

## activity

1. What does this cartoon mean?
2. Was the *New Zealand Herald* for or against communism at the time? How do you know?

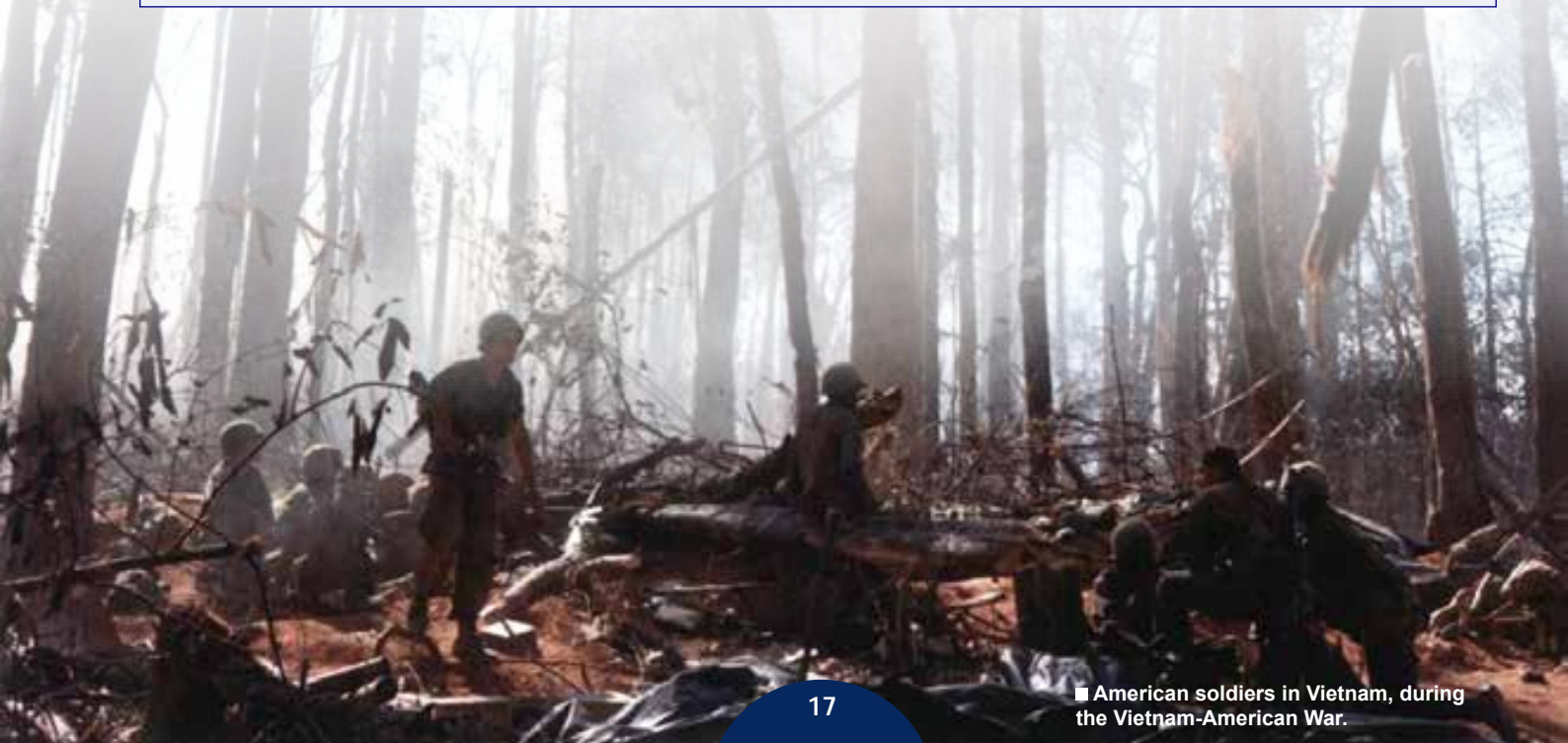
1. What did Tunku Abdul Rahman mean about a 'new mental approach' by Southeast Asian nations?
2. Are there still problems over borders and **territory** in Southeast Asia? Give examples.
3. How did the Cold War influence your country?

## discussion

### End of Chapter Activity – Timeline

1. In groups, create a timeline of all the **significant** events that have been discussed in this chapter. Research additional information if necessary.
2. Decide on the three most important influences on Southeast Asia today.
3. Present these to the class. Give reasons why these events were influential, and how they have affected Southeast Asia.

## activity



■ American soldiers in Vietnam, during the Vietnam-American War.

# Chapter 2: asean

themes.....

Chapter 2 looks at: how ASEAN began, how ASEAN works, and the ASEAN communities (pillars).

learning goals.....

## Knowledge

By the end of this chapter you will increase your understanding of:

- the politics, economics and demographics of ASEAN member states;
- the ASEAN Charter, Purposes and Principles;
- the process for nations to join ASEAN;
- important ASEAN meetings;
- the roles of different actors and bodies in ASEAN;
- the ASEAN Communities (pillars);
- GDP;
- globalisation;
- consultation and consensus;
- decision-making in ASEAN;

## Skills

By the end of this chapter you will develop your ability to:

- use Venn diagrams to organise information;
- explore personal and group identity;
- calculate GDP and per capita GDP;
- explore different attitudes to human rights;
- assess the benefits and drawbacks of consensus decision-making and non-interference;
- relate globalisation to you and your community;
- analyse political cartoons;
- mind-map

glossary.....

**consensus (n)** - ဘုံသဘောတူညီချက်။

**consultation (n)** - ညှိနှိုင်းတိုင်ပင်ခြင်း။

**cooperate (v)** - ပူးပေါင်းဆောင်ရွက်သည်။

**criteria (n)** - စံနှုန်း။ မှတ်ကျောက်များ။

**dispute (n, v)** - သဘောထားကွဲလွဲမှု။  
အငြင်းပွားသည်။

**diverse (adj)** - ကွဲပြားခြားနားသော။

**economic growth (n)** - ထုတ်ကုန်  
(ကုန်စည်) နှင့် ဝန်ဆောင်မှု  
တိုးတက်လာခြင်း။

**export (n, v)** - ပို့ကုန်။ ကုန်တင်ပို့သည်။

**implement (v)** - အကောင်အထည်ဖော်သည်။  
အထမြောက်စေသည်။

**import (n, v)** - သွင်းကုန်။  
ကုန်တင်သွင်းသည်။

**infrastructure (n)** - အခြေခံအဆောက်အအုံ။

**integrate (v)** - ပူးပေါင်းသည်။

**interference (n)** - ဝင်ရောက်စွက်ဖက်ခြင်း။

**manufacture (v)** - ထုတ်လုပ်သည်။

**mass-produce (v)** - အလုံးအရင်းဖြင့်  
ထုတ်လုပ်သည်။

**poverty (n)** - ဆင်းရဲနွမ်းပါးမှု။

**prospective (adj)** - မျှော်မှန်းရသော။

**rule of law (n)** - ဥပဒေစိုးမိုးရေး။

**sovereignty (n)** - အချုပ်အခြာအာဏာ။

**stability (n)** - တည်ငြိမ်မှု။

**sustainable (adj)** - ရေရှည်အကျိုးရှိသော။  
ထိန်းထားနိုင်သော။

**violation (n)** - ချိုးဖောက်ခြင်း။ စော်ကားခြင်း။





### preview

1. Is your country a member of ASEAN?
2. What other countries are members of ASEAN?

## 2.1 Southeast Asian Nations Today

History, geography and different religions and ethnic groups have all contributed to the countries of Southeast Asia. Below is some information about the ten modern Southeast Asian countries in ASEAN today.

### exercise

1. Read the information, label the country and match them to the countries on the map.
2. Write the name of the capital city of each country.
3. Fill the remaining gaps with information from the box on page 21.

A. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Presidential Republic

**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_ (i)

**Population:** 53,437,159

**Ethnicity:** Bamar 68%, Shan 9%, Kayin 7%, Rakhine 4%, Mon 2%, Kachin 1.5%, Other 7.5%

**Religion:** ☸ 89%; ✝ 4%; 🕌 4%; 🌐 1%; 🗼 1%; ⚙ 2%

**Economy:** \_\_\_\_\_ (a)

B. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Monarchy

**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_ (ii)

**Population:** 67,725,979

**Ethnicity:** \_\_\_\_\_ (b)

**Religion:** ☸ 94%; 🕌 4%; ✝ 1%; ⚙ 1%

**Economy:** agriculture, tourism

C. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Monarchy

**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_ (iii)

**Population:** 29,901,997

**Ethnicity:** Malay 50%, Chinese, 23%, Indigenous 12%, Indian 7%, Other 8%

**Religion:** \_\_\_\_\_ (c)

**Economy:** manufacturing, energy

D. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Republic

**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_ (iv)

**Population:** \_\_\_\_\_ (d)

**Ethnicity:** Chinese 74%, Malay 13%, Indian 9%, Other 4%

**Religion:** ☸ 33%; ✝ 18%; 🕌 17%; 🌐 15%; ⚙ 17%

**Economy:** banking, energy, trade



**Answers**

254,454,778 | agriculture, tourism, natural resources | Khmer 90%, Vietnamese 5%  
 Chinese 1%, Other 4% | Monarchy | 5,469,700 | ☪ 60.5%; ☸ 19%; ✝ 9%; 🕉 6.5%; ⚙ 5%  
 Communist State | Thai 90%, Mon/Khmer 6%, Malay 3% | 🕉 80%; ⚙ 20%  
 agriculture, shipbuilding, manufacturing

J. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Communist State**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(x)**Population:** 90,730,000**Ethnicity:** Viet 86%, Tai 2%, Thai 2%, Muong 1.5%,  
Kho Me 1.5%, Others 7%**Religion:** \_\_\_\_\_(j)**Economy:** agriculture, natural resources, tourism

I. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** \_\_\_\_\_(i)**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(ix)**Population:** 6,689,300**Ethnicity:** Lao 55%, Kamu 11%, Hmong 8%, Others  
26%**Religion:** ☸ 67%; ✝ 1.3%; ⚙ 31.5%**Economy:** tourism, agriculture, natural resources**Key to religious symbols**

- ☪ Animism
- 🕉 Atheism/no religion
- ☸ Buddhism
- ✝ Christianity
- 🕉 Hinduism
- ☪ Islam
- ⚙ Other
- ☪ Sikhism

H. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Monarchy**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(viii)**Population:** 15,328,136**Ethnicity:** \_\_\_\_\_(h)**Religion:** ☸ 96.5%; ☪ 2%; ✝ 1.3%; ⚙ 0.2%**Economy:** textiles, agriculture, tourism

G. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Republic**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(vii)**Population:** 99,138,690**Ethnicity:** Visayan 34%, Tagalog 28%, Ilocano 10%,  
Bicolano 7%, Moro 5%, Other 16%**Religion:** ✝ 99%; ☪ 10%; ⚙ 1%**Economy:** \_\_\_\_\_(g)

E. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** Constitutional Republic**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(v)**Population:** \_\_\_\_\_(e)**Ethnicity:** Javanese 43.5%, Sundanese 15.5%,  
Malay 3.5%, Madurese 3.5%, Other 31%**Religion:** ☪ 87%; ☸ 1%; ✝ 3%; 🕉 0.5%; ⚙ 9%**Economy:** agriculture, mining, manufacturing

F. \_\_\_\_\_

**Government:** \_\_\_\_\_(f)**Capital City:** \_\_\_\_\_(vi)**Population:** 417,394**Ethnicity:** Malay 65.7%, Chinese 10.3%,  
Indigenous 3.4%, Other 20.6%**Religion:** ☪ 79%; ✝ 8.5%; ☸ 8.5%; ⚙ 4%**Economy:** energy



## preview

1. What do you know about ASEAN?
2. What do you think you know?
3. What do you want to know?

### The ASEAN Declaration

The ASEAN Declaration has five main articles. They are:

1. **Name:** It will be called the *Association of Southeast Asian Nations*.
2. **Aims:** Such as: *to promote peace and stability in the region and cooperation*.
3. **Structure:** How it works.
4. **Membership:** Open to all Southeast Asian countries.
5. **Principle:** ASEAN *represents the will of Southeast Asian people to live together in friendship*.



## 2.2 What Is ASEAN?

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was created on August 8, 1967, in Bangkok, Thailand. Leaders from five Southeast Asian countries – Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines – formed a new regional organisation. They wrote the aims and purposes for this organisation in a short document called the ASEAN Declaration. This was the beginning of ASEAN. The main aims in the declaration were **economic growth**, social and cultural development, and peace and **stability** between countries in Southeast Asia.

The declaration established ASEAN as a regional organisation. Other examples of regional organisations include the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), and the Organisation of American States (OAS). Countries in a regional organisation try to cooperate on issues that affect all members. For example, economic, political, social or environmental problems.

For many years, there were only five members in ASEAN – Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In 1984, Brunei joined, followed by Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and finally Cambodia in 1999. Today ASEAN has ten members and two **prospective** members, Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea.



1. Which five countries did not join ASEAN in 1967?
2. What is the purpose of regional organisations?
3. What other regions have organisations like ASEAN?

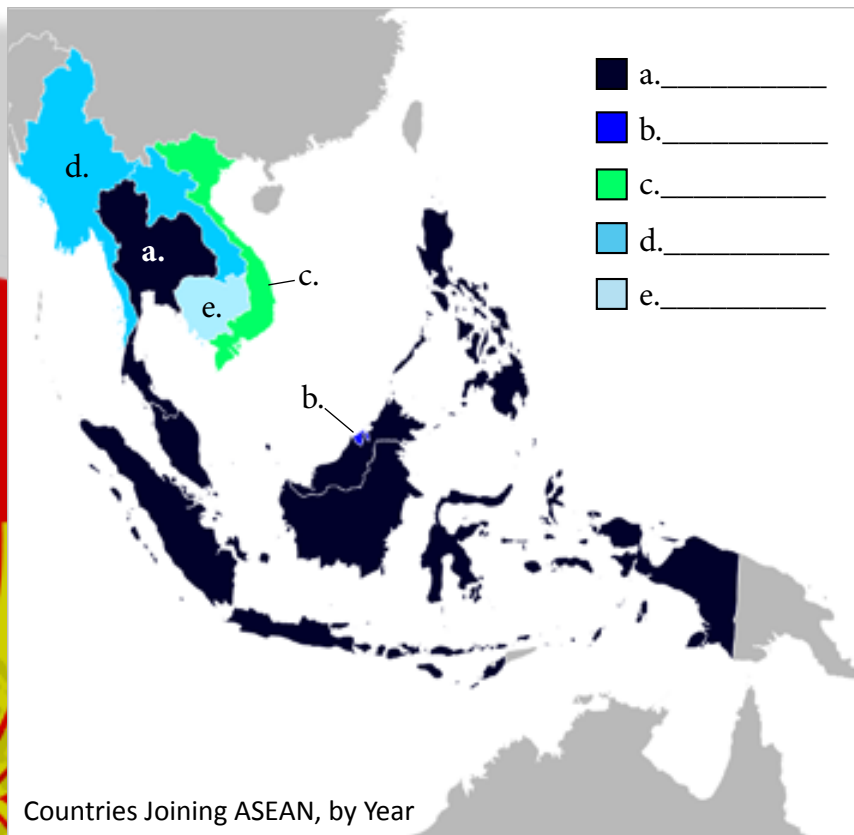
### exercise

### exercise

1. Complete the map with the years that different countries joined ASEAN.
2. Identify the two prospective members, and circle and label them on the map.

### discussion

1. Why were peace and stability included in the ASEAN Declaration?
2. What are possible reasons for why some Southeast Asian countries were not included in ASEAN in 1967?
3. Do you think ASEAN is important in your everyday life? Why?
4. How will ASEAN affect you in the future?



## preview

1. What is a charter?
2. What is the purpose of a charter?

## 2.2.1 The ASEAN Charter

The ASEAN Charter was written in 2008. Southeast Asia and ASEAN both changed a lot between the 1960s and the 2000s. By 2008, Southeast Asia was more stable than in the past. Also by 2008, ASEAN had ten member countries. The Charter gave ASEAN a formal structure and set out a plan for the ASEAN community.

The Charter describes the Purposes and Principles of ASEAN. The Purposes are the things that ASEAN will do, and the Principles are the things that ASEAN believes in. The Charter includes processes for resolving **disputes** and making decisions.

## exercise

1. What are the differences between the ASEAN Declaration and the ASEAN Charter?
2. Why was the ASEAN Charter written?
3. What is the difference between Purposes and Principles?

## exercise

1. Read the list of Purposes and decide which ones belong to the ASEAN charter.
2. If you think that some do not belong, say why.

### ARTICLE 1 PURPOSES

The Purposes of ASEAN are:

- a. To maintain peace and security in the region.
- b. To follow Buddha and his teachings.
- c. To keep Southeast Asia a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.
- d. To control every ASEAN economy by using the army.
- e. To create a free-market economy in the ASEAN region.
- f. To reduce poverty and the development gap within ASEAN through cooperation.
- g. To respond to threats, transnational crimes and cross-border problems.
- h. To promote the economic interests of China.
- i. To promote sustainable development and protect the environment and resources of the region.
- j. To develop human resources in ASEAN through education, science and technology.
- k. To collect information to help the President make foreign policy decisions about Southeast Asia.
- l. To work together to build a drug-free environment for the people of ASEAN.
- m. To maintain worldwide peace and security.

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- k. To collect information to help the President make foreign policy decisions about Southeast Asia.
- l. To work together to build a drug-free environment for the people of ASEAN.
- m. To maintain worldwide peace and security.

(simplified text)



## ARTICLE 2 PRINCIPLES

ASEAN and its member States shall act in accordance with the following Principles:

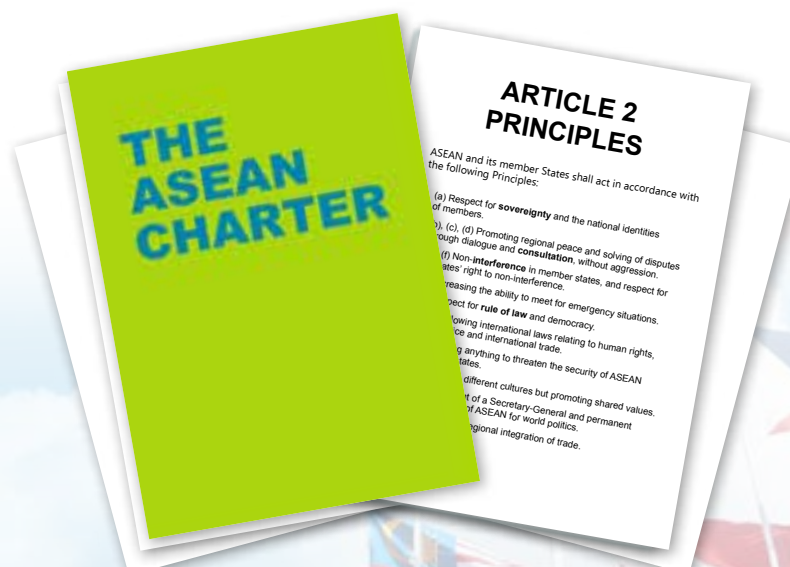
- (a) Respect for **sovereignty** and the national identities of members.
- (b), (c), (d) Promoting regional peace and solving of disputes through dialogue and **consultation**, without aggression.
- (e), (f) Non-**interference** in member states, and respect for all states' right to non-interference.
- (g) Increasing the ability to meet for emergency situations.
- (h) Respect for **rule of law** and democracy.
- (i), (j) Following international laws relating to human rights, social justice and international trade.
- (k) Not doing anything to threaten the security of ASEAN or member states.
- (l) Respecting different cultures but promoting shared values.
- (m) Appointment of a Secretary-General and permanent representatives of ASEAN for world politics.
- (n) Encouraging regional integration of trade.

### activity

In groups, read these principles from the ASEAN Charter.

1. Choose the three most important principles and rank them in order of importance to you.
2. Join with another group and explain why they are the most important principles. Listen to their reasons.

(simplified text)



1. Is it important to have a charter for an organisation like ASEAN? Why or why not?
2. How should ASEAN and other organisations decide what their Purposes and Principles are?

### discussion



### preview

What do you think happens at the ASEAN Summit?

### exercise

Are these statements true or false? If false, say why.

1. Only ASEAN leaders attend the ASEAN Summit.
2. The Chair is where the most important leader sits.
3. The Chair is not allowed to discuss issues that affect their country.

### discussion

1. The US *Council on Foreign Relations* has suggested that the more powerful countries in ASEAN should permanently control the chair. Would this be good or bad? Why?
2. Could there be another, better, system for chairing ASEAN? How?

## 2.3 ASEAN Meetings

### A. The ASEAN Summit

The ASEAN Summit meeting happens twice each year. All ASEAN leaders and ASEAN foreign ministers attend. The summit is where ASEAN leaders discuss economic, political and social issues and try to make important decisions. Leaders of countries outside ASEAN – for example the President of the USA – can also join the Summit.

No news media or other observers are allowed to listen to what the ASEAN leaders talk about. There is a statement at the end of the meeting. It explains the decisions and agreements.

### B. The Chair

A *Chair* is usually a person (or people) who arranges and oversees meetings. In ASEAN, the Chair is a country. It is responsible for hosting and organising the ASEAN Summit. The Chair in ASEAN changes every year, in alphabetical order. For example, Laos chaired in 2004, and Malaysia in 2005.

Only the most important and urgent issues are discussed at the ASEAN Summit. The Chair must organise meetings and develop the agenda. Because of this, the Chair can focus on important issues for their country. In 2015, when Malaysia was chair, Malaysia's Foreign Minister said that their priorities included the ASEAN Community, trade, peace and security.



### C. The ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asia Summit

Two other important meetings that happen each year involving ASEAN are the *ASEAN Regional Forum* and the *East Asia Summit*. They take place around the same time and location as the ASEAN Summit. They have similar aims to the ASEAN Summit; they are an opportunity for leaders to meet, discuss and make decisions on important issues.

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is a meeting between ASEAN and other countries in the Asia and Pacific region. The ARF discusses peace and security issues. The ARF includes all ASEAN member countries, plus others, including: Australia, China, Bangladesh, East Timor, Canada, India, North Korea, South Korea, Russia, and the USA.

The East Asian Summit (EAS) is a meeting between leaders of ASEAN and East Asian countries such as China, Japan, and South Korea. It now also includes India, Australia, Russia and the USA.

Work in groups.

1. If your country was the Chair of ASEAN for one year, and you had two summits, what two national issues would be most important? Why?
2. What two regional issues would be most important to all ASEAN countries? Why?
3. Work with another group. What two national and two regional issues do they think are important? Are they the same as yours? Debate your issues.
4. As a class, decide what the top national and regional issues would be at your Summits.

### exercise

1. Why are the ARF and EAS held around the same time?
2. Which meeting includes Bangladesh and East Timor?
3. Which meeting has more member countries: The East Asia Summit or the ASEAN Regional Forum?

### activity



### preview

1. What do you think the rules are for a country joining ASEAN?
2. What do you think the steps are for joining ASEAN?

## 2.4 Joining ASEAN

The ASEAN Charter has rules about becoming a member country of ASEAN. If new countries want to join ASEAN they have to go through an application process. After that, all ASEAN members have to agree to let the new country join. A country must meet the **criteria** in the ASEAN Charter. If they meet those criteria, the country and ASEAN then take more steps before the country can be a member.

### activity

1. Choose an organisation:
  - a. A mothers' group
  - b. *The Democratic National Party*
  - c. A Student Union
  - d. *The World Retired Leaders' Club*

Decide what criteria someone must meet to join this organisation.

2. Decide what steps they (and the organisation) should take to join this organisation.

#### Example: Criteria and Steps to Join a Rock Band

Criteria	Steps
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Must play an instrument or sing</li> <li>• Must play music in public or private</li> <li>• Must be able to play three songs with other band members</li> <li>• Must not be in other bands at the same time</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Meet the other members of the band</li> <li>2. Show them you can play an instrument or sing</li> <li>3. Practice songs together</li> <li>4. Other members decide whether they want to accept the new member</li> </ol>
Criteria and Steps to Join...	
Criteria	Steps

### exercise

Complete the steps for new members to join ASEAN, in the correct order.

1. *A prospective member meets the criteria in the Charter and the Declaration.*
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

### A. The Process of Joining ASEAN

A prospective member must become an 'observer state' before becoming a member of ASEAN. Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea have observer status. They can observe at ASEAN meetings but they cannot participate in decision-making. Bangladesh and Fiji are potential candidates for observer status. Countries can get observer status if they meet the criteria in the Charter:

- a. location in Southeast Asia;
- b. recognition by all ASEAN Member States;
- c. embassies in all ASEAN Member States;
- d. agreement to follow the ASEAN Charter;
- e. ability and willingness to carry out the obligations of membership.

New member countries also need to be able to participate in ASEAN, including free trade agreements (see 3.4.2 for more information) that ASEAN has with other countries. The ASEAN members decide by **consensus** to accept or not accept a new member. This decision is made at the ASEAN Summit.



## FOCUS ON ... TIMOR LESTE

### PROSPECTIVE ASEAN MEMBER

Timor Leste is a small country in maritime Southeast Asia. It has a small population of approximately 1.7 million. Its economy is based on agriculture and natural resources such as coffee beans, timber and oil.

Timor Leste got independence from Indonesia in 2002. It then became a member of the United Nations, and ASEAN recognised Timor Leste and accepted it as an Observer State. It applied for ASEAN Membership in 2011. Timor Leste has experienced periods of political instability and violence since its independence.

Some ASEAN members, such as Indonesia and the Philippines, supported Timor Leste's application. Others, such as Singapore and Laos, did not. They were worried about Timor Leste's small economy. ASEAN agreed to let Timor Leste join in the future. To become a full member, Timor Leste must be able to host large meetings with thousands of attendees. It also needs to make changes to its economy before it can **integrate** with other ASEAN economies.

In 2014, Myanmar's ASEAN Affairs Department Deputy Director, U Aung Htoo, said Timor would be unable to join that year. He said its **infrastructure** was still underdeveloped and it did not have embassies in every ASEAN country.



■ A traditional Timorese wooden house

1. Which criteria for joining ASEAN does Timor Leste meet, and which does it not meet, according to the text?
2. How far through the joining process is Timor Leste?
3. What other issues are stopping Timor Leste from joining ASEAN?

### exercise

1. Why do you think the ASEAN Declaration has no joining criteria about what kinds of political systems members can have?
2. Should there be criteria for government, political or economic systems when a country joins ASEAN? Why?
3. Suggest some other possible joining criteria. Why are they important?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of allowing new members?

### discussion





### preview

What should ASEAN do to help the countries of Southeast Asia?

### Foreign Investment

Foreign investment is when a company in one country puts money into (invests) factories, construction, or businesses in another country. Often resources are cheaper, people work for lower wages and the company pays less tax in the country it invests in. The country gains money, development and more jobs for its people from the foreign investment.

## 2.5 The ASEAN Community

Integration is one of the main goals of ASEAN. Integration means ASEAN countries bringing their economies, governments and societies closer together. At the 2003 Summit, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish the 'ASEAN Community' by 2015. They chose this date because they knew integration would be a difficult task.

The European Union (EU) is an example of integration in Europe. EU countries allow goods, services and people from other EU countries to move freely across their national borders. Most EU countries also share a common currency called the *euro*.

Member states of ASEAN are now trying to **integrate** their countries through ASEAN's three communities (also called 'pillars'):

- the ASEAN Political-Security Community;
- the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community;
- the ASEAN Economic Community.







■ **From left:** ASEAN flags in Jakarta, Indonesia; Malaysian people in Sabah wearing traditional costumes; workers in a rice field, Thailand.

### Political-Security Community

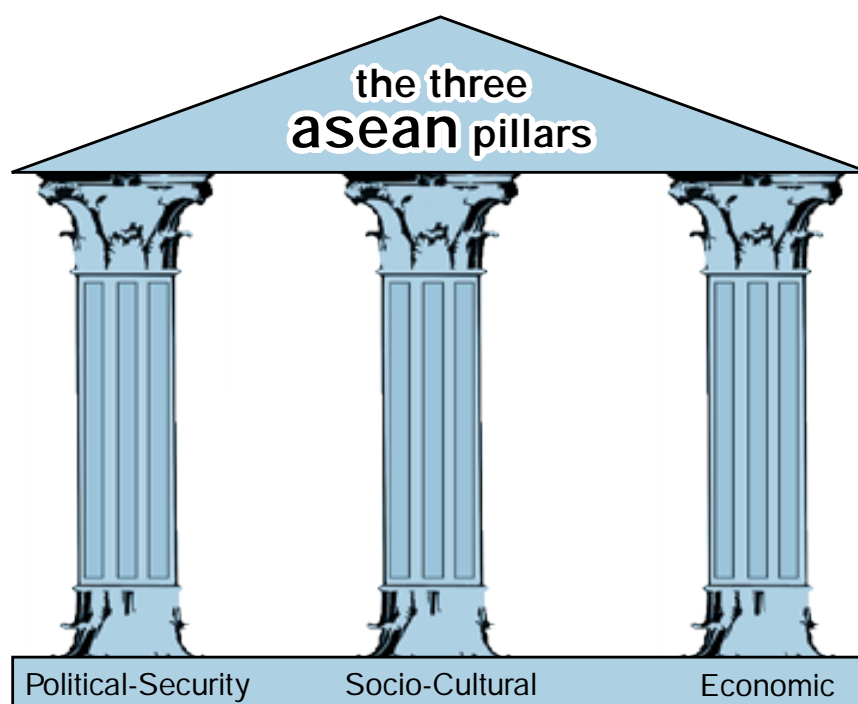
The Political-Security Community discuss peace and security issues between ASEAN countries, and between ASEAN and other countries. They also discuss non-traditional security issues such as natural disasters, terrorism and climate change.

### Socio-Cultural Community

The Socio-Cultural Community promotes tolerance, understanding and unity in **diversity** between different ASEAN peoples and countries. It focuses on people-centred issues such as health, education, the environment, gender equality and human rights.

### Economic Community

The Economic Community focuses on trade and *foreign investment* between ASEAN countries and other countries. It also focuses on the integration of the ASEAN members' economies.



### exercise

Below is a list of important topics for the different communities. Match them with the correct pillar.

trade agreements • crime • human rights • environment • foreign investment • **poverty** • security • food • tax on **imports** • drugs • women's rights • terrorism • HIV • pollution • religious issues • border conflicts • natural disasters

### preview

1. What are the biggest security problems for your country?
2. What are the biggest security problems for ASEAN?

## 2.5.1 The Political-Security Community

ASEAN cooperates on political and security issues for two reasons. Firstly, it helps to avoid conflict between ASEAN countries. Secondly, the Political-Security Community helps ASEAN to face threats from outside. By working together, ASEAN countries can discourage threats from larger countries.

The Political-Security Community also helps ASEAN countries to work together on problems that affect all members. These problems include people-trafficking, terrorism, drug smuggling, organised crime and climate change.



### FOCUS ON ... THAILAND AND CAMBODIA THE PREAH VIHEAR TEMPLE DISPUTE

Thailand and Cambodia disagree about who owns the land around the 11<sup>th</sup> century Preah Vihear temple. It is on the border between the two countries. The dispute has been going on for over 100 years.

Tensions grew between 2008 and 2011 but ASEAN did not intervene. In early 2011, fighting started between the Thai and Cambodian armies. The United Nations Security Council referred the conflict to ASEAN.

Indonesia was the chair of ASEAN in 2011. It offered to send observers to monitor a ceasefire between the two sides. At first, Thailand and Cambodia agreed to the plan. However, later the Thai army rejected the plan. They said it interfered with Thailand's sovereignty. In 2011, Cambodia referred the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which is a part of the United Nations. In 2013, the ICJ judged that Preah Vihear was within the territory of Cambodia. It ordered that Thai soldiers leave the area. There is still disagreement between the two countries.

### exercise

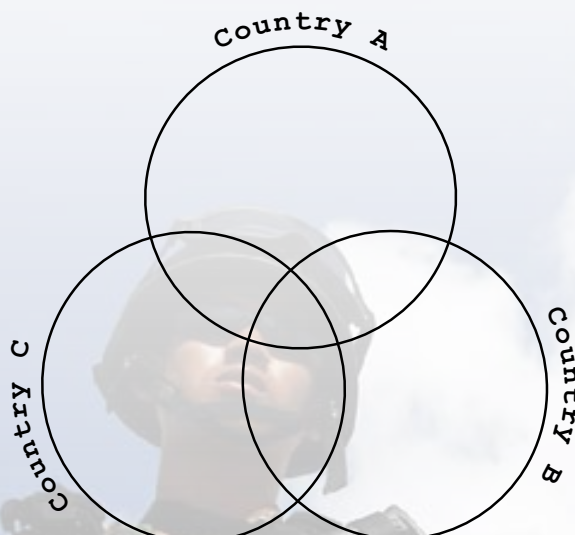
1. What was ASEAN's role in the dispute?
2. Why was ASEAN not more involved in the solution?
3. Who did Cambodia ask to help resolve the dispute?

### discussion

What does the Thai-Cambodian example tell us about relationships between ASEAN members?

### activity

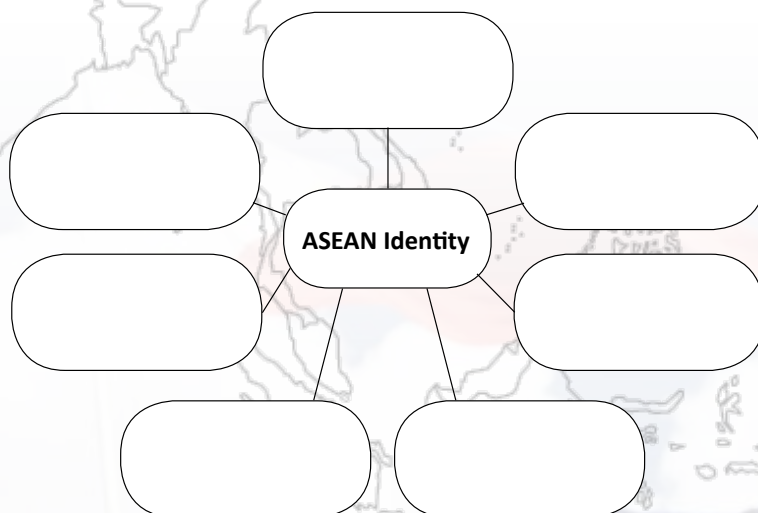
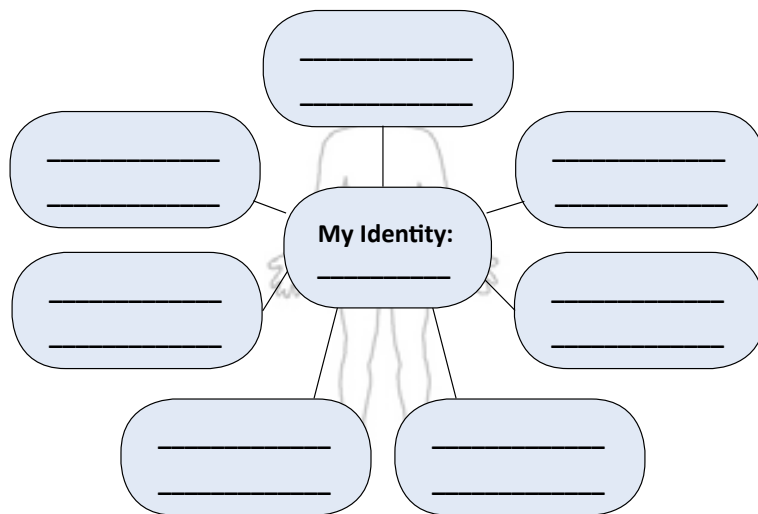
1. Make a Venn diagram using three ASEAN countries. What do the countries share?
2. Do these shared features make security easier or more difficult? why?
3. What would happen if you added more countries? What does this tell you about building regional relationships?



## 2.5.2 The Socio-Cultural Community

### A. The ASEAN Identity

There is a lot of ethnic and religious diversity across the countries of ASEAN. One of the goals of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community is to promote a common ASEAN identity. The motto of ASEAN is 'One Vision, One Identity, One Community'.



### preview

What kinds of identity do people have?

### Identity

Our identity is who we believe we are. Our identity can be made up of many parts, such as our role in our family, our beliefs or ethnicity. Other things also make up our identity, for example, our job, our interests (music or chess, for example), and the things we like (such as rock or rap music).

### activity

1. Individually, complete the 'my identity' diagram. Add extra boxes if necessary.
2. In groups, compare your diagrams. Did you include the same things or different ones?

### activity

1. In groups, decide what the 'ASEAN identity' should be. Think about: race, ethnicity, culture, religion, history, traditions, political systems, etc.
2. As a class, discuss:
  - a. Was it easy to think of an identity for all of ASEAN?
  - b. What does that tell you about the 'ASEAN identity'?



## B. Human Rights and Other Issues

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community also deals with education, health, the environment, gender equality, and human rights. These are important issues for people living in ASEAN countries.

Human rights are the idea that every human in every country has basic rights, and governments cannot take those rights away. Human rights apply to every person (of every gender, race, religion, ethnicity, and political belief). Human rights include the right to be free from slavery or torture, and the right to basic education.

The United Nations recognised human rights in 1948, in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (see page 80). Governments in ASEAN countries have sometimes not recognised people's human rights. For example, people have been put in prison for saying things against their governments.

In 2009 ASEAN created its *Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights*. Representatives from each country in ASEAN are on the human rights commission for three years. The governments of each country on the Commission choose their representatives. In 2012, the Commission released the *ASEAN Human Rights Declaration*. However, the commission has been criticised for not doing much about human rights **violations** in ASEAN countries.

## C. Human Rights vs 'Asian Values'

In the 1990s, some ASEAN leaders said that human rights were only important to European societies and not Asian ones. Instead, they talked about 'Asian values'.

Doctor Mahatir Mohamad (left) was prime minister of Malaysia from 1981 to 2003. Lee Kuan Yew was prime minister of Singapore from 1959 to 1990. They said that Western human rights focused on individual freedoms, but Asian values were about people working together. Asian values focused on community, family, social order and respect for leaders, they said.

They also said that some human rights were less important than economic security and stability. For example, in 2000, Dr Mahatir warned that too much democracy could lead to instability.

However, others disagreed. Devan Nair (the former president of Singapore) and Myanmar pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi stated that human rights are universal – they apply to everyone. They argued that the debate was not about values or rights, it was about political power.



### exercise

1. What are human rights?
2. Who has human rights?
3. Why has the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights been criticised?
4. What did Doctor Mahatir and Lee Kuan Yew, say was the difference between Western values and Asian values?

## The UN vs ASEAN's Understanding of Human Rights

According to the United Nations:

**“[It] is the duty of States to promote and protect all human rights and freedoms. It does not matter what political, economic and cultural systems they have.”**

(simplified text)

Source: Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Article 1.5

The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration says:

“Human rights and freedoms will be respected but they may be limited to meet the requirements of national security, public order, public health, public safety, public morality, and the general welfare of the peoples in a democratic society.”

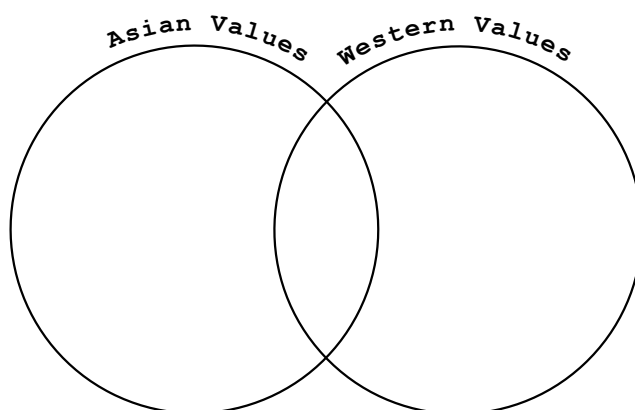
Source: <http://www.asean.org/news/asean-statement-communicues/item/asean-human-rights-declaration> (Article 8)

(simplified text)

### activity

How could the following be justified by the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration?

- arrest of protestors  
*Public order, safety and health because protests might disrupt the public, create insecurity, or cause damage to buildings*
- banning political books
- banning meetings
- denying visas to foreigners
- penalties for women who wear modern clothes
- destroying slums in urban areas
- laws that outlaw writing school books in minority languages



### activity

- Place the statements into the Venn diagram.
- Compare your diagram with another group's.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. Respect for leaders is most important.                       | h. My country needs a democratic government.                              |
| b. I can choose who I want to marry.                            | i. I want people to respect me so I can stay in power.                    |
| c. Everyone in my community should choose the leader together.  | j. Children are the most important thing in my society                    |
| d. I can criticise the government in public.                    | k. People must be strongly punished for breaking laws.                    |
| e. I have been leader for thirty years so I know what is right. | l. Adults (over 18 years old) should be able to make their own decisions. |
| f. If change is too quick, the country will be unstable.        |   |
| g. My country needs a strong economy.                           |   |

- What could national leaders gain by claiming to promote Asian values?
- Do you agree that there are “Asian values” or “Western Values”?
- Which is more important: Asian values or human rights? Why?

### discussion



### preview

What do you know about the economy of your country? Is it growing or shrinking?

## 2.5.3 The Economic Community

The economies of ASEAN are all very different. Some are based on tourism and agriculture and some are based on oil, gas and minerals. Others are based on **manufacturing** of clothes or electronics. The five original members of ASEAN have much bigger economies than the newer members.

The economies of ASEAN nations are all growing, but some are growing faster than others. The gross domestic product (GDP) of Vietnam, for example, grew by 6.8% between 2014 and 2015. In the same time, Singapore's GDP increased by only 1.9%.

One of the main aims of economic integration in ASEAN is **sustainable** economic growth. ASEAN believes that this economic growth will benefit all countries and increase stability in the region.

#### The Nation of Smallistan

Value of goods – \$10 billion (bn)  
Value of imports – \$5 bn  
Population – 1 million (mn)

##### A. Calculating GDP

\$10 bn – \$5 bn  
GDP = \$5 bn

##### B. Calculating Per Capita GDP

\$5 bn (GDP) / 1 mn (pop.)  
per capita GDP = \$5,000

### Gross Domestic Product

There are different ways to measure a country's wealth and productivity. One way is to look at its gross domestic product (GDP). GDP is the total value of goods and services produced in a country, minus the value of imports. (see example A, left).

GDP is usually compared to GDP in previous years. This can show whether an economy is growing or shrinking.

GDP shows you the size of an economy, but it does not give any information about the wealth of the people. One way to find out about the average wealth of a person in a country is to divide the GDP by the number of people (total population) living in the country. This gives us the *per capita GDP* (per person) (see example B, left).



## A. Integrating ASEAN Economies

Economic integration is a very important issue for ASEAN. Southeast Asia is between India and China. This is good because India and China are large countries with growing economies. ASEAN businesses can trade with both of them.

However, India and China are both powerful countries. On their own, Southeast Asian nations may not be able to compete or negotiate with India or China. If ASEAN nations work together as one, they have more power to negotiate. They can make trade agreements that are better for all countries in ASEAN.

The other reason for integration is globalisation. Other countries in the world have begun to integrate their economies. There is now a lot of competition from other regions. ASEAN countries also need to be able to compete and bring in businesses and investment from outside. New businesses and investment can help ASEAN countries' economies grow and provide more jobs.

### Globalisation

Globalisation is a process of international integration. The process began in the colonial era. Because of the industrial revolution, European nations could **mass-produce** goods. Often the resources came from colonised countries. Global trade changed the economies of countries and they specialised in manufacturing goods, or in **exporting** resources like rubber, timber or oil used to manufacture goods.

Today, people in poorer countries often work for lower wages. Businesses open factories in those places because it is cheaper. Global production networks use resources, factories and workers from many different countries. For example, minerals are mined in several countries, then made into computer parts in other countries. Those parts are then sent to another country where they are assembled into computers. The computers are then sent to another country, where they are sold.



Are these statements true or false? If false, say why.

1. All ASEAN countries have very small economies.
2. GDP tells us about the size of an economy by adding up all of the goods in a country and dividing it by two.
3. Economic integration is important for ASEAN because it needs to compete with China and India.

exercise

## activity

### Understanding the Data

1. What can you say about ASEAN nations' economies from the data in columns 2 and 3?
2. Calculate the GDP of ASEAN in 2014.
3. Calculate the per capita GDP for 2014 for the nations in the table.
4. Calculate the per capita GDP of ASEAN in 2014.
5. When combined, what can you say about the ASEAN economy compared to India and to China?

Est. GDP of ASEAN, China, India, 2010 – 2014, Plus Per Capita GDP, 2014				
1. Country	2. GDP 2010, billion USD	3. GDP 2014, billion USD	4. Population 2014, millions	5. Per Capita GDP 2014, USD
Brunei	12	17	0.4	
Cambodia	11	16.5	15.3	
Indonesia	755	888	254	
Laos	7	12	6.5	
Malaysia	255	338	30	
Myanmar	41 (estimate)	64.5	53.5	
Philippines	200	285	100	2,850
Singapore	236	308	5.5	
Thailand	341	405	67.5	
Vietnam	116	186	91	
ASEAN	1,974 (est.)		623.7	
China	6,039	8,237	1,395	5,904
India	1,708	2,198	1,344	1,635

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/>

## activity

### Globalisation in Your Daily Life

1. Look at the picture. Make a list of all the things you see that have a global connection. These are things that might be made in another country, things invented in or traditional to another country. E.g.: *Chopsticks: Traditionally Chinese, made in China.*
2. How has globalisation influenced you so far today? Make a list of the goods and services you have seen or used with a global connection.







■ A Cambodian woman decorating a laquerware pot in a factory.

### Further Research – Globalisation in Southeast Asia

1. Choose one of these questions to research.
  - a. What is the impact of globalisation on women in Southeast Asia?
  - b. Is there a connection between globalisation and poverty in Southeast Asia?
  - c. Do some people in Southeast Asia dislike globalisation? Why?
  - d. How does globalisation affect smaller ethnic or indigenous communities in Southeast Asia?
2. Get information from the internet, media or books. You can also talk to people with knowledge and/or ideas on the topic.
3. Present your findings to the class.

### activity

1. Is per capita GDP a good way to measure the living conditions of people in a country?
2. Is globalisation good or bad for your country?
3. Which ASEAN community do you think is the most important – Political-Security, Socio-Cultural or Economic?

### discussion



## preview

1. What do you know about the ASEAN Secretariat?
2. Who is the current ASEAN Secretary-General?



## 2.6 The Secretariat

### A. What is the Secretariat?

The ASEAN Secretariat is the administrative centre of ASEAN. It coordinates the work of the Political-Security, Socio-Cultural and Economic Communities. The Secretariat also organises ASEAN meetings and checks that ASEAN policies are being carried out by member countries. For example, the ASEAN Secretariat has an office to monitor ASEAN economic integration. The ASEAN Secretariat is based in Jakarta, Indonesia. Approximately 300 staff from the countries of ASEAN work at the Secretariat.

### B. The ASEAN Secretary-General

The Secretary-General of ASEAN is chosen at the ASEAN Summit for a term of five years. The Secretary-General is chosen by the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries. They also choose four Deputy Secretary-Generals. They must come from different countries to the Secretary General, and from countries different to each other. Usually, the ASEAN Secretary-General has experience working in government foreign affairs. For example, the ASEAN Secretary-General for 2013 – 2017, His Excellency Le Luong Minh (left), was Vietnam's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.

#### The Secretary-General of ASEAN

The Secretary General:

- organises the ASEAN Summit and Foreign Ministers' meetings;
- **implements** the policies decided by ASEAN foreign ministers at ASEAN meetings and summits;
- helps the ASEAN Community Councils to implement projects;
- participates in all ASEAN meetings;
- acts in the interests of ASEAN and does not favour their own country.

#### Foreign Ministers of ASEAN Countries

The foreign ministers:

- maintain relations with other countries and international organisations;
- represent the interests of their country and citizens;
- negotiate with other foreign ministers on policies for trade, aid, diplomatic relations and international agreements.

## exercise

1. What important parts of ASEAN is the Secretariat in charge of?
2. How is the ASEAN Secretary General selected?
3. What are the criteria for selecting Secretary Generals and Deputy Secretary Generals?

## activity

### Designing a Secretary-General

1. What qualities should an ASEAN Secretary-General have? In pairs, list the most important qualities. (e.g. *fair, honest...*)
2. Join with another pair. Agree on the five most important qualities.
3. Present your list to the class.

- a. negotiate a trade agreement for your country with a country in Europe
- b. listen to a complaint from neighbouring countries about your country and negotiate a fair deal for everyone
- c. oversee the ASEAN Economic Community plans for integration
- d. meet the foreign minister of a neighbouring country to agree on a border between your two countries
- e. organise the ASEAN Summit meeting
- f. participate in choosing the Secretary General of ASEAN
- g. sign an international treaty on behalf of your country

- i. "We are 50% through implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community."
- ii. "Our farmers will suffer if we **import** too much rice from Vietnam."
- iii. "It's important that we hold the Summit somewhere close to the airport."
- iv. "This is not a good deal for our region. Laos will not benefit."
- v. "At the summit, I will explain why we need a new airport near our capital city."

## exercise

1. Match the tasks (a – g) with the job of either the ASEAN Secretary-General or a Foreign Minister of an ASEAN member country.
2. Who would make these statements (i – iv), an ASEAN Secretary-General or a foreign minister?

**Annual Budgets of Regional Organisations**

Organisation	Budget
a. African Union (AU)	\$416 million
b. Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)	\$15.7 million
c. European Union (EU)	\$155 billion
d. Organisation of American States (OAS)	\$84.3 million

Sources: [http://www.oas.org/en/media\\_center/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=E-470/14](http://www.oas.org/en/media_center/press_release.asp?sCodigo=E-470/14),  
[http://ec.europa.eu/budget/annual/index\\_en.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/budget/annual/index_en.cfm),  
<https://www.issafrica.org/pscreport/addis-insights/transforming-the-au-a-momentous-task>,  
<http://thediplomat.com/2014/09/why-the-asean-economic-community-will-struggle/>

## exercise

1. Put the four organisations in order by their budgets from largest to smallest.
2. Which organisation has the largest budget?
3. Which organisation has the smallest?
4. The ten countries in ASEAN contribute an equal amount to the budget of the Secretariat. How much is this contribution for each country?

1. What are possible reasons for ASEAN having the smallest budget of the four regional organisations?
2. Should the countries of ASEAN give more money to the ASEAN Secretariat?
3. What are the advantages of making the Secretariat stronger?
4. What are the disadvantages of making it stronger?

## discussion

### preview

1. How are important decisions made in your country?
2. How are they made in ASEAN?

## 2.7 Decision-making

Three important principles in the ASEAN Charter are:

- **non-interference**;
- using consultation to solve problems;
- making decisions by consensus.

These principles and practices together are sometimes called the 'ASEAN way'.

### 2.7.1 Non-interference

Non-interference means that countries should not try to influence or publicly comment on problems inside neighbouring countries. The reasons for non-interference in ASEAN are mostly historical. ASEAN was created after the end of colonialism and during the Cold War. It was a time of conflicts in Southeast Asia and countries were worried about their sovereignty. Non-interference meant ASEAN could not become involved in problems in member countries.

However, because of non-interference, ASEAN often cannot deal with important issues. For example, ASEAN can only become involved in issues in an ASEAN country if that country invites ASEAN to do so.

#### A. The Future of Non-interference

In 2015, the prime minister of Malaysia questioned the value of non-interference. During 2015, smoke and haze clouds from large fires in Indonesia reached Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (see 3.7 for more information). ASEAN countries had made an agreement to reduce the haze clouds. However, ASEAN could not do anything about the fires in Indonesia.

The principle of non-interference may become less important in ASEAN in the future. There are three main reasons for this:

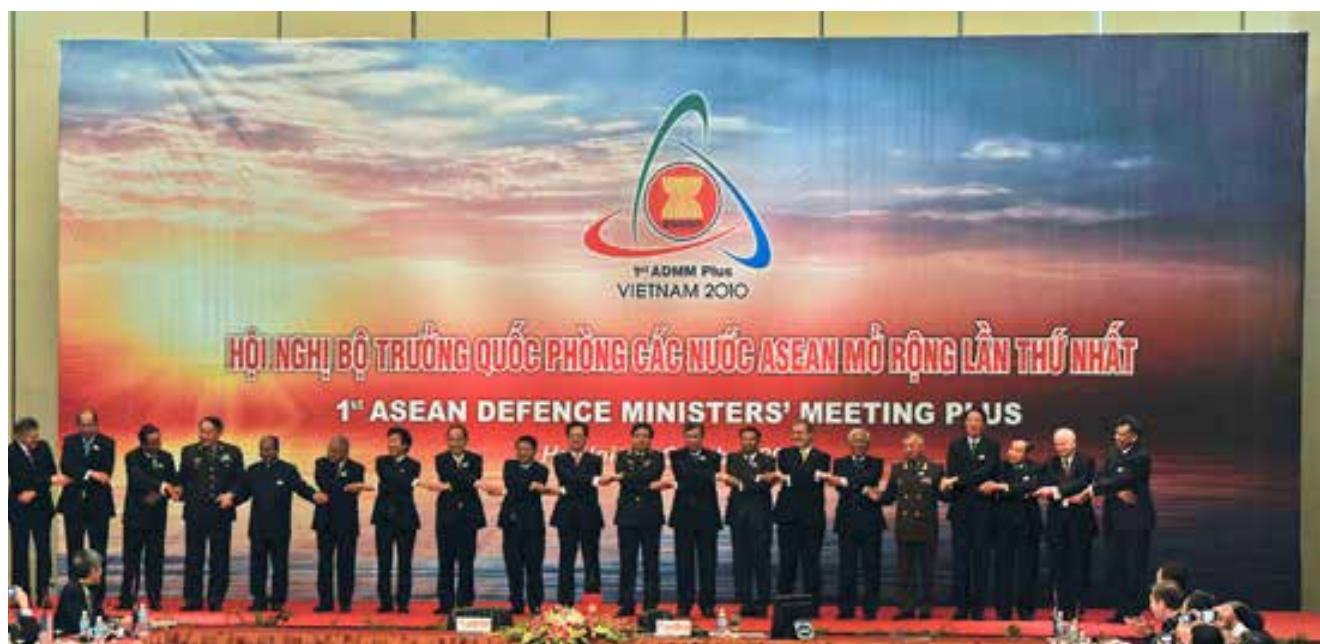
1. **GLOBALISATION** means that countries are more connected and integrated by trade and communication.
2. **DEMOCRATISATION** means that most governments want to be seen to be supporting democracy, even if they are not completely democratic themselves.
3. If **HUMAN RIGHTS** are seriously violated inside a country, it brings a lot of international criticism.

### exercise

Are the statements true or false? If false, say why.

1. Non-interference means not discussing politics with other countries in the region.
2. ASEAN wanted to avoid being involved in conflicts inside member countries.
3. Only ASEAN is allowed to interfere in the politics of countries in Southeast Asia.





### activity

Globalisation	Democratisation	Human Rights

According to the text, non-interference may become less important because of globalisation, democratisation and human rights.

1. Put the examples below in the correct place in the table.
2. Think of more examples and put them in the table.

- a. People are tortured in an ASEAN country. Citizens in other ASEAN countries are angry and make public statements condemning that country. This forces their leaders to also condemn them.
- b. There is civil war, conflict and instability in an ASEAN country. Because of this, foreign investors do not want to invest in the country. Instead they choose to invest in a neighbouring country. This forces the government to make a ceasefire. The armed groups form political parties and take part in elections.
- c. ASEAN makes an environmental agreement with neighbouring countries. They feel that ASEAN countries pollute too much, and will not invest money until ASEAN agrees. It benefits some ASEAN countries and forces others to behave a certain way. For example, to lower levels of air pollution.

1. Who would benefit most from a move away from non-interference?
2. Who would benefit least?
3. Should ASEAN keep the principle of non-interference? Why or why not?

### discussion



### preview

1. What is consultation?
2. What is consensus?

## 2.7.2 Consultation and Consensus

The decision-making process in ASEAN involves consultation and consensus. Consultation means asking for the opinions of those affected by an issue before reaching a decision. In ASEAN, consultation helps to avoid conflict between members.

Consensus means reaching a decision that everyone can agree to. In ASEAN, all countries need to agree before an action or decision is made. This is different to a majority voting system. In majority voting, if 51% or more of the votes support a decision or an action, then it can be taken.

### A. The Impacts of Consensus Decision-making

The difficulty with ASEAN's consensus decision-making is its speed. Because every member must agree, it can take months or years to make decisions. Sometimes a decision is never made or the final outcome is weakened. For example, if nine countries agree to reduce pollution by 50% but one country refuses. Because of this, the agreement may never happen. Alternatively, the tenth country may weaken the agreement. The final agreement may only be to reduce pollution by 20%.

However, consensus does give every member country an equal voice in decision-making. It also makes all members consider how a decision will affect the other members.

### exercise

1. What problems are there with consensus decision-making?
2. What benefits are there?
3. What other system could ASEAN use to make decisions?

1. A man is beating someone else. He believes that the person stole from him.
2. Two groups of neighbours are arguing over a piece of farmland. The government also wants the farmland.
3. A man beats his wife when he is drunk.
4. A powerful ASEAN country wants to change its border with a smaller ASEAN country. The new border will give the powerful country more land.
5. ASEAN knows about human rights abuses in a member state. The member state says that it will solve the problem itself. It threatens to leave ASEAN if ASEAN intervenes.

### activity

Look at the situations. How might they be made better or worse by:

- a. non-interference
- b. consultation and consensus

Should ASEAN change its decision-making process from consultation and consensus to majority voting? Why or why not?

### discussion

### End of Chapter Activity – Mind-map

In groups, make a mind-map about ASEAN.

- Include all areas of ASEAN covered in this chapter.
- Organise information logically and visually (different colours, use of images, links, etc).
- Research additional information if necessary.

Present your mind-map to the class.

### activity

