DEFENCE AND SECURITY
IN ASEAN

PERPUSTAKAAN UNIVERSITI MALAYA

BY
ZAINAL HASFI HASHIM

M.P.A. Research Report

Submitted to the
Faculty of Economics and Administration
University of Malaya
Kuala Lumpur

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Administration

Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya

June 29, 1994
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................. iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ............................................................. viii
SYNOPSIS ................................................................. ix

CHAPTER

I. SECURITY DEFINED ................................................................. 1

Definition and Concept of Security ........................................... 1
  Common Security ................................................................. 1
  Collective Security ............................................................... 2
  Comprehensive Security .......................................................... 3
  Cooperative Security ............................................................. 3

Security Complex ..................................................................... 5

Security in Terms of Issues sectors ........................................... 9
  Military Security .................................................................. 9
  Economic Security ................................................................ 9

II. ASEAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY ............................................. 11

New World Order and the end of Cold war .................................. 11

Southeast Asia Overall Security Outlook .................................... 13

Security Problems after the Cold War ....................................... 14
  East Asia Regional Context ...................................................... 14
  Southeast Asia Regional Context .............................................. 15
  ASEAN Regional Context ......................................................... 17

Security Interests of ASEAN states and Threat Perceptions: .......... 22
  Chinese Threat during the Cold War .......................................... 23
  Chinese position after the Cold War .......................................... 24
  Soviet Threat during the Cold War ............................................ 25
  Demise of Soviet Union and the decline of Russian Threat ............ 27
  Vietnamese Threat during the Cold War ..................................... 28
  Vietnam Today ................................................................. 29
CHAPTER

III. ASEAN DEFENCE

Introduction
ASEAN Defence Cooperation
Advantages of Military Pact
Obstacles to Defence Cooperation
Defence Pact Not Desirable
ASEAN Defence Arrangements
ASEAN Military Modernization Programmes
Potential Military Threat

CHAPTER

IV. ASEAN SECURITY MECHANISMS

Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality
(ZOPFAN)

Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ)
in Southeast Asia
Introduction
Relevance of NWFZ after the Cold War
Prospects for a Southeast Asia NWFZ

CHAPTER

V. ASEAN IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION

The Cambodian Conflict
ASEAN-Vietnam Relations
Conflict Zones in the South China Seas
CHAPTER

VI. THE BIG POWERS and ASEAN RELATIONS............. 80

ASEAN and the USA........................................ 80
  Introduction........................................... 80
  U.S. Security Interests in Southeast
  Asia..................................................... 81
ASEAN perception of the United States................ 84
  U.S. Military strategy in Southeast
  Asia..................................................... 88
  U.S.-ASEAN Security cooperation................. 90
Withdrawal of U.S. bases in the
  Philippines............................................. 96
  Conclusion............................................. 99

ASEAN and China........................................... 100

ASEAN and Russia......................................... 106

ASEAN and Japan......................................... 110

CHAPTER

VII. ASEAN AND Australia................................. 114

CHAPTER

VIII. ASEAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND REGIONAL
  COOPERATION.......................................... 119

CHAPTER

IX. CHALLENGES FOR ASEAN IN THE FUTURE............ 125

BIBLIOGRAPHY............................................... 128
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take the opportunity here of especially thanking to a number of people for their help and support in the preparation of this thesis. In particular, I would like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Lee Poh Ping for his guidance and advice in the writing of this paper.

This study would not have been written without the assistance of a number of people, notably, military officials, government officials and diplomats from the foreign missions in Kuala Lumpur. I am grateful to the following distinguished personalities:-

a. His Excellency Tuan Sudarmadi, Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Malaysia, who despite his busy schedule has granted me an interview and sharing his thoughts on the subject. Special thanks also goes to Colonel Sudiyotomo, Defence Attache of the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur for his assistance and ideas.

b. His Excellency Mr. John Dauth, Australian High Commissioner to Malaysia, for a lively
discussion on the complex issues of security in Southeast Asia. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Dauth for lending me some of his personal reference books and articles.

c. Yang Berbahagia Major General Datuk Muslim Ayob, former Commandant, Defence College of Malaysia, who has been kind enough to grant me an interview and answering to some important questions, especially on the subject on defence in this region.

d. Colonel Eliseo M. Rio Jr., Defense and Armed Forces Attache of the Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines in Kuala Lumpur, who has been kind enough to share his views on the security issues of ASEAN.

e. Mr. Pisan Manawapat, Minister-Counsellor of the Royal Thai Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, for enlightening me on the security aspects of the ASEAN region and providing me with some published articles.
f. Cik Siti Azizah Abod, Secretary, Policy Division of the Malaysian Ministry of Defence, and her assistants, Puan Zainun and Encik Safaruddin, for granting me an interview and sharing their views on defence aspects of the subject.

I am sincerely indebted to my colleagues Cik Suhana, Puan Noraliza, Cik Norathi and Puan Ong Swee Lan for their assistance in typing the manuscripts. I would also like to thank Encik Khairul Nizam for proof-reading the text.

Last but not least, I wish to express my sincere thanks to my parents and especially to my fiancée, Fadzly Atun Abdul Aziz for her encouragement and support without whom this research report would not be possible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AACM</td>
<td>ASEAN-Australia Consultative Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMM</td>
<td>ASEAN Ministerial Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARF</td>
<td>ASEAN Regional Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN-PMC</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations - Post Ministerial Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPT</td>
<td>Communist Party of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>Communist Party of Malaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSBM</td>
<td>Confidence Security Building Measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCA</td>
<td>Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCE</td>
<td>Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEZ</td>
<td>Exclusive Economic Zones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPDA</td>
<td>Five Power Defence Arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IADS</td>
<td>Integrated Defence System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Institute of Strategic and International Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIC</td>
<td>Newly Industrialized Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFWZ</td>
<td>Nuclear Weapon Free Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PECC</td>
<td>Pacific Economic Cooperation Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>Peoples' Republic of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDF</td>
<td>Rapid Deployment Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMAF</td>
<td>Royal Malaysia Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEANWFZ</td>
<td>Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOC</td>
<td>Sea Lanes of Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAC</td>
<td>Treaty of Amity and Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USPACOM</td>
<td>United States Pacific Command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZOPFAN</td>
<td>Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS

The early 1990s have brought changes in the international climate and in the balance of power in the region. With the end of the Cold War, the far-reaching changes across Eastern Europe, the unification of the Germanies, and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait all demanding the close attention as to whether the security of Asia, particularly that of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has diminished. The end of the Cold War has had and will have numerous implications for the security of Southeast Asia.

Aim

The overall aim of this paper is to identify the opportunities and constraints facing the Southeast Asia region, with special focus on ASEAN, in its attempt to build a post-Cold War security framework. This paper will also attempt to outline the nature of actual and potential security issues in the region.

Thesis Format

The definition and concepts of security in this vastly more complex political environment will be examined in Chapter I. The discussion that follows in Chapter II deals with the structural changes that have occurred in international politics especially after the Cold War and this Chapter also gives a brief description of the
so-called the New Word Order. This Chapter also discusses Southeast Asian security outlook for 1990s and the threat perceptions of the ASEAN states.

Defence is an integral part of security and Chapter III will devote to the discussion on ASEAN defence with emphasis on defence cooperation between ASEAN, as a group and other countries, and cooperation amongst the members of ASEAN themselves.

Chapter IV will address whether the security mechanisms, such as ZOPPAN and SEANWFZ, forged for the region during the Cold War is appropriate, now that circumstances have changed.

The achievement of overall stability and development in the region will also hinge on the inclusion of Indochina in the security framework for development in the Southeast Asia region. Positive developments in the region include the political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, details of which will be discussed in Chapter V. Vietnam is also in a period of transition, and Chapter V talks about Vietnam-ASEAN relations.

A future crucial element in the security of the region is the presence of the United States, whose continued involvement and leadership are indispensable to
efforts aimed at reducing tension and enhancing political stability in the region. Meanwhile, the improvement of relations among China and members of ASEAN is a positive sign towards regional peace. However, animosity and suspicion towards China still prevail among ASEAN. Chapter VI discusses the relationships of ASEAN with the United States, China, Russia and Japan. ASEAN security arrangements and cooperation are mentioned in Chapter VIII.

Research Methodology

The study is very much dependent upon secondary data. Thus, the selection of relevant books, journals, magazines, reports and papers presented at seminar and conferences and the local/foreign newspapers are of primary importance. These publications written by different authors are to be utilized for content analysis. By content analysis, it refers to the author's opinion on the particular subject by which it will be examined by the researcher to form his own judgement. A series of interviews with academicians, foreign diplomats, government and military officials have been conducted to gather/verify the facts on the subject under study.

Lastly, this study would give readers an understanding and awareness of the security needs for ASEAN and an appreciation of its significance. It should be realized that defence and security should not be taken for granted. Thus, it is essential that nationals of ASEAN states realize the importance of security in this region.