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ASEAN AT 50: The Making, Substance, Significance and Future of ASEAN

Ponciano Intal, Jr. Senior Economist

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Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia



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ERIA – Philippine Government Initiative to Commemorate 50th Anniversary of ASEAN in 2017

> 3-volume publication

- Author-Editors: Surin Pitsuwan, Hidetoshi Nishimura, Ponciano Intal, Jr., Kavi Chongkittavorn, Shujiro Urata, Aileen Baviera, Larry Maramis and Lurong Chen
- > Expected to be a significant reference material on ASEAN
- High Level Forum with (ex-) AMSs Leaders, Ministers, and ASEAN Officials around Nov 2017 ASEAN Summit
 - > Also, launching of the 3-volume publication
- Public Symposium in August 2017



Volume One

> The Making and Working of ASEAN

- Voices of ASEAN Leaders, ministers and officials as well as non-ASEAN Leaders and officials on their retrospectives and perspectives on the evolution of ASEAN over the past half century
- > Emphasis on *pivotal periods in ASEAN's development*
- Goal: give readers and the public some kind of a "front seat" view and greater emotional attachment to the making and working of ASEAN
- Author-Editors: S. Pitsuwan, H. Nishimura, K. Chongkittavorn, and P. Intal Jr.
- > Approach:
 - > Brief 4-5 pagers from Leaders and officials
 - Interviews with Leaders and officials not willing to write
 - > Introductory and integrative chapters from Editorial Team



Volume Two

The Substance of ASEAN

Focuses on ASEAN at present, with emphasis on the voices of the ASEAN peoples and AMSs country writers

> What does ASEAN mean to people?

- What is the status of the ASEAN "project", including comparison with other regional integration and community building efforts in the world?
- What is the impact of ASEAN on ASEAN Member States (AMSs), including the challenges of embedding ASEAN into the national consciousness, polity, policies and programs of AMSs?
- What is the impact of ASEAN in regional architecture and how are international agreements embedded in ASEAN?
- > Author-Editors: P. Intal Jr., L. Chen, A. Baviera, and L. Maramis



Volume Three

Significance and Future of ASEAN

- About 25 reflective essays by eminent persons and experts
- Insights, perspectives and reflections on
 - the significance of ASEAN integration and community building in East Asia and Asia Pacific, and vice versa, as well as on the future of ASEAN
 - Political and Security Community
 - Economic Community
 - Socio-cultural Community
- Integrative chapters by Editorial Team
- > Author-Editors: S. Urata, A. Baviera, L. Maramis and P. Intal, Jr.



Progress so far

- Invited contributors to Volume 3 and country authors of Volume 2 are currently working on their papers.
- Series of technical workshops in July and August 2016 to discuss the drafts; final drafts in October 2016
- Invitations to senior officials and Leaders have started
- Drafts for publication need to be finished by May 2017 for publication process to commence



Remarkable transformation of ASEAN region is truly a cause for celebration.

- From conflicts and mutual suspicion among AMSs at the start to being at center of regional security arrangements for peace in Asia Pacific
- From gingerly PTAs in the 1970s to being at center of regional economic initiatives in East Asia and closest example of open regionalism in the world at present
- From barely knowing one another to an emerging ASEAN identity and incipient ASEAN community

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* Key Factors:

- ASEAN founding foreign ministers (fathers)—all prominent leaders—deeply driven to engender peace and stability in Southeast Asia
- AMSs distributed leadership provided the needed and appropriate drive, foresight, stature, initiative, and passion to move ASEAN at crucial junctures of ASEAN development; e.g.,
 - Suharto's drive re Indonesia (beginnings of ASEAN)
 - Lee Kwan Yew's foresight (1980s)
 - Anand Panyarachun's stature (AFTA, 1992)
 - Fidel Ramos' initiative (Manila Framework Group)
 - Mahathir Mohamad's passion (ASEAN Vision 2020, 1997)



***** Key Factors continued:

- External developments provided crucial impetus for the development of ASEAN
 - Fear that the still fragile AMSs would be engulfed and torn asunder by communism amidst China's cultural revolution and Soviet Union's expansionism provided the fundamental animus to the creation of ASEAN
 - Fear over a "Fortress Europe" and NAFTA moved AMSs to step up regional economic integration initiatives from PTA to AFTA, proposed by Thailand in 1991
 - Fear over losing attractiveness to China led AMSs to move up toward ASEAN Economic Community, proposed by Singapore in 2002



***** Key Factors continued:

"Lucky stars all aligned for ASEAN":

- Plaza Accord and the concomitant FDI flow to ASEAN/Indonesia, together with oil price fall-induced reforms for shift to export orientation in Indonesia in latter 1980s
- Rise of technocratic government of Anand Panyarachun in early 1990s. Panyarachun had the stature to convince undecided Indonesia to agree to AFTA despite internal concerns
- Indonesia's political upheaval occurred in 1998 and not 1997; otherwise, arguably ASEAN's path breaking ASEAN Vision 2020 under Malaysia's chairmanship could have been derailed.
- ASEAN Dialogue Partners provided important yet discreet support:
- E.g. Cambodia; technical assistance

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***** But ASEAN is at the crossroads in 2017:

ASEAN needs to step up further to meet the TPP and China challenges moving forward

- TPP forces the issues of binding commitments and effective monitoring/review and inter-governmental institutions on AEC and RCEP
- A rising China may call for active, united, and cohesive ASEAN search for win-win approach to dial down the South China Sea issue and remain at the center of regional security arrangement for peace in the region



Issues:

- Can AMSs consider the concept of "pooled sovereignty" in specified areas with significant regional public or club goods for a more effective ASEAN and in the process enhance the national welfare of each AMS?
- What is the appropriate mix of (a) concerted national actions, (b) intergovernmental bodies' mandates with sanctions, (c) internal and third party monitoring and reviews, and (d) intense regional cooperation to ensure effective implementation of the Blueprints and a credible AEC?
- Can, and how, the growing interest and budding passion for ASEAN by private business and non-governmental sectors be strengthened and harnessed toward a deeply integrated, competitive, dynamic, inclusive and global ASEAN?

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Conclusion: What may be needed moving forward

Forward-looking and visionary diplomacy and leadership in view of tougher integration and security challenges.

Harness growing ASEAN people's interest in region for people-driven community building and people-focused integration process to help push and quicken the official processes.

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH

