



## **Questioning ASEAN Centrality in East Asian Regionalism: The Case of ASEAN Connectivity**

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## List of Acronyms

ABC	ASEAN Broadband Corridor
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AFC	Asian Financial Crisis
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AHN	ASEAN Highway Network
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund
AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APG	ASEAN Power Grid
APSC	ASEAN Political-Security Community
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEM	ASEAN Europe Meeting
AVLRC	ASEAN Virtual Learning Resource Centres
CLMV	Cambodia Lao PDR Myanmar Vietnam
CMIM	Chiang Mai Initiative for Multilateralization
DOC	Document of Conduct
EAC	East Asian Community
EAS	East Asia Summit
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
HAPUA	Heads of ASEAN Power Utilities Authorities
HVDC	High Voltage Direct Current
IAI	Initiative for ASEAN Integration
ICBC	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
kV	kiloVolt
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
MITI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
MPAC	Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
MRAs	Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NSWs	National Single Windows

PPP	Public Private Partnership
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
RoRo	Roll-on-Roll-off
SEANFWZ	South East Asian Nuclear-Free Weapon Zone
SKRL	Singapore-Kun Ming Rail Links
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TAGP	Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipelines
TTRs	Transit Transport Routes
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

## **Abstract**

Centrality is ASEAN purpose and principle since its establishment in 1967. Later on, centrality is mandated within the ASEAN Charter. This paper assesses ASEAN Connectivity contribution to ASEAN centrality that argues as one of the instrument to maintain ASEAN centrality. Two International Relations theories, namely Neorealism and Constructivism, and network analysis are used in this paper. The result of the analysis is the same, that is ASEAN centrality is in betweenness centrality with brokerage political advantage. The result could be different if ASEAN has a clear definition on centrality and ASEAN Connectivity is completed.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### ***1.1 Background***

Since the signing of Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 1976, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has expanded its cooperations and external relations in bilateral as well as multilateral forums. Currently, ASEAN is the driving force behind the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which is a forum for security matters consist of 27 participants including North Korea and four members of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that is United States, France, Russia, and China. In the economic domain, ASEAN has proven to have the capacity to lead the APT which comprises 10 ASEAN member states and its Northeast Asian neighbours, that is China, Japan and South Korea. Another addition to the mix is the East Asia Summit (EAS) which was established in 2005 and consist of ASEAN plus China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, India, Russia, and the United States. Moreover, ASEAN has completed bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Australia and New Zealand, China, India, Japan, and the South Korea.

It has become the principle and purpose for ASEAN in conducting relations with its external partners to be consistently emphasized its centrality as mentioned in the ASEAN Charter particularly Article 1 Paragraph 15 and Article 2 Paragraph 2 (m). These principle and purpose are also the goal of ASEAN as expressed within every outcome documents and statements from several ASEAN meetings. The implication is that whatever proposal on regional integration in East Asia or in Asia-Pacific, ASEAN is put on the central hub and that relationship should support ASEAN integration. Furthermore, ASEAN's centrality also means that in every relationship, rules and norms are set by ASEAN to be followed by external parties in every relationship and cooperation.

The need for ASEAN to be central existed since its establishment in 1967<sup>1</sup>, during the Cold War when two super powers, which are the US and Soviet Union, competed to expand each of their influence as well as ideology. ASEAN's establishment was based on the rejection of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, and non-interference in internal affairs of member states (Severino, 2008). The emergence of new powerful countries, such as China and India, lead to ASEAN's effort to give more strength on its centrality. ASEAN needs to be central because the Association does not want the Southeast Asian region to become a 'play ground' of these super powers that would resulted in a marginalized Southeast Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> ASEAN officially established with the signing of Bangkok Declaration by its five original member states which are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore.

One of the instrument to maintain ASEAN's centrality is to have a well-connected region not only in terms transportation but also the people. Geographically, ASEAN lies in the heart of an economic vibrant and growing region bounded by India in the West; China, Japan, and Korea in the Northeast; and Australia and New Zealand in the South (Puspanathan, 2010). In addition, Southeast Asia includes some of the world's most critical sea lanes, including the Straits of Malacca, through which passes a large percentage of the world's trade (Manyin, et.al, 2009). Demographically, ASEAN consists of no less than 32,000 islands spanning over 4 million square kilometers with 600 million people speak more than 900 different language and dialects on a daily basis (Lim and Narjoko, 2011). A well-connected ASEAN will contribute to a more competitive and resilient region given that it will bring people, goods, services and capital close together. Moreover, a well-connected ASEAN will increase the region's competitiveness with the rest of the world as well as the effectiveness of the web of ASEAN-centered FTA. In particular to the booming East Asian region, a well-connected ASEAN would lead to the maintenance of centrality in tougher global competition (ISEAS, 2011; Lim and Narjoko, op.cit; Puspanathan, 2011). In addition, a well-connected ASEAN beyond the region suggests a strong desire to link the people as well as the economy of the region closer through various means that eventually place ASEAN at the center of East Asia growth and development.

This was realised by the ASEAN leaders that later adopted the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) during the 17<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit in 2010. The MPAC serves as a strategic document as well as a plan of action for immediate implementation for the period of 2011-2015. The main aim is to connect ASEAN by enhancing three linkages. These three linkages are physical connectivity that is physical infrastructure development; institutional connectivity that encompasses effective institution, mechanism and process; and people-to-people connectivity which is the need to empowered people.

ASEAN Connectivity receives supports from ASEAN's external partners including ASEAN's Northeast Asia neighbours, which are China, Japan and South Korea. At the 13<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in 2010, China welcomed the adoption of the MPAC and pledged to support the completion two out of 15 ASEAN Connectivity prioritize projects. These two prioritize projects are Singapore-Kunming Rail Link (SKRL) and ASEAN Highway Network (AHN). Meanwhile, Japan also stated its support and readiness to contribute to the implementation of the MPAC particularly in conducting the study of Roll-on/Roll-off (RoRo) network and short-sea shipping at the 13<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in 2010. While South Korea pledged to play more active role to enhance a well-connected ASEAN, particularly in narrowing development gap. In addition, under the APT, these three countries continue to support ASEAN integration and connectivity not only to expedite ASEAN Community but to achieve the building of East Asian Community (EAC) in the longer term.

## 1.2 Research Problems

‘Centrality’ is one of ASEAN’s purposes and principles as mentioned in the Charter:

*“To maintain the centrality and proactive role of ASEAN as the primary driving force in its relations and cooperation with its external partners in a regional architecture that is open, transparent and inclusive.”* (ASEAN Charter, Article 1 Paragraph 15)

*“the centrality of ASEAN in external political, economic, social and cultural relations while remaining actively engaged, outward-looking, inclusive and non-discriminatory;”* (ASEAN Charter, Article 2 Paragraph 2(m)).

There are no official definitions on the term ‘centrality’ and a clear-cut approach on how to promote it. According to L. Jones (2010:99) the terminology itself is a replacement of the term ‘driver seat’ which can be found in several ARF as well as APT documents. The ‘driver seat’ implies that ASEAN is responsible for the ‘route’ and the ‘traffic rule’ whereas the partners take it as given despite the fact that these external partners have greater economic and political influence (Kanaev, 2010). This means that norms and values within the ASEAN Way which includes informality, inclusivity, consensus based and non-interference should be followed by ASEAN external partners. In the meantime, it is argued that ASEAN’s centrality is in fact a *de facto* since major powers, which are the US, China, and Japan, decided not to take the supremacy of their own instead giving it to weaker party which is ASEAN (Chirativat, 2004; L. Jones, 2010; and M. Kim, 2012).

ASEAN Leaders agreed that a well-connected ASEAN is necessary not only to expedite ASEAN Community but also to maintain its centrality. A well-connected ASEAN shall be achieved through Physical, Institutional, and People-to-People Connectivity (MPAC, 2010: i, 1, 2, 5, 8, 38). In addition, a full impact and maximum benefits from Connectivity will be resulted after integration surpasses the ASEAN borders and connects them to other countries within the greater East Asia region (Mochtan, 2011).

However, to materialize goals within the MPAC, ASEAN must faces the fact that the region, particularly some of its member states, is characterized by structural weaknesses, insufficient funding and heavy dependence on official development assistance, low foreign direct investment, and lack of environmental awareness (ISEAS, op.cit). In addition, most ASEAN member states are lack of ‘soft’ infrastructure namely information and communication technology, which are important fundamentals for the next stage of development. Another issue is that the fact that ASEAN Connectivity become the tool for China and Japan competition in developing countries (Khalid, 2011).

With regards to the term centrality in the field of international politics, it has been defined as how central or important actors or agents or nodes within a network (Ward et.al, 2011:250). In addition, Hafner-Burton (2009) elaborates three centrality position based on the network analysis which are degree centrality, betweenness centrality, and exit option. Each of these centrality has different implication in giving political advantages.

Challenges toward ASEAN Connectivity as one of the instrument of ASEAN centrality give impact on ASEAN centrality position. Aside from ASEAN Connectivity challenges, the Association must face the fact that there is a lack of cohesiveness among its member states. The latest evidence of this lack of internal cohesion showed at the 44<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia when for the first time in 45 years of its establishment, ASEAN failed to produce an outcome document. With its lack of internal cohesiveness, ASEAN decision-making process can be influenced by external parties. In other words, external parties will use ASEAN's lack of cohesiveness to pursue their interests and consequently can lead to ASEAN marginalization.

### ***1.3 Research Objectives***

ASEAN centrality is a purpose as well as principle for ASEAN in conducting relationship with external partners in which ASEAN sets norms and values of the cooperation. ASEAN's external partners under several outcome documents have acknowledged centrality. In order to maintain its centrality in the evolving regional architecture, ASEAN must continue to accelerate its integration and Community building efforts while intensifying relations with external partners (MPAC, 2010:i).

This paper will try to analyse how feasible ASEAN Connectivity is in giving significant contribution to maintain ASEAN centrality in the midst of East Asian regionalism and ASEAN's internal challenges. In particular to East Asian regionalism, currently ASEAN conducted relationships with its Northeast Asian neighbours, namely China, Japan, and South Korea bilaterally as well as multilaterally, among them are APT and EAS. In addition, the analysis will emphasize on how relationship under ASEAN Connectivity between the Association and its Plus Three Partners contribute to ASEAN centrality. There are two International Relations theories that used in this paper: Neorealism and Constructivism. These theories will be used sequentially in order to identify whether different characteristics or elements within each theory can result in the same ASEAN centrality position. For the neorealist, anarchy and competition are among the underlined elements while for the constructivist norms are the most important elements. Eventually, this paper will try to identify ASEAN centrality position in the case of ASEAN Connectivity. The identification will be built upon the result of neorealist and constructivist analysis with the tool of network analysis developed by Hafner-Montgomery.

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The proposed research question would be:

**“How likely is the ASEAN Connectivity project can give a significant contribution to the ASEAN centrality in the midst of East Asian regionalism?”**

The sub-questions are as follows:

1. What is ‘centrality’ in terms of international politics?
2. What is ‘centrality’ in terms of ASEAN purposes and principles in external relations?
3. How significant is the principle of ‘centrality’ as mandated in the ASEAN Charter?

## **1.5 Research Methodology**

A qualitative case study research method is chosen to carry out this research since it is beneficial in understanding contemporary real-life phenomenon in depth (Ragin, 1992; Yin, 2009). Meanwhile, the design would be a single-case with of ASEAN Connectivity as the case. According to Yin (ibid: 48), among the reason in choosing a single-case study is that the case is the representative or typical case which aim is to encapsulate the circumstances and conditions of an everyday situation (Yin, ibid: 48).

Before taking ASEAN Connectivity as the case, there are several cooperation in regard to ASEAN centrality that has linkages with ASEAN integration and East Asian regionalism as well. These cooperations include cooperation in the areas of food and energy security, financial cooperation, trade facilitation, disaster management, people-to-people contacts, narrowing the development gap, rural development and poverty alleviation, human trafficking, labour movement, communicable diseases, environment and sustainable development, and transnational crime, including counter-terrorism. ASEAN Connectivity is chosen because by enhancing three connectivity linkages, namely physical, institutional, and people-to-people connectivity, other cooperations will be able to materialize and eventually will shape ASEAN as the centre of growth in East Asia and wider region.

Regarding sources of evidence, Yin (ibid: 101) describes six sources of evidence that are frequently used in conducting case study, which are documentation, archival records, interview, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. This paper will only use two out of six evidences that are frequently used. The first is documentations with the form of information expected to be formal studies from previous research with the same topic and progress reports from institutions related to the topic. The second is archival records in the form of “public use files” such as ASEAN Leaders and or Chairman Statements, meeting reports, press releases, as well statistic reports which can be taken from public sources such as ASEAN Secretariat publishing, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Indonesia Permanent Representative for ASEAN.

In addition, pattern-matching logic will be used to analyze the case study by comparing theoretical framework with propositions, based on sources of evidences. In this case, there are two theories that are going to be used, first is neorealism and the second is constructivism. The reason to use both theories is that despite this paper focuses on the case, which is ASEAN Connectivity, it is considered not sufficient to analyze the process of ASEAN Connectivity as well as ASEAN's relationship with external partners and their impact on ASEAN Centrality by using one theory. Neorealism is chosen because ASEAN must face the fact that its Plus Three Partners, in this case China, Japan, and South Korea, have more resources that can improve their power as well as influence to each ASEAN Member States. Constructivism is chosen because with its ASEAN Way, the Association sets norms and principles in cooperating with external parties. At first, each theory patterns should describe what characteristics of those theories are. For the most part of theory patterns, Hobson's approach shall be used because it gives clear description regarding inputs and outputs of state behaviours in international relations. Afterwards, case study patterns are to be matched with the pattern of each theory. Eventually, the result of this pattern matching will be used as the instrument to identify ASEAN centrality in international politics with regard to the network analysis for international relations.

### **1.5.1 Research Limitation**

The scope of this paper will be limited to East Asian regionalism, that is the interactions between ASEAN as an organization, its member states, and China, Japan, and South Korea. The East Asian regionalism itself has the APT as the impetus that triggered by the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC).

In conducting this research paper there are several challenges that need to be overcome. The first challenge is time limitation in collecting data and writing the paper. To tackle this issue, the paper will only rely on two sources of evidence but put more effort to get comprehensive data as well as archival records. Second, since ASEAN Connectivity is officially established for no more than three years, outcome from projects within the MPAC are yet to be found. In handling this challenge, the paper will only match the role of ASEAN's Plus Three Partners, which are China, Japan and South Korea, toward some of projects within the MPAC, theories are used, and its implications to ASEAN centrality. Third, in conducting the analysis of ASEAN centrality in a network, no *quantitative test*, is used that would transform empirical information about linkages into a matrix. In this case there are no modelling and statistical test to transform empirical information as usually conducted in a network analysis (Ward et.al, 2011:246). This is due to data limitations that include time series data and concrete progress on ASEAN cooperation as well as methods that consider to be appropriate. To manage this issue, the analysis will only match the characteristic of type of network centrality and ASEAN's real condition.

### ***1.5.2 The RP Flows***

These questions will be addressed in the following order:

- a. Chapter 1 is the introduction consists of background of the research, relevance and justification, research problems, research objectives, questions as well as research methodology.
- b. Chapter 2 provides theoretical and analytical framework as the basis to analyze the issue within this paper, including discussion about the term ‘centrality’ in international politics as well as ASEAN.
- c. Chapter 3 will be the description of ASEAN Connectivity based on the MPAC.
- d. Chapter 4 is the analysis of the case
- e. Chapter 5 will be the conclusion of the research.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework

There are two theories that are going to be used in order to understand the efficacy of ASEAN centrality in East Asian regionalism, which are Neorealism and Constructivism. In terms of states, these theories highlight different elements. For the neorealist, the principle task is to elaborate the methods through which states defend their national interest. In contrast, constructivist concerns to reveal the normative process which defines national interest (Hobson, 2000). Both theories are used because this paper want to acknowledge whether each theory would have a similar or different result regarding ASEAN centrality in the case of ASEAN Connectivity. In addition, using only one of the theories seems overlook the fact that ASEAN as the core of East Asian regionalism is in between the competition of two powerful actors in the region. These two powerful actors are Japan and China. Needless to say, there is also South Korea that regarded as middle power and should not be underestimated. Using only one theory also seems to ignore the fact that norms and principles within the ASEAN Way have successfully established the foundation of EAC as well as positively influencing on the development of regional relations.

This chapter will try to elaborate principles and characteristics as well as the pattern of each theory. In extracting the pattern of each theory, the work of Hobson (2000) shall be used for the reason that he clearly elaborates the structure of each theory which can lead to pattern formation. The pattern of each theory thus become the foundation to analyse in which network ASEAN centrality position is, within the case of ASEAN Connectivity. Furthermore, this chapter will also explain the network analysis that would be used as the tool to examine ASEAN centrality position. As written by Ward (op.cit:247), network analysis is powerful when the empirical data accurately reflect the totality of connections (or accurately reflect the absence of connections) between relevant nodes, and when these connections are durable because networks reflect structure.

#### **2.1 Neorealist Theory**

Neorealist theory is essentially the work of Kenneth Waltz in his book 'Theory of International Politics' in 1979, which was also the response of the deficiencies of classical realism. According to Waltz, the international system emerged after the end of World War II when the world was splitted by two superpowers—the US and the Soviet Union. Waltz believes that international politics is and always has been a sphere of conflict among states, in other words, international politics is always anarchic. At first the international system was bipolar and changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union to become a unipolar system with the US hegemony. The rise of new powers such as China and India formed the international system to become a multipolar. Based on these changes of international system it can be concluded that, first, great

powers will continuously tend to balance each other. Second, smaller and weaker states will have a tendency to align with great powers in order to preserve their maximum autonomy (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:51).

Waltz elaborates the definition of international political structure within three tiers as explained in Hobson (op.cit: 20). First, the ordering principle or the 'deep structure' which is units, in this case states, required to follow the adaptive 'self-help' because there is no higher authority that can manage security issue. In addition, states are compelled to compete and be independent for the reason that interdependence will only produce vulnerability. Through the competition, reproduction of the anarchic international system will be ensured by the 'invisible hand of anarchy'. Moreover, states will be rewarded if their behaviours are accordance with anarchy, such as by the fulfillment of military survival. In contrast, those that do not correspond could face a decline in international system. Second is what Hobson coins as character of units, which is the fact that within the international anarchy, states are 'like units' and are minimally contrasted in terms of function for the reason that states are 'socialising' logic of anarchy. The inability to imitate the successful practices of the leading states eventually will accelerate the 'relative power gap' and therefore increased vulnerability and extinction (Hobson, *ibid*:23). The third tier is the distribution of capabilities in which strong states or great powers are essential 'power-makers' and have the ability to alter other states' behaviour. In contrast, weak states are principally 'power-takers' in which they have no options other than to follow great powers. In the international anarchy, power differentiation guarantees that all states have to follow self-help or being weakened and perish (Hobson, *ibid*).

Moreover, Hobson explained that Waltz's has minimalist definition of the state which is called 'the theory of the passive military-adaptive state'. At the centre of the theory is the institutional foundation with 'sovereignty' as the most important element within the institutional foundation, in which state has high or absolute domestic agential power (or institutional autonomy from all non-state actors). In that case, states are independent from external as well as internal interference, which are the non-state actors, in dealing with external challenges.

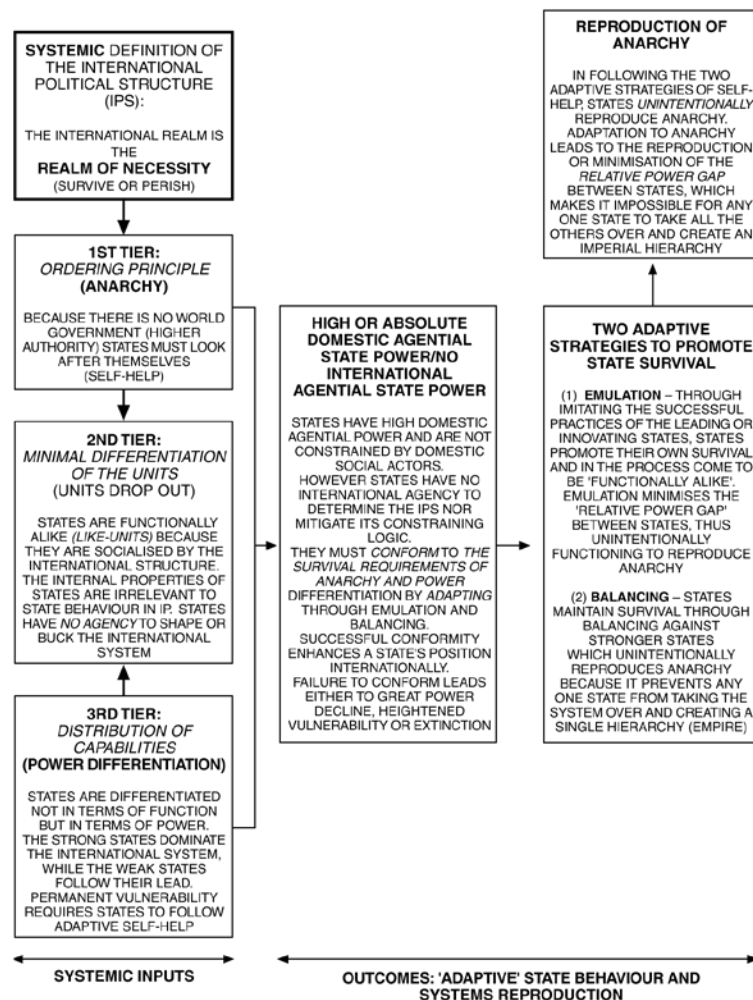
Even though states have an absolute domestic agential power and are able to function independently of domestic as well as international power, they have no agential power to form the international structure or to alleviate its constraining logic. In addition, regardless of having high domestic agential power, the fact is that states are imprisoned within an 'iron cage of anarchy' (Hobson, *ibid*:26). Eventually, states must act and integrate in accordance with two adaptive strategies as dictated by anarchy and power differentiation if they are to survive. These two adaptive strategies are:

- (1) Adaptation through emulation. States are required to emulate the successful practices of the leading states and failure to do so leads to the increased vulnerability. This is because the existence of power differentiation under anarchy. Hence, states are unable to challenge the logic of anarchy without the risk of political loss namely defeat in war or great power decline.

- (2) Adaptation through balancing. In order to survive, states are compelled to adapt through socialisation by becoming involved in balancing. For that reason, weak states are balancing with other weak states against stronger ones. However, according to Waltz, balancing does not result in genuine cooperation among states because of two things. First, alliances are temporary and expedient. Second, balance of power is not an institution that 'actors consensually and collectively agree upon and that the motive of the balancing is to preserve their own individual survival (Waltz, 1979 as cited in Hobson, *ibid*:26-27)

The following figure is the illustration of relationship between Waltz's three tiers definition of international political structures as systemic inputs and 'adaptive' state behaviour and systems reproduction as the outcomes.

**Figure 2.1.1 Waltz's systemic functionalist theory of the passive 'military-adaptive' state (Hobson, 2000:25)**



## 2.2 Constructivist Theory

*“what individuals and groups most want is not security or power or wealth, but recognition of, and respect for, their rights” (Wendt, —Social Constructivism, Theory Talks, #3,n.d.)*

One of the main assumptions of a constructivist approach is that identities, norms, and culture play important role in world politics. Instead of simply structurally determined, constructivist argues that to a certain extent identities and interest of states are produced by interactions, institutions, norms and culture. It is process, not structure that determines the manner in which states interact (Wendt, 1992). Moreover, Jackson and Sorensen (2003:255) explain that the main aspect upon which constructivist focus is inter-subjective beliefs (and ideas, conceptions, and assumption) that are widely shared among people. In the meantime, Rourke (2009:30) defines constructivism as ‘the view that the course of international relations is an interactive process in which the ideas of and communications among “agents” (or actors: individuals, groups and social structures, including states) serve to create “structure” (treaties, laws, international organizations, and other aspects of international system), which in turn influence the ideas and communications of the agents’.

Moreover, Adler (2002:95) distinguishes positivism and constructivism, in which the former takes the world as given while the later see the world as a project under construction, as becoming rather than being. The positivist believes that states constantly pursue power in order to maximize their interests while constructivist believes that states do not necessarily know their interests and preferences. These interests and preferences can be altered as norms reconstructed identities which eventually change the state policy. Regarding anarchy, contrary to the positivist stance, that is the neorealist, constructivist argues that anarchy is a condition of the system of states because in certain sense they 'choose' to make it so. The condition of the system of states today as self-helpers in the midst of anarchy is a result of the process by which states and the system of states was constructed. It is not an inherent fact of state-to-state relations. Thus, constructivist theory holds that it is possible to change the anarchic nature of the system of states (Wendt, op.cit.).

Hobson (op.cit: 149) explains that there are three alternatives of constructivism as follows:

- (1) The theory of the low domestic agential power of the state and high industrial agential state power, found in international society-centric constructivism.
- (2) The theory of the very low domestic agential power of the state but moderate international agential power, found in radical constructivism.
- (3) The theory of the low/moderate agential power, found in state-centric constructivism.

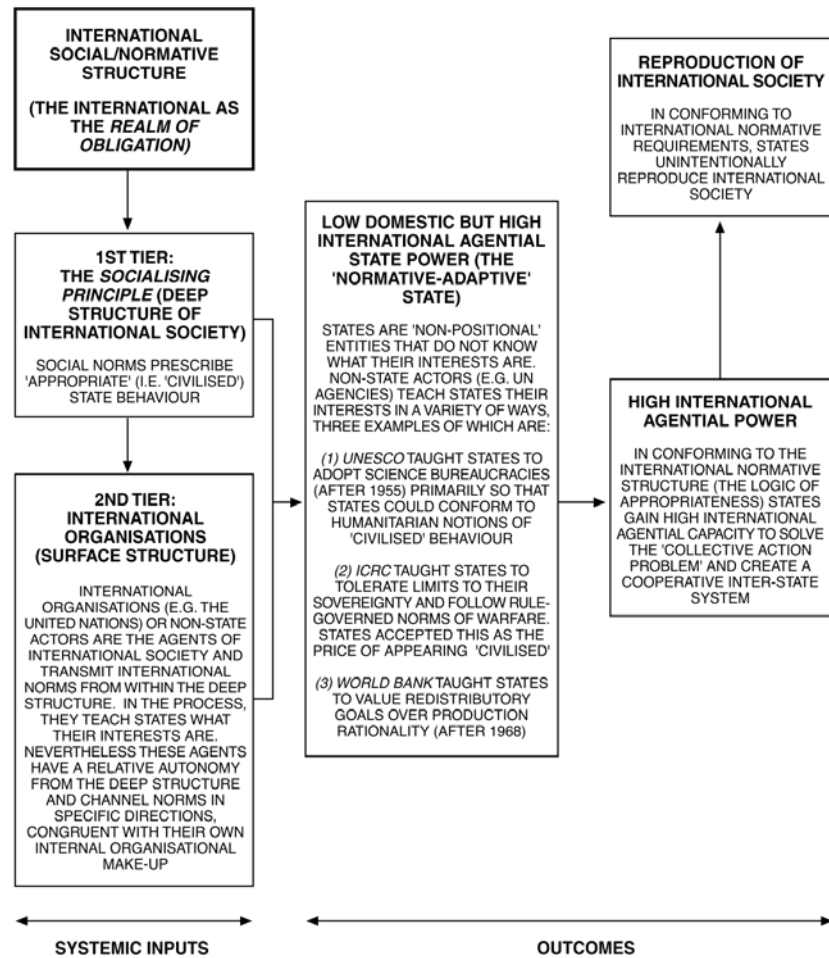
This paper will only draw on the first theory which is the international society-centric constructivism since it is considered to be the most consistent to have emerged in the last decade (Hobson, op.cit). In addition, this approach is regarded as the most relevant to analyse ASEAN centrality within the case of

ASEAN Connectivity and its relations with China, Japan, and South Korea, since ASEAN is the agent that sets norms and principles that should be followed.

Most of international society-centric explanation is taken from the work of Finnemore (1996 as cited in Hobson, op.cit:149). As suggested by Finnemore, there are two tiers within the international society-centric constructivism. The first is the normative structure that constitutes deep structure of international society. This first tier embodies several types of international norms that later socialise states into 'appropriate' behavioural patterns. Meanwhile, within the second tier (the 'surface structure' of international society) exists not only state actors but non-state actors such as the international organizations under the United Nations. These international organizations are considered to be agents of international society and transmit international norms from inside the deep structure. In the process, they teach states what their interests are. However, these agents have a relative autonomy from the deep structure and channel norms in specific directions, congruent with their own internal organizational make-up.

Hobson (op.cit: 150) illustrates Finnemore's international society-centric constructivist theory and International Relations in the following figure.

Figure 2.2.1 International Society-Centric Constructivist Theory and International Relations.



Finnemore considers states as normative-adaptive entities that socialised by the socialising principle of the international normative structure not by material structures. In contrast to neorealist, states do have international agential power employed in that they are socialised by the structure of international society and have no power to affect this normative structure. In addition, new policies that developed by states are not necessarily to maximise their power instead to correspond to what constitutes 'civilised behaviour' (Finnemore as cited in Hobson, op.cit:155). Moreover, with respect to overcoming the collective action problem, Finnemore grants the state an even higher level of international agential power than that accorded by neoliberal insitutionalism.

Hobson depict difference between neorealism and international society-centric constructivism as well as differences between neoliberal institutionalism and international society-centric constructivism within two different figures.

**Figure 2.2.2 Differentiating International Society-Centric Constructivism from Neoliberal Institutionalism (Hobson, op.cit:156)**

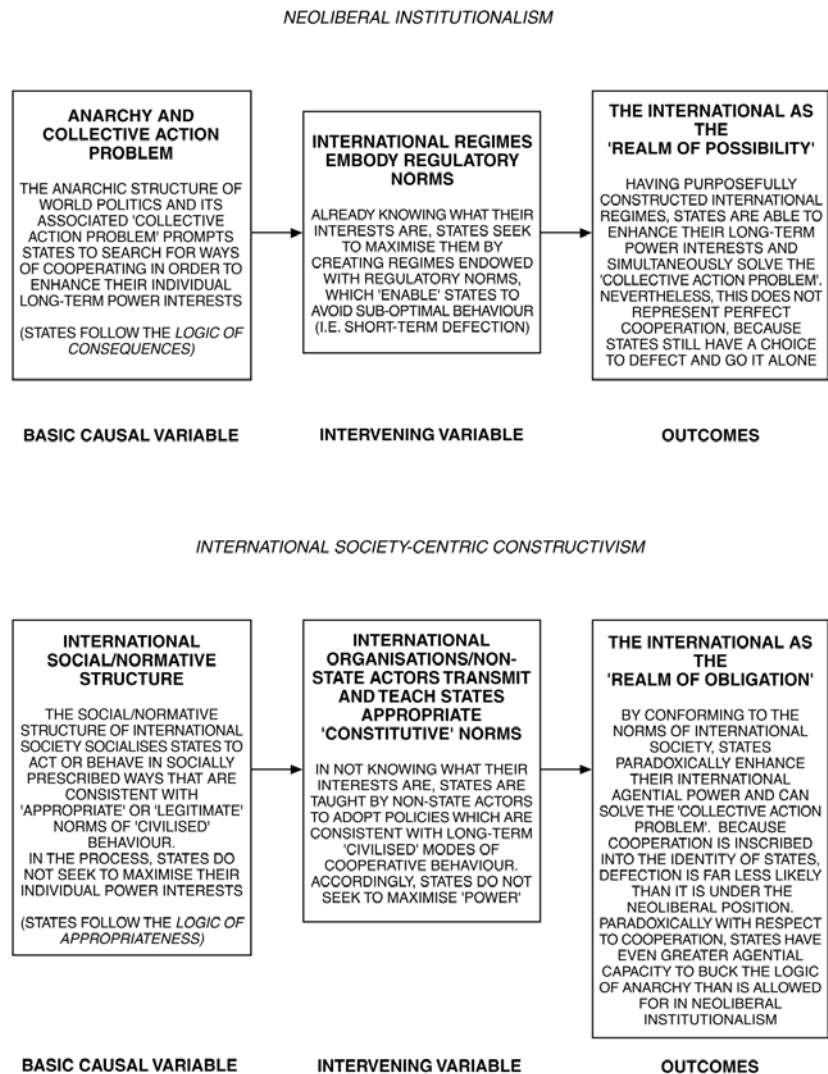
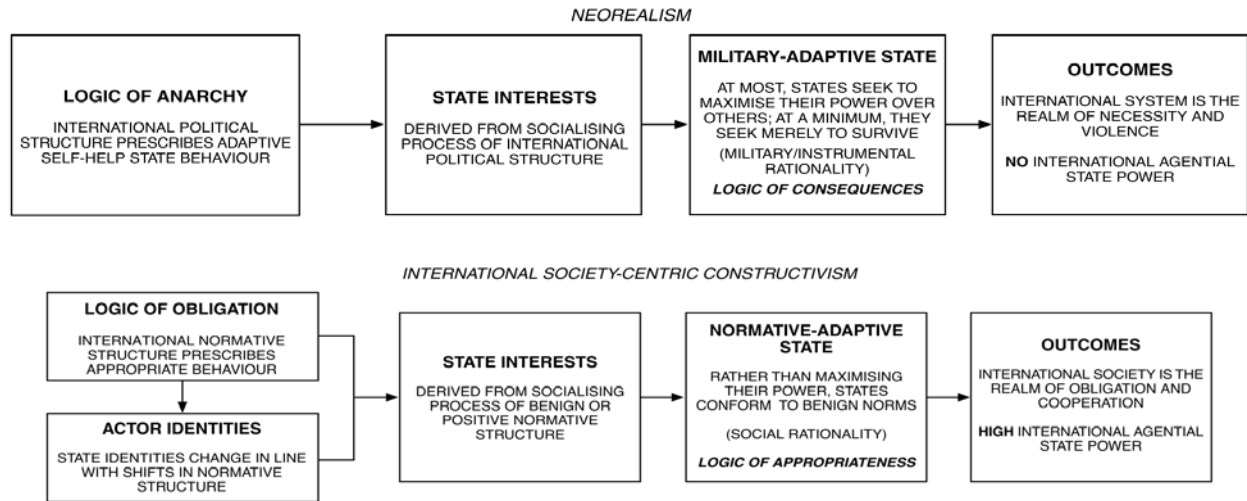


Figure 2.2.3 Differentiating International Society-Centric Constructivism from Neorealism (Hobson, op.cit:158)



### **2.3 Centrality in International Politics**

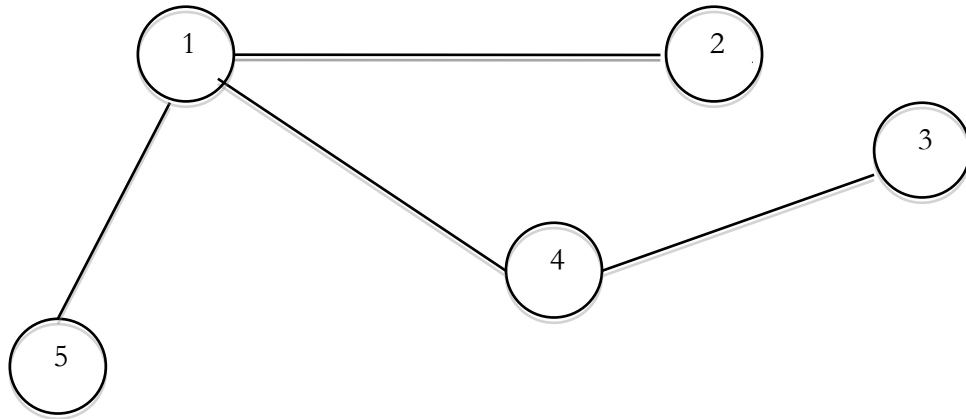
In international politics, the term centrality can be explained by network analysis. According to Hafner-Burton et.al (2009:561), instead of a unified set of theories about behaviour, network analysis is a framework for analysis based on a set of assumption and tools that can be applied to a mixture of behaviours. In addition, Hafner-Burton (ibid:570) states that the innovations of network analysis have contested the traditional view of power in ernational relations since it has change the idea about power as driven by individual attributes with material capabilities. Moreover, new studies regarding power in international relations from a network perspective could refine and enrich network analysis.

In the meantime, Maoz (2012) clarifies that network analysis provides a sort of enlightenment on ideas drawn from particular theories, considers the fundamental dependencies and high-order relations that by far are not visible by other approaches. Networks itself by and large is considered as a mode of organization that facilitates collective action and cooperation, exercise influence, or serves as a means of international governance. Moreover, Maoz (ibid:250-51) identifies network analysis is a science of interactions with some of the underlying ideas match very closely the basic characteristics of international relations. First, international relations are characterized by fundamental interdependencies. Second, states and non-states actors are linked under various forms, such as alliances, trade, conflict, cultural exchanges, membership in international organizations, and meetings of heads of states because that links serve important functions. Third, almost every discussion of the international system starts with the statement that the system is different from, and more than, the sum of its parts. Fourth, the agent-structure debate has been a focus of a great deal of rhetoric in the field. Fifth, network analysis is highly appropriate for capturing, analysing and modelling complexity since it is considered as the source of the slow progress in resolving major debates in the field of international relations or providing acceptable answers to key puzzles.

Meanwhile, Hafner-Burton et.al (op.cit:570-73) elaborate three classes of centrality within a network, in which there are nodes (or agents or actors) that more central than others. These different types of network centrality can provide different political advantages. The first class of political advantage, degree centrality, arrives from possessing a large number of strong ties to other actors in a network which adopted by several international relations as social power. Not only this would allow a node—whether a state, an organization, or an individual—to access benefits from other network members but also let that node shape the flow of information among nodes and change common understandings of relative capabilities, common interests, or norms (Hafner-Burton, et.al, 2009:570). One example is a state that has many connections with regional neighbours that are not well-connected themselves may be less likely to process social process than a state that is part of a network with many other high-centrality members. In the real-world network Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) in which France had a degree centrality more than Poland in 2004 because France joins several PTAs with more states compare to Poland. This gives France more *access* to more states in the trade network together with

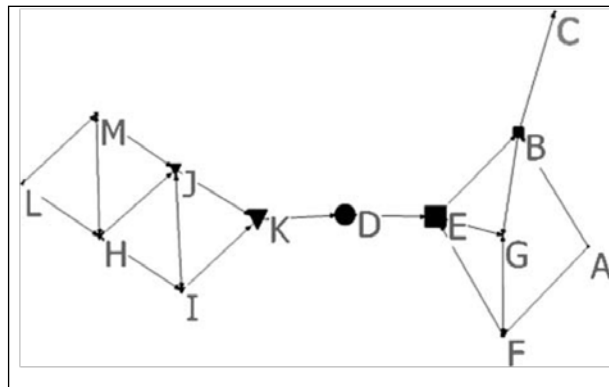
imports, exports, investment, and information. States with high degree centrality in PTA network will likely to use their PTA access to coerce others through economic sanctions since they have more opportunities to do so and they have more ways for taking in resources if any single trade relationship becomes contentious (Hafner-Burton and Montgomery, *ibid*).

**Figure 2.3.1. Degree Centrality**  
(Figure extracted from Hafner-Burton, et.al: 2009)



Meanwhile, the second class of political advantage is betweenness centrality which comes from linking individuals, groups, or the whole networks of actors that have few other ties among them. In this case, states or other international actors in this position are able to increase its power to *broker* for their ability to bridge structural holes in the network. That is when a node has exclusive ties to otherwise marginalized or weakly connected nodes or group of nodes (Hafner-Burton, et.al: op.cit,571). In this case, social capital can be turned into social power by a node or actor that has the only link to the larger network. Hafner-Burton, et.al (2009:572) gives further explanation that *brokerage* power is particularly common in networks that demonstrate “small-power” characteristics: that is, dense local connectivity combined with short global paths.

**Figure 2.3.2 Brokerage Centrality (Source: Hulst, 2008:109)**



The third centrality is not based on a node's centrality in the network but on its ability to exit or de-link which is also called exit options and network power (Hafner-Burton, *ibid*:571). This form of power highlights similarities between networks and markets. The power of exit is often wielded by less embedded nodes at the margins of networks strategic efforts within the network to exploit bargaining power may results in threats of exit by those who are its targets. Nodes that possess bargaining power will attempt to reduce the risk of exit, either through enhancing their appeal to network partners or by using coercion.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

In sum, different elements within both theories have different impact on states behaviours. For the neorealist who believes that the international system is in anarchic condition where there is no high authority, states are required to behave under two adaptive strategies in order to survive. First, states are required to conduct an adaptation through emulation and second, they are required to adapt through balancing. In the end, states adaptations would result in an unintentional reproduction of anarchy. This constructivist adaptations behaviour and their unintentional reproduction of anarchy is the pattern of neorealism that will be used as the tool in analysing ASEAN Centrality from the neorealist point of view.

In the meantime, the constructivist, in which norms and identities play an important role, believes that anarchy is not something as given rather created by states. In other words, states choose to make an anarchic system and that this can actually be altered by the states. In particular to the type of constructivist discussed in this chapter, which is the International Society-Centric Constructivist, international agencies and/or non-states actors play a role as the transmitter of international norms since states do not necessarily know what their interests are. These norms would later adopted by the states and as a consequence, states unintentionally reproduce international society. Similar to neorealist, states behaviour toward the norms set by the international agencies or non-state actors as well as the unintentional result from it, is the

pattern of constructivism that is going to be used as the tool in analysing ASEAN Centrality from the constructivist perspective.

Meanwhile, there are three classes within network centrality analysis that will give different political advantages in each class. These three classes are access or degree centrality, betweenness or brokerage centrality, and exit options.

Hereafter, the pattern of these theories will be matched with the behaviour of ASEAN and its plus three dialogue partners, namely China, Japan, and South Korea. Moreover, it is expected that ASEAN's centrality shall be acknowledged based on the pattern-matching of theories and behaviours, and the network analysis. The analysis shall be conducted sequentially in each of the theory and network analysis.

## Chapter 3

### Case Study Overview: ASEAN Connectivity

#### ***3.1 ASEAN Connectivity: Overview of the Master Plan***

ASEAN Leaders adopted the MPAC during the 17<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit in October 2010 in Hanoi, Vietnam after they realized there was a need to enhance the region's connectivity not only from its transportation networks but the people as well. Furthermore, in November 2011, ASEAN Leaders agreed on the need to expand the ASEAN Connectivity beyond the region to ASEAN Plus Three Connectivity (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012c). Through an enhanced ASEAN Connectivity, the production and distribution networks in the ASEAN region will be deepened, widened, and become more entrenched in the East Asia and global economy. A well-connected ASEAN will contribute towards a more competitive and resilient ASEAN because it will bring people, goods, services and capital closer together in accordance with ASEAN Charter. An enhanced connectivity not only shall accelerate ASEAN Community preserve ASEAN position as the centre of East Asian region as well.

The MPAC itself is a strategic document to achieve overall ASEAN Connectivity and a plan of action for immediate implementation for the period of 2011—2015. As a strategic document and a plan of action, the MPAC incorporated 85 strategies and 19 key actions with clear targets and timelines to manage challenges toward further enhance ASEAN Connectivity that would eventually lead to the realisation of ASEAN Community 2015 and beyond. In addition, the MPAC also make sure the synchronizaton of ongoing sectoral strategies and plans within the frameworks of ASEAN and its sub-regions (MPAC, op.cit:i).

According to the MPAC, ASEAN Connectivity refers to three linkages of physical connectivity that is physical infrastructure development which objective is to develop an integrated and well-functioning intermodal transport, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and energy networks in ASEAN and the wider region. The second connectivity refers to the Institutional Connectivity which has the objective to put in place strategies, agreements, and legal and institutional mechanism to effectively realise the ASEAN Connectivity, including those to facilitate trade in goods and services, and the appropriate types of investment policies and legal frameworks to ensure that the investment are protected to attract the private sector investments. The third connectivity refers to People-to-People Connectivity with the objective to develop initiatives that promote and invest in education and life-long learning, support human resource development, encourage innovation and entrepreneurship, promote ASEAN cultural exchanges, and promote tourism and the development of related industries

Under the MPAC, achievements have been made as well as challenges have been encountered which are impeding three connectivity linkages. Challenges toward Physical Connectivity that need to be addressed in the

region include poor quality of roads and incomplete road networks, missing railway links, inadequate maritime and port infrastructure including dry port, inland waterways and aviation facilities, widening digital divide, and growing demand for power. To manage these challenges, the need to upgrade existing infrastructure as well as the construction of new infrastructure facilities could not be avoided.

In the meantime, challenges regarding Institutional Connectivity include impediments to movements of vehicles, goods, services and skilled labour across borders. To tackle these issues, ASEAN needs to continue to deal with non-tariff barriers to facilitate intra-ASEAN trade and investment, harmonise standards and conformity assessment procedures, and operationalise key transport facilitation agreements. In essence, ASEAN needs to further open up progressively to investment from within and beyond the region.

Meanwhile, People-to-People Connectivity has two strategies in promoting deeper intra-ASEAN social cultural interaction and understanding through community building efforts and, greater intra-ASEAN people mobility through progressive relaxation of visa requirements and development of mutual recognition arrangements to provide the needed impetus for concerted efforts in promoting awareness, collaboration, exchange, outreach and advocacy programmes to facilitate the ongoing efforts to increase greater interactions between the people of ASEAN.

Furthermore, aside from the substantial benefits from an enhanced connectivity, the MPAC also acknowledges issues that emerge as consequences. Among these potential issues are caused by transnational crime, illegal immigration, environmental degradation and pollution, and other cross-border challenges that need to be addressed appropriately.

Within the MPAC there are 15 priority projects that encompass three connectivity linkages. There are six Physical Connectivity projects including two land transport projects, one Information and Communication and Technology Projects (ICT), two energy projects, and one maritime transport project. Included in land transport projects are the completion of the ASEAN Highway Networks Missing Links (AHN) and Upgrade of Transit Transport Routes, and completion of the Singapore Kunming Rail Links (SKRL) Missing Links. AHN is the development of the 'Trans-Asian Highway' network within ASEAN which has the purpose to establish efficient, integrated, safe and environmentally sustainable regional land transport corridors linking all ASEAN Member States and countries beyond. Most of the missing link included in the AHN are located in Myanmar with total length of 227 kilometres while the roads with standard less than Class III under the AHN stretches for more than 5,300 kilometres encompassing Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Phillipines and Vietnam (MPAC, 2010:11-12). Meanwhile, there are 2,069 kilometres of Transit Transport Routes (TTR) in Lao PDR, Myanmar and the Philippines that have the standard below Class III.

Meanwhile, the SKRL, proposed for the first time at the Fifth ASEAN Summit in December 1995, will cover Singapore-Malaysia-Thailand-Cambodia-Vietnam-China (Kunming) and spur lines in Thailand-Myanmar and Thailand-Lao PDR. Priorities are given to CLMV countries particularly to securing both financial and technical assistance from other ASEAN Member States and other

external parties, in this case donors, to help these less developed countries undertaking of the SKRL projects (MPAC, 2010:13). This project itself is projected to be completed within the year 2020.

Once these land transports projects are completed, they will help to provide to an enlarge market, reduce transportation and trade cost, set up linkages with the regional and global supply chains, and facilitate greater regional economic cooperation and integration. Meanwhile, the need to establish an ASEAN Broadband Corridor also realised not only to boost business and social development throughout the region but to build a sense of community and awareness beyond their immediate surroundings. On the other hand, the need to enhance energy connectivity also realised by developing an interconnection 600MW high voltage direct current (HVDC) between Peninsular Malaysia and Sumatra, Indonesia. Another energy developing project is the West Kalimantan-Sarawak Interconnection which will consist of 120km high voltage 275kV AC. In addition, the maritime transport will be a study on the Roll-On-Roll-Off (RoRo) Network and Short-Sea Shipping as the first step on bridging archipelagic ASEAN with mainland ASEAN.

In the meantime, there are five Institutional Connectivity projects, three of them are to enhance free flow of goods. These projects develop Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs) for prioritised and selected industries, establishing rules for standards and conformity assessment procedures, and operationalizing all National Single Windows (NSWs) by 2012. The other two Institutional Connectivity projects are options for a framework modality towards the phase reduction and elimination of scheduled investment restrictions/impediments which to support free flow of investment. Another Institutional Connectivity project is Operationalisation of the ASEAN Agreements on Transport Facilitation which aim is to support transport facilitation.

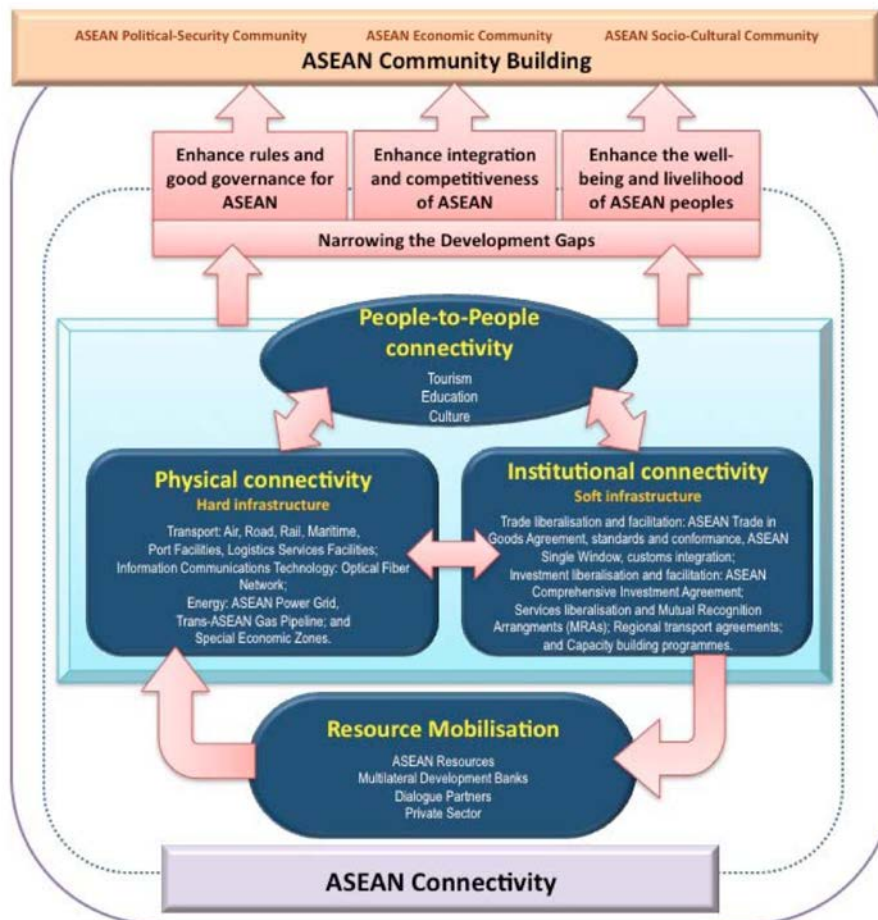
Regarding People-to-people connectivity, there are four priority projects and one of the projects is to ease visa requirements for ASEAN Nationals which is part of the enhancement of movement of people and tourism. The second project is development of ASEAN Virtual Learning Resource Centres (AVLRC) which is the enhancement of cultural heritage in the region. Another project is develop ICT skill standards which aims to increase human resource development in the region. The last project is the ASEAN Community Building Programme intended to showcase ASEAN's best art and cultural performances that will allow the public to understand about the history and culture of ASEAN Member States.

The MPAC also identifies the mobilisation of required financial resources and technical assistance to materialize all of these projects. The fact that there are lack of available resource, ASEAN will be exploring and tapping on new sources and innovative approaches, which include, among others, the possible establishment of an ASEAN fund for infrastructure development, public-private sector partnerships (PPP), and development of local and regional financial and capital markets. Strengthening partnership with external parties, including multilateral development banks, international organisation and others for effective and efficient implementation of the Master Plan also shall be conducted. The World Bank estimated that ASEAN needs to invest for more

than US\$7,5 trillion to realize ASEAN Connectivity in overall regional and national infrastructure (Puspanathan, 2011). Meanwhile the ADB estimated that ASEAN would need US\$600 billions in 10 years to materialize the MPAC or about US\$60 billions annually. Currently under the ASEAN Infrastructure Fund (AIF), ASEAN has been able to mobilize approximately USD485 millions (Chonkittavorn, 2012).

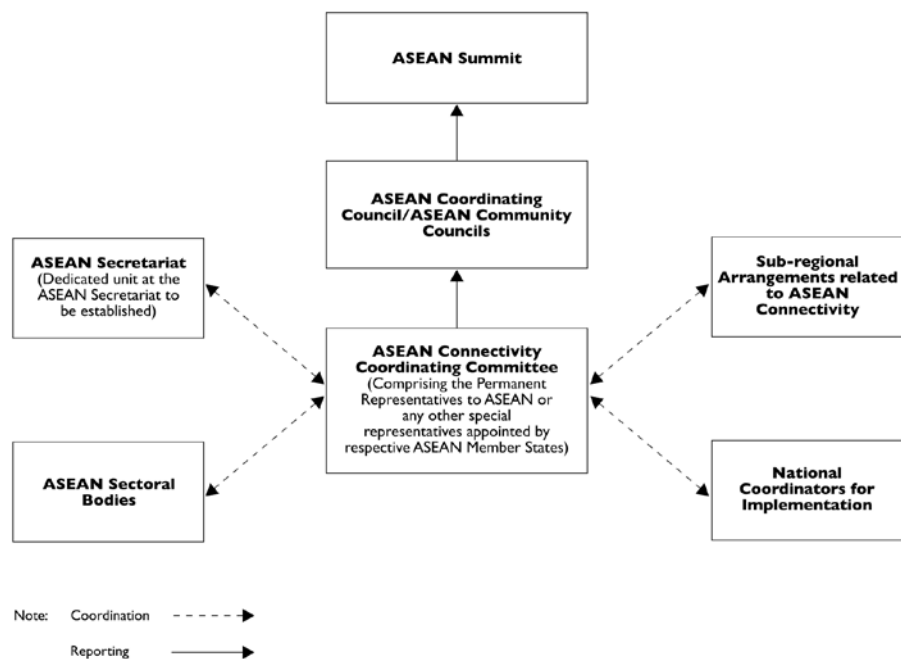
The following figure is the illustration of interaction between ASEAN Connectivity and ASEAN Community as well as its resource mobilization.

**Figure 3.1.1: Interaction between ASEAN Connectivity and ASEAN Community 2015 (Source: MPAC, 2010).**



With regard to the implementation of MPAC, relevant ASEAN sectoral bodies will coordinate the strategies and actions under their respective sector while the National Coordinators, established by each of the ASEAN Member States, and the related government institutions are responsible for supervising the implementation of specific plans or projects at the national level. In addition, the ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee (ACCC)<sup>2</sup> shall monitor and supervise the implementation of projects within the MPAC. This flow is depicted in the following figures.

**Figure 3.1.2 Implementation Arrangement for the MPAC**  
(Source: MPAC, 2010)



<sup>2</sup> ACCC comprises of Permanent Representative to ASEAN or special representative appointed by the ASEAN Member States.

### **3.2 The Role of Plus Three Partners**

As it has been explained in the previous section, in order to complete the three connectivity linkages, ASEAN needs to mobilize resources internally as well as externally. ASEAN Plus Three Partners, namely China, Japan, and South Korea support the completion of ASEAN Connectivity projects bilaterally as well as under the APT forum mechanism. These supports are embodied within different outcome documents. Together, ASEAN and its Plus Three Partners have the same goal to achieve an East Asian Community in the long term.

The first and foremost vision of an East Asian Community is about achieving peace, stability and progress in East Asia. There are three objectives of East Asian Community, first is to create a regional institution that can accommodate a rising China as a constructive member of the region and to enable it to develop into a full status-quo power. Second, to assist in normalisation between two super powers in the region and the potential leaders of the East Asian Community, namely China and Japan. Third, to help in the alleviation of the possibility of future confrontation between US and China if the country becomes a superpower in its own right in the next few decades (Wanandi, 2004).

This section will explain the role and form of support given by these three countries toward ASEAN Connectivity 2015 and East Asian Community in the long term.

#### **3.2.1 China**

China committed to support the completion of two ASEAN Connectivity flagship projects, which are the AHN, and SKRL as stated during the 13<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in 2010. Once these projects are completed, it will improve not only the access of missing links within ASEAN mainland, but also to improve the access of inland Chinese provinces such as Sichuan, Chongqing and Yunnan to the wider world via the Indian Ocean. In general, the completion of AHN and SKRL projects will connect ASEAN mainland, China and India. The amount that China committed for these two projects are USD15 billions credit facility (MPAC, op.cit: 74). In addition, China also allocated a USD10 billions including USD 4 billions preferential loans and USD6 billions commercial loans under the scheme of China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund (ASEAN Secretariat, 2011b). The USD6 billions commercial loans is administered by six Chinese banks, namely China Development Bank, China Exim Bank, Bank of China, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), China Construction Bank and China CITIC Bank, and utilized mainly for infrastructure cooperation, energy and natural resources.

Moreover, an ASEAN-China Committee on Connectivity Cooperation are being prepared as well as a deeper ASEAN-China Maritime Cooperation, including building maritime connectivity networks and expand cooperation in areas such as ports, maritime logistics and port industries. This cooperation is also to implement the practical projects under the implementation of the Document of Conduct (DOC). The total amount of fund for maritime connectivity network projects is USD476 millions. It is considered to be

essential for China to support ASEAN Connectivity since it will promote intra-regional economic integration and enhance regional competitiveness that consequently contributes to a sustained and steady growth of the regional economy.<sup>3</sup>

Since China accorded an ASEAN Dialogue Partner status in 1996, cooperation between the two parties are expanding in the field of political security, economic, as well as socio culture. China consistently to support ASEAN Community and integration in process as well as ASEAN centrality in East Asia cooperation and in the evolving regional architecture, such as the ARF, APT and EAS. In 2003, China became the first ASEAN Dialogue Partner to accede and signed the TAC. In order to promote peaceful, friendly and harmonious environment within the South China Sea, China signed the DOC in 2002 and later adopted the Guidelines to implement the DOC in 2011. China and ASEAN also cooperate in the field of non-traditional security issues.

Cooperation between China and ASEAN in the economic field, particularly trade has increasing as well. In 2010, trade between ASEAN and China experienced a sharp rebound from the decline in 2009 following the global financial crisis. ASEAN's exports to China increased by 39.1 percent from USD81.6 billion in 2009 to USD113.5 billion in 2010 and placed the country as ASEAN's second largest export destination. In addition, imports increased 21.8 percent from USD96.6 billion in 2009 to USD117.7 billion in 2010. China maintained its position as ASEAN's largest trading partner accounting for 11.3 percent of ASEAN's total trade while ASEAN was China's 4<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner accounting for 9.8 percent of China's total trade. For the first half of 2011, ASEAN became China's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest trading partner (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012a).

In the socio-cultural field, during the 13<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit, the Country pledged to offer 10,000 government scholarships to ASEAN Member States and invite 10,000 young teachers, students and scholars from ASEAN Member States within 10 years. Moreover, 10 vocational education training bases in China were also proposed by China during the 14<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-China Summit in 2011.

### **3.2.2 Japan**

At the same time, support from Japan also received by ASEAN toward the completion of ASEAN Connectivity projects. In order to implement the MPAC, Japan has formed special Task Force consist of some of the division in its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely Southeast Asian Division, International Affairs Division, and Department of Economy. The task force also includes Japan's Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI), Japan International

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<sup>3</sup> 'Xi calls for greater connectivity between China, ASEAN' (2012). Accessed 19 October 2012. [http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-09/21/content\\_26593142.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-09/21/content_26593142.htm)

Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan's Federation of Economic Organization (Keidanren) and related institutions. Japan is the first ASEAN Dialogue Partner to establish an internal Taskforce to support the MPAC.

Japanese government has delivered its readiness to support the implementation of two ASEAN Connectivity projects, which are Melaka-Pekan Baru Interconnection and West Kalimantan-Serawak Interconnection. Japan also support the implementation of the '*Cooperation for Study on the Roll-on/Roll-Off (RoRo) Network and Short-Sea Shipping*' which are included within the MPAC's prioritize projects. In addition, during the 14<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in 2011, the Country extended its assistance focusing on the improvement of 'Formation of the Vital Artery for East-West and Southern Economic Corridor' and 'Maritime Economic Corridor'. Japan also pledged for the amount of USD25 billions to promote flagship projects for enhancing ASEAN Connectivity. Moreover, by means of the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), Japan is giving technical assistance towards the completion of ASEAN Connectivity projects.

Moreover, during the 6<sup>th</sup> East Asia Summit, Japan proposed a 'Connectivity Master Plan Plus' to expand Connectivity beyond ASEAN and develop further linkages between ASEAN and its EAS Partners. However, ASEAN Connectivity shall be put as the first priority by effectively implementing the MPAC (ASEAN Secretariat, 2011a).

ASEAN and Japan have conducted a formal cooperation since 1977 with the convening of ASEAN-Japan Forum. Afterwards, relationship between the two parties has made a significant progress spanning from the areas of political-security, economic-financial, to socio-cultural. In the political-security area, other than participates and supports ASEAN centrality under the ARF, APT, and EAS, Japan and ASEAN adopted a Joint Declaration for Cooperation on the Fight against International Terrorism.

In the area of trade, Japan and ASEAN are important partners. After experiencing a 25 percent decline in 2009 due to the global economic and financial crisis, total trade between ASEAN and Japan increased by 32 percent in 2010. This is equal to USD103.1 billion from USD78.1 billion in 2009. Total trade grew by 26.7 percent, amounting to USD203.9 billion in 2010. Japan is ASEAN's third largest trading partner in 2010 with 10 percent share of ASEAN's total trade. In the meantime, ASEAN is Japan's second largest trading partner after China (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012a).

In the field of socio-cultural, Japan and ASEAN has long emphasised the people-to-people contacts and cultural exchange dedicated to youths and intellectuals. Both Japan and ASEAN also committed to tackle major global and transboundary challenges such as the climate change and the environment. In addition, Japan and ASEAN also cooperate and take initiative to strengthen cooperation on disaster management (ibid).

### **3.2.3 South Korea**

In the meantime, regardless of its increasing industry, South Korea remains calm and only to become a middle power player in the midst of China and Japan competition in supporting ASEAN Connectivity. Nevertheless, the

country also takes part in two out of 15 MPAC's prioritize projects which are the development of AHN project by giving technical assistance, particularly pursuing ways to strengthen policy consultation and the exchange of information and technology. South Korea also supports the completion of SKRL and cooperates with respective countries by providing technical and financial assistance by participating in feasibility study projects (ASEAN Secretariat, 2011d). Moreover, support toward ASEAN Connectivity also embodied under the *ASEAN-Republic of Korea Transport Roadmap* particularly to improve transport facilities and distribution network. Other support that the country is also support ICT infrastructure development in East Asia through human resources improvement projects as well as narrowing information gap.

South Korea accorded a full status of ASEAN Dialogue Partners in 1991 and since then both parties have intensified their relationship in the area of political-security, economic, as well as socio-cultural. Similar to China and Japan, South Korea actively participates in ARF, APT, and EAS, and supports ASEAN centrality within the mentioned forums. In addition, South Korea also commits to further strengthening political and security engagement with ASEAN as well as contributes to regional peace, stability and prosperity. This commitment is in the form of support for a South East Asia Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (SEANFWZ) (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012d). At the same time, ASEAN continuously supports and stressed the importance of maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

In the meantime, ASEAN and South Korea trade relations were experiencing an increase in the period of 2009-2010. Total trade increased from USD75 billion in 2009 to USD97.2 billion in 2010. Increased in export was 31.2 percent amounting to USD45 billion while imports increased by 31.4 percent to USD53.1 billion. South Korea remains as ASEAN's 5<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner, whereas ASEAN was the second largest trading partner for South Korea in 2010 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2011a).

South Korea regards people to people contact as an important element in the area of ASEAN-South Korea socio cultural cooperation. In addition, both ASEAN and South Korea agreed to respond to climate change and maintain sustainable development as well as develop concrete projects in the areas of forestry and marine resources.

### **3.3 Conclusion**

This chapter gives a summary or an overview on the MPAC and the role of ASEAN's Plus Three Partners. As a strategic document as well as plan of action for immediate implementation, the MPAC provides comprehensive guidelines for three Connectivity linkages in order to achieve ASEAN Connectivity. Fifteen prioritize projects within three Connectivity linkages that encompass physical, institutional, as well as people-to-people are being set up. Moreover, the MPAC also taking into account problems that could emerge as consequences once the ASEAN Connectivity is achieved. These problems include drug trafficking, people smuggling and other cross-border challenges. In addition, in order to achieve goals within the MPAC, ASEAN needs to mobilize resources not only internally but externally. The MPAC does not

overlook this issue and provides information how ASEAN should mobilize resources.

Regarding the role of Plus Three Partners, each of these countries has pledged to support the completion of ASEAN Connectivity projects. The form of their supports includes financial assistances and technical assistances. Some of their pledges in supporting ASEAN Connectivity have been realized before the adoption of MPAC, such as the within the AHN and SKRL projects. These three countries are considered to be the most active Partners in supporting the achievement of ASEAN Connectivity because together with ASEAN, they have the same goal of East Asian Community in the long term. However, there are indications that their behaviours toward the completion of ASEAN Connectivity not entirely to assist ASEAN and its member states, but to take advantages from ASEAN Connectivity.

The behaviour of ASEAN including its member states, and Plus Three Partners behaviours are regarded as the patterns of the case study that would later be analysed by matching them with the pattern of each theories. ASEAN Centrality within ASEAN Connectivity is expected to be recognized from this analysis. As explained in the previous chapter, the analysis will be conducted sequentially in each of the theory. The consequence of this method will be two different results of ASEAN centrality positions in each of the theory.

## Chapter 4

### Analysis

#### **4.1 From “Driver’s Seat” to “Centrality”**

Preliminary studies have been conducted to analyse ASEAN centrality, in which it acts as the leader in East Asian region as well as Asia-Pacific. One of those studies, (L.Jones, op.cit) who explains the genesis of the ‘driver seat’ terminology. L. Jones explains that ASEAN has no official definition on ‘centrality’. L. Jones (op.cit: 99) considers it as the amendment of the ‘driver seat’ terminology, which are in many of the ARF and APT statements. L.Jones continues to explain that the reason of the change was because of doubts given toward ASEAN’s capabilities to play a leading role in the region and to moderate great power relations. Jokes toward the terminology were several including “what is being driven: a BMW or a clapped-out *tuk-tuk*?” “How many miles-per-gallon does it do?” “What is the destination?” “Do you have licence?” and “are you a drunk driver?”. He continues to conclude that ASEAN’s capacity to moderate great-power relations in East Asia very much depends on three aspects: first, the relationship among great powers, and their relationship with ASEAN; second, the character of relationship among ASEAN member states; third, the relationship between certain regional agendas or issues and the interests of dominant socio-political coalitions within ASEAN states. In addition, the lack of consensus from the major powers in the midst of the Cold War regarding Asian security issues had resulted in an opportunity for weak states to form a group and become the hub of East Asian institution building. In order to preserve its position as the hub of East Asian institution building, ASEAN needs to overcome internal issues, which includes different interest of socio-political coalitions and various strategic priorities.

Meanwhile, study conducted by M. Kim (2012:130) concludes that ASEAN leadership in the Asia-Pacific occurs because of the triangular leadership competition and influence rivalry among three major powers, which are Washington-Beijing-Tokyo. China and Japan carry on their competition to take initiative in regional institution building in East Asia, especially East Asian Economic Regionalism. China’s amazing economic growth successfully surpassed Japan’s long-term economic recession, therefore increase China’s influence in the region. In order to maintain its influence in the region, Japan started to change its foreign policy, to become more focus to Southeast Asian region. Before China was rising as the emerging superpower in the region, Japan’s foreign policy tend to headed to Washington because of its exports dependance to the US. In addition, US’s effort in dealing with global on terror as well as war in Iraq and Afghanistan resulted in the country’s failure to offer hegemonic leadership in the region. Moreover, Kim argues that if these leadership competition and influence rivalries are well managed, the result would be the establishment of Asia-Pacific Community.

In the meantime, Amador (2010) concludes that in order to preserve its centrality, ASEAN needs not to overlook its internal weaknesses for its non-cohesive and incoherent institutionalization in which ASEAN Charter and various modalities reinforce sovereignty and state-centeredness. In addition, ASEAN also faces internal problem that need to be quickly managed. These internal problems include: development gaps, human rights, security, governance and weak regional cohesion. Amador also emphasize that ASEAN's centrality is depend on constructivist theme in which ASEAN Member States make of it. In addition, the type of regional architecture being constructed also impacted to ASEAN position, which can be central or peripheral. If ASEAN maintains its 'talk shop' characteristic then from the constructivist stance, it would give advantage for ASEAN centrality maintenance since the organization is already as it is since its establishment (Amador, *ibid*: 614).

## ***4.2 ASEAN Centrality: ASEAN Connectivity Contribution***

The MPAC emphasizes that ASEAN Connectivity is one of the instrument to maintain ASEAN centrality because it will bring closer together the people as well as the economy. Eventually, an enhanced connectivity will shape ASEAN as the centre of growth in the East Asian region. This section will analyse the contribution of ASEAN Connectivity ASEAN centrality position from the stance of Neorealist and Constructivist. As explained in the methodology section, the analysis employs the pattern-matching logic technique between the pattern of theories and the case. The analysis in this chapter will be conducted sequentially into two sections, from the neorealists and the constructivists standpoints.

### ***4.2.1 Neorealist Analysis***

After the end of Cold War and the rise of China—not only economically but also military, the role of the West, particularly the US, has gradually decreased. China's rise allegedly has degraded Japan's influence in the Asian region as well. Meanwhile, South Korea's economy—mainly its industry, should not be underestimated due to the country's fast moving middle power in the region. In addition, South Korea also has strong political and economic ties with global hegemon, which is the US (M.Kim, 2012:121).

The first tier of Waltz's military-adaptive state in East Asian region can be marked with the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) in which there were competition for influence and leadership between Japan and China in the East Asian region (M.Kim, *ibid*: 123). During the crisis, Japan led-proposal for an Asian Monetary Fund (AMF) also served as the foundation for an East Asian Community building. This Japan-led proposal was opposed by China, because the proposal only promoted greater use of Japanese Yen that would result in increasing Japan's financial influence. Eventually, Japan could be a hegemony in the region. In addition, the IMF and the US also opposed the proposal because it was considered to be a threat to the US hegemony in the region. For its global economic success, Japan was at the expense of its regional trade in

East Asia (O'Loughlin and Anselin 1996; and Frankel, 1998 as cited in Viyrynen, 2004:40) because Japan became more dependent on the United States. Later on, this provided Washington with a leverage to influence Japan's policy if the country plans to promote either trade or monetary groupings in which the United States is not envisaged as a member (Grieco, 1999 as cited in Viyrynen, *ibid*).

By and large, the AFC successfully made China's influence and leadership in the region stronger as a result of its decision not to devalue its currency. This was contrast to what Japan did that allowed the Yen to depreciate with the purpose of maintaining its competitiveness rather than solving the crisis. Consequently, Japan's influence in the region was decreasing. In addition, China's financial support to Thailand and Indonesia instead of taking advantage from the crisis altered ASEAN's standpoint toward China that has become a rising power and engine of growth. Therefore, the small economies of ASEAN needs to have a deeper political and economic cooperation with China (M.Kim, 2012:127).

With respect to post-crisis regional institution building through the establishment of the EAS, Japan and China continued to compete for influence and leadership. China opposed Japan's proposal to include Australia, New Zealand, and India in EAS memberships. Instead, China favoured for an exclusive EAS memberships consisting of APT States. Meanwhile, Japan viewed the need to include Australia, New Zealand, and India for the effectiveness of EAS as well as to offset China's rising power in the region. ASEAN Member States were divide—Thailand and Malaysia supported China's position whereas Indonesia and Singapore shared the same concern with Japan regarding China's rising power. ASEAN decided include non-APT Member States as EAS members in order to preserve their centrality in the region (J.C Kim, 2010:129-30).

From Waltz's theory of the passive 'military-adaptive' state, Japan, China, South Korea and ASEAN's relationships can be analysed through various ways. Obviously, there are competitions in the region particularly between China and Japan where these countries constantly try to increase or maintain their influence. These are in line with Waltz notion that international politics is and always has been a realm of conflict between states, and that states are trapped in an 'iron cage of anarchy'. In addition, power differentiation is exist among China, Japan, South Korea, and within ASEAN Member States. Consequently, in order to survive, these states (and ASEAN as an organization) are compelled to adapt through emulation and balancing by anarchy and power differentiation.

In the case of AFC, China's decision not to devalue its currency has succesfully promoted 'system maintenance' because it reduced the relative power gap between China and Japan, and as a result Japan has faced difficulties to lead the region. Nevertheless, in line with Walt's idea that States will not be able to resist the logic of anarchy (and hence socialisation) without suffering political loss, China was not able to lead the region. At the same time, China's decision not to take advantage in the midst of the crisis shows that the country was balancing with weak states, which was the ASEAN Member States, against stronger state which was Japan. However, as Waltz points out that there is no

genuine cooperation that entail balancing for two reasons. Waltz's critiques backed by two reasons: first, the alliance is only temporary, and second, balancing is only to maintain their own individual survival. In order to preserve its influence in the region, China maintained cooperation with ASEAN Member States to prevent Japan's hegemony in the region. On the other hand, ASEAN tries to maintain its centrality.

In the case of EAS, Japan arrived as the winner when ASEAN decided to include non-APT Member States into the EAS. Later on, the US and Russia also joined the EAS forum consequently China must face more difficulties in its effort to expand its influence and interest. This is parallel to Waltz's notion that states must follow a 'self-help system' in order to survive. In this case, China accepted ASEAN decision to include non-APT members because the country would face the risk of being excluded in the region if they consistently rejected non-APT members into the EAS. However, it was not necessarily ASEAN Member States emulated Japan because ASEAN's principle of an open regionalism is an inclusive regionalism that according to the Association, instead of weaken members, extra regional linkages appears to make it more strengthen (Ariff, 1994:99).

As explained by Waltz, the adaptation through emulation and balancing have resulted in a political loss. Japan's political loss relates to the country's inability to lead the region because Japan must adapt with other powerful States namely China, India, Australia, New Zealand, the US, Russia and South Korea. Furthermore, non-APT EAS Members must accept the fact that within the EAS, ASEAN set the rules and principles to be followed by all members. These rules are in line with Article 1 Paragraph 15 and Article 2 Paragraph 2(m) of the ASEAN Charter regarding centrality. This also implied that non-APT States were unable to lead the region under the EAS forum. Moreover, the fact is EAS cannot function as the region's government, since there are no binding agreement or decision resulted from the forum is parallel with Waltz's notion that these adaptations only to reproduce anarchy.

By the means of network analysis, ASEAN centrality position within the case of EAS can be found in the second degree of political advantage, which is betweenness centrality. The advantage of this position is ASEAN become a brokerage by linking EAS Member States which have various power capacity within the same discussion forum. In the case of ASEAN, a brokerage position can also be a mediator or facilitator. These efforts were in line with the East Asian Community objectives which includes to normalize the relationship between China and Japan, as well as to alleviate confrontations between China and the US by the time China become a superpower (Wanandi, op.cit).

With a brokerage position, it was difficult for ASEAN to access benefit from other members of EAS as well as to give coercive sanction when Members did not comply to their rules and norms. Among these rules and norms are embodied within the ASEAN Way. In addition, the brokerage position that ASEAN gain was the outcome of other non-ASEAN Member States acceptance to join the EAS. Concerned about the risk of being excluded and marginalized for not being accordance with the wave of regionalism in the region, these non-ASEAN Member States accepted to join the forum.

However, ASEAN as a broker is able to maintain its centrality by exhibiting the power to moderate relations among great nations.

In the case of ASEAN Connectivity, China, Japan, and South Korea are conducting an adaptation through emulation by assisting ASEAN to complete the ASEAN Connectivity projects. It could not be determined which state was the leading state that need to be emulated, but since the AFC, Japan's influence in the region is declining. On the other hand, due to its policy during the AFC and its rising economic and political power, China's influence in the region can be seen to be increasing. Nevertheless, it is not necessarily that Japan and South Korea emulated China because Japan was ASEAN's first Dialogue Partner to form a special Task Force in supporting ASEAN Connectivity. Later on, China followed the action to form an ASEAN-China Committee on Connectivity Cooperation. In the meantime, South Korea remains calm by not establishing any kind of special task force or committee for ASEAN Connectivity. Nevertheless, South Korea, as the middle power in the region, joins Japan and China to support the completion of the ASEAN Connectivity in order not to be excluded or marginalized from the East Asian regionalism.

China, Japan and South Korea's supports toward the completion of the ASEAN Connectivity prioritize projects are embodied in almost every outcome documents of their meetings, bilaterally as well as multilaterally. Japan's support were focused on the completion of energy projects while China supports the completion of land transport. On the other hand, South Korea supports the completion of AHN and SKRL through technical assistances (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012b). However, in the development, their supports are expanded as well. Japan has developed two-pronged approaches in developing Southeast Asia's vital artery for the east-west and southern economic corridor, as well as developing maritime ASEAN's economic corridor. At the same time, China committed its support to build maritime connectivity networks and expand cooperation in areas such as ports, maritime logistics and port industries. In sum, China, Japan, and South Korea were not threatened by ASEAN or its member states, instead to the bilateral cooperation between ASEAN and each of these countries that could imperil their influence in the region.

Moreover, China, Japan and South Korea's survival can be in the form of market preservation in the Southeast Asian region. As explained in the previous chapter, these countries are ASEAN's top trading partners. In addition, once the ASEAN Connectivity projects are completed, not only these countries will have the ability to preserve their market but they will also expand to wider regions. For instance, the completion of SKRL and AHN will connect China and India. Another form is the survival of their influence, this is particularly done by Japan and China.

As for ASEAN, the Association acted as an 'umbrella' for its Member States that are considered as weak States. These weak States are balancing each other against stronger states, which are China, Japan, and South Korea in order to ensure their survival and not to be marginalized. One of the evidence of ASEAN Member States adaptation through balancing in order to survive is that they would selectively accept assistances from external partners based on ASEAN's interest and goals in achieving ASEAN Community in 2015 (Khalik,

op.cit). While for ASEAN as an Association, the need to adapt through balancing is to maintain its centrality and protect the Southeast Asian region from becoming a 'play ground' for its Plus Three Partners that are considered as more powerful.

In line with Waltz's notion, adaptation strategies will produce the minimisation of the relative power gap and the impossibility for a state to take all the others and create an imperial anarchy. It is a fact that none of these countries—China, Japan, South Korea, as well as any ASEAN Member States, are to become the leader in the region. In addition, Waltz's idea that balancing does not entail a sincere cooperation can also be found within ASEAN member states. The recent evidence is in the case of South China Sea, which four out of 10 ASEAN members states, specifically Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Philippines and Vietnam, are claimants of the sea that allegedly abundant of natural resources. At the 45<sup>th</sup> AMM in July 2012, Cambodia as the current chair was disagree to incorporate Philippines and Vietnam proposal regarding their dispute with China over the South China Sea. This has resulted in the failure to produce an outcome document for the first time within 45 years of ASEAN (Sukma, 2012). Some ASEAN countries and "anonymous" diplomatic sources, as reported by the media, have blamed Cambodia for acting on behalf of China. There are also those who blame China for using Cambodia as its proxy to block consensus and create disunity among ASEAN Members. The reason to blame China and Cambodia for the failure is because before the 20<sup>th</sup> Summit in Cambodia, which holds the rotating ASEAN chairmanship, Chinese President Hu Jintao asked Cambodia not to push talks on the issue of the South China Sea. In addition, Hu Jintao pledged for a USD5 billions along with fresh aid to Cambodia (Thui, 2012).

In the end, as explained by Waltz, both adaptations will unintentionally reproduce anarchy. That is also to say, adaptation to anarchy will minimise the relative power gap among states and makes it impossible to any state to become the leader. This can be shown by the fact that China, Japan, South Korea accept ASEAN centrality and its role as the driving force in the midst of East Asian regionalism. Nevertheless, ASEAN as an association is still lack of cohesiveness in which its Member States are still prioritizing their own interest.

Regarding ASEAN centrality position, it can extracted from network analysis that its position within the ASEAN Connectivity is a betweenness centrality with a brokerage political advantage. With a betweenness centrality position, ASEAN's power is able to increase because it has an exclusive tie with Plus Three Partners that have resources to achieve all of the goals within the MPAC. Later on, this exclusive ties are connected to ASEAN Member States by channeling resources in the form of financial and technical assistances particularly to their least developed member states, such as Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam. In specific to physical infrastructure, including hard and soft infrastructure, these member states are characterized by structural weaknesses - low responsiveness to users, organisational inefficiencies, insufficient funding, and heavy dependence on official development assistance, low foreign direct investments, and lack of environmental awareness.

Nevertheless, a *broker* does not have the capability to give a coercive sanction to other member in the networks. In this case, it is difficult for ASEAN to give sanctions to Member States or Plus Three Partners when they do not comply with the MPAC. Furthermore, ASEAN does not have an exit option because of its inability to mobilize resources, particularly fund, internally. On the other hand, there is a possibility that China and Japan's competition in the region will change the methods or ways for ASEAN to complete the Connectivity projects. The main reason is because China and Japan have the resources, or least to say power, to make it possible. This can be seen with Japan's proposal to establish a Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity Plus at the 6<sup>th</sup> East Asia Summit. In addition, some of ASEAN Member States, namely Cambodia and Myanmar, investments dependence heavily on China (Khalik, op.cit). This will give China a bargaining power to affect Cambodia and Myanmar's policy, particularly the ASEAN Connectivity.

#### **4.2.2 Constructivist Analysis**

According to the constructivist, norms play a crucial rule within the international politics. Norms are the foundation of state's identity that eventually define a state's particular interest. In addition, constructivist believes that anarchy is the situation that is able to be changed.

Within 45 years of its establishment and by promoting 'ASEAN Way', the association has been credited with stabilizing the Southeast Asian region, evidenced by the absence of open conflict during its four decades existence (Amador, 2010). The 'ASEAN Way', consists of an informal, consensus-based, and confidence-building efforts rather than binding commitments or agreements, and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other members (Manyin, et.al, 2009:7). Norms and principles that underpin the 'ASEAN Way' are relevant to the characteristic of conflict management where the violence or a de-escalation of hostilities are the subject of elimination that need to be eliminated while causes of conflict not necessarily be eliminated (Nishikawa, 2007:46).

As a regional organization, ASEAN's common principles and norms have been fundamental in directing Member States' methods and approaches to the handling of disputes. One of the evidence is in the case of territorial dispute over Sabah between Philippines and Malaysia that resolved by conflict management approach. According to Caballero-Anthony (1998, as cited in Nishikawa, 2007:48), ASEAN's principles of 'self-control' and 'respect', decreased the possibility of an open military confrontation. This is parallel to the first tier of International Society-Centric Constructivist theory in which ASEAN socialise its norms and principles to its member states in order to achieve state's 'appropriate' behavioural patterns.

Afterward, ASEAN transmits its norms and teaches its member states what their interests are, that is peace and stability in the region. Malaysia and Philippines resolved the dispute without involving military forces. Nevertheless, as Hobson explained in the second tier that agents have a relative autonomy, ASEAN is no different. One of the most important norm of ASEAN is the non-interference that can be categorized as a minimal norm.

With its minimal norm, ASEAN teaches Member States not to interfere to its Member States internal issue. This can be seen by the fact that ASEAN has never taken a lead in addressing fundamental issues in dispute between member states. Nevertheless, ASEAN contributed to a de-escalation of in hostilities (Nishikawa, *ibid*). Consequently, ASEAN gained a relative autonomy while its member states gain a high international agential capacity to solve problems that lead to a cooperative inter-state system. Eventually, member states' adjustment to ASEAN norms and principles resulted in the reproduction of international society.

In the case of the ASEAN Connectivity, the first tier or the 'deep structure of international society' is embodied within the MPAC which serves as a strategic document as well as a plan of action for immediate implementation in the period of 2011-2015. At this point, the MPAC also serves as an inter-subjective reality that is accepted by ASEAN Member States and its Plus Three Partners because it encompasses their shared interest and ideas.

By means of the MPAC, ASEAN socialises norms and principles as well as teaches its member states of what their interests are, that is an enhanced connectivity that would lead to an acceleration of the achievement of ASEAN Community. As a result, ASEAN guides states (its member states and Plus Three Partners) to have a national policy that congruent with the MPAC. The establishment of Japan Task Force on ASEAN Connectivity and ASEAN-China Committee on Connectivity are the materialization of ASEAN's guidance. While for ASEAN Member States, the materialization is the delegation of a representative in ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee. In addition, each of Member States' government appointed a national coordinator that is responsible for overseeing the implementation of specific plans or projects at the national level (MPAC, *op.cit*:65).

Moreover, ASEAN Member States and their Plus Three Partners compliance toward ASEAN's norms indicated their preference not to maximise their power. According to Finnemore (as cited in Hobson, *op.cit*), these behaviour might go against the state's power interest. In addition, together (ASEAN member states and Plus Three Partners), they gain a high international agential state power for their compliance behaviour toward international normative structure of ASEAN. Eventually, this will give them the ability to resolve 'collective action problem'. In the case of ASEAN, the 'collective action problem' would be a well-connected ASEAN. Within the case of ASEAN, an enhanced connectivity will establish a Community, specifically ASEAN Community and together with their Plus Three Partner will form an East Asian Community in the longer term. This is relevant to the final outcome from international society-centric constructivism, in which state's conformance to benign norms will reproduce an international society.

One thing that needs to be taken into account is the fact that there are other parties that consist of relevant experts involved in the process of MPAC's establishment. Together with ASEAN's High Level Task Force on Connectivity, these parties, namely ADB, ERIA and UNESCAP, studied internal and external connectivity that also included innovative infrastructure financing mechanism (MPAC, *op.cit*:70). This also implies that the inter-

subjective political reality that lies within the MPAC is not only a shared ideas, joint practices, and common rules of ASEAN Member States but others that involved in the adoption of the MPAC. Consequently, it affected ASEAN centrality position within the network as well as affected their political advantages.

By applying the case of ASEAN Connectivity from constructivist perspecting to the network centrality analysis, it can be extracted that ASEAN centrality position is a betweenness centrality with political advantage as a broker. This is similar to the position extracted from neorealist analysis. The difference is, states cooperate to achieve the goal of an enhanced connectivity are not maximising their power nor trying to increase their influence in the region. The reason is based on the logic of appropriateness lies within the international society-centric constructivism, that is states are prefer to conform to benign norms.

However, there is one challenge remains in the case of the ASEAN Connectivity that should not be overlooked, that is the challenge of internal cohesiveness. Indonesia is one of the good evidence where internal cohesiveness among Member States can be a challenge. As the largest country in the Southeast Asia, Indonesia must face its internal connectivity challenges. It is a fact that the Western part of the country is more developed compared to the Eastern part. Java and Sumatera that located in the Western part of the country still dominate the contribution to the country's economy with 57 percents. This condition was realised by the Indonesian leaders that later adopted Master Plan for Acceleration and Expansion of Economic Development (MP3EI) whose implementation will last until 2025. The MP3EI calls for infrastructure development to improve connectivity throughout the archipelago. The development is slated to take place along six economic corridors throughout the nation, namely Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java, Sulawesi, Bali and Nusa Tenggara and Papua-Maluku (Idrus 2012).

Another evidence is in the case of trans-ASEAN gas pipelines in which the government of Indonesia prefer to put the project behind domestic pipelines. Indonesia Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources committed to complete trans-Java and trans-Sumatera first because trans-ASEAN pipeline projects are still under the level of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (Pramudatama, 2012).

For an effective and efficient regional connectivity, each ASEAN Member States must have a reliable domestic connectivity. One cannot imagine a robust regional connectivity with the absence of reliable domestic connectivity. Just as important are the sub-regional initiatives on connectivity that must be implemented (T. Purnajaya, official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, personal communication, 19 September 2012). This can also implies that ASEAN Member States prefer to improve their own connectivity before the ASEAN Connectivity. With this condition, ASEAN can not do anything to alter its Member States behaviour because it will against its primary norms, namely the non-interference and consensus-based. The norms of non-interference and consensus-based that underpin the 'ASEAN Way' implies that whatever differences it encountered, ASEAN must find a common ground to overcome the issue.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

According to the network analysis, centrality is defined as the importance of actor within a network of international politics. There are three classes of centrality that derived from network analysis and each of this class provides different political advantage to the actor. The first class is the degree centrality with *access* political advantage. The actor in this position has the ability to give coercive sanction to other members of the network if the cooperation become more contentious. The second class is the betweenness centrality with brokerage political advantages. As a broker, node has the ability to fills or bridges a less structural holes in the network. Meanwhile, the third centrality is not necessarily a centrality, instead it is a position where node has the the ability to de-link or exit the network.

With regards to ASEAN, it does not have a clear definition on ‘centrality’ as well as how to promote it. Several studies concludes that centrality is considered as leadership for the reason that ASEAN set the rules and principles to be followed by ASEAN Member States as well as their Plus Three Partners. In addition, the type of ASEAN leadership is a *de facto* where powerful states choose to give ASEAN a leadership position in order not to be led by another powerful countries. Nevertheless, centrality has become ASEAN’s purpose and principle since its establishment in 1967 which was also in the midst of the Cold War. The purpose was not to be marginalized and to protect the Southeast Asian region from becoming a ‘playground’ for two superpowers, namely the US and Soviet Union. With the current development in international politics, ASEAN must continue to *maintain* and to *emphasize* its centrality in every external relationship. The rise of new powerful states such as China and India, needless to say South Korea and Australia, will make the Southeast Asian region as the target of influence expansion. This condition is realized by ASEAN Leaders that later mandated centrality within ASEAN Charter.

One of the instrument to maintain its centrality is the ASEAN Connectivity which goal is to have a well-connected Southeast Asian region and to expedite the ASEAN Community. To meet the goal of ASEAN Connectivity, ASEAN Leaders adopted the MPAC that serves as the guidelines to implement projects of ASEAN Connectivity. Once the ASEAN Connectivity is achieved, ASEAN will become the centre of growth and development not only in Southeast Asian region but to a East Asian region and beyond.

Based on the analysis of neorealist and constructivist in this research paper, ASEAN Connectivity contribution to ASEAN centrality is a betweenness centrality with a brokerage political advantage. In order to complete ASEAN Connectivity projects, ASEAN needs a lot of assistances, particularly financial fund. Its Plus Three have committed to assist ASEAN in completing Connectivity projects within 2015 as stated in every outcome documents. This gives ASEAN an exclusive tie with Plus Three Partners and later provides

ASEAN the ability to channel resources from its Plus Three Partners to its least developed Member States. Nevertheless, as a broker, ASEAN is not in the position where it can give a coercive sanction toward its non-compliance Member States nor its Plus Three Partners.

There are differences regarding ASEAN betweenness centrality from neorealist and constructivist perspective in the case of ASEAN Connectivity. From the perspective of neorealist ASEAN Member States and their Plus Three Partners are trying to save themselves in an anarchic world as well as maximizing their interest. Whereas from the constructivist standpoint, states that are involve in ASEAN Connectivity are not trying to maximize their interest instead conforming to ASEAN's benign norm.

ASEAN as a broker successfully channels assistances given by its Plus Three Partners particularly to its least developed Members. To some extent ASEAN has been able to moderate China, Japan and South Korea's competition as well as protect the region from being marginalized by its Plus Three Partners. This is done by selectively accept assistances that are in line with ASEAN's needs and interests from its Plus Three Partners. On the other hand, from the constructivist standpoint, ASEAN Member States and their Plus Three Partners prefer to comply to the MPAC that embodied the norms of ASEAN Connectivity. In addition, ASEAN Member States and their Plus Three Partners are putting aside their own interest and choose to cooperate. The final outcome of States compliance to the MPAC is the reproduction of international society.

Both from neorealist and constructivist, the main challenge are the same that is internal cohesiveness. ASEAN Member States and their Plus Three Partners are still pursuing their interest and needless to say maximizing their power. The case of Cambodia and Indonesia are the evidence of their incohesive behaviour toward ASEAN Connectivity. This is also indicates that using constructivism to analyse ASEAN centrality in the case of ASEAN Connectivity is less suitable compare to neorealism. The reason is because ASEAN norms of non-interference that incorporated under the 'ASEAN Way' is tend to support Member States to pursue their interest. In addition, these norms and principles provide the opportunity for external partners to maximize their power and interest. Economic cooperation, including aid and investment, is among external partners' tool to expand their interest, as evidenced by the case of Cambodia and China.

ASEAN centrality is a principle and purpose that has to be maintained as mandated in ASEAN Charter. In order to do so, first of all, ASEAN must have a clear definition or understanding about centrality itself. Whether it is to prevent the region from being marginalized by emerging powers in the East Asian region or to put ASEAN as a decision maker in all of ASEAN driven forum. In addition, ASEAN must conquer its greatest challenge, that is lack of internal cohesiveness. If ASEAN is able to overcome the problem of lack of internal cohesiveness, than ASEAN need not to worry about external threats that can cause the marginalization of the Southeast Asian nation. Because all of ASEAN Member States are unite to pursue their common goal, which is ASEAN Community. One important thing that ASEAN need to do to handle

this internal problem is not to neglect its least developed Member States, because it can be the loophole to be filled by external partners.

To assess whether ASEAN Connectivity gives a significant contribution to ASEAN centrality depends on ASEAN's definition on centrality. With regards to three to this research paper result, ASEAN centrality is at the second degree centrality, that is betweenness centrality with brokerage political advantage. If the role as a brokerage is what ASEAN defined as centrality, than the process of completing ASEAN Connectivity contributes significantly to ASEAN centrality.

In the end, ASEAN Connectivity is stil in the stage of completion. ASEAN is still mobilizing resources internally and externally. Supports come not only from its Plus Three Partners but from other States and Insitutions. Once ASEAN Connectivity projects are completed, the result of ASEAN Centrality is another research subject.

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# Appendices

## 15 ASEAN Connectivity Prioritized Projects (Source: Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity, 2010)

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
<b>A. Physical Connectivity</b>			
1. Completion of the ASEAN Highway Network (AHN) Missing Links and Upgrade of Transit Transport Routes  [LAND TRANSPORT]	<p>The ASEAN Highway Network (AHN) is a flagship land transport infrastructure project which forms the major road (interstate highway) component of the overall trans-ASEAN transportation network. The AHN will help provide access to an enlarged market, reduce transportation and trade cost, establish linkages with regional and global supply chains, and facilitate greater regional economic cooperation and integration. The AHN's current implementation state still shows missing links and 'below Class III' roads within ASEAN's designated Transit Transport Routes (TTRs). The subset of projects below will complete these missing links and prioritise the upgrade of 'below Class III' roads in designated TTRs by 2015.</p> <p>Missing links:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Myanmar: AH112 (Thaton – Mawlamyine – Lahnya – Khlong Loy, 60 km)</li> <li>(ii) Myanmar: AH123 (Dawei – Maesamepass, 141 km)</li> </ul> <p>Upgrading of 'Below Class III' TTRs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Lao PDR: AH12 (Vientiane – Luang Prabang, 393 km)</li> <li>(ii) Lao PDR: AH15 (Ban Lao – Namphao, 98 km)</li> <li>(iii) Myanmar: AH1 (Tamu – MDY – Bago – Myawadi, 781 km)</li> <li>(iv) Myanmar: AH2 (Meikthila – Loilem – Kyaington – Tachikeik, 593 km)</li> <li>(v) Myanmar: AH3 (Kyaington – Mongla, 93 km)</li> </ul>	<p>CAPITAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs), Bilaterals, National Budgets, China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund and the US\$15b China-ASEAN credit, Japan</p>	<p>The AHN sections identified for priority implementation here are those that will result in the completion of the missing links in the AHN and will upgrade designated TTRs to the barest minimum road class standards. Focus on implementing this subset of projects appears to be more achievable by 2015, as compared to the completion of all the construction and/or upgrading required for the entire AHN by 2015. Moreover, priority to the completion of the AHN by 2015 is stipulated in the ASEAN Leaders' Statement on ASEAN Connectivity (October 2009) as well as the AEC Blueprint.</p> <p>Completion of the missing links and other infrastructure projects could contribute towards the development of economic corridors which are already in progress in ASEAN.</p>
2. Completion of the Singapore Kunming Rail Link (SKRL) Missing Links  [LAND TRANSPORT]	<p>THE Singapore Kunming Rail Link (SKRL) is another flagship project for land transport infrastructure intended to link seven ASEAN Member States and China through Singapore–Malaysia–Thailand–Cambodia–Viet Nam–China (Kunming) and spur lines in Thailand–Myanmar and Thailand–Lao PDR. To complete the mainline SKRL and to demonstrate ASEAN's resolve to complete this rail link, the following links need to be prioritised for construction:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Thailand: Aranyaprathet – Klongluk, 6 km</li> <li>(ii) Cambodia: Poipet – Sisophon, 48 km</li> <li>(iii) Cambodia and Viet Nam: Phnom Penh – Snuol – Loc Ninh, 254 km</li> <li>(iv) Viet Nam: Loc Ninh – Ho Chi Minh City, 129 km</li> </ul>	<p>CAPITAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: MDBs, Bilaterals, ASEAN Member States' (AMS) assistance to other AMS, National Budgets, Private Sector Participation (PSP), ASEAN Infrastructure Fund (AIF), China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund and the US\$15b China-ASEAN credit</p>	<p>The railway sections prioritised here correspond to the sections that will complete the mainline SKRL. The first three - items (i), (ii) and (iii) - are scheduled for completion by 2015. Item (iv), which is a 129 km connection between Loc Ninh and Ho Chi Minh City, is currently scheduled for completion by 2020. The full benefits of SKRL will only be realised if all the links - (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) - are completed by 2015.</p>

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
3. Establish an ASEAN Broadband Corridor (ABC)  [ICT]	<p>The ASEAN Broadband Corridor (ABC) project has two main objectives: (i) to provide the infrastructure backbones to enable ICT services to all communities in ASEAN; and (ii) to put in place the required enabling policies and legislation to attract businesses and investments to the region.</p> <p>The project will focus on development of the “next generation infrastructure” (which refers to both wired and wireless technologies) and set the minimum standards and quality of broadband connectivity in ASEAN. It will also identify and develop the locations in each ASEAN Member State which offer quality broadband connectivity and enabling environment for the seamless usage and ICT applications across ASEAN and enhance the development of ICT and other sectors (e.g. broadband to all schools), and promote the diversity of international connectivity among ASEAN Member States. [2015]</p>	<p>CAPITAL/TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: AIF, PSP, Dialogue Partners, Bilaterals, MDBs, National Budgets</p>	<p>As information infrastructure is fundamental to improving economic efficiency through providing access to information and knowledge, it is necessary to establish an ABC. The ABC will be significant as it can boost business and social development throughout the region. It also can allow individuals to build a sense of community and awareness beyond their immediate surroundings.</p>
4. Melaka-Pekan Baru Interconnection (IMT-GT: Indonesia)  [ENERGY]	<p>This project involves a 600 MW high voltage direct current (HVDC) interconnection between Peninsular Malaysia and Sumatra, Indonesia consisting of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Submarine cable (52 km) through the Straits of Malacca from Telok Gong in Malaysia to the Island of Rupert in Indonesia;</li> <li>(ii) Overhead transmission lines (30 km) crossing the Rupert Island;</li> <li>(iii) Submarine cable (5 km) crossing the Rupert Straits up to Dumai;</li> <li>(iv) 275 kV overhead transmission lines (200 km) from Dumai to Garuda Sakti in Central Sumatra to be built by Indonesia's state electricity firm - Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN); and,</li> <li>(v) Converter stations in Telok Gong and Garuda Sakti including harmonic filters and other necessary transmission facilities.</li> </ul> <p>The project will be implemented in two phases. The first phase will consist of a 300 MW single pole configuration and the second phase will add a second 300 MW pole allowing the interconnection to operate on a bipolar configuration. [2012]</p>	<p>CAPITAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: AIF, Asian Development Bank (ADB)</p>	<p>The rationale for the project is based on a win-win deal where each country will share their peaking capacity and the spinning reserve due to (i) the one hour time difference between the two countries; and (ii) the difference in peak hours and load curve pattern (Malaysia has a day peak, while Sumatra has a night peak).</p>

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
5. West Kalimantan-Sarawak Interconnection (BIMP-EAGA: Indonesia) [ENERGY]	The project will consist of 120 km high voltage 275kV AC interconnection called the West Kalimantan-Sarawak Interconnection and Bengkayang substation. The line will connect Bengkayang Substation in West Kalimantan to Mambong Substation in Sarawak. PLN will build an 82 km line in West Kalimantan side while the length of line in Sarawak side will be around 38 km. In addition, to allow the power to reach the load centre in West Kalimantan, PLN will build 60 km of 150 kV AC line from Bengkayang substation to Singkawang substation. [2013]	CAPITAL ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: AIF, ADB	The interconnection will increase the reliability of the West Kalimantan system. The rationale for the project is based on a win-win deal where: (i) West Kalimantan will reduce the oil consumption since most of the existing plants are diesel-based; and (ii) each country will share their peaking capacity and the spinning reserve due to (a) the one hour time difference between the two countries; and (b) the difference in peak hours and load curve pattern (Sarawak has a day peak, while West Kalimantan has a night peak).
6. Study on the Roll-on/roll-off (RoRo) Network and Short-Sea Shipping [MARITIME TRANSPORT]	The project will involve a technical and feasibility study on adopting a roll-on/roll-off (RoRo) network in ASEAN and an assessment of options available for ASEAN Member States to encourage the development of short-sea shipping.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, USAID, Asia Foundation	This study will be a first step in exploring one of the options to implement one of the key principles in the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity on bridging archipelagic ASEAN with mainland ASEAN.

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
<b>B. Institutional Connectivity</b>			
1. Developing and Operationalising Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs) for Prioritised and Selected Industries  [FREE FLOW OF GOODS]	This project will assist ASEAN Member States to (i) develop more Mutual Recognition Arrangements (MRAs), in particular, for the priority integration sectors; and (ii) adhere to the general principles and conditions stipulated in the ASEAN Framework Agreement on MRAs and to facilitate the recognition of results of compulsory certification required by a Member State where the certificate is issued by conformity assessment bodies in the territory of another Member State, especially for the prioritised sectors.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, ASEAN Economic Integration Support Programme (EU), MDBs	Technical assistance is required to implement this. As of 2010, ASEAN has only developed MRAs for the electrical and electronic sector, and cosmetic sector. More MRAs would need to be developed, in particular, for the priority integration sectors as ASEAN works towards the creation of a single market and production base by 2015.
2. Establishing Common Rules for Standards and Conformity Assessment Procedures  [FREE FLOW OF GOODS]	This project will undertake a stock-take of regulatory regimes/legislative framework, an assessment of the feasibility of establishing a set of common rules, and the development of a roadmap to implement these rules across ASEAN as a region.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, ASEAN Economic Integration Support Programme (EU), MDBs	In 2005, ASEAN prepared a policy guideline on standards and conformance which provides the guiding principles for harmonising standards, implementing relevant conformity assessment schemes, and their adoption in technical regulations. As ASEAN strives to achieve free flow of goods by 2015, it is imperative for such a study to be undertaken.
3. Operationalise all National Single Windows (NSWs) by 2012  [FREE FLOW OF GOODS/ASEAN SINGLE WINDOW]	Technical assistance should be provided to help ASEAN Member States, particularly the newer Member States (i.e., CLMV countries), to accelerate the technical, legal, institutional and infrastructural preparations toward the operationalisation of National Single Windows (NSWs) for selected ports.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: Dialogue Partners, ADVANCE ASEAN Single Window Project (US), National Budgets, MDBs, Bilaterals	ASEAN Leaders agreed that ASEAN-6 and CLMV countries should implement their NSWs by 2008 and 2012 respectively with the view to shorten the processing time, expedite the clearance of goods, lower transaction costs and also lower barriers to trade for new businesses. To date, not all ASEAN-6 countries have operationalised their respective NSWs.

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
<p>4. Options for a Framework Modality towards the Phased Reduction and Elimination of Scheduled Investment Restrictions/ Impediments</p> <p>[FREE FLOW OF INVESTMENTS]</p>	<p>With the objective of attracting and retaining investments in the region, ASEAN has in recent years taken bold steps in creating a more open and facilitative investment environment in the region with the signing of the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA), a comprehensive agreement that builds upon and improves on the two investment agreements signed in 1987 and 1998. ACIA is based upon international best practices and is forward looking.</p> <p>Under ACIA, ASEAN adopted a negative list approach and set a definitive timeline of 2015 to open investment in ASEAN which shall be achieved through progressive liberalisation. In fulfilling the target of 2015, ASEAN needs to develop a framework/modality in which Member States will undertake a phased approach in removing the remaining investment measures that restrict free flow of investments in the region. A technical assistance project needs to be provided to draw up and implement a liberalisation programme taking into account the need for the framework/modality e.g. formula with clear criteria and timeline that would outline the phased reduction and elimination schedule of restrictions for individual Member States until 2015. The technical assistance would also include the formulation of a set of guiding principles and criteria that would guide the proposed phased reduction schemes.</p>	<p>TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: Dialogue Partners, ASEAN-Australia Development Cooperation Programme Phase II</p>	<p>Implementation of the Master Plan involves investment in physical and other connectivity projects. The investment environment in ASEAN Member States needs to be enhanced to ensure that FDI flows will be further encouraged to augment other sources of funding. This project will complement ASEAN's efforts under the AEC Blueprint to undertake phased reduction/elimination of investment restrictions by proposing options for a modality for such reductions.</p>
<p>5. Operationalisation of the ASEAN Agreements on Transport Facilitation</p> <p>[TRANSPORT FACILITATION]</p>	<p>This involves the technical assistance and related studies to implement the specific Protocols of the ASEAN Framework Agreement on the Facilitation of Goods in Transit (AFAFGIT). This priority project focuses on one of the three ASEAN transport facilitation agreements which ASEAN concluded as early as 1998 so that critical elements to put in place an effective and seamless transit transport system in the ASEAN region can be implemented.</p>	<p>TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, MDBs, ASEAN Economic Integration Support Programme (EU), Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF).</p>	<p>Three transport facilitation agreements covering inter-state transport, multimodal transport and goods in transit are crucial in fostering cross-border facilitation. Currently, many protocols of these agreements have yet to be finalised, ratified or implemented, thereby delaying the establishment of effective cross-border facilitation and seamless transit transport system in ASEAN, including movement of cross-border passengers and goods under the development of procedures for cross-border management (CIQ).</p>

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
<b>C. People-to-People Connectivity</b>			
1. Easing Visa Requirements for ASEAN Nationals  [MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, TOURISM]	This project will facilitate mobility of people and tourists, possibly involving visa exemption for intra-ASEAN travel by ASEAN nationals in all ASEAN Member States. The possibility of implementing progressive visa relaxation for foreign tourists visiting ASEAN by 2015 will also be explored.	POLICY/ IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS; TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, MDBs	This addresses basic people-to-people connectivity issues as well as tourism facilitation. It sends a strong signal on ASEAN's resolve to harmonise its procedures as one community.
2. Development of ASEAN Virtual Learning Resource Centres (AVLRC)  [CULTURE]	This is a two-part project. The first is a study to identify key factors related to the development of the ASEAN Virtual Learning Resource Centres (AVLRC), including technical issues and web management. The study is important at this stage since there will be several sectors involved in the management of the AVLRC, including culture, education and tourism. Outcomes gathered from this study will form the basis of part 2 of the project, that is, the development of AVLRC.	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, MDBs	ASEAN has one of the richest cultural heritage in the world with a population of some 590 million people living in an area spanning over 4.43 million km <sup>2</sup> . With the advent of ICT, greater interaction could be fostered among the peoples of ASEAN through sharing of information on the people, culture, history, places of interest and economy of each Member State by establishing and hyperlinking Virtual Learning Resources Centres.
3. Develop ICT Skill Standards  [ICT]	The project involves developing a Mutual Recognition Arrangement (MRA) for the ICT skill standards in ASEAN and will have two phases:  (i) Develop an ICT Certification and Skills Upgrading programme which will focus on adoption of the certification of ICT skill sets, promotion for movement of certified ICT experts and develop a competitive ICT workforce through skills upgrading to meet the demand for ICT resources; and  (ii) Establish MRA for skill certification which focuses on the development of ICT skill standards for ASEAN and promotion of the movement of ICT human capital within ASEAN. [2015]	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE  POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: AIF, ADB	An MRA for ICT skill certification will be necessary for developing consistency in the ICT skill standards required for different certifications across ASEAN. By doing so, businesses in every ASEAN country can be assured of the quality of ICT manpower and ICT experts can be viewed as legitimate wherever they go in the ASEAN region.

Project Title	Project Description	Type of Intervention/ Sources of Financing	Remarks/Justification
4.ASEAN Community Building Programme  [CULTURE, EDUCATION]	<p>One main activity under this programme is a tour of performing artistes in all ASEAN countries in August each year, coinciding with ASEAN's anniversary. At each stop (preferably, the performance should take place in the provincial capital), cultural exhibitions will be held to further promote understanding of the region's cultural diversity. The local media will be invited to broadcast the performance.</p> <p>The second activity brings together key movers and shakers from private sector, academic, non-government organisations, youth groups and local community for exchange programmes. A related activity involves expanding collaboration among higher education institutions, research institutions, and centres of excellence in ASEAN Member States to jointly undertake research on the ASEAN region, ASEAN countries, and how ASEAN could further progress in key areas which will foster greater regional integration.</p>	<p>TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE</p> <p>POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FINANCING: National Budgets, Dialogue Partners, MDBs, JAIF</p>	<p>Promoting a sense of regional identity requires a basic awareness of the cultural heritage of the region. The objective of the project is intended to showcase ASEAN's best arts and cultural performances that will allow the public, both ASEAN and international communities, to know and understand more about the history and cultures of ASEAN Member States, and the work of ASEAN. In order to have optimum achievements, it is expected that the local/international media be involved to broadcast the event to all ASEAN Member States and on the ASEAN website.</p> <p>The need for a major scale participation of ASEAN think-tanks to evaluate and review the work of ASEAN and on how to improve and expand its activities is needed to be held regularly, either annually or twice a year.</p> <p>The ASEAN University Network (AUN) is currently promoting student mobility and academic exchange. As such, relevant activities could be part of the AUN Secretariat's Strategic Plan.</p>

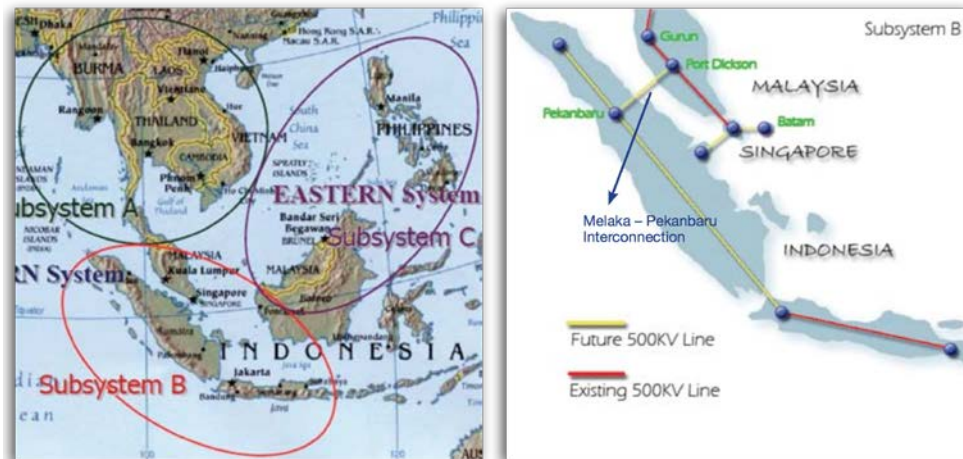
## ASEAN/Asian Highway Network (AHN)



## Singapore-Kunming Railway Links (SKRL)



## Melaka-Pekanbaru Interconnection



## West Kalimantan – Serawak Interconnection

