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ADVANCING PARTNERSHIP  
FOR SUSTAINABILITY  
ສາວຊາວໂລກ ມາໃນ ວັດຖຸ

# Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019



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# Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019





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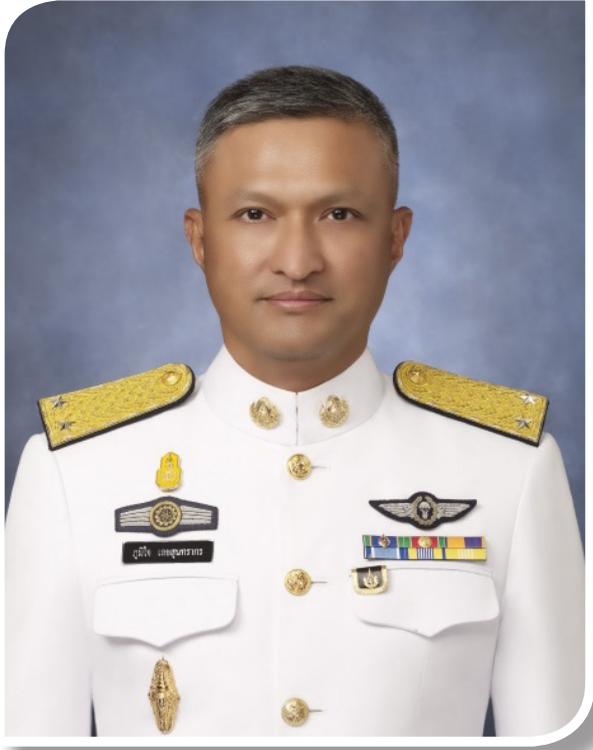
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## Preface

The ASEAN chairmanship being assumed by Thailand this year 2019 is the annually rotating duty among the 10 ASEAN Member States, based on the alphabetical order of their English names. Singapore was the Chair of ASEAN last year in 2018, Thailand is currently the Chair from 1 January till 31 December 2019, and Vietnam will be the Chair in the next coming year 2020. Thailand has officially started of its duty with a mix of challenges in the digital era, including the trade competition (*war*) between the superpowers, cyber security, and man-made environmental problems.

This year is a matter of great importance with the ASEAN turning 52th and Thailand as the Chair is being expected to carry forward the concept of “**ASEAN Centrality**” in order to achieve its constructive role and recognition in the regional security architecture and economy. Thai people as the host are also expected to be prepared and ensured their readiness for more than 180 Meeting events throughout the year. The theme for 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship is “**Advancing Partnership for Sustainability**” which means ASEAN members must collaborate more effectively in all domains, and maintain the seamless connectivity with our external partners outside the region and the international community based on common interest for the sustainable peace, development and prosperity of ASEAN people in all dimensions.

With acknowledgement of Thailand's prestigious role as the 2019 ASEAN Chairman, Strategic Studies Center, as a Think-Tank unit of the Armed Forces, would like to propose our Working Paper on **“Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019”** with the aim to study the contextual environment and to support the academic perspectives toward key tasks which ASEAN and Thailand must achieve within the specified time frame.

Center for Strategic Studies  
National Defence Studies Institute  
July 2019

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# Part 1

## INTRODUCTION





# Part 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Problem Statement

Throughout the 51 year of its existence, the ASEAN representing our collaboration among the Southeast Asian Nations has created significant changes to the region including the development of cooperation in economic, trade and investment as well as the exchange and transfer of technology, political stabilization, and cultural fusion through the migration of ASEAN people. These changes can be recognized as the drive of the Association with more than 600 million in population to progress forward consistently. (Suriya Chindawongse, 2018, pp. 1-3)

ASEAN has had a number of major milestones such as the establishment of ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) within the region and Free Trade Area (FTA) with external partners (international counterparts) including China, Japan, Republic of Korea, India, Australia, New Zealand which result in the better connection for trading; the effort to maintain the ASEAN Centrality in the strategic new equilibrium of Indo-Pacific region; the full-scale and concrete implementation of ASEAN+3 Cooperation Work Plan; the foundation of ASEAN Economic Community for the development of single market and production base; the accomplishment on negotiations for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Agreement. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018, pp. 1-2)

Beyond the achievement in economic cooperation, ASEAN has proved itself as the regional security platforms for peaceful dialogue

among the parties concerned by maintaining the political stability between the Member States while seeking for the concensus on the adoption of China-ASEAN Code of Conduct (COC) in the South China Sea; and, a led-role in promoting the positive development on the Korean Peninsula, brought about by inter-Korean summits between top leaders of Republic of Korea and North Korea. The cooperation of ASEAN nations has also extended in terms of humanitarian assistance and disaster management.

The foundation of ASEAN and its reputation has drawn the attention from international community in all dimensions: diplomacy, trade, investment, tourism, and multi-cultural society – which is “a unique strength” as the open door to link up with the rest of the world. ASEAN is explicitly recognized as a regional grouping that emphasizes on the spirit of partnership, cooperation and mutual assistance among its members in order to “*have a greater voice*” (increase the power of negotiation) at the global level.

Thailand has consistently played an active role since 1967 when the ASEAN was first founded. Being designated with the 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship this year is a matter of great importance to Thailand for the expectation of its leading role and the primary driving force to push ASEAN into the directions which will benefit the most to Member States, the region, and dialogue partners (United States, China, Japan, Russia, India, Australia, New Zealand, etc.). Thailand has been well-prepared for derivation of the theme, proposed agenda to work on together, as well as the call for good hosting of more than 180 Meeting events throughout the year. However, inheriting the position at a time that

we have to confront with a mix of dynamic challenges and major changes both within the region and outbounds could be considerably recognized as both the opportunity and challenge for us.

With acknowledgement of Thailand’s prestigious role as the 2019 ASEAN Chairman, Center for Strategic Studies, as part of the security sector and the Think-Tank of Thai military, has proposed the Working Paper on “**Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019**” with the aim to study the contextual environment and to support the academic perspectives toward key tasks which ASEAN and Thailand must achieve within the specified time frame.

## 1.2 Purpose of Study

1.2.1 To review the concepts and theory related to the joining of ASEAN

1.2.2 To analyze the current situation, trend, and key challenges affecting on ASEAN during the year of 2019 with Thailand’s Chairmanship

1.2.3 To propose the dynamic approaches for the ASEAN Sustainable Development: Thailand’s 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship

## 1.3 Conceptual Framework

Our working paper on “**Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019**” aims to study the approaches driving ASEAN to the sustainability with the chairmanship of Thailand in 2019. The document is divided into 5 parts:

Part 1 Introduction

Part 2 Concepts and Theory related to the Joining of ASEAN

Part 3 Current Situation, Trend, and Key Challenges affecting  
on ASEAN during the year of 2019 with Thailand's  
Chairmanship

Part 4 Dynamic Approaches for the ASEAN Sustainable  
Development: Thailand's 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship

Part 5 Summary and Recommendations

## 1.4 Methodology

This working paper is a qualitative research which makes use of data collection as key method in combining with the content analysis technique to explore and derive with our conclusion.

1.4.1 Primary Data : brainstorming among the Subject Matter Expert (SME) and relevant entities during the Strategic Talk 1/2019 under the theme, "Dynamic Approaches for the ASEAN Sustainable Development: Thailand's 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship" on Tuesday 20<sup>th</sup> November 2018 from 0900 - 1600 at the SSC-NDSI Conference Room (Annex 1)

1.4.2 Secondary Data : reviewing and collecting data from working papers, articles, minutes of meetings, electronic and printed media relevant to our study.

1.4.3 Analysis and Conclusion : Researcher performs the analysis and synthesis of collected data with the content analysis technique.

## 1.5 Expected Outcomes

1.5.1 The narrative of contextual environment, trend analysis, and key challenges affecting on the ASEAN during Thailand's 2019 Chairmanship.

1.5.2 A draft of "Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019" proposed by the Center for Strategic Studies.

1.5.3 A source of information including academic perspectives for Armed Forces and relevant entities and relevant entities.



# Part 2

## CONCEPTS AND THEORY RELATED TO THE JOINING OF ASEAN





## Part 2

### CONCEPTS AND THEORY RELATED TO THE JOINING OF ASEAN

#### 2.1 Concepts related to the Joining of ASEAN<sup>1</sup>

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on 8 August 1967 with the signing of the Bangkok Declaration by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, with the 5 respective representatives from each Member States including Mr. Adam Malik (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia), Dato' Tun Abdul Razak Bin Hussein (Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, and Minister of National Development, Malaysia), Mr. Narciso Ramos (Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Philippines), Mr. S. Rajaratnam (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Singapore), and Senior Colonel Thanat Khoman (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand)

Five other countries later joined the Association: Brunei Darussalam became a member on 7 January 1984, Vietnam on 28 July 1995, Lao PDR and Myanmar on 23 July 1997, and then Cambodia on 30 April 1999 which concluded the current 10 Member States within the Southeast Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Asean Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2018). ความเป็นมาของASEAN [ASEAN Background]. Hardcopy. pp. 1-3.

## Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)



General Description
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>established on 8 Aug 1967 with the signing of the Bangkok Declaration</li> <li>formal establishment of the ASEAN Community on 31 Dec 2015, remarked as the distinguished organization for regional collaboration</li> <li>the largest market with 10% of the world population</li> <li>9 dialogue partners: China, Japan, Republic of Korea, India, Australia, New Zealand, United States, Russia, Canada, and European Union</li> </ul>

Area	4,464,422 km2 (8.7 times of Thailand)	Current Chair	Thailand (Jan-Dec 2019)
Population	640.49 millions *World Bank	Secretary General	Dato' Paduka Lim Jock Hoi (Brunei)
Established Date	8 August 1967	Office of Secretariat	Jakarta, Indonesia
Member States	Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos PDR, Myanmar, and Cambodia	Key Articles	ASEAN Declaration (1967) ASEAN Charter (2008)

**Figure 1** General Description of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The creation of ASEAN was aimed: to enhance active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the politic, economic, and social; to promote regional peace and stability; and to cultivate close cooperation with other countries and international organizations outside the region.

The stalks of padi in the center of the ASEAN Emblem represents 10



Member States bound together in friendship and solidarity with “yellow” symbolizes prosperity. The circle represents the unity of ASEAN, with “red” depicts courage and dynamism, white shows purity, and “blue” represents peace and stability.

ASEAN's institutional framework and policy is a by-product derived from the conferences or meetings at the highest level of authority in ASEAN including the Lead of the Government, Ministers and Senior Officials. Under the ASEAN Charter, the Summit is the supreme policy-making body that sets the direction for ASEAN policies and objectives. It is also a platform where the ASEAN Leaders signify the highest level of commitment of Member States on the goal and long-term plan by signing or endorsement on documents, in forms of Action Plan, Joint Declaration, Declaration, Agreement, Convention, etc. The meetings at the level of Ministers and Senior Officials can be established for the overall or specific areas of cooperation. Member States has agreed upon the conceptual framework for mutual cooperations in these 3 areas:

1. ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC) : Some of the major political accords of ASEAN are as follows: Declaration of Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in 1971; ASEAN Concord on Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 1976; Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ) in 1997; and the initiative to intensify its external dialogues in political and security matters as a means of building cooperative ties with states in the Asia-Pacific region - the establishment of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994 (the very first Ministerial Meetings being hosted in Thailand).

2. ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) : The ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) was signed in 1992, involving gradual tariff liberalization, enhancing intra-ASEAN trade, reducing production cost, and attracting foreign investments while expanding the economic cooperation in

order to achieve ASEAN's economic integration goal with clear policy by the establishment of ASEAN Investment Area (AIA).

3. ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) : The dimension of regionalism “functional cooperation” covers a great variety of social and cultural aspects, and aims for the better living condition of ASEAN people and the development in all areas to improve the quality of life.

The ASEAN bodies which responsible for coordinating and monitoring the ASEAN's framework implementations are **(1) Permanent Secretariat** – as the communication hub for all Member States located in Jakarta, Indonesia, and headed by a Secretary-General. From the past till now, there are 2 representatives from Thailand as former Secretary General : his excellency Phan Wannamethee (1984-1986) and Dr. Surin Pitsuwan (2008-2009) **(2) ASEAN National Secretariat** – the department-level body in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of each State, to coordinate and follow-up on the overall ASEAN's progress and each nation's performances (3) For Thailand in particular, the assigned unit is Department of ASEAN Affairs (MFA and Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR)) comprising of the ambassador-level representatives from each nation in order to support the work of ASEAN's Community Council and ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Body, to coordinate with ASEAN Secretariat and ASEAN National Secretariat, as well as to supervise on the ASEAN cooperation with external partners. Currently, Thai Permanent Secretariat Phasporn Sangasubana, and her team, Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN are housed in Jakarta.

ASEAN was first established as the governmental organization aiming for the association among Member States based on their inter-state relations. Far more than 40 years that the cooperations among members in the Southeast Asia had been relying on their mutual trust, mostly without defining international legal rights and a institutional framework on relations at the very beginning. As a result, the ASEAN’s structure was considerably loose and flexible with a gradual development in cooperative mechanism. However, as the surrounding context, in politic, economic, social, and inter-state relations, had evolved, in combination with the growing threats to national security and the well-being of people i.e., terrorism, human trafficking, natural disaster, trans-national economic crisis, the ASEAN realized the need for adjusting itself to cope with these challenges. Pitfalls from the loose-structure in which hampered the development of ASEAN to the effective organization included: not yet being officially recognized as the international organization; no effective mechanism to enforce Member States to comply with their commitments; too many meetings which being perceived as “talking shop” with little value; most importantly, lack of public participation. The ASEAN has later agreed on its promulgation of the “ASEAN Charter” in 2008 as its constitutional framework and legal foundation for buiding up the regional integration with effective mechanism for problem-solving, coordination and unity of effort<sup>2</sup> as shown in Table 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pat Niyomsin. (2019). โครงสร้างอาเซียน [ASEAN Structure]. Online. Retrieved July 10, 2019, from <http://wiki.kpi.ac.th/index.php?title=%E0%B9%82%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%AA%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%B2%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%8B%E0%B8%B5%E0%B8%A2%E0%B8%99#.E0.B9.82.E0.B8.84.E0.B8.A3.E0.B8.87.E0.B8.AA.E0.B8.A3.E0.B9.89.E0.B8.B2.E0.B8.87.E0.B8.AD.E0.B8.B2.E0.B9.80.E0.B8.8B.E0.B8.A2.E0.B8.99.E0.B8.AB.E0.B8.A5.E0.B8.B1.E0.B8.87.E0.B8.81.E0.B8.B2.E0.B8.A3.E0.B8.88.E0.B8.B1.E0.B8.94.E0.B8.97.E0.B8.B3.E0.B8.81.E0.B8.8E.E0.B8.9A.E0.B8.B1.E0.B8.95.E0.B8.A3.E0.B8.AD.E0.B8.B2.E0.B9.80.E0.B8.8B.E0.B8.B5.E0.B8.A2.E0.B8.99>

**Table 1 ASEAN Structure**

องค์กร	Composition	Role and Responsibility
<b>1. ASEAN Summit</b>	Meetings of the heads of Member States which are held twice a year	The supreme policy-making body, and taking decisions on key issues
<b>2. ASEAN Coordinating Council</b>	Foreign Ministers of Member States	Prepare meetings of the ASEAN Summit, and coordinate with ASEAN Community Councils
<b>3. ASEAN Community Councils</b>	Designated national focal point from Member States in Political-Security, Economic, and Socio-cultural Community Council	Coordinate and ensure the implementation of policy and relevant decisions of the ASEAN Summit and in each Community Council
<b>4. ASEAN Sectorial Ministerial Body</b>	Sectorial Ministerial Body with 4 general functions	Implement the agreements and decisions of the ASEAN Summit  Submit reports and recommendations to their respective Community Councils

องค์กร	Composition	Role and Responsibility
<b>5. ASEAN Secretariat</b>	The administrative body under the supervision of the ASEAN Secretary-General	Center for coordination of ASEAN bodies and implementation of ASEAN mission and projects
<b>6. Committee of Permanent representatives to ASEAN</b>	Representatives with the rank of Ambassador appointed by each Member State	Facilitate the cooperation on behalf of his own State and ASEAN
<b>7. ASEAN National Secretariat</b>	The body housed at the department level in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of each Member State	Serve as the national focal point, coordinate the implementation of ASEAN decisions at the national level
<b>8. ASEAN Inter – governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)</b>	Human Rights body of ASEAN	Promote the freedom and well-being of people in the region

องค์กร	Composition	Role and Responsibility
<b>9. ASEAN Foundation</b>	Non-profit organization with legal entity	Support the Secretary-General of ASEAN and collaborate with the relevant ASEAN bodies, and disseminate information related to ASEAN

## 2.2 Theory of Economic Integration

Regional economic integration, or the action to eliminate any obstacles, barriers and impediments of trade, has become the significant phenomenon in the international political arena. Countries have implied this concept or theory as their tool to develop the free trade area among them as evident from the economic integration in all region of the world especially the western Europe which has long been the most advanced development i.e., Benelux Economic Union (BEU), European Union (EU). Examples in other regions include the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR, for its Spanish initials) of Latin America, and most importantly the formation of ASEAN Community in 2015. These given examples are a proof that the trend of economic cooperation or regional economic integration has become fundamental to the conomic development that will respond to people’s basic need.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Waraporn Julpanont. (2015). การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ “อาเซียน: แกนกลางของสถาปัตยกรรมความร่วมมือในเอเชีย” [International Politics “ASEAN: The Centrality of Asian Cooperative Achitecture]. Ramkhamhaeng University Press. pp. 14-15.

Belao Balassa, the Hungarian economist, expressed his view on the historical change in Western Europe and defined the economic integration as the process or measurement led by the government in order to remove the inter-state economic differences and barriers which can be achieved in form of integration and collaboration between States on the trade agreement. Nevertheless, there are different levels of the economic integration based on their specific conditions. According to Balassa's concept, the economic integration can be categorized into 5 different stages depending on the degree of unification of economic policies:<sup>4,5</sup>

1. Free Trade Area (FTA) : no custom or zero tariffs, and no limitations on quotas for the Member States (Measurement on tariffs and quotas still being applied to the Non-Member)

2. Customs Union : unified tariffs on the exterior borders of the union (Common External Tariffs : CET). According to the theory of customs unions, Member States must diminish a tariff within the union and apply a common tariff and rules to the Non-Member.

3. Common Market or Economic Community : add to the FTA with the free movement of capital, labor, products and services.

4. Economic Union : combination of customs union with a common market.

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<sup>4</sup> Waraporn Julpanont. (2015). การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ “อาเซียน: แกนกลางของสถาปัตยกรรมความร่วมมือในเอเชีย” [International Politics “ASEAN: The Centrality of Asian Cooperative Achitecture]. Ramkamhaeng University Press. pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Waraporn Julpanont. (2015). การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ [International Politics]. Ramkamhaeng University Press. pp. 109-110.

5. Total Economic Integration : unification of economic policies (monetary policy, fiscal policy, social welfare benefits, tax, etc.) and introduction of supranational bodies which the power and influence of member states transcend national boundaries or interests to share in decision-making and vote on issues concerning the collective body that will be implemented to all member in the same manner.

6. Theory of economic integration introduced by Bela Balassa has become the fundamental of international economic studies, and the extension or development of international trade theories including a survey of effects on the market of Member States, economic growth, and the comparative advantage on the economic Union of States for reasons of geographic propinquity and appealing transboundary cooperation prospects. Based on the classical location theory emphasizing on the key role of geography, economic integration for countries who are located in geographical proximity will remove inter-state barriers and encourage the free trade and economic activities in the region which subsequently lead to a single regional economic system.

### 2.3 Prominent Potential of ASEAN <sup>6,7,8</sup>

Asia is now becoming one of the most important world economic center, due to its reduction in tariff and free trade area policies, with

<sup>6</sup> Smart SME. (2015). ศักยภาพของประเทศต่าง ๆ ของประเทศสมาชิก AEC [Capacity of Each AEC Country]. Online. Retrieved 2 April 2015. from <https://www.smartsme.co.th/content/12483>

<sup>7</sup> ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS. (2018). ASEAN Member States: Selected Basic Indicators. Online. Retrieved 2 April 2019. from <https://data.aseanstats.org/>

<sup>8</sup> Waraporn Julpanont. (2015). การเมืองระหว่างประเทศ “อาเซียน: แกนกลางของสถาปัตยกรรมความร่วมมือในเอเชีย” [International Politics “ASEAN: The Centrality of Asian Cooperative Architecture]. Ramkamhaeng University Press. pp. 26-28.

China and India as main power to drive on the unstoppable economic growth and development. On the other hand, the internal conflicts between the Member States are handled by a peaceful measure in line with the 4-principles of “ASEAN Way”: consensus-based decision, non-interference in internal affairs, informal dialogue, and non-confrontation, to achieve the cooperative ASEAN. Each member must be prepared for the one ASEAN single market, and accelerate on their capability development based on their unequal level of capacities, as depicted in Table 2. **Area** : ASEAN has a total area of 4,493,516 sq.km., Indonesia with the biggest area of 1,916,862 sq.m. , and Singapore with the smallest area of 720 sq.km. **Population** : a total of 642 millions of people (approximately the same size with the EU populations), Indonesia with the biggest population of 261 millions, and Brunei with the smallest population of 421,000 **Economic Growth or GDP** : a total of ASEAN GDP in 2019 was 2,765 million USD, Indonesia with the highest GDP of 1,013,926 million USD, and Lao PDR with the lowest GDP of 17,090 million USD **GDP per Capita** : on average of ASEAN population was 4,308 USD, Singapore with the highest GDP of 57,722 USD, and Myanmar with the lowest in come of 1,229 USD **Foreign Investment** : ASEAN’s foreign investment was 135 million USD, Singapore with the maximum of foreign investment of 62 million USD, and Brunei with the lowest of 460,000 million USD.

**Table 2** ศักยภาพของASEAN

Country	Area (sq.km.)	Population (millions)	GDP (million USD)	GDP per capita (USD)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Foreign Investment (million USD)
Brunei	5,765	421.3	12,212	28,986	6.9	460
Cambodia	181,035	15,717.7	22,340	1,421	0.2	2,732
Indonesia	1,916,862	261,890.9	1,013,926	3,872	5.3	23,064
Lao PDR	236,800	6,752.8	17,090	2,531	1.9	1,695
Malaysia	331,388	32,049.7	317,252	9,899	3.4	9,447
Myanmar	676,576	53,388.0	65,607	1,229	2.1	4,002
Philippines	300,000	104,921.4	313,875	2,992	6.6	10,057
Singapore	720	5,612.3	323,954	57,722	3.1	62,017
Thailand	513,140	67,653.2	455,704	6,736	1.2	8,046
Vietnam	331,231	93,671.6	223,837	2,390	2.0	14,100
<b>ASEAN</b>	<b>4,493,516</b>	<b>642,078.8</b>	<b>2,765,798</b>	<b>4,308</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>135,621</b>

Among the 10 countries of the ASEAN, there have been great diversity in their potentials and capabilities due to natural resources, geographical terrain, and population. Each country has their own strengths and weaknesses being summarized as follows.

1. Brunei : the most richest country with the GDP per capita in the 2<sup>nd</sup> top of ASEAN rank and the 26<sup>th</sup> in the world rank, based on its capacity as the petroleum (oil) exporter and the biggest oil reserve (the 4<sup>th</sup> of ASEAN). Its weakness is related to the small size of approximately 400,000 in population which results in the small market and shortage of labor force. Key address: its solid economic relation with Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia; dependence of its international transportation primarily on Singapore; food security.

2. Cambodia : with a rich and diversified natural resources especially the water resource, forest and minerals. The low labor cost is also the advantage. On the opposite, there are weaknesses including the poor infrastructure and unskilled labor. Key Address: the inter-state conflict between Thailand and Cambodia that may negatively affect on the opportunity for the trade expansion and future investment.

3. Indonesia : with the biggest population at the 1<sup>st</sup> rank of ASEAN and the 4<sup>th</sup> rank of the world. Most importantly, Indonesia has also been recognized for the biggest population of Muslims. It is rich and diversified in natural resources including coal, oil, natural gas, metals (i.e., tin, silver). Indonesia as the biggest size of economy in the Southeast Asia region. Most of in-country investments are focused on the use of its own natural resources. The weakness is related to its landscape, as the world's largest archipelago with over 17,000 islands dispersed in remote distance, therefore it has been difficult to reach out and provide appropriate infrastructure to all area.

4. Lao PDR : the country with political stability. In general, Lao PDR has good environmental quality and rich natural resources compared to the ASEAN region (especially for its water resources and minerals). The labor cost is low. Its weakness is the undeveloped infrastructure. It is a landlock nation, most part is made of highlands and mountains, with poor transportation lines and no exit to the sea.

5. Malaysia : the country with the most comprehensive infrastructure, skilled labors, oil reserve in the 3<sup>rd</sup> rank and natural gas in the 2<sup>nd</sup> rank of Asia-Pacific region, and the GDP per capita in the 3<sup>rd</sup> rank of ASEAN. The weakness is due to its small population which

results in lacking of work force especial for the low-skilled occupations. Key address: Malaysia also aims for the developed nation by 2020 (same policy with Thailand), with its production and export bases supported by advanced technology.

6. Myanmar : prominent with its rich natural resources, oil and natural gas. It is also advantaged from sharing borders and connectivity with both China and India, and the ASEAN routes for trade and transportation. It has low labor cost. But there are major weaknesses in poor infrastructures, and instability in political affairs and policies. Key address: the Myanmar's "Communication Network Improvement Project" to strengthen the connectivity of roads, high-speed rails and ports together.

7. Philippines : with the population rank in the 12<sup>th</sup> of the world, and the majority of work force is highly proficient in English language. The weakness is due to its diverging location from the rest of ASEAN countries, with poor infrastructure and social welfare. Key address: the role of Labor Unions in Philippines and their frequent calls for wage increase. Most of investments serves mainly for its domestic demand.

8. Singapore : the country with the highest GDP per capita in ASEAN and the 15<sup>th</sup> in the world rank. It is an international financial center, located in the strategic area with the potential of the global maritime hub, stable in term of political affairs, available skilled labors, well-experienced in resource management and business administration. Its weakness is due to the dependence on the import of raw materials, lack of low-skilled work forces, and high cost in running business.

Singapore is currently expanding its economic structure to cover more of service sector to reduce the dependence on the export.

9. Thailand : with its border connecting to many ASEAN countries which benefits as the communication network hub, available work force, manufacturing bases for industrial- and agricultural products, wide-coverage and developed infrastructure, and reliable banking system. Its weakness includes unskilled labor, and lack of advanced production technology. Key address: Thailand and its goals to becoming the ASEAN's hub for logistics, tourism, etc.

10. Vietnam : the developing country with the potential of high growth, with the big population in the 14<sup>th</sup> rank of the world, a coastline of 3,200 km approximately, oil reserve in the 2<sup>nd</sup> rank of Asia-Pacific region, stable political affairs, and the low wage for labor (the 2<sup>nd</sup> least from Cambodia). The weaknesses are undeveloped infrastructure, and high cost in real estates and office rent. Key address: the high rise in the GDP and need for consumer's products due to its rapid economic growth.

In addition to a wide variety of each country's profile, an advantage of being the geographical strategic location connecting the Superpowers on the West (US and Europe) with the Superpowers on the East (China, India, Korea and Japan) --- all major players in the regional and global stages, it is the nature of ASEAN itself as a group of nations with rich and diversified population (in ethnicity, culture, language, and belief) that will draw attentions from the world-leading traders and investors.

## 2.4 Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity : MPAC 2025 <sup>9</sup>

The 3 Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity consists of *Physical Connectivity* i.e., transportation, information technology and communication, and energy; *Institutional Connectivity* i.e., free trade, investment, and service; and *People-to-People Connectivity* i.e., education, culture and tourism. This connectivity is fundamental to the support and successful functional integration of the 3 pillars: Political-Security, Economic and Socio-Cultural in ASEAN Community. Since the adoption of the 2010 Master Plan on Connectivity (MPAC), a notable progress has been made. As of May 2016, 39 initiatives<sup>2</sup> in MPAC 2010 have been completed. 18 of these completed initiatives relate to physical connectivity; 15 to institutional connectivity; and 6 to people-to-people connectivity. However, much remains to be done to realise the vision of a seamlessly connected ASEAN. The remaining 52 uncompleted initiatives in MPAC 2010, which have a clear sector owner and do not overlap with the newly proposed initiatives, will be included in the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025 (MPAC 2025).

The vision for the ASEAN Connectivity 2025 is to achieve *a seamlessly and comprehensively connected and integrated ASEAN that will promote competitiveness, inclusiveness, and a greater sense of Community*. MPAC 2025 will focus on five strategic areas to achieve this vision:

1. Sustainable infrastructure. The aim of this strategy is to coordinate existing resources to deliver support across the full life cycle of infrastructure projects in ASEAN, including project preparation,

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<sup>9</sup> The ASEAN Secretariat Jakarta. (2016). MASTER PLAN ON ASEAN CONNECTIVITY 2025. Photocopy Edition.

improving infrastructure productivity, and capability building. This strategy also includes exchanging lessons on “smart urbanisation” models across ASEAN Member States that can simultaneously deliver economic growth and a good quality of life.

*[MPAC 2025 Initiatives: Establish a rolling priority pipeline list of potential ASEAN infrastructure projects and sources of funds; Establish an ASEAN platform to measure and improve infrastructure productivity; Launch sustainable urbanization strategies in ASEAN cities.]*

2. Digital innovation. Digital technologies in ASEAN could potentially be worth up to 625 billion USD by 2030 (8 percent of ASEAN’s GDP in that year), which may be derived from increased efficiency, new products and services, etc. Capturing this opportunity requires the establishment of regulatory frameworks for the delivery of new digital services (including data management and digital financial services); support for the sharing of best practices on open data; and equipping micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) with the capabilities to access these new technologies.

*[MPAC 2025 Initiatives: Enhance the MSME technology platform; Develop the ASEAN digital financial inclusion framework; Establish an ASEAN open data network; Establish an ASEAN digital data governance framework.]*

3. Seamless logistics. Enhancing ASEAN Connectivity presupposes excellent logistics. However, logistics efficiency has not improved at the pace originally envisaged by MPAC 2010, as measured by the length of time taken and cost of transportation in the region.

One of the underlying challenges is coordination issues between government departments and a lack of sharing of best practices. There is the opportunity to create mechanisms to support greater collaboration between logistics firms, academic institutions, and ASEAN Member States: this would help to identify bottlenecks across key areas of the region's supply chains; collect and share best practices about how to tackle those issues across the region, and identify critical policy areas requiring attention.

*[MPAC 2025 Initiatives: Strengthen ASEAN Competitiveness through enhanced trade routes and logistics; Enhance supply chain efficiency through addressing key chokepoints.]*

4. Regulatory excellence. There is a need to embed good regulatory practice (GRP) in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of rules, regulations, and procedures in the region. The aim of this strategy is to support implementation of key policies critical for the ASEAN Connectivity agenda, particularly focusing on standards harmonisation, mutual recognition and technical regulations, as well as addressing tradedistorting non-tariff measure.

*[MPAC 2025 Initiatives: Complete harmonization of standards, mutual recognition, and technical regulations in 3 prioritised product groupings; increase transparency and strengthen evaluation to reduce trade-distorting non-tariff measures.]*

5. People mobility. Restrictions on travel for ASEAN nationals within the region are largely a thing of the past. However, there are still opportunities to improve mobility in ASEAN. Opportunities include facilitating travel for tourists by addressing the lack of information on

travel options and providing simpler mechanisms to apply for necessary visas. Additionally, there is an opportunity to strengthen skills mobility in the region and, where appropriate, by establishing high-quality qualification frameworks in critical vocational occupations, and to encourage greater mobility of intra-ASEAN university students.

*[MPAC 2025 Initiatives: Enhance ASEAN travel by making finding information easier; Ease ASEAN travel by facilitating visa processes; Establish new vocational training programs and common qualifications across ASEAN Member States, in accordance with national circumstances of each member; Support higher education exchange across ASEAN Member States.]*

MPAC 2025 creates National Focal Points for each ASEAN Member States to complement the work of the existing ASEAN Connectivity National Coordinators, coordinate closely with relevant stakeholders, and to mobilize adequate resources for the implementation of the MPAC 2025 Initiatives. This can help ensure better coordination, and greater leverage to increase the speed and effectiveness of implementation.

## **2.5 ASEAN and its Integration into the World Economy**

Based on the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint, the integration of ASEAN into the world economy is a major milestone towards achieving the vision of AEC which means ASEAN needs to operate in an increasingly global environment, with interdependent markets and globalised industries. In order to enable ASEAN businesses to compete internationally, to make ASEAN a more dynamic and

stronger segment of the global supply chain, and to ensure that the internal market remains attractive for foreign investment, it is crucial for ASEAN to look beyond the borders of AEC.<sup>10</sup>

ASEAN's economy, external rules and regulations must increasingly be taken into account when developing policies related to AEC. ASEAN shall work towards maintaining “*ASEAN Centrality*” in its external economic relations, including, but not limited to, its negotiations for Free Trade (FTAs) and Comprehensive Economic Partnership (CEPs) agreements. This shall be done by:

1. Review FTA/CEP commitments vis-à-vis ASEAN's internal integration commitments.
2. Establish a system for enhanced coordination, and possibly arriving at common approaches and/or positions in ASEAN's external economic relations and in regional and multi-lateral fora.

The Secretary-General of ASEAN shall report the progress of AEC to relevant ministerial meetings and the Summit. Decision-making process by economic bodies to be made by consensus, and where there is no consensus, ASEAN to consider other options with the objective of expediting the decision-making process. The ASEAN Minus X formula can be invoked to accelerate the implementation of agreed economic initiatives. Flexibility should be accorded in the implementation of AEC, which shall be pre-agreed and not delay the overall progress and implementation of the AEC. A set of statistical indicators, including an integrated tariff and trade data database system,

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Commerce. รายงานการศึกษาวิจัยเพื่อวางแผนกำหนดทิศทางการค้าระหว่างประเทศ พ.ศ. 2554 [The Study Report on Strategic Planing of International Trades B.E. 2554]. Hardcopy.

address harmonisation of statistics and data quality issues, and the AEC scorecards, should be developed and maintained in order to monitor and assess the progress of each AEC elements.

Research and capacity building support is to be mobilised from various facilities. For examples, the ASEAN Development Fund, with contributions from Member States, will be a vehicle to draw resources from other ASEAN and non-ASEAN sources; translating milestones and targets of the AEC Blueprint into national milestones and targets and incorporate them in their national development plans; promoting the participation of the ASEAN Development Bank (ADB), World Bank, dialogue or trading partners and the private sector in the development of regional infrastructure projects; strengthening the research capabilities and human capital development; and the AEC-related planning and policy by the ASEAN Secretariat. Most importantly is a good communications programme to create greater public awareness of the AEC and the progress of this community-building to Member States and all stakeholders i.e., creating an AEC communications website that would provide an additional channel to reach communities at large, where stakeholders can provide feedback and respond to ASEAN economic initiatives.

ASEAN integration into the global economy currently continues with the signing FTA/CEP with external partners.<sup>11</sup>

1. ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) : ASEAN and China signed on the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation in 2002 aiming to enhance economic cooperation among

<sup>11</sup> Department of Trade Negotiation. (2011). AEC FACT Book: One Vision, One Identity, One Community. pp. 62-63.

ASEAN Member States and China by promoting trade and investment.<sup>12</sup> China is currently the largest trading partner of ASEAN with the bilateral trade volume of 292.5 billion USD in 2010 (or 11.6% of total volume). The ASEAN, on the other hand, is the largest trading partner of China with 9.98% of China's total trade volume. Outright, the ACFTA creates an economic region with 1.92 billion consumers, a regional Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about 10.09 trillion USD. This makes it the biggest FTA in the world in terms of population size.

2. ASEAN-Korea Free Trade Area (AKFTA) : Korea is the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dialogue Partner for the ASEAN FTA. Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN-Korea was signed in 2005 with the main objective to strengthen and enhance economic cooperation among ASEAN Member States and Korea by progressively liberalizing and promoting trade and investment. The Agreement also aims to bridge the development gaps.<sup>13</sup> There are 4 following agreements signed by the ASEAN and Korea to establish the Free Trade Area in 2009. Korea ranks as the 5<sup>th</sup> ASEAN trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of 74,700 million USD and the Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) to ASEAN 1,400 million USD. In 2010, the bilateral trade volume was 97,294.22 million USD.

<sup>12</sup> Department of Foreign Trade. (2015). ความตกลงเขตการค้าเสรี อาเซียน – จีน [Asean-China Free Trade Agreement : ACFTA]. Online. Retrieved 15 May 2019. From <http://www.dft.go.th/th-th/DFT-Service/ServiceData-Information/dft-service-data-privilege/Detail-dft-service-data-privilege/ArticleId/5071/-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-1-2-3-4>

<sup>13</sup> Department of Foreign Trade. (2015). ความตกลงการค้าเสรี ASEAN – เกาหลี [ASEAN – Republic of Korea Free Trade Agreement: AKFTA]. Online. Retrieved 15 May 2019. from <http://www.dft.go.th/th-th/DFT-Service/ServiceData-Information/dft-service-data-privilege/Detail-dft-service-data-privilege/ArticleId/5064/Project-TH-KOR-AEC>

3. ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) : The agreement was signed in April 2008 and has been enforced since then. It covers trades in goods, service, investment, and economic cooperation. In 2010, the AJCEP enabled the business from ASEAN and Japan to gain access to a big and potential regional market with GDP of 6.4 million USD and bilateral trade volume of 213.9 billion USD.

4. ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) : ASEAN, Australia and New Zealand signed on the Agreement of AANZFTA on 27 February 2009 and entered into force since 1 January 2010. The AANZFTA aims to provide a more liberal, facilitative and transparent market and investment regimes among the 12 signatories to the agreement by removing trade barriers, establishing more deepened and extensive economic network, reducing business cost, enhancing trade and investment, and promoting on the sustainable economic growth.<sup>14</sup> The AANZFTA creates the market with 616 million consumers with GDP of 2.61 trillion USD in 2009. In 2010, the combined bilateral trade volume was 57.5 billion USD. During the time of global economic crisis, the DFI from Australian and New Zealand had significantly increased from 10,000 billion USD in 2008 to 14.9 billion USD.

5. ASEAN-India Free Trade Area (AIFTA) : ASEAN and India signed on their Agreement and entered into force in 2010. The FTA and CEP between the ASEAN and the country in East Asia will enhance

<sup>14</sup> Department of Foreign Trade. (2015). ความตกลงเพื่อจัดตั้งเขตการค้าเสรี ASEAN-ออสเตรเลีย-นิวซีแลนด์ [Agreement Establishing the ASEAN - Australia - New Zealand Free Trade Area: AANZFTA]. Online. Retrieved 15 May 2019. จาก <http://www.dft.go.th/th-th/DetailHotNews/ArticleId/5060/aec-newz-aus>

the role of ASEAN for its future center of regional architecture. The economic integration based upon the ASEAN-India relations has progressively evolved with the preferential tariff treatment which shall be supported by “a Certificate of Origin, procedures on issuance and verification, customary procedures, and economic cooperation. Besides the East Asia, ASEAN also play its major role in other regional platforms i.e., Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), and multi-lateral dialogue with the World Trade Organization (WTO)

The external relations of ASEAN have begun since 1970. The European Union was the very first outside the region as well as region-to-region relation with the ASEAN which also lies as the basis for a bilateral format of negotiations with more 9 dialogue partners including Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, Korea, India, Canada, Korea, United States, Russia, and the European Union as the regional international organization.

## 2.6 ASEAN and its Dialogue Partners<sup>15</sup>

Far more than 50 years since the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN was first founded on 8 August 1967, with the signing of the Bangkok Declaration, and stepped forward to the ASEAN Community in 2015. The ASEAN has progressively developed by enhancing the ASEAN Physical, Institutional, and People-to-People Connectivity in order to fulfil its commitment for the ASEAN as One.

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<sup>15</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน: ความสัมพันธ์กับภายนอก [ASEAN and outer relations]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/th/partnership/9541>

The ASEAN has extended its relations and promote the ASEAN cooperations with external partners to support the foundation of ASEAN community, and to enhance creative responses with the Superpowers, by giving priorities to reinforcing the ASEAN Centrality (an ASEAN-centered regional architecture for the wider Asia-Pacific) through the frameworks of ASEAN Plus Three, East Asia Summit (EAS), and relevant Summits/Meetings and interacting with dialogue partners and external partners in a unified manner to promote a common “ASEAN voice” and protect “ASEAN shared interest”.

The ASEAN has cultivated close relations with its 10 Dialogue Partners (9 countries and 1 regional organization: Japan, Australia, New Zealand, United States, Canada, Korea, India, China, Russia, and the European Union) in general term, and defined cooperations between ASEAN and its Dialogue Partners in 3 fundamental pillars:

**2.6.1 ASEAN-Japan**<sup>16</sup> ASEAN and Japan first established informal dialogue relations in 1973, which was later formalised in March 1977 with the convening of the ASEAN-Japan Forum. On the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Japan Dialogue Partners, there was the special “ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit” in December 2003 in Tokyo where its relation has leveled up to “Strategic Partner” and the Leaders signed the “Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN-Japan Partnership in the New Millennium” which, together with its Plan of Action.

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<sup>16</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – ญี่ปุ่น [ASEAN-Japan]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/filespartnership-20190508-172804-086961.pdf>

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) In 2013, Prime Minister of Japan declared his policy “Proactive Contribution to Peace” which emphasized the proactive role of Japan in the regional security, and proposed for the holding of the ASEAN-Japan Defense Ministers’ Round Table Meeting (2) At the 20<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit on 13 November 2017, Japan urged for the ASEAN’s role in the regional Indo-Pacific cooperation, supported the framework for the South China Sea Code of Conduct (COC) and encouraged parties to conclude an effective COC (3) At the ASEAN-Japan Foreign Minister’s Meeting on 7 August 2018 in Singapore, ASEAN welcomed the 45<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Japan relations in which covered all key area and led to the regional peace and stability (4) At the 21<sup>st</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in November 2018 in Singapore, ASEAN and Japan adopted the Joint Declaration on cooperation to combat with non-traditional security threats to the security including terrorism, trans-national crime, maritime security and cyber security, and supported a new Work Plan for Cooperation to Combat Terrorism (2018-2022) which will enhance the cooperation at all level through the capacity-building and information sharing, and welcomed the establishment of the ASEAN-Japan Cyber Security Capacity Building Center in Thailand.

● Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, Japan was ASEAN’s 4<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of 217,900 million USD, and ASEAN’s 2<sup>nd</sup> largest external source of FDI with the flow from Japan-to-ASEAN amounted to 13,200 million USD. Both Japan and ASEAN aimed to double their trade in goods, services, and investment by 2022 (or 7.18 % per year) to gain the trade volume at

524,800 million USD and FDI at 41,600 million USD. The framework of ASEAN-Japan 10-year Strategic Economic Cooperation Roadmap (2012-2022) was endorsed at the 18<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM) and recognized as a drive covering 3 key areas: improvement of business environment, enhancement industrial cooperation with developed infrastructure, and advancing in economic development and the people's well-being (2) In April 2017, the ASEAN-Japan Innovation Network (AJIN) was established to promote the innovation- and technology-driven industry, and to enhance the link between the business sectors of ASEAN and Japan with supporting fund of 20 million USD (3) In 2008, the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) Agreement was signed and entered into force. They completed the negotiation on the AJCEP FTA covering the free trade in goods, service, and investment, and also the economic cooperation. In a meanwhile, the 1<sup>st</sup> Protocol to Amend the AJCEP Agreement to incorporate into the specific Chapters was underway.

● Social-Cultural Cooperation (1) People-to-People contacts and cultural exchanges, with particular emphasis on the youth and intellectuals. Key programs supported by the Government is the Japan East Asia Network of Exchange for Student and Youth (JENESYS 2.0) or WA Project to promote mutual understanding and strengthen cultural cooperation, Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Programme (SSEAYP), and Sport for Tomorrow (2) ASEAN-Japan Senior Officials' Meeting on International Cooperation and Disability on 31 August 2015 in Tokyo, as a platform for discussion among stakeholders, the governmental authorities and civil society, to support the role of the

disabled and improve their quality of life, and endorsed “Tokyo Recommendations on International Cooperation and Disability 2015 and Beyond in the ASEAN Region” (3) “Aging Society” is a major concern to Thailand and the Asia region. By 2025, Thailand will enter the period of “an aging society” completely by 2025 (or 20% elderly in the total population). It is also part of the Universal Health Coverage (UHC) agenda in which Ministry of Public Health has been prepared for. Thailand proposed itself as a hub of knowledge management where experiences and new sciences can be freely exchanged. One of the well-known facilities for elderly is located in the Southern Thailand with its potential as a training school for healthcare providers. There is additional collaboration of Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, and JICA to develop the health- and social-friendly services with community-integrated approach.

**2.6.2 ASEAN-Australia<sup>17</sup>** Australia is the longest-standing ASEAN’s Dialogue Partner, and became “Strategic Partner” since 2014 for the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Australia Dialogue Relations. The Plan of Action to Implement the ASEAN-Australia Strategic Partnership (2015-2019) was adopted during the ASEAN-Australia Special Summit on 12 November 2014 in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar. The ASEAN-Australia Biennial Summit is usually held every 2 years, the very 1<sup>st</sup> one was in Vientiane 2016 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> was in

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<sup>17</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – ออสเตรเลีย [ASEAN-Australia]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-104448-809251.pdf>

Sydney 2018. During the ASEAN-Australia Special Summit in Sydney, 17-18 March 2018, both sides declared the initiatives in 15 projects giving the importance of enhancing cooperation in areas of mutual benefits, and adopted 2 key documents: Sydney Declaration and ASEAN-Australia MOU on Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism

- Political and Security Cooperation (1) Both sides express their great concerns on the response to the security and non-traditional security threats including terrorism, maritime security, cyber security, and human trafficking. The product from the workshop in 2018 was finalized and became the initiatives in the Sydney Declaration (ASEAN-Australia Special Summit, March 2018, Sydney) (2) Regional cooperative response to human trafficking, irregular migration, and the large-scale exploitation of migrant workers through the Australia-Asia Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons (AAPTIP). In 2019, Thailand and Australia co-hosted the meeting to enhance personal potential for the implementation on the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in 2019 (3) Expanding in security cooperations: sharing of information and intelligence, and stronger border control & management system in ASEAN and the region to promote security and stability which will ultimately lead to the prosperity of ASEAN people and region.

- Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, Australia was ASEAN's 7<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of more than 59,000 million USD, and ASEAN's 6<sup>th</sup> largest external source of FDI with the flow to ASEAN over amount 21,000 million USD (2) Australia is the 5<sup>th</sup> ASEAN's destination for tourism (3) The Agreement

on ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) was signed in 2009 for the purpose of tariff reduction on 96% of export items by 2010 to promote the export between each other (4) Australia support the infrastructure development and AEC through the ASEAN-Australia Development Cooperation Programme Phase II.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) ASEAN-Australia cooperative education has been established through the ASEAN University Network (AUN), and exchanged student program such as New Colombo Plan which currently covers all ASEAN Member States with approximately 40,000 Australian students throughout ASEAN countries and 120,000 ASEAN students and intellectuals studying in Australia. The Australia-ASEAN Council was established in 2015, by Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, as the mechanism to promote the people-to-people relations and mutual understandings (2) Australia supports the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Center), and assign its expert to actually work in the AHA Center.

**2.6.3 ASEAN-New Zealand<sup>18</sup>** ASEAN and New Zealand has been Dialogue Partner since 1975. Their strong ties was reaffirmed when the Leaders of both sides jointly declared for its “Strategic Partnership” during the ASEAN-New Zealand Special Summit on 22 November 2015 in Kuala Lumpur, for the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-New Zealand Dialogue Partner, and adopted the Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Statement for ASEAN-New Zealand Strategic Partnership (2016-2020).

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<sup>18</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – นิวซีแลนด์ [ASEAN-New Zealand]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-143542-775727.pdf>

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) ASEAN and New Zealand address their concerns and cooperate extensively in many areas of security, for examples: reduction and non-proliferation of weapons, implementing measures on trust-building, preventive diplomacy, counter-terrorism and trans-national crime, cyber security, and maritime security (2) New Zealand has been active in its role under the framework of East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

● Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, New Zealand was ASEAN's 10<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of 9,523 million USD, and ASEAN's 9<sup>th</sup> largest dialogue partner with the FDI flow to ASEAN 326.24 USD (2) The Agreement on ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) in 2010 is the most effective instrument for promoting the trade and investment between ASEAN and New Zealand. New Zealand is expecting for the zero tariff for all export items by 2020. New Zealand has also joined and exercised its role for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) (3) New Zealand fully supports the ASEAN connectivity, with the emphasis on rules-based international order, and air link system. New Zealand is recognized as the founding member and 1<sup>st</sup> western country joining in the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) New Zealand addressed the importance of people-to-people connectivity by promoting the exchange programs on education, culture, youth and entrepreneurs through New Zealand Aids Programme (2015-2019), and supported more fund (208 million NZD) to ASEAN Member States,

especially the CLMV (2) Initiatives and major programs i.e., funds for education, exchange of young entrepreneurs, natural disaster management. In 2017, New Zealand supported 5 full scholarship, namely ASEAN @ 50 Fellowship, for the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN foundation, to ASEAN academics in which 2 from Thailand were awarded.

**2.6.4 ASEAN-United States**<sup>19</sup> ASEAN and US became Dialogue Partners since 1977, and elevated their relations to a Strategic Partnership in 2015 when US President Obama invited ASEAN leaders to the ASEAN-US Special Summit in California (15–16 February 2016). During the ASEAN-US Special Summit, on the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-US relations, on 13 November 2017 in Manila, US stressed on its cooperation with ASEAN to strengthening stability, security and prosperity in the region. At the 3<sup>rd</sup> ASEAN-US Summit in Kuala Lumpur, the 6<sup>th</sup> ASEAN US-Summit in Singapore, parties endorsed the ASEAN-US Leaders’ Statement on Cybersecurity Cooperation as a means of building a peaceful secure, resilient cyberspace.

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) ASEAN and US emphasized on the importance of cooperation in response to mult-lateral challenges i.e., maritime security, terrorism and extremism, cyber security, health security, human trafficking, irregular migration, and climate change. Key address also included the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) and ASEAN Centrality which will lead to a new strategic equilibrium in the region (2) US continues support for ASEAN-led mechanisms i.e., East

<sup>19</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – สหรัฐอเมริกา [ASEAN-USA]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-104857-673937.pdf>

Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus) (3) ASEAN-US security cooperation to combat with non-traditional security threats will enhance the regional Indo-Pacific security and stability, and result in the peaceful, safe and secure environment for the people.

- Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, US was ASEAN's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest trading partner and 4<sup>th</sup> largest external source of FDI. The combined trade volume reached to 248 billion USD: ASEAN flow to US 170 billion USD; US flow in ASEAN 78 billion USD with the investment volume of 5.4 billion USD (2) a yearly work plan on trade and investment to extend cooperations is developed under the framework of ASEAN-US TIFA. The US-ASEAN Expanded Economic Engagement (E3) Initiatives is a new framework in addition to ASEAN-US TIFA, with focus on the groundwork for ASEAN countries to prepare to joining high-standard agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement that the US is currently negotiating on the joint concept. The supporting program on the Inclusive Growth of ASEAN through Innovation, Trade and E-commerce (IGNITE) (3) ASEAN expects the US to remain as key partnership for ultimate goals: fair and free trade, good governance, mutual benefits from economic agreements/cooperations – especially from the US funding into Indo-Pacific Initiatives (113 million USD pledged by US to support initiatives in digital economy, energy, and infrastructure) (4) US commitment, cooperation and supporting programs, with increase of investment from US private sector, will facilitate to overall development in the region as well as the ASEAN's economic growth and the well-being of people.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) US supports in human resource development in the region, particularly for the ASEAN-youth potential development, women empowerment, and capacity-building for SMEs. Both ASEAN and US also concern with environmental problem, climate change, disaster mitigation and management, and water resource management under the UN Sub-Regional Framework and the bilateral cooperation (2) US-supported programs i.e., Fulbright US-ASEAN Visiting Scholars Initiative, Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative (YSEALI), ASEAN-US Science Prize for Women, Internship Programs in the US leading company (3) ASEAN's people will benefit from these cooperative projects for their contribution to strengthening ASEAN community, mutual understanding, trust-building within ASEAN members and with US, network building for people-to-people connectivity, and human capital development to be prepared for the rapid dynamic global changes.

**2.6.5 ASEAN-Canada<sup>20</sup>** Canada began its engagement with ASEAN as a Dialogue Partner in 1977 and has maintained an active cooperation since then. In 1981, the ASEAN-Canada Economic Cooperation Agreement (ACECA) was signed. In 2012, to celebrate for the 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Canada relations, there were various activities including a competition to design a logo of 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. On 14 November 2017, the ASEAN-Canada Commemorative Summit was held in Manila, and Co-Chairs' Press Statement on the 40<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – แคนาดา [ASEAN-Canada]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-104943-232882.pdf>

Anniversary of the Establishment of ASEAN-Canada Dialogue Relations was adopted for implementation. Canada wanted to elevate the relation to Strategic Partner. On the other hand, Thailand did not consider it as the prompt issue, and encouraged Canada to increase its contribution in cooperations with ASEAN through progressive and concrete projects in the areas of Canada's expertise. However, Thailand will fully support Canada based on the consensus of ASEAN members in approving Canada-enhanced Partnership in 2020 which is the time frame specified by the ASEAN Secretariat.

- Political and Security Cooperation (1) Both sides addressed their cooperations on border security, human trafficking and illegal migration, trust-building, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, maritime security, and promoting human rights in ASEAN (2) Canada strongly supports ASEAN-led cooperative mechanism: ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) Plus Canada Consultations (3) Canada asked to join the East Asia Summit (EAS) and attend as a special observer in the Experts' Working Groups (EWG) on HADR, and Maritime Security, under the Framework of ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus: ADMM-Plus (4) Enhancing cooperations on border security, human trafficking and illegal migration, and terrorism will lead to the regional peace and stability in ASEAN and Asia-Pacific, and facilitate in future ASEAN economic development.

- Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, Canada was ASEAN's 9<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of 13.2 billion USD, and ASEAN's 8<sup>th</sup> largest dialogue partner with FDI flow

to ASEAN approximately 1 billion USD (2) Canada supported 22.9 million CAD to ASEAN through the economic-finance pillar with the emphasis on infrastructure, Public-Private Partnership (PPPs), trade, investment, technical assistance, SMEs capacity-building, gap reduction in development, agriculture and food sector, through ASEAN-led mechanisms i.e., ASEAN SEOM-Canada Consultations, Canada-ASEAN Business Council (CABC), and ASEAN-Canada Trade Policy Dialogue (3) ASEAN and Canada is on negotiating for their agreement on the ASEAN-Canada free trade area. The Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Canada were entities that had been previously assigned to launch exploratory discussions for an FTA agreement (4) ASEAN's people will benefit from the ASEAN-Canada FTA. Based on the initial study, the agreement could result in 1.6% increase in ASEAN's GDP (39.4 billion USD) and 0.3% increase in Canada's GDP (5.1 billion USD) with great opportunity for potential trade and investment by the private sector from ASEAN and Canada.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) Canada addresses on key issues including women's rights, rights of migrant workers, disaster management, climate change, public health and outbreak, education, and labor (2) Canada continues its support to ASEAN, a total value of 42.7 million CAD through various projects i.e., Protection and Promotion of the Rights of ASEAN Migrant Workers (Triangle in ASEAN) Initiative, Inclusive Growth through Advancing Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative (3) Canada highlighted the importance of human capital development by funding 10 million CAD through Canada-ASEAN Scholarships and Educational Exchanges for Development (SEED) for

ASEAN's college students to conduct the short-term research in Canada. The research should be related to sustainable development goals (SDG) so ASEAN's students can bring back the knowledge and apply it for the ASEAN future development (4) ASEAN's people will benefit greatly from these capacity-building and training programs, together with Canada-supported scholarships, in terms of human capital development and ASEAN's people preparedness to the rapid dynamic global changes.

**2.6.6 ASEAN-Korea<sup>21</sup>** Korea was accorded full Dialogue Partner status by ASEAN in 1991. During the 13<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-ROK Summit in October 2010, Hanoi, the Leaders agreed to elevate their relations to a Strategic partnership and adopted the Joint Declaration on ASEAN-ROK Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity and its Action Plan (2011-2015) in which Korea emphasized on cooperations with ASEAN in 3 main areas: (1) People-to-People Relation (2) Peaceful and Secure Community and (3) Mutual Prospect and Growth

● Political and Security Cooperation In 2004, Korea joined in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). And a year later in 2005, Korea joined in the Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism with ASEAN. From 2006 till now, Korea annually hosts the ASEAN-ROK Senior Officials' Consultations on Transnational Crime.

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<sup>21</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – สาธารณรัฐเกาหลี [ASEAN-Republic of Korea]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190508-173447-171786.pdf>

● Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, Korea was ASEAN's 5<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner with the bilateral trade volume of 124,251 million USD, and ASEAN's 5<sup>th</sup> largest dialogue partner with FDI flow to ASEAN 5,743 million USD (2) In 2009, ASEAN-Korea Centre was established in Seoul to promote cooperations in trade, investment, tourism, and cultural exchange (3) ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee (ACCC), formed up by Korea, contributes to the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), and provided the 5-million USD fund to 5 IAI projects during 2003-2006, 2007-2011 and 2012-2016 (4) Mekong-ROK Cooperation (MRC) in which ASEAN and Korea cooperated throughout 3 areas of development with 6 projects: *Connectivity* - infrastructure, information and communication technology (ICT); *Sustainable Development* – environment-friendly development, water resource management; *People-Centered Development* – agriculture and rural area development, human capital development. Korea contributes 1 million USD every year to the Mekong-ROK Cooperation Fund (MKCF) since 2016.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) ASEAN-Korea cooperation on education under the Framework of ASEAN Plus Three, ASEAN University Network (AUN) in which scholarships will be given to ASEAN's college students, and ASEAN-ROK Cyber University to reinforcing higher education in ASEAN region by the means of e-learning, and strengthening international relationships between Korea and ASEAN Member States. Under the AUN framework, Korea provided 25 scholarships for graduate programs (master degree) on Korean Study to students from Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Philippines,

Thailand, and Vietnam (2) ASEAN Culture House (ACH) in Busan – recognized as the first ASEAN cultural house located outside the Southeast Asia, and the first among ASEAN’s Dialogue Partners – officially opened on 1 September 2017 to celebrate the 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Korea Cultural Cooperation and the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN foundation.

**2.6.7 ASEAN-India<sup>22</sup>** ASEAN and India first began their official relation in 1992 as Sectoral Dialogue Partner, then elevated to Dialogue Partner in 1995, and later on to Strategic Partnership in 2012. On 25 January 2018, India hosted the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit in Delhi to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations, and Delhi Declaration was adopted by Parties. This key document reaffirms the ASEAN-India to cooperate in all dimensions, push for the connectivity, narrow the development gap, and expand the relations with a forward-looking approach. Next in line from Vietnam since 3 August 2018, Thailand is now the Country Coordinator for ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations for a period of 3 years (2018-2021). On 15 November 2018, Singapore hosted the ASEAN-India Informal Breakfast Summit.

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) ASEAN and India express concerns on the counter-terrorism, maritime security cooperation, and ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) to promote regional security and stability (2) India joined in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and endorsed the Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism with ASEAN in 1996. In 2003, India

<sup>22</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – อินเดีย [ASEAN-India]. Online. Retrieved 13 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-105340-950664.pdf>

joined in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and East Asia Summit: EAS (3) Security cooperation with India will help ASEAN in combatting with multi-lateral challenges, and result in the regional security and stability, and peaceful, safe and secure environment for the people.

● Economic Cooperation (1) In 2017, India was ASEAN's 6<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner and 7<sup>th</sup> largest external source of FDI. The combined trade volume reached to 71 billion USD: ASEAN flow to India 31 billion USD; India flow in ASEAN 40 billion USD (2) Both ASEAN and India intend to increase their trade volume and investment, and achieve the common target of 200 billion USD in combined trade volume in 2022 through the full utilisation and effective implementation of the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area; and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) capacity-building by use of technology and digital economy; and intensify efforts toward the swift conclusion from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Summit (3) India emphasizes on Maritime or Blue Economy for conservation, and effective and sustainable use of marine resources (4) ASEAN and India signed the FTA in services and investment in which into force since 1 July 2015. (5) ASEAN and India address on all-round connectivity (land, sea and air), especially the India-Myanmar-Thailand Tri-lateral Highway Project, and later extend this Highway to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Lao PDR (6) India supports the line of credit with 1 billion USD to promote ASEAN's physical infrastructure and digital connectivity (7) Economic cooperation between ASEAN and Inida will facilitate the regional economic development, and the well-being of ASEAN's people.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) Both sides give the importance to civilizational and historical links between ASEAN and India by providing platforms for knowledge exchanges at all level of people i.e., youth, media, politician, diplomat (2) India continues support for ASEAN’s efforts in narrowing the development gap within and between ASEAN Member States by implementing the IAI Work Plan such as English Training Centers in CLMV, cooperative enhancement with India’s expertise (i.e., Science, ICT, Medicine and Pharmacy) through the establishment of a 1-million USD ASEAN-India Science & Technology Fund in 2016, a 5-million USD ASEAN-India Green Fund for the projects that promote on a self-adaptation and mitigation of impact caused by the regional climate change. India and ASEAN also cooperate in other fields i.e., development in traditional medicine, scholarships for medical training (3) People-to-People Relations through the annual exchanged programs for all level (4) ASEAN’s people will benefit greatly from ASEAN-India cooperations in multiple areas i.e., education, innovation, science, ICT in which fundamental to human capital development, network building, and ASEAN’s people to be prepared for the rapid dynamic global changes.

**2.6.8 ASEAN-China<sup>23</sup>** China was accorded Dialogue Partner status in 1996, and subsequently became a Strategic Partner for Peace and Prosperity in 2003. On the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership in 2013, Thailand was the Country Coordinator for ASEAN-

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<sup>23</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – จีน [ASEAN-China]. Online. Retrieved 14 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190510-105454-489264.pdf>

Dialogue Relations. Last year in 2018, ASEAN and China celebrated the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of their Strategic Partnership and issued the ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership Vision 2030. ASEAN and China cooperates in 12 key areas including (1) agriculture (2) information & communication technology (ICT) (3) human development (4) Mekong Basin Development (5) investment (6) energy (7) transportation (8) culture (9) public health (10) tourism (11) environment, and (12) industry, with China as a driving force by utilizing its advanced industry to facilitate ASEAN's country development.

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) China was the 1<sup>st</sup> Dialogue Partner who joined the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) during the 7<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in October 2003, Bali, and the first country expressed their intent to endorse in the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ) (2) Government of China led by President Xi Jinping emphasizes on its relation with ASEAN based on 3 principles : *Building Relationship as Friends*, and giving the priority first to ASEAN for its China's foreign policy; *Development of ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership*, to be more broadened and deepened; and *Solving the Conflict in South China Sea* through friendly consultations and negotiations with sovereign states directly concerned, and cooperations for mutual benefit (3) ASEAN and China have been working the South China Sea dispute through the mechanism of the Joint Working (JWG) on Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC), and Senior Officials' Meeting on DOC, to enhance cooperations and greater trust between the claimant states, prevent the dispute from escalating, and facilitate

atmosphere for peaceful problem-solving measures. Both sides had agreed to support the implementation of DOC in entirely full and effective effort, and accelerate the progress on negotiations towards the early conclusion of a Code of Conduct (COC) (4) During the ASEAN-China Ministerial Meeting on 2 August 2018 in Singapore, a *Single Draft COC Negotiating Text (SDNT)* was announced as the basis for the adoption of a COC in the South China Sea. And, at the 21<sup>st</sup> ASEAN-China Summit on 14 November 2019 “the Leaders looked forward to the completion of the first reading of the Single Draft COC Negotiating Text by 2019”. China also proposed that ASEAN and China should continue effective and substantive negotiations to conclude the COC within a 3-year timeline (2019-2021).

- Economic Cooperation (1) China has been the ASEAN’s largest Trade Partner for many years. In 2017, the trade volume between ASEAN and China was 501,000 million USD (13% increase from 2016), ASEAN’s export to China was 220,000 million USD while the import from China was 281,000 million USD. In 2015, China was ASEAN’s 4<sup>th</sup> largest Dialogue Partner with the FDI from China to ASEAN amounted at 8,200 million USD (2) China was the first Dialogue Partner that proposed for the establishment of Free Trade Area with ASEAN. Both sides signed on the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation in November 2002. At the 16<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in October 2013, Bandar Seri Begawan, the Leaders agreed to pursue the upgrading of the ASEAN-China FTA (ACFTA) to facilitate the trade, service and investment between both sides (3) On 6 January 2011, Branch Offices of the ASEAN-China Economic and Trade Promotion

Association open in Yiwu and Wenzhou, Zhe-Jiang District, under the framework of ACFTA. This was the first time for the private sector to cooperate into partnership.

● Socio-Cultural Cooperation (1) China support ASEAN in narrowing the development gap through the cooperative programs under the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), and economic potential sub-regional i.e., the ASEAN-Mekong Basin Development Cooperation (AMBDC), Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP EAGA). China had recently driven for the framework of Mekong-Lancang Cooperation (MLC) covering 3 dimensions based on ASEAN's 3 pillars: Political and Security; economic and sustained development; and social, cultural and people relation. (2) Education. Ten China-ASEAN Vocational Education and Training Centers have been established in 6 different provinces and autonomous regions: Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Heilongjiang. China also vowed to provide more scholarships for ASEAN countries and encourage mutual exchange of students between China and ASEAN up to 100,000 students by 2020. The ASEAN-China Year of Educational Exchanges was announced at the 18<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in 2016. (3) Public Health. At the 4<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Health Ministers' Meeting on 6 July 2012, Phuket Islands, the MOU on ASEAN-China Health Cooperation was signed. (4) Science and Technology. The first ASEAN-China Science and Technology Ministers' Meeting was held in Nanning on 22 September 2012. The ASEAN-China Science and Technology Partnership Program (STEP) was formally launched on the same day for the purpose of joint development in science.

**2.6.9 ASEAN-Russia<sup>24</sup>** ASEAN-Russia Dialogue Partnership commenced in 1996. The relation was elevated to Strategic Partnership at the 33<sup>rd</sup> ASEAN Summit 2018. ASEAN and Russia have been co-hosting their summits for 3 times: 1<sup>st</sup> in Kuala Lumpur 2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> in Hanoi 2010, and 3<sup>rd</sup> in Singapore, November 2018). The 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Russia Dialogue Relations was marked with a commemorative summit in Sochi, Russia, with the theme – *Moving Towards a Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit*. Russia acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) on 29 November 2004.

● Political and Security Cooperation (1) Russia interacts with ASEAN under the cooperative frameworks including ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference (PMC) Plus Russia, ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), Senior Officials’ Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) Plus Russia, and East Asia Summit (EAS). Both parties greatly concern in cyber security and counter-terrorism (2) Russia’s commitment to enhance engagement and strengthening the ASEAN-Russia relation by appointing the permanent representatives of Russia, and a dedicated Ambassador (Mr. Alexander Ivanov is currently in position) to the ASEAN Secretariat based in Jakarta (3) at the 3<sup>rd</sup> ASEAN-Russia Summit 4 November 2018, the relation between ASEAN and Russia was elevated to Strategic Partnership and 3 key documents were adopted: *Joint ASEAN-Russia Leader’s Statement on the Occasion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> ASEAN-Russia Summit: Moving Towards a Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit*; *MOU between the ASEAN and the Eurasian*

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<sup>24</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – รัสเซีย [ASEAN-Russia]. Online. Retrieved 14 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190513-111503-946715.pdf>

*Economic Commission on Economic Cooperation* to enhance economic cooperation between both sides; and *Statement on ASEAN and the Russian Federation on Cooperation in the Field of Security of and in the Use of Information and Communication Technologies* (4) Both sides agreed to push their cooperations toward the implementation of the ASEAN-Russia Comprehensive Plan of Action (2016-2020), and expand cooperations between ASEAN and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) (5) ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus). Thailand and Russia co-chaired the Expert Working Group on Military Medicine (EWG-MM) for a 3-year term (2014-2016) to establish the ASEAN Center of Military Medicine (ACMM). On 7 April 2016 in Bangkok, Thailand, the ACMM was officially launched by H.E. Prawit Wongsuwon, Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. The first ACCM Board of Directors' Meeting was held during 1-5 August 2016.

● Economic Cooperation (1) Major channels for ASEAN-Russian economic cooperation include the ASEAN-Russia Business Council, and Eastern Economic Forum which is held each year since 2015 in September in Vladivostok, Russia. In 2017, Russia invested 40 million USD into ASEAN. (2) In 2017, the trade volume between ASEAN and Russia reached 9.88 billion USD (40% increase from 2016), with Thailand as the 4<sup>th</sup> Trading Partner following Vietnam, Singapore, and Indonesia respectively) Main items of export from Russia to ASEAN were fuel and petroleum, minerals, cereals, fertilizers, Iron, and steel while Russia's import items were electrical machinery and equipment; electrical appliances, parts of nuclear reactor, boilers, machinery; animal

or vegetable fats and oils; ships, boats, and floating structures; rubber and articles thereof (3) ASEAN intends to facilitate economic cooperation by familiarizing the ASEAN with Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) through the MOU between the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC) and ASEAN, adopted at the 3<sup>rd</sup> ASEAN-Russia Summit on 14 November 2018, Singapore. Based on the MOU, the parties will deepen trade, economic, and investment cooperation by various means namely customs regulation and trade facilitation; sanitary and phytosanitary measures; standards and technical regulations on trade, services, and investments; SMEs development.

● Socio-Cultural Cooperation (1) Russia emphasizes its cooperations with ASEAN, more at the people-to-people ties, through various cultural activities run by the ASEAN Center in Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO). The year 2016 was announced as the ASEAN-Russia Year of Culture, with promotional activities i.e., the 4<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Russia Youth Summit, 25-26 October 2016 in Siem Reap; 1<sup>st</sup> ASEAN-Russia University Forum in September 2016, Vladivostok; and ASEAN-Russia Youth Symphony Orchestra in April 2017, Vientiane. Russia also hosted the 1<sup>st</sup> Conference of Young Diplomats of Asia-Pacific, 11-13 September 2018 in Vladivostok, the same time during the 4<sup>th</sup> Eastern Economic Forum (2) The ASEAN-Russia Working Group on Education was formed, and the first Working Group Meeting was held during the 10<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Education Ministers' Meeting and other relevant Meetings during 28 October – 1 November 2018 in Nay Pyi Taw. The ASEAN-Russian Plan of Action on Science Technology and Innovation (ARPASTI) (2016-2025) has been implemented by both parties with the

emphasis on people connectivity, universities, education, science and technology, tourism, health, and culture.

**2.6.10 ASEAN-European Union**<sup>25</sup> ASEAN and the European Union (EU) have a long-standing partnership since the formalization of their relations in 1977. Thailand was the Country Coordinator for ASEAN-EU Dialogue Relations for a 3-year term since August 2015, and handed over the coordinatorship to Singapore after the ASEAN Post Ministerial Conference Plus One (PMC+1) with the EU on 3 August 2018, Singapore. The ASEAN-EU relation maintains currently at Enhanced Partnership, At the PMC+1 with the EU on 6 August 2017, the new ASEAN-EU Plan of Action (2018-2022) was adopted, and EU addressed its commitment to strengthening cooperation with ASEAN in all dimensions and its desire to elevate the relation to Strategic Partnership. Thailand, as the Country Coordinator for ASEAN-EU Dialogue Relations by that time, attached great importance to the ASEAN-EU Ministerial Meeting (AEMM) and to building the momentum of ASEAN-EU cooperations. The ASEAN-EU relation became closer. In September 2018, the EU formally requested to upgrade the ASEAN-EU relations to a Strategic Partnership. Both ASEAN and EU still work on the process.

From the 12<sup>th</sup> ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting in 2015, Luxembourg, and the 21<sup>st</sup> AEMM hosted by Thailand, 13-14 October 2016, in which the Bangkok Declaration on Promoting an ASEAN-EU Global Partnership for Shared Strategic Goals was adopted. Both parties aim to strengthen ASEAN-EU cooperation in all dimensions, to pave

<sup>25</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). อาเซียน – EU [ASEAN-EU]. Online. Retrieved 14 May 2019. from <http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/partnership-20190508-171839-053777.pdf>

the way for elevating the partnership to a strategic level, and to set the course for the future direction of their relations such as non-confrontation, respect for human rights and diversity, economic cooperation, and social inclusion of all stakeholders. Moreover, there have been key leaders' engagement among the ASEAN Member States and EU: (1) the ASEAN-EU Commemorative Summit, marking the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of their relations in 2007, Singapore (2) an informal meeting of ASEAN-EU leaders during the 10<sup>th</sup> ASEM Summit in October 2014 (3) the ASEAN-EU Commemorative Summit, marking the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of their relations in November 2017, Manila and (4) the 12<sup>th</sup> ASEM Summit in Brussels, 19 October 2018, in which Thailand participated as the incoming Chair of ASEAN in 2019.

● Political and Security Cooperations (1) EU interacts with ASEAN through the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and other mechanisms i.e., the biennial ASEAN-EU Ministerial Meeting (AEMM), annual Post Ministerial Conference (PMC), and biennial ASEAN-EU SOM. The EU also joins into the ASEAN Plus EU Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime Consultations (SOMTC+EU) (2) EU was the first international organization that joined into Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) on 12 July 2012 for its shared commitment with ASEAN cooperation to promoting peace, security, and stability in the region.

● Economic Cooperation (1) The EU is one of the most important Trading Partner to ASEAN. In 2017, EU was the ASEAN's 2<sup>nd</sup> largest Trading Partner (second to China) with the trade volume of 261.3

billion USD (11.9% increase from 2016). Most importantly, EU is the biggest investor in the region. In 2017, EU invested 25.4 billion USD into ASEAN, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> highest source of tourist arrivals (second to China). The ASEAN and EU enhance their economic cooperation under the framework of the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM), EU Trade Commissioner, and ASEAN-EU Senior Economic Officials (SEOM-EU). From 2015 till now, there have been the meetings of ASEAN-EU Business Council along with the meetings of AEM-EU Trade Commissioner. (2) EU expressed its interest to recall back the negotiation for ASEAN-EU FTA, after the suspend since 2009, and EU turned to engage directly with each Member States. The EU perceived this approach as the building bloc leading to negotiating on the regional FTA with ASEAN. In a meanwhile that the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) has already been successful with established bilateral agreement between ASEAN and its members. (3) ASEAN and EU still work on their negotiation for the ASEAN-EU Comprehensive Air Transport Agreement (CATA). This could be the very first region-to-region air transport agreement.

● Socio-cultural Cooperation (1) EU contributes to a shared commitment in putting people at the center. A variety of approaches are being implemented out: Women and Child Protection, integration of gender equality, promoting women and children in decision-making process, anti-trafficking especially on women and children, promoting on education - public health - science and technology - environment – disaster management through the EU-ASEAN Dialogue Instrument (READI) Program. EU also supports the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Center).

(2) ASEAN and EU marked the history on their cooperation towards achieving the sustainable development goals. On 17 November 2018, the inaugural High-Level ASEAN-EU Dialogue on Sustainable Development was successfully convened in Bangkok. The Dialogue was co-chaired by Mr. Don Pramudwinai, Thailand’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Neven Mimica, European Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development, and the Meetings agreed on the Roadmap for ASEAN-EU Cooperation on Sustainable Development as a guideline for cooperative implementation between ASEAN and EU. The next High-Level ASEAN-EU Dialogue on Sustainable Development will be hosted by the EU in 2019, the year which Thailand is the ASEAN’s Chair.



Figure 2 Map of the ASEAN and its Dialogue Partners

According to the ASEAN's Charter, Article 44 allows ASEAN to remain interaction with external parties at different status including *Sectoral Dialogue Partner* (Pakistan, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey) and *Development Partner* (currently only Germany), and Papua New Guinea as a special observer to ASEAN's Meetings. In addition to promoting the regional peace and economic development, ASEAN's friendly relations and cooperations with these non-members will benefit in fighting with challenges i.e., the climate change, natural disaster, terrorism and trans-national crimes, as well as improving the quality of life of ASEAN's people through cooperations in education, public health, and sustainable development.

## 2.7 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)

On 24 February 1976, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) was originally signed into force by the 5 founding members (Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand) to set up the principles on their relations with one another. All contracting parties shall be guided by these fundamental principles: (1) mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations (2) non-interference in the internal affairs of one another (3) settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means (4) renunciation of the threat or use of force, and (5) effective cooperation among the Southeast Asia nations. The Treaty High Council, a key component in the ASEAN Security Community, was

also established as the peaceful mechanism to resolve conflicts among parties in order to enhance the trust and confidence within the region.<sup>26</sup>

TAC currently comprises of 36 nations and the European Union in the order of the dates on which they entered into the treaty: Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, China, India, Japan, Pakistan, Korea, Russia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Australia, France, Timor-Leste, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, North Korea, United States, Turkey, Canada, United Kingdom, Brazil, Norway, Chile, Egypt, Morocco, Argentina, and Iran. The latest members, Argentina and Iran, were accepted to accede to the TAC on 2 August 2018 during the 51<sup>st</sup> ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Singapore.

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<sup>26</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs. (2019). สนธิสัญญาไมตรีและความร่วมมือในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ [Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC)]. Online. Retrieved 10 June 2019. from file:///C:/Users/Administrator/nloads/%E0%B8%AA%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%98%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%AA%E0%B8%B1%E0%B8%8D%E0%B8%8D%E0%B8%B2%E0%B9%84%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B5%E0%B9%81%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%B0%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%B7%E0%B8%AD%E0%B9%83%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%AD%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%8A%E0%B8%B5%E0%B8%A2%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%B0%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B1%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%81%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%89%E0%B8%B5%E0%B8%A2%E0%B8%87%E0%B9%83%E0%B8%95%E0%B9%89.pdf



# Part 3

**Situation, Trend, and Key Challenges  
affecting on ASEAN during the year of 2019  
with Thailand's Chairmanship**





## Part 3

### Situation, Trend, and Key Challenges affecting on ASEAN during the year of 2019 with Thailand's Chairmanship

It is undeniable that there are currently many threats and incidents, directly and indirectly, affecting security of states. Those incidents are, for examples, trade and political competition among states, increase of transnational crimes and terrorism, exponential technologies changing people's way of life, and environmental problems and climate changes destroying ecology. Thailand, as the chairman of ASEAN in 2019, must play the roles toward all occurring incidents. This chapter is discussing on situations, trends, and significant challenges in 3 levels, namely global level, regional level, and South East Asian level.

#### 3.1 Global level

##### 3.1.1 The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

###### Situations and trends

The idea was initiated in 2013 when the President, Jinping Xi, declared the proceeding of the massive economic project which turned the former 14<sup>th</sup> Century Silk Road into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Silk Road<sup>27</sup> under

<sup>27</sup> Pridi Boonsue. (2017). เส้นทางสายไหมศตวรรษ 21 “One Belt, One Road” จะเปลี่ยนโฉมหน้าเส้นทางการค้าโลกอย่างไร [How will the 21st Century Silk Road change global trades?]. Online. Retrieved March 22, 2019, from <https://thaipublica.org/2017/05/pridi48/>. p. 1

the title of BRI. This is the new economic paradigm which approaches to the development based on the 2 routes. Firstly, the Land Silk Road Economic Belt is set on the west of China, Central Asian region, and Europe. Another route is the Maritime Silk Road which connects the south of China with South East Asian region. The maritime road links together China's important seaports with crucial seaports around the world, such as in Singapore, Suez Canal, Mediterranean Sea, Africa seas, and Europe. Under the BRI project, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) was founded in October 2014. China invested approximately 100,000 million USD as the primary capital for the bank. The AIIB embraces together 57 state members so far. In November of the same year, costing 40,000 million USD, New Silk Road Fund was also founded by China purposely to develop trades and transportations in Asia.<sup>28</sup>

The BRI is consistent with the purposes and the principle encouraging tolerance and peaceful co-existence enumerated in the Charter of the United Nations. The 5 principles described in the Charter are (1) States shall respect each other with respect to another territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Join leaning and non-intervention, (3) No interference in another state's internal affair, (4) Equality and mutual benefits, and (5) peaceful co-existence. Additionally, the BRI's cooperation framework consists of 5 aspects.

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<sup>28</sup> Alexious Lee and Francis Cheung. (2017). A brilliant plan One Belt, One Road. Credit Lyonnais Securities Asia. Online. From <https://www.clsa.com/special/onebeltoneroad/>

## (1) Policy coordination

In order to perform the great role of the BRI creator, China has spent 3 years on building up policy coordination mechanism in all levels with all countries on the routes. China concluded agreements and started projects with many countries and regional organizations.

## (2) Infrastructure connectivity

China has been promoting building of infrastructures in many fields, e.g. land transportation, energy, and communication networks.

## (3) Unrestricted trades

China is promoting economic framework to facilitate trades of those states on the new BRI routes.

## (4) Financial integration

This can happen due to the establishments of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank (NDB) of the BRICS countries

## (5) People-to-People Bond

The project shall contribute to the cooperation on education, cultural exchange, tourism, health care, medical service, and poverty elimination.

The BRI is also consistent with China's domestic economic development plan which is connected with infrastructure development plan linked with neighboring states. Each region of China has determined their particular province to be used as the development model, namely (1) Xinjiang of the North West, (2) Inner-Mongolia of the North East, (3) Guangxi of the South West, and Fujian of the South East. China develops its domestic economy along with building international collaboration<sup>29</sup> so that China has been being able to export a large number of its industrial products, e.g. iron, cement, and aluminum to many countries since 2016. Moreover, China has bilaterally made numerous trade-economic cooperative areas with many countries along the routes. This was done by building huge infrastructures on main transportation routes, e.g. high-speed trains, seaports, oil pipelines, gas pipelines, roads, bridges, tunnels, and fiber optic cables. These constructions, 6,000 kilometers, link together Europe, Asia, and Africa.

In regional level, economic integration, infrastructure development, cultural exchange, and trade expansion are carried out through 2 routes.

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<sup>29</sup> Alexious Lee and Francis Cheung. (2017). A brilliant plan One Belt, One Road. Credit Lyonnais Securities Asia. Online. From <https://www.clsa.com/special/onebeltoneroad/>

## (1) Silk Road Economic Belt

The land route starts from Xi'an (ซึ่งอยู่ทางตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศจีน) to Urumqi (The metropolis of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region). Then, it goes across Central Asia to the north of Iran. It, then, goes along the west to Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. Next, it goes across Bosphorus strait and reaches the main land of Europe from the North West linking together Russia, Germany, and Netherlands. Lastly, it ends at Venice of Italy. This route is consists of 3 minor routes which are (1) the route connecting China-Central Asia-Europe, (2) the route connecting China-Persian Gulf- Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and Middle East, and (3) the route connecting China-South East Asia-South Asia. In addition, there are 4 economic corridors<sup>30</sup> as the follows.

### (1.1) China-Mongolia-Russia Corridor

The corridor is composed of railroads and highways built on the Mongolian grass land connecting China and Russia. This corridor links with another corridor called New Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB) which covers (1) the route connecting Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei-Hohhot-Mongolia-Russia, and (2) the route connecting Dalian-Shenyang-Changchun-Harbin-Manzhouli-Chita.

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<sup>30</sup> Lehman Brown International Accountants. (2017). The Belt and Road Initiative. Retrieved May 8, 2019 from <https://www.lehmanbrown.com/insights-newsletter/belt-road-initiative/>

## (1.2) China-Indochina Peninsula Corridor

The corridor is composed of 3 railroads, namely (1) the east route: Kunming-Yuxi-Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh-Phnom Penh-Bangkok-Kuala Lumpur-Singapore, (2) the west route: Kunming-Dalian-Yangon-Bangkok-Kuala Lumpur-Singapore, and (3) the central route: Kunming-Yuxi-Vientiane- Bangkok- Kuala Lumpur-Singapore. These railroads connect transportations in ASEAN, south of China, and Hong Kong. This is important to ASEAN countries, especially Thailand which is the center of the region.



### (1.3) China-Central Asia-West Asia Corridor

This world's longest oil and gas pipeline link together China, Arabian Peninsula, Turkey, and Iran. It is the mainly used to deliver energy materials to China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. It is also the cooperative route on technologies, such as infrastructures, alternative energy, nuclear energy, aeronautic technologies, trades, and investments.

### (1.4) New Eurasian Land Bridge

The main route that is used as the fastest way to deliver goods to Europe. 4 routes are covered therein, namely (1) the route from Chongqing of China to Duisburg of Germany, (2) the route from Wuhan of China to Munich of Germany and Pardubice of Czechoslovakia, (3) the route from Chengdu of China to Lodz of Poland, and (4) the route from Zhengzhou of China to Hamburg of Germany.

### (2) Maritime Silk Road

It's known as the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road". This was firstly mentioned in the President (Jinping Xi)'s speech in October 2013 aiming at the maritime connectivity which will include seaports and warehouses. Under this project, China is becoming the logistic center. The road starts from Quanzhou of China - Strait of Malacca - Indian Ocean - Nairobi of Kenya - the Horn of Africa (Somali peninsula) - the

Red Sea - Mediterranean Sea – The land route in the Venice of Italy.<sup>31</sup> There are 2 sea lanes within, namely (1) the lane connecting China – South East Asia – Indian Ocean – Europe, and (2) the lane connecting China – South East Asia – Indian Ocean – West Asia – Africa. It additionally cover 2 more economic corridors.

### (2.1) China-Pakistan Corridor

This was created from the 2015 agreement between China and Pakistan at Gwadar seaport. It links China and Africa through the sea road laying along the Strait of Malacca.

### (2.2) Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor

This links China – India – Myanmar - Thailand together. It's particularly important for China and India. The corridor includes high speed trains and other focal services, including digital development.

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<sup>31</sup> Chaiyasit Tantayakun. (2017). โครงการความริเริ่ม “หนึ่งแถบ หนึ่งเส้นทาง” (OBOR/BRI) ว่าด้วยการ ทบทวนแนวคิดของโครงการฯ [Reviewing of the OBOR Concept]. Online. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from <http://www.vijaichina.com/articles/692>. pp. 1-2.

Region	Country
East Asia	China, Mongolia
Southeast Asia	Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Vietnam
Central Asia	Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
Middle East and North Africa	Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen
South Asia	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka
Europe	Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine

Table 3: Indicating 65 countries joining the BRI project

### Viewpoints / Positions

- The BRI is currently expanding to Asia, Europe, Africa, and Middle East, covering 65 countries. It costs 1,400,000 million USD. China also has founded the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to support the capital to the BRI project. There are so far 87 member states in the AIIB.<sup>32</sup>
- Lack of capability to pay debt under the BRI project will impact national security. For example, Sri-Lanka has to allow China to use its seaport for 99 years due to the problem as such. This is called “Debt Trap Diplomacy”

<sup>32</sup> Ministry of Finance (Thailand) (2018). ผลการประชุมประจำปีสภาผู้ว่าการ AIIB ครั้งที่ 3 [Result of the 3<sup>rd</sup> AIIB Annual Governors Meeting]. Online. Retrieved April 24, 2019, from [http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/recommended/detail/896?fbclid=IwAR3BEcNVgGH3MsLHlgKa4u5rq-qb02LSg7yDZpjBWgcBuRth59U\\_EEgptW4](http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/recommended/detail/896?fbclid=IwAR3BEcNVgGH3MsLHlgKa4u5rq-qb02LSg7yDZpjBWgcBuRth59U_EEgptW4).

- The competition between the United States and China will be becoming more and more intensive. It will spread all over ASEAN which is one of the regions that is strategically important in international relations. ASEAN will be the region that the completion arena for the superpowers to gain superiority in the region. Hence, under the multilateral regime, ASEAN members (including Thailand) should study the world's new situation. ASEAN members and Thailand should analyze both negative and positive impacts, opportunities. Furthermore, a proper policy on international relations should be formed in accordance with the changed situations in order to keep the pride of ASEAN.

### 3.1.2 The Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy (FOIP)

#### Situations and trends

The idea of Indo-Pacific is actually the Grand Strategy of Japan. It was originally declared by Mr. Abe Shinzo (the Japanese Prime-minister) in the parliament of India in 2007. The speech of 2007 is called “Confluence of the Two Seas”. The rest 2 ideas that are the origin of Indo-Pacific idea are the “The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” policy and the “Diamond Strategy” firstly mentioned during Mr. Shinzo’ first term. Afterward, when he won the election and came to power at his 2<sup>nd</sup> term in 2012, Mr. Shinzo decided to officially declare the Indo-Pacific idea in the Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) in August 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya. This was declared

because the rise of China and the United States' role in Asia was becoming less. The Japanese's standpoints with respect to such declaration are (1) regionalism (2) rules of laws and international law, and (3) militarization.

The United States government declared “The Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” (FOIP) in December 2017. It's also known as “The Indo-Pacific Strategy”. This was put in the document called “National Security Strategy, December 2017”. In the beginning of 2018, Donald J. Trump announced in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in Vietnam that strategy should aims at “Indo-Pacific” instead of “Asia-Pacific”. Also, the United States Minister of Department of Defense, James Norman Mattis, has announced in the meeting in Singapore that this new strategic view changed the United States military zones in the region, so that the unit was renamed into “The Indo-Pacific Command” which is located in Hawaii and is the United States' main unit in the world. “The Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs” is the office under the United States Department of State in charge of this area. In term of military zone, it was re-organized by establishing of “The Indo - Pacific Command” which is in charge of taking of the large areas covering Asia-Pacific, South East Asia, Asia (including India, Bangladesh, Maldives, and Sri Lanka), Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Islands in Indian Ocean near the East African Coasts. Formerly, the “Pacific Command” only dealt with Asia-Pacific, South East Asia, and Asia (including India, Bangladesh, Maldives, and Sri Lanka), while Pakistan and Afghanistan was being taken care by the “Central Command”, and

the “Africa Command” was in charge in the Islands in Indian Ocean near the East African Coasts.

This new strategy is expected to create the allied system grounded on the “Quadrilateral Relationship” cooperation among the United States, India, Japan, and Australia. These 4 countries all are concerned about the rise of China in the region. The United States is expecting that this strategy will balance China’s power and influence in Asia since China has developed a lot in infrastructures including roads and railroads. Especially, the United States views that having India as an ally will contribute a lot on this matter. Each country has a position on the United States strategy as the follows:

#### (1) Japan

The Japanese version of Indo-Pacific Strategy focuses on 3 values, namely fundamental social values (e.g. – democracy and rules of laws), economic prosperity, stability and peace. Japan is paying its attention toward India and Africa. In 2014, there was a relationship developing between Japan and India called the “Special Strategic and Global Partnership” due to India’s strategic position at the center of Indo-Pacific region. Furthermore, Japan and India cooperated together to promote the “Asia – Africa Growth Corridor” (AAGC) in order to develop high standard infrastructures.

## (2) The United States of America

In November 2017, Donald J. Trump, the President of the United States, declared his statement emphasizing the great difference between Japanese's Indo-Pacific Strategy and the United States version thereof during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in Vietnam. The difference as such is that the United States is more interested in trades and investments rather than politics. This is the different point on interpretation of the term "Free and Open". They, nevertheless, both agree that India will have more roles in the Indian peninsular which shall turn India to be the center of conflicting interests of the superpowers (China and the United States). The United States views that its strategy will be an optional participate for other countries in the region which will certainly benefit the United States.

## (3) India

India is the key factor to the success of the Indo-Pacific Strategy due to its central location of the region and its rapid and progressing growing economy. India views China as the neighboring state which has both challenges and benefits. Sometimes, India and China have territorial and sovereign conflicts. India is being concerned about China's influence in the Indian Ocean expanded by constructing of Chinese seaports and Chinese airports in South Asia, e.g. – Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, and Maldives. Those constructions were conducted under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). India views such influence as directly challenging

to India's politic and security. Furthermore, due to the minimizing of the United States' roles in the region, India will probably move toward the Info-Pacific strategy.

#### (4) Australia

Australia firstly published its 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper in November 2017 in 14 years. The document projects the direction of Australian foreign policies in next 10 years. The document shows that Australia will focus on Indo-Pacific region. Australia will have more riles in the region. Mainly, Australia will promote prosperity, openness, and security in the region. The paper also touches upon the risky situation made by China affecting security in the South China Sea.

#### Viewpoints / Positions

- In term of international politics and geopolitics, India and Australia both have the capability called “Blue Water Navy” which is important to ASEAN. His might problematically affect ASEAN on making peaceful cooperation in the region.
- The strategy has high uncertainty. Even though the United States is eager to push it forward and implement it to maintain the United States power within Asia to be greater than China, the United States does not declare its readiness and the practical guideline to achieve it.

- Obviously, the United States is using India to balance the power with China in the region by cooperating with India in many aspect, including anti-terrorism, maritime security in the Indian Ocean, and creating of allied system and future cooperation between India and the United States. This strategy, nevertheless, will be meaningful only when the United States can create economic choices to make other countries rely less on China's economic expansion under the BRI project. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) withdrawal made by the United States proposes uncertainty of what the choices are. In other words, absence of an obvious economic project of the United States will probably lead the Indo-Pacific to be unsuccessful.
- Balancing of power between the superpowers is still the importance idea for ASEAN due to its economy is involving with both China and the United States. ASEAN should give priority to national interests, and look for new relationships. This should be collectively researched more by ASEAN members. Some ASEAN countries, such as Singapore, have already been moving toward multilateral relationships with other non-ASEAN countries.

### 3.1.3 Trade war

#### Situations and trends

Trade war of China and the United States is creating concern all over the world. Donald J. Trump has clearly expressed his main policy, the “America First”, since the election stage in order to protect the United States interests on trades. He views that the United States has been having deficit toward many countries, especially China, Mexico, and those in Europe. The United States exports goods less than import goods. This will probably affect the United States economy more when China greatly comes to power.

At the beginning of 2017, Donald J. Trump declared through official channels and social networks that he won't allow the deficit to exist anymore, and the measure must be existed. He expressed that China is the biggest trade-counterparty which sells much cheap products. Also, he contended trades between the two countries must be reformed by adding some barriers due to the issues of fake products and low quality products. The measures are, for examples, tariff wall, prohibiting importing of some products from China in order to stimulate the domestic economy, and balancing of expanded Chinese economic influence. ASEAN inevitably has to adapt itself because both China and the United States are the important trade-counterparties to ASEAN nations. The tense will last long, so that it will affect supply chains of numerous industries from the entire world, e.g. – information

technologies companies, furniture industries, fabric products, and agricultural products. Thus, this trade war will absolutely affect global economy in every level due to the fixing of manufacturing structure.

The United States is pressing China to modify its trade policy to comply with the standard used by other big industrial countries. In other words, the United States is pressing China not to pay subsidy to its domestic industries, stop intellectual property violations, and accept more foreign investments. The United States increased tax against Chinese products from 10% to 25%, and is convincing its allies to stop using tools or technologies from Chinese telecommunication companies.<sup>33</sup>

#### Viewpoints / Positions

The third parties shall be impacted from the trade war in 3 aspects. Firstly, the deceleration of global trades shall affect high-foreign-related economy, including trade, investment, and tourism. Secondly, this will cause 2 sides effects. Thai products that will be negatively affected are those used for manufacturing in China in order to make completed products for exporting to the United States. Meanwhile, Thai products that will be beneficial are those can be used to replace Chinese products in the United States. Lastly, manufacturing bases will be moved to ASEAN countries in order to avoid sources of

<sup>33</sup> Voice of America: VOA. (2019). วิเคราะห์: ผลกระทบระยะยาวจากสงครามการค้า ‘จีน-สหรัฐฯ’ ต่อห่วงโซ่อุปทานโลก [Analysis on Long-Term Impacts from Sino-US Trade War]. Online. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.voathai.com/a/us-china-trade-war-already-reshaping-trade-links/4917468.html>.

products examination. Investments will last long because some industries need time to move their manufacturing bases.

### 3.1.4 Bioterrorism<sup>34</sup>

At the present time, threats are getting more severe and more complex due to the progress of scientific technologies. Microorganism and toxic are used widely, including using of biotechnologies to modify microorganism's gene for being a part of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Biological weapons are capable to massively cause casualty to humans and animals through plants, water, soil, and air due to the ability to spread dramatically. It can be simply produced in a big number, can maintain toxicity in long term, and can be used promptly. This cause high casualties from inflection. Thus, it's undeniable that biological weapons have great impacts on national security and public health in term of psychology and society rather than other types of weapons. Besides conventional weapons, biological weapons have also been being used as a weapon of war.

There was a plague epidemic in 600 B.C. among Mongolian people. Back then, the Mongolian forces threw inflected corpses into Kaffa city, so that Italian people immigrated to Europe by vessels.

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<sup>34</sup> Strategic Studies Center (Thailand). (2019). ปรากฏการณ์ภัยคุกคามรูปแบบใหม่ : การก่อการร้ายทางชีวภาพ [New Forms of Threats: Bioterrorism]. เอกสารวิเคราะห์สถานการณ์ทางยุทธศาสตร์และความมั่นคง [Strategic and Security Situation Analysis]. Hardcopy.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was a significant epidemic of plague called “Black Death”. This caused death of around 25 million people which was 1/3 of European population. This was the biggest human disaster in history.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japan began researches and developments on biological weapons, namely cholera, tetanus, influenza, plague, anthrax, smallpox, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever. At the same time, the United States also produced biological weapons on purpose of balancing the power with Japan and Germany.

In 1979, there was a leakage of Anthrax in the Soviet Union. Thus, people nearby had a fever and were suffocated. They died soon after.

In 20<sup>th</sup> century, in 2001, the United States was attacked by Anthrax through contaminated mails sent to important figures and public figures. Persons who touched those mails got infected. This is one of the most frightening incidents in the United States history.

Nowadays, there are still uses of many types of poisons and microorganism. Furthermore, biological weapons are still being developed, and genetically modified organisms, such as mutated E. Coli bacteria which is refractory to 1,000 times stronger antibiotics within 10 days experiment in Harvard University, the United States. The facts reveal that some countries still acquire biological weapons on an equivocal purpose saying that it’s for preventing against bioterrorism.

Bioterrorism is one of the new forms of threats. It's carried out by employing sickening organisms like bacteria, virus, fungus, or some kinds of plants. Those organisms can be used in warfare or sabotage aiming at harming both plants and animals. Such usages greatly affect national security, politics, and economy. Diseases caused from biological attacks are, for examples, smallpox (from Variola virus), plague (from Yersinia pestis bacteria), botulism (from Clostridium botulinum bacteria), and Ricin (from Ricinus communis). These weapons can be used by contaminating in the air and foods. It is transmittable from human-to-human and animal-to-human. He United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (US-CDC) categorizes these organisms into 3 categories.

Class A: Those organisms are the most highly capable to be used as a biological weapon, and used to be used as a weapon. The examples are Ebola, smallpox, and plague.

Class B: Those pathogens those are moderately widespread. Death rate caused by these organisms is not as high as the rate caused by the Class A. The examples are Q fever, Cholera, and Melioidosis.

Class C: Emerging diseases that most of population have no immunity against them. These also can be used as a weapon. The examples are influenza, SARS, and Hantavirus.

Those infective organisms can be simply produced in a big number, can maintain toxicity in long term, and can be used promptly. They can spread rapidly and cause high casualties. These cause also fear among population. Public health system also gets massively affected and can lead to “social disruption”. Hence, bioterrorism highly cause damages to economic system, society, peace, states, and population.

### Viewpoints / Positions

Bioterrorism is a new form of threats that is becoming transnational-bio-crimes or other/uncertain type of crimes. Diseases used in the crimes can be transmitted into one state by arriving passengers from foreign states. Thus, the follows are the ways forward for ASEAN and the member states to cope with bioterrorism.

- Preparedness & Prevention

ASEAN personnel must be prepared to be knowledgeable. Equipment and inclusive plan must be legally provided. Sufficient budget must be also provided.

- Detection & Surveillance

ASEAN should strengthen the unity of command, intelligence gathering system, and surveillance and notification system. These must be developed throughout all related organizations.

- Diagnosis & Characterization

Public health personnel and police officers should jointly investigate on the infection and laboratory's safety. The guideline should be established in order to accurately take care and treat patients harmed from biological weapons.

- Response & Communication

Infected people or people that are close to the diseases should be moved immediately in order to control and prevent against spreading. Governments should publicize to people to make them aware and comply with the instruction properly.

In the era of globalization, connectivity is rapidly made. This provides the great opportunity to spread diseases from the weapons very fast. Thus, good domestic management system is the key factor to prevent against bioterrorism. Policy making level and practice level, in both private sectors and public sectors, must coordinate with each other. Moreover, all professional sectors, e.g. – public health, medical personnel, university scholars, science and technology institutes, and security organizations must cooperate together. To illustrate this, intelligence organizations should access to information involving with terrorism forms and terrorists, and analyze the coming threats, while law enforcement officers can investigate, arrest, and prosecute the case to the courts. Public health organizations, doctors, and academic institutes can also work together to diagnose, research and develop the medicines necessary to control the diseases. Infected people should

be detained in some particular areas. Additionally, social networks and fake news must be controlled because they can impact on domestic and international level. Lastly, it's necessary to conduct information exchanges among South East Asian countries, so that we can promptly prevent against bioterrorism.

## 3.2 Regional level

### 3.2.1 Korean Peninsula

#### Situations and trends

The dialogue between Donald Trump, the President of the United States, and Kim Jong-un, the supreme leader of North Korea, at Hanoi, Vietnam, on February 27-28, 2019, failed. It was expected from the world to be successful. Donald Trump revealed at the JW Marriot hotel in Hanoi after the meeting that it's not the time to sign the agreement with North Korea. He assured that the relation between the United States and Kim Jong-un is still fine. However, the 2 parties just have different viewpoints on revoking of boycotting measures. The United States wants the measures to be invalidated when North Korea has good economic capability and stop the nuke developments. But North Korea wants those measures to be absolutely gone. Kim Jong-un mentioned about this failure to the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea on April 13, 2019 that this failure makes the tension in Korean Peninsula become intensive. However, the leader Kim also

expressed that he wanted to consult more with Donald Trump if Donald Trump will change his perspective into the proper way, and revoke the boycotting measures. He was please to wait until the end of 2019.

On March 5, 2019, South Korea found the reparation of roof and gate of the Dongchang-ri rocket launching site in North Korea. No threatening activity was found at the 5 megawatt nuclear reactor at Yongbyon Nuclear Center and Punggye-ri Nuclear Test Tunnel Site. South Korea and the United States are still working together to closely observe North Korea's nuclear activities.

On April 6, 2019, the United States found an abnormal movement at the Yongbyon Nuclear Center in North Korea from a satellite image photographed on March 22, 2019. The picture shows a crane being nearby the light water reactor. There is no more certainty on what the purpose was. The activity was terminated, and the stoppage as such was the key issue on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Summit between the United States and North Korea in February 2019. However, the report shows that the nuclear activities were resumed again at the launching site after the failure of that Summit even though the site was previously partially removed.

On April 25, 2019, Mun Chaemin, the President of South Korea, stated that South Korea was ready to organize the 3<sup>rd</sup> Summit between North Korea and the United States expecting it to be successful. Mun Chaemin was also looking forward to meet with Kim Jong-un.

On April 26, 2019, Kim Jong-un, the North Korea's Supreme Leader, expressed, during the meeting with Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia, that the future peace in Korean Peninsula is depending on the United States' position. Kim Jong-un mentioned about the current situation in the Peninsula that will probably turn back to be like the previous due to the United States is putting too much pressure on North Korea in the Summit on February 27-28, 2019.

On May 4, 2019, North Korea fired short-range ballistic missiles from the Wonsan Site to the Japanese sea. It was first time using Intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) since November 2017.

On May 21, 2019, the United States and South Korea (South Korea's President, South Korea's high rank military commanders, the United States' high rank military commanders, including South Korea's Minister of National Defense and the US's military commander of the United States Forces in Korea or USFK) mutually took the same position toward the missile shooting of North Korea on the May 4. All viewed that this should be responded peacefully, so that the tendency of next dialogue shall be maintained. The leade of South Korea expressed that Kim Jong-un and Donald Trump have friendly relationship toward each other. The commander of the USFK confirmed that South Korea's military, under Mun Chaein administration, is adequately strong, so that the relation among the two parties is strong allowing them to combat against any threats.

On May 25, 2019, John Robert Bolton, the security consultant of the United States, revealed that the missile firing of North Korea on the May 4 has violated the UN Security Council's Resolution. He urged Kim Jong-Un to negotiate with Japan and the United States on nuclear weapons disarmament. He said that the United States is ready to discuss with North Korea under the same condition as proposed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Summit.

On May 29, 2019, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of North Korea claimed that the United States was attempting to win against North Korea by using military forces. The Ministry expressed that the United States should realize that the hostile actions as such shall increase tension in the peninsular. The Ministry warned that the United States is not exclusively capable to use forces, and condemned the United States regarding to the United States' previous operations. North Korea views that the US operations can be considered as threats, such as US - South Korea military maneuver, missile tests by the United States, and using reconnaissance airplanes in North Korea airspace.

On May 31, 2019, the United States Representative on North Korean Nuclear (Stephen Biegun), the General Director of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau of Japan (Kenji Kanasugi), and Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Affairs of South Korea (Lee Do-Hoon), consulted together in Singapore. It was the first 3 parties meeting since the firing of North Korean missiles in May 2019. The meeting was held to discuss on the ways forward to negotiate with and convince North Korea to stop the nuclear weapon project in Korean Peninsula.

On June 30, 2019, Donald J. Trump met with Kim Jong-Un in Panmunjom village, the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) within the borderline of North Korea and South Korea. Donald J. Trump walked across the border to North Korea. He is the first United States President that visited North Korea during his office. The 2 leaders started the confidential meeting at the “Freedom House” in South Korea. The meeting lasted 50 minutes. Both sides agreed that they will form up the teams to discuss further on nuclear removal within few weeks afterward. Before meeting with Kim Jong-Un, Donald J. Trump already had a bilateral meeting with Mun Chaein of South Korea. The United States and South Korea all need permanent peace in the peninsular.

#### Viewpoints / Positions

- Many countries worry about North Korea’s position regarding to nuclear in the Korean Peninsula. South Korea and China all need the peninsular to be free from nuclear, so that peace can be established permanently. South Korea and China creatively assisted to the peace-building process in the Korean Peninsula. Even though the 2<sup>nd</sup> Summit between the United States and North Korea was failed, it, at least, made a progress on peace-building process to some extents. South Korea and China are ready to support the further discussion on this matter.

- Since North Korea fired the missiles, many countries decided to call North Korea to stop increasing tension in the peninsular, or call North Korea to get back to the dialogue on nuclear disarmament. The United States, South Korea, and Japan all consulted to each other bilaterally. These countries all agreed to respond to North Korea carefully. They agreed to share information among each other.
- ASEAN states all worry about the situation in the Korean Peninsula, and collectively take an action to maintain peace under the United Nations Command (UNC) in the Peninsular. Moreover, ASEAN countries should promote the area to be nuke-free area in order to maintain peace and stability. ASEAN countries should multilateral dialogue among those related parties, and call all parties to comply with the United Nations Security Council Resolution. Finally, there are still many challenges in the area, including diplomatic aspect, economic aspect, and military cooperation issues. ASEAN countries should closely observe the situation.

### 3.2.2 Conflicts between India and Pakistan

#### Situations and Trends

The conflicts occurred since 1947 when they became independent from the United Kingdom's colonization. Kashmir was able to choose if she wanted to be with India or Pakistan. Pakistan is Islamic country, while India is Hindu country. The focal cause is that most of Kashmiris people are Muslim, but Maharaja Hari Singh, who was ruling Kashmir at that time, was Hindu. The ruler chose to put his province with India. This caused dissatisfaction to Pakistani people because they are also Muslim, while India was claiming its Sovereignty above Kashmir. Hence, both India and Pakistan are claiming that they are sovereign over the land. This conflict eventually led to the war between two states which had existed around six decades. Cross-border-terrorism conducted by separatists is also another problem among them. This greatly causes concern to global communities because the 2 parties all acquire nuclear weapons.

Another cause of conflicts is that scrambling of water. Kashmir is the important land having Indus river flow through. The both parties are disputing against each other in order to occupy this area. Although India has been occupying Kashmir for a long time, but the parties also have continually negotiated. The World Bank also stepped in to settle up the conflict to help them allocate the water resource which led to concluding of the "Indus Waters Treaty of 1960" (IWT) which portions

3 minor-rivers to India and the other 3 minor-rivers to Pakistan. Nevertheless, one disadvantage falls on Pakistan because some of the rivers obtained still flowing through India's territory. Therefore, Pakistan feels unsafe because Indus River is the main river that is used by around 90 percent of the population for agriculture. Moreover, there are another two problems.

- Global warming is drying up water sources in Pakistan. This gives huge difficulties to Pakistan, and affects Pakistani life. The situation has been being critical.
- India has been working on water management project since 1970 by constructing dams. Pakistan is afraid that this will worsen the water situation in Pakistan.

India and Pakistan situation summary of Feb. – Mar. 2019

- On the February 14, Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorists attacked India in Kashmir by using car bomb. This caused approximately 40 deaths. It is believed by India that Pakistan was behind.
- On the February 15-17, Pakistan declared that it was not related to the attack, so that India was slandering Pakistan without any evidence. Pakistan said India was claiming so due to lack of its ability in intelligence gathering and security organization.

- On the February 18-22, curfew was imposed in Jammu and Kashmir of India, so that Indian soldiers reconnoitered in the areas. The soldiers got attacked by terrorists. This caused 4 deaths to India. One terrorist, Mr. Kamran, was killed. He was believed to be a high rank leader of the JeM group.
- On the February 23-25, The Pakistani Armed Forces declared the readiness to respond any threats from India. The Pakistani Prime-Minister, Imran Khan, allowed Pakistan to respond immediately as proper. Due to such declaration, India announced that population living in the Line of Control (LOC) of Kashmir must be ready to move out. Small battles occurred between the 2 parties' forces along the borderline. India deployed approximately 1,100 soldiers from Jammu to Srinagar in the north of India which is the area proximal to the LOC in the borderline.
- On the February 26, Indian Air Force attacked the terrorism base in Pakistan. This killed around 200-300 persons. The Pakistani Prime-Minister, Imran Khan, consulted with high rank military commanders on this. Imran Khan condemned India on its action called sovereignty intervention which was aggressively conducted.

- On the February 27, Pakistan sent 3 F-16 planes into India's airspace which caused a battle between them. Pakistan announced that they had killed 2 Indian airplanes in Pakistani territory, and had captured one Indian pilot. Pakistan temporarily shut down its airspace and airports, so that many aircrafts could not fly over the land, especially those flying from ASEAN area to Europe. The prime-minister said that this was done to maintain security in Pakistan, to prevent against Indian attack, and to prevent against attack against civilian aircrafts. Imran Khan additionally called India to stop its aggression and step forward to the negotiation.
- On the February 28, India called Pakistan to be compliant with the Third 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. India condemned Pakistan and called the actions as overreaction. The Pakistani Prime-Minister urged India for negotiation, and emphasized that Pakistani government shall cooperate with India on terrorism suppression. Also, Pakistan urged India not to expand the conflict, and regarded the Indian actions as sovereignty violation.
- On the March 1, India received the pilot, Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman, back from Pakistan at Wagah area, Punjab state.
- On the March 2, Pakistani forces and Indian forces were still fighting in Kashmir near the ceasefire LOC area. This

caused 6 population deaths (3 Indian and 3 Pakistani), and 2 Pakistani combatant deaths. This caused injury to at least 3 population. Thus, sending the pilot back did not make the situation better. The parties are still violating the cease-fire agreement of 2003.

- On the March 4, a Pakistani UAV was taken down by Sukhoi-30 of the Indian Air Force due to the UAV's intervention in Indian Territory near Bikaner town in Rajasthan state. This was the second Pakistani UAV taken down by India. The tension was still high, and the forces were still firing against each other. This caused 6 population deaths (3 Indian and 3 Pakistani), and 2 Pakistani combatant deaths. This caused injury to at least 3 population.
- On the March 5, Pakistan Civil Aviation Authority opened its airspace allowing commercial flights to pass by normally.
- On the March 6, Pakistani Naval Force reported that Indian sub-marine was attempting to intervene into Pakistani sea, but got blocked. Indian Naval Force, nevertheless, denied the fact. The Indian claimed that Pakistan always distribute false information, and Indian Naval Force is only capable to protect its territorial sea.
- On the March 22, India officially labelled the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) militia as an illegal group. India prohibits this group from any activities for

5 years because the group has the ideology of territory separation. This group will harm Indian sovereignty and territorial integrity. The group is believed to support the extremists and terrorists. Mr. Mohammed Yasin Malik, the leader of JKLF, was arrested since February 22, 2019. He was sentenced to be guilty under the Public Safety Act (PSA) and was put in the prison for 2 years. Bail was not allowed. After terrorism incident in Pulwama city of Jammu state on the February 14, India quickly suppressed the Kashmiris separatists. India prohibits the Jamaat-e-Islami (JEL) group from any movement in Jammu and Kashmir for 5 years. Around 300 JEL members and separatists were arrested.

### Viewpoints / Positions

- Theresa Mary May, the Prime-Minister of United Kingdom, was concerned about the situation. She called the escalation avoidance from the two parties. She expressed that United Kingdom was ready to work with international communities, especially the United Nations Security Council.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation called upon all parties to restrain from violence, and urged the parties to rapidly solve the conflict. The Ministry expressed that Russia was ready to contribute on terrorist suppression.

- Michael Richard Pompeo, the United States Secretary of State, called the confrontation avoidance from all parties. This's consistent with the United Nations and the European Unions' demands.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China hoped that the two parties shall be able to find the solution that create stability in the region.
- Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey called the escalation avoidance from all parties.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia suggested Malaysian to avoid unnecessarily travelling to Kashmir and Jammu, and to closely observe the situation and be careful.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kingdom of Thailand Turkey called the escalation avoidance from the two parties. The Ministry suggested the two parties to peacefully and creatively discuss to solve the problems, avoid worsening the situation, and maintain the regional stability and peace.
- The shutdown of Pakistani airspace affected numerous airliners, such as British Airways, Air India, Jet Airways, Singapore Airlines, and Qatar Airways. Thai Airways firstly cancelled all flight going to Europe, but later changed the airways instead. This took longer distances and longer times.

- After the battle occurred at the LOC in Azad, Jammu, and Kashmir (AJK), residents and people in Pakistan, and people who were planning to travel to Pakistan had to avoid getting to the AJK, including the cities nearby, e.g. - Mansehra, Balakot, Naran-Kaghan, and Rawoakot.
- Global society was concerned about the situation because both Pakistan and India acquire nuclear weapons. Lack of restraint may lead to the great escalation and nuclear warfare.
- The facts show that the Indian government is still aggressive toward Pakistan aiming at pressing Pakistani government to be compliant with the international obligations involving with suppression of terrorists staying in its territory. The Indian government also seeks to gain popularity by showing its nationalism in order to favor itself in the coming election that will be held in April – May 2019. Meanwhile, Pakistan is seeking for a dialogue with India to end the tension because Pakistan is facing domestic economic problems and also wants to create a good image on the country involving with non-terrorism-supporting. While many countries are supporting the peaceful solutions between the parties, the parties will have to carefully consider to restrict and avoid the uses of forces in order to prevent against the large damage on the parties and region.

- In term of the security of the South East Asia, Thailand, as the chairman of ASEAN, should closely observe the situation because the conflict area is in South Asia which not far from the South East Asia. The increase of escalation might eventually lead to nuclear warfare which will affect adjacent states. Moreover, the long-lasting conflict will affect the cooperation and connectivity between ASEAN and South Asia because India is a member of ASEAN+6 which contributes a lot to build up the cooperation and connectivity. Thailand should encourage the two parties to solve the conflict through a dialogue, so that peace, security, and stability shall be maintained in the region. Also, Thailand should firmly emphasize the obligations blinding all parties to coordinate with international communities to combat against terrorists.

### 3.2.3 South China Sea Situation

#### Situations and trends

The South China Sea is filled with natural oil, natural gas, and marine resources. It contains “Sea lanes of communication” (SLOC) connecting trade routes between East Asia, Middle East, and Europe. It greatly contributes to regional security and peace. The states claiming sovereignty over the area are China, Malaysia, Brunei, Vietnam,

Philippines, and Taiwan. The area is also the area of competition between the two superpowers, China and the United States of America. Although the United States is not party to the conflict, but she does not accept freedom restrictions imposed by China because those restrictions impede the “Freedom of Navigation and Over flight” of the United States in the area.

The first cause of conflict<sup>35</sup> is from the 9 dash-lines firstly declared by Jiang Jieshi in 1947 (After the end of WW II) as the lines covering South China Sea as Chinese territory. The lines cover the area from Formosa Island (Taiwan) to Borneo Island. The map was recognized by Zhou Enlai to cover the sea as a part of the People Republic of China. Then, South East Asian countries gradually became independent, and established nations. Since the end of Cold War until the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, China is still claiming its sovereignty over there based on the historical evidence.

Secondly<sup>36</sup>, due to the natural resource explorations conducted in the late of 1960s by the United States, the United Nations, and numerous international organizations, the area is now known as the abundance of petroleum. Hence, it is needed by many states. States all hope to satisfy their energy consumption.

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<sup>35</sup> VOICE Online. (2019). โต๊ะจีน 15: กรณีพิพาทดินแดนและน่านน้ำทะเลจีนใต้แบบหักมุมประวัติศาสตร์ [Culminate Version of Territorial and Marine Conflicts in South China Sea]. Online. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://voicetv.co.th/read/HJF1WoZpX>.

<sup>36</sup> Sumathy Permal, (2010), The Journal of Defence and Security, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS), Malaysia 2010.

Thirdly<sup>37</sup>, signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1982 makes many states claim their rights over the area through their domestic legislation and political declaration. This is the first Convention mentioning about 200 nautical miles exclusive economic zones (EEZ). It describes legal statuses of archipelagic States, continental shelves, enclosed seas, and territorial seas. Article 3 provides that *“Every State has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles, measured from baselines determined in accordance with this Convention.”* Article 55 – Article 75 depicts the idea of EEZ as the areas within 200 nautical miles adjacent to a state’s territorial sea. The Convention provides that the coastal state has *“sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting, conserving and managing the natural resources, whether living or non-living, of the waters superjacent to the seabed and of the seabed and its subsoil, and with regard to other activities for the economic exploitation and exploration of the zone, such as the production of energy from the water, currents and winds.”*

The conflict area consists of 2 archipelagos, namely Spratly Islands and Parcel Islands. The Spratly is sovereignly claimed by 6

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<sup>37</sup> Individual Study of Foreign Affairs Executive Program 9, Devawongse Varopakarn Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). “ไทยต่อทะเลจีนใต้และการมองไปข้างหน้า” [Thailand, South China Sea, and Future Vision]. Online. Retrieved May 5, 2019, <http://www.mfa.go.th/dvifa/contents/filemanager/files/nbt/nbt9/IS/9029.pdf>

states, namely China, Malaysia, Brunei, Vietnam, Philippines, and Taiwan. Meanwhile the other one is claimed by China, Vietnam, and Taiwan.<sup>38 39</sup>

## 1. Spratly Islands

China: China claims its sovereignty based on historical evidence indicating that the area has been being owned by China for long time. Japan previously uses these islands as a submarine base. After the end of World War II in 1945, Japan lost the war, Jiang Jieshi administration of China sent vessels to the places and claimed Chinese sovereignty there. In 1988, China promulgated the law on continental shelves, economic exclusive economic zones, and 9 dash-lines covering South China Sea as Chinese territory. This is the primary cause of conflict and resulted in the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) of 1992 aiming at solving the problems between China and ASEAN.

Vietnam: Vietnam claims its successional rights as a former French colony. France has declared its possession on the Spratly since 1925.

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<sup>38</sup> Patchanee Wiyaporn. (2014). กรณีพิพาทหมู่เกาะทะเลจีนใต้ [South China Sea Islands Conflicts]. ครอบรู้อาเซียน ปีที่ 1 ฉบับที่ 7 ปีงบประมาณ พ.ศ. 2557 สำนักภาษาต่างประเทศ สำนักงานเลขาธิการวุฒิสภา [ASEAN Study Vol. 1, No. 7, 2014, Bureau of Foreign Languages, Secretariat of The Senate (Thailand)]. [http://web.senate.go.th/w3c/senate/pictures/content/file\\_1434353035.pdf](http://web.senate.go.th/w3c/senate/pictures/content/file_1434353035.pdf).

<sup>39</sup> Sumathy Permal, (2010), The Journal of Defence and Security, Malaysian Institute of Defence and Security (MiDAS), Malaysia 2010.

Philippines: Philippines claims its rights over the lining 8 islands based on the history saying that 40 Filipino discovered the islands since 1956. Tomas Clomasc, the leader of those people, put the flags on Kalayaan Island group. Philippines passed the Presidential Decree declaring the islands as Philippine territory. Philippines also sent some military vessels to occupy the places and declared its sovereignty on the Reed Bank area.

Malaysia: Malaysia claims its rights on continental shelves and 200 nautical miles exclusive economic zones (EEZ). Some areas are claimed to be under Sabah State.

Brunei: Brunei regards some parts of the Spratly as a part of its EEZ.

Taiwan: Taiwan claims its ownership over Itu Aba Island (Taiping Island), the largest island among the Spratlies. Taiwan is the first actor came to occupy the island after the World War II. Nevertheless, Taiwan is impeded to join the multilateral mechanism established by ASEAN for solving the conflict because of its problematic stateship. Also, it is impeded to participate in other bilateral mechanisms. Currently, states are sorting out how to solve the issue.

## 2. Paracel Islands

It is claimed of being owned by China, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Woody (Yongxing) Island is one of those. China already established the forces on the Woody, and classifies it as a part of Sansha city, Hainan province. Vietnam also claims that the Woody is a part of its Danang province. Also, Taiwan does similarly. However, the major parties to this conflict are China and Vietnam.

The important points of South China Sea are as the follows:

### (1) Being an important sea route

Approximately 60,000 vessels travel through the area every year. It is the route for almost a half of all cargo ships in the world. 80 % of Chinese crude oil, 66% of South Korean crude oil, and 60% of Japanese crude oil is being shipped through this route. 1/3 of liquefied natural gas of the world is also delivered through this route. The Malacca Strait is used to deliver huge amount of oil which is 6 times bigger than the delivery in Suez Canal (13.6 million barrels per day in 2011), and 16 times bigger than the delivery in Panama Canal (0.8 million barrels per day in 2011). Furthermore, the sea also means a lot to import-export of other non-South East Asian countries like India. 50% of India's import-export takes the route of South China Sea. Moreover, the sea also means a lot to India's energy security, so that India firmly on the standpoint that the conflict in the area must be solved peacefully in accordance with international law.

## (2) Abundance of oil and gas

South China Sea is the big oil and gas source. In this area, the energy can be found in Sabah (Brunei / Malaysia), Nam Con Son (South of Vietnam), Sarawak (Malaysia), and Malampaya (Philippines). The exploration was initiated in 1973. In the era of oil crisis, China National Offshore Oil Company (CNOOC) cooperated with Husky Energy Company from Canada to explore the sea in 2006. They discovered oil and gas sources. China expects that it has 2,100,000,000 barrels reserved oil in the sea, and 266 trillion cubic feet natural gas. The recent political situation in the Middle East inevitably causes concern to the world about being short of oil, and reserved oil is additionally becoming less, so that many countries are interested in occupying this area.

## (3) Abundance of marine animals

The sea has diversity of marine ecology and marine animals. The quantity of animals there accounts for 1 of 3 of marine animals in this world. Based on historical evidence, China claims that the abundant sea has been commercially used by Chinese fishermen since a long time ago. China claims that Chinese fishery product from this area account for 8% of world fishery products. The sea allows China to produce 7 million tons of fishery products per year which account for 6,500 million USD. Fishery industry is important for coastal states' economic growth. To illustrate this, 5 million Filipinos are fishermen, while 1 Filipino consume 40 kilograms of fishes per year, so that Filipino

fishery industries make 5% for Filipino Gross National Product (GNP) per year.

South China Sea has been being strategically important since the old day. Japan used the Spratly Islands as a military base to intercept South East Asian countries. China take the sea as the BRI strategic route connecting with ASEAN which is 1 of 3 communities in the BRI. China wants to construct infrastructures connecting China and ASEAN, especially the railroad from Kunming to Singapore and Maritime Silk Road linking South China Sea – ASEAN – Indian Ocean.<sup>40</sup> According to the Security Strategy of the United States, the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM) has been upgraded to be U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) which is clearer in the operations on balancing the regional power with China by employing the U.S allied system. This is called American Influence, the United States' effort to expand its power to the entire world. The South China Sea is considered as the shortest route linking Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean which the USINDOPACOM is located. USINDOPACOM is in charge of operating in Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. Thus, South China Sea is the route that is expected by the USINDOPACOM to deploy its forces through to support the U.S. forces in other parts of the world. The forces can come directly from the U.S. military bases in America (Pearl Harbor), Guam, and Japan. Due to its strategic importance, many states are claiming sovereignty over the sea. The great tension in the area is coming from the China since

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<sup>40</sup> Prapat Thepchatree. (2017). อาเซียนกับ BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) [ASEAN and BRI]. Online. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <http://www.drprapat.com/อาเซียนกับ-bri-belt-androad-initiative/>.

China is aggressively insisting its rights. Besides, the strong and technologically progressive Chinese navy has been operating in the area for a while. This sea is so important and cannot be overlooked. It even made the United States come to Asia again.

### Future trends

(1) China never give up toward the United States even though the United States deploys their vessels in the sea and claims that it's just a sea navigation or "Freedom of Navigation Operations" (FONOPs) encouraging freedom of navigation in the area. China views that it's being diplomatically pressed, so that China increased maritime operation in South China Sea. In order to achieve the cooperation stipulated in the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea (CoC) involving with maritime economy, scientific research, weather forecast, maritime search and rescues, and anti-piracy, China and the countries in the region should build trust among each other. China consider the indirect and direct intervention from non-regional states as a threat, and shall not let the interveners become fruitful.

(2) In order to encourage the "creative use of the sea" China shall apply more multilateral mechanism to solve the problem in the sea. China promote military exercise in the sea with ASEAN. Symbolically, this push the United States and other states from other regions away. China announced that the CoC should be done soon, so that China and ASEAN can negotiate and keep peaceful environment in the region.

This contradicts to China's previous aggressive reaction which aimed at using bilateral talks.

(3) China is looking forward to develop the Paracels Islands, and finish the CoC within 3 years to sustain the creative uses of the sea. This, nevertheless, contradicts to its increased military activities in the area, such as claiming of sovereignty therein, constructing of artificial islands, and constructing of military facilitation in the sea. This reaction might increase the tension, and might be used by the United States to call upon ASEAN member states, including Thailand, to have a proper, concrete, and obvious position regarding to South China Sea.

(4) "Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief" (HADR) is used by China as a tool to build mutual trust and safety among states in the region. China already established the maritime rescue center to serve this purpose. Although the United States, Vietnam, Japan, and Philippines are calling China to stop its constructions in South China Sea, China always claims that all constructions are serving the idea of maritime environmental protection, disaster prevention, and safety of navigation in the sea. China expresses that it has a duty to respond against emergency in the sea. What is going to happen is that China will probably construct more in the area grounded on those reasons.

(5) China will strengthen military diplomatic relations with ASEAN countries and other countries, for example, China invited navy forces from other countries to participate in maritime troop review in the sea

in April 2019. This impedes the United States roles in the region. It shows the attempt to obstruct the stakeholdership among the United States and ASEAN countries. China will seek for more multilateral collaborations by using economic cooperation as a tool.

(6) Both China and the United States still mean a lot to ASEAN, including Thailand. Hence, ASEAN members have to keep the centrality under the cooperative framework. The members shall consult with each other on strategic trust building that will lead to activities and operations enhancing security in South China Sea.

(7) The United States is concerned about China's military expansion and capacity in South China Sea and ASEAN region. This concern is related to the ASEAN China Maritime Exercise (ACMEX of 2018) during the 20-29 October, China's declaration on the 3 years completion of the CoC in South China Sea declared in the 21<sup>st</sup> ASEAN-China Summit held in Singapore on 14-15 November 2018. This relationship has pushed the United States to take an action enhancing the relation with ASEAN again under its "Strategic Rebalancing Policy" by attending some cooperative forums like the ASEAN Summits and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Besides, the United States shall maintain its military activities in the area in order to insist the International rule-based called FONOPs as aforementioned.

(8) The United States is bringing back the allied system by introducing its allies to intervene in the South China Sea. The first

maneuver jointly conducted between the navy forces of the United States, United Kingdom, and Thailand in South China Sea shows the United States' intention to respond against China's aggressive reaction by supports from its allies. This was the first time United Kingdom explicitly expressed its disagreement toward China's military activities in the sea. The trend is that the United States tends to invite more allies, such as United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, and France to participate in the FONOPs.

## Viewpoints / Positions

As the chairman of ASEAN, enhancing of security is the major agenda that Thailand is pushing forward.

### (1) Creative and all-parties-related maritime cooperation

ASEAN should maintain the peaceful environment and security in South China Sea. Information exchanges related to transnational crimes and terrorism, and anti-piracy cooperation should be achieved.

### (2) Peaceful environment and stability

ASEAN should promote the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) and win-win cooperation in the area.

### (3) ASEAN unity

Utilizing security architecture mechanisms, such as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), to unite the ASEAN members. The expansion of superpowers impedes ASEAN unity, especially in security aspect. The United States proposal on the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA), supporting Philippines' claims on its sovereignty over the sea since 2013, led to the military cooperation between the United States, its allies, and Philippines. The cooperation as such allows the United States to use Filipino military bases, and has made Philippines dare to confront with China. Hence, such kind of influences from superpowers inevitably worsen the unity of ASEAN, especially while ASEAN members are still unable to declare their mutual position regarding to the South China Sea conflicts. Hence, "ASEAN method" must be built up to achieve the unity and ASEAN goals in order to keep the association's security in the region and the world.

## 3.3 Within South-East Asia

### 3.3.1 Conflict situation in Rakhine state

#### Situations and trends

After the Myanmar government declared to vanquish the Arakan Army (AA) on April 30, 2019, around 275 male suspects were detained and investigated in Kyauk Tan village, Rathedaung town, Rakhine state. 6 detainees were killed, and 8 detainees were injured by Myanmar soldiers. The reason was that those detainees attempted to assault and take weapons from Myanmar soldiers. The operation led to the heavy shortage of foods among population in Rakhine. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative and the Myanmar Red Cross called the government to take a good diligence on its operation, so that it would not affect the civilians. Then, the armed forces denied the detention, and claimed that they allow people to move freely. They additionally insisted that they had released the 48 detainees previously detained on May 6, 2019, they current detainees were 80 persons.

The action taken by the ICRC and the Red Cross decreased the escalation because the government did not want to have any problematic issues with international organizations, especially the issues involving with freedom and mass media protection, civil liberty protection, releasing of Reuters reporters, the progress on democratization

process, etc. Although the incident was Myanmar's domestic affair, but it affected the country's image. Furthermore, international organizations might use the incident as such as an excuse to intervene into Myanmar's internal affairs. The United Nations (UN), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and other human rights organizations are carefully observing the situation.

### Viewpoints / Positions

ASEAN is willing to support Myanmar to solve the conflict peacefully based on Myanmar's comfortableness, and ASEAN won't intervene in the internal affairs in compliance with the ASEAN Charter. ASEAN is willing to cooperate with Myanmar under the ASEAN framework and the UNSC framework if requested by Myanmar. ASEAN members should create trustful environment and good relations among them and Myanmar Armed Forces by visiting all levels of commanders and jointly patrolling near borderlines. ASEAN members should cooperate together to prevent against threat to security.

### 3.3.2 Terrorism

#### Situations and trends

The SDF's the Kurdish force supported by the United States. On March 23, 2019, the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF)'s spokesman declared that they had already attacked the Islamic State (IS)'s last

militia base in Baghouz village in the East of Syria 2 months ago and had occupied the spot already. This made the IS lost all bases in Syria and Iraq, and the Caliphate state as declared by the IS is completely gone. However, lack of certain bases does not make them stop their activities. For example, the IS is still aggressively active even though the Iraqi government declared the victory over the IS since 2017.

The IS group is still globally threatening although they have no base. They are spreading to many countries around the world, such as Libya, Egypt, Nigeria, Philippines, Afghanistan, and so-on. They are convincing radical people to commit “lone wolf” attacks. This can gradually increase because terrorism can exist when the group can spread their idea, so that they can maintain militia trainings and propaganda. Power decentralization is the model used in terrorism organization because it allows the group to recruit and convince new members globally. Furthermore, terrorism organizations can use internet to transmit their experiences and knowledge related to being terrorist. Also, they can support other armed groups that have the same political idea of establishing of new Islamic State.

### (1) Terrorism in Sri-Lanka

On April 21, 2019, there was the 8 spots bombing which caused approximately 300 deaths. At least 36 foreigners were killed. Approximately 500 persons were injured. The IS admitted that the incident was conducted by them through their news agency, the AMAQ.

Sri-Lanka is located in the South Asia region, in the south east side nearby India. Sri-Lanka has around 21 million population consisting of 74% Sinhalese, 18% Tamil, and 7% Moors. Among Sri-Lankan people, there are 70% Buddhists, 10% Muslims, and 7% Christians which are 1.5 million Catholic people. Due to Sri-Lanka is composed of diverse ethnicities and religions, there are many separatist groups in Sri-Lanka which have been resulting in chronic conflicts throughout its history. Therefore, terrorism in Sri-Lanka is partially its domestic affairs and is partially influenced by the IS spreading from Iraq and Syria.

## (2) Terrorism situation in ASEAN

### (2.1) Indonesia

Indonesian police announced on May 6, 2019 that they had arrested 7 members of the terrorism group called Jemaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), and had taken a life of one of the group. In this incident, the composed TATP bombs were found in Bekasi town near Jakarta, and in Bitung town in the north of Sulawesi province. It's believed that those bombs were about to use as a suicide bomb attack on May 22, 2019 which was the date announcing the election result.

### (2.2) Philippines

The Filipino Armed Forces identify the signal of terrorism from the south of Philippines which has been always changing since June

2016. The Armed Forces found the whole conflicts at Marawi city in 2017 after the significant battle appeared. The battle occurred in May 2017 when the Filipino forces were attempting to arrest Isnilon Toton Hapilon, the leader of Abu Sayyaf and Filipino IS, who was supported by the Maute group (the group that is loyal to the IS). Hapilon's combatants fired and killed police officers, soldiers, and civilians, and took control many buildings including the Marawi City Hall and the Mindanao State University. The government gained the victory and ended the battle in 2017.

### (2.3) Malaysia

The *Kampulan Mujahidin Malaysia* (KMM) is the terrorism group in Malaysia that is fighting to change Malaysia to be an Islamic state by applying Sharia laws (Islamic laws) as the supreme law governing the country. This group's idea is consistent with the opposition party named *Pan Malaysian Islamic Party* (*Parti Islam SeMalaysia* or PAS) which is aiming at Islamizing Malaysia to be like those Middle East states. The United States views that the KMM has close relations with the *Jama'ah Islamiyah* (JI) movement and the *Al-Qaeda* movement. Ordinarily, people perceive that the Malaysian government is using the domestic law as an instrument to eliminate the opposite side. Moreover, the government communicates to the world that the government is not supporting the terrorists, and jointly started marine military reconnaissance with Singapore and Indonesia in the Malacca Strait on purpose of preventing against piracy and marine terrorism. The

government realizes that terrorism situation is becoming severe in South East Asia, and suspects that the terrorists in the region, e.g. – KMM, MILF, Abu Sayyaf, and JI, might have mutual benefits or good relations with piracy. The government is additionally attempting to suppress the terrorism networks within the country, including the political party that supports the terrorists seeking for an Islamic state. Therefore, the government is carefully observing the terrorists and the opposition party supportive to the terrorists.

### (3) Syria Connectivity

According to the Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point (the United States Military Academy), the report reveals that the militias in South East Asia supported by the IS are connected with the movements in Syria. The report says that the scheme was planned to launch the attacks in South East Asia since June 2014 – April 2017. Around 60% of 20 attacks and 35 assaulting plans were involving with the operators of the Islamic State. The agency pointed that the operators in Syria were directing, funding, and contacting with the minor groups to launch the attacks in the South East Asia (50% of attacks was done in Philippine). Other radical groups, nevertheless, are also planning to strike in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippine.

The agency said that those movements have possibility to expand to Myanmar by teaming up with Rohingya people being tortured. Thus, the Rohingya issue is a great opportunity supportive to the terrorists.

#### (4) Future trends

The IS is still crucially problematic because the group is attempting to re-occupy the bases in Iraq and Syria. They are globally spreading their ideology, seeking for new members, and convincing people to join them. Also, they are supporting the terrorism groups having the same ideology like they do. “Lone wolf” style attack will be using gradually because the group can convince and motivate people from all over the world through internet and computer screens. South East Asian region can be used as a region for dwelling, gathering, arms trading or carrying, and ideology spreading, especially in Indonesia, Philippines, and Malaysia.

#### Viewpoints / Positions

After the terrorism strike in Marawi city, Filipino government, and other political leaders and military commanders in Indo-Pacific rapidly started collaboration to share resources and information to stop terrorism expansion.

- September 2017: Australia sent troops to Philippines to conduct military training and intelligence sharing. Australia believed that this regional threats from the IS must be collectively and regionally fought against. Australia was pleased to support Philippines in exercising of the rights to self-defense. Previously, in June 2017, Australia has sent 2 AP-3C Orion aircrafts to the north of Marawi city to search for the

terrorists. Meanwhile, the United States sent 300-500 troops to Philippines for surveillance, reconnaissance, and intelligence training.

- Officers from Brunei, Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and New Zealand had a whole day summit in July 2017, and signed the agreement on anti- aggressive extremists. They agreed to organize strategic meetings on combatting against foreign combatants to promote intelligence sharing, information sharing, and anti-terrorism law development. They viewed that the law must be developed to clearly identify which actions are considered as crimes, for example, attack conspiracy conducted by terrorists or foreign combatants.

- Indonesia, Philippines, and Malaysia, in April 2017, agreed to conduct trilateral reconnaissance purposely to maintain regional stability while new forms of threats, e.g. piracy, terrorism, and transnational crimes, are coming

- Malaysia was the host organizing the 3<sup>rd</sup> summit on anti-terrorism funding in April 2017 among Malaysia, Australia, and Indonesia. It was a great opportunity for financial intelligence experts, high-level representatives from law enforcement sector, policy sector, directing sector, and national security sector to meet up.

- ASEAN countries can cooperate together under the framework of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC). Thus, the ASEAN members can conduct information sharing to combat against

terrorism and transnational crimes. ASEAN countries also can cooperate through the Our Eyes initiative project initiated by Indonesia as a framework and platform among Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, and Thailand to do information sharing on purpose of fighting against terrorism and extremists.

### 3.3.3 Fake News<sup>41</sup>

#### Situations and trends

This problem is challenging at the present time. It affects policy forming of states. Fake news can spread very fast thorough internet, and cause large impact to society. It is made by distorting the fact to mislead or incite people on political or financial purpose. Thus, news in digital era is becoming less reliable. Internet provides a channel to forward information quickly, so that it should be used to send useful information. Governments around the world are fighting against fake news on internet. Some countries, e.g. – Malaysia, India, and Philippine even have passed the laws criminalizing and punishing any persons that disseminate the news as such. European Commission (EC) regards fake news as a set of information designed to create distortion to impact an individual, a group, or an organization. This includes political cyber-propaganda. The report called “The Legal Framework to Address Fake News : Possible Policy Actions at the EU Level (2018)” classifies fake news as the follows.

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<sup>41</sup> Strategic Studies Center. (2562). กองทัพกับโลกยุคดิจิทัล: ภัยข่าวลวง [Digital World Armed Forces: Threats from Fake News]. เอกสารวิเคราะห์สถานการณ์ทางยุทธศาสตร์และความมั่นคง [Strategic and Security Situation Analysis]. Hardcopy.

## (1) Content bubbles

This happens when an individual interacts with one news source and perceives only one side of information that he/she already likes, agrees, or believes. This's called "confirmation bias".

## (2) Unintentional fakes/opinions (so-called "misinformation")

This can be done by misunderstanding. Also, this can be done by people who mistakenly comment on social networks. This is able make fakes news rapidly spread and become more reliable.

## (3) Intentional fakes or amplifiers ("Disinformation")

Fake news can be intentionally shared purposely on internet to distort the facts or to influence people's thought. Disinformation operation is the tool many governments use to systematically manage fake news that is disseminated on political or commercial purposes. It has been used to discredit political rivals during election processes in foreign countries. This can cause an impact on security if it is done by a state as a tool to interfere with anther state's internal affair. To illustrate this, there was an accusation saying that Russian government interfered with the election of 2016 in the United States. Another example is the story spread in Cambodia during July 2018 related to the lethal poisonous effect of the ink used for finger prints of electors.

## Viewpoints / positions

Governments from all over the world have been taking efforts to combat with fake news, especially those on internet. Fake news movements are created by numerous reasons. Mostly, fake news is used to mislead or delude people, and destroy national security. Some countries have passed the laws to criminalize fake news dissemination.

- Philippines passed the law imposing imprisonments and fines on any persons disseminating fake news. Any persons that have been sentenced so shall be regarded as unqualified to take any political positions.
- Malaysia passed the law imposing at most 6 years imprisonment and 500,000 MYR (Approximately 4 million baht) fine on any persons disseminating fake news either in Malaysia or other places. This law is also applicable to foreigners if Malaysian citizens get impacted from the news as such. The sharing methods covered are digital medias, social networks, and news reporters.
- India's Ministry of Electronics & Information Technology declared the measure coping with fake news which will withdraw the license of any news reporters that disseminated fake news. Any reporters punished by this rule shall not be able to access to any governmental offices, news room, governmental seminars, and governmental organizations. There is both temporary and permanent type of withdrawal.

The challenge of using legal tools to take fake news away from social networks is that it might still cause curiosity to common people. This will probably make fake news rapidly spread and become more reliable. Thus, using law enforcement to control the contents cannot efficiently create reliability on governments. Censoring or severe punishments can also push people to communicate through other ways instead of using internet. Hence, governments should promote other measures, e.g. encouraging facts checking by people, and providing a fact – checking website. Malaysia is a good example of this due to its fact – checking website called “sebenarn-ya.my”. Similarly, the same kind of website called “Lift the Blockade” is also available in Qatar. Moreover, non-legal measures are supposed to be used. Canada, Taiwan, and Italy, for examples, already added the contents on news analysis into educational programs. Indonesian government is also asking for cooperation from mass media companies and news reporters to instruct people correctly and combat against fake news.

### 3.3.4 Marine debris problem<sup>42</sup>

#### Situations and trends

This is a global issue being focused by the United Nations due to marine resource management is 1 of the 17 goals for sustainable

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<sup>42</sup> Chatchada Kumlungpat. (2018). วิกฤตขยะในทะเลชาติอาเซียน [Marine Debris Crisis in ASEAN]. Online. Retrieved July 8, 2019, from file:///C:/Users/Administrator/Downloads/%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%A4%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%82%E0%B8%A2%E0%B8%B0%E0%B9%83%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%97%E0%B8%B0%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%8A%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%B2%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%B8%E0%B8%B5%E0%B8%A2%E0%B8%99.pdf.

development. Currently, global seas are facing with debris leaking from lands to seashores, and subsequently to seas. This greatly harms natural resources, marine animals, marine ecology, economy, and tourism. Many ASEAN countries, in 2017, were regarded as the countries having marine plastic debris the most. 3.22% of marine debris in Indonesia is plastic (2<sup>nd</sup> rank). 1.88% of marine debris in Philippines (3<sup>rd</sup> rank) is plastic. 1.88% of marine debris in Vietnam is plastic (4<sup>th</sup> rank). 1.03% of marine debris in Thailand is plastic (6<sup>th</sup> rank). 0.94% of marine debris in Malaysia is plastic (8<sup>th</sup> rank).

Marine debris issue largely draws attention from people in Thailand. After the death of Short-fined Pilot Whale in 2018, the veterinarian found that the whale was abnormally floating before spewing out the plastic and died afterward. The autopsy showed that the whale ate approximately 8 kilograms of plastic causing its digestive system failed. Besides, many marine animals have died from marine debris, especially from plastic. If Thailand does not reduce the debris quantity, the coastal abundance, marine abundance, and human will be affected. In February 2018, marine plastic debris situation in Nusa Penida area (Indonesia) also drew attention from others. This worsened Indonesian landscape and ecology. Similarly, the same kind of situation occurred in Boracay Island in Philippines due to lack of debris management system and releasing of waste products in the sea by business sectors. Thus, Filipino announced 6 months closing of the island for ecological restoration.

## Viewpoints / positions

Each ASEAN member has its measures. Thailand announced the “Thailand Master Plan on Solid Waste Management for 2016-2021”. Thailand’s Department of Marine and Coastal Resources has conducted the measures coping with marine debris, namely (1) Studying types, quantities, and sources of debris, and establishing database, (2) Reducing ecological impacts from the debris, (3) Reducing marine debris in accordance with academic principle, (4) Encouraging of using of environment-friendly containers, and (5) Educating people to be aware of marine debris reduction by reducing marine debris (especially the plastic type affecting ecology). Indonesian government is aiming at reducing 70% of debris by 2025 while educating students to learn more about environment protection and debris reduction at the same time. Filipino is now developing the new law on maritime debris management while prohibiting people to enter the Boracay Island.

In ASEAN level, Thailand was the organizer of the “ASEAN Conference on Reducing Marine Debris in ASEAN Region” in November 2018. It was the first time 10 ASEAN members, China, and relevant organizations discussed and exchanged their views on the matters in order to find the solution preventing debris from leaking into the sea. The conference also discussed on the way to establish additional plan on ASEAN debris management, the ways forward dealing with marine debris in global level and regional level, and relevant laws and regulations. Additionally, the representatives from Thailand, Philippines,

and Indonesia have attended the UN Conference on Ocean which is a part of sustainable goals. The 3 countries insisted that they will collaborate on solving marine plastic debris problems.

ASEAN countries all realize that marine debris is problematic, and attempting to take efforts to solve the issues in both short-term and long-term. The problem is transnational due to the movability of debris that makes debris spreads around in the sea and ocean. Therefore, it is difficult for one country to solely solve the issue otherwise that country would cause trespassing into another country's territory. International cooperation is so required in order to fix the puzzle. Additionally, long-term solution requires proper education and people's awareness on environment protection which will reach to sustainable solution.

During Thailand's chairmanship, the fact reveals that economic development and security enhancement of all countries cannot be separated. Security and stability, especially the ability handling with new forms of threats, means a lot to economic development. The non-traditional threats as such cannot be solely coped by one country. All nations must be cooperative in both bilateral way and multilateral way. Nevertheless, all states must keep in mind that ASEAN members shall not intervene into another state's domestic affairs.

### 3.3.5 Climate change causing disaster<sup>43 44</sup>

#### Situations and trends

Since the decades, ASEAN members have been developing their economy to be equal with other regions. This can be seen from many countries' exponential policies. Malaysia is visioning that Malaysia shall be the developed industrial country by 2020. Those CLMV (Cambodia, Lao, Myanmar, and Vietnam) have also become more open in order to strengthen their economy and infrastructure from foreign capitals. Hastening of ASEAN economic growth has increased manufacturing bases in the region which release more greenhouse gas. It is, therefore, predictable that ASEAN will be the great future source of pollution in the world.

Global warming is not new emerging regional issue. ASEAN leaders have been focusing on this for longer than a decade. Climate change is viewed as a severe threat impacting mankind, sustainable development, and ASEAN. ASEAN member states also have changed their policy from “Brown Economy” to “Green Economy” in order to have sustainable and eco-friendly economic development. Some

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<sup>43</sup> Thailand Greenhouse Gas Management Organization (Public Organization). (2015). การเปลี่ยนแปลงภูมิอากาศโลก ผลกระทบและการปรับตัวของอาเซียน [Global Climate Change: Impacts and ASEAN Adjustment]. Online. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from [http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news\\_detail.php?id=538](http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news_detail.php?id=538)

<sup>44</sup> Thailand Greenhouse Gas Management Organization (Public Organization). (2015). จุดยืน AEC เดินหน้าลดปัญหาโลกร้อน [AEC's Position on Decreasing Global Warming]. Online. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from [http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news\\_detail.php?id=944](http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news_detail.php?id=944)

examples of this policy are efficiency uses of resources and less causing of greenhouse gas and waste products. ASEAN member states have agreed to reduce greenhouse gas emission as much as each state's ability. Indonesia set the goal to reduce 26% emission by 2020. Lao set the goal to increase 70% forestry area by 2020. Malaysia set the goal to reduce 40% emission in energy sector by 2020, and will use 11% more renewable energy by 2020.



Singapore set the goal to reduce 16% emission by 2021. Thailand set the goal to reduce 7-20% emission by 2020. Vietnam set the goal to reduce 7-20% emission by 2020.

### Viewpoints / positions

- Gathering as an ASEAN creates infrastructure connectivity, energy connectivity and economic development in the region. Nevertheless, it negatively causes side effects involving with global warming. That's to say, greenhouse gas emission from industries is getting higher. Moreover, regional energy connectivity probably increases uses of fossil energy because it's cheap, while this can also discourage countries to develop renewable energy.

- Inevitably, climate change affects fishery activities, agriculture, water sources, and people's living in ASEAN. Climate change, rainfall decrease, summer storms, typhoon, and depression are becoming severe. Philippines have highest risk of dramatically having storms for entire year throughout the island. El Nino and La Nina are also causing off-season storms. Severity of off-season storms depends on fluctuating weather. This makes some countries always having rains and storms while some countries are dry and hot. In sun, ASEAN will more often face with disaster from climate change.
- People's life quality shall also be affected due to the effect from heat upon weather quality. Pollution will be getting higher which can lead to crisis, especially in big cities like Jakarta, Manila, and Bangkok. Hot weather can also cause sickness like stress, heatstroke, and defective circulatory system. Some diseases can also spread around by insect carriers.
- Even though ASEAN member states have agreed to urge the developed members to reduce greenhouse gas emission for 40% by 2020, it is still cannot be guaranteed that those countries will meet such requirement. Another obstacle is absence of an obvious goal of each country participating in control the world's average temperature not to be hotter than 2 degree Celsius as

stipulated in the Kyoto Protocol. What have to be kept in mind is that climate change affected from global warming is unavoidable. The changes will be happening in future will be probably different from the on-going changes seen today. ASEAN should be prepared to be able to survive in the situation as such. ASEAN should be capable to handle with risks more. Focusing on global climate change is a good start, but it's not sufficient to solve the problem. ASEAN must adjust its attitude to mutually understand the situation. People's way of life, strategies, communities, and businesses must be adjusted to comply with the future changes. In sum, ASEAN must have higher capability to handle with problems.

- Global warming is the challenge toward ASEAN. The association must collectively find the regional solutions or measures to develop policies, regulations, and measures. The association must take actions to reduce the global warming and establish some mechanisms, e.g. – Master Plan on ASEAN Low Carbon Society and Eco-Friendly Region, Regional benchmarking on clean energy, and Harmonized Standard on Energy Efficiency. These measures will reduce trade barriers and unite regional standard. Furthermore, ASEAN members should collaborate more on developing eco-friendly technologies, and developing market mechanism

allowing people to access to eco-friendly services and products. By doing so, ASEAN growth shall be friendly with environment (Green Growth) and become more capable to handle with global warming.

During Thailand's chairmanship, the fact reveals that economic development and security enhancement of all countries cannot be separated. Security and stability, especially the ability handling with new forms of threats, means a lot to economic development. The non-traditional threats as such cannot be solely coped by one country. All nations must be cooperative in both bilateral way and multilateral way. Nevertheless, all states must keep in mind that ASEAN members shall not intervene into another state's domestic affairs.



# Part 4

## Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019





## Part 4

# Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019

## 4.1 Theme of Thailand's 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship



Figure 3 is showing the focal ideas of Thailand's chairmanship in 2019  
4.1.1 The focal ideas of the chairmanship are advancing, partnership, and sustainability (Advancing Partnership for Sustainability).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). แนวคิดหลัก [Main Idea]. Online. Retrieved June 10, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/key-concepts/>

## 1. Partnership

States shall cooperate with each other through establishing of partnerships among member states and global communities, enhancing of ASEAN+1 relationship, and building of architectural structures in ASEAN region. These will be the core for economic cooperation with numerous nations. Population's interest also needs to be balanced. ASEAN shall take more roles in global forum in solving important timely problems, such as climate change. ASEAN shall exercise its important propellant which will boost up the connectivity among infrastructures, regulations, and population. This propellant serves the purpose of the 2019 ASEAN Cultural Year that aims at achieving the "Seamless ASEAN".

## 2. Advancing

The member states shall collectively dynamically develop themselves by utilizing benefits of the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, and building the competitive capacity along with building up the preventive system to protect the states from unpleasant effects risen from exponential technologies and future challenges. Especially, MSMEs need to be protected. This principle will push ASEAN forward into the digital era (Digital ASEAN).

### 3. Sustainability

Every aspect of development must be stable. Economy should be developed in accordance with the concept of green economy. To achieve this goal, the establishment of ASEAN Centre for Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue (ACSDDSD) and ASEAN Centre for Active Ageing and Innovation (ACAI) is so required.

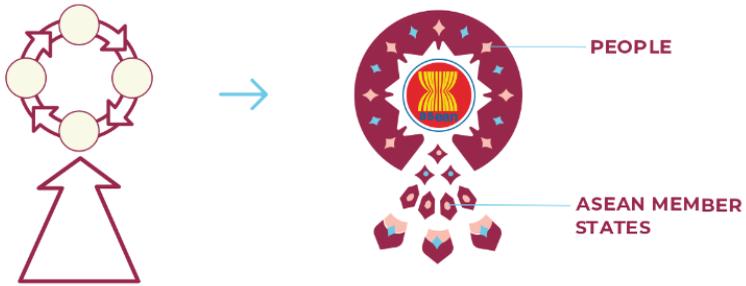
#### 4.1.2 Symbol<sup>46</sup>

The symbol of 2019 ASEAN Chairmanship for Thailand is “garland.” The idea is that Thai people usually use it for propitious occasions and to receive visitors. The symbol was suitably designed by combining the traditional art of Thailand and modernity.



Having numerous flowers within one garland denotes that population of ASEAN countries shall be together harmoniously. The symbolic round garland with flower ropes, called “Ubamalai” in the native language, is expressing the 10 member states of ASEAN.

<sup>46</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ตราสัญลักษณ์ [Symbol]. Online. Retrieved June 10, 2019. from [www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/symbol/](http://www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/symbol/)



Looking at this symbol from the bottom-up view showing us an arrow soaring upward. This means cooperation among ASEAN countries to reach to the bright future together while having people as the center of development. This shall be carried out under the concept “Advancing Partnership for Sustainability.”

#### 4.1.3 Concrete results

Thailand is aiming at being the chair in 2019 and achieve the goals. There are 3 pillars of missions, namely ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). The details are as the follows.

##### 1. ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC)<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ประชาคมการเมืองและความมั่นคง [ASEAN Political-Security Community]. Online. Retrieved June 10, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/priority-deliverables-politic/>

The APSC shall be in charge of, firstly, getting ready for any change that may impact the security and peace of the region (Future-oriented) by strengthening the capacity to be able to deal with threats in every aspect, including transnational crimes, cyber-threats, and terrorism. With respect to this, ASEAN-Japan Cybersecurity Capacity Building Centre (AJCCBC) shall necessarily develop Thai personnel in cyber-security area and shall build up the capacity in preventive diplomacy. Secondly, this pillar shall encourage every partner to collectively solve all challenging problems in security issue based on the principle of “effective partnerships”. This can be done by supporting boundary management among ASEAN states, creative maritime cooperation from every section, military cooperation, and military diplomatic cooperation. Thirdly, this pillar shall promote sustainable security among the ASEAN states and sustainability in the region by building mutual trust in the strategic level and encouraging ASEAN Center of Military Medicine to take more roles in the region.

## 2. ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ประชาคมเศรษฐกิจ [ASEAN Economic Community]. Online. Retrieved June 10, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/priority-deliverables-economic/>

The AEC aims at, firstly, getting ready for the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution by planning the ASEAN innovations, and preparing the declaration of improving ASEAN industry into the industry 4.0, including encouraging minor entrepreneurs to apply digital technologies with their business. Secondly, the AEC shall promote the regional connectivity by using the instruments like trades, investments, and tourism. This will link 10 member states together within the ASEAN Single Window scheme. Local currencies shall be used in order to support regional investments. Moreover, the AEC shall prepare the guideline for developing of skillful workers and professional practitioners to be ready for the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, developing of fundraising mechanism in order to gain capital from private sectors for infrastructure investment, the guideline to create the ASEAN cuisine tourist attraction, the summary of the result from the regional economic partnership negotiation.

Lastly, ASEAN economy must be sustainably developed in every dimension. The AEC shall provide the guideline for sustainable fishery collaboration and sustainable development for ASEAN capital markets.

### 3. ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)<sup>49</sup>

The first mission of this pillar is to plan the human security for

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<sup>49</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ประชาคมสังคมและวัฒนธรรม [ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community]. Online. Retrieved June 10, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/th/abouts/priority-deliverables-social/>

future (Future-oriented) by establishing the ASEAN Centre for Active Ageing and Innovation (ACAI) and Warehouse and Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN (DELSA). Also, the ASCC shall push forward the developments of human capital and educational activities for all generations, utilizing of microorganism by ASEAN, solving the problems of nutrition deficiency, cretinism, and obesity. ASEAN Cooperation on Civil Service Matters (ACCSM) meeting shall be organized also under the agenda of “Accelerating Agile ASEAN Civil Service”.

Secondly, the ACAI shall promote collaborations of population connectivity and partnerships by organizing the meetings among civil society and ASEAN population, supporting the characteristic of 2019 cultural year, and developing of the ASEAN Cultural Center in Thailand, establishing of ASEAN Training Centre for Social Work and Social Welfare (ATCSW), and upgrading the ASEAN university network.

Thirdly, the ACAI shall strengthen sustainable social and cultural security by enhancing the capability of ASEAN Centre for Sustainable Development Studies and Dialogue (ACSDSD), organizing special ministerial-level meetings on marine debris, proposing Ang Thong Islands National Park, Chao Mai Beach Marine National Park, and Li Bong Islands to be ASEAN Heritage Parks. Additionally, the ACAI shall follow up the ASEAN roadmap on transnational-smoke-free ASEAN.

#### 4.2 Thailand and Key Performances as the ASEAN Chair

#### 4.2.1 The 34<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit <sup>5051</sup>

The summit was held on June 20-23, 2019. It was the forum for the leaders of ASEAN to form up policies together in order to develop the relation between ASEAN and other countries outside the association. It was also the forum for amiable exchanges of idea on regional and international issues on purposes of finding the solutions or ways forward to directly deal with upcoming challenges. It consisted of the plenary session and the retreat session. It embraces together the discussion and consulting between ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) with ASEAN Youth and ASEAN Business Advisory Council. The summit agreed to support Thailand's operations on building up sustainability to ASEAN in every aspect which will allow ASEAN to be ready to handle with changes and challenges, such as the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, climate change, and international competitions between regions.

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<sup>50</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). การประชุมสุดยอดอาเซียน ครั้งที่ 34 ช่วงการประชุมอย่างไม่เป็นทางการ และการแถลงข่าวของนายกรัฐมนตรี [The 34th ASEAN Summit: Retreat & Press Conference]. Online. Retrieved June 26, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/news/the-retreat-and-press-conference-of-the-34th-asean-summit/>

<sup>51</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ประเด็นแถลงข่าวโดยพลเอกประยุทธ์ จันทร์โอชา นายกรัฐมนตรี การประชุมสุดยอดอาเซียน ครั้งที่ 34 [Pointers for Press Conference by His Excellency General Prayut Chan-o-cha (Ret.) Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand at 34th ASEAN Summit]. Online. Retrieved June 26, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/news/pointers-for-press-conference-by-his-excellency-general-prayut-chan-o-cha-ret-prime-minister-of-the-kingdom-of-thailand-at-34th-asean-summit>



The conference emphasized the importance of preserving of unity, mutual benefits, ASEAN centrality as a regional architecture, ASEAN cooperation on coping with changes and strategic competitions between the superpowers in Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific. The conference has considered and discussed the following issues.

(1) Ratification of Bangkok Declaration on Combating Marine Debris and the ASEAN

This was done in order to create the safe and sustainable region for population in every situation. The conference agrees that marine debris is problematic and largely impacts to population's living and sanitation. Similarly, it causes impact to marine resources, coastal resources, and aquatic animals. Hence, the declaration was ratified because it shows ASEAN's intention to sustainably and seriously solve the problems of marine debris. ASEAN aims at supporting related innovations, ideas, research capabilities, scientific knowledge applications, participation from all sections for solving the problems.

(2) Satellite Warehouse under the Disaster Emergency Logistics System for ASEAN (DELSA)

The warehouse was established to handle with future unexpected disaster. This was done by the cooperation of the ASEAN leaders. Regarding to this issue, ASEAN Center of Military Medicine was officially upgraded to be an ASEAN organization. This will allow ASEAN to have higher capacity to manage the impacts from natural disasters. These two organizations are located in Thailand.

### (3) ASEAN identity awareness

ASEAN shall enhance the awareness of population in the ASEAN identity. This is the important work in the 2019 cultural year which needs to be operated throughout the year. Thailand initiated that the ASEAN Networks need to be founded in member countries. This will promote participation of population and organizations from every sector, including ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, ASEAN Youth, and ASEAN business sectors, in order to create interaction among us and to emphasize the importance of ASEAN which is population-oriented and welcome everyone to take a part in.

### (4) Relations between ASEAN and other countries

The relations among ASEAN members also must be promoted. The members sure supposed to have dialogues to conduct the document expressing ASEAN's viewpoints toward the Indo-Pacific idea. The conference agreed with Thailand that ASEAN itself should interact with every country in Indo-Pacific region, then conclude the paper

named as “ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific” which will be the first great essential step to express ASEAN’s position with respect to this matter. ASEAN shall stay on the principles accepted by all parties, e.g. mutual benefits, mutual trusts, and mutual respect. ASEAN shall promote the principles stipulated in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). Any collaboration in Indo-Pacific region shall be in line with the centrality of ASEAN. In other word, it must build up cooperation from all parties, be supportive to all existing collaborative concepts in the region and sub-regions, and mainly concretely benefit people.

#### (5) Completion of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)

The RCEP dialogue should be successfully achieved by this year. The conference views that it is important to strengthen the regional economy, and affirmed that the RCEP dialogue should be done by this year as proposed by Thailand. This will allow ASEAN to be ready to deal with changes and uncertainty in the region, including impacts from trade tensions between ASEAN’s major business partners.

The discussions involving numerous issues greatly indicates ASEAN’s determination to create the people-oriented ASEAN which shall leave no one behind and move forward to the future under the chairmanship of Thailand. The discussions are consistent with the idea saying that “Advancing Partnership for Sustainability” which shall

enhance all aspects of sustainability in order to cope with numerous changes and challenges, namely the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, climate change, and inter-regional competition. Thailand has been carrying out the missions grounded on the principle as such and has been continually making progresses. The keys are building of sustainable security, dynamic and sustainable economy, seamless ASEAN, digital ASEAN, being friendly with environment, enhancing of strategic value, and strengthening of stability and prosperity in the region.

#### 4.2.2 The bilateral meetings during the 34<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit<sup>52,53</sup>

General Prayut Chan-O-Cha, in the bilateral meetings, has consulted with the leaders of Singapore, Laos, Malaysia, and Philippine during the 34<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit related to the following issues.

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<sup>52</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ถก 4 ผู้นำอาเซียน บรรลุผล [Fruitful Discussion of the 4 ASEAN Leaders]. Online. Retrieved June 26, 2019. from <https://www.facebook.com/aseanthaiprd/photos/a.814698258628533/2146965922068420/?type=3&theater>

<sup>53</sup> Thailand Greenhouse Gas Management Organization (Public Organization). (2015). การเปลี่ยนแปลงภูมิอากาศโลก ผลกระทบและการปรับตัวของอาเซียน [Global Climate Change: Impacts and ASEAN Adjustment]. Online. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from [http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news\\_detail.php?id=944](http://www.tgo.or.th/2015/thai/news_detail.php?id=944)



## (1) Singapore

The prime-minister of Thailand and the prime-minister of Singapore were glad that the 2 countries have close relations, especially in defence and economy. This was resulted from continuous high-level visits, including proximate collaboration between the 2 countries in ASEAN and international platforms. The 2 countries assured that they shall support the relations in every aspect, including security, cyber-security, and economy. The prime-minister of Thailand admired that Singapore is successful in making Singapore to be a genius country by applying digital technologies which is consistent with the policy of Singaporean government supporting digital and innovations. In addition, Singapore is encouraging young people to be able to access to start-up businesses and SMEs. Thailand would like to learn and exchange experiences from Singapore in this regard. Thailand also would like invite Singaporean investors that are expert and interested to collaborate

in developing of digital economy and start-up businesses in Thailand. The prime-minister of Singapore also admired that Thailand gave priority to cyber-security issue. The important points are system protection, safety, and surveillance. Singapore expressed the intentions to cooperate with ASEAN related to digital economy, cyber-security, and other issues.

## (2) Laos



The prime-minister of Thailand expressed the thankfulness that Laos cooperated in solving the smoke problem. The prime-minister of Thailand expressed his view that the 2 countries should mutually find the mutual solution that can sustainably solve the problem. Most population in Thailand and Laos are agriculturists that are supposed to be aware of the problem and participate in the solution. The 2

countries agree that this is regional problem which need to be solved together among states in the region. The 2 counties have ordered relevant governmental organizations to come with the measures to solve this problem. Thailand and Laos are ready to celebrate the 70<sup>th</sup> year anniversary of Thai-Lao diplomacy. The prime-minister of Thailand appreciated that Lao government has taken good cares of Thai investors in Laos, and Thailand is ready to support Thai investors in Laos. The 2 parties concluded that the Common Control Area should be opened soon, and Thai-Lao border crossing should be upgraded in order to promote collaboration on trade and tourism between people of Thailand and Laos. Thai government has already set the measures to solve labor problems which shall facilitate Lao labors to work legally in Thailand.

### (3) Philippine



The prime-minister of Thailand and the President of Philippine were glad that the 2 countries have long been being friends, and have proximal cooperation in security and economy. Furthermore, the 2 countries agreed to organize the 70 years anniversary celebration on Thai-Pilipino diplomacy. This celebration will promote the population's understanding among each other. The 2 parties consistently view that Thailand and Philippine have high capacity in economic cooperation so that the 2 states can increase trade values and investments between each other.

#### (4) Malaysia

Malaysia will promote the cooperation with Thailand on new Sungai Kolok Bridge. The prime-minister of Thailand expressed his admiration to the prime-minister of Malaysia who has the important role in ASEAN. Both sides appreciate that the cooperation between 2 parties has many progresses in many aspect, especially the cooperation on the South Thailand Insurgency. The 2 countries will cooperate and push forward Thai-Malay projects, such as the new Sungai Kolok Bridge project, and the road connecting new Sadao customs house and Bukit Kayu Hitam customs house. These projects will facilitate people from 2 countries to do cross-border trade easily which will result in the higher trade value and seamless connection. This will eventually promote the seamless relation between the special economic zone in the south of Thailand and the special economic zone in the north of Malaysia. Lastly, the prime-minister of Thailand emphasized the

importance of solving the conflicts in the south of Thailand by peaceful solutions. He expressed his appreciation to Malaysia that took the focal role in facilitating the dispute settlements and solving the problem of 2 citizenship people.

#### 4.2.3 The 12<sup>th</sup> Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT)<sup>54</sup>



The meeting was held on June 23, 2019, and General Prayut Chan-O-Cha, the prime minister of Thailand, attended the meeting. Mr. Joko Widodo (the president of Indonesia), Tun Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad (the prime minister of Malaysia), Mr. Arkhom Termpittayapaisith (Minister of Transport, the minister in charge of IMT-GT project), Dato Paduka Lim Jock Hoi (The Secretary General of ASEAN), and Takehiko Nakao (The ninth president of the Asian Development Bank) also

<sup>54</sup> Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council. (2019). การประชุมระดับผู้นำครั้งที่ 12 [The 12<sup>th</sup> Leaders meeting]. Online. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from

attended this meeting. The conference emphasized the importance of the IMT-GT that has been being operated for 26 years, and have been taking the great role in reducing poverty of population in the area. The conference viewed that the 5 years action plan of 2017-2021 needs to be reviewed in the middle so that it will be more effective on dealing with upcoming opportunities and challenges, e.g. the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, changing of population structure, urban growth, and climate change. The leaders of 3 countries agreed that the development guideline of the economic corridor shall have the main role toward IMT-GT development due to the 5 corridors initiated in 2007 have connected manufacturing units, tourism units, and trading units together. The cluster of economic activities was gathered up as a center for sharing opportunities to develop other areas. The conference agreed to establish the 6<sup>th</sup> economic corridor to link 3 provinces of Thailand (Pattani province, Narathiwat province, and Yala province) with Perak state and Kelantan state of Malaysia. This upcoming corridor shall also embrace southern Sumatra islands of Indonesia. The idea is being reviewed, assessed, and adjusted to integrate the previous 5 corridors with the new corridor.

Additionally, the conference realized that it is important to connect sub-regions together in the aspect of infrastructures and regulations in order to support social and economic development in the IMT-GT areas. This can be done by urging investments in the 39 Physical Connectivity Projects in 3 countries which cost 47,000 million US dollar. Currently, numerous projects are making good progresses

which contribute to transportations and trades, e.g. the Palembang Light Rail Transit (LRT) in Indonesia, Padangbesar customs house (Songkhla province) reparation, Wangprachan customs house (Satun province) reparation, and Rubber tree project (Songkhla province).

In term of regulations, the conference decided to adopted and signed “Protocol to Amend the Memorandum of Understanding between the Governments of Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand on Expansion of Air Linkages”. The minister of transportation of Thailand signed the protocol in November 2028. This protocol is supporting aerial connection in the IMT-GT areas. Furthermore, this protocol also supports the increase of sub-regional aviation services. The IMT-GT leaders acknowledged the success of preparation of the Sustainable Urban Development Framework 2019 – 2036 which was drafted as a guideline to magnify the outcome of the Green Urban Project to be widespread in the IMT-GT areas. The guideline suggests promoting of investments in infrastructure, facilitations, and friendly-environmental technologies that totally cost 16,934 USD. The guideline also suggests providing of opportunities to access capable green capital resources from all over the world. Additionally, the 3 parties expressed their intention to develop the strengths of the areas in order to increase the sustainable competitiveness. This can be done by utilizing of technologies and innovations, e.g. supporting the cooperation on processing of rubble trees and oil palms to be high value products, supporting new generation halal startup entrepreneurs, educating labors to be skillful and be ready for the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, connecting

sub-regional tourist attractions to be one destination tourist attractions which will attract more tourists.

General Prayut Chan-O-Cha, the prime minister of Thailand, proposed 5 ways forward to promote the IMT-GT.

(1) The IMT-GT's implementation should be followed on purpose of reducing the inequity. The accomplishment must be evaluated by considering people's quality of life. Development of all sectors, reducing of economic inequity of local communities, opportunities of all level state enterprises, rights and opportunities to access to public services must also be considered.

(2) Structural connectivity of infrastructure should be integrally developed in order to promote competitiveness to be consistent with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China. Firstly, the economic corridor of Ranong-Phuket- Aceh should be developed to link Malayu peninsular and Sumatra islands together through the maritime road of Malacca strait. Those areas are capable to be in line with the Chinese BRI. Yacht maritime roads also should be developed to connect with land roads. Secondly, the Songkhla-Penang-Medan corridor should be integrally developed to link the Sadao customs house and the Bukit Kayu Hitam customs house together. Thirdly, the deep south of Thailand- Kelantan and Perak- southern Sumatra corridor should be improved to have the 2 new Sungai Kolok Bridges in order to promote the economic connectivity in the 3 provinces in the deep south of Thailand. Economic

activities in the 3 southern border provinces which are under the project of “Stability, Prosperity, and Sustainability triangle, should be connected with the 4<sup>th</sup> Model City in Songkhla province (Chana district), Narathiwat special economic zone, and the eastern part of Malaysia. The eastern part of Malaysia is now having the development of the eastern railway project which is a part of Chinese BRI project. Furthermore, those areas should also be linked the Sumatra in the south of Indonesia.

(3) Value chain of agricultural products should be lifted up. Those products are, for examples, rubbles, oil palms, processed fishery products, and halal products. Researches, developments, and innovation utilizations in every sector should be promoted in order to increase demands toward agricultural products in the sub-regions. The processing in beginning, middle, and final processes should be also developed to increase values of the products in long term so that economy in the areas shall be developed.

(4) The green city project should be continually developed so that will lead to sustainable development in all aspects. This needs to be done prior to the timeframe. Urgent collaborative issues, e.g. the green transportation network, and the green economic investments, should be quickly considered under the sustainable city development concept.

(5) The roles of chief ministers and provincial governors (CMGF) should be promoted to build up cooperation among university networks

(IMT-GT UNINET), the IMT-GT Joint Business Council, and civil society sector. These parties together shall be able to carry out the IMT-GT action plan. In addition, Thailand's CMGF Office and IMT-GT Business Council are ready to provide advisory assistants to Indonesia and Malaysia with respect to the establishment of an efficient CMGF organization so that the countries can cooperate further.

4.2.4 The discussions between the ASEAN leaders and the representatives from all sectors during the 34<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit in Bangkok.<sup>55</sup>

On June 22, 2019, General Prayut Chan-O-Cha, the prime-minister of Thailand, was the chair of the discussions. The representatives were from the AIPA, ASEAN Youth, and ASEAN-BAC. This was held to encourage the participation of all sectors in ASEAN which is people-oriented, leaving no one behind, and moving to the future.

During the session of ASEAN leaders and AIPA, the prime-minister of Thailand emphasized that the importance of parliaments, as a repetitive organ of people, in communicating with people all over the areas to collectively push the ASEAN forward. He mentioned that the consistency of laws among the member states should be considered. Mr. Chuan Leekpai, the President of the National Assembly of Thailand,

<sup>55</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). การหารือระหว่างผู้นำอาเซียนกับผู้แทนภาคส่วนต่างๆ ในช่วงการประชุมสุดยอดอาเซียน ครั้งที่ 34 [Press Release: Prime Minister of Thailand chaired ASEAN Leaders' Interfaces with Stakeholders during the 34<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit]. Online. Retrieved June 26, 2019. from <https://www.asean2019.go.th/th/news/press-release-prime-minister-of-thailand-chaired-asean-leaders-interfaces-with-stakeholders-during-the-34th-asean-summit>

as the President of AIPA, has supported the cooperation between ASEAN and AIPA in order to be ready to handle with new challenges so that people from all sectors will be eventually benefited. The 2 parties expressed that the relation between the AIPA Secretariat and the ASEAN Secretariat should be strengthened to build up more sustainable collaborations between legislative branches and executive branches. Moreover, the prime-minister of Thailand suggested the AIPA to discuss the issue involving with cooperation between ASEAN and the AIPA in the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the AIPA which will build up awareness on every sector to concretely collaborate in solving problematic issues, e.g. marine debris.



The ASEAN leaders have discussed with the representatives of ASEAN Youth. The prime-minister of Thailand mentioned that youths should be the leaders of changes in creative ways, be responsible to society, be ready to handle with the current rapid changes, be a part

to build up the sharing, inclusive, and united ASEAN. Ms. Pin-anong Weesapen, a freshman from Mahidol University, as the representative of ASEAN Youth, expressed her idea on some issues directly affecting youths, such as education, environment protection, economic and social development. Ms. Pin-anong additionally expressed the viewpoint on strongly, sustainably, and obviously dealing with those issues by applying technologies and responsible use of online-communication innovations. She also encourages people to participate more in political decisions. In this regard, Mr. Joko Widodo, the President of Indonesia, expressed his view that youths should improve their skills to get ready for the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, develop creative thinking, and be leaders of peace and security. Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi, the Myanmar state counselor, suggested youths to take care of their health.

During the session of ASEAN-BAC and ASEAN, The prime-minister of Thailand suggested the sustainable and inclusive economic development to be prepared for the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution and digital economic by ending up the RCEP dialogue by this year. What need to be prepared are human resource development, MSMEs supporting, connectivity of digital trade, and strong multilateral trade system. In this regard, Mr. Arin Jira, the Chairman of the ASEAN-BAC, expressed his compliance with ASEAN on handling with rapid technological changes. Mr. Arin suggested some matters that can be cooperated among ASEAN members, namely human resource development, MSMEs development. He pointed that those developments can be done through the ASEAN Human Empowerment and Development Towards

(AHEAD) 4.0 project which is the project of the ASEAN-BAC under the ASEAN chairmanship of Thailand. Mr. Arin also suggested the promoting of sustainable investment in the region.

The consultations between ASEAN and many sectors reflected the intention of ASEAN leaders on promoting the people-oriented association which every sector shall be truly participating. This is consistent with the main idea of Thailand, the current chairman, which is “Advancing Partnership for Sustainability.”

4.2.5 The 12<sup>th</sup> Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Annual Meeting, on “ASEAN defence security foresighting in the next 2 decades”, and the 4th NADI Retreat

The 12<sup>th</sup> Track II Network of ASEAN Defence and Security Institutions (NADI) Annual Meeting, on “ASEAN defence security foresighting in the next 2 decades”, and the 4th NADI Retreat was organised by Strategic Studies Center, National Defence Studies Institute (SSC, NDSI) during 25<sup>th</sup> February - 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2019, at Holiday Inn Chiangmai Hotel, Chiangmai, Thailand. NADI aims to (1) enhance closer cooperation among ASEAN think tank and research institutions, (2) discuss on defence and security issues and raised issues from the ASEAN summit and ASEAN Defence Minister’s Meeting (ADMM), (3) providing new ideas and recommendations to the ADMM, and (4) discuss issues relating to future defence as well as security challenges and opportunities. Regarding the 12th Annual Meeting has opening remarks

by Lieutenant General Pisan Pathom-ame, Chief of Staff of National Defence Studies Institute (NDSI), and has Air Vice Marshal Poomjai Leksuntarakorn, Director of Strategic Studies Center, National Defence Studies Institute (SSC, NDSI) as a Chairman of both meetings.

The Summary of Presentation from the 12<sup>th</sup> NADI Annual Meeting consists of

1. Geopolitical volatility and power shifts taking place in the region make foresighting highly challenging, moreover the differences among ASEAN Member States (AMS) in terms of conducting analysis and developing relevant strategies for the future, and the differences in national considerations pose a challenge to ASEAN's ability to do foresighting as a group.

2. The drivers of security in the region and examined the impact of geopolitical shifts, terrorism, cyberattacks and climate change on the security of the region. For the geopolitical shifts, delegates emphasized that ASEAN centrality and solidarity was needed to deal with major power rivalry. On terrorism, delegates highlighted that the returning ISIS fighters following the defeat in the Middle East continues to pose a serious threat to the AMS. While enforcement was needed, approaches that emphasise de radicalisation and rehabilitation are also needed, while taking into consideration the values of tolerance and respect. The approaches are different in various AMS depending on the degree and form of radicalization. For cybersecurity, it was noted that rapidly advancing technologies and greater interconnectivity of day to day processes make the maintenance of cybersecurity a highly important task, which also require whole-of-nation approaches.

3. Climate change also continues to have the greatest impact on the economy, environment and agriculture sector, and hence affecting food security as well. Since ASEAN region continues to face more frequent natural disasters, it is important that AMS should consider more effective measures to respond to these calamities. In this regard, there should be greater national effort and coordination, and the development of human resources to manage this growing challenge from disasters and calamities. At the regional level, there should also be more coordination and incorporating all existing mechanisms to more effectively respond and manage these HADR issues. In this respect, technology and innovation should also be utilized to facilitate more effective monitoring and response.

The Recommendations from the 12<sup>th</sup> NADI Annual Meeting consists of

1. NADI could consider studying how differing national considerations in doing foresighting can be converged. In this regard, NADI could consider holding a workshop to exchange views on this matter.

2. Counter-terrorism could be further discussed in NADI workshops, in particular how cooperation could be strengthened with the law enforcement agencies.

3. Cyberattacks continue to pose a serious threat to the AMS economy, and various organisations of the government including financial and defence organisations, since they use info communication ICT for their processes. Therefore, greater effort should be made with

a whole-of-nation approach to develop capabilities in cybersecurity to counter threats. At the regional level, there should be greater coordination and training and exchange of views to respond. AMS should also discuss the strengthening of cyber norms and rules to better manage the governance of the cyber and digital domains.

4. Climate change is a major threat to countries in this region and around the world. Weather changes and natural disasters pose threats to food production and human life and property. A NADI workshop will be relevant to identify responses to sea level rises and natural disasters arising from climate change. The development of human resources and capacities and the transfer of expertise from the Plus countries would be beneficial. The workshop can also discuss the use of technology to promote faster and better responses to HADR challenges and threats.

For the 4<sup>th</sup> NADI Retreat, NADI members discussed on

(1) “Problems and Obstacles in NADI Meeting from the last 2 years”; on topics of engagement with track I, research and publication and enhancing NADI’s effectiveness.

(2) “Future of NADI Direction”, which NADI has made a lot of progress and, however, has more opportunities to build on NADI’s collaborative research potential.



## 4.3 Delivering Approaches for Sustainable ASEAN Community under Thailand Chairmanship 2019

According to the study, the collected information, theories related to gathering of the ASEAN members, ideas, situations, trends, and essential challenges affecting the association, the researcher can conclude that there are 3 main pillars under the association which are ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). The ways to sustainably push ASEAN forward are as the following texts.

### 4.3.1 ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC)

Under the situation of international relations and politic, building of cooperation must be conducted based on trustful agreements. Therefore, building of trust is the important factor in every dialogue in every level. Trust can create friendly atmosphere, neutrality, and measures to reduce the conditions and chances that may lead to conflicts. Hence, trust can create collaboration and allow the parties to have mutual goals. ASEAN has economic capability and continuously grow up. However, it has sensitivities in politics and security, such as new form and traditional form of threats. In some cases, threats are complicated and connected with many factors both from domestic level and interstate level. Challenges from the superpowers are also having a role in the region. Thus, it is extremely important to build trust among ASEAN member states so that the parties can collectively

develop economy, society, and military. Additionally, this will allow ASEAN countries to prevent against and solve problems at borders and trans-border problems. Moreover, this will be the good basis of building and expanding of connectivity with countries in the region in many aspects which will strengthen the strength and advance of ASEAN, and sustainably develop prosperity for people. Due to the differences among ASEAN countries in cultures, languages, politics, ethnicities, religions, etc., trust among the parties can be impaired by claiming of sovereignty on lands and delimitation of lands in overlapping areas. These problems affect the unity of ASEAN as it has set the goal. Currently, problems involving with border security are connecting with other issues such as economic development, political development, social development, cultural development, human security, and human rights. These problems are in forms of armed conflicts, drug dealing, illegal immigration, significant disaster, lack of natural resources, and delimitation. International cooperation and trust is required in order to solve those mutual security problems. The follows are the guidelines to build trust among ASEAN countries.

#### 4.3.1.1 Prevention of misunderstanding by building of cooperation

(1) Information exchange should be conducted. Border Coordination Office should take more roles on providing hotline service contributing to inclusive communication in borderlines. Boundary conflict shall not be taken as a factor to impair friendly relations between states.

(2) High-level commanders and leaders should visit each other regularly to firmly make a relationship contributing to military cooperation with neighbor-states. This will be a channel for consultation between 2 countries to collectively solve security problems.

#### 4.3.1.2 Military sectors should have more roles on border management.

(1) Collective border surveillance should be conducted to prevent against crimes and offences at borderlines, e.g. illegal immigration, illegal deforestation, and illegal importation.

(2) Military attaches and military diplomacy should be used to prevent against misunderstanding, and to build trust between 2 states, e.g. notification of force deployment, border surveillance, and information exchange on offences.

(3) States should assist each other at borderlines to gain mutual benefits, e.g. supporting education for people at borderlines, helping people at borderlines that suffered from disasters, and supporting inter-state trades.

(4) Information exchange on offences at borderlines should be conducted, such as illegal importation, illegal immigration, transnational crimes, and drug dealing.

Furthermore, the world is currently facing non-traditional forms of threats due to the changes in many contexts. This impact human and national security. The threats as such are, for examples, terrorism, transnational crimes, cyber-crimes, illegal fishery. This kind of threats

is predicted to be more complicated, more inclusive, and more severe in future. A nation could have difficulties on solely problems alone since those problems largely impact people, the nation, and the region in many aspects. The new form of threats has transnational characteristics (Transnational threats). It does not occur particularly within one state's territory, while it is becoming more widespread and borderless. Especially, numerous entry ports of ASEAN countries, including land, sea, and air entrances, allow population to easily move across the borders. This cause difficulties on checking and investigating. Most of the cases are drug dealing, human trafficking, illegal immigration, terrorism, and transnational crimes. ASEAN realizes that non-traditional threats are existing so that ASEAN has been developing the preventive cooperation in many ways, e.g. establishing the Cyber Security Center, providing humanitarian assistances and disaster reliefs, combating against terrorism, and strengthening maritime security. It is clear that these new form of threats significantly impact ASEAN's security due to their high complexity, widespreadness, and large-scale impacts. Forms, methods, and techniques of threat conducting are dynamically changing from time to time. These cannot be solely solved by only one nation. Hence, collaboration on anti-non-traditional threats shall absolutely lead to sustainable development in a way. The texts below are describing the ways to combat with non-traditional threat.

#### 4.3.1.3 Continuing of cooperation on anti-regional threats

(1) Regional cooperative networks should be developed. Cooperation on intelligence gathering, information exchange, increasing of communicative channels, developing of relevant laws, and reciprocal visits between high-level officials of the member states should be carried out and conducted more.

(2) Adjacent ASEAN states should improve the existing joint committee mechanisms and cooperate more. The parties should raise up their efficiency from policy making level to partitioning level.

#### 4.3.1.4 Preventive cooperation on anti-cyber-threats

(1) ASEAN should improve the capability on “information assurance and cyber defense” system in the region.

(2) ASEAN should strengthen capacity that allows ASEAN to immediately efficiently respond state of emergency occurred from cyber-threats.

(3) “Information assurance and cyber defense” system in ASEAN should have equal standard comparing with the universal standard of developed countries.

#### 4.3.1.5 Cooperation on prevention of illegal fishery (Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated: IUU)

(1) ASEAN states should check their boat details prior to registering and conducting the boat database.

(2) ASEAN states should strictly and equally enforce the laws on illegal fishery, regardless of the crime was committed by the state's boats or foreign boats.

(3) The so-called Vessel Monitoring System (VMS) should be installed.

(4) ASEAN should have more port control measures, such as denial of IUU vessels.

#### 4.3.1.6 Cooperation on military roles

In many ASEAN countries, military is involving with humanitarian assistances and disaster reliefs. Unlike Thailand, in other ASEAN countries, military is not involving with country development. Thus, Thai military roles should be narrowed.

(1) The Armed Forces should facilitate people by providing infrastructures, such as roads, electricity, water sources in faraway areas or border areas.

(2) The Armed Forces should take a role on dealing with crisis disaster, e.g. storm, flood, conflagration and epidemic.

(3) ASEAN should conduct information exchanges on military experiences, technologies for country development, researches, and scientific capability development.

(4) The Armed Forces should collaborate with private sectors and civil society in campaigning to preserve and restore natural resources and environments

#### 4.3.2 ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)

ASEAN was established purposely to mainly cooperate in economic and social development. Thus, the member states have been significantly taking efforts to reach the goal since the association was founded. According to the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025, the association should become the region which has “Highly Integrated and Cohesive Economy.” This will lead to “the Competitive, Innovative and Dynamic ASEAN”, and Enhanced Connectivity and Sectorial Cooperation. Additionally, the association is aimed to be the “Resilient, Inclusive, People-Oriented, and People-Centred ASEAN,” and the “Global ASEAN” which has universality in process and importance. Moreover, ASEAN is moving toward the principle of “Single Market & Production Base” so that ASEAN will be becoming the region that has high capacity in economic competitiveness, economic equity, and being a part of global economy. Completion of those aforementioned goals will push ASEAN and the member states to be capable to sustainably grow.

In 2019, ASEAN is supposed to promote the “Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership” (RCEP) which embraces 10 ASEAN states together with 6 trading state partners (Japan, China, South

Korea, India, New Zealand, and Australia) to be concretely beneficial, because there is high uncertainty in global trades and trade barrier matter. The fruitful agreement of the RCEP members will result in expansion and strength of investments in higher rate. In addition, due to the number of RCEP population (approximately 3,500 million persons) and its domestic GDP (approximately 23,000,000 million USD), RCEP will turn to be the biggest investment market and the biggest trade market in the world so that it will cover 1/3 part of world economy.

#### 4.3.3 ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)

This pillar is aiming at making the people-oriented ASEAN, and making a responsible society that will unite the member states and population by creating mutual identity and sharing society. The pillar also encourage participation of people that will result in better welfare and living condition. The pillar promote raising up of people's awareness and understanding among the member states regarding to historical connectivity, cultural heritage, and regional mutual identity. This is the most challenging pillar compared to the rest 2 pillars because ASEAN still has many problems on culture and society, e.g. human rights violation, unclear mutual identity, environmental problems, conflicts and distrust among people, economic gap between rich countries and poor countries, and lack of knowledge about ASEAN in people. Previously, the member states solely solved cultural problems and social problems as an impact of economic problems. The countries did not gather up to find the best solution together. Therefore, ASEAN

should focus more on human security, and aim at properly developing of society and culture.<sup>56</sup>

#### 4.3.3.1 Human development

ASEAN should pay attention on education. That's to say, the member states must collectively develop contents related to ASEAN for being taught in school, including the proper guideline to be used by teachers in their classrooms. This is how to use educational instruments to set the direction of ASEAN. The member states also should provide a degree program on ASEAN cultural study in universities, and promote regional projects aiming at youth's understanding and awareness about ASEAN, such as ASEAN student exchange project, Youth ASEAN meeting on culture, ASEAN university student summit, ASEAN university network meeting, and youth speech contest. Additionally, ASEAN should promote educational research that will support cooperation in the region. Contests involving with history and culture should also be held. Lastly, ASEAN should support proper labor employments, information technologies, accessibility to applied science and technologies, and vocational skills for youths, females, handicapped people, and elderly people. ASEAN also should not leave bureaucracy system development behind.

#### 4.3.3.2 Social welfare and protection

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<sup>56</sup> Supaphan Tangtrongpaioj. (n.d.). อาเซียนในมิติสังคมวัฒนธรรม [ASEAN in Cultural Aspect]. Online. Retrieved June 26, 2019. from <http://www.km.moi.go.th/km/asean/social/social5.pdf>

ASEAN should aim at eliminating poverty, building up social safety network, and protection from the negative impacts of integration and globalization. Food security, food safety, and healthy life should be promoted. ASEAN should also enhance the capability to control disease. ASEAN should be guaranteed as safe society, capable to deal with disasters, and free of drugs.

#### 4.3.3.3 Social justice and rights

ASEAN should promote and protect welfares and rights of children, females, elderly people, and immigrated labors. Responsibility of business organizations also should be promoted.

#### 4.3.3.4 Environmental sustainability

Measures dealing with trans-border pollution should be established. ASEAN should deal with global environmental issues. ASEAN should promote sustainable development by studying more on environment, and encouraging people to participate more in preserving environment. Eco-friendly technologies, quality of living standard in urban areas and ASEAN urban areas, and coordination on policy and environment database should also be supported.

#### 4.3.3.5 Building ASEAN identity

ASEAN should promote the awareness of people perceiving that ASEAN is united as an association. ASEAN should promote ASEAN cultural heritage. Community participation should be promoted, such as utilizing of cultural variety in ASEAN by attracting foreigner's attention and welcoming them to travel in ASEAN countries, not only some particular countries. Furthermore, ASEAN should promote cultural variety and ASEAN-ship to be known and accepted by people so that people in ASEAN countries will be perfectly ASEAN citizens and feel united. Eventually, when people get united, ASEAN will be able to find the identity being sought. Finally, this pillar will be secure not less than the first 2 pillars previously discussed.

#### 4.3.3.6 Narrowing the development gap

Development gap should be collectively reduced, especially the dimension of social development between the former 6 members and the new CLMV members (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam). Also, underdeveloped areas must not be abandoned.

Balancing of power between superpower nations is still a key mission of ASEAN because ASEAN's economy is linked with both China and the United States. ASEAN members should collectively create the balance of power between China and the United States. ASEAN members should avoid individually have a bilateral dialogue with either

China or the United States. The multilateral type is encouraged in this regard. This will create flexibility and bargaining power contributing to policy forming of the ASEAN members. Economic balance in the region should be created by inviting other superpowers, e.g. India, Japan, Russia, and the European Union, to get involved in balancing the power between China and the United States. Under the APSC 2025, ASEAN centrality of regional architecture, in both security and economic aspects, should be promoted. To illustrate this, ASEAN is supposed to immediately make a declaration toward any global crisis in order to imply that ASEAN has unity, mutual position of the members, and no disharmony. Additionally, ASEAN should promote an inclusive ASEAN Infrastructure Fund (AIF) which will encourage and urge infrastructure development in the region and in border areas. In order to develop the infrastructure as such, ASEAN should use ASEAN saving money. ASEAN should promote issuing of bonds from the central bank so that the bonds can be held as saving capital.

Any policy or strategy causing schism between people shall absolutely be an obstacle to economic development. ASEAN will have the great role in enhancing understanding between China and the United States in economic and security issues in Indo-Pacific region because ASEAN is capable to manage the conflicts and maintain the regional stability which can be done by people connectivity. Thailand, as the ASEAN chair, can take a role on planning sustainable economic development. Although many countries nowadays are in multilateral relations, bilateral relation is still an important mechanism to build up

stability in the region because it can be expended to other countries afterward. To illustrate this, the infrastructure development project and special economic zones embrace Japan, China, and the United States as a major investor.

What ASEAN is aiming this year of 2019 are advance, partnership, and sustainability. ASEAN shall jointly and continually look forward to the future, and shall utilize the opportunity of the 4.0 era to build up competitiveness and immunity preventing against unpleasant effects risen from exponential technologies and future challenges. This will allow ASEAN to be the Digital and Green ASEAN (Advance principle). ASEAN should be more proximal cooperative with the member states and non-ASEAN partners so that ASEAN will be the center of the region. ASEAN should take more roles to solve regional problems and global problems, and is supposed to support connectivity in every aspect, including digital infrastructures, laws, and connectivity with people. This will allow ASEAN to become Seamless ASEAN. ASEAN should connect with people through connecting strategies proposed by all parties (Partnership principle). ASEAN should have sustainability in every aspect, including security aspect, economic aspect, environmental aspect, and human security aspect. This is called “Sustainability of Things” (SOT) which is the new direction that must be considered before making any decision. The SOT should be ASEAN DNA that can be passed on to the next generations. The stable association shall make more strategic values to ASEAN in long term which will protect the association from regional and global changes.

# Part 5

## Summary and Recommendations





## Chapter 5

### Summary and Recommendations

#### 5.1 Summary

The chairmanship of Thailand has started from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019 and shall last till December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2019. The theme of Thailand's chairmanship is "Advancing Partnership for Sustainability" which means every sector within ASEAN shall proximally collaborate grounded on mutual benefits of parties in the region, non-ASEAN parties, and global communities so that everyone will be able to dynamically move forward to the sustainable future in every dimension. This will contribute to prosperity and peace of ASEAN citizen. As the chairman, Thailand is expected to push forward the ASEAN Centrality idea of regional architectures to truly benefit security and economy. Thailand has to urge Thai people to be aware of being ASEAN chairman and being the host for approximately 180 meetings that will be held throughout the year.

During the chairmanship of Thailand, many challenges have occurred and impacted countries' security in both indirect and direct ways, for examples, increase of intenseness of trade competition, increase of transnational terrorism and crimes, exponential technologies affecting people's way of life, climate change, environmental problems, and deterioration of ecology. Thus, it is mandatory for Thailand, as the

current chairman, to show its position and take actions toward the ongoing and upcoming situations.

The gist of impelling the association can be summarized below.

#### (1) ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC)

Trust is the most important key in every dialogue, especially for international level dialogues. Trust can create friendly atmosphere, neutrality, and measures to reduce the conditions and chances that may lead to conflicts. Hence, trust can create collaboration and allow the parties to have mutual goals, and can additionally lead to cooperation on dealing with new form of threats which will be becoming complex, various in forms, more severe, and more widespread. One nation will face difficulty on solving problems alone because the problems contain connectivity involving with many aspects, namely society, people, nations, and the region, and also cause impacts on those mentioned aspects. Therefore, cooperative convention should be developed to address those threats, such as establishing the Cyber Security Center, providing humanitarian assistances and disaster reliefs, combating against terrorism, and strengthening maritime security.

#### (2) ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)

The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) should be achieved by this year. Economic cooperation should be

conducted in accordance with the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint 2025.

### (3) ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)

ASEAN should aims at developing human resources and education. Protections, social welfare, social rights, and social justices must be provided. Environmental sustainability should be given priority also. ASEAN should reduce the development gaps and quickly create ASEAN identity.

## 5.2 Recommendations<sup>57</sup>

5.2.1 The main principle to achieve sustainability under the chairmanship of Thailand is “Advancing Partnership for Sustainability”. To serve the main principle as such, the following 5 sub-principles need to be considered.

### (1) Development is security

The great obstacle to the development is poverty. Poverty is also motivating people to largely become extremist. Thus, developing of economy and prosperity shall reduce the conditions of violence in societies.

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<sup>57</sup> Department of ASEAN Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand). (2019). ประเทศไทยกับอาเซียน [Thailand and ASEAN]. Online. Retrieved May 15, 2019. from [www.mfa.go.th/asean/th/relation/9658](http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/th/relation/9658)

## (2) Enhancing of international cooperation

The world is currently facing with various types of threats. All countries should cooperate together to eliminate the threats, e.g. combating against terrorism, combating against drugs, and combating against transnational epidemic. Moreover, countries should collectively develop international economy and keep economic relation stable.

## (3) Peaceful conflict resolving

All conflicts should be solved peacefully. Use of forces and coercion should be avoided. China aims at using peaceful methods to solve border conflicts. Regarding to the South China Sea issue, China mainly aims at consulting with the parties to the conflict.

## (4) Religious and cultural diversity

The diversities must be respected. People should live together peacefully.

## (5) Justice

In international relations, all countries should comply with international laws. All countries should maintain international norms, and reasonably protects the rights of developing countries.

## 5.2.2 Problems and challenges toward ASEAN

Although ASEAN is successful in promoting cooperation and security in the region, and is accepted by many countries, there are still problems need to be solved so that ASEAN will be able to smoothly develop in the future. All ASEAN mechanisms must be strengthened. All agreements concluded by or at ASEAN level must be implemented. Connectivity among ASEAN member states must be enhanced, namely systematic transportation, systematic laws and regulations, people-to-people connection, unity and integrity among states, independent roles in inter-state relations related with non-ASEAN countries.

## 5.2.3 People-oriented ASEAN

ASEAN must underline importance of people by encouraging people to participate in, and to be a part of, ASEAN. The lesson from the European Union indicates that an association cannot be successful without people's support. Thus, ASEAN should be pushed forward to be truly people-oriented association. All agreements concluded by or at ASEAN level must be implemented. ASEAN must be a platform for cooperation that is able to promptly provide assistances to people when needed, for example, any development of capacity dealing with disasters, transnational crimes, cyber-threats, and any new forms of threats.

#### 5.2.4 Intra-regional connectivity

Physically, ASEAN must develop land, sea, and air transportation lines. Information technologies must be developed to facilitate connections in trade, tourism, and people-to-people visiting. In term of abstraction, ASEAN should unite people by making them aware of being ASEAN citizen even though ASEAN has various religions and ethnicities. However, even ASEAN contains such variety, people in the region have cultural mutuality due to the region is the place that Indian and Chinese civilizations merged together. Thus, the challenge here is that ASEAN will have to achieve the mutual identity of ASEAN which will eventually harmonize people together. This can be done by using cultural exchange activities, mass communication, and encouraging interaction among multi-religion followers.

The aforementioned factors shall allow ASEAN to grow continually. Nevertheless, in order to have fruitful achievement, ASEAN must be a forward-looking association. ASEAN must be agile and flexible enough to be well- adaptable toward the global and regional situations which are rapidly changing. ASEAN leaders and people must be united, and collectively coordinate in almost every aspect. People must believe in regionalism. Lastly, ASEAN must be truly people-oriented association.

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