

**SECURITY COMMUNITY AS A MODEL FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A  
CASE STUDY OF ASEAN**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**CHANDER SHEKHAR**



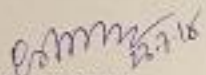
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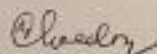
**DECLARATION**

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Security Community as a Model for Conflict Resolution: A case study of ASEAN" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

  
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**CERTIFICATE**

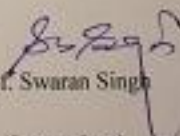
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...Dedicated to Prof. Harimohan Sharma (DU) and my Family

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASC	ASEAN Security Community
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
CR	Conflict Resolution
ES	English School
EU	European Union
IPT	International Political Theory
IR	International Relation
JI	Jemaah Islamiah
MAPHILINDO	Malaysia Philippines Indonesia
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTS	Non-Traditional Security
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEANWFZ	Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zones Treaty



SNC	Supreme National Council
TOAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
UN	United Nation

## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

The proposed research examines the concept of security community as a framework in conflict resolution. This is done by incorporating the case study of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Security Community building, which has not yet been established by the ASEAN community members. However, it has moved towards a building security community direction after 2003. It would also look at different sorts of security community strategies—which is different from the mainstream scholarship that primarily has focused on traditional aspects, especially material and military forces, in the resolution of conflicts, notably both traditional and non-traditional issues, which are clearly becoming crucial for international and regional security and peace. This study will be historical, qualitative, analytical and explorative in nature and will utilize both primary and secondary sources.

#### **Conceptualizing Security Community**

The term ‘Security Community’ is conceptualized as a group of people or states which is based on common values, interests and identity; it likewise privileges the peaceful means for the settlement of conflicts instead of using force as realist thinkers believe in. According to Karl Deutsch, “a security community is a group of people which has become ‘integrated’. By integration it means the attainment, within a territory, of a ‘sense of community’ and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a ‘long’ time, dependable expectations of ‘peaceful change’ among its populations” (Deutsch et al 1957:5). From this, it reveals how much security community is intimately linked with conflict resolution through the process of consultation, dialogues and face-to-face contacts.

Moreover, it of course offers a long term assurance to members of community that they would not use military force against each other. According to Amitav Acharya, an India born constructivist, cultural norms and the ‘we feeling’ are identified as a crucial feature of security community (Acharya 200The work on the concept of security community

evolved primarily after the World War II, especially in the 1950s by Richard Van Wagenen. Nonetheless, it was not until the 1957 study by Karl Deutsch and his associates that “the concept of security communities received its first full theoretical and empirical treatment” (Adler and Barnett 1998:06). In the domain of international relations, security community has been discerned as an important mechanism because it facilitates, through using dialogue and discussion and other informal measures, community to manage conflicts both traditional and non-traditional issues. According to Amitav Acharya, security community was the “first major attempts in the period after the Second World War to raise the possibility of non-violent change in international relations” (Acharya 2001:01). Since then, scholars of IR began to recognize the significance of this framework. In addition, security community is understood as an essential instrument for the world communities in order to avoid the future conflicts and wars through ‘integrating process’ as the world had experienced two World Wars. In that context, security community provided a framework through which each member can understand each other and thereby resolve conflicts.

Security community is the product of the change in international politics and it presents an alternative framework for regional interaction and process—which has changed the dynamics of peaceful settlement of conflicts. In the European Union for instance, countries like Germany and France had engaged in war for many centuries but today they have come together through common understanding, values and institutions, and built a security community based on interests. Several examples can be identified of security community model in the realm of international relations as a whole, namely, the Baltic region, the Scandinavian region, Sweden-NATO, Transatlantic security community , Canada-US, US-Mexico and the Asia-Pacific region among China, Japan, Russia, the US and the emerging security community among the ASEAN.

The most notable scholars associated with the work of security communities are Haas (1958;1976), Deutsch (1957;1961), Rosamond (2005), Sweet and Sandholtz (1997), Eberwein (1995), Adler and Barnett (1998), Amitav Acharya (1995; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2009; 2013), Babbitt (2011), Buzan and Waever (2003), Ramsbotham et al (2011), Rieker (2016), Woolford and Ratner (2008), and so on. These scholars have examined

security community and its different sort of dynamics; the role in conflict resolution; and ASEAN security community from different vantage point of view in international relations.

In the Asian context, the ASEAN organization “provides an important and rich area of investigation into the study of security community” (Acharya 2001:4). The ASEAN was established after the two failed attempt: the first was the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) in 1961 that comprised of Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines; and the MAPHILINDO in 1963 which was composed of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. After more than three decades of ASEAN existence, the attempt for building security community began in its Bali summit in 2003. Before that, the ASEAN region was known as the ‘the Balkan of the East’ and a ‘region of revolt’ (Acharya, 2001:04).

The process of community building although began in the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit in Bali, Indonesia in October 2003 to be comprised of political and security community (APSC); economic community (AEC); and socio-cultural community (ASCC). Moreover, these three pillars were seen as “closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing for the purpose of ensuring durable, peace, stability and shared prosperity in the region” (ASEAN Declaration of Bali Concord II, 2003). The ASEAN had resolved to evolve into a security community by 2015. It, however, could not achieve its objective of building security community. The internal developments in the ASEAN countries have played an important role in this inability in forming security community.

In this light, a few questions can be raised: Why the phenomenon of security community germinated after the World Wars II? Has security community existed before the World Wars? What is the process of building security community? How it has been engaging in conflict resolution in international relations? What are the salient measures and methods in security community in order to overcome the emerging challenges in conflict resolutions? How security community contributes in promoting peace and stability in international politics?

## **Discourses on Security Community**

The spectrum of discourses on Security Community can be divided into three sub-sections based on themes: theoretical framework; security community and conflict resolution; and ASEAN as a security community.

### *(i) Theoretical Framework*

The idea of security community has been conceptualized by different scholars in a different ways. Despite of this, very few scholars have interpreted security community from different theoretical vantage point. Although, not much systemic study has been done on security community. IR theories do not deal directly with security community. Realism, the dominant theory of IR, however argues that it is the human nature and structure of international system that shape the relations and is cause for the rise of survival, balance of power, security dilemmas and self help in international politics, which stimulate actors for the formation of security community (Morgenthau 1948; Hertz 1953; Waltz 1979; Mearsheimer 2001 and 2002; Leifer 1973; 1989; and 1999).

In the wake of this realist claims dominant during the 1950s the integration theory was evolved, with epistemological question, in international relations. While, Deutsch (1957; and 1961) has been a famous figure on the study of security community; it was also nurtured by other scholarly writings, such as Haas (1953; 1958; and 1976), Eberwein (1995) and Rosamond (2005). According to Sweet and Sandhotz (1997), Deutsch and Haas are the two of the founders of integration theory. The former focuses on transactional flows, communication and social exchange and while latter insists on interdependence, system change, social scientific norms and supranational institutions (Sweet and Sandhotz 1997: 300). It was the Hassian neo-functionalism that gave rise to Karl Deutsch's approach to the integration of security community (Rosamond 2005: 240). On the other hand, liberalism does talk about peaceful relations and peace establishment through institutional cooperation among the actors.

Furthermore, with the end of the Cold War, the mainstream IR theories, realism and liberalism, were challenged by the new theories—such as constructivism and other non-mainstream theories. The realist assumptions, based on material forces, had provoked

other scholars to think beyond its core assumptions. Amitav Acharya (1995; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2009; 2011 and 2013), a very famous figure in the advancement of constructivist theory, is likewise associated with security community work from constructive perspective that particularly talks about norms, identity, and interest that encourage the states to form security community. This was accompanied by several of his associates (Bellamy 2004 and Ba 2005). On the other hand, the theory of international society or English school (ES) views security community in international politics from the reference object of common rules, institutions and interests (Bull 1977: viii) that bring together into a cooperation based organization through “balance of power, international law, diplomacy, the role of the great powers and war” ( Bull 1977: xxxv).

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever nevertheless affirms the argument of neorealist by saying that during the Cold War the security community had consolidated among the capitalist powers and did not need an external threat in order to survive, and it was still in pretty good shape a decade after the fall of the Soviet Union (Buzan and Waever 2003:18). But unlike Buzan and Waever, works of Haas and Deutsch seems “to be inapplicable in the Third World context” (Acharya 2001: 02). This is so because each of the theoretical frameworks examines security community in different perspective and fitted a different equations and matrix to justify their assumption. Undoubtedly, the organizations in the developing countries are not given as equal importance as in the developed countries. In the twenty first century, the gravity of global politics, however, has shifted towards Asia.

### ***(ii) Security community and Conflict resolution***

IR scholars have been seeking to provide the solution for conflicts through different mechanisms, such as democratic peace theory and so on. Security community and its relations with conflict resolution is indeed a very fascinating subject as a new emerging field. Security community and its strategies used in conflict resolution, like decisions based on consensus, dialogues, are a central element in conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is a process through which disputed parties are required to resolve their conflicts by “negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement,

and resort to regional agencies or arrangements” (United Nations (UN) Charter 1945, article 33(a) in Chapter VI). Since the scope of security challenges have increased because societies are facing stress “from population growth, structural changes in the world economy, migration, environment degradation and rapid social change” ( Ramsbotham et al 2011). Since the early 1960s, although various scholars-practitioners “around the world have been experimenting with and developing new approaches to international conflict resolution” (Rothman and Olson 2001 :291).

Security community has been playing a central role in conflict resolution both within and outside of the communities. The European Union, as successful security community model, has been engaging “in promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in its eastern and southern neighborhoods ( for instance, recent cases of instability in Ukraine, Syria and Libya) since the 1990s” (Rieker et al 2016: 02). This demonstrates that a mature security community can help in establishing, through promoting shared values, peace in other countries as well.

According to Karl Deutsch (1957), it is the world society, after integration, in which wars would be automatically eliminated (Deutsch et al 1957:5). In such complex of international relations, “the conflict prevention is successful if conflicts and battle deaths can be avoided, either by means of conflict resolution or transformation, or simply by means of conflict avoidance” (Kivimaki 2012: 403). For Deutsch, it is admitted among community members that “members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way” (Deutsch et al 1957:5). This underlines that for community members the war or force is not a viable option while dealing with critical issues. In addition, regional organization likewise works as crucial element in conflict resolution in order to prevent conflicts among member communities by means of multilateral debates, dialogue, persuasion, seminar diplomacy, and discursive legitimation (Adler 1998:150).

### *(iii) ASEAN as a security community*

The debate on the ASEAN whether it is considered a security community or not has become a subject of debate among scholars of international relations since its

establishment in 1967. In addition, “the ASEAN Security Community is envisaged to bring ASEAN’s political and security cooperation to a higher plane to ensure that countries in the region live in peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic and harmonious environment” (Bali Concord II 2003).

Wolf Dieter Eberwein maintains that “if the absence of war among democracies is assumed to be indicative of a pluralistic security community as defined by Karl Deutsch, this guarantees that the future will be less war prone” (Eberwein 1995:341). The concept of security community, developed by Karl Deutsch in the 1950s, describes it as the group which has developed the ‘habit of long term change’ and ruled out the use of force.

The neo-realist scholarship challenges the claim of the ASEAN --as security community- - by saying that the balance of power and anarchic structure determine the future relationship between states. Therefore, “insecurity has been and remains the core theme of realism and the core of the ASEAN, spurred the formation of the ASEAN, such as Indonesian *Konfrontasi* against Malaysia and threat of communism” (Emmerson, 2005:06). Realists’ scholars such as Michael Leifer (1973; 1989; and 1999) have focused on insecurity and balance of power that shape the ASEAN states interest in international politics. Further, he contends that the Vietnam settlement signifies in terms of a changing balance of external influence that confirms a conventional precedence of state over regional identity (Leifer 1973). ASEAN peace process, according to Michael Leifer, is a “category mistake” (1999: 25).

According to Amitav Acharya , “ASEAN’s concept of regional order has centered on the creation of a Southeast Asian security community” (Acharya 1991: 159). After the Cold War, the importance of ASEAN organization increased-particularly after the September 2001 terrorist attack. He moves further and challenges the mainstream orthodoxy of security community by saying it has experienced “mixed institutional experience to address the subject of constructing a security community” (Acharya 2001: xi). According to him, “ASEAN has already become a security community in Deutsch’s terms—or perhaps become a full- fledged security community” (Acharya 2003:6).



Alice D. Ba, who starts with a complement to Nicholas Khoo as he engages in a familiar debate about ASEAN's status and significance as a security community, adds to Amitav Acharya's argument that "ASEAN achieved at the very least nascent security community status... strengthened by" building-up processes "associated with the first stages of security communities" ( Ba 2005: 263). Adler talks with "analytical and normative argument" (Adler 2008:195) that reinforces the security community studies which are leading role of practices in explaining the development of security communities. The expansion and practices of security community has been getting importance in the non-western world too.

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett "think the unthinkable and contend that security exists at the international level that security politics is profoundly shaped by it" (Adler and Barnett 1998: 03). According to Simon Koschut, "the concept of security community as a *via media*" (Koschut 2014: 519) in international relations theory is "in desperate need for conditions and theoretical models that explain processes of disintegration and decline" (Koschut 2014: 529).

Therefore, the research gap that this study seeks to address is this the increasing role of security community in conflict resolution; locating this in the major debates on security community in international relations; examining the present status of security community in the ASEAN case; and looking at the feasibility of security community in analyzing conflicts in general in international relations.

### **Rationale and Scope of Study**

For purpose of this study, security community is defined as a group of actors in international relations which have integrated themselves on the basis of common norms, values, and interests and committed themselves to peaceful change. In a security community, use of force and hard means, as realists insist on, does not consider a viable option among community members. Instead, community members go with peaceful means, such as discussion, dialogue, consensus, consultation and so on. The major force that brings together countries into a community is 'we feeling' assumption. The objective

of security community is to resolve the conflicts among the community members. The sense of community is the belief among community members that bind up them with shared objectives for a long term peaceful relations and change. Without these fundamental elements of security community, people cannot imagine a security community in international relations.

The significance of this study is that security community provides a platform for all community members to manage traditional and non-traditional challenges emerging after the Cold War, which are transnational in character, and thereby no single country is able to resolve these unilaterally. Hence, a collective efforts of a group of states could only be resolved it from the use of community building. The relevance of security community has rapidly increased in international relations because of the complex nature of international politics, which could only be resolved through interdependence and cooperation with each other. It also attempts to answer some of the questions of 'why'. For instance, what are the preconditions to forming a security community in international relations? What kind of a situation does stimulate the formation of security community? The security community concept is substantive for the world community as it is moving towards more complex than ever.

It is not within the scope of this study to analyze evolution, nature or role of the ASEAN Economic and Socio-Cultural community in international relations. It is also not looking at the European Union as security community but instead examines it in brief as an instance of successful case in security community. Neither it is in the scope of this research to comment on various security communities in international relations nor is it looking at the ASEAN as military pact or alliance. However, the scope of this study would be looking at security community model, briefly examining few major successful cases of security community, in international relations. The ASEAN would be a case study. The study examines the period of ASEAN security community initiative from its establishment in 1967 to till date. During this period, this study would strive to find out the challenges of ASEAN organization to understand why it did not set up security community by 2015?

## **Research Questions**

This study broadly seeks to examine and address following questions.

1. What is security community?
2. How did the concept of security community evolve in the western hemisphere and how is it moving towards the developing countries?
3. What is the role of security community in conflict resolution?
4. How do major international relations theories interpret the concept of the Security Community?
5. What are the challenges community members face in forging and institutionalizing security community?
6. What are the different sorts of strategies security community members deploy while resolving their conflicts through peaceful way?
7. Does ASEAN have the merits of security community?
8. How has domestic politics influenced the process of security community in the ASEAN?
9. How have various scholars debated on the nature of ASEAN as security community?
10. Is there any possibility that the ASEAN would come up with a mature security community?

## **Hypothesis**

This study seeks to explore into a detailed testing of the following hypothesis.

- The concept of security community is western in nature, was brought up after the World War II in a response to the realist dominated thinking of resolving conflicts through force or military, and provides an alternative framework to resolve conflicts through formal and informal mechanism among community members.
- The ASEAN has not become a security community yet, but that does not imply that it has no feature of a security community. Moreover, it had moved towards

building a security community in 2003 and has evolved several features of a Security Community.

### **Research Methodology of Study**

This study is analytical and qualitative in nature. It outlines the development of the ASEAN security community, and, conceptually, it analyzes the context and emergence of security community paradigm. The sources for this research are both primary and secondary. The primary sources include the ASEAN original documents; speeches of ambassadors and ministers and so on. The secondary resources will be mostly from books, articles, journals, magazines and newspapers. Likewise, the study simultaneously utilizes the search engine, namely, Jstor, and other internet sites. The study explores, with the help of historic events, ASEAN security community and its present status in international relations.

### **Outline of this study:**

This study is organized into five chapters. Their titles and brief outline is given below.

#### **Chapter One: Introduction**

The first chapter provides a brief overview of security community debates and its relation with conflict resolution and introduces the ASEAN as a case study. It then discusses the rationale and scope of concept of security community; outlines various research questions and hypothesis of this study.

#### **Chapter Two: Security Community: A theoretical Study**

This chapter problematizes the security community from different theoretical perspective. It examines on-going theoretical debates on security community in IR. It seeks to interpret security community from major IR theories, such as realism, liberalism and constructivism.

### Chapter Three: Security community as model in conflict resolution

The third chapter examines the security community as a model for conflict resolution. This chapter is more conceptual and presents the history and scholarly debates associated with it. It of course highlights methods and successful examples of security community, such as the EU, SADC and the ASEAN.

### Chapter Four: ASEAN as a Security Community

In this chapter, the ASEAN security community is the case study. Accordingly, it tries to figure out the present status of the ASEAN in security community building. It also highlights the historical journey of ASEAN as security community from its establishment in 1967.

### Chapter Five: Conclusion

In the last chapter, it recapitulates main arguments of this study on the validity of security community and its role in conflict resolution in general and the ASEAN security community in particular that is seeking to establish security community in the region. It is not certain when the ASEAN would achieve its security community. The security community building is a long term process that shall be required patience, trust, and so on.

## **Chapter II**

### **Security Community: A Theoretical Study**

Security community has not been given much attention by theorists of international relations with respect to peaceful change. It has generated less interest in research by scholars of international relations. Each IR theory though has given different perspective on how to avoid the situation of war and establish peace. This chapter endeavors to examine the concept of Security Community from international relations theoretical perspective. It also investigates further how major IR theories—such as realism, liberalism and constructivism—look at it. Karl Deutsch’s conception of security community perhaps provides a new framework to comprehend peace and conflicts.

#### **Introduction**

The terms ‘security’ and ‘community’ separately have been studied in international relations theories. The building of community is not a recent phenomenon. According to Simon Koschut, “the logic of community fundamentally challenges the prevailing logic of anarchy” (Koschut 2014: 519). It has been existing after the state of nature formed itself into the state through people’s community as we see in Hobbes, Lockes and Roussues’s writings. Nonetheless, the concept of security community was neglected by international relations theories. Moreover, the World War II resulted in the destruction of relations among the states. It was the advancement of security community—which took place in the Europe first with the European Economic Community—and later expanded to other parts of the world. On security community, the less literature has been written by international relations theorists. Yet, it has got its significance after the Cold War ended. According to Amitav Acharya, “the idea of security community was kept alive mostly in the work of a handful of scholars working on regional security organizations” (Acharya 2001:03). Security community is seen as a field of analyzes which has changed the regional dynamics in international relations through building regional security community between or among the states—which are eager to cooperate peacefully and seek to resolve all the differences without using force. In this globalization era, as the countries are becoming interdependent to each other with new emerging challenges, the

relevance of building security community has increased undoubtedly. Likewise, the post-Cold War period has seen increase in the literature of security community. The nature of security community—confined early only to European countries—is only moving towards the developing countries—such as Asia, Africa and Latin America.

According to Amitav Acharya: “the idea of security community...was integral to a perspective that saw international relations as a process of social learning and identity formation, driven by transactions, interactions and socialization” (Acharya 2001:02). Peace and security has always been a major concern among international relations theories since the beginning of IR as discipline. There are of course several theories that talk about establishing peace and security. However, the conception of Security Community—brought up by Karl Deutsch and his friends—provides a distinct way of learning on how to maintain and resolve conflicts in international relations as the number of problems have increased. Moreover, “the theory of security communities was among the first major attempts in the period after the Second World War to raise the possibility of non-violent change in international relations”(Acharya 2001:1). This demonstrates that members of community will use peaceful measures whenever any sort of conflicts occur. In the realm of international relations security community for a long time has not been considered a significant field to analyze conflicts and for establishing peace. In addition, security community comes after the World War II as a response of mainstream parochial theoretical understanding, which has focused on military forces only.

This chapter is divided into six sections: the first section presents the concept of security community in international relations theory. This will also discuss the absence of security community concept in theoretical field of International relations; the second section will be followed by the realist understanding on security community and its relation with it; the third too will address the liberal perspective on security community; the fourth will analyze constructivism view on security community; the fifth section will critically examine the major theories interpretation on security community in the domain of international relations; and the final section concludes this study by saying that security community as new framework in the field of international relations, which was ignored

by IR theorists, accords a new approach to the study of conflict and peace process and contributes to the international relations theoretical framework.

### **Security and Community**

The concept of security community is a broader field of research. It is though recognized an indispensable approach among the IR theories—which has not been considered a distinct field of study for a long time in IR theories. Let us study security community separately here. The term security has been considered a crucial in international relations and a contested subject among IR scholars. Since the beginning it has focused only on traditional security, such as territory, military and so on. It although has not included other areas which are also equally considered substantive. Still, there is no universal definition of security. Traditionally, it often has been associated with military and wealth by the mainstream international relations theory. The state was the only actor that used to provide security. According to Alexander Wendt: “war is always a logical possibility between states because the capacity for violence is inherent to their nature, but in a pluralistic security community war is no longer considered a legitimate way of settling disputes” (Wendt 1999: 300). In the domain of international relations, it was recognized after the Cold War period. Security is defined as a comprehensive term which includes not merely military and territory—the traditional aspect—but also non-traditional issues also, such as social, economic, culture, environment and feminism and so on.

Furthermore, in the of information age, the countries have become closer due to several diverse and complex natures of international relations. This complexity has further resulted in the catastrophic consequences. In this situation, community concept became crucial as it has increased its relevance among the states. Moreover, community is defined as a group of units or individuals which share common objectives, culture, understanding and history. This proximity brings these different units into a common platform for future objectives. Therefore, security and community are crucial elements in security community building. Both have been playing a crucial role in making peace and stability.



## **Security Community in International Relations Theory**

The Security community has been brought up in the study in the response of realist domination over the state choice in which the focus has been on the state, military and territory. Furthermore, the other areas and issues were avoided in international relations theory. According to Amitav Acharya: “this framework not only challenges the assumptions of realism and neo-realism, but also goes beyond the intellectual parameters established by the neo-realist-neo-liberal divide, which have formed a major part of the theoretical debate in international relations in the late 1980s and 1990s” (Acharya 2001:01). It is believed that “the formation of community at the international level is deeply rooted in International Political Theory (IPT), especially in the famous dichotomy between Kantian cosmopolitanism and Hegelian communitarianism” (Koschut 2014:521). The term ‘community’ in international relations theory has always been not given significant recognition. Moreover, by challenging traditional assumptions it strives to provide a different understanding as “the logic of community fundamentally challenges the prevailing logic of anarchy” (Koschut 2014: 524). However, the concept of security community after the Cold War period has come in the core of international relations. The IR theories though have taken a different stance on the concept of security community.

In addition, peaceful change has always been a challenge among international relations theorists. Traditionally, scholars have examined the condition of society in different types. Hobbes and Locke had imagined the state of nature-prior to the state formation-where there were no such things like community. However, people had come together to create a sovereign that could establish peace and security. The concept of community has always been contested in the domain of international relations theory. The language of community is also crucial here before talking about security community in international relation. According to Adler and Barnett, “the idea that actors can share values, norms and symbols that provide a social identity, and engage in various interactions in myriad spheres that reflect long-term interest, diffuse reciprocity, and trust, strikes fear and incredulity in their hearts” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 03). States however have been engaging through community building in peace building process.

Community is defined as a group of states in international relations which share common culture, norms, rules and beliefs. The importance of community building has especially increased after the Cold War as the new challenges are rising—notably the non-state actors such as terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. After the Second World War, Karl Deutsch and his associates had brought up a new concept that only based on community building for peaceful change in international relations. They worked for “the development of shared understandings, transnational values and transaction flows to encourage community building” (Adler & Barnett 1998:04) for establishing peace.

The concept of security community though is Eurocentric—confined to Western Europe and America—in nature, which from the beginning has come up with several conditions, such as democracy, liberal and pluralistic society. These types of conditions have restricted it from moving other regions except Western Europe and America. However, after the Cold War the trend has changed as regions became pivotal for IR theorists. The elimination of war, as Deutsch believes, could be done only with an establishment of “social groups, political communication, some machinery for enforcement, and some popular habits of compliance” (Deutsch et al 1957:05). States are seeking to enhance the scope of security in international relations and including the non-traditional security challenges.

### **Security Community and Realism**

“Hope for peace will probably not be realized, because the great powers that shape the international system fear each other and compete for power as a result” (Mearsheimer 2001: preface).

This section will address the interpretation of realist thinking to the study of security community. The theory of realism in international relations is very old, and has been dominating since the beginning of the discipline. Realism has not got an acceptable definition yet, however, scholars have defined it from different points of view. Realism is defined as theory of international relation which is based on national interest, power, and so on. The entire history of international relations until the Cold War was predominated by this theory. The theory of realism has many types within it, such as classical realism,

neo realism or structure realism, offensive and defensive realism. Each of them takes a different stance about the world peace. But, one thing is clear about them that they give so much importance to military force as instruments for establishing peace and security. The Classical realism, for instance, is based on human nature as the major cause of conflicts and so on. According to Michael C. Williams, “classical realism reveals a tradition of thinking that provides a subtle and sophisticated understanding of the role of ideas in international relations (IR)” (Williams 2004:634). However, on the other side, the neo-realism or structural realism—brought up by Kenneth Waltz, a recognized theorist, emphasizes on the structure of international system which is without central authority or government. For realists, the importance of realist theory although is increasing because international politics is determined by the assumptions of realism. According to Ken Booth: “it stresses the tragic and conflictual side of relations between states and sees foreign policy in terms of the pursuit of the national interest, defined as power” (Booth 1991 :528).

The relationship between realist theory and security community is quite clear because the former does not consider the building of security community would provide peace and security. Realism does not believe in community building which could establish peace and stability. In their writings they do not use any kind of community word which could be considered crucial for building security community. Moreover, it is important to understand the major assumption on which realism seems to be relying on. It even though moves beyond the liberal notion of establishing peace. Institutions, for example, “reflect state calculations of self-interest based primarily on concerns about relative powers...reflect the balance of power” (Mearsheimer 1995: 82). The realist theory is based on the following major assumptions:

First, the state is the only actor in international politics which establish peace. Second, the structure of international system is anarchic in nature. This means there is no government over national government. Third, military is the only option in the hands of states which protect their national interest and territory. Fourth, building alliance and balance of power are considered significant mechanism or instruments for establishing peace and security in international politics.

Now the question is asked why states are behaving like that. The offensive realism—especially John J Mearsheimer—provides this answer. According to whom (Mearsheimer 2001:14), first, “the absence of a central authority that sits above states and can protect them from each other, second, the fact that states always have some offensive military capability, and third, states can never be certain about other states’ intentions”.

Realist scholars would not agree with the security community supporters about their claims that peace could be established only by building security community. Instead, they (realist) claim that it is the structure of international politics which stimulate states to shape or establish security among states through balance of power principle or deterrence. In realist understanding, the principle of balance of power is considered important because international politics is moved around it. In addition, it is conceded that there is no word, such as security community, in the dictionary of realist theory which could discuss for peaceful change. On the other hand, security community believes in peaceful change through interaction, norms and community building. In theory, building a security community is a long term process—which should be bound up with share norms, identity and interest-- though which clearly begins with interaction, discussion, and further lead to interest. This interest finally would result in community building. The realists scholar do not contemplate community would provide any such results because it rather asserts that balance of power would shape it, not security community. For Mearsheimer, “a peaceful world is surely an attractive idea, but it is not a practical one” (Mearsheimer 2001: 22). From this, it becomes clear that for realists’ peace can only be forged with force and military.

The interplay between security community and realist understanding on how to build peace is sharply distinct as both seem riding on two different horses. Moreover, the two uses of realism, as Michael Nicholson discusses, can be seen: broad sense and narrow sense. The former according to him is “the view that human beings are fundamentally selfish...lead to pessimism about human development” (Nicholson 1998: 65), whereas the latter stresses on the states as “the exclusive actors in an anarchic system...they are the true representatives of the broad realist view in international relations” (Nicholson 1998: 65-66). These two different uses clearly reveal to the security community

framework that realism has been moving how from human to anarchic. In addition, it is accepted that “security is a dominant goal of a state” (Nicholson 1998: 67). This could be clear from this statement that the actors might have same objectives but their mechanisms or strategies always would be different from others.

Furthermore, for security community supporters, states come together through different means and establish cordial relations through peaceful means, and the use of force is prohibited in it. Nonetheless, this is not true in the realist case. John J. Mearsheimer has described this in his book, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, as such: “states can never be certain about other states’ intentions” (Mearsheimer 2001: 30). However, in security community states despite of having differences are brought up together may be they see other from suspicious lens.

In addition, realist theorists would agree that states cooperate with other states seasonally as they always live in an uncertain world. They consider states live in “a fundamentally competitive world where they view each other as real, or at least potential, enemies and they therefore look to gain power at each other’s expense” (Mearsheimer 2001: 41). Therefore, states always seek to maximize power through hard means, especially military. Because, realist thinking is based on force and that play a crucial role in the international peace and security. Realist scholars further likewise point out and explain if states start cooperate with other states what would happen. According to them, there are two possibilities consequent after cooperation: “relative gains and concern for cheating” (Mearsheimer 2001: 41). Here, realism catches the weakness of security community framework which is largely relied on cooperation from other community members through highlighting the claims that cooperation, as realist believe, could harm other states objectives.

Moreover, instead of supporting the community building methods for peace, realism argues that it is the balance of power principle which lead states to build “alliance and cooperate against common enemies” (Mearsheimer 2001: 42). It is the structure of international system which motivates and shape the thinking of actors in order to establish peace and security. Therefore, security community building is considered for realist a good option for peace world order. Moreover, it would be acknowledged among

realist scholars that community building would only reflect the interest of the community members. In other words, at the end of security community building states would seek to protect their national interest first rather others. So under what conditions states cooperate with each other. On this, security community and realist theorists would disagree. The latter would argue that based on zero-sum-game the relationship is built for short term period, whereas the former would state that common threat perception and interest may lead states to cooperate on common concerns. This is seriously a challenging task for both the schools of thoughts.

The balance of power is the significant principle of realism which shapes the inter-state relations and seeks peace. Kosaka Masataka in his paper, "A realist theory of peace", further extends the claim that "balance of power can be used as the basis for pursuing a durable peace" (Masataka 2012: 397). He has cited an example of the US-Japan alliance and its relevance for peace in Asia particular. How to approach peace and security has been a crucial question among IR theorists. In addition, it is claimed that "the balance of power and security community" (Adler & Greve 2009: 65) are significant because these two talk about peace and order in different ways. The balance of power is defined "as a theoretical concept and equilibrium or a particular distribution of power...it can describe a particular policy towards arriving at such a distribution" (Adler & Greve 2009:66).

Kenneth Waltz also reinforces the assumption of realist theory about peace and security in his two major works, *Theory of International Politics* (1979) and *Man the State and War* (1959).

Moreover, the realists have focused on material forces. For them, "war and the threat of war shape lives across the world in all manner of direct and indirect ways" (Booth 1991: 530). As the structure of international system is anarchic, in this situation, as realists assert, "a state will use force to attain its goals if it values those goals more than it values the pleasures of peace" (Waltz 1958: 160). According to John J. Mearsheimer, "great powers fear each other...there is little room for trust among states" (Mearsheimer 2001:55). This mistrust and suspense are considered major cornerstone in the realist interpretation of security community concept. This manifests realist notion of peace or security seems opposite to the security community scholars.

Realist scholars acknowledge “states can and do cooperate with each other but stop short of saying that they are able to form societies or communities” (Bellamy 2004:04). This clearly reveals here that the state could come for cooperation till it is fulfilling its national interests. Furthermore, it is important to note that for realist scholars the self interest is a precondition which could be established through the help of security community. It has although always been uncertain among the realist scholars that they will establish relations based on regimes and national interests.

Realism believes that “great powers inherently possess some offensive military capability, which gives them the wherewithal to hurt and possibly destroy each other” (Mearsheimer 2001:54). As we have seen above that how military is more powerful than anything for the states in order to attain its objectives. Further, he continues this by mentioning that “states can never be sure that other states do not have offensive intentions to go along with their offensive capability” (Mearsheimer 2001:55).

### **Security Community and Liberalism**

Scholars of IR believe that “liberalism is largely a post-World War I phenomenon that has taken place in the West where liberal and democratic regimes have had greater normative legitimacy than other forms of governance” (Gisomondi 2008:05). Sometimes, the force or material means do not establish peace among the states. It only escalates conflicts among states. The scholars of international relations have come up with liberal theory which focuses on cooperative peace. Security community is based on peaceful means for establishing security and stability through different means, such as discussion, dialogues and negotiations. Similarly, the liberal theory likewise stresses on the role of institution in peace and security. Before, going into the details, it is required to understand the assumptions of liberalism in international relations. First, liberalism is based on the politics without military. Liberals do not recognize military as the viable option in establishing peace and security. Here, it becomes close to security community supporters. The elimination of war or avoidance of war has always been a challenge among international relations scholars. In order to eliminate war, there are several

theories have come up, such as realism, liberalism and security community theory particular. The second assumption talks about the mutual better off, which could not be brought up through the means of cooperation among the states. The third claims that international institutions and organizations play a crucial role in bringing states into the table of cooperation.

Furthermore, the security community scholars would also agree with liberal theorists that interdependence seeks to stimulate states for peace and development. They focus on low politics issues, notably social, economic and environment. The military elements have been placed at the bottom by the liberal scholars. The state interaction, as security community states, is considered a beginning stage for community and building interest. Moreover, liberals would also agree with the claim of security community scholars that cooperation and peace could be built up through interaction and community building. The liberal scholarships also believe in togetherness. According to Alexander Wendt, neoliberal and neorealist are based on “shared commitment to rationalism... which offers a fundamentally behavioral conception of both process and institutions” (Wendt 1992:391-92). The theory of liberalism, when we talk about peace, is sometimes “viewed as the ethical alternative to an ostensibly amoral realism” (Gismondi 2008:04).

The relationship between the liberalism and the security community is quite significant because each of these theories have same stand on several issues. The objective of security community is to eliminate war or conflicts through peaceful means, whereas the liberals believe in cooperation through the support of institutions.

The liberal IR theory does not discuss directly security community as a framework for establishing peace and security. However, it does tell us something about how to establish peace and security through soft means, such as cooperation and mutual benefits. Therefore, the significance of liberal theory has increased its importance in security community concept. Both the concept has a direction relation. The security community approach is committed in peaceful change through building community-which could only be built up when the actors have interaction and common interest. In addition, in this process, the role of norms has become crucial because it only binds up actors in peaceful relations. The IR liberal theory acknowledges “the anarchical state of the international



system, but argue that the security dilemma can be regulated and thus limited through the establishment of IOs” (Koschut 2014:525). This reveals that the anarchy followed by security community could be regulated through cooperation and the establishment of international organizations and institutions.

Furthermore, liberalism agrees that international system is not a system which is based on Zero-Sum-game. Nonetheless, it does talk about mutual benefits and cooperation among the states when they are required. According to Burchill et al, “peace is the normal state of affairs... war is not unnatural and irrational or a product of some peculiarity of human nature” (Burchill et al 2005: 58). They further go and state that “if war has been a binding as well as destructive force in international relations, the problem of maintaining cohesive communities will be a major challenge for metropolitan centres” (Burchill et al 2005:61).

Moreover, security community scholars would be agree with the liberal theorists that “cooperation between states can be enhanced even without the presence of a hegemonic player which can enforce compliance with agreements...anarchy is mitigated by regimes and institutional cooperation which brings levels of regularity and predictability to international relations” (Burchill et al 2005: 65). Both the security community and the liberal theory would support the same claim about peaceful change, not as the realists scholar believe through military and force would shape the peace and security, could be established through community building in which as both claim cooperation is crucial for the settlement of peace and security.

Compared to realist, liberals do agree with their statement about the actor, the state is the only actor in international relations which seeks to establish peace, however, they also make a distinct claim that “states are by no means the only actors that play significant roles in international relations” (Eriksson & Giacomello 2006:230). Security community scholars would also seem agree with this that the state is no longer considered a pivotal actor in international relations which endeavors to establish peace through cooperation. Moreover, other international organizations are also emerging for establishing peace. These organizations could also build a security community and come up with peaceful change in international relations.

In addition, both, the security community and the liberal IR theory have a same stance on the assumption that military force does not recognize an important instrument among states. In security community, non-military force instruments, especially discussion and dialogues, play a significant role in order to attain mutual benefits and so on.

The concept of Security community discusses both formal and informal mechanisms that facilitate in establishing peace and security. The liberal theorists, on the other hand, maintain that it is the institutions which bring states together, as the world is interdependent, in order to maintain peaceful relations. Furthermore, according to Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, “conflicts of interest are reduced by interdependence, and that cooperation alone holds the answer to world problems” (Keohane & Nye 2012:41). It shows that how security community and liberal theory are close to each other on the assumption of cooperation and peace.

In addition, the Liberal theory does not specifically talk about integration and sense of community, as security community has been continuously stating, due to the burden of Cold War period. Instead, liberals have been stressing on cooperation under anarchy through non-military means.

### **Security Community and Constructivism**

“Living in a world means acting on the world, and not just acting in it. We are agents, not actors-agents of change” (Onuf 2013: 21). Constructivism as theory was developed after the post-Cold War period in the context of the mainstream scholarship hegemony in international politics. It is assumed that “liberalism and realism both suffer from an inability to integrate the ethical and pragmatic dimensions of foreign policy” (Gismondi 2008:05). This was one of the major causes for the advancement of constructivism in international relations theoretical fields—which has not only provided an alternative path, but also challenged the previous mainstream IR theories—especially realism and liberalism. According to Amitav Acharya, “constructivist theory offers a range of new insights by further developing and refining the Deutschian framework...in which the interplay of institutions, norms and identities” (Acharya 2001:15) play a constructive role

in the formation of security community. Before going into detail of security community examination from constructivist perspective, it is important to note that security community-considered an indispensable for maintaining good relations through peaceful means among the countries-has a direct connection with the constructivism. In other words, it tried to find a solution of how to resolve conflicts in international relations. According to Stefano Guzzini, “constructivism is epistemologically about the social construction of knowledge and ontologically about the construction of social reality” (Guzzini 2000:147). In addition, it has also contributed in the theoretical literature of international relations.

Moreover, the word ‘constructivist’ was first used by Nicholas Onuf in 1989. According to him, it is a “way of studying social relations” (Onuf 2013: 03). He further says that “rules make agents; agents make rules...have material and social consequences” (Onuf 2013: 08). This was the first time it was recognized an important perspective in international relations. It was influenced by sociology and social system. Constructivists believe that “ideas and their institutional support can affect the preferences and interests of actors” (Guzzini 2000: 148). The advancement of constructivism in international relations is crucial because it is “the product of a double conjuncture. On the one hand, they are embedded in historical developments outside of the academic community. On the other hand, the structure and content of the debates that define the identity of an academic community” (Guzzini 2000:150). The constructivism theory has come in the response of realism and liberalism which had left no rooms for another theory. In peace and conflict studies, it is considered a good development which tries to establish good relations among countries. Moreover, according to John Gerard Ruggie, “social constructivism rests on an irreducibly inter-subjective dimension of human action...is about human consciousness and its role in international life (Ruggie 1998:856).

In the preceding sections, we talked about how realism and liberalism have interpreted the conception of security community. Both the theories nonetheless demonstrate separate arguments and make crucial claims in order to attain their aims and objectives while explaining security community. However, both realists and liberals would agree on the assumption that the state is the major factor in international relations which provide

security and so on. Until the end of the Cold War, the two major theoretical perspectives to the study of security community were prominent, such as neo realism and neo liberalism. The former talks about the factors, namely, anarchy, balance of power, self help and security dilemmas--which shape the state behavior in conducting relations among the actors—whereas, the latter emphasizes on the role of institution to prevent dispute among the parties. Moreover, constructivists likewise repudiate the assumption and claim of neo-realism based on power which “does not pay attention to the process in which the hegemon’s intention come to fruition...leaves the very important process of transformation unexplained” (Yu 2008:340).

The constructivist scholarship seeks to move beyond realism and liberalism assumptions; and it likewise “goes beyond the intellectual parameters established by the neo-realist-neo-liberal divide, which have formed a major part of the theoretical debate in international relations in the late 1980s and 1990s” (Acharya 2001:01). The constructivist scholarship has many varieties, such as modernist, post-modernist and feminist constructivism. This “IR constructivist family tree” (Peltonen 2017: 03) demonstrates that security could be achieved through different mediums.

The theory of constructivism is the major framework in international relations to the study of security community as it is closely interlinked with its main principles.

For constructivism, “the interests of states are not as fixed or given, but as shaped from within the domestic realm and through diplomatic interaction, not just material forces” (Philpott 2001:47). The whole debate though is about which method is recognized favorable in preventing conflicts. Each theory although gives different justification for security community. It provides “an alternative theoretical framework” (Busse 1992:39). The constructivist scholarship counters mainstream theories of International relations, neo-liberal and neo-realism, by mentioning that it seeks to establish “a relatively narrow parameter for explaining change in international relations” (Acharya 2001:3).

The constructivist scholars challenge the dominant mainstream IR theories to the study of security community. Here, this section would be looking at the contribution of security community in the avoidance of wars and conflicts; seeks to solve disputes through

negotiation and dialogues. It would not be enough to discuss the concept of security community from the major theoretical perspectives, such as realism and liberalism. The constructivist perspective “provides fresh insight and supplements rationalist theories in the study of the international institutions “(Yu 2008:351). The advancement of constructivist framework had come as response to the change taking place after the Cold War. Constructivism became prominent theory after the Cold War. For Amitav Acharya, “the idea of security community was integral to a perspective that saw international relations as a process of social learning and identity formation, driven by transaction, interactions and socialization” (Acharya 2001:02).

The concept of security community, as constructivists claim, is the outcome of interaction and process among the various actors. “The concept of security community lies at the philosophical crossroads between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism” (Koschut 2014:524). Moreover, it plays two important functions in the realm of international relations: managing security dilemmas, or anarchy; and showing how international or regional organization and institutions participate in forging security community for international peace and security. According to Amitav Acharya, “norms play a crucial role in the socialization process leading to peaceful conduct among states, which form the core of security communities” (Acharya 2001:4). They would argue the security community comes as result of “intersubjective knowledge that is the product of the process of interaction among actors often constitutes actor’s behavior “(Yu 2008:352).

In the conception of security community, Levine talks of “a common foreign policy and a commitment to collective defense arrangements are expressions of both shared interests and common concerns” (Levine 2007:103). There are several elements which make it (security community) crucial and playing a substantive role, such as Norms, identity, and socialization are “as central explanatory tools in the making and unmaking of security communities” (Acharya 2001:04). According to Alexander Wendt, identity is a “relatively stable, role-specific understanding and expectation about self” (Wendt 1992: 397). Moreover, “identities and interests in international politics are unstable and they have no pre-given nature” (Tan 2006:243).

For the strengthening security community in IR theories, it would also be required to “include the active involvement of regional civil society organization,” (Collins 2007:203). “Democratization has a spill-over effect which may strain the norms of regional institutions committed to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states” (Acharya 2003:376). It claims “ideas, norms and identity as playing a crucial role in regionalism,” and “shape expectations and facilitates cooperation through shared understandings of goals and outcomes” (Acharya 2012:9). As a constructivist scholar, Acharya has focused on ideas and non-material instruments for establishing peace and so on.

In the background of “emerging transnational issues such as the environment, migration, refugees or for securing the involvement of social forces in the regional identity building project” (Acharya 2003:380), the relevance of security community has increased due to the complex nature of international system after the Cold War period. In addition, “communitarians apply a particularistic approach to the study of international peace and security” (Koschut 2014: 522). This approach likewise has a significant influence on the rise of security community framework in international relations. Power politics is socially constructed which is resulted by cooperation as result of social process that may define interest and identities for peace and security, and role of norms on relations is changing inter-state relationships among the states.

Constructivists reinforces the claims by the security community scholars that non-material force is considered important simultaneously with norms, rules, identities and other inter-subjective measures play a decisive and determining role. Although, the role of cultural and social norms are increasing among the states as the world is becoming so interdependent on several issues, such as terrorism, environment and so on. Furthermore, for security community this is being considered to maintain cordial relations among the states and so on.

Like constructivism, security community proponents also believe that interaction and processes play pivotal role in the construction of identity and building interest among the states. A bunch of scholars maintain that “the formation of community at the international level is deeply rooted in IPT” (Koschut 2014: 521). Although when we start

interpreting security community from constructivism vantage points of view. It is found that both do seem have a common on several stands. In other words, the constructivism theory is based on the non-military and non-material forces. The major focus is given on the construction of ideas. For constructivism, ideas lead to peace and security through a long process and interaction among the states. Both try to find out the solution of how to escape from anarchy and security dilemmas. Moreover, the role of constructivism in security community is increasing due to the commonness between these two fields. They play a crucial role in building peace and establishing security.

If the security community is the result of process, interaction, socialization, building trust, identity formation and interest formation, and proves how inter-subjective understanding and shared interest shape the state action in order to form security community. These assumptions bring security community close to constructivist theory as constructivism has emphasized on the inter-subject understanding which shape the identity of the states and further lead to community building. In the end, it strives to provide a solution of peaceful settlement of conflict resolution. Thus, constructivism would interpret as an approach which stresses on norms and common interest building. It likewise has “transcended academic discourse by making its way into the area of policymaking” ((Koschut 2014:521).

In addition, the relevance of security community could be seen as “the Deutschian framework clearly transcends the realist paradigm by claiming that nations may establish a normative consensus of community to settle their disputes peacefully” (Koschut 2014: 522). This has demonstrated the multiple roles playing by security community framework through peaceful ways. According to Maja Zehfuss, Constructivism is assumed “as a phenomenon which has become inescapable...concerning the social construction of concepts involved in the study of international relations” (Zehfuss 2004: 02). It challenges the assumptions of mainstream scholarship-particularly about its “unchanging reality of international politics” (Zehfuss 2004:04). This theory has appeared more close to the concept of security community because constructivism, like the security community, likewise discusses the peaceful change through deploying norms, identity and community.

## **Critical Assessment**

As we have seen above how security community has not been given much attention in the realm of international relation theories. The work although has been continuing by scholars despite of its negligence position in world politics. It was not until the end of the Cold War the concept of security community was acknowledged a significant field of analyzes which does not only discuss about how to eliminate war, but also provide a solution to the problem of peace. The Security Community was not the first framework which talked about the abolition of war and establishment of war though. Before the advancement of it, there were several attempts made by international relations theorists in this respect. Moreover, war has been an indispensable concern among the IR scholars at the onset.

The first and foremost theory which had discussed about the peace establishment through the force was the realist theory. This theory was the one which clearly relied on the military power. According to realists scholar, international system is an anarchic, therefore, states always in competition for power and establishing security through the principle of balance of power, building regimes, alliances and deterrence. Moreover, realist theory did not provide the concrete solution to the problem of war and peace; instead it did escalate the conflicts and wars because through balance of power principle for how long one could prevent the war. It was indeed a big hurdle among the realist scholars. They assume that everything happen-like building institutions and organizations-only for the interest of the state. For them, the state is the only actor which provides security and peace.

On the other side, we have the liberal theory-which came into existence in a response of realist assumptions that had left several rooms for other scholars in international relations. The narrow description of international relations was one of the major reasons behind the rise of liberalism in international relation. The importance of liberalism though is now increasing in the world due to the complex character of international relations and the increasing interdependence of states on another. Furthermore, liberals are agreed with the realist assumption that the state is the major actor, however, it does not agree with other assumptions. According to liberals, peace in anarchy is possible



without balance of power principle or alliance building. As security community also put it like this: “a security community is based on peaceful change by institutionalized procedures, without resort to large-scale physical force” (Deutsch et al 1957: 05).

Moreover, Liberals likewise would support the statement by saying that military force is not the solution to all the problems; instead, states are required to come and cooperate with another states-because of interdependence nature of the system-in order to establish peaceful change and security. There are further many avatars of liberals, but one thing is clear about all of them is that they give less importance to force. For liberals, non-traditional issues—such as economic, social, environment and so on—are significant for states as they find domestic situations are crucial for war instead of international. It is conceded that “liberal states are remarkably peaceful in, but only in, relations with other liberal states. In relations with nonliberal states, liberal states were thought to be war-prone than other types of state” (Macmillan 2004:179).

In addition, realist and liberal both have different views on security community. They provide different answer to the problem of peace and security. As a mainstream theory they also have similarity on several assumptions despite of having oppositions. As an approach, security community is relied on peaceful resolution of conflicts. This statement has close link with liberals those who believe in peaceful settlement of conflicts through togetherness and with the support of institutions.

However, there is also another theory—which seems to be more close to security community—called the constructivist theory of international relations. This theory, as we have mentioned above, has come up as a response to the mainstream theory of international relations-which are very narrow and restricted with only the European countries and climate. The constructivism accords an alternative model which is based on ideas and social production of events in international relations. According to constructivism, international politics is the result of process and social construction. Constructivist assumptions are more close to security community. Security community is considered a sub-section of constructivism in world politics.

Therefore, security community has been interpreted differently by mainstream IR theories from different perspectives. Among them, constructivist theory seems to have some common features of security community framework as both talk about the role of norms are important in the construct of community which further lead to building some common interest among the countries. Despite of all these theoretical analyze, the concept of security community has widened its scope by including other disciplines, such as conflict and peace studies.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter seeks to examine security community from international relations theoretical perspective. Each of these major IR theories has different approach in dealing with security community. Despite of less efforts made by scholars of international relations on security community, it has become clear that in theories of international relations security community has been given a significant place. Realism, for instance, focuses more on material forces by mentioning that in world politics peace and stability can be established only through balance of power and building alliances. Nonetheless, this assumption clearly has been interrogated by other theories. Liberals argue that instead of material power institutions play a substantive role in peace process. They also make it clear that cooperation is the only method whereby countries come together and seek to establish good relations. As a part of mainstream IR theory, realist and liberal, both theories—despite of similarity over some assumptions—have differences on the assumptions of methods to establish peace. The liberal, on the one hand, follows the peaceful way and becomes close to security community, whereas the realist, on the other hand, has focused on material powers for establishing peace and security.

In addition, this—institution and cooperation—has brought liberals closer to security community as it shares some common features of building peace and security through shared common objectives. In addition, security community and liberal theory has some common features. On the other side of debate about theories of international relations, constructivism reinforces the principles of security community by emphasizing that international relations or politics is the result of process and interaction that may change the identity and interest of an actor. Constructivists consider security community concept

is the important pillar in building security and peace building. Security community shares some principles with constructivism and liberalism. However, it does appear opposite to realist theory on peaceful means. Thus, I would say the research on security community has increased as other IR theories are also taking interest in this.

## **Chapter III**

### **Security Community as a model for conflict resolution**

This chapter attempts to analyze the security community as mechanism to resolve conflicts among community of nation-states. The nature of conflicts though has undergone a drastic change as has the world politics over the decades. Nonetheless, the traditional mainstream scholarship has had left no room so far to explore and comprehend conflict and try to settle it through alternate means other than war. But, it was not until the advancement of the security community after the World War II which provided a new model of dealing with conflicts through peaceful way. Therefore, security community is seen today to provide an alternative approach to deal with conflicts.

#### **Introduction**

The nature of international relations remains diverse and complex due to the pluralistic nature of international politics. For a long time conflict resolution field was dominated by realist assumption of “a peace found in the state-centric balance of power, perhaps dominated by a hegemon” (Richmond 2008:9). However, in this interdependent world, each country of the world comes from different background and culture—which is quite different from other country. In the globalization era, this nature has consequently become so complex and countries have become so dependence on others, especially economically and political. Historically, countries have been engaging in several traditional sorts of conflicts, such as military, territory, resource based and so on. The world has also experienced two World Wars-which have resulted in massive catastrophic destruction. Among international relations scholars, conflict resolution--as distinct field--has been playing a crucial role for establishing peace. Since the beginning the world the attempts for war avoidance and conflicts resolution has been going on in the domain of international relations. The concept of Security community provides this answer after a long time, particularly after the World War II. Since them, many developments had taken place in security community as it has become more inclusive.

During the time of war or conflicts it is important to understand how states respond and engage with other states in order to establish peace? What kind of factors that prompt states for engagement of conflict resolution (CR) with other states? The Deutschian framework examines this phenomenon how and why states come and engage in interaction peacefully in order to resolve conflicts. Moreover, it is admitted that “security community is the academic expression for the social fact of interstate peace” (Adler & Greve 2009:69)--which establishes good peaceful relations among states.

In addition, the nature and condition of security community today has undergone a change which now is moving beyond its restricted areas towards Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. According to Amitav Acharya: “the concept of security community describes groups of states which have developed a long-term habit of peaceful interaction and ruled out the use of force in settling disputes with other members of the group” (Acharya 2001:1). For resolving conflicts thereby security community relies on peaceful mechanisms in order to attain development and progress among nation-states.

This chapter on security community as a model for conflict resolution proceeds in the following six sections: first, it will present an understanding about the major concepts, such as security community and conflict resolution in which the major focus will be given on the relationship and why all of them are interlinked to each other. Second, this section will try to analyze the security community, conceptually, where the historical development and its relevance will be discussed in the detail. This section will underline the writers associated with its advancement and their role in security community building with respect to conflict resolution in particular. Third, it seeks to present the major strategies deployed in security community framework for conflict resolution process. These strategies are comprised of both informal and formal. Fourth, this section will provide some evidence through examples about the existence of security community in international relations, such as the European Union (EU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Fifth, this section will address the critical assessment part. Sixth and final, this section will conclude the chapter by stating that security community provides a new and distinct model for resolving conflicts among the community members. It would be indeed

a good beginning if members of community endeavor to see security community seriously in order to resolve all the differences and conflicts.

### **Security community and conflict resolution**

The term 'security' is a very comprehensive in international relations. It merely does not include the security of state (as major actor) and its territory through hard means-particularly military. It does also include the non-traditional aspects of security, such as social, culture, environment and so on. The nature of conflict has also transformed after the Cold War. The countries are facing challenges internally more than externally in international relations. Inter-state relations have increased the speed of cordial relations. On the other hand, Conflict is defined, According to Johan Galtung, "an action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal-states" (Galtung 1965: 348). Conflicts although are considered "an inherent ingredient in human society" (Steele 1976: 221). This manifests how for centuries conflicts have been a part of human society.

Conflict resolution has two different words. Conflicts are defined "as a condition involving at least two parties, who have a mutual problem of position or resources scarcity, in which there is a behavior (or threat) designed through the exercise of power to control or gain at the other's expense" (Steele 1976: 222). In order to solve conflicts among states, security community is featured as "the absence of war and the absence of significant organized preparations for war such as military contingency planning" (Khoo 2015: 181). In other words, security community is based on the zero-war assumption through peaceful means. The objective of the concept of security community is "to develop the common interests of actors in peace and stability than deter or balance a common threat" (Acharya 2001:19). On the other hand, it is also believed that "the idea that communities require direct or face-to-face interaction makes the existence of any form of community above the locale problematic" (Bellamy 2004:31).

## **Security Community: a conceptual study**

Despite of giving less attention by scholars of international relations in order to attain peace and security among states, the concept of security community was developed only after the World War II in the context of Western European and American countries. Karl W. Deutsch and his associates were the prominent scholars for its advancement. In their book, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area (1957)*, they have discussed the development of security community. Security community is defined as a group of states which have become integrated by feeling of sense of community. In the security community, among members always they are bound by a principle that they will not go for war or any sort of conflicts in any circumstances. Instead they will settle their difference through discussion and dialogues.

Moreover, it is believed that “if the entire world were integrated as a security community, wars would be automatically eliminated” (Deutsch et al 1957:05). It sounds good but one should also not forget about the nature of international system where still countries are engaging in an anarchic system. However, it is important to note here that wars could be eliminated with the help of security community building. Moreover, this has demonstrated that security community was evolved in the context of uniting countries of Western European and America in order to solve all the problems through peaceful ways. The peaceful change, as they consider, is seen in terms of “the resolution of social problems” (Deutsch et al 1957: 05).

Furthermore, they likewise make a distinction between two types of security community: the Amalgamation and the Pluralistic security community. In the study of security community, the distinction between two is significant because both possess different outcomes after integration. However, this does not mean that integration will result the same, as they point out, “there can be amalgamation without integration and that there can be integration without amalgamation” (Deutsch et al 1957:07). In their book, they cite some couple of cases--mostly are European and American--such as Norway-Sweden, U.S.A, German Unification, and the Habsburg Empire and so on. They also put some conditions for building security community for peaceful resolution, such as democracy, liberal and plural society.

After the World War II, several countries in Asia, Africa and South America got independence with many problems as the Colonialism left them blank with no education, health, economic and so on. The developing countries still are struggling with these problems and causing several conflicts with other countries. In addition, Deutsch and others developed a concept of security community for settling conflicts through peaceful way in a particular context that is the Western, although, their values and norms are sharply different from the developing countries. Nonetheless, this has also limitations because one cannot apply security community as it is in the developing countries. Again, the world politics got transform after the Cold War period. This post-Soviet era was witnessed the rise of regional organization as result. The concept of security community needed to be update according to time and space. With this, E. Adler and M. Barnett came with a book in 1998 on *Security Communities*.

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett were two major scholars of International Relations who had not broadened the meaning and scope of security community, but also added so many things in the literature of security community in general. They had also changed the dynamics of security community in the context of conflict resolution. In 1998, they came up with a book named, *Security Communities*, in which they had broadened the definition of security community and its scope. This book “thinks the unthinkable” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 03) the existing literature on security community. Moreover, it likewise reconsiders the definition and dynamics of security community.

Adler and Barnett likewise underline the setbacks in the Deutschian notion of security community by pointing out that it has several “theoretical, conceptual, and methodological problems that undoubtedly sacred off future applications” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 08). It has strived to add more and more cases beyond the Western European and American countries. They do agree with the observation of Karl Deutsch and others in respect to peaceful change by noting that it is still relevant as the world politics is transforming and coming with so many challenges and so on. By revisiting all the major concepts, such as security, power and community, they have sought to provide new more things about the building of security community. For them, “the concept of



community represents a direct challenge to the models of security politics that have dominated the discipline for the past several decades” (Adler & Barnett 1998:05).

This study although appears more empirical, sociological and adopted several IR theories. The most important contribution by Adler and Barnett is that they have provided us an understanding of building security community with the help of three distinct phases (Adler & Barnett 1998:29). Each of the phases presents a different stage. The first, for instance, is concerned with the precipitating conditions which talks about change overall. On the other side, the second phase for building security community describes “the positive, dynamic, and reciprocal relationship between the structure of the region”, whereas the third phase comes after these two phases a result of “mutual trust and collective identity formation” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 37). Furthermore, it seems the Adler and Barnett’s conception of security community search an inclusive sort of model which one can find in their text book as well. One can also interpret these phases in different languages and context.

Moreover, in this field, the significant contribution was done by Amitav Acharya in 2001 by writing a book, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia*. This piece became a crucial because it had for the first time talked about security community in the context of developing countries, particularly the Southeast Asia. As region became important after the Cold War, they were also considered from security community perspective. Moreover, this work by Acharya expands the scope of security community as a framework to resolve conflicts in the third world countries. He also throws a new light on security community from constructivism point of view. The meaning and scope of security community with his work was broadened and included so many different things. After the work, it became clear that security community would not be restricted only with liberal-plural democratic societies.

According to Amitav Acharya, security community is created “on the basis of shared interests and identities, rather than the perception of a common threat” (Acharya 2001: 19). Moreover, it also goes beyond the roots in the Western European countries. As constructivist, he does make a difference between security community, alliance and security regime, and thereby seems more oriented towards security community-a

significant part of constructivism in international relations. It also believes that “interactions between states can lead to greater mutual interdependence and responsiveness” (Acharay 2001:15). The author seems successful in telling about security community is built based on social construction where norms, identities and institutions play crucial role.

Another important scholar who has contributed in the development of security is Alex J. Bellamy. After the Cold War period and the September attack he and his writing played an important role in the development of security community and widened the understanding of security community. He defines security community as “groups of states that have developed mutual expectations based upon commonly held norms” (Bellamy 2004: 12). He likewise talks about two types of security community: the epistemic and the transversal security community. This advancement in security community demonstrates that new trends are also emerging in order to talk more about peaceful change through different types of security community. The scope of security community was expanded by including neighbors as important actor.

According to Alex J. Bellamy, “security communities offer a path to peace in global politics” (Bellamy 2004: 10), and this path also talks about how “Security communities exhibit dependable expectation of peaceful change within, but perceive outsiders as a threat to those norms and identities and act accordingly” (Bellamy 2004: 11).

He has rightly pointed out that “the world beyond state borders is not an amoral and anarchic void and it never has been. Political communities of similar and different types have tended towards integration and the formation of wider societies and communities” (Bellamy 2004:03). For him, “a mature security comes about when the norms at its heart become embedded or internalized by its member states” (Bellamy 2004: 09).

There are several preconditions that determine the emergence of security as “Deutsch posited that war or a common threat is a sufficient or necessary condition for generating an interest in a security community” (Adler and Barnett 1998:50). It is important to underline that prior security community construction community members are required to fulfill some conditions. In security community building the role of institution is

increasing its role because it can “mitigate anarchy and facilitate cooperation by providing information, reducing transaction costs, helping to settle distributional conflicts and reducing the likelihood of cheating” (Acharya 2001:22).

As a new framework, it has been considered among scholars of international relations is relevant. The significance of security community in conflict resolution is increasing. It has two major significances, according to Amitav Acharya ( Acharya 2001:1): first, “it raises the possibility that through interactions and socialization, states can manage anarchy and even escape the security dilemma, conditions under which realist and neo-realist, and neo-liberal perspectives take as permanent features of international relations. Second, the concept offers a theoretical and analytical framework for studying the impact of international (including regional) institutions in promoting peaceful change in international relations”.

Security community is crucial both in conflict resolution because the scope of security community has increased from developed to developing countries as the most of conflicts are happening in the developing countries. The importance of security community could be seen from the following points:

***(i)As an emerging field***

Before the rise of security community, previously the attempt has been made in order to establish peace and security. However, security community is the new field in conflict settlement which has come up with new ways of conflict resolution through peaceful ways. It has recent origin after the World War II in the context of European countries. As scholars believe that “security communities may be constructed on the basis of shared interests and identities rather than the perception of a common threat” (Acharya 2001: 19). As conflicts have become so important for states because it causes destruction and catastrophic consequences, security community as emerging field would be a good option to deal with conflicts among states. Internationally, the significance of security community is being acknowledged because of its peaceful way of resolving conflicts among states.

**(ii) *Beyond realist thinking***

Realism for a long time in resolving conflicts through balance of power and alliance has dominated the field of conflict resolution. But, after the advancement of security community this trend has changed which emphasizes on interaction, common interest and building trust. This does not talk about material gains or force, as realism focuses on, but more on ideas. Here, it becomes very close to constructivist theory. The concept of security community has come as a response to realism in international relations. Realism has focused more on military solution than peaceful settlement of conflicts among community members. In contrast to realist way of looking conflicts, security community presents an alternative to solve conflict in a different manner, especially through institutional frameworks.

**(iii) *Moving beyond state-centric***

The State is no longer a dominant actor as it has been considered before—particularly since the Westphalia period. Security community thinks beyond the state boundary and consists of all the non-governmental actors which are also important in building community for peaceful change. Another major significant part of security community is that it has moved from the traditional state-dominated notion to the non-states notion of understanding. Previously, the work had been done around the states and other areas were also neglected. The Westphalia system of 1215 is witnessed the more focus has been at the outset given to the state and sovereignty. However, this has changed with the advancement of security community because it focuses more on non-states actors, which are crucial also for security reasons and conflict resolution.

**(iv) *Multidisciplinary***

Security community is relevant because it is associated with multidisciplinary field which does not talk merely about peace studies but also opens a window for other disciplines, such as security studies, conflict studies and so on. This diverse nature of security community proves that it will give importance to security and peace. With this, different

aims and objectives could be achieved. Further, the primary objective of security community is to establish peace. However, it also has operating functions in conflict studies. It accords several different principles, such as dialogue, negotiations and so on, through which it seeks to understand the conflict weather and tries to solve it. Security community as emerging field has come up with a new framework that includes other field as well, such as conflict resolution. This field likewise has close connection with conflict resolution and peace establishment.

*(v) People-centric*

As we have shown above the state is not merely the only actor, but other constituent units are also emerging, such as people. Security community is built also for the security of people. People are always considered a center in the conception of security community. Therefore, people's security is the cornerstone of the security community concept. In the conflicts, mostly people are targeted without any excuse. With the adoption of security community, states are required to work for their security. It would be possible through this to provide security to the people. In the process of security community, interaction and communication are crucial elements which play an important role in order to achieve all the goals through peaceful way. The inclusion of people in the meaning of security community demonstrates that people are significant part of security community. In this regard, it is the ASEAN for the first time in the history of security community which added in its 2015 Kuala Lumpur Declaration which should be based on "a truly people oriented and people-centered" (The Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the ASEAN Community establishment held on 22 Nov. 2015) community.

**Strategies**

In security community, members are bound up with some mechanisms or strategies in order to maintain peaceful relations. Among IR scholars, conflict resolution is always a challenging task. It is recognized that "a security community seeks to ensure conflict prevention through integrative processes and formal or informal mechanisms for conflict

resolution” (Acharya 2001:19-20). The concept of security community has been engaging in conflict resolution through several different means. These strategies for conflict resolution are considered substantive when we talk about conflict resolution and security community. In addition, security community uses different strategies in conflict resolution as follows: formal and informal strategies. However, security community has become it easy through peaceful means, such as formal and informal instruments.

*(i) Informal strategies*

There are several informal strategies that the security community members usually deploy during the time of conflict resolution. These are as follows:

Dialogue and discussion: dialogue and discussion are significant parts of the security community strategy in conflict resolution as both of them shape the nature of peace environment. In the European Union, for instance, when any sort of challenges come in, community members come together and through discussion and dialogue they seek to sort it out. Thus, in conflict resolution they work as crucial pillar on which security community is based on.

Consensus and Consultation: these are the two another strategies that security community members often use when any moment of crisis comes in. For conflict resolution, consensus and consultation play a pivotal part in security community. In the absence of consensus among nation-states it would be very difficult for community members to resolve conflict in a peaceful manner. Further, it is acknowledged that for reinforcing security community consensus and consultations will provide an important incentive. Security community takes decisions based on consensus and consultations.

Negotiation: negotiation is likewise conceded another important instrument in the hands of security community members. In the security community, community members though face several conflicts internal and external, such as water, territory and environment. These conflicts are sought to resolve through negotiation process. The process of negotiation in conflict resolution is crucial in security community for conflict resolution. Therefore, for establishing peace, community members have been trying to get members on the conflict resolution table for their betterment. However, the process of negotiation

is very complex in security community as members would have differences over matters. When conflicts take place among community members they give importance to negotiation process. Negotiation comes when other means of communication fail, such as dialogue and discussion.

Building Norms: A norm is defined as “standards or patterns of expected behavior in particular circumstances and indicate commonly accepted preferences” (Buszynski 2003: 344). It also plays crucial role in building security community and which later leads the conflict resolution process. Moreover, the importance of norms have been increasing after the Cold War in conflict resolution field as states are seeking to adopt new norms in order to obtain peace and security. Norms seek to mitigate the conflicts among community members on several issues, such as resources, territory and so on. This drives from “the mutual expectations of the actors and offers a means to restrain behavior,” (Buszynski 2003: 345) of community members to reduce conflicts.

*(ii) Formal Strategies*

Other than informal strategies the community members likewise deploy some formal strategies during resolving conflicts among community members, they also have some formal mechanisms to settle conflicts as follows:

When informal mechanisms seem to fail by the community members, they try to find out other formal mechanisms. The formal strategies are such as arbitration, judiciary, and so on, which are likewise, play a crucial role in security community.

Institutional Procedures: security community posses some formal mechanisms while resolving conflicts which primarily comes from institutional procedures as Karl Deutsch points out: “institutions are agencies for enforcement of the public will” (Deutsch et al 1957:08).

Judiciary: security community also carries some judicial strategies, such as court, arbitration and so on. In the functioning of security community, the role of judiciary is crucial in settling conflicts without use of force. Arbitration is another major strategy which is considered significant in conflict resolution.

Mediation: Mediation since the beginning has been recognized an important instrument in security community for conflict resolution. During the time of conflicts, the role of third member or country within the community becomes crucial for the settle of conflicts. After the Cold War period, the importance of mediation in security community has increased between states. In the peace building, it works as the shuttle diplomacy.

### **Successful cases**

As the importance of security community is increasing among the states in international relations, countries after the Cold War period have adopted security community approach in order to establish peaceful relations. It is not just the western developed countries, but the developing countries are also giving preference to the approach of security community in order to settle their differences through peaceful ways. There are many cases which accord the successful beginning of security community in world politics. Here, we will discuss three major security community cases in brief—such as the European Union (EU); the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Each of this case manifests a different experience and story for building security community and resolving conflicts within the security community framework. These are as follows:

#### ***(i)The European Union***

The European Union case is indeed a unique example when we talk about security community in international relations which was built up over a period of times, particularly after the World War II. The continent of Europe, previously, has had been experiencing “the succession of wars” (Laporte 2012: 04), thereby, resulted in the destruction of territories and killing people. Today, the nature of Europe has undergone a gravity change from confrontational to cooperation--which reflects peaceful ways of maintaining international relations. Moreover, it is now more integrated than divided before. According to Alex J. Bellamy, “it is the only region in the world that can be



unproblematically labelled as a security community” (Bellamy 2004: 63). Security community although in the beginning was experienced in the Western Europe and North Atlantic Region as Karl Deutsch discussed about in his book, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*. This demonstrates that the European security community has moved on from first to third stages of security community building as Adler & Barnett described in their book. In addition, it is said in the case of European security community, “mutual military fears are still absent at the level of state-to-state, but more issues are today cast in security terms, economy, environment and migration” (Adler & Barnett 1998:69).

Furthermore, the case of EU presents that “the EU itself is a tightly-coupled mature pluralistic security community...a multi-speed security community” (Laporte 2012:03). This thereby displays the enhancement of community building among the EU nations. The relations now between the European countries have transformed from “mutual antagonism across an ‘Iron Curtain’ towards integration and enlargement” (Bellamy 2004: 63).

#### ***(ii)The Southern African Development Community***

As we know that the Southern African region for a long time has had experienced several conflicts; it also has taken some initiatives at the onset in order to mitigate the conflicts and establish peace. According to Ngoma: “the SADC region has had both a violent past and vigorous efforts to establish security arrangements designed to bring sustainable peace and security to the sub-region” (Ngoma 2004: 412). Further, these African states had come together in 1992 to establish an inter-governmental organization called the Southern African Developmental Community (SADC). According to Nathaly Xavier Schutz: “the Southern African Development Community is one of the most emblematic examples when it comes to security-integration in Africa” (Schutz 2016:2015). This further manifests that the countries in the Southern African regions are more inclined towards establishing peace and building security community as historically these countries have been experiencing different sorts of problems. This is only because of

their common historical experience, culture and injustice stimulated these countries for collective action in term of security community.

It was established as the SADC declaration states: “to attain the cherished ideals of economic well-being, the improvement of the standard and quality of life, freedom and social justice, and peace and security, for the peoples of Southern Africa, “(1992 SADC Declaration).

The 2003 Mutual Defense Pact decision taken in the summit precisely after a long time- especially 1996 when the members manifest some interest- indicates that the Southern African countries through the SADC are moving to become full security community.

For Nathaly Xavier Schutz (2005), “it can be understood as an emerging security community, a stage in which they begin to coordinate their actions and raise their interaction in order to increase security and mutual trust” (Schutz 2016: 224). As the significance of security community is increasing among the countries, the African nations likewise are seeking it for conflict resolution through peaceful way. It is also claimed as useful and effective measure in the times of weakness and conflicts, whether it is military or economic. “It provides a standard example of an uncontested security community” (Adler & Barnett 1998:72)

### ***(iii)The Association of Southeast Asian Nations***

For a long time, the members of ASEAN community have been engaging in conflicts and “reveal a deeply conservative regional institution for cooperation and integration” (Nesadurai 2017: 938). The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) presents an important instance that is also witnessed and moving towards building a security community. The ASEAN security community building was rooted in the 1967 declaration. However, it was not until 2003 that the construction of security community was started. Nonetheless, this is a subject of discourse still that whether the ASEAN has become a security community or not. The efforts still are being made in order to shape

the ASEAN into a security community. Scholars of international relations although have two different opinions on the ASEAN security community.

A group of scholars believe that the ASEAN is not a security community, whereas other group supports the preposition that the ASEAN has already become a security community because it has followed each and every principles of Karl Deutsch theory of security community. According to Donald Emmerson, “ASEAN is neither a security nor an economic community, either in being or in prospect. It is, in fact, an imitation community” (Emmerson 2005: 167). The ASEAN has moved to forge a security community. This could be seen from the example of the declaration on conduct in 2002 between the ASEAN and China that clearly supports the norm in which both the actors are required to behave in a similar way. At present, it is now moving towards “a people-oriented community” (Nesadurai 2017: 943).

This has experienced the peaceful change in the region after its establishment in 1967. The ASEAN has a unique kind of way that encourages other countries to resolve conflicts multilaterally with the help of institutional structure. However, with some exception, it also helps community members in conflict resolution. The ASEAN way is such kind of way of interaction that gives community members an opportunity to interact on critical issues, such as territory and water issues. Moreover, consensus and consultation are key elements of this community which provides countries to have maintained peaceful relations. The Southeast Asian countries, after Vietnam War, did not come up with a direct confrontation with each other that demonstrates that they are seeking to adopt peaceful means for conflict resolution. Therefore, the ASEAN has shown a security community with several measures to settle conflicts. A group of realist scholars believe that “ASEAN to have been a security community during the Cold War, but now feel that this is no longer the case” (Peou 2005:269).

This can be seen from Article 13 of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TOAC) which clearly states: “the High Contracting Parties shall have the determination and good faith to refrain from the threat or use of force and shall at all times settle such disputes among themselves through friendly negotiations” (Article 13, TOAC 1976). The ASEAN

community members from this article have given so much importance to formal mechanism.

Moreover, The High Contracting Parties is required to appoint a High Council that will recommend to the parties about the appropriate means “such as good offices, mediation, inquiry or conciliation” (Article 15, TOAC 1976).

It is important to understand why the ASEAN security community would be different from the European community and the Southern African Development Community. According to Alex J. Bellamy, “unlike the European experience, ASEAN has not accomplished this by constructing a complex web of institutions but rather by building a loosely-coupled community of values, interests and norms between elites in member states” (Bellamy 2004: 88).

### **Critical Assessment**

After the detail investigation of security community as a new model for resolving conflict, it is important to understand the context of building security community after the World War II. Both conceptually and strategically, security community has played a substantive role in conflict resolution. It although has come up in response of realist dominated thinking and provided an alternative approach against it. The trend has undergone a change and moving towards other regions, such as Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. Moreover, it is acknowledged that “Deutsch’s concept of security community appears utterly particularistic” (Koschut 2014:523). In the present time, it is required to look beyond its restricted boundaries.

It is stated that the criteria of constructing security community has origin in western countries or required liberal and pluralistic society. Further, it is also required to look those countries which are still struggling against non-traditional challenges-especially social, economic and environment issues.

Security community is challenged because it considers liberal democratic values as the necessary precondition in order to establish security community. It also means that the

conflict resolution could only be taken place where the countries have experienced these values. Nonetheless, one should not forget about the developing countries, which had been for several years under colonial rule that have the roots of the two-third conflicts happening throughout the world. It is maintained that “the security community is constituted not by particular institutions or rules but by a commonly shared European identity built on a common past” (Bellamy 2004:86).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter tried to highlight the significance of security community as model for conflict resolution. It examined how security community as emerging field would play a pivotal role in conflict resolution through peaceful means, such as dialogue, discussion, consensus, consultations and so on. Security community has challenged the self help based understanding of realist theory of international relations and provided a new and innovative framework for peace. The role of security community has increased in conflict resolution as states are becoming more interdependent to each other. With increasing dependence, the nature of conflict likewise has transformed where, too, security community is playing a constructive role.

It has also provided several practical instances where it appears the other states are also seeking to engage in building Security Community to easily resolve conflicts with the help of mechanisms. The concept of security community has left several rooms for further discussion for conflicts resolution. As the new problems and challenges are emerging, security community would work as medium of settling conflicts among community members. Security community with its different approaches seeks to establish a peaceful environment and interaction for conflict resolution. Moreover, conflict would not remain critical issues, but instead security community would strive to facilitate in resolving conflicts. This century has experienced several distinct conflicts and caused several catastrophic consequences.

Moreover, security community provides a new approach to settle conflicts without using force. In the security community, force is not seen as legitimate strategy or mean while dealing with any kind of conflicts as it gives rise of several disastrous consequences.

Moreover, this chapter has examined major cases of security community which proves that it has expanded its footprints throughout the world, such as the European Union, the Southern African Development Community and the ASEAN. It displays the significance of strategies that security communities have deployed in order to find out the resolution of conflict resolution.

## **Chapter IV**

### **ASEAN as a Security Community**

The Southeast Asian countries for a long time had been engaging in conflicts which resulted consequently in destruction of physical properties and bilateral relations. This had also impacted the relations among states, and encouraged outside actors to influence policies of these countries. Therefore, security community building for peaceful change was considered important as far as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was concerned. This has likewise brought closer all the ten member countries in terms of countering the traditional and non-traditional challenges, particularly from the non-state actors. In this background, this chapter strives to examine the ASEAN security community development before and after the Cold War period. It also endeavors to answer the question whether the association has achieved its objective to forge the ASC. It further strives to investigate how it has been a security community since its inception in 1967; and displays how ASEAN security community is facing challenges in becoming a security community in proper sense of the term? This chapter likewise discusses the debate on the ASEAN whether it is considered a security community or not. This chapter also engages with the claim made by realist scholars that ASEAN organization is not a security community because, according to them, security policy of the ASEAN is governed by anarchy and balance of power elements. It is argued eventually that the ASEAN, as a security community organization, has been playing a proactive and constructive role in building cordial relations and establishing peace among its member countries.

#### **Introduction**

Has the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) become a security community? How it had developed over period of time? What are the conditions and factors that justify ASEAN as a security community? These are few questions, which are significant while discussing security community building in Southeast Asia. The concept of security community is divided into two groups: the amalgamated and pluralistic

security community. The amalgamation security community is not part of this research, however, this chapter is concerned primarily with pluralistic security community, which is defined as “a transnational region comprised of sovereign states whose people maintain dependable expectations of peaceful change” (Adler & Barnett 1998:30). The ASEAN security community seeks to strengthen and improve the mutual relations among the countries. Though, in the beginning of security community, Indonesia had played a key role. Finally, the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit and the 2004 Vietinane Action Programme were significant steps, which had initiated the development of security community in the ASEAN. Moreover, the concept of security community has been given attention “not only to the end of the Cold War but also to developments in international relations theory that are exploring the role of identity, norms, and the social basis of global politics” (Adler & Barnett 1998:9). Security community although has been playing a crucial role in the cooperation of security affairs; it also facilitates in the prevention of war like situations among members countries; and seeks to give rise of several opportunity.

Similarly, in the case of ASEAN, the member countries are getting several opportunities, notably in economic, political, environment and security, in order to maintain cooperative relationship. In this context, this chapter seeks to analyze the ASEAN organization in terms of its security community building, which has been there since its establishment in 1967. It contends the realist claim that ASEAN security community as a category mistake (Leifer 1999). The argument is made that the members of ASEAN had already developed “some of the attributes of a nascent security community by the early 1990s” (Acharya 2001: 204).

For the study of ASEAN security community, this chapter is organized into seven sections: the first section deals with historical background of ASEAN security community in which it would be looking at how ASEAN has been evolving a security community since its establishment, particularly after 2003, through practicing several experiences ; the second section will address the processes and factors that have stimulated security community building and provides an overview why ASEAN security community has been neglected; the third section accords the principles and objectives of ASEAN by questioning does ASEAN security community fit into the definition of



Deutschian definition?; in the fourth section it presents an overview of challenges and opportunities which seek to prevent ASEAN from building security community; the fifth section, equally very important in ASEAN security community, deals with the reactions of the ASEAN member countries towards security community building; in the sixth section, the 'ASEAN way' is discussed because of its significant contribution in security community of ASEAN; and finally, the ASEAN security community will be examined critically.

The chapter would argue that ASEAN has had experiences several times that (empirically) show it had already achieved its security community building among the Southeast Asian countries. It is argued that the ASEAN would prove a successful security community because of no war for many decades among its members. This chapter is concluded by saying that ASEAN as a security community which of course has been facing several challenges in both internal and external fronts. These challenges are required to be resolved by existing framework and by adding more measures.

### **Importance of Security Community**

There is no single definition of security community. It however has an acknowledged definition provided by Karl Deutsch in the context of Western Europe and Atlantic region, which of course has been modified and made little bit changed by the scholars of international relations. According to Karl Deutsch, "a security community is a group of people which has become integrated", which develops "dependable expectations of peaceful change" and "common problems must and can be resolved by processes of peaceful change" (Deutsch et al. 1957:05), and "characterized by the absence of war and the absence of significant organized preparation for war, such as military contingency planning" (Khoo 2015:181). On the other hand, it is implied by Adler and Barnett (1998) as "as a group of people that had become integrated to the point that there is a real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way" (Adler & Barnett 1998:6).

In addition, Security community further has been divided into two sub-categories: an amalgamated security community that evolves with the "formal merger of two or more

previously independent units into a single larger unit, with some type of common government after amalgamation” (Deutsch et al. 1957:6), and a pluralistic security community which implies the independence of separate governments. For Karl Deutsch, “the states within a pluralistic security community possess a compatibility of core values derived from common institutions, and mutual responsiveness—a matter of mutual identity and loyalty, a sense of we-ness, and are integrated to the point that they entertain dependable expectations of peaceful change” (Deutsch et al. 1957:5). Nevertheless, it is not a military alliance or collective security based organization, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but instead it since the beginning has been focusing on non-military pact without involving any outside actors. The ASC was, too, established before in order “to bring ASEAN’s political and security cooperation to a higher plane to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another and with the world at large in a just, democratic and harmonious environment” (Bali Concord II 2003).

In the beginning of security community process, communication process and transaction flows between peoples become not only “facilities for attention” but factories of shared identification” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 7). In the formation of a security community, there are several preconditions laid down, such as “transaction of trade, migration, tourism, cultural and educational exchanges and the use of physical communication facilities” (Adler & Barnett 1998:7). Thus, pluralistic security community means “whenever states become integrated to the point that they have a sense of community, which, in turn, creates the assurance that they will settle their differences short of war” (Adler & Barnett 1998:3). It is categorized as “depth of trust, the nature and degree of institutionalization of their governance system” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 30).

### **Evolution of ASEAN security community**

From the beginning the Southeast Asian region has been a region with full diversities that comprises of different ethnic communities, cultural, languages, social status, economic background, distinct political system, and so on. This region likewise had been under colonial rule, except Thailand, that had changed its geopolitics and increased its influence

over the regional politics. And, it had left them, like other colonies, in the menace where the level of education, health, economical development was low. Before the decolonization period, the community building had not evolved due to the dominance of colonies.

Since the World War II, however, the Cold War evolved between the two different ideological blocks, the US and the USSR, stimulated some Southeast Asian countries to start discussion on community building. As a result, the newly independent countries, still facing economic and security problems, came together, with of course several failed attempts, for establishing economic and political cooperation. Similar to the beginning of restructuring of Europe after the catastrophic result of World War II, in the developing countries, the waves of development began with the help of building organization and institutions. Moreover, these co-operations had security roots as the Southeast Asian countries facing intra-states and between states, such as poverty, economic development, and territory and boarder disputes. The period of decolonization also has affected the security community building in the Southeast Asian nations.

Furthermore, before the ASEAN, the attempts were made in order to prevent conflicts and manage disputes. These efforts were made “to project a neutral and non-aligned foreign policy away from superpower rivalry” (Ganesan 1995:2). Other reasons were to bring close to people of common cultural, history, ethnic and linguistic grounds. The journey for the ASEAN security community formation had began with the Bandung conference, held on 1955, in Bali, Indonesia. Behind all these, the major objective was security interest of Southeast Asian countries. Since then, there had been two important efforts made in the formation of ASEAN organization and security community.

The Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) was the first attempt for security cooperation, or security community, in the history of ASEAN, which was composed of Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. The organization collapsed due to its ineffectiveness and incapacity to de-escalate the tension over Sabah between Malay and the Philippines. It likewise had shown some trigger elements for security community building. Nonetheless, this demonstrated that the attempts for security community declined in the 1960s among these countries due to its mutual distrust and the dominant territorial disputes continuing

among states. The attempt for building first security community was failed among three countries due to lack of understanding and mutual interest. After the ASA, Malaysia sought to establish other community with other countries, named the MAPHILINDO.

The MAPHILINDO was the second attempt in this respect in 1963; and was recognized an important step in the ASC. The name of organization precisely itself indicates the name of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia, which later failed due to the rise of confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia. Now, the Southeast Asian countries begin to search new ways through which they could resolve their differences and misunderstandings. In this regard, eventually they established the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967. Thus, these attempts should have given enough attention but were ignored.

The Third, and the final step, was the ASEAN establishment beginning with peace, prosperity and stability as goals. The ASEAN is likewise recognized “as a successful regional grouping in international community” (Anthony 2005:19). A group of scholars affirm in their writings that the efforts for building security community had started in the ASEAN declaration in 1967. This could be seen from the ASEAN declaration. According to the Bangkok Declaration, the objective of ASEAN members is “to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development.....and to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South-East Asian Nations” (The ASEAN declaration 1967).

Therefore, regional stability, peace and prosperity were major objectives in the eyes of ASEAN founding members. These were all political objectives, or decisions, taken for future security community building. The establishment of ASEAN in 1967 “was opportune because Southeast Asia urgently needed a multilateral forum for the peaceful reconciliation of interstate differences” (Ganesan 1995:212). This ‘togetherness’ demonstrates that unlike before they are very serious about the intra-ASEAN conflicts issues. Undoubtedly, the rise of ASEAN organization as security community took shape after the period of *Konfrontasi* between Malaysia and Indonesia that resulted in the collapse of Sukarno regime in Indonesia. After the *Konfrontasi* period, the ASEAN

members' country had started taking serious concrete steps in the journey of ASEAN security community.

Moreover, In the light of two previous attempts, the ASEAN had established formally the organization on August 08, 1967, with the Bangkok declaration by five countries of Southeast Asia, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines. The intention of future security community building was not yet present in the eyes of members. These countries however still had been engaging in confrontations among themselves before the ASEAN took its original shape. Also, the internal development in each of the Southeast Asian countries facilitated the ASEAN to commence talks over security matters. On the other hand, the community was seeking to form in the context of common threats, such as rising communism and the increasing role of external players in the ASEAN countries politics. Since its establishment, the ASEAN had proved its successful attempt in resolving intra-ASEAN disputes bilaterally and multilaterally.

However, it also “has emerged as the leading grouping promoting cooperation” (Moorthy & Benny 2013:400) within the ASEAN grouping. This could be seen from Adler and Barnett work, who had demonstrated, too, in their book, as: “There is no doubt that promoting a regional security community in the Deutschian sense was a primary objective of ASEAN’s founders when they launched the grouping in 1967” (Adler & Barnett 1998:202-203). In addition, the role of Indonesia was recognized pivotal in security community building as its President Sushilo Bambang had affirmed:

“ASEAN was born in the midst of political turmoil: there was a shooting war raging in Indochina at that time” as President H. E. Sushilo Bambang Yudhoyono described it. This reveals the context in which the feeling for community building was started among the members’ states.

Moreover, the initial symptoms of ASEAN security community could be underlined in the declaration itself as it was stated that the objective of ASEAN organization is to “to ensure stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their people... all foreign bases are temporary” (Bangkok declaration, 8 August 1967).

Nevertheless, the ASEAN declaration did not discuss the political and security issues because of “the fresh memory of the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, and the awareness of the still lingering disputes and border problems between other member of ASEAN” (Anand 1981: xix). The beginning of the ASEAN as organization (later would be community) itself indicated that members of the ASEAN would not compromise their common threats that are coming from internal and external both.

Though before the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit the countries of ASEAN did not talk formally for the establishment of ASEAN security community because of their inter-states disputes within the organization. These disputes also had prevented for a long time the member’s country in the security community building. It is of course conceded that before the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Summit, the ASEAN countries did not discuss security community building for obvious two reasons:

First, the conflicts-laden relations work against the ASEAN way based code of conduct; and the Second is the ASEAN never took an initiative in order to resolve conflicts and problems among the countries of ASEAN. Besides, there are several initials attempts as Adler and Barnett stated rightly: “the desire to create institutions or organizations to order and foster their relation and mutual security threat” (Adler & Barnett 1998:50).

After a very long period of negotiations and talks, the ASEAN members formally sought to begin an important move in the direction of security community in 2003. The aspirations of ASEAN members came to an end in the year of 2003 in Bali, Indonesia.

Officially, the attempt for building security community had begun in the ASEAN 9<sup>th</sup> Summit, held on October 7, 2003, in Bali, Indonesia, among the member countries. The aspiration of ASEAN countries had given three communities building measures. According to the Bali Concord II, “An ASEAN Community shall be established comprising three pillars, namely political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation” (Bali Concord II, 7-8 October 2003), and called for community building by 2015. The ASEAN countries had come up with these three pillars of community building. Security community was one of them. The others were economic and socio-cultural community. Our major concern in this chapter will be

ASEAN security community, which became “a concrete part of the political agenda for the nations of Southeast Asia” (Oba 2014:63) and shall be achieved by 2015 and by 2025 now. Since then, the interest on security community building of the ASEAN had rapidly grown, and had produced an academic link, which had been ignored for many decades. The importance of establishing security community aspiration by member countries by “further consolidate and enhance the achievements of ASEAN as a dynamic, resilient, and cohesive regional association for the well being of its member states” (Bali Concord II, 7-8 October 2003).

Moreover, there are major conditions, according to Karl Deutsch, that facilitate in the development of ASEAN security community. The first determined is “the compatibility of major values relevant to political decision-making” and the final is “the capacity of the participating political units or governments to respond to each other’s needs, messages, and action, adequately, and without resort to violence” (Deutsch et al. 1957:66). Furthermore, for the establishment of ASEAN security community, members community has made a proposal that claimed: “ASEAN shall have, by the year 2020, established a peaceful and stable Southeast Asia where each nation is at peace with itself and where the causes for conflict have been eliminated, through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law and through the strengthening of national and regional resilience” (ASEAN Vientiane 2004:6).

### **Factors behind the emergence of ASEAN SC**

The ASEAN security community was established after the long period of “deep-seated antagonism and mutual distrust” (Oba 2014:67) among countries of Southeast Asian nation. In the construction of security community, the two major determined “are likely to have material and normative bases” (Adler & Barnett 1998:51). The increasing mutual understanding among the member countries resulted the decreasing of conflicts in ASEAN countries, “after a history of deadly conflicts and heightened military tension” (Solingen 2001:1). In addition, there are several factors that have stimulated for the building of security community. These are the major factors that have given rise to security community building in the ASEAN:

*(i) Shared Threat Perception*

One of the major factors that had stimulated for the aspiration of security community discourse among the ASEAN countries is the shared threat perception. It is also considered a precondition. Nonetheless, for each country, threat perception is different from others. Security community is devised after the common threat was raised. For each of the ASEAN country, the common shared threats were same, often, the differences used to arise. During the Cold War, the expansion of communism among the countries was significant common threat among countries which encouraged them to contain it from expanding other areas of the region. Other important threats were internal in nature, such as economic development, progress and cultural cooperation. It is acknowledged among the IR scholars that the seeds for security community building had been put in the 1967 declaration. The ASEAN security community “was the product of shared threat perceptions” (Adler & Barnett 1998:203). Since its establishment and later, the major threats among the ASEAN countries were the external, notably from China, US and so on.

*(ii) Cold War politics*

The Cold War politics was also an essential factor or variable that gave rise to security community in the ASEAN. During the Cold War, not much attention had been paid to the region of ASEAN. Nevertheless, in the post Cold War period, “policymakers have been offering various statements on and blueprints for engineering a more peaceful and stable international order” (Adler & Barnett 1998:4). Moreover, the Cold War and its consequences over the region, such as proxy wars and intervention of external powers, are considered substantive impetus in order to think for security community. The end of the Cold War collapsed the rivalry and its significance between the two security groups: the US led and the USSR led. As a result, the Unipolar world was emerged, which could be good or bad for the world. Throughout the world, the countries began building communities; the Southeast Asian region was not an exception. After the Vietnam War and its implications to security, the countries of the region through ASEAN organization started becoming close to each other. This closeness further facilitates ASEAN countries to answer collectively against any common security or threat. After the cold war, the



ASEAN countries started to strengthen regionalism, which talks about the expression of shared cultural, identity and understanding. These are the major developments happened after the Cold War. The end of the Cold War brings up a seismic change in the dynamics of Southeast Asia.

The first was the decline of the traditional maritime divide and resulted the end of the Third Indochina War in 1989, “which allowed for the articulation of ASEAN as a security community” (Ganesan 1995:215). The result of this collapse was the decrease in the threat perceptions among the ASEAN countries. This has come as the regime change in Thailand from General Prem Tinsulanond to General Chatichai Choonhavan in 1988, who began a new journey of pro-market oriented and forecasted country “as the hub of future economic activities in mainland Indochina” (Ganesan 1995:216), and thereby ended the ASEAN policy of isolation against Vietnam. Eventually, the Vietnamese troops withdrew from Cambodia. The ASEAN political stability and security is often said govern “by the interplay between the Indochina Security complex and the Malay Archipelago complex” (Ganesan 1995:217).

On the other hand, the major powers, such as the USSR, US and China, began pull off their support and recognition from conflicts. According to N. Ganesan, “U.S. withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from the CGDK (Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea) in July 1990 was also instrument in the formation of the Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC)” (Ganesan 1995: 216). China, further, dissolved the Communist Party of Malaya and Thailand.

Undoubtedly, the politics of Cold War dramatically had transformed the geopolitics of the ASEAN countries but it also had allowed them to form ASEAN security community.

### *(iii) Expansion of Membership*

The new members although were joined the ASEAN with distinct background of history, before and during the Cold War, with political system and geopolitical divide. Undoubtedly, this expansion of membership was major input that had triggered for the security community. The growth in membership of ASEAN meant “to enhance ASEAN’s voice in international affairs by making the region more cohesive and to make Southeast

Asia more appealing” (Masilamani & Peterson 2014:2). This expansion brought up several challenges in front of the ASEAN countries from reconstruction of economy to rebuild up nation. The ASEAN members (now from five to six) have had distinct problems and challenges, which could be resolved merely through the common measures. This enhancement likewise increases the problems and threats perceptions. The new members had faced before several problems in respect to security. Also, the level of development and destruction, after war, was high relatively other countries.

*(iv) The ASEAN economic crisis*

This was the important milestone in the beginning of security community debate among the ASEAN countries, which had presented ASEAN as incapable and ineffective, in the building of ASEAN security community. The ASEAN members though since the establishment has had been engaging politically, whereas economic cooperation was not given serious attention. Therefore, the ASEAN organization failed to solve its economic problems. It thereby had affected almost all the ASEAN members by slowing down economic growth, progress and given rise of several macro economic problems, such as inflation, unemployment and so on. It was seen that “the intrinsic limitations of ASEAN had become apparent” (Tomataka 2008:18). Despite of mechanisms the ASEAN had faced several problems and felt ‘helpless’. The Asian economic crisis demonstrates its failure in coping cooperation among the members.

For Deutsch, “war or a common threat is a sufficient or necessary condition for generating an interest in a security community” (Adler & Barnett 1998:50). In addition, the first reason was the 1997 Asian economic crisis which had raised the question of effectiveness of ASEAN organization. It is considered as “to be catalyst for Asian international relations to embrace the language of community” (Collins 2014:277). Therefore, their desire “to enhance economic cooperation for mutual gain” (Adler & Barnett 1998:204) gave an impetus to the building of ASEAN security community.

*(v) 9/11 attacks and their impact on ASEAN*

Another major factor that facilitated the ASEAN member countries to initiate the process of building security community was the September attack, which had given an important

impetus in the beginning of ASEAN security community initiative. During this period, the ASEAN countries were also facing some internal ethnic violence and rising extremist threats. Meanwhile, the September attacks happened, which had changed the outlook of ASEAN countries, notably Indonesia and Malaysia two largest Muslim populated countries, towards the US action on 'war on terror'. The 9/11 had affected ASEAN members in several ways; each member country had faced a different outcome of this attack. Also, the increasing extremist groups and their activities, such as Jemaah Islamiah(JI) and Abu Sayyaf (ASG), which probably had connection with Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. These are all threats forced the ASEAN countries to take a concrete action in this regard. It presents "need for a tight-knit cooperative structure between the ASEAN members" (Tomotaka 2008:18).

*(vi) Emerging non-traditional threats*

The non-traditional threats are also underlined the major non-traditional threats beyond material, which could only be dealt with collectively, not bilaterally. The Southeast Asian countries, during the decolonization period, were facing several non-traditional challenges from building internal development to reinforce the relations with other countries. After the Second World War, an important discourse had begun on what would be future threats as the political and military could no longer recognize as significant threats. Other sectors were also getting recognition, such as economic, social, and cultural and environment. Moreover, As the newly got independent countries, the ASEAN countries were still facing several internal challenges, which they find roots in the colonialism, such as poverty, development, national building, employment, social progress and so on. The most important was the border and the territory disputes among the ASEAN members. These factors likewise forced ASEAN members to take a bold step in this direction. They started talking about the security community building. Likewise, the dominant threats, such as military, territory and boarder, are significant, however, the non-traditional threats are getting more importance in supporting the development of people.

*(vii) Rising transnational security threats*

These ASEAN countries were left underdeveloped, with several transnational threats between countries, by their colonial masters. Therefore, the ASEAN countries were facing some challenges that had roots in the transnational boundaries, such as piracy, trafficking in human, arms, and migrations and so on. The rising of terrorism is significant challenge in front of ASEAN security community. The Marawi in the Philippines, Southern Thailand, Myanmar, and others areas are under the influence of extremist terrorist groups, which might be find other places soon.

Furthermore, The ASEAN has recently celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary with the new challenges coming from within and outside of the region, was prominent in the 31th ASEAN summit in Manila, the Philippines. In fact, the ASEAN and its mechanisms are significant in the fight against increasing threats from non-states actor, particularly the terrorism. These issues are in transnational in character; and could only be solved by single country, thereby required a collective action in order to prevent these challenges. Among these countries, piracy is considered an important challenge that prevents these countries to maintain fruitful relations as the pirates have been seeking to steal so many things. This was the major obstacle in the trade relations among the ASEAN countries. Other transnational challenges were human trafficking, smuggling, arms trafficking, illegal migration or crossing boarder, and so on. The transnational security threats were likewise substantial threats among the ASEAN countries. Therefore, as a result, ASEAN countries began to initiate security community building.

*(viii) Rise of regionalism*

After the Cold War, the regions throughout the world got autonomous independence in order to take political decisions in foreign policy because of the reduction in the influence of superpowers. It also had given an important force to security community building and identity. "In the 1970s and 1980s ASEAN regionalism was driven by a common sense of state vulnerability to internal political threats" (Nathan 2006:284). The rise of regionalism among ASEAN countries, since its establishment till 2003, during these 30 years of ASEAN organization history, it has showed the capacity to response

international events and try to cope with the internal challenges of the organization. After the Cold War, the world had witnessed the emergence of regionalism throughout the world. The Southeast Asian region was not an exception.

*(ix) Homogeneity*

The ASEAN countries since the beginning have been much closed historically, culturally and socially. Therefore, it was an inevitable that the ASEAN countries would begin security community in the future in order to protect its identity. According to Adler and Barnett, “cultural, political, social and ideological homogeneity can lead to greater interaction and association, and the development of new organizations and institutions” (Adler & Barnett 1998:51). This mutual experience further can generate desires among the countries of common past to commence security community building. The building of ASEAN security community is supported by “enhanced physical, institutional and people-to-people connectivity” (23rd ASEAN summit-9 Oct 2013).

**ASEAN security community as neglected Concept**

Since the beginning, the works on developing countries have been neglected. In the case of ASEAN community building, it is not an exception. Security community although is “as exercise that has been neglected by the security community literature” (Koschut 2014:519). However, many scholars had given the importance to ASEAN security building. Amitav Acharya (1998) criticized Deutsch and his associates by mentioning “neither they, nor most of the other scholars who have used the concept.....have taken serious note of the possibility of security communities in the developing world” (Acharya in Adler & Barnett book 1998:198). The ASEAN security community building has been, before, given little attention among the scholars of international relations. Though, at the onset, it has been a security community as it had adopted several treaties, concords and declarations. The followings are the reasons that tell why it is being ignored:

Firstly, most of the work on security community has been done by western scholars on the Western region, a region of liberal values, such as democracy, rule of law, liberty, and

equality and so on. It is still “state-centric and fails to consider the individual” (Chang 2016:356). The ASEAN, nonetheless, demonstrates a different environment, precisely different from the Western liberal countries. The major challenge for ASEAN security community building is its nature of state centric. According to N. Ganesan: “ASEAN’s status as a regional security community untenable” (Ganesan 1995:211). However, ASEAN these days is seeking to improve its identity from state centric to people oriented as its 2016 ASEAN Political Security Blueprint states: “a people oriented and people-centered community bound by fundamental principles, shared values and norms” (APC Blueprint 2016:2). This state centric view or behavior governs the policy making of ASEAN states.

Secondly, the lack of Integration is conceived an important obstacles among the ASEAN countries in building and feeling togetherness particularly, such as Vietnam, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia. These countries came up with new challenges, such as economic, political instability, conflicts within the country and so on.

Thirdly, the politics of Cold War also had prevented the ASEAN members to initiate security community. For a long time, the affects of Cold War politics have been on ASEAN countries. Nuclear politics, power hunger, proxy wars, anarchy, survival, failed attempt like ASA and MPHILINDO due to the nature of cold war

Forth, it was also neglected because of dominant approach of IR scholars. The work on ASEAN security community was ignored due to the dominance of Western Europe and American influence over the scholarship of international relations. The theory of realism for many decades has had been prominent in international politics. Due to this, the new accommodations were left zero. Also, it has also taken the development against the formation of security community; think it is an unimaginary and not possible to have security community; full war prone situation and conditions always; weakness of the context

Fifth, in the prevention and avoidance of war, the concept of security community got famous among the western scholars; its importance likewise stimulated other countries,

or force, to adopt it for peaceful rise. For a long period of time, security community did not get recognize among the ASEAN countries due to the lack of awareness.

Sixth, it appeared an inapplicable in the Southeast Asian countries because of distinct environment life illiberal values, no mature democracy; they did not discuss the importance of security community beyond the euro-Atlantic nature,

### **ASEAN security community: Aims and Objectives**

The ASEAN security community is seeking to form with following aims and objectives. These are as follows:

*Common Interest:* The ASEAN security community is constructed in order to attain some common interest among the members community. The idea of security community has come out because of the common threats among the members of security community, such as threat of war, rise of communism, great power influence, military intervention and dominance by outside actors and so on. In the security community, “common interests likewise are handled through common and consensual mechanisms that automatically incorporate the interests of all members” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 55).

*Protection and Preservation of Common Identity:* The Southeast Asian region is known for its ‘common Malay’ culture that provides as force to unite these countries into a community. also, the major aim and objective of ASEAN security community is the preservation and protection of common identity. The ASEAN countries are historically closed and have had connective with the Malay culture. The protection of common identity is significant in the formation of security community because it keeps pressuring the members of ASEAN to take step in the preservation of identity.

*Peaceful Change:* Peaceful change is another major objective of members in security community, which is defined “as neither the expectation of nor the preparation for organized violence as a means to settle interstate disputes” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 34). And, “peaceful change is considered as the outcome of a transformation at the international and the individual level” (Adler & Barnett 1998:8). It is the backbone of security community members in establishing long term relations. It is also criticized

because it is deeply rooted in 'Euro-centric origins' (Collins 2014:290). In the functioning of security community, members are maintained their relations through institutionalization, inter-subjective understanding, shared identities, transnational values, mutual identification. Peaceful change is found out in the democratic liberal values. Also, scholars, such as Adler, had denied the liberalism as an essential precondition in establishing security community. Security community promotes peaceful interaction among members through institutions. Therefore, "the ASEAN security community members rely on peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences and regard their security.....linked to one another and bound by geographic location, common vision and objectives" (Bali Concord II 2003). The ASEAN summits, for instance, indicates an important interaction forum. Also, the importance of civil society is also increasing in promoting peaceful change among ASEAN countries. It is said that if the countries are democratized more it would open the window for more peaceful interaction and dialogues. Tolerance and respect of other countries are put in reinforcing security community.

*Assurance from both sides:* The assurance among the ASEAN security community is significant while dealing with security issues. The internal problems of Thailand, particularly that of the Southern Thailand region, is a serious concern for the region from security perspective as the ethnic violence threatens. However, the declaration of ASEAN precisely demands that other members of ASEAN shall not interfere in the internal affairs of other country. In security community, members find an assurance from other members that that would follow all the objectives and principles while interacting with other fellow member countries. In the ASEAN declaration, it has been precisely written that the countries would consult each other in case of dangers. Also, there is an assurance among the ASEAN community that they would not engage in any military pact, or organization, with any other countries. An assurance is significant objective in security community.

*No use of Force or Physical war:* In the security community, use of force is not considered a viable option, thereby; the most important objective of security community is that it does not use weapons, or force, while interacting with others. According to



Laurie Nathan, “the use of force against each other as unthinkable and eschew preparations for fighting one another” (Nathan 2006:276). The use of force is not considered a legitimate instrument in relations of member countries. There has always been a condition in security community is that the member countries will not go for war against fellow members. The objective of security community is to avoid wars. The members of community are required to build an interconnection at macro level in terms of comprehensive security “rather than to a defense pact, military alliance or a joint foreign policy” (Bali Concord II 2003).

*Stability, Peace and Order:* The ASEAN organization itself is based on the objective of stability, peace and order. In all the major treaties, the primary objective of ASEAN countries has been to establish peace and stability. The Bali Concord II clearly demonstrated as the ASC is “open and outward looking.....to promote peace and stability...to facilitate consultation and cooperation between ASEAN and its friends and Partners on regional security matters” (Bali Concord II 2003). And now, the security term is also added in the objective of the ASEAN security community. The ASEAN treaties, such as the treaty of amity and cooperation and the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zones Treaty (SEANWFZ) play an substantive role in “the area of confidence building measures, preventive diplomacy and the approaches to conflict resolution” (Bali Concord II 2003).

*Consensus and Consultation:* The first principle of ASEAN security community is based on consensus and consultation. These two major objectives facilitate in decision making process; represent the Malay cultural. All the disputes and conflicts are resolve by consensus and consultation. These are the two main aims and objectives of ASEAN security community that is milestone in its establishment.

*Negotiation:* This is another important principle in security community. it is raised when the members countries face any conflicts. Through negotiation between the conflicted parties, the conflicts are resolved. Under the concord II of Bali, the ASEAN security community is based on principles of “non-interference, consensus-based decision-making, national and regional resilience, respect for national sovereignty, the

renunciation of the threat or the use of force, and peaceful settlement of differences and disputes” (Bali Concord II 2003).

*No interference in internal affairs (Sovereignty)*: the ASEAN countries in several treaties talk about the central principle of community is the non-interference in internal affairs. In the ASEAN security community, each country has absolute power over their sovereignty, which cannot be violated in any case. Now days, the ASEAN countries are discussing ‘flexible interaction’ and ‘constructive intervention’ in the internal affairs of community members in rare cases.

Thus, the above aims and objectives are important while talking about building security community, which has not been taken from any books.

### **ASEAN way and ASEAN Security community**

Over couple of decades, the ASEAN has advanced some unique ways of dealing with security issues called the ‘ASEAN way’. According to Amitav Acharya, ‘ASEAN way’ is “consists of a code of conduct for inter-state behavior as well as a decision-making process based on consultations and consensus” (Acharya 1997:328). The building of security community has largely been influenced by the way of interaction that the ASEAN countries are engaged in called ‘the ASEAN way’. Furthermore, it is significant because of its different outlooks towards conflict resolution and de-escalation of disputes. It has also played a pivotal role in the security affairs, particularly in the beginning of security community. It also had stimulated the ASEAN member countries to behave in a certain manner in order to attain the long term objective of security community. It nonetheless “encourages the Southeast Asian countries to seek an informal and incremental approach to co-operation through lengthy consultation and dialogue” (Katsumata 2003:104).

In addition, the development of ASEAN way is “emerging from unique historical circumstances and will likely evolves in its own particular way” (Acharya 1997:327). This suggests that the root of security community building is found in the history of ASEAN. The ASEAN security community and ASEAN way have cordial relationship. Without one, another cannot survive. ‘ASEAN way’ is recognized a major principle in

the building of security community. The ASEAN community members “utilize compromise, consensus, and consultation in the informal decision-making process” (Masilamani & Peterson 2014:11). While developing the security community, ASEAN members had come up with compromise to build consensus, and to go beyond the zero sum game, as the realist’s scholar affirm. For a long time, the intra-ASEAN development has been affecting the functioning of security community. It is defined as sum of ASEAN norms, rules and principles that shape the outlook of members’ country. ASEAN is the favored example in “the literature of a non-liberal security community” (Collins 2014:277).

Further, it is believed that the liberal values could only be a significant factor that facilitate in the development of security community. The beginning of ASEAN security community is primarily “conditioned by culturally determined modes of perception and interaction” (Acharya 1998:55). Moreover, in the ASEAN security community, there are certain elements of ASEAN way, as Amitav Acharya insists, have influenced security community which are as follows: “the close interpersonal ties among ASEAN’s founding leaders; an expression of cultural similarities; the regulatory norms of ASEAN, or the principles of inter-state relations adopted by the ASEAN members; and the process of interaction and socialization” (Acharya 1998:56). This, of course, becomes clear from the above elements that ASEAN security community, epistemologically, has been given attention. Therefore, ASEAN security community is the outcome of ASEAN way based on interaction. It also has been at the outset working for the unity and integrity of ASEAN members. It has also been associated with “high degree of discreteness, informality, pragmatism, expediency, consensus building, and non-confrontational bargaining styles” (Acharya 1998:58). Since the beginning, the ASEAN member through it has been engaging in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. This also has facilitated to prevent escalating conflicts among the member states.

The non-interference as a principle of ‘ASEAN way’ has stimulated community members for security community building. There are several examples, which demonstrate that ‘ASEAN way’ has been successful in the area of security affairs of ASEAN. The

Cambodia dispute is a major example in which ASEAN had proved that it would not go against its principles so called 'ASEAN way'.

### **Challenges and Opportunities**

The ASEAN security community is facing several internal and external challenges in order to become a mature security community. These challenges provide an opportunity in the hands of ASEAN members to maintain peace and security among the community members. Also, "since the end of the Cold War, there has been a convergence of security challenges in Southeast Asia" (Ruland 2005:545).

There are scholars, such as Ravichandran Moorthy and Guido Benny (2012), who have talked about challenges the ASEAN security community is facing. They have listed several challenges such as: "disparity in levels of education; lack of economic competitiveness; dependency on the developed countries; socioeconomic disparity; differences in legal and political systems; the limitation of mastery and creation of technology; poverty in the region; internal conflicts, terrorism and insurgency; ethnic Chinese economic domination; and pluralism in the region" (Moorthy & Benny 2012:1049-1065).

Furthermore, In the development of ASEAN security community, the ASEAN members are facing several internal and external challenges. However, these challenges could become an opportunity for these countries to reinforce the advancement of security community. The other challenges are divided into two parts: the intra-ASEAN and the extra-ASEAN challenges.

#### *(i) Intra-ASEAN security challenges*

The Southeast Asian countries are facing several intra-ASEAN challenges in order to achieve security community as given below:

Lack of public participation: Analysts conclude that the ASEAN, in the decision-making process, is more elitists and "concentrated within the larger echelon of leadership, with

little public participation” (Moorthy & Benny 2013:399). This lack of public participation might have negative implications over the formation of security community as the non-traditional challenges are increasing rapidly.

Mutual suspense and distrust: At the outset of the security community proposal, the ASEAN members’ countries see each other from the eyes of suspense and distrust. The Indonesia proposal for “an ASEAN Peacekeeping Force” (Rahim 2008:82) would change the dynamics in relationship of the community members with outside powers.

limitation of security community: In the ASEAN security community, there are several restraining elements that prevent it to be the full security community, the non-interference in internal affairs principle for example, could be one of the major obstacle in building security community.

Inter-States territorial conflicts: Almost each of the ASEAN countries is facing territorial conflicts with other member of the community. These disputes are founded roots in the history of colonialism. The Sabah dispute between the Philippines and Malaysia is such an important instance among the ASEAN countries, which have given rise of negative relations and consequences. Therefore, in the ASEAN security community building, these challenges would be recognized milestones; are required to diminish, or possible eliminate, for the well beings of all the countries. It also would be in the interest of each country to avoid wars

Military modernization by the ASEAN community members: another major challenge could be the arms race in the building of ASEAN security community building. Because, it could give raise a long war among the countries. Therefore, it would be in the interest of all the ASEAN members’ country to ignore the confrontation, which could escalate at large scale.

Domestic political development: Internal change in the country usually affects the dynamics of ASEAN security community building. The transition from authoritarian regime to democracy is considered an important force for security community building. For the development of ASEAN security community, the ASEAN countries are required

to cooperate with other countries in security matters so that the security community building could be reinforced.

*(ii) Extra-ASEAN security challenges*

Changing balance of power dynamics in the Asia-Pacific: the important challenge is in building ASEAN security community the changing balance of power dynamics in the Asia-Pacific region. During the Cold War period, the only challenge that was in front of ASEAN countries was the bipolarity between the US and the USSR. However, after the cold war, this trend has undergone a change from bipolar to multipolarity. China, India, Japan, and North and South Korea are important challenges in this respect. These changes have come from the rise of China and the North Korean crisis. China is considered an important factor in the ASEAN's countries foreign policy as it has been directly and indirectly supporting some countries.

The South China Sea: Another important challenge for ASEAN security community is the South China Sea. It is crucial because each of the ASEAN countries is engaged in the dispute with China and other countries. For the ASEAN security community, it also poses significant threat for its survival because of within the ASEAN there are countries claiming for territorial rights.

Transnational challenges: Another significant challenge is coming from the transnational activities, namely, the crimes, such as migration, trafficking in arms and humans and so on. These are important challenges and could play an important role in reinforcing security community building of ASEAN. Human rights have been a substantive challenge in forging security community within the ASEAN countries. This record, nonetheless, is changing these days because of the increasing democratization, human rights and rule of law in the ASEAN countries. These liberal values, such as protection and preservation of human rights, are crucial elements in building security community. It is very important "in the dynamics of building a democratic ASEAN community" (Djamin 2010: 449). "The potential and imminent threats" (Djamin 2010: 450) to ASEAN people are several, such as Pattani area in Southern Thailand, West Papua in

Indonesia, Aceh and Myanmar. In the case of Aceh where civilians were used as means of war.

Moreover, major efforts, namely, the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and recently in the 31th ASEAN summit the protection and promotion of Migrant Workers rights are milestone in strengthen security community building. The 2002 inter-state conflict between Myanmar and Thailand interrogated the principles of ASEAN security community. in the conflict, the Shan ethnic groups in Thailand accused to Rangoon ethnic group called the Wa of violating the sovereignty of Mynamar on the issue of drugs, a significant transnational security issues. Consequently, “domestic instability is an impediment to the attainment of a security community in Southeast Asia” (Nathan 2006:285).

Unilateral Action by ASEAN community members: another major challenge in front of ASEAN security community is that the members are dealing with disputes individually, which could further question its capacity and effectiveness as security community. The Philippines individually took the decision to handle the territorial conflicts with China in international arbitration. Other countries such as Malaysia, Vietnam and others are also taking such steps.

### *(iii) Opportunities*

The ASEAN member countries are facing several challenges discussed above in maintaining security community building. It however produces some opportunities for all the member countries in the ASEAN region.

The responsibility to Protect (R2P): it is a good opportunity for the ASEAN security community to begin the journey for establishing and including the principle of Responsibility to Protect. This might have a positive impact of the reduction of crimes, like “genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity” (Sukma 2012: 135). The inclusion of this principle will escalate the controversy among ASEAN members which vary their opinions on this. It also appears against the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, signed in 1976. Despite the participating in the 2005 World Summit, the ASEAN community members did not yet start discussing the importance of the

principle of Responsibility to Protect. Rizal Sukma asserts that “the ASEAN security community could provide a logical place to start” (Sukma 2012:137).

In case of inter-state disputes, the ASEAN Security community provides the early warning mechanisms. Thus, the enhancement of interaction stimulates “the development of new social institutions and organizational forms that reflect diffuse reciprocity, shared interest and collective identity” (Adler & Barnett 1998: 53).

Rules based, people centered and people oriented security community: The aim and objective of ASEAN security community at the onset has been to promote peace and stability in the region through multiple channels, such as information sharing, cooperation in security affairs and so on. The ASEAN, for many decades, has been dominating by elite group of people in decision and rule making. People, nevertheless, were not given proper attention in order to participate in the activities of ASEAN. Therefore, that is required a comprehensive framework. As a result, it comes up with the APS Blueprint in 2009 which precisely states that the responsibility of member countries is “to create a Rules-based Community of shared values and norms” (APS Blueprint 2009:2). After the 2009 blueprint, ASEAN community is insisting more on people oriented community. The ASEAN security community could only be successful unless it is represented and participated by people of ASEAN. As a result, it could achieve its major objectives of peace, stability, and prosperity (ASEAN declaration 1967).

### **Reactions of Major Member states**

As the security of each ASEAN community member is interdependent on another community member, it becomes crucial for all the ASEAN member countries to have view on it. The response of ASEAN member’s community has been a result of their distinct historical experience, politics, cultural and so on. Furthermore, these all elements reflect the foreign policy of each member country. ASEAN security community is significant for member countries for their future peaceful relations among each other. The ASEAN countries however see security community building from different vantage point of view. Here, we will look into the approach of major ASEAN community members on security community as follows:



## *Indonesia*

Since the beginning, Indonesia has faced several fluctuations both in political and economy. Even though, after the regime of Suharto collapsed, Indonesia did not give up and continuing reinforcing the strengthening of ASEAN community building, notably the security community, as we saw in the 9<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit in Bali, Indonesia, where it had played a significant role. It has been in the favor of establishing security community as its President Yudhoyono had said in 2014 for maintaining future and existential from within and outside of the region. Indonesia has had experienced a mixed experience after the World War II. Since then, it has crossed several phases of its foreign policy development. After independence, Indonesia has been following *bebas-aktif* (independent and active) foreign policy in international relations. According to Rizal Sukma, “Indonesian foreign policy reflects and promotes the national interests.....based on a set of core values, principles, premises shared by all Indonesians across a wide range of political, ideological, and cultural differences” (Sukma 1995:305-306).

The proposal of a regional peacekeeping force in internal conflicts of member states could be seen an important effort by Indonesia so that the mutual trust could be enhanced. The Indonesian scholars believe that the building of ASEAN security community is in the interest of Indonesia because “it perceives that national growth can be achieved through regional resilience” (Manggala 2013). It is likewise recognized as major player in ASEAN security affairs. Moreover, the role and leadership of Indonesia in ASEAN security community is crucial for the future success of the other member countries. It also has played a role in the resolution of disputes between Thailand and Cambodia. Indonesia, after the New Order government and in 2003 security community, has played an important role in building the ASEAN organization and security community efforts.

Indonesia sees ASEAN security community as an opportunity and important forum that could facilitate in resolving the disputes and enhancing growth. In the context of national and international challenges, “.....ASEAN continues to mature as an association that is able to create stability and security in the region, elevate its economic strength, as well as becoming an increasingly people-centered community, one that is able to foster

diverse identities and civilizations” (Former Indonesian President Dr. S B Yudhoyono address on 17<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2011).

Thus, it becomes clear that for the Southeast Asian countries, particularly Indonesia, the ASEAN security community would facilitate in the creation of stable and peaceful region, which is in the interest of all ASEAN member states for regional development.

### *Singapore*

According to Mr. Jonathan Chen: “Asean is about its people and its rich diversity...about celebrating inclusivity” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs directorate 2017). Singapore is major economic hub among the other ASEAN countries that stimulates other weak countries for security purpose. Singapore has been associating with ASEAN’s empowerment as security community. From the following statement of Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong could be seen that how the ASEAN security community is important for Singapore in particular and the ASEAN in general. He stated by saying the importance of ASEAN security community is “to promote and uphold a rules-based regional order so that we can better deal with emerging security challenges such as cyber security, transnational crime and terrorism,” (PM Lee Hsien Loong on 31<sup>st</sup> ASEAN summit-Nov 12- 14, 2017).

### *Malaysia*

The interest of Malaysia in ASEAN security community could be seen with its role in the formation of ASEAN organization, with the long term interest of security community, after a long period of confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia. ASEAN security community is substantial for Malaysia both geopolitically and strategically. The importance of ASEAN SC could be seen from the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the ASEAN community 2015 signed in Malaysia. The significance of ASEAN security community is crucial, with increasing participation of people, as the president of Malaysia stated:

“It may, at times in its history, have appeared to operate more at the inter-governmental level. But the interests of its citizens have always been paramount.....helped bring peace

for the hundreds of millions in our region” (The former Malaysian PM Najib Tun Abdul Razak speech on 8 August 2015).

From the statement, it reveals that the ASEAN citizens and their participation would strengthen the trust among the ASEAN members. It always has reinforced the ASEAN security community by saying that it should be people centric in character. As the foreign policy of a country is determined by internal and external factors, in the case of Malaysia it is lump-sum similar with Indonesian foreign policy of neutral, independent and non-align country. After the Cold War, Malaysian government had changed their approach towards ASEAN security community through the help of promoting “democratic values, institutions and active regionalism” (Karim 2013:4).

### *The Philippines*

The Philippines is another founding member of ASEAN, which after a long period of foreign intervention is engaged in ASEAN security activity. The Philippines has serious national interest in promoting ASEAN security community, as president of the Philippines stated in the 30<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit: “my visits were opportunities to discuss common issues and concerns at the bilateral level....to hold open and candid exchanges on shared interests” (President Rodrigo Duterte speech in 30<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit-29<sup>th</sup> April 2017). In the emerging challenges, such as terrorism, extremism, piracy and others which are considered threat for regional security, the Philippines played in throwing terrorists out from Marawi area of the country. It showed that how the interest of one country is converged with another.

### *Myanmar*

The case of Myanmar since the beginning has been controversial because of its past historical background of associating with the abuse of human rights and violations of democratic principles. After becoming the member of ASEAN community, after Cold War in 1996, it began engaging in the cordial relationships with the ASEAN members. Moreover, “Myanmar sees the immediate neighborhood as the source of support and assistance as it moves forward with the peace process” (see Myanmar times, Vitikiotis 8 Aug. 2017).

## *Cambodia*

It was the one which also had an influence of Cold War politics. Cambodia got freed from it after the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 and adopted democratic and humanitarian principles, along with the rule of law. The constitution of Cambodia also precisely states that it shall be an independent and neutral country.

Thus, the above different viewpoints from individual countries tell a different story towards ASEAN security community both as collectively and individual, which is motivated by national interest.

## **Critical Assessment**

The debate on ASEAN security community, whether it is a security community or not, has been a subject of controversy because scholars have defined, or seen, ASEAN from different IR theoretical perspective what security community is? Though, there are several models of security communities, such as ‘the Deutschian, the constructivist, and the instrumental models’ (Chang 2016:335). At the outset, the ASEAN organization has been discussing about security affairs, which precisely indicates that the ASEAN is a security community. The ASEAN despite of formal structure has constructed “a close regional cooperation” (Anthony 2005:20).

Furthermore, on the other hand, a group of scholars claim, nevertheless, that ASEAN has not become a security community yet. In doing so, it is struggling with several challenges, which has to be first sorted out. The term ‘Security community’ has two meanings. Here, the concept of security includes both traditional and non-traditional threats perception. The first meaning of security community is from diplomatic tactics that facilitate in the prevention of disputes among the members country. Indonesian President Dr. Yudhoyono stated in the 19<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit by mentioning: “ASEAN has facilitated a peaceful dialogue regarding border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia.....continue to increase ASEAN’s capacity and ability in resolving conflicts”

(President of Indonesia, Dr. S B Yudhoyono speech in 19<sup>th</sup> ASEAN summit on 17<sup>th</sup> Nov 2011).

The peaceful dialogue—as one of the major feature of security community—among the ASEAN members have enhanced the interaction and participation to mitigate conflicts. The other meaning is relation with the collective measure against the cause, which could be both state and non-state actors. The development of ‘Security Community’ is given credit to Karl Deutsch and his associates who had come up with a distinct concept in building community between and among people. His concept of security community has been divided into two parts: the amalgamated and the pluralistic community. The former talks about the integration of units within the nation-states, the US for instance. And the pluralist community is based on independent sovereign states which build security community based on common perceptions.

According to Rodolfo C. Severino, “the ASEAN is already a security community” (Severino 2008:36), because it already has advanced the peaceful contacts and relations among the ASEAN countries. This clearly reinforces the assumption that the ASEAN members have reached that stage of security community building where all the members are engaged in the peaceful activities for the benefit of all whereas Deutsch, with reinforcing in the argument of Secretary General of ASEAN, contended that a security community is a reality when there will be “dependable expectations of peaceful change” (Deutsch 1961: 5). From the above statement, it becomes apparent that in the security community, among the ASEAN members, there is an expectation that the member countries shall not go with force, or any hard powers, rather would choose the best option, which should benefit all members. “The success of ASEAN is primarily in the political-security realm” (Anthony 2005: 19).

In addition, the controversy on is ASEAN a security community is very contentious among the scholars of international relations. The ASEAN members have sought to manage their security relations for over more than 50 years. The increasing interactions among community members stimulate scholars to argue that ASEAN is a security community. The ASEAN members have coped good cordial relations through the treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and so on. The achievement of ASEAN security

community could be underlined from the case of Myanmar where “ASEAN’s collective stance toward Myanmar.....and consensus of members on working toward an ASEAN Security Community (ASC)” (Haacke 2005:191) proved the claim that how ASEAN has been successful in creating security community and playing role in resolving conflict and disputes.

The ASEAN security though community has been successful in solidarity with refugees. The Vietnamese refugees in 1979, for instance, where the members agree on to prevent the condition of emerging challenges. This signifies that the ASEAN security community has taken its shape while discussing on the issues, such as refugees and migration. The ASEAN security community is not like the NATO security defense but it has close relations with “Karl W. Deutsch’s idea of a soft, but working security community” (Dosch & Mols 1998:170). This appears to be ASEAN moving towards more security community. The idea also makes a significant claim that ASEAN has achieved the status of security community. The “ASEAN may be assessed as a region in transformation from a security regime to a Security community” (Brandys: 312). The ASEAN may be considered at least “as a nascent pluralistic SC and qualifies as a nascent SC” (Brandys: 312). In the journey of ASEAN security community, there have been several incidents which itself have shown that ASEAN had dealt with them successfully.

The ASEAN security community could be seen by its successful attempt in the solution of the Cambodian conflict; 25<sup>th</sup> meeting of ASEAN foreign minister for South China Sea peaceful settlement; and the 1995 treaty that bans the advancement of Nuclear Weapons in ASEAN region. While addressing the audience, President B S Yudhoyono stating that:

The ASEAN Security Community will enhance the joint capacity to address security challenges. We (ASEAN) will be able to create a common stance to maintain peace, response security and political challenge in harmony with international law and without using military action (President Yudhoyono in the 20<sup>th</sup> ASEAN plenary session held on 11 May 2014).

From this although it has become clear that the formation of ASEAN security community plays a pivotal role in the affairs, both conflicts and non-conflicts, of the member states. The ASEAN has been a nascent security community and moving towards another stage. Likewise, there are several ways of interaction and instruments which will demonstrate that the ASEAN security community has. It is also required to increase “dense network,

new institutions, organizations, and tight military cooperation” (Adler & Barnett 1998:53). This demonstrates clearly that the ASEAN security community is required more and more mature in order to attain its highest stage of development. Undoubtedly, there are several challenges the ASEAN security community still is facing, which are required to be overcome. The Deputy Secretary-General of ASEAN, H.E. Hirubalan VP, in the 30<sup>th</sup> meeting on Drug Matters (ASOD) for ASEAN security community said in his speech:

ASEAN has made tremendous progress over the past 50 years. We have achieved a high degree of maturity as a regional organization....is the recognition by each ASEAN Member State on the importance and relevance of this Community (H.E. Hirubalan speech in the 38<sup>th</sup> meeting, Hanoi, Vietnam, on Drug Matters held on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017).

On the other side, there are a group of scholars who contend that the ASEAN organization has not developed a security community yet. Among them, Alan Collins is prominent who maintains that “it has not created a security community, liberal or illiberal, because it has not developed the linkages (material and ideational) among its member states, and peoples that create a sense of community” (Collins 2014:277). But, it displays the rise of pluralism in ASEAN that is equally significant for ASEAN organization. It likewise is interrogated as it does not provide empirical evidence.

Furthermore, It is not a security community because of several reasons: mutual suspense; still member countries have territorial conflicts with others as Ganesan states “ASEAN does not have the requisite institutional maturity or machinery to deal with conflicts” (Ganesan 1995:211); military expenditure also increasing and arms race; due to the 1997 crisis the ASEAN community members found themselves helpless. “Such behavior reveals a low level of economic and political coherence within the community as well as a low level of solidarity which is a fundamental condition for an SC to exist” (Brandys: 311). And, Low level of democracy and trust restrain community members to build a full security community.

Albert Wai argues in *the Today* newspaper that the ASEAN could not come up with the security community because of the “rising tensions in the South China Sea and the bloc’s inability to speak with one voice on the issue” (Wai, 21 January 2015, Today newspaper). According to Lily Zubaidah Rahim , “the imagination of building security community is

an unimpressive” (Rahim 2008:80) due to the low record of security cooperation in the ASEAN security community members. This might show that the ASEAN community members are still, for security cooperation, dependent to other countries.

It also makes a clear point regarding the illusion of ASEAN security community. “ASEAN norms do exist and regulate the behavior of its members, but we should understand these norms as operating in a security regime rather than a community” (Collins 2007:204). These members also find difficulty in consensus over the issue of rising china, role of U.S in the region and outside the region and so on. “The High Council is little more than window dressing and designed to preserve the non-intervention principle” (Haacke 2003).

Of course, for the successful functioning of ASEAN security community, which has come up as result of domestic turbulence and interdependence among all, are required “a security community should have a strong a degree of mutual trust and sense of community among a group of states that they consider the use and threat of force against each other to be unthinkable” (Nathan 2006:285-286). The low level of solidarity and political coherence within “ASEAN also became apparent in finding a common stance toward the bloodshed in East Timor in order to prevent conflict, or at least to mediate between the conflicting parties” (Brandys: 311). Internal violence still is present in many of its members of ASEAN.

Therefore, after the detailed discussion over ASEAN as security community it however despite several challenges and problems has proved that it is moving towards building a mature security community. This chapter has pointed out that ASEAN members have struggled since its establishment in building security community. Nevertheless, the establishment of ASEAN itself was the decision motivated by insecurity from several causes, namely, the fear of expansion of communism, the increasing role of China in the Southeast Asian countries security politics, the presence of the United States and so on, are the major factors which seem to be considerably in security community debate in the ASEAN. Moreover, the chapter reinforces the preposition that ASEAN is a security community.



Despite of all that the ASEAN security community is also required amending its some principles, which are preventing it from becoming a full security community. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of fellow member country is often becoming a challenge to the ASEAN community members. The Rohingyas Muslim issues, for instance, is an intra-ASEAN issue, which is needed to be resolve through collective way of ASEAN. Therefore, it shall be required to adopt 'flexible engagement' and 'constructive intervention' so that the common threat could be down. It is concluded by arguing that the ASEAN security community at the outset has been following all the ways that a security community relies on.

## **Chapter V**

### **Conclusion**

This study has strived to examine the concept of security community. It has sketched the advancement of security community in international relations with ASEAN as case study. This study explores into why this has been a subject of IR discourse on the origin of security community among scholars of International Relations. Moreover, the study also examines how the concept of security community is so comprehensive and goes beyond the military and economic forces as major factors to resolve conflicts among nation-states. Security has been taken in this study as inclusive of both traditional and non-traditional security. As we know, the importance of non-traditional security has been increasing its significance in the formation of security community.

Furthermore, the use of force, still relevant as scholars of mainstream IR theories claim, has been seen as significant part of war tools among the states. However, this trend after the Cold War has been fast changing. Nonetheless, some scholars still claim that after the September 2001 terrorist attack on the U.S. World Trade Center, the use of force is being considered still a relevant measure against the non-state actors. Meanwhile, the security community supporters continue to reject the use of force, and seek to resolve all the conflicts through peaceful means.

Security community is defined in this study as a group of states which share common norms, rules, identity and cultures with others member of the same community. These significant elements have motivated the states to construct a security community in order to deal with conflicts. As the study has demonstrated that while building security community, the members of that community are required to behave in a similar manner and follow the norms accordingly. In the security community, the rules are crucial. Without these rules, the security community would be only imaginary. In the process of building a security community, there should evolve common beliefs among members of the same community. As the study shows that they all belong to the same community. In other words, community members should have a sense of community belief. As the members will have a diverse character, so it is always a challenge for the community

members to overcome these challenges. This research further strives to reveal that in the interdependent world—where each country is dependent on others—the differences arising from this diverse membership could only be sorted out through building security community. Moreover, this study makes, as Deutsch et al present, a clear distinction between the pluralistic and the amalgamation security community. Both types of security community are considered significant stages and types. However, in this research the focus has been on the pluralistic security community. This, however, does not mean the amalgamation security community does not have importance. It depends on the context of the researcher and the nature of study. This research has, for instance, manifested types and contexts of the concept of security community—especially in which it was developed. From this research, it has become clear that the solution is relied on the building of security community. But, it is also to keep in mind that this process would not be easy as it does seem. It is a long term process—which is required patience by the community members. Otherwise, it would be very easy to deteriorate it from the beginning.

After the Cold War period, the World has likewise experienced several pluralistic security communities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some have failed but others continue as work-in-progress. Furthermore, it is also significant to underline the feasibility of security community in the context of ever increasing pace of globalization and so on. The world is fast moving towards the Information and Communication Technology age that has integrated countries far more than before. In addition, this has also motivated other countries to forge security community. Peaceful change is the only way that the community could be built on. Without this, for community members it would be difficult to think on these lines.

Furthermore, this study investigates all the significant questions in respect to security community—such as why security community is developed; its meanings; its role of in conflict resolution. It likewise deals with the case of the ASEAN organization—which has been seeking to construct a security community from the beginning of its establishment in 1967. It also catches some challenges that the security community face. The anatomy of security community has been diagnosed in this study through theoretical

study further—particularly from realism, liberalism and constructivism, with conflict resolution and a case study of the ASEAN organization. After the diagnosis, it has become a quite clear that the report is only depends on the community members which have dreamed of it.

The first chapter of this study introduces the subject of the matter i.e. the concept of security community, and its major influences—particularly with regard to conflict resolution. As the research shows, security community and conflict resolution have a direct relationship. Security community aims to resolving conflicts through peaceful ways. In brief, the study also demonstrates the development of this concept through western thinkers and so on. Furthermore, it addresses the examples of security community in the world. This research takes the ASEAN as its major case study which has sought to evolve security community since 2003 but found its roots in the ASEAN declaration of 1967. The research also underlines its scope which is restricted with its security community pillars and – economic and socio-cultural community—others two are excluded here. While doing so, it seeks to address a research gap as to why the security community has come up after the WWII in general and the ASEAN in particular.

Moreover, it likewise introduces some literature and discourses which are the basis of this study. It is divided into three sections: first is the theoretical section in which some mainstream theories have been discussed with particular emphasis given to three major theories: realism; liberalism and constructivism. In this section, I have also examined some important literatures which are foundational for this study. The second section discusses about the security community as a model for conflict resolution. This section has a significant influence on this research as the study showed. The third and final section deals with the case study of the ASEAN organization. In this section, I discuss the ASEAN as security community, which has not yet been formed, but moving towards in this direction.

The significance of this study as I have exhibited is crucial because of limited literature and works done on security community as model for inter-state conflict resolution. The security community as a model for conflict resolution for instance in case of ASEAN has not been researched yet as far as my understanding of this research is concerned in

particular. This chapter is therefore aimed at introducing the scope of research. The rest of these I have discussed in the next chapters.

The second chapter analyzes the security community from International Relations theoretical perspective. As this chapter demonstrates the concept of security community has been neglected in the Asian theoretical frameworks for a long time. This chapter likewise displays the understanding of security community separately. It points out how both are different but also relational in terms of playing a great role in the evolution of international relations theory. Moreover, the chapter has also discussed the status of security community in the domain of international relations theory. It--as the chapter underlined—has practical importance as the non-states actors and other non-traditional challenges are emerging because this century has brought up several challenges.

In this chapter, I have discussed how each major IR theory has viewed security community separately. As we have seen above the roots of security community building is relied on community building, peaceful change through this. However, the mainstream theory of IR, realism and liberalism, has given so much importance to military force. According to realism--which has several avatars such as classical, neo realism, defensive and offensive realism-- it is not a security community which shapes the relations among states and establish peaceful relations. But it is the balance of power principle, alliance and deterrence which play a crucial role in maintaining peaceful relations among states. The classical and neo-realism both have given importance to human nature and the structure for war and peace.

Moreover, on the other hand, liberalism has showed a distinct stand on security community. It although has appeared in some senses quite similar with the security community assumptions because liberal theory has also focused on peaceful means. According to liberalism, the war and peace is achievable through mutual benefits. For liberals, as security community claimed, has focused on the cooperation as a means for settlement of conflicts not force. The role of norms, rules and institutions were discussed pivotal in this chapter for the liberals and security community authors.

Furthermore, as security community provided an alternative to the previous approach to the other theories, however, it has seemed so closeness with constructivist theory of international relations. For constructivism, interaction and process are crucial which, as the study manifested, facilitated to establish peace and security among the states. Here, security community would put the same statement as constructivism interpreted. It is appeared that the origin of security community has come from constructivism. As we know that it has come against realism and liberalism and interrogates both their assumptions. Finally, it has critically assessed the chapter by saying that security community is crucial and new concept for the world which could provide an alternative approach in order to establish peace. It is a long process as I have stated before.

The third chapter examines the security community as a model for conflict resolution. In this chapter, Security community is presented as a model for resolving conflicts among the community members both traditional and non-traditional issues. This chapter is conceptual and analyzes development of security community after the WWII, and how it is being implemented amongst the developing countries. It also examines debates amongst major scholars associated with development of security community paradigm—such as Karl Deutsch, Adler and Barnett, Amitav Acharya and Bellamy and so on. They agree that security community is an emerging field in conflict resolution and it is expected to play a crucial role. This chapter presents their views on security community as also how they have contributed towards its development. From the historical advancement, it has become clear that the security community concept developed mainly in the Western European countries and America and has been loaded with liberal and democratic values—which we did not find for a long time in the developing countries.

The developing countries in the beginning were not included in security community debates due to their colonial experience. However, Prof. Amitav Acharya had brought up a book in 2001 which talked about the ASEAN organization as security community. This was the first time in the history of international relations that the regional organization from the developing countries was given importance in the study of security community. It also manifests the relevance of security community in conflict resolution by saying that it is a new field in conflict study; a multidisciplinary field; has moved from the state-

centric approach of realism to people centric approaches and so on. This chapter likewise underlines few new strategies of conflict resolution in security community. It discusses both formal and informal strategies, such as discussion, dialogues, consensus and consultations and institutional and so on. In addition, it shows some other examples of security communities—especially the European Union (EU), the Southern African Community Development (SACD) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The fourth chapter, which is primarily concerned with the case study of ASEAN, examines the meanings and features of security community in the context of ASEAN. It discusses the historical development of the ASEAN security community. The first time the ASEAN has talked about security community was in 2003. Indeed, in 1976 with the treaty of Amity and Cooperation it had discussed much of the same things. There is a provision among the ASEAN countries that they will not use military against each other or ally with any other country in a military pact. This is called the ASEAN Way of consensus and consultancy. This chapter also examines the different stages that took place among the ASEAN countries from the beginning of MAPHILINDO to the formation of ASEAN, as also debates in ASEAN on building a Security Community.

Furthermore, this chapter also displays several factors which are considered important for the formation of security community—such as shared threat perception, Cold War politics, expansion of membership, the ASEAN economic crisis, 9/11 attacks and its influences on the ASEAN organization, especially those emerging non-traditional threats and so on. It likewise examines the ASEAN way which is crucial in the building of ASEAN community. The role of norms has been increasing in importance among the community members of ASEAN and so on. Likewise, this study also underlines the aims and objectives of ASEAN security community, which have not been taken from any outside sources. However, these aims and objectives are listed based on observation and analysis of the concept of security community.

Moreover, this final chapter underlines some of the most critical challenges that the ASEAN security community building might face. These are lack of participation, mutual skepticism and distrust, limitations of security community model and so on. The research

also discusses the importance of some additional challenges that the ASEAN countries are facing from outside of their boundaries—notably the South China Sea, and so on. It also discusses the ASEAN countries reaction towards building security community. Indonesia, for instance, is and has been making significant contributor in this regard although each country has had a different stand on ASEAN security community process. It is also important to note that the ASEAN has not yet constructed a security community but still among the IR scholars there is discourse over whether the ASEAN is a security community or not. I would say the ASEAN has not become a security community in full as yet, but it is moving towards building a mature security community as it is still facing several problems both internal and external. The ASEAN security community building process is being considered pivotal among the IR scholars because once it is built up, it would be considered first in the developing countries.

The study concludes that first and foremost the process of building security community is a long term process which requires many things. The study shows how it is considered pivotal in the resolution of conflicts among the states. The case of ASEAN in this regard provides most important case study because it is moving towards building a security community. Given ASEAN's challenges, it would take more time to achieve these goals. Nevertheless, in the field of international relations and IR theory the concept of security community continues to be considered very crucial because with ever expanding globalization and its resultant increasing interdependence, the role of security community is seen as clearly increasing. It is believed that security community building process in general and, in particular when seeks to apply its model of conflict resolution in the context of regional organization, such as the ASEAN, where it is expected to be both effective as also crucial for settlement of inter-state conflicts.



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\*The Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Establishment of the ASEAN Community, held in Malaysia on 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 2015 (see for more information on <http://asean.org/kuala-lumpur-declaration-on-the-establishment-of-the-asean-community/>).

\*Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TOAC), 1976 (Bali, Indonesia). (For more information see <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/treaty.html>).

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