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require the economic integration of NAFTA, it would likely attempt to replicate aspects of the success of the other two major economic block and further regional economic cooperation.

In an era that has repeatedly demonstrated the advantages of multilateralism and regionalisation in the conduct of regional and international affairs, East Asian states see the APT as giving them a voice in global trade negotiations and a forum in which to discuss regional economic issues, Stubbs said. By combining their resources the governments of East Asia appear to be in a better position to mitigate the adverse impact of the forces of globalisation on their relatively open economies and be able to influence negotiations over the way in the global economy is regulated.

Initially starting with finance cooperation the scope of APT has expanded in the past seven years to cover other economic and functional areas. Political and security aspects were added to the cooperation with the convening of the APT FMs Meeting in July 2000 and the establishment of the APT Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime in January 2004. Overall the APT has considerable promise to make East Asia a dynamic integrated economic community in the next two decades and that could eventually develop into an East Asian Community in which ASEAN will continue to play a central defining role.



To Come Together
A Theoretical Sketch on
Institutionalization of East Asian Community

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organized by

Institute of East Asian Studies
Thammasat University

Saranrom Institute of Foreign Affairs
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Thailand Research Fund

To Come Together

A Theoretical Sketch on Institutionalization of East Asian Community

Yeonsik Jeong

On Dong Du street stands Sheraton, a luxurious high-rise, gazing over the bustling streets of Ho Chi Minh City where multinational capital is seemingly getting close to what guns and bombs had to give up decades ago. Dong Du or “Study in the East” commemorates the Vietnamese movement of sending young and bright students to Japan in the early 20th century as a search for salvation from the French colonial rule. But it was rather a small remuneration given to Phan Boi Chau who had traveled all the way to Yokohama, hoping to secure Japanese assistance to the nationalist struggle in Vietnam. His somewhat less than realist plan of Asians united against the West was dashed when what Okuma Shigenobu, one of the most influential figures then in Tokyo, could offer turned out a few scholarships. Soothing to Phan Boi Chau’s disappointment was meeting with Liang Qi Chao, a great inspirer of that gloomy era to all in East Asia who dreamt of independence and modernization. They conversed in written Chinese about the destinies of their mother countries as well as East Asia as a whole and rekindled their fading wish for an Asia strong and united.

Almost 100 years have passed since then. After all those years the issue of making East Asia a community is retrieved. While we lack the courage and intellect Phan Boi Chau and Liang Qi Chao possessed and we converse in English, we do have something that was not available 100 years ago: sophisticated theories of international relations. So let us check them out.

What should we do in order to help East Asian Community come into being? Let me begin with a realist point of view. For many realists, to integrate East Asia into one Community is neither desirable nor possible. It is not something to be pursued because interdependence is achieved at the expense of sovereignty. Suspicion rather than trust and competition rather than cooperation are the words more familiar to realists. If *de jure* Community is established, it is most likely in the realist perspective that a regional hegemony is yielded under the husk of cooperation. This certainly seems what occupies American realists. Is it really naïve to suppose that no country in East Asia is attempting to appropriate the cause as leverage for hegemony? If yes, there is little chance for bringing East Asian Community into existence.

According to neo-institutionalism, formal institutions are not imperative under certain circumstances. Since the prime objective of institutionalization is to increase efficiency, it may not be necessary where regional integration is being achieved by informal network. This perspective, often referred as open regionalism or soft regionalism, recommends a nonexclusive and unbinding integration process led by market forces, which is congenial to the neo-liberalist world economy as well as to the cultural characteristics of East Asia.

It sounds peaceful and smooth. But are we patient enough to wait and see such “integration without institutions”? Is the rest of the world static enough to wait for East Asia to catch up?

According to functionalism and neo-functionalism, increasing interdependence among countries, particularly on economic matters smoothly leads to political integration. And the process would be accelerated with spillover effects and other catalysts such as a common identity. Also emphasized in the functionalist approach is the role of transnational capital.

Do we have transnational capital big enough to contribute to the integration of East Asia? Negative as of today: the Japanese capital being too close to the government while the



overseas Chinese capital being exclusive only to Chinese. We have yet to witness those two becoming truly transnational.

Do we have a common identity that would catalyze the integration process? Unfortunately, we have to acknowledge that diversity is the most common thing in East Asia. But we can "imagine" a community: a lot of work for historians and anthropologists in the region to do together.

Most importantly, has the economic interdependence been increasing? The trade within the region currently occupies as much as 50% of the total trade of East Asian countries and is expected to increase. Nonetheless, it must be noted that increasing economic interdependence among countries uneven in terms of development may yield not only spread effects but also backwash effects. If less developed countries are pressed by the latter beyond the level they can stand, the integration will take a long route. Related to this is the question of who pays the cost. Thus, developed countries must be more willing to take up the cost and share the benefit accruing from integration.

A serious limitation in the functionalist approach is its tendency to downplay political will. In case the economic environment does not work to the advantage of integration, political determination must step in as was shown in the case of NAFTA. For instance, when economy is in good shape with a comfortable rate of growth, regional integration becomes less imperative. Equally possible to suppose is political opposition within each country from sectors that might be threatened by integration. It is political will particularly under these circumstances that plays a crucial role. EU is the case par excellence.

The theory of hegemonic stability has suggested a correlation between regional integration and economic might and/or political leadership of a hegemonic state within the region. Germany is considered to have played such a role in the making of EU. It could be either China or Japan in the case of East Asia. These countries should be willing to open their markets, provide needed capital to others, pay the cost necessary for integration, and most importantly build up the basis for mutual trust in the region without which a cross-border community can never be constructed.

100 years ago Liang Qi Chao and Phan Boi Chau and many other intellectuals in East Asia paid a great toll to understand and cope with the new world. Again a new era has just begun. We have entered a new world that has to be made.



From Military Security to Regional Society in East Asia

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From Military Security to Regional Society in East Asia

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The ideal of a "security community" has long driven efforts at regional inter-state cooperation. Here peaceful commercial and cultural ties provide a counter-balance to often tenuous cooperation among national militaries. Fundamental to the "community" ideal is a variety of embedded, deeply rooted ties between nations including economic, political, and cultural. I believe a stronger "region-wide society" can provide a balance to simply military security. In this paper I first review the thesis of Karl Deutsch on a "pluralistic" security community, and then give an example of community or "societal" ties in Asian network capitalism. I conclude with suggestions on how NEAT might promote societal ties within the region.

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How can NEAT promote societal cooperation among East Asian societies, How can NEAT identify and strengthen "network" ties already in place. How can a stronger "region-wide society" provide a balance to simply military security. Looking "Toward an East Asian Community," I first discuss the concept of a "security community," then highlight network capitalism in the East Asian Community, and conclude with two NEAT initiatives for promoting societal ties within markets.

Two groups need to know more of the East Asian region.ⁱ One is social scientists who must clarify the regional versus bilateral or individual nation dynamics, and another are the policy-makers who need better information to make decisions. One might add to Gourevitch's earlier list. Certainly investors are desperate to learn how regional cooperation might provide security beyond militaries in this highly militarized region. And what of the growing number of organized interests in civil society searching for regional solutions to intractable social problems?ⁱⁱ

Militaries and markets do not immediately bring "security" to mind in East Asia. Militaries certainly complicate the regional dynamic. The lack of political integration is perhaps an understatement. Military cooperation and occasional confrontation complicate political cooperation among Asian states, making East Asia ideal territory for "society to society ties" a topic gaining growing attention in Security Studies.ⁱⁱⁱ Initial reviews of security ties beyond states in the region appear promising, but as yet relatively limited.^{iv} As one scholar recently lamented, "defense and foreign policy matters in East Asia seem to belong within the exclusive domain of the state, not civil society."^v

If state-centric military confrontations do not provide long-term security, what about societal solutions such as market ties? Recent studies of "network capitalism" in East Asia provide a useful summary of distinctive market ties in the region on the one hand, and the societal bases of growing economic cooperation across national borders. Market and hierarchy provide the conventional alternatives for economic exchange in studies of capitalism. The term *network* suggests a middle-ground between the open-ended, anonymous exchange in markets, and the organized, hierarchical organization of firms. Equally significant, the term taps the remarkable Asian blend of formal and informal ties that appears fundamental to rapid growth in the region.



Just as capitalism continues to evolve along distinctive path trajectories among different nations, so also do the rhythms of regional integration. ASEAN offers a model of regional organization quite distinct from NAFTA and the EU in its reluctance to codify and institutionalize. Kahler noted a preference for “informality rather than a legalistic framework, adopting the principles of accommodation and consensus in decision making and non-interference in the domestic affairs of its members and accommodating the needs of members at different levels of economic development.”^{vi} “We might then distinguish between *regionalization* and *regionalism*, the former informal, market-driven connections, versus the formal, institutionalized cooperation of the latter.”^{vii} Will ASEAN +3 moves us beyond “economic rather than political integration, organized around multipolar states and relatively balanced and decentralized political relationships.”^{viii}

The question of markets and militaries in East Asia demands new concepts appropriate to the region, and renewed efforts to balance attention to state and society. There seems little doubt that recent growth in trade and investment has embedded new societal ties in the region apart from militaries, or state-to-state frameworks. How does this affect national security? The extension of “network capitalism” in the region provides an initial basis for what Deutsch termed, a “pluralistic security community.” I begin with the thesis of security communities, continue with network capitalism, and conclude with NEAT initiatives fostering societal ties fundamental for the formation of an East Asian Community.

Security Communities

Civil society has begun to draw greater attention in Security Studies. Wendt noted for instance: “in the past two centuries and especially since WWII, the international system has experienced substantial institutional differentiation, first into political and economic spheres, and more recently, arguably, into a nascent sphere of global civil society as well.” Market dynamics, he believed, was the cause. “The ultimate cause of these changes is the spread of capitalism, which unlike other modes of production is constituted by institutional separations between spheres of social life.”^{ix}

I begin with the contrast between state and societal or “common” security. The former highlights state-to-state ties, the concept of “national security.” But societal security extends the concept to interstate cooperation, highlighting security as a feature of societies linked with multiple global ties. This is not to deny the growing prominence of states in the globalization of civil society, but rather to balance the autarky of the state with closer attention to non-state ties affecting regional security.^x Building on Krasner’s concept of international regime, Robert Jervis identified *security regimes* with “those principles, rules, and norms that permit nations to be restrained in their behavior in the belief that others will reciprocate.”^{xi} But we need more than reciprocity to build a substantive concept of cooperative linkages in Northeast Asia.

Karl Deutsch and his collaborators identified features of the political alliance in the North Atlantic Area of the late 1950s. “A security community, therefore, is one in which there is real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way.”^{xii} Of special interest here is their emphasis on pluralistic communities among sovereign nations, as opposed to more formally integrated “amalgamated” communities. They singled out two essential conditions of security communities: democracy, especially constitutionalism or the rule of law, and market



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economics.^{xiii} The term “democracy” implies a distinction between state and civil society more appropriate to Western polities than to the “strong state, weak society” pattern in the East Asian nations. Some would suggest a heritage of “rule by law” in Asia, in contrast to the Western European tradition of a rule of law.^{xiv}

Among dynamics supporting, but not necessarily essential to pluralistic communities were superior economic growth and expectation of joint economic reward. Globalization, together with the triumph of the market over the political divisions of the Cold War has given new prominence to exchange and prosperity among contemporary states, and perhaps even greater priority in international ties. East Asia is no exception. State legitimacy depends largely upon economic performance and stable political divisions. Deutsch and colleagues also cited the role of a “wide range of mutual transactions” which appear to be gaining prominence in East Asia, particularly with the growing urgency of regional teamwork in environmental issues, maritime cooperation in transportation and fishing, and refugee problems with North Korea. States appear painfully aware of their inability to address major societal issues without regional cooperation. But again, asymmetries in civil society put clear limits on the autonomous action of civil groups in cross-border cooperation.

Surprisingly, the authors cite “reluctance to wage fratricidal war” as merely a “non-essential” feature supporting pluralistic communities. Perhaps the reluctance is embedded in conditions cited above, or perhaps NATO so moderated fear of war that they were able to downplay the threat, but it would seem that economic ties would moderate military aggression in East Asia by making it more costly. The proximity of massive hostile forces on the Korean peninsula, backed by U.S. ground troops, and along China’s Southeastern shores facing Taiwan and the U.S. Navy must make military solutions appear the norm rather than the exception to investors in the region. How then can the growing trade and investment strengthen a pluralistic security community in East Asia?

Network Capitalism

Social networks represent social spaces for individuals and identities. They provide a structure to link social interaction and society.^{xv} But if the concept of *network* stretching from Simmel’s social circles to the study of trust and social capital today provides a congenial conceptual framework bridging micro and macro-sociological dynamics, it also offers insight into Asian capitalism today. Fruin offered a working definition: “network organizations are composed of sets of independent actors who cooperate frequently for mutual advantage and create a community of practice.”^{xvi} Robert Ouchi contrasted market and network ties: in network organizations, the arms-length trading relations and pricing mechanisms of pure markets are eschewed in favor of something more personal (relational) if less precise.^{xvii} No one would suggest an absence of anonymous, often cutthroat market dynamics in East Asia. But some have begun to single out the importance of networks in Asian capitalism.

Stubbs highlighted the developmental role of the state, and concentration or “cartel-like” arrangements in the financial system, often under close state supervision. Although the author focused on Japan and the Asian NICs, the model appears to fit market socialism in China as well. Flexibility, alliances, and close state cooperation appeared to distinguish what he identified as a growing trend in the region: “there is emerging a characteristic mode of doing business in the region that emphasizes networks of companies, flexibility so as to



respond as quickly as possible to market changes, and where and when it is advantageous, operating in conjunction with governments and public enterprises.”^{xviii}

Network capitalism provides one profile of critical societal ties linking producers and consumers across borders in the region. Some would argue that expanding trade among the three nations reflects no more than economic growth. Frankel, for instance, did find a bias towards intra-regional trade in Northeast Asia in the 1980s, but quite similar to what is found in the European Community and the Western Hemisphere. In other words, East Asian trade follows a pattern among stronger trading partners to use their geographical advantage.^{xix} The issue has shifted nearly a decade later from Yen Bloc to network capitalism, and from simply trade to wider integration of trade and investment.

But the same comparison with the EU led Aoki to different conclusions. This author cited the EU as the most intensively integrated region, and found it significant that the increasing share of the Asian intra-regional trade both in terms of export and import just below the EU level. “The intra-regional share of the Asian Pacific region increased from 34.8% in 1980 to 38.1% from 1989 for exports, while imports increased from 32.9% to 42.6% in the same period. Also in the trade of industrial goods, the intra-regional shares have increased both in total exports and in total imports. In the former, the intra-regional share increased to 29.1% in 1987 from 26.6% in 1980, while the latter increased from 52.5% to 56.1% in the same period.”^{xx}

What is perhaps most significant about the intra-regional trade in the 1990s is what Yeats and Ng term, “production sharing.” They define the latter as “the internationalization of a manufacturing process in which several countries participate in different stages of a specific good’s fabrication.” This links production and consumption in new forms of economic interdependence highly significant in globalizing markets. They found that between 1984 and 1996, the share of all parts and components exports destined for regional East Asian markets almost doubled rising from 25% of total trade to 46%.^{xxi} Production sharing brings together networks of producers, state offices, business associations, and of course consumer markets. These societal ties include both formal institutions and more informal, often ethnic or family bonds.

Regional Society

How then might network capitalism contribute to a security community in East Asia? Keohane and Nye recently defined “globalism” as “a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multicontinental distances.”^{xxii} Networks were fast replacing hierarchies on the one hand, and single, bilateral connections on the other. But it was “networked minimalism” they emphasized, the effort for connection without intrusion on states and communities. Network capitalism appears to align with this broader trend towards more fluid exchanges, but also more complex ties among nations. But if such market ties fit the emerging integration of political space across borders, what can be said of the basic continuities of polity and market highlighted by Deutsch and colleagues?

Networks provide multi-layered ties in cross-border investments, a necessary hedge in times of rapid change. One problem is the intense change in the institutions of market. Simultaneous market liberalization and democratization in the region have created a remarkably fluid market situation. Networks can survive the absence of conventional



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institutions of market, or what are sometimes termed, “imperfect markets.” Fruin observed, “network organizations are much better suited to circumstances of tumultuous economic, social and technical change.”^{xxiii} Beyond bridging periods of institutional formation and adjustment, networks with their sparse institutional demands may prove critical for the longer term formation of a regional society. Network capitalism reflects the “minimalism” that may well be necessary given disparities of scale and historical experience among the ASEAN +3 nations.

Superior economic growth and expectation of joint economic reward play a more positive role in supporting regional market integration. How can intra-regional trade promote a “wide range of mutual transactions” among the thirteen nations? Here lies perhaps the most important development for the shift from military confrontation to economic cooperation, from state-centric to more society-centric bases for security. Business groups play a major role in foreign policy in the West, and increasingly in the region as well.

Quasi-state business links such as Chambers of Commerce, peak business federations, and sister relationships among cities play a major role in regional network capitalism as firms search out partners, often in tandem with local municipalities. More independent regional fora in automobile manufacture, textiles, and other sectors have begun to play a more prominent role. A third area of interaction is developing within APEC, such as institutionalized business discussion groups in the auto industry. Business groups may in time provide an attractive precedent for cooperative ties in other areas of society.

NEAT Initiatives – Business Forum & NGO Dialogue

What then are the security implications of growth in intra-regional trade? I have drawn on the model of network capitalism to examine how a distinctive type of economic cooperation might meet the conditions of Deutsch’s “security community” in East Asia. Asymmetries in military alliances, economic power, and institutions of market would appear to impede development of a community based on Western experiences of “democracy” and “market” economies. Network capitalism, however, appears to survive and flourish in times of rapid structural change by establishing multiple bases for trust in market exchange. Networks in East Asia likewise appear better adapted to working closely with states in markets, and to linking the distinctive large-scale forms of enterprise among the thirteen nations.

Intra-regional trade provides an important basis for building a regional society in East Asia to strengthen solidarities beyond military cooperation. A Track II Dialogue such as NEAT can play a positive role in building these societal links within ASEAN +3. Two initiatives may prove both feasible and attractive for member nations. The first is the NEAT Business Forum, and the second a NEAT-NGO Dialogue. The purpose of both would be to embed NEAT in the priorities of regional society, particularly in the demands of the regional markets.

A Business Forum might well be added to the NEAT Annual conferences. This would initially include leaders from peak business associations in each nation, such as Chambers of Commerce and Federations of Industry. The Business Forum would be delegated to represent leading business groups from each nation, bringing their priorities in regional cooperation to the NEAT dialogue. At least one half day of the annual two day NEAT conference would



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then be devoted to the NEAT Business Forum. This forum may evolve into sectoral dialogues, or perhaps into separate conference on pressing topics of more immediate concern such as WTO adjustment, transportation networks, or trade and security issues. Perhaps most important for the NEAT representatives would be the continuing dialogue with the business community, a grounding in the most effective regional cooperation at present.

The NGO dialogue would take NEAT into the second most active area of societal cooperation at present, and distinguish our Track II Dialogue from dialogues in comparable regional organizations. The dialogue might begin with more market-oriented issues such as consumer groups, technology training, transportation and the environment. This dialogue would be linked closely to the Business Forum, providing a stronger societal voice on market issues. In time the NGO dialogue might be expanded into cultural exchange, linkages between local and global NGOs, and other institutional issues. The NGO dialogue may well evolve into an annual separate conference, with results then integrated into NEAT discussions.

Institutions of regional cooperation can play a critical role in sustaining and expanding regional solidarity. NEAT has established an initial forum for a Track II Dialogue supporting Track I government initiatives. Establishment now of critical supporting dialogues among business and NGOs would help distinguish our priorities of building a regional society based on mutually beneficial market ties.



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CURRICULUM VITAE

SU Hao

Dr. Su Hao, born in August of 1958, is Deputy Director/General Secretary of East Asian Studies Center and Deputy Director of the Center for International Security Studies at China Foreign Affairs University. He is also affiliated with some institutions in China, such as, member of Chinese Committee, Council of Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP); board members of China Association of Armscontrol and Disarmament, China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies, China Association of Asian-African Exchange. He got his B.A. and M. A. in history and international relations from Beijing Normal University and Ph. D. in international relations from China Foreign Affairs University. He took his advanced study in the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London in 1993-1995; and was a Fulbright scholar in Institute of War and Peace Studies of Columbia University and in Institute of East Asia of University of California at Berkeley in 2001-2002; Dr. Su has been teaching and doing research on the China's diplomatic history, politics and economy in the Asia-Pacific region, strategy and international security. He published some books and articles in the fields of China's foreign policy, security issues and international relations in the Asia-Pacific region.



CURRICULUM VITAE

Mushahid Ali



Mushahid Ali has been a Senior Fellow at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, since January 2001.

A retired member of the Singapore Foreign Service, he was Ambassador to Cambodia in 1995-2000 and before that Chief of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1991. He was conferred the Public Administration Medal (Silver) by the President of Singapore in 1991 and the Royal Order of Sahametrei by the King of Cambodia in 2000.

A journalist for print, radio and television between 1959 and 1968, he obtained his BA (Honours) in English and Political Science from the University of Singapore in 1968, and, after doing National Service, joined MFA in 1970. He served in Singapore missions in Kuala Lumpur, Tokyo, London, Jakarta, Hong Kong and Riyadh (as Charge d'Affaires), and was a Deputy Director (International) at MFA.

He attended numerous regional and international conferences as member of the Singapore delegation, including the UN General Assembly, Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, International Civil Aviation Organisation, and ASEAN Ministerial and Heads of Government Meetings.

In IDSS he is Coordinator of Events, such as conferences, seminars and visits. He has attended several conferences and workshops, and presented papers on Singapore's National Strategic Perspective at the Asia Security Conference of IDSA, New Delhi; Singapore's Perspective of the War on Terrorism at the CSCAP Workshop in Kuala Lumpur; Exploring the Environment of Security Cooperation: New Actors in the Game, at the APCSS Biennial Conference, Honolulu; ASEAN-Japan Cooperation: Facing the Common Challenges, at the Media Forum, Jakarta and The UN and Regional Institutions, at the ASEAN-UN Seminar on Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Security Community and the UN, Jakarta; The Long Hard War Against Terror: An ASEAN Perspective, at the ASEAN Leadership Forum, Kuala Lumpur; and Prospects for the East Asia Summit at the First East Asia Young Leaders' Forum, Phnom Penh.

July 2004



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EDUCATION

- Ph.D. in Political Science, University of South Carolina (December 1997)
Thesis – Interest Representation in Socialist Market Economies: A Comparative Study of Civil Society in China and Vietnam (Preceptor: Dr. Donald E. Weatherbee)
- M.A. in Political Science, University of South Carolina (May 1993)
Thesis – Corporatism in Indonesia: A Study of Golkar (Preceptor: Dr. Donald E. Weatherbee)
- B.A. in Chinese Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (February 1985)

LANGUAGES

- Korean mother tongue
- English fluent
- Chinese near fluency

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

- Politics and Society of Vietnam
- Democratization in China and Southeast Asia
- Concepts of Human Rights in Asian Societies

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES AND HONORS

- Associate Professor, Changwon National University (August 1998 – Present)
- Visiting Scholar, Vietnam National University – Ho Chi Minh University (January 2003 – December 2003)
- Fellowship, Asian Scholarship Foundation (January 2003 – December 2003)
- Acting Director, Korean Association for Southeast Asian Area Studies (January 2001 – December 2001)
- Director, 21st Century Political Science Association (December 2001 – December 2002)
- Research Fellowship, Korea-ASEAN Exchange Fellowship Program (January 2000 – December 2000)
- Lecturer, Department of Government and International Studies, USC (August 1996 – December 1997)
- Research Associate, Center for Asian Studies, USC (August 1994 – December 1997)
- Teaching Assistant, Department of Government and International Studies, USC (January 1992 – May 1994)

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

- Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies
- Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
- International Association of Area Studies
- Korean Association of Political Science
- Korean Association of International Studies
- 21st Century Political Science Association
- East Asian Association of International Studies

PUBLICATIONS

[Korean]

- “The Vietnamese Perceptions of Rights and Prospects for Political Change.” The Southeast Asian Review (forthcoming).
- “Concepts of Rights and Democratization.” 21st Century Political Science Review (forthcoming).



CURRICULUM VITAE

- "Politics of Guanxi: A Critical Study on China's Clientelism." Journal of International Area Studies (forthcoming).
- "The Growth of China and Northeast Asia." Local Societies 39, 19-25.
- "Asian Human Rights and Intercivilizational Human Rights: The Southeast Asian Case." 21st Century Political Science Review 10:2, 249-269.
- "Arendt's 'Acting in Thinking' and Eichmann in Jerusalem." A Commemorative Journal to Professor Song Yi-Rang, 399-420.
- "US Human Rights Policy in Asia: A Comparative Study of Chinese and Korean Cases." Kim Yoo-Nam et. al. Issues and Problems in the Study of International Relations in the 21st Century (Seoul: Pakyungsa, 2000), 355-381.
- "A Study on Labor Relations of Korean Corporations in China." Solidarity and Praxis 76, 34-46.
- "Socialist Market Economies and State Corporatism: China and Vietnam." Korean Political Science Review 33:2, 303-324.
- "Acting and Thinking: A Habermasian Understanding of Hannah Arendt." Busan Political Science Review 8, 47-64.
- "Vietnam's Revolutionary Ethic and Socialist Market Economy: On the State-Labor Relationship." Northeast Asian Studies 4, 258-275.

[English]

- "The Rise of State Corporatism in Vietnam." Contemporary Southeast Asia 19:2, 152-171.
- "Interest Representation in Vietnam: The Relationship between the Party and Mass Organizations." Journal of Law and Political Science 4, 145-166.

PRESENTATIONS

- "Chinese Favoritism," Changwon National University-Sandong University Joint Symposium on Social Sciences (October 8, 2001).
- "Women and Political Change in Vietnam," the Annual Conference of Korean Association of International Studies (December 14, 2000)
- "Perceptions of Rights and Political Change in Vietnam," the Annual Conference of Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies (October 20, 2000)
- "A Critique of Asian Human Rights," the Annual Conference of Youngnam Association of International Studies (May 26, 2000)
- "On Guanxi," the Annual Conference of Korean Association of International Studies (December 10, 1999)
- "China's NGOs: The Parameters of State Realm," the Annual Conference of Kyungnam Association of Political Science (November 12, 1999)
- "Spring in Beijing: A Survey on China's Civil Society," the Annual Conference of Korean Association of Political Science (December 5, 1998)
- "Corporatism and Civil Society," the Sociology Colloquium of Dong-A University (September 1998)
- "Revolutionary Ethic and Quasi-Democratic System: The Vietnamese Case," the Annual Conference of Korean Association of Southeast Asian Studies (February 10, 1998)

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Dr. Dennis McNamara, S.J.

Professor of Sociology



Dennis McNamara is the Park Professor of Sociology and Korean Studies at Georgetown University. Major publications include *Corporatism and Korean Capitalism* (Routledge 1999), and *Textiles and Industrial Transition in Japan* (Cornell University Press 1995). Other volumes track the growth of capitalism on the peninsula, and its integration with international markets. *Trade and Transformation in Korea, 1876-1945* (Westview Press 1996), and *Colonial Origins of Korean Enterprise, 1910 to 1945* (Cambridge University Press 1990) follow state-society relations in the development of industry and enterprise. He has recently completed the final volume of this series titled, *Market and Society in Korea – Interests, Institutions, and the Textile Industry* (Routledge 2002).

Formerly on the faculty at Sogang University in Seoul, he completed his Ph.D. at Harvard University in 1983. Following a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of California, Berkeley, he joined the faculty at Georgetown in the fall of 1984. His courses include studies of socio-economic development, of political economy in Northeast Asia, and of Korean society, north and south.

Beyond the university, he chairs the weekly Korea Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. He is the founder and chair of the Georgetown Conference on Korean Society, a biannual forum in Washington joining scholars from Asia with social theorists from the U.S. He also serves as President of the Economy and Society Research Committee of the International Sociological Association.

A Fulbright research fellowship in 1998 permitted work on globalization of Japanese industries. He is now preparing a volume titled, *Japan's Asian Networks – Global Sectors, National System, Local Society*. The study harnesses recent work on global production systems to embedded dynamics of local market and society in textiles and autos. He is also preparing papers from the Georgetown Conference on Korean Society for a volume titled, *Models of Korean Modernity, North and South*.

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ITO Kenichi

Born on March 7, 1938, in Tokyo. He is concurrently President & CEO of The Japan Forum on International Relation, Inc.(JFIR), President & CEO of the Japan Center for Conflict Prevention(JCCP), President & CEO of The Global Forum of Japan(GFJ), Professor of International Politics at Aoyama-Gakuin University, and President of the Council on East Asian Community (CEAC) in Tokyo. He also serves concurrently as a Board Member of The Institute of International Studies(IIS), The Kajima Institute of International Peace(KIIP), and The Japan Association of International Relations (JAIR), etc. He is also a Member of The Advisory Commission on Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the Japanese Government.

After graduating from the Law School of Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo in 1960, he was enrolled at the Department of Government and the Russian Research Center of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in Harvard University in 1961-63.

Since then until 1977 he had been in the Japanese Foreign Service and had been assigned to the Japanese embassies in Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, and it was in this capacity that he flew to Hanoi to work for the normalization of Japan's relations with North Vietnam immediately after the collapse of South Vietnam in 1975.

Since resigning from the Foreign Service in 1977, he has been active in such multiple capacities as diplomatic commentator, professor of international politics both in Aoyama-Gakuin University and The University of Tokyo, president and/or board member of a number of foreign policy thinktanks and international exchange organizations.

He has extensively written in national and international magazines and newspapers. In addition, he is the author of twelve books which include "Kokka to Senryaku"(State and Strategy), "Taikoku to Senryaku"(Great Powers and Strategy), "Futatsu no Shogeki to Nihon"(Japan's Response to The Two Shocks), "Chiheisen wo Koete"(Beyond the Horizon), and "Cho-kindai no Shogeki"(The Impact of Post-modern Civilization).

(As of 18 May, 2004)



CURRICULUM VITAE

Dr. Tai Hwan Lee

Dr. Tai Hwan Lee (李泰桓) is a senior research fellow and former director of foreign policy and security studies program at the Sejong Institute, which is one of the largest think-tanks of its kind in Korea. The Sejong Institute also offer an one-year study program for government officials.

Prior to the current position, he worked as a policy analyst in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a Senior Research Fellow in the Asiatic Research Center at Korea University. He was also a member of Policy Advisory Committee of Ministry of Defense in Korea.

Dr. Lee was a visiting fellow at the Foreign Affairs College under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1995) and at Beijing university(2002), visiting research fellow at the China Institute of Contemporary international Relations (2002) in China.

He is currently a member of Foreign Relations committee of the FKI(Federation of Korean Industries) China Forum. He is a board member of the Korean Association of International Studies and the Korean Association of Political Science. Dr. Lee was the first president of the Korean Association for China Studies.(Social Science association for China studies). He was editor-in-chief *Current Issues and Policies* which is published monthly and widely circulated in the Korean government and policy circle. He was also an editor of *National Strategy* (quarterly)

Dr. Lee graduated from the Department of International Relations at Seoul National University(1977). He received the degree of Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (M.A.L.D.) from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Ph.D. in political Science from the University of Southern California.

He has edited or co-edited several books including *North Korea and Northeast Asia*, (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers Inc., 2002), *US-China Relations and the Korean Peninsula*, *Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia*(Seoul, 2002). His major publications include "China's Policy toward the Korean Peninsula(Korean, 2003), "Chinese Korean relations after Diplomatic Normalization: Retrospect and Prospect"(KAIS, 2002), "Globalization and China (2000)," "Chinese Foreign Relations in Northeast Asia"(2000) "Security and Foreign Policies of a Unified Korea"(Korean, 1999), "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy of Great Powers in Northeast Asia"(Korean, 1998) "The role of China in East Asian Security" and so on.



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JIMBO, Ken

JIMBO, Ken is a Director of Research at the Japan Forum on International Relations Inc. (JFIR), a private and non-profit research thinktank based in Tokyo. Prior to joining JFIR, he was a research fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). He received his M.A. from the Graduate School of Media and Governance at Keio University and is currently a Ph.D. candidate. His research fields are in Multilateral Security in Asia Pacific Region, ASEAN Regional Forum, US-Japan Security Relations, and Missile Defense issues. He also teaches IR at Keio University as a lecturer. He belongs to various governmental/non-governmental research groups including Working Group on Defense and Diplomacy, The Japan Defense Agency (JDA) since 2004. His recent article includes, "Emerging Feature of Multilateral Security in Asia-Pacific: From 'Double-Track' to 'Multi-Layered' Mechanism," *Global Economic Review*, (Vol. 32, No.3, 2003); "Rethinking Japanese Security: New Concepts in Deterrence and Defense," in Benjamin L. Self and Jefferey W. Thompson, eds., *Japan's Nuclear Option, Security, Politics and Policy in the 21st Century* (The Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington DC, 2003); and "Japanese Perspective on Missile Defense and Strategic Coordination," *The Non-Proliferation Review*, (Summer 2002, Vol.9, No.2) .



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Mr. Daisuke Hiratsuka is currently Director of APEC Study Center and Director of Regional Integration Group, Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO.

He is born in 1954 and graduate from Yokohama City University in 1978. He joined the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) in 1979. From 2001-2003, he served as Visiting Lecturer of the Post-Graduate School at Social Science of the University of Chiba, Japan. He was engaged in the ASEAN-Japan Research Institute Meeting to make policy recommendations to the AEM-METI. There have been many academic articles regarding the Asian economies. He edited *Toward ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership*, and *ASEAN-Japan Competitive Strategy*, both with Prof. Ippei Yamazawa.

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(Draft)

NEAT Charter

Article 1: the name of the network

The name of the network shall be the “Network of East Asian Think-Tanks” henceforth to be referred to as NEAT.

Article 2: The purposes and functions of NEAT

1. NEAT will serve as Track Two for Asean+3 or East Asia Cooperation;
2. pool together academic resources of East Asian countries to provide intellectual support for East Asia Cooperation;
3. study issues and initiatives brought forward by the Asean+3 Summit meetings or other level of meetings and give policy recommendations to the Asean+3 meetings;
4. It will designate its members to participate in Track One meetings of Asean+3/East Asia Cooperation, international conferences and other activities;
5. study issues concerning East Asia Cooperation in key areas and to study strategic and emerging issues concerning the overall situation and the future direction of East Asia Cooperation;
6. to carry out joint researches;
7. to produce and disseminate publications;

8. to organize working groups to address issues and challenges facing the region;
9. to convene regional meetings, workshops and other cooperative activities;
10. to establish linkage with Track One and Track Three of Asean+3/East Asia Cooperation and with other networks, institutions, and organizations in other regions;
11. Initiate discussions on issues that may be too sensitive to be discussed in Track One.

Article 3: Membership

NEAT will be composed of 2 categories of members:

1. Institutional members: Each country may designate 2-3 institutions to join NEAT.
2. Scholar members: Each country may designate 5-10 scholars to join NEAT.

Article 4: Country Coordinators' Meeting

1. Each country should designate one institution as Country Coordinator or national focal point which is responsible for domestic and external communications and coordination work.

The founding Country Coordinators of NEAT are:

- 1.1 The Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brunei;
- 1.2 General Department of ASEAN, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Cambodia;

- 1.3 East Asian Studies Center, China Foreign Affairs University, China;
- 1.4 Center for East Asian Cooperration Studies, Indonesia;
- 1.5 The Japan Forum on International Relations, Japan;
- 1.6 Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University, Korea;
- 1.7 Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Laos;
- 1.8 Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia;
- 1.9 Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Myanmar;
- 1.10 Philippines Institute for Development Studies, Philippines;
- 1.11 East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore;
- 1.12 Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University, Thailand;
- 1.13 Institute for International Relations, Vietnam.

2. The Country Coordinators' Meeting shall serve as the decision – making body of NEAT. The decision of the meeting shall be made by consensus. The meeting shall be co-chaired by the country coordinator which is hosting the Annual Conference and by the co-general coordinators.

Article 5: Secretarial works

1. For secretarial works, NEAT will have two general coordinators to be called Co-General Coordinators: one from China (the prime mover of NEAT) and the other from Thailand.

2. The Co-General Coordinators will perform the following functions:
 - 2.1 serve as the communication/liaison and information center ;
 - 2.2 assist in the organization of the Annual Conference, the Country Coordinators' Meeting, working group meetings, regional meetings, workshops and other cooperative activities;
 - 2.3 publish materials;
 - 2.4 the secretarial works will be partially funded by the NEAT Fund and by the governments of the member countries;
 - 2.5 The website of NEAT will be registered in China.

Article 6: The Annual Conference

1. NEAT shall convene the Annual Conference on a regular basis;
2. The agenda, time and venue shall be decided by the Annual Conference;
3. For hosting the Annual Conference, NEAT will take the individual approach. Each country will have the equal opportunity to host the conference;
4. The host, together with the Co-General Coordinators shall co-chair the NEAT Annual Conference.
5. The Annual Conference should be held before the Asean+3 DGs Meeting which is planning for the Asean +3/East Asia Summit. This will facilitate early consideration of NEAT policy recommendations by the Summit after due scrutiny by the Asean+3 DGs.

Article 7: Funding

1. NEAT Fund will be established with annual contributions from the member countries. Contributions shall be determined by a formula which be agreed upon by the Annual Conference;
2. NEAT will seek other source of funding;
3. The government of each member country should provide financial support for the operation of NEAT;
4. The costs of organizing the Annual Conference will be covered by the host country while the expenses of international travel and accommodation would be born by the participants. However, the participants from CLMV countries will be provided with financial assistance.

Article 8: Amendment

The NEAT Charter shall be amended by the consensus of all the NEAT country coordinators. A proposal for amendment(s) shall be circulated to all country coordinators 60 days in advance for their consideration.

Adopted in Bangkok, Thailand, 17 August 2004.

Institute of East Asian Studies
Thammasat University
(revised August 15, 2004)

Article 7: Funding

1. NEAT Fund will be established with annual contributions from the member countries. Contributions shall be determined by a formula which be agreed upon by the Annual Conference;
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Adopted in Bangkok, Thailand, 17 August 2004.

Institute of East Asian Studies
Thammasat University
(revised August 15, 2004)

(Draft 17 Aug 2004 1700hrs)

Basic Rules and Framework of the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT)

Article 1: The Name of the Network

The name of the network shall be the “Network of East Asian Think-Tanks”, henceforth to be referred to as NEAT.

Article 2: The Purposes and Functions of NEAT

NEAT shall:

1. serve as a Track Two process for ASEAN+3 or East Asian cooperation;
2. pool together academic resources of the ASEAN+3 countries to provide intellectual support for East Asian cooperation;
3. study issues and initiatives identified by the ASEAN+3 Summit or other levels of meetings and give policy recommendations to the ASEAN+3 meetings;
4. designate its representatives to present recommendations at Track One meetings of ASEAN+3/East Asian cooperation, international conferences and other activities;
5. study issues and carry out joint research concerning East Asian cooperation in key areas, including strategic and emerging issues

concerning the overall situation and the future direction of East Asian cooperation;

6. produce and disseminate NEAT publications;
7. organize working group meetings, workshops and other cooperative activities if necessary; and
8. establish linkages with Track One of ASEAN+3 and with other networks, institutions and organizations.

Article 3: Membership

The members of NEAT shall be Think Tanks designated by the ASEAN+3 countries as their Country Coordinators.

Article 4: Country Coordinators' Meeting

1. Each country shall designate one institution as Country Coordinator which is responsible for domestic and external communication and coordination.
2. The founding Country Coordinators of NEAT are:
 - 2.1 Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brunei;
 - 2.2 General Department of ASEAN, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and
International Cooperation, Cambodia;
 - 2.3 Center for East Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University,
China;
 - 2.4 Center for East Asian Cooperation Studies, Indonesia;
 - 2.5 The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. Japan;
 - 2.6 Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (KISEAS), Korea;
 - 2.7 Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Laos;

- 2.8 Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia;
 - 2.9 Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies(MISIS),
Myanmar;
 - 2.10 Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Philippines;
 - 2.11 East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore;
 - 2.12 Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University, Thailand; and
 - 2.13 Institute for International Relations, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Vietnam.
3. The Country Coordinators' Meeting shall serve as the highest decision-making body of NEAT. Decisions shall be made by consensus. The meeting shall be convened at least twice a year and co-chaired by the outgoing and incoming host Country Coordinators of the Annual Conference.

Article 5: Secretarial Work

- 1. For the purpose of maintaining continuity, NEAT shall have two interim coordinators to be called Co-Interim Coordinators: one from China (the prime mover and the host of the 1st Annual Conference) and the other from Thailand (the host of the 2nd Annual Conference). The term of Co-Interim Coordinators shall extend to 2006.
- 2. Secretarial work shall be provided by the incoming host Country Coordinator with the support of the outgoing host Country Coordinator and the Co-Interim Coordinators.
- 3. The incoming host country of the Annual Conference shall perform the following functions:
 - 3.1 To serve as the center for communication/liaison and information;

3.2 To organize the Annual Conference, the Country Coordinators' Meeting, working group meetings, regional meetings, workshops and other cooperative activities; and

3.3 To publish materials decided by the Country Coordinators' Meeting.

4. The website of NEAT shall be registered in China under the direction of the Country Coordinators' Meeting.

Article 6: The Annual Conference

1. The host Country Coordinator shall convene and chair the NEAT Annual Conference.

2. The agenda, time and venue shall be decided by the Country Coordinators' Meeting.

3. Each Country Coordinator shall have an equal opportunity to host the Annual Conference.

4. Each Country Coordinator shall provide the host Country-Coordinator with a list of its country participants to the Annual Conference.

5. The costs of organizing the Annual Conference shall be covered by the host country, while the expenses of international travel and accommodation shall be borne by the participants.

6. The ASEAN secretariat shall be invited to participate as a resource person in the Annual Conference.

Article 7: Funding

1. To fund the activities of NEAT, the government of each ASEAN+3 country is requested to provide the necessary financial support.

2. NEAT shall also raise funds from other sources.

3. NEAT shall make a strong effort to establish a NEAT Fund with contribution from the ASEAN +3 countries.

Article 8: Amendment

The Basic Rules and Framework of the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT) can be amended by the consensus of all the NEAT Country Coordinators. A proposal for amendment(s) shall be circulated to all Country Coordinators 30 days in advance for their consideration.

Adopted in Bangkok, Thailand by Country Coordinators on the Seventeenth of August, Two Thousand and Four.



Press Release

The 2nd Annual Conference of Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT)

16 -17 August 2004

Bangkok, Thailand

The 2nd Annual Conference of the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT) was held in Bangkok, Thailand on 16 -17 August 2004. The meeting was jointly organized by the Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University, Saranrom Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, and Thailand Research Fund. The meeting was attended by participants from the ASEAN +3 countries with the following institutions as the Country Coordinators : Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brunei; General Department of ASEAN, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Cambodia; Center for East Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, China; Center for East Asian Cooperation Studies , Indonesia; The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. Japan; Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (KISEAS), Korea; Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Laos; Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia; Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (MISIS) Myanmar; Philippine Institute for Development Studies, The Philippines; East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore; Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University, Thailand; and Institute for International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam.

At the opening session, Associate Professor Yupha Klangsuwan, Director of Institute of East Asia Studies, Thammasat University, the organizer of the 2nd NEAT Conference, delivered the opening remarks. Ambassador Wu Jianmin, President of University of Foreign Affairs of China, the organiser of the 1st NEAT conference, also delivered the opening remarks. H.E.Mr. Saroj Chavanaviraj, Advisor to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand delivered the Opening Address.

1. Towards an East Asian Community

The theme of the meeting was "Towards an East Asian Community". The participants exchanged views on how to promote East Asia Cooperation and East Asia Community. There were a variety of views and commendations some of which can be summarized as follows :

Some participants had the view that the long term vision of East Asian cooperation is to create the East Asian Community. But the task is how to define what is the East Asian Community. One approach is to define it the way we define the ASEAN Community: that it will be based on three pillars: East Asian Security Community, East Asian Economic Community, and East Asian Socio-Cultural Community.

The participants called for increased efforts to foster a greater sense of community and to build an East Asian identity, not just among the government leaders but also among the ordinary people in the region. It should focus on the people-to-people approach.

East Asia cooperation should not start from scratch or from zero but it should be based on the existing cooperation (ie. from ASEAN cooperation). The cooperation should be based on the "functional" approach by starting from the easy and less sensitive areas ; it should focus on deepening before widening the integrative process ; it should use building block approach; and it should evolve into an open regional community and open regionalism.

2. Economic Cooperation

The participants exchanged views on how to promote economic cooperation in East Asia. There were a variety of views and recommendations some of which can be summarized as follows :

For the long-term goal, the possibility of establishing the East Asia Economic Community in which there is a free flow of goods, services, investment and capital could be explored. The single market, the economic union with common external policy could also be examined.

- The setting up of the East Asia Free Trade Area (EAFTA) should be on the high priority list. The building block approach could be used by consolidating the existing FTAs in the region.
- ASEAN +3 Leaders should consider setting up an official expert group to start the feasibility study of EAFTA in 2005 and present a recommendation report in 2007.
- Because of the existence of many regional and bilateral FTAs arrangements in East Asia, it is important that these arrangements adhere to a common framework and principle with a view to standardize and harmonize overlapping FTAs arrangement.
- On financial cooperation, as a long-term goal, we could explore the possibility of establishing the East Asian Monetary Union, the East Asian Monetary Fund as the lender of last resort by pooling some portions of massive foreign exchange reserves held by ASEAN+3, a common or single currency, appropriate regional exchange rate regime, and development of regional bond market.
- Further step should be made in strengthening financial cooperation through doubling the size of SWAP arrangements under the Chang Mai Initiative.
- An expert group could be set up to start feasibility study for a regional monetary fund.
- There were also proposals to establish the ASEAN+3 entrepreneur forum, East Asia trade and investment facilitation initiative, energy initiative focusing on energy policy coordination.

3. Political and Security Cooperation

On political and security cooperation, the participants exchanged views on how to promote the cooperation in East Asia. There were a variety of views and recommendations some of which can be summarized as follows :

- In order to enhance mutual understanding and common security awareness and perceptions, a joint study on mutual perceptions of each other and common threats and the increase of security dialogues and exchange of experts and observers were needed.

It was recommended that NEAT members are to be actively involved in the making of action plans for institutionalization of regional security cooperation in East Asia.

For the long-term goal, we could explore the possibility of setting up the East Asia Security Community taking into account the evolution of the ASEAN Security Community.

New measures to establish the modalities for the East Asian Security Community could be explored. The measures can include: confidence-building measures, preventive diplomacy, and conflict resolution mechanism.

Some participants suggested to strengthen regional mechanisms for cooperation on non-traditional security issues.

On the issue of human security, initiatives for the cooperation in the areas of infectious diseases, drug trafficking, human trafficking were recommended .

4. Socio-Cultural Cooperation

The participants exchanged views on how to promote socio-cultural cooperation in East Asia . There are a variety of views and recommendations some of which can be summarized as follows :

Cultural diversity was the strength of East Asian region, the regional identity building should therefore be based on the process of unity among diversity.

As a long-term goal, we could explore the possibility of establishing the East Asian Socio-Cultural Community bonding East Asia together as a community of caring societies.

Regional solidarity and identity could also be developed through expanded personnel exchanges among East Asian countries at all levels.

5. Institutionalization

The participants exchanged views on institutional aspects of East Asian Community building . There are a variety of views and recommendations some of which can be summarized as follows :

Some participants recommended that ASEAN should remain the driving force for the evolution of structure and process of regional community-building. But there should be continuing discussions on the modality

that should avoid marginalization of ASEAN but at the same time give greater ownership to China, Japan, and Korea.

- Some participants expressed the views that ASEAN+3 Summit framework should remain the vehicle to advance the process of cooperation. The evolution of East Asian Summit (EAS) is a desirable objective, but it should be part of an evolutionary process that builds on the comfort level and parallel with the ASEAN+3 framework. In a process of finding the right modality, in the mean time, as a practical approach, the dual-track approach by engaging in the process of cooperation through both the ASEAN+3 mechanism and at the same time supporting holding the EAS at the suitable time could be considered.
- Some participants express the views that it is important to move the current "10+3" process into an East Asian Summit (EAS). Declaration on East Asian Community could be issued. The EAS could commission NEAT to prepare the Roadmap to East Asian Community.
- Some participants felt that further discussion is needed concerning the issue of the secretariat of East Asia Cooperation. The issue is that should we establish a new secretariat or using the ASEAN Secretariat by setting up the new ASEAN+3 unit within the ASEAN secretariat. Some participants also suggested setting up new coordinating mechanism for all ASEAN+3 activities and meetings. Setting up the national focal point for East Asia Cooperation is suggested.

The possibility of establishing the "East Asia Information Center" should be explored.

In terms of membership, some participants felt that the principle is that it should be inclusive rather than exclusive. East Asia should not just include ASEAN countries, China, Japan, and South Korea. In the long term, it should expand to have an region-wide coverage.

In order to build the East Asian Community, it was necessary to involve various actors, including government officials (Track One), academics (Track Two) and other private sectors and civil society (Track Three).

6. Organization of NEAT

The Country Coordinators' meeting adopted the "Basic Rules and Framework of the Network of East Asian Think-Tanks (NEAT) which incorporates the purposes and functions of NEAT, membership, Country Coordinators meeting, secretarial work, the Annual Conference and funding.

The meeting discussed the activities for future cooperation which include issue for further studies, setting up three working groups to study regional security, economic and socio-cultural issues, the future workshops and roundtables, and joint research and publication.

The meeting agreed that the Memorandum Paper incorporating policy recommendations from the 2nd NEAT would be prepared and submitted to the ASEAN+3 Meeting particularly to the ASEAN+3 Summit in November 2004.

The meeting agreed that Japan's Country Coordinator will be the host for the 3rd Annual Conference of NEAT.



Closing Statement

Given at

The Second Annual Conference of NEAT II

By

Associate Professor Yupha Klangsuwan
Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University

17 August 2004, Bangkok, Thailand

Distinguished participants,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Let me, first of all, I would like to express my most sincere appreciation to the organization that made this ASEAN+3 meeting possible : Saranrom Institute of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Thailand Research Fund.

I must confess that after worries and worries, I'm now fully satisfied and very happy that things have gone in the direction we want it to. Thank you all for your effort and cooperation. We have eventually met our goal. This conference is your work. What we have done is work as an Asian Community- it's no longer a distant ideal but it's now our experience, what remains is the task of setting priority. What is clear is the consensus that we seek unity among diversity.

In conclusion, I want to thank my staff, tireless effort in organizing this conference, and finally my thank to all participants who have made this endeavour a success. It has been our great privilege and pleasure to host this forum. We will meet again next year in Tokyo. Japan will host NEAT III, so may I ask Dr.Ken Jimbo to confirm it.

Thank you and good bye for now. Until next NEAT meeting.

สรุปรายงาน

การประชุมเครือข่ายคลังสมองเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง (NEAT) ครั้งที่ 2

วันที่ 16-17 สิงหาคม 2547

ณ โรงแรมอินเตอร์คอนติเนนทัล กรุงเทพมหานคร

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การประชุมเครือข่ายคลังสมองเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง (NEAT) ครั้งที่ 2 จัดขึ้นเมื่อวันที่ 16-17 สิงหาคม 2547 ณ โรงแรมอินเตอร์คอนติเนนทัล กรุงเทพมหานคร

การประชุม NEAT ครั้งนี้ จัดขึ้นโดยความร่วมมือจาก 3 ฝ่าย คือ สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงศึกษา (สังกัดมหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์) สถาบันการต่างประเทศสวามิภักดิ์ (สังกัดกระทรวงการต่างประเทศ) และ สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย

ผู้เข้าร่วมประกอบด้วยผู้แทนจากสถาบันทางวิชาการที่เป็นตัวแทนของประเทศในกลุ่มอาเซียน+3 จำนวน 13 ประเทศ ได้แก่ ผู้แทนจาก Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies กระทรวงการต่างประเทศบรูไน, General Department of ASEAN กระทรวงการต่างประเทศและความร่วมมือระหว่างประเทศกัมพูชา, Center for East Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University สาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน, Center for East Asian Cooperation Studies อินโดนีเซีย, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. ญี่ปุ่น, Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (KISEAS) สาธารณรัฐเกาหลี, Institute of Foreign Affairs สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia มาเลเซีย, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (MISIS) สหภาพพม่า, Philippine Institute for Development Studies สาธารณรัฐฟิลิปปินส์, National University of Singapore สิงคโปร์, สถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ และ Institute for International Relations กระทรวงการต่างประเทศ เวียดนาม

ในพิธีเปิดการประชุมครั้งนี้ รองศาสตราจารย์ ยุพา คลังสุวรรณ ผู้อำนวยการสถาบันเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์ ซึ่งเป็นผู้ดำเนินการจัดการประชุม NEAT ครั้งที่ 2 กล่าวรายงาน จากนั้น เอกอัครราชทูต หวู เจียนหมิน (Wu Jianmin) อธิการบดีมหาวิทยาลัยการต่างประเทศแห่งสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีนซึ่งเป็นเจ้าภาพจัดการประชุม NEAT ครั้งที่ 1 ได้กล่าวสุนทรพจน์ ทั้งนี้ การประชุมได้รับเกียรติจาก ฯพณฯ สาโรจน์ ชวนะวิรัช ที่ปรึกษารัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวงการต่างประเทศของประเทศไทย กล่าวเปิดการประชุม

สรุปผลการประชุมได้ดังนี้

1.การมุ่งสู่ประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง

สาระสำคัญของการประชุมครั้งนี้ คือ "การมุ่งสู่ประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง" ผู้เข้าประชุมได้แลกเปลี่ยนความคิดเห็นเกี่ยวกับวิธีการที่จะเสริมสร้างความร่วมมือในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงและประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง อาจสรุปข้อคิดเห็นและข้อเสนอแนะต่างๆได้ดังนี้

1.1 วิสัยทัศน์ระยะยาวของความร่วมมือในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง คือ การสร้างประชาคม-เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง จึงต้องนิยาม คำว่า "ประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงคืออะไร" ซึ่งมีการเสนอว่า ควรจะนิยามในทำนองเดียวกับ "ประชาคมอาเซียน" และอาจมีพื้นฐานความร่วมมือ 3 ด้านหลัก คือ ประชาคมความมั่นคงแห่งเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง ประชาคมเศรษฐกิจแห่งเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง และ ประชาคมสังคม-วัฒนธรรมแห่งเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง

1.2 การเสริมสร้างจิตสำนึกแห่งประชาคมและสร้างเอกลักษณ์เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงในระดับภูมิภาค ทั้งระดับผู้นำรัฐบาลและระดับประชาชนทั่วไปในภูมิภาค และเน้นการทูตระหว่างประชาชนกับประชาชน

1.3 ความร่วมมือเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงไม่ควรนับหนึ่งใหม่หรือเริ่มต้นใหม่จากจากศูนย์ หากควรอิงพื้นฐานความร่วมมือที่มีอยู่ก่อนแล้ว อาทิ ความร่วมมือแห่งอาเซียน ทั้งนี้ ความร่วมมือเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงควรยึดหลัก Functional Approach โดยเริ่มต้นจากสิ่งทำได้ง่ายและไม่ส่งผลกระทบต่อเพื่อนหรืออ่อนไหว และควรเป็นกระบวนการที่เริ่มต้นจากความร่วมมือในเชิงลึกก่อนที่จะบูรณาการในเชิงกว้าง

2.ความร่วมมือทางเศรษฐกิจ

การแลกเปลี่ยนความคิดเห็นเกี่ยวกับวิธีการส่งเสริมความร่วมมือทางด้านเศรษฐกิจในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงอาจสรุปได้ดังนี้

2.1 เป้าหมายระยะยาว จะต้องศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ในการที่จะสถาปนาประชาคมเศรษฐกิจ-เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงในอันที่จะเปิดเสรีด้านสินค้า บริการ การลงทุน และเงินทุน ศึกษาความเป็นไปได้เกี่ยวกับตลาดร่วม หรือ สหภาพทางเศรษฐกิจ

2.2 ควรจัดลำดับความสำคัญของการสร้างเขตการค้าเสรีเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงไว้ในลำดับต้นๆ

2.3 ผู้นำของกลุ่มประเทศอาเซียน + 3 ควรจะพิจารณาจัดตั้งกลุ่มผู้เชี่ยวชาญอย่างเป็นทางการเพื่อศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ของเขตการค้าเสรีเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง

2.4 สืบเนื่องจากมีข้อตกลงเกี่ยวกับการค้าเสรีทั้งในระดับทวิภาคีและระดับภูมิภาคจำนวนมาก เกิดขึ้นอยู่ก่อนแล้วในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง จึงจำเป็นต้องสร้างความเป็นมาตรฐานและประสานข้อตกลงที่มีความทับซ้อนกันเหล่านี้เป็นหนึ่งเดียวให้ยืดหยุ่นและสอดคล้องกันภายใต้หลักการและกรอบความร่วมมือร่วมกัน

2.5 เป้าหมายระยะยาวของความร่วมมือทางการเงิน อาจต้องศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ในการสถาปนาสหภาพทางการเงินเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง กองทุนการเงินเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง การระดมสำรองเงินตราต่างประเทศก้อนใหญ่บางส่วนที่อยู่ในมือของประเทศกลุ่มอาเซียน+3 สกุลเงินร่วมหรือ เงินตราสกุลเดียวกัน ระบบอัตราแลกเปลี่ยนเงินตราที่เหมาะสมกับภูมิภาค และการพัฒนาตลาดพันธบัตรภูมิภาค

2.6 ก้าวต่อไปในการสร้างความแข็งแกร่งให้กับความร่วมมือทางการเงินภายใต้แผนริเริ่มเชียงใหม่ (CMI) โดยการเพิ่มขนาดวงเงินตามข้อตกลงการแลกเปลี่ยนเงินตราระหว่างธนาคารกลางของประเทศต่างๆ ในภูมิภาค (SWAP) เป็นสองเท่า

2.7 เห็นสมควรแต่งตั้งกลุ่มผู้เชี่ยวชาญเพื่อศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ของกองทุนการเงินภูมิภาค

2.8 เสนอให้มีเวทีแลกเปลี่ยนสำหรับผู้ประกอบการของกลุ่มประเทศอาเซียน+3 แผนริเริ่มด้านอำนวยความสะดวกทางการค้าและการลงทุนของภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออก และ แผนริเริ่มด้านพลังงานที่เน้นการประสานนโยบายพลังงาน

3.ความร่วมมือทางการเมืองและความมั่นคง

ผู้เข้าประชุมได้แลกเปลี่ยนทัศนะเกี่ยวกับวิธีการเสริมสร้างความร่วมมือด้านความร่วมมือทางการเมืองและความมั่นคงอย่างหลากหลาย สรุปได้ ดังนี้

3.1 เพื่อที่จะเพิ่มพูนการรับรู้ร่วมกัน การตระหนักและเข้าใจถึงความมั่นคงของส่วนรวม จำเป็นต้องร่วมกันศึกษาการรับรู้ร่วมกันระหว่างกันและกัน ภัยคุกคามส่วนรวม เพิ่มพูนการเจรจาเกี่ยวกับความมั่นคงและจำเป็นต้องแลกเปลี่ยนผู้เชี่ยวชาญและผู้สังเกตการณ์

3.2 สมาชิกเครือข่ายคลังสมองเอเชียตะวันออกจะต้องกระตือรือร้นที่จะจัดทำแผนปฏิบัติการเพื่อสร้างความเป็นสถาบันของความร่วมมือด้านความมั่นคงระดับภูมิภาคของเอเชียตะวันออก

3.3 เป้าหมายระยะยาวของความร่วมมือด้านความร่วมมือทางการเมืองและความมั่นคง จะต้องศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ของการจัดตั้งประชาคมความมั่นคงเอเชียตะวันออกโดยอาศัยรากฐานของวิวัฒนาการจากประชาคมความมั่นคงแห่งอาเซียน

3.4 จะต้องศึกษาวิจัยเพื่อแสวงหามาตรการใหม่ที่จะสร้างตัวแบบการจัดตั้งประชาคมความมั่นคงเอเชียตะวันออก มาตรการดังกล่าวอาจประกอบด้วย มาตรการการสร้างความไว้วางใจ การทูตเชิงป้องกัน และกลไกแก้ไขความขัดแย้ง

3.5 การสร้างความเข้มแข็งให้กับกลไกระดับภูมิภาคเพื่อสร้างความร่วมมือในประเด็นอื่นๆ นอกเหนือจากประเด็นความมั่นคงแบบดั้งเดิม

3.6 ความมั่นคงของมนุษย์ที่ได้รับการพิจารณาจากที่ประชุม ได้แก่ แผนการด้านความร่วมมือเกี่ยวกับโรคติดต่อ การลักลอบค้ายาเสพติด และ การลักลอบค้ามนุษย์

4. ความร่วมมือด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรม

ผู้เข้าประชุมได้แลกเปลี่ยนทัศนะเกี่ยวกับวิธีการเสริมสร้างความร่วมมือด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมอย่างหลากหลาย สรุปได้ ดังนี้

4.1 จุดเด่นของภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออก คือ ความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรม ดังนั้น การสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของภูมิภาคนี้จะต้องอยู่บนพื้นฐานของกระบวนการหลอมรวมความหลากหลาย

4.2 เป้าหมายระยะยาวของความร่วมมือด้านสังคม-วัฒนธรรม จะต้องศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ในการสถาปนาประชาคมด้านสังคม-วัฒนธรรมภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงเพื่อเชื่อมประสานเข้าด้วยกันเป็นประชาสังคมที่เอื้ออาทร

4.3 การพัฒนาอัตลักษณ์และความสามัคคีปรองดองของภูมิภาคต้องอาศัยช่องทางการขยายการแลกเปลี่ยนบุคลากรทุกระดับของประเทศต่างๆในภูมิภาคนี้

5. ความเป็นสถาบัน (Institutionalization)

ผู้เข้าร่วมได้แลกเปลี่ยนทัศนะเกี่ยวกับการสร้างความเป็นสถาบันของภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงที่ประชุมได้อภิปรายอย่างหลากหลาย สรุปได้ ดังนี้

5.1 อาเซียนยังคงเป็นพลังขับเคลื่อนที่จะก่อให้เกิดวิวัฒนาการทั้งด้านกระบวนการและโครงสร้างประชาคมระดับภูมิภาค แต่จำเป็นต้องมีการอภิปรายเกี่ยวกับตัวแบบและจะต้องหลีกเลี่ยงการลดบทบาทของอาเซียนขณะเดียวกันก็ให้ความสำคัญกับบทบาทของจีน ญี่ปุ่นและเกาหลี

5.2 กรอบการประชุมสุดยอดอาเซียน+3 เป็นพาหนะขับเคลื่อนเพื่อสร้างความก้าวหน้าในกระบวนการสร้างความร่วมมือ นั่นคือ แม้ว่าวิวัฒนาการของการประชุมสุดยอดเอเชียตะวันออก (EAS) เป็นวัตถุประสงค์ที่พึงปรารถนา แต่จะต้องเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของกระบวนการพัฒนาการที่สร้างขึ้นในระดับที่เหมาะสมควบคู่ไปกับกรอบความร่วมมืออาเซียน+3

5.3 การยกระดับ “กระบวนการเวที 10+3” ขึ้นเป็น “เวที EAS” เป็นสิ่งสำคัญที่จะต้องพิจารณา ทั้งนี้ เวที EAS อาจมอบหมายให้ NEAT เตรียม roadmap ของประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง

5.4 สำนักเลขาธิการความร่วมมือเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง อาจเป็นได้ 2 แบบ คือ การสถาปนาสำนักเลขาธิการความร่วมมือเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงขึ้นใหม่ หรือ ใช้สำนักเลขาธิการอาเซียนที่มีอยู่เดิมโดยการตั้งหน่วยงานอาเซียน+3 ขึ้นใหม่ภายใต้สำนักเลขาธิการอาเซียน ผู้เข้าร่วมเสนอแนะให้จัดตั้งกลไกประสานงานขึ้นเพื่อติดตามกิจกรรมและการประชุมเกี่ยวกับอาเซียน+3 ทั้งหมด

5.5 ให้มีการจัดตั้งศูนย์ประสานงานระดับชาติสำหรับความร่วมมือเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงในแต่ละประเทศ

5.6 จะต้องมีการศึกษาความเป็นไปได้ในการสถาปนาศูนย์ข้อมูลข่าวสารเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง

5.7 สมาชิกภาพของภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงไม่น่าจะประกอบด้วยกลุ่มประเทศอาเซียน กับประเทศจีน ญี่ปุ่นและเกาหลี เท่านั้น ในระยะยาวควรจะขยายสมาชิกให้ครอบคลุมทั่วทั้งภูมิภาค

5.8 เพื่อที่จะสร้างประชาคมเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง จำเป็นจะต้องให้ความสำคัญกับผู้ที่เกี่ยวข้องทุกฝ่ายอย่างหลากหลาย ซึ่งประกอบด้วยภาครัฐ (track 1) ภาควิชาการ (track 2) และภาคเอกชนและประชาสังคม (track 3)

6. การจัดระเบียบองค์กรของ NEAT

6.1 ที่ประชุมของผู้ประสานงานจากประเทศต่างๆ (country coordinator) มีมติรับรอง “หลักการพื้นฐานและกรอบความร่วมมือเครือข่ายคลังสมองเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียง” (NEAT) ซึ่งประกอบด้วย จุดมุ่งหมายและภาระหน้าที่ของ NEAT สมาชิกภาพ ประเทศผู้ประสานงานการจัดประชุม สำนักเลขาธิการ การจัดประชุม

ประจำปี การระดมทุน ฯลฯ

6.2 กิจกรรมสำหรับความร่วมมือในอนาคตประกอบด้วย หัวข้อที่จะต้องศึกษาค้นคว้าวิจัยในอนาคต การจัดตั้งคณะทำงาน การสัมมนาเชิงปฏิบัติการและการประชุมโต๊ะกลม และ การร่วมวิจัยและสิ่งพิมพ์เผยแพร่

6.3 ที่ประชุมเห็นพ้องให้มีการจัดทำเอกสารเกี่ยวกับข้อเสนอแนะเชิงนโยบายที่เป็นรูปธรรมจากการประชุม NEAT ครั้งที่สองนี้ ซึ่งจะจัดเตรียมขึ้นและนำเสนอต่อที่ประชุมอาเซียน+3 โดยเฉพาะ การประชุมสุดยอดอาเซียน +3 ในเดือนพฤศจิกายนปีนี้

6.4 ที่ประชุมมีมติให้ผู้ประสานงานที่เป็นตัวแทนประเทศญี่ปุ่นเป็นเจ้าภาพจัดการประชุมประจำปีของ NEAT ครั้งที่ 3

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เขมร 5

จีน 8

อินโดนีเซีย 6

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เกาหลี 9

ลาว 2

มาเลเซีย 4

พม่า 2

ฟิลิปปินส์ 2

สิงคโปร์ 7

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