

The first tool for ASEAN in order to create peace has been enhancing economic integration. It was hoped that ASEAN would make easer the resolution of intra-regional conflict and create an environment useful to economic development and the reinforcement of social and political stability. ASEAN economic integration process has been relatively successful and also has had some limits. Multiple overlapping memberships in preferential trade agreements in South-East Asia ('Asian Noodle Bowl Syndrome'– see Figure 1) has created a number of issues. Baldwin (2007) pointed out that the 'Noodle Bowl Syndrome is a source of extreme interdependence in the region'. ASEAN economic integration has brought the following benefits: firstly, it has provided an environment which is characterized with being peaceful, cooperative and coordinative, and secondly, it has increased the external development strategies of member countries and has affected the internal economic development model. As such, beside of increasing the costs of conflict, it is central to promote multilateralism and prospect for collective identity.

The second useful tool for ASEAN to build peace has been creating norms and regimes of peaceful settlement of disputes. We dealt with the norms of peaceful settlement of disputes and their role in Cambodia Conflict. The tactic (see section 2.2) adopted by ASEAN showed the norms of non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and the doctrine of non-

interference has been accepted and institutionalized by ASEAN members, and ASEAN has been effective in peaceful settlement of the disputes. Such instances of peaceful settlement of conflicts are rare in the developing world, a feature that makes ASEAN as distinctive entity.

The later issue is that whether ASEAN is a security community or not? Broadly speaking, based on the definition presented here ASEAN is a security community. It has developed networks for peaceful contact and cooperation. ASEAN can be considered as a regional force for peace and stability. The absence of war among the ASEAN members since 1967 is certainly important. This fact cannot be interpreted unless the role of the ASEAN is considered.

Finally, the research question was "why after the Cold War we have witnessed lower conflicts and tensions in the South East Asia than Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus and Africa?" research finding shows that ASEAN has had an effective role in peace building and peace keeping through creating norms and regimes of peaceful settlement of disputes and strengthening interdependency, and even it has been successful too make a security community", the situation that has made South East Asia as a distinctive region in the Asia.

While there are limits to how far one can generalize and apply the lessons generated from one context to another, we present some specific suggestions drawn from the case study, as follows:

• Inception of a regional institution is so essential to build and keep peace. Hence, in some regions which suffer from terrorist attacks, civil wars and interstate wars (i.e. Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus and Africa) the inception of a real regional institution would be more

useful to settle the disputes and also to build peace.

• Besides, regarding that the norms of ASEAN have been more useful in peaceful settlement of disputes, developing such norms in the Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus and Africa would be helpful in building and keeping peace in one hand, and establishing a stable regional institution, from the other hand. So, development of the norms would be essential for these regions.

Acknowledgment

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آ.سه. آن و صلح منطقه ای در جنوب شرق آسیا

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صلح و جستجوی راه هایی برای حفظ آن یکی از مهمترین دغدغه های بشر در طول تاریخ بوده است. ایجاد سازمان های بین المللی و یا منطقه ای به عنوان روشی برای تولید و حفظ می باشد. در واقع یکی از دلایل تغییر و تحول سازمان های بین المللی پس از جنگ سرد استقرار صلح و امنیت می باشد. نقش سازمان های بین المللی در جهت حل و فصل مناقشات بسیار حیاتی و مهم است، چرا که این سازمان ها توانایی و مشروعیت ایفای نقش را در این زمینه دارند. در این زمینه، این مقاله به روشی توصیفی- تحلیلی در پی بررسی این مساله می باشد که "*چرا پس از جنگ سرد ما شاهد مناقشات و منازعات کمتری در جنوب شرق آسیا نسبت به خاورمیانه، آسیای مرکزی، قفقاز و آفریقا هستیم؟*". نتایج تحقیق نشان می دهد که آ سه آن نقش مهمی در تولید و حفظ صلح از طریق ایجاد رژیم های حل و فصل مسالمت آمیز اختلافات و افزایش وابستگی متقابل داشته است و حتی در ایجاد جامعه امنیتی نیز موفق بوده است.

واژگان کلیدی: صلح؛ وابستگی متقابل؛ رژیم های بین المللی؛ جنوب شرق آسیا؛ آ.سه. آن

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