

## **“Conflicting Priorities? Security and Democracy as Challenges to Regionalism in Southeast Asia”**

Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University  
22-23 May 2007  
Okimoto Room, Encina Hall (3<sup>rd</sup> fl.)  
616 Serra Street, Stanford University, Stanford, CA

Conference sponsor and organizer: Southeast Asia Forum (SEAF), Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC), Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford University

Conference co-sponsor: Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), FSI, Stanford University

### **Conference Plans and Draft Agenda:**

Conference purpose: to prepare an edited book of high-quality chapters for timely publication and wide dissemination under the above title.

Other purposes of conference and book:

- (a) to explore in the interactions between security and democracy conceived as problems and opportunities for transnational, and especially regional, analysis and action;
- (b) to combine knowledge and insights from the scholarly and policy communities in ways that will interest both;
- (c) to clarify and compare arguments for and against treating democracy and security as priorities for regional action; and
- (d) to generate ideas and recommendations for consideration by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its affiliated organizations and dialogue partners on its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2007.

Brief rationale:

Security has been a priority for regionalism in Southeast Asia since well before ASEAN's inception in 1967. Democracy has not. But as Southeast Asia has become at least formally more democratic, some members of the Association have begun to question its original commitment to respecting the national sovereignty of its members and not criticizing abuses within their borders. The stage is now set for a reconsideration of democracy as a legitimate regional concern.

There are at least three (non-mutually-exclusive) ways in which democracy could become a higher priority for ASEAN: (i) instrumentally, if regional elites are sufficiently convinced that a lack of democracy inside a given country makes the larger region insecure; (ii) normatively, to the extent that these elites value transparency, accountability, and the protection of rights and freedoms as regional ends in and of themselves; and (iii) externally, to the extent that such elites are subjected to pressures from domestic and/or foreign actors to make democracy a regional priority.

This conference, and the subsequent volume, will review and assess these possibilities with particular reference to how democracy may be related to security in Southeast Asia. If security is a benefit of democracy, the instrumental case is made. Normatively, security can be enlarged to incorporate democracy as a matter of “human security,” to cite an increasingly popular concept. Security-democracy linkages can also be drawn by external actors with democratizing agendas—governments outside the region as well as activists inside it.

How do security and democracy interact in Southeast Asia? Can and should democracy become a regional priority in Southeast Asia? Why, or why not, to what extent, and with what policy implications—and recommendations? These are the core questions that the conference and the book will try to answer.

# Conflicting Priorities? Security and Democracy as Challenges to Regionalism in Southeast Asia

## Table of Contents and Authors: *Introduction*

Author (and editor): Donald K. Emmerson, Director, Southeast Asia Forum, Stanford University

### ***Part One: Dynamics: What Have We Learned?***

Ch. 1: Global Overview: Security, Democracy, Regionalism, and How They Interact

Author: Brian Job, Director, Centre of International Relations, University of British Columbia

Ch. 2: Regional Overview: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

Author: Joern Dosch, Professor of Asia Pacific Studies, University of Leeds

### ***Part Two: Issues and Cases: What Needs to Be Said?***

Ch. 3: Institutional Issues: ASEAN as an Evolving Organization

Author: Termsak Chalermphanupap, Director of Research, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta

Ch. 4: Institutional Issues: The ASEAN Security Community and the ASEAN Charter

Author: Rizal Sukma, Deputy Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta

Ch. 5: Country Cases: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Myanmar

Author: Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore

Ch. 6: Country Cases: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Timor Leste

Author: Dionisio ("Didi") da Costa Babo Soares, Co-chair for Timor Leste, Truth and Friendship Commission Indonesia-Timor Leste, Dili

Ch. 7: Flows and Fears: Non-Traditional Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

Author: Mely Caballero Anthony, Assistant Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Ch. 8: Flows and Fears: Security, Democracy, Regionalism, and the Haze in Southeast Asia

Author: Simon SC Tay, Chair, Singapore Institute of International Affairs

Ch. 9: On the Horizon? Nuclear Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

Author: Michael S. Malley, Assistant Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA

***Part Three: Arguments: What Should Be Done?***

Ch. 10: For Sovereignty: Why Security and Democracy Should Be Kept Separate

Author: David Martin Jones, Senior Lecturer in Political Science, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia

Ch. 11: For Engagement: Why Security and Democracy Should be Linked

Author: Erik Kuhonta, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Ch. 12: Between Indifference and Intrusion: Should ASEAN Promote Both Security and Democracy in Southeast Asia? Why (Not), How Much, and How?

This chapter will present ideas and recommendations offered in the course of the conference. It will be clearly stated that these recommendations do not necessarily represent the views of any particular authors and that no effort was made to achieve a consensus. The editor will put this chapter together.

***Conclusion***

Author: Emmerson

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## Conference Schedule:

Tuesday, 22 May:

8:00-8:30 am      **Registration and check-in**

8:30 am-12:00 pm      **Morning Sessions**

8:30-8:45 am      **Welcome and introduction**

### **Dynamics: What Have We Learned?**

8:45-9:45 am      Ch. 1: Global Overview: Security, Democracy, Regionalism, and How They Interact (Job)

Chair: Erik Kuhonta

Presenter: Don Emmerson

Discussants: Larry Diamond (CDDRL) and Simon Tay

Author: Brian Job

9:45-10:45 am      Ch. 2: Regional Overview: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia (Dosch)

Chair: Mike Malley

Presenter: Simon Tay

Discussants: Erik Kuhonta and Didi Soares

Author: Joern Dosch

10:45-11:00 am      Break

### **Issues and Cases: What Needs to Be Said?**

11:00 am-12:00 pm      Ch. 3: Institutional Issues: ASEAN as an Evolving Organization (Chalermphanupap)

Chair: Rizal Sukma

Presenter: Mely Anthony

Discussants: Mike Malley and Kyaw Lin Hlaing

Author: Termsak Chalermphanupap

12:00-5:30 pm      **Afternoon Sessions**  
**Issues and Cases: What Needs to Be Said? continued**

12:00 -1:00 pm      Ch. 4: Institutional Issues: The ASEAN Security Community and the ASEAN Charter (Sukma)

Chair: Don Emmerson

Presenter: Brian Job

Discussants: David Jones and Simon Tay

Author: Rizal Sukma

**Tuesday, 22 May (continued)**

**1:00-2:15 pm**            **Lunch**

**2:15-3:15 pm**            Ch. 7: Flows and Fears: Non-Traditional Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia (Anthony)

Chair: Termsak Chalermphanupap  
Presenter: Erik Kuhonta  
Discussants: Mike Malley and Joern Dosch  
Author: Mely Anthony

**3:15-4:15 pm**            Ch. 8: Flows and Fears: Security, Democracy, Regionalism, and the Haze in Southeast Asia (Tay)

Chair: Didi Soares  
Presenter: David Jones  
Discussants: Rizal Sukma and Brian Job  
Author: Simon Tay

**4:15-4:30 pm**            Break

**4:30-5:30 pm**            Ch. 9: On the Horizon? Nuclear Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia (Malley)

Chair: Kyaw Lin Hlaing  
Presenter: Joern Dosch  
Discussants: Mely Anthony and Termsak Chalermphanupap  
Author: Mike Malley

**5:30 pm**                    End of day one.

Wednesday, 23 May

**8:30 am-12:45 pm Morning Sessions: Issues and Cases: What Needs to Be Said? cont'd**

**8:30-9:30 am** Ch. 5: Country Cases: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Myanmar (Kyaw)

Chair: David Jones  
Presenter: Mike Malley  
Discussants: Erik Kuhonta and Didi Soares  
Author: Kyaw Lin Hlaing

**9:30-10:30 am** Ch. 6: Country Cases: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Timor Leste (Soares)

Chair: Mely Anthony  
Presenter: Kyaw Lin Hlaing  
Discussants: Termsak Chalernpalanupap and Rizal Sukma  
Author: Didi Soares

**10:30-10:45 am** Break

**Arguments: What Should Be Done?**

**10:45-11:45 am** Ch. 10: For Sovereignty: Why Security and Democracy Should Be Kept Separate (Jones)

Chair: Joern Dosch  
Presenter: Rizal Sukma  
Discussants: Mely Anthony and Brian Job  
Author: David Jones

**11:45 am-12:45 pm** Ch. 11: For Engagement: Why Security and Democracy Should Be Linked (Kuhonta)

Chair: Don Emmerson  
Presenter: Termsak Chalernpalanupap  
Discussants: Joern Dosch and Kyaw Lin Hlaing  
Author: Erik Kuhonta

**12:45-2:00 pm** Lunch

**2:00-4:15 pm Afternoon Session: Arguments: What Should Be Done? cont'd**

**2:00-3:00 pm** Ch. 12: Between Indifference and Intrusion: Should ASEAN Promote Both Security and Democracy in Southeast Asia? Why (Not), How Much, and How?

Note: This will be a brainstorming session to generate and discuss policy recommendations.

**3:00-4:15 pm** Conclusions and discussion of next steps  
Chair: Don Emmerson

**4:15 pm** Conference Concludes.