

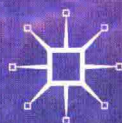


ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONAL COOPERATION

Turning Zones of Conflict into Arenas of Peace



Michael Haas



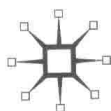
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Michael Haas



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Asian and Pacific Regional Cooperation

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- Approaches to the Study of Political Science*, edited with Henry S. Kariel (1970)
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International Conflict (1974)
Basic Documents of Asian Regional Organizations, comp., vols. 1–4 (1974)
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*Dedicated to the memory of seminal theorists
Karl W. Deutsch and Ernst B. Haas*

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Preface

My books *The Asian Way to Peace: A Story of Regional Cooperation* and *The Pacific Way: Regional Cooperation in the South Pacific* were published in 1989, just as the Cold War was coming to an end. The information about intergovernmental organizations in both publications was derived from interviews and documents collected during several field trips, beginning from 1971. The two books, definitive as of the date of publication, are still the only ones to provide detailed organization charts, membership rosters, and descriptions of programs of the full range of regional organizations in Asia and the Pacific.

However, many developments occurred by 2013. Some organizations changed their names to reflect wider membership. New organizations were born, and earlier ones folded. The need for an update became obvious. But an approach that focuses more on the meaning of regional cooperation than on organizational structures is needed now. Accordingly, I test whether the world pluralism of Karl W. Deutsch or the integration theory of Ernst B. Haas provides the best explanation for successful functional organizations and security communities in Asia and the Pacific.

Meanwhile, other authors have written extensively on regional cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. Most publications have focused on economic issues, and political scientists have written descriptively on various developments in the most highly publicized organizations, yet they have completely ignored important functional organizations. Although my previous publications were also descriptive and non-theoretical, in the present volume I apply the information that I have monitored for several decades to longstanding theoretical frameworks that have so far been dominated by scholars who have pushed their own ideological agendas with no desire to pay any attention to alternative approaches.

Lessons from regional cooperation in Asia and the Pacific need to be learned, not just in these regions but also elsewhere. Because theory is best advanced by testing hypotheses, one important objective herein is to identify testable propositions. With empirical evidence, one can determine which among the various ideologically-derived theories is worthy of support. Without such a critical test, allowing data to determine which theories are close to or distant from the facts, there can be no scientific progress.

Having to catch up with a quarter century of developments without the benefit of a multicountry research trip, I made inquiries by email to get up-to-date information. Accordingly, I wish to express my profound gratitude for information supplied by Hollie Ainslie (Australian Department of Infrastructure and Transport), Romulo N. Aroncon, Jr. (Asian and Pacific Coconut Community), Fred Christopher (Pacific Islands Telecommunication Association), Davaasuren Chultemjamts (Statistical Institute for Asia and the Pacific), Derek Ferrar (East-West Center), John Gresson (Reef Shipping Ltd.), Lisa Harvey (Civil Aviation Safety Authority, Australia), Capt. John Hogan (Secretariat of Pacific Community), LeRoy Hollenbeck (UN Asian and Pacific Centre for Agricultural Engineering and Machinery), Elisa W. Johnston (East-West Center), Surkafa F. Katafono (International Labour Organisation, Suva), Harry Lund (Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police Secretariat), Adrienne Mak and Maureen Mecozzi (AVRDC-World Vegetable Center), Eddie Marahare (Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency), Esther Morrel (South Pacific Tourism Organisation), Pranee Phumbangpa (Asia-Pacific Telecommunity), Professor Peter Pollard (re the Southeast Asia Tin Research and Development Centre), Paul Prouse (New Zealand Civil Aviation Authority), Rachel Tan (Association of Asia Pacific Performing Arts Centres), Naoko Tsuruta (Asian Productivity Organization), Seiuli Alvin W. Tuala (General Manager, Pacific Aviation Safety Office), John van der Heyden (Pacific Island Chiefs of Police), Stuart Valentine (Secretariat of the Pacific Community), Ms. Vasuhi (Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development), Kesaia Filsoni (Forum Secretariat), and Dr. Sebastiao Dias Ximenes (Ombudsman or Provedor for Human Rights and Justice, Timor-Leste).

I also wish to thank the press of the University of the South Pacific for permission to extract a portion of my essay "Comparing Regional Cooperation in Asia and the Pacific," which was published in 1986 as a chapter in a collection of conference papers entitled *Toward a World*

of Peace: People Create Alternatives and co-edited by Jeanette P. Maas and Robert A. C. Stewart. The analysis in Chapter 7 herein is partly an update from that essay, which primarily tests the security community theory of political scientist Karl W. Deutsch, under whom I studied at Yale University. Although we were acquainted, I am not related to Ernst Haas.

I also wish to commend Yoran Z. Haftel, whose research with a similar focus is extraordinary. Not only did I have a very useful conversation with him prior to finalizing the text herein, but he was also kind enough to send me a final copy of the text of his *Regional Economic Institutions and Conflict Mitigation: Design, Implementation, and the Promise of Peace*, which was published in 2012.

Although I contemplated an update of my earlier publications on the subject some 15 years ago, when developments in Asia and the Pacific were in flux, for various reasons I focused my attention elsewhere. Today, I am happy that I waited for inchoate developments to come to fuller fruition, permitting more solid, substantive, and theoretical contributions. Whether my efforts are worthy of applause I leave to perspicacious readers of the present volume.

MICHAEL HAAS
Los Angeles

Abbreviations

AALCC	Asian African Legal Consultative Committee
AALCO	Asian African Legal Consultative Organization
AARDO	Afro-Asian Rural Development Organization
AARRO	Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organization
ACC	Asian Coconut Community
ACU	Asian Clearing Union
ACW	ASEAN Committee on Women
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADMM	ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AEM	ASEAN Economic Ministers
AEMM	ASEAN Education Ministers Meeting
AFMM	ASEAN Finance Ministers Meeting
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AHMM	ASEAN Health Ministers Meeting
AIBD	Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development
AIPA	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly
AIPO	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization
AJC	Asian Judicial Conference
ALAWMM	ASEAN Law Ministers Meeting
ALCC	Asian Legal Consultative Committee
ALMM	ASEAN Labor Ministers Meeting
AMAF	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Agriculture and Forestry
AMBDC	Ministerial Meeting on ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Cooperation
AMCA	ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Culture and Arts
AMDA	Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement
AMDA	Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement
AMEM	ASEAN Ministers on Energy Meeting
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund

AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
AMMDM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Disaster Management
AMME	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Environment
AMMin	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Minerals
AMMST	ASEAN Ministers Meeting on Science and Technology
AMMSWD	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting for Social Welfare and Development
AMMY	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Youth
AMMTC	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime
AMRDPE	ASEAN Ministers Meeting on Rural Development and Poverty Elimination
AMRI	ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Information
AMRO	ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Office
ANRPC	Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, and the United States
AOPU	Asian-Oceanic Postal Union
APCC	Asian and Pacific Coconut Community
APCC	Asian-Pacific Cultural Center
APDC	Asian-Pacific Development Center
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APF	Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions
APIL	Association of Pacific Island Legislatures
APMCS	Asian and Pacific Maritime Cooperation Scheme
APO	Asian Productivity Organization
APPF	Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum
APPU	Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union
APPU	Asian-Pacific Postal Union
APSC	ASEAN Political-Security Community
APT	Asia-Pacific Telecommunity
APTA	Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement
APU	Asian Parliamentarians' Union
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ARTF	Asian Rice Trade Fund
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASC	ASEAN Sociocultural Community
ASCA	Association for Science Cooperation in Asia
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ASEANAPOL	Meeting of the Chiefs of National Police of the ASEAN Countries

ASEM	ASEAN European Meeting
Asian Re	Asian Reinsurance Corporation
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
ATM	ASEAN Transport Ministers Meeting
ATPC	Association of Tin Producing Countries
AUSMIN	Australia-U.S. Ministerial Meeting
AVRDC	Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center
CAC	Central Asian Commonwealth
CAEC	Central Asian Economic Cooperation
CAEU	Central Asian Economic Union
CALM	Conference of Asian Labor Ministers
CAPLM	Conference of Asian and Pacific Labor Ministers
CCAMLR	Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CCOP	Committee for Co-ordination of Joint Prospecting in Asian Offshore Areas
CCOP/SOPAC	Committee for Co-ordination of Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in South Pacific Offshore Areas
CCPASWPR	Conference of Commissioners of Police of Australasia and the South West Pacific Region
CCSBT	Commission for the Conservation of Southern Bluefish Tuna
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CEPT	Common Effective Preferential Tariff
CHARM	Customs Heads of Administration Regional Meeting
CIRDAP	Centre for Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific
CM	Cooperative Mechanism
COORDCOM	Coordinating Committee of Southeast Asian Senior Officials on Transport and Communications
COP to AATHP	Conference of the Parties to the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution
C-Plan	Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in Asia
C-Plan	Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific
CROP	Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization

CULSOCEN	Cultural and Social Center for the Asian and Pacific Region
DGCA	Conference of Directors General of Civil Aviation, Asia and Pacific Regions
EAEC	East Asian Economic Caucus
EAEC	Eurasian Economic Community
EAEG	East Asia Economic Group
EALAF	East Asia-Latin America Forum
EAS	East Asia Summit
ECAFE	UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ECOCEN	Economic Cooperation Center for the Asian and Pacific Region
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EMEAP	Executives' Meeting of East Asia Pacific Central Banks
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
ESCAP	UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
EU	European Union
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
EWC	Center for Cultural and Technology Interchange Between East and West
EWC	Center for Cultural Interchange Between East and West
FAMM	Forum Aviation Ministers Meeting
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FCMM	Forum Communications Ministers Meeting
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation
FEER	Far Eastern Economic Review
FEMM	Forum Economic Ministers Meeting
FEMM	Forum Education Ministers Meeting
FEMM	Forum Energy Ministers Meeting
FFA	South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency
FFAMM	Forum Foreign Affairs Ministers Meeting
FFMM	Forum Finance Ministers Meeting
FFTC	Food and Fertilizer Technology Center for the Asian and Pacific Region
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangements
FTMM	Forum Trade Ministers Meeting

GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCJPC	Government Consultation among Jute Producing Countries
IATTC	Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICFDTTP/ED	Intergovernmental Consultative Forum of Developing Tropical Timber Producing/Exporting Countries
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IFMC	Indochinese Foreign Ministers Conference
IGCC	Southeast Asia Regional Organization for Inter-Governmental Cooperation and Coordination in Family and Population Planning in Southeast Asia
IGO	intergovernmental Organization
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMC	Interim Mekong Committee
INRO	International Natural Rubber Organization
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organization
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation
IOTC	Indian Ocean Tuna Commission
IPC	International Pepper Community
ITLOS	International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea
ITRO	International Tripartite Rubber Organization
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
JCC	Joint Commercial Commission
JSS	Cook Islands/Niue/New Zealand Joint Shipping Service
M-ATM	ASEAN Tourism Ministers Meeting
MEDSEA	Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia
METO	Middle East Treaty Organization
MRC	Mekong River Commission
MSG	Melanesian Spearhead Group
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPO	national productivity center
OCAC	Organization of Central Asian Cooperation
OCO	Oceania Customs Organisation

OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PACER	Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations
PACOM	Pacific-Asian Congress of Municipalities
PASO	Pacific Aviation Safety Office
PBDC	Pacific Basin Development Council
PC	Pacific Community
PC	Pepper Community
PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice
PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
PEMM	Pacific Island Energy Policy and Pacific Energy Ministers Meeting
PFD	Post-Forum Dialogue
PFL	Pacific Forum Line
PIAC	Pacific Islands Aviation Council
PIC	Pacific Islands Conference
PICP	Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police
PICTA	Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement
PIDB	Pacific Islands Development Bank
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PIFFA	Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency
PILMC	Pacific Islands Labour Ministers Conference
PILOM	Pacific Islands Law Officers' Meeting
PILON	Pacific Islands Law Officers' Network
PIPA	Pacific Islands Producers' Association
PITA	Pacific Islands Telecommunications Association
PITAA	Pacific Island Tax Administrators Association
PITDC	Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council
PITIC	Pacific Islands Trade and Investment Commission
PJC	Pacific Judicial Conference
PLG	Polynesian Leaders Group
PMC	Post Ministerial Conference
PREP	Pacific Regional Environmental Programme
RCD	Regional Cooperation for Development
RCGS	Regional Consultative Group on Silk
RCT	Regional Committee on Trade
RIHED	Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization