

"Non-traditional" security issues in ASEAN states

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The end of the Cold War has gradually eroded the traditional meaning of national security which emphasised the territorial and political integrity of the state and other "national" interests. Within academic circles, an enormously broad range of problems have been identified as "non-traditional" security issues. They include issues such as environmental degradation, illicit migration, drug trafficking, AIDs, international organised terrorism and ethnic conflict.

The purpose of this article is to point out a number of issues which are increasingly being addressed around the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)¹ states as "non-traditional" security issues because of their actual or potential effects on the well-being of individuals and regional countries. It is argued that countries in the region are facing a number of critical problems and therefore, the security aims of regional states have to cover the issues that are really relevant to the well-being of peoples.

Before going into detail, it is necessary to first examine economic

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¹ ASEAN was formed in 1967 with five original members: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand and was joined by Brunei in 1984, and Vietnam in 1995.

development in the past decades which has largely been responsible for the problems.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ASEAN COUNTRIES

Economic growth of ASEAN countries has been steady in the past three decades. The 1980s in particular witnessed unprecedented rapid economic changes. During the period between 1990-94, average annual economic growth in combined ASEAN income reached 6.8 per cent, well above world average economic growth (1.3 per cent) and Asia's (6.6 per cent).² Most countries in the region were also rapidly industrialising. By the mid-1980s, the agricultural sector was no longer the mainstay of most members' GDP. In 1992, manufactured products were a major part of ASEAN's exports, comprising about 32 per cent of GDP compared with about 22 per cent of GDP of agricultural products.³

The result of rapid economic development which should be noted here are two-fold.

First, although most countries have experienced high economic growth, ASEAN member economies are still somewhat different both in terms of national income and the structure of production. The economies range from the largely agricultural Vietnam and Indonesia, with a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of US\$393 and US\$630 respectively, to the highly industrialised Singapore and the oil-rich state of Brunei, with a per capita GDP of US\$14,600 and US\$15,346 respectively. As far as national income is concerned, ASEAN can be divided into two groupings. One comprises the higher income countries - Brunei, Singapore, and Malaysia. The other comprises lower income countries - Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam, -with Thailand in between the two groups.

Second, development strategies have resulted in economic disparities within most countries, notably in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. Over the past three decades, the strategies pursued by ASEAN countries have emphasised rapid economic development based on urban industrial promotion and the utilisation of advanced technology in an environment of free enterprise. These strategies were based on the conventional wisdom that there would be "trickle-down" effects somewhere in the process and that the gains of

² ASEAN Macroeconomic Outlook.

³ US Department of State, March 1992.

development would eventually benefit most people.⁴ However, these development strategies have in fact resulted in uneven development between the urban-industrial sector and the rural-agricultural sector. Income disparity between the two sectors, or between the "have" and "have nots", has been persistent. In 1988, in Thailand, 60 per cent of households with the lowest incomes earned 29.0 per cent of the total households income, while the 10 per cent with the highest incomes earned 35.3 per cent of the total households income. The corresponding figures for Indonesia in 1990 are 36.7 and 27.9 per cent; for the Philippines in 1988, 31.0 per cent and 32.1 per cent; and for Malaysia in 1989, 25.9 per cent and 37.9 per cent. For Vietnam, which has pursued a different economic system from other ASEAN members, the corresponding figures in 1992 are 34.6 and 29.0 per cent.⁵ Available statistics suggest that Vietnam's economic development in recent years is producing similar unfortunate results.⁶

Differences in economic development between countries and within countries have been largely responsible for a number of "non-traditional" security issues arising in the region.

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASEAN REGION

Since the early 1970s, a number of "non-traditional" security issues have been raised and discussed in ASEAN forums, albeit under the broader heading of social problems. In the 1976 Declaration of ASEAN Concord, for example, ASEAN leaders agreed to work together to control regional population growth and prevent illicit drug trafficking. Subsequently, cooperation on these areas has gone forward and a host of new issues have been raised. At the December 1995 ASEAN Heads of Government Meeting, President Fidel Ramos stated that there was a need to:

[B]roaden ... and ... address the new transnational problems that challenge ASEAN's capacity for cooperation phenomena such as the large-scale migration

⁴ Chai-anan Samudavanija and Sukhumbhand Paribatra, "Development for Security, Security for Development: Prospect for Durable Stability in Southeast Asia," in Kusuma Snitwongse and Sukhumbhand Paribatra, eds, *Durable Stability in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Studies), pp. 5-6.

⁵ See *World Development Report 1995*, pp. 220-221.

⁶ In 1995, average per capita income in Hanoi was US\$695 and in Ho Chi Minh City \$912 compared with the national per capita average of about \$220 and an average of \$120 in the poorest region. From 1996 to 2000, gross domestic product (GNP) in both Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City is expected to grow by an average of 15% annually while the national GNP is expected to increase by at most 10% a year. Ngo Vinh Long, "Vietnam must tackle income disparity," *Asia Times*, 12 April, 1996, p. 13.

of labour; the trafficking of women and children; and the growing menace of international terrorism.⁷

In the Second Informal Session of the summit, it was also noted that

In the past, as members of the United Nations, ASEAN countries had taken position on such issues as terrorism and drug trafficking. Such issues should be taken up within ASEAN as they have an impact on us.⁸

And subsequently, member states declared at the Bangkok Summit of 1995 that ASEAN would "take into account the existence of new challenges to the peace, economic growth and stability of the region and the implication of these challenges."

Among other things, such "new challenges" were said to include HIV/AIDS, labour migration, illicit drug trafficking, and the environment. All were classified as "social issues" to be handled by ASEAN Standing Committee. This classification aside, however, a number of issues have been treated at the regional level as problems which have the potential to effect the well-being of the region's peoples and security of its countries. These include:

1). Environmental degradation

In recent years, environmental problems have been repeatedly cited by GOs and NGOs alike as an emerging threat to the peoples and countries of the region. There is also widespread agreement that rapid economic growth has occurred at the expense of the region's natural resources and environment.

Among the specific problems noted, those associated with rapid urbanisation have been frequently cited. Uneven development in the ASEAN region has resulted in significant population shifts from rural to urban areas over the past few decades. Urban populations in Asia continue to grow rapidly - 4.1% annually compared with an average annual growth rate of 2.1% worldwide.⁹ If this growth rate continues, ESCAP estimates that 44% of all Southeast Asians - some 268 million people in all - will be living in the region's cities by the year 2010.¹⁰

Most cities in Southeast Asia are ill-prepared to accommodate this influx.

⁷ ASEAN Secretariat Paper.

⁸ ASEAN Secretariat Paper.

⁹ *The Nation*, 4 December 1996, p. A9.

¹⁰ Douglas Webster, "Managing the Environment in ASEAN," in Amitav Acharya and Richard Stubbs, eds, *New Challenges for ASEAN: Emerging Policy Issues*, Vancouver: UBC Press, (1995), pp. 47, 67.

Recent population shifts have already given rise to some of the world's most polluted and overcrowded urban areas - Bangkok, Jakarta, and Manila among them. A study by the University of the Philippines indicates that nearly three million people are squatting on public or private land in metropolitan Manila, a staggering one-third of the capital's population. That fraction is likely to climb to half of the total as poor people continue to pour in from the country over the next three years.¹¹ In Jakarta, 30 per cent of its 10 million population live in slum areas; in Bangkok, more than one million of its 7-8 million population live in the 1,000 or so slum areas of the capital.

There is a long list of problems associated with the region's overcrowded cities, among them a lack of sanitary drinking water.¹² Solid waste is only partially treated in many of the region's major cities and the situation is even worse in secondary cities.¹³ Foremost among the problems of rapid urbanisation, however, is the pollution generated by vehicles and heavy industry. In terms of air pollution, Southeast Asian cities are now among the world's most polluted. The level of sulphur-dioxide emissions and lead pollution in some areas in Bangkok, for example, is said to have reached a "critical stage".¹⁴

Table 1: Extent of forest areas in Southeast Asian countries

	Forest area		Annual rate of deforestation (1981-1990)	
	1980	1990	(000 hectares)	
			hectares	percentage
Malaysia	21,546	17,583	396	1.8
Indonesia	121,669	109,549	1,212	1.0
Singapore	4	4	0	0.0
Thailand	17,888	12,735	515	2.9
Philippines	10,991	7,831	316	2.9
Vietnam	9,683	8,312	137	1.4

Source: World Resources, 1994-1995 (World Resources Institute), cited in David Wurfel and Bruce Burton, eds, *Southeast Asia in the New World Order*, (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 55

The second set of environmental problems stems from deforestation. In 1990 alone, the ASEAN region lost some 2,576,000 hectares of forest area

¹¹ *The Bangkok Post*, 18 October 1996 : 8.

¹² In Jakarta, for example, the water supply is sufficient for only 50 per cent of its total needs. It is also predicted that safe drinking water may be scarce in Manila within five years. *The Nation*, 19 December, 1996, p. A8.

¹³ Clad and Siy. 1996. "The Emergence of Ecological Issues in Southeast Asia," in David Wurfel and Bruce Burton, eds, *Southeast Asia in the New World Order*, (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p. 54.

¹⁴ *Bangkok Post*, 25 October, 1996, p. 1.

(see Table 1). In Indonesia, for example, loggers are currently harvesting 30 per cent more wood each year than is considered sustainable.¹⁵ The loss of the region's tropical forest cover, through over-cutting and the encroachment of human settlements, has resulted in widespread soil erosion and fertility loss, as well as the despoiling of watershed areas, wetlands and fishing zones. In recent years, Thailand has been plagued by related problems of water shortages and flooding. Similarly, in the Philippines, it is estimated that soil erosion is occurring at about ten to twenty times the sustainable rate.¹⁶

Most countries in the region have taken steps to preserve their remaining forest cover by adopting partial or full bans on domestic logging. The net result, however, has been to increase illegal logging activities in the region. The 1989 logging ban in Thailand, for example, prompted Thai logging companies to move their operations, legally or otherwise, into Laos, Cambodia and Burma. Periodic conflicts have resulted. Timber was at the heart of a border war between Thailand and Laos in the late 1980's. Similarly, a protracted conflict between Thai military factions with logging interests and the Burmese regime is still underway. The issue has also given rise to tensions between Thailand and Cambodia; the Thai logging industry was recently blamed by the Cambodian king for "appalling" flooding in Cambodia.¹⁷

The third set of environmental problems arise from marine pollution. All ASEAN countries bordering the sea now face pollution in their territorial waters. The areas most affected include the Gulf of Thailand, Jakarta Bay, Manila Bay, and the delta areas of the Mekong and Red Rivers.¹⁸ Given that ASEAN countries have long depended on marine resources for food and commercial purposes, deteriorating ocean water quality and resulting fall in fish stocks is thus a matter of vital concern. It has also proven to be a matter of conflict; having over-fished their own polluted waters, Thai fishermen have begun to plunder the waters off their neighbours' coast, giving rise to numerous shootings and arrests.¹⁹

In recent years, the need for fresh-water resource management has also

¹⁵ Adam Schwarz, "Environmental in Asia," *FEER*, 28 October 1993 : 52.

¹⁶ R.T. Maddock, "Environmental Security in East Asia", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 17 (1), June: 28, 1995.

¹⁷ *The Nation*, 22 October 1996 : A9.

¹⁸ A recent study by a marine scientist found that marine life in the Gulf of Thailand is contaminated with a high level of mercury and other toxic heavy metals - well over the health standard level. In the Philippines, the President ordered a clean-up of Manila Bay after some 30,000 kilograms of fish turned up dead near its shoreline, the worst disaster of its kind in the Philippines since 1908. Initial tests suggest that the fish suffered from chemical poisoning. *The Nation*, 9 October, 1996, p. 1 and 14 October 1996 : A2.

¹⁹ Gordon Fairclough, "Floating flashpoint," *FEER*, March 13 1997 : 54.

become increasingly apparent. Hydro-electric dams projects have resulted in open confrontation between area governments and local communities.²⁰ Meanwhile, poor resource management at the national level has also given rise to tensions between neighbouring countries. Vietnam is concerned, for example, that Thailand's excessive use of Mekong River water during the dry season, will eventually destroy its main rice-growing area as salt water intrudes into the Mekong delta region.²¹

ASEAN cooperation in the environment field has evolved over time and currently includes a number of key areas. In 1978, the ASEAN Environment Program (ASEP) was set up to promote environmental management in order to sustain economic development and maintain a high quality of life for the region's peoples. A second body, the ASEAN Senior Officials on the Environment (ASOEN) was also formed in June 1990. It has six working groups: ASEAN sea and marine environment, chaired by Brunei; Environmental economics, chaired by Indonesia; Nature conservation, chaired by Malaysia; Environmental management, chaired by the Philippines; Transboundary pollution, chaired by Singapore; and Environmental information, public awareness and education, chaired by Thailand. A Coordinating Body on the Seas of East Asia (COBSEA) was also set up to promote better management and protection of the region's marine environment through projects financed by the East Asian Seas Trust Fund and the UNEP Environment Fund. In addition, bilateral environmental cooperation has developed between Malaysia and Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, and Singapore and Indonesia. Notwithstanding such cooperation, it is evident from recent studies that environmental problems in the region are worsening and more urgent measures to cope with them are needed, both at national and regional levels.

2). Migrant labour

Traditionally, labour in ASEAN countries moved to the Middle East, East Asia, and to a lesser extent to North America, Australia and New Zealand, in search of higher income jobs. As a result of the region's economic boom, labour has increasingly moved instead within the region, from "poor" countries to "rich" countries. Thus, ASEAN countries can be divided roughly into recipient countries (Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei) and exporting/sending countries (Indonesia

²⁰ Clad and Siy, p. 55 and Pasuk Phongpaichit, and Chris Baker, *Thailand: Economy and Politic.* (KL: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 389.

²¹ Maddock, p. 27.

and the Philippines), while Thailand both receives and exports its labour force.

Labour movements within the region have increased dramatically in recent years. According to one study, there are at least 2.6 million migrants in East Asia, with a large number being labour of ASEAN countries.²² Moreover, the huge divergence in wage levels among ASEAN countries and countries in close proximity to the region has also resulted in the existence of a large number of undocumented, or illegal workers.²³ It is estimated that in Singapore, between 200,000-300,000 are undocumented workers, with the majority being Malaysians, Thais, Filipinos and Sri Lankans. Malaysia has about 450,000 legal workers and more than one million illegal workers. The State of Sabah alone has some 370,000 Indonesian and Filipino illegal workers.²⁴ In Thailand, the National Security estimates that there are some 700,000-2,000,000 illegal workers, largely from Burma, and to a lesser extent, Cambodia, Laos, China, India and Bangladesh.²⁵

The large number of migrant workers have become a matter of concern at all levels. Local authorities are worried especially about uncontrolled migration. In Sabah, for example, the state police claimed that illegal immigrants were responsible for 90 per cent of the state's serious crimes.²⁶ At the national level, governments are getting more concerned largely because they do not want foreign labour to reside permanently in their countries. In Thailand, the labor problem was mentioned as a "security issue" by leading political parties including the current Prime Minister during the recent election campaign.²⁷ At the regional level, the local government's treatment of migrant labour has become a source of friction among countries in the region, as evidenced from the case of Flor Contemplacion/Della Maga and questionable murder conviction of several Thai workers in Singapore.

ASEAN has not developed a joint policy on the issue of large scale migrant labour because members do not see eye to eye on the problem. Clearly, legal and illegal workers have provided rich member states with a desirable pool of cheap labor. Thus, suggestions by the Philippines and Thailand that ASEAN developed a common policy to deal with the problem have received little support

²² Gary Silverman, "Vital and Vulnerable," *FEER*, 23 May 1996 : 60-63.

²³ In 1995, average hourly manufacturing wages in ASEAN countries are as follows (in US\$): Singapore 6.07; Malaysia 1.30; Thailand 1.10; the Philippines 0.80; Indonesia 0.33. Source: *JPMorgan*.

²⁴ Surya B. Prasai, "Asia's Labour Pains," *FEER*, 29 April 1993 : 23 and *Asiaweek*, 20 April, 1994, p. 35, *The Nation*, 31 December 1996 : A2.

²⁵ *The Nation*, 3 December 1996 : A7.

²⁶ *Asiaweek*, 20 April 1994 : 35.

²⁷ The importance of this issue in Thailand is also indicated by the fact that a study by a university research team on the implication of migrant labour on Thai national security is being sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Personal communication with Mr Gary Risser, researcher, the Asian Research Centre for Migration of the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 18 December, 1996.

from other member states. To the contrary, it was agreed that there would be no regional projects on large-scale labour migration under the ASEAN Sub-Committee on Labour. Rather, it was determined that the issue would be considered within the framework of bilateral relations between exporters and importers. In the future, however, ASEAN policy on this point could be changed as the problems resulting from migrant labour are being increasingly felt in both exporting and receiving countries.²⁸

3). Illicit drug trafficking and other black market activities

Currently, Southeast Asia is the world's biggest drug production area. The Golden Triangle region of Burma, Laos and Thailand is the source of 60% of the world's opium and heroin, with Burma being the world's largest single source of opium.²⁹ The Philippines has been a major producer and exporter of marijuana.³⁰ The problem is widely recognised within the region. Drug-related problems have been repeatedly mentioned as threatening both the well-being of regional peoples and the national security of Southeast Asian states. At the same time, concern has been expressed over the growing number of individuals suffering from drug addiction in the region.³¹ Related to this development is a parallel concern over communities suffering from drug-related crimes.³² And in the case of Thailand, one researcher has even suggested that the amount of money generated by the drug business could threaten government stability.³³

Apart from the drug trade, black market activities of immediate concern in the region also include prostitution and child labour. Large numbers of women are involved in sex business in their own or in neighbouring countries.³⁴ It is also reported that many children are forced into the business by national or

²⁸ Last October, Prime Minister Mohamed Mahathir admitted that "Social problems created by foreign workers are already taking their toll," *The Nation*, 31 December 1996 : A2.

²⁹ *The Nation*, 7 December 1996 : A2.

³⁰ *Asiaweek*, 19 January 1994 : 13.

³¹ For example, it is estimated that there are some 500,000 heroin addicts in Thailand. In Vietnam, it is estimated officially that there are 200,000 addicts. In the Philippines, Metro-Manila alone has 800,000 drug users, a tenth of its population. *Asiaweek*, 19 January, 1994, p. 13, and *FEER*, 14 November, 1996, p. 38, and 21 November 1996 : 35.

³² For example, a recent survey shows that in Quezon City, about 70 per cent of crimes, especially the heinous ones, are drug-related. See *Asiaweek*, 19 January 1994 : 13.

³³ A report by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) estimates that profits from the drug trade originating in and passing through Thailand totals nearly Baht 100 billion (US\$3.9 billion) a year. Basing their estimates on 1989 calculations, and assuming that drug profits found their way back to Thailand, the TDRI report estimates the profits amount to about 17% of Thailand's total export earning in 1989 of about Baht 500 billion. It was suggested that the volume of profits from drugs and related activities could affect the government's economic and financial policies. See Rodney Tasker, "Blocking the drug flow," *FEER*, 24 October 1991 : 24.

³⁴ *Asiaweek*, 4 May 1994 : 14.

transnational organised criminals. In Thailand, police estimate that some 100,000 girls under 15 years of age are involved in the sex business, while the number given by an NGO is as high as 800,000.³⁵ A recent study by university researchers indicates that prostitution generated an average of Baht 500 billion (US\$20 billion) per year, or about 12 per cent of the country's GNP in 1993-1995.³⁶

Economic necessity has also increased the number of child labourers in the region. In Thailand, according to an economist with the World Bank, as many as 1.6 million children under the age of 15 are working under "harsh conditions".³⁷ Moreover, among the large number of illegal workers from neighbouring countries in Thailand, some 300,000 are children, ranging in age from three to fifteen. Most are involved in labour-intensive jobs or prostitution.³⁸

The sex business has accelerated the spread of HIV/Aids in the region. In a recent speech, the President of the Population and Community Development Association of Thailand likened the spread of the disease to a "national disaster" and "a national security problem" of the first order. With the high mobility of labourers in the region, it is estimated that by the year 2000, some six million people in Southeast Asia could be infected with HIV.³⁹

As far as the drug problem is concerned, ASEAN leaders have long regarded the issue as not only a social and health problem but also "a threat to the security, stability and resilience of the member countries..." with the result that regional efforts to cope with the problem have been intensified.⁴⁰ Cooperation began in 1972 and a number of projects have subsequently been set up. In 1984, the ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters (ASOD) was formed under the direct supervision of the ASEAN Standing Committee to coordinate anti-drug activities in the region. In recent years, ASOD has initiated a number of projects which emphasise rapid and reliable exchange of intelligence and cross-border operations.

Recently, ASEAN also established an ASEAN Regional Program on HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control to promote cooperation in four specific areas: the exchange of information and experiences on national campaign against AIDS, cooperation in research on the various aspects of AIDS, the development of

³⁵ Rodney Tasker, "Dirty Business," *FEER*, 13 January 1994 : 23.

³⁶ The survey was conducted by researchers of Chulalongkorn University and was presented to the public in November 1996.

³⁷ *The Nation*, 3 November 1996 : A5.

³⁸ *Bangkok Post*, 23 November 1996 : 1.

³⁹ *Bangkok Post*, 9 October 1996 : 4.

⁴⁰ ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN: The First 20 Years*, (Singapore: Federal Publication, 1987), p. 162.

AIDS education and awareness among youth and the strengthening of collaboration among GOs, NGOs and the private sector in national and regional AID programs.⁴¹

4). Ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts

Southeast Asia today is more peaceful than it was during the Cold War period. However, problems concerning various ethnocultural and religious groups in regional countries still persist largely because in some societies, the issues of nation-building, pluralism, and political participation remain contentious ones. Such conflicts have the potential to weaken national development and cause inter-state conflicts.

Of primary concern in the region is the resurgence of so-called Islamic fundamentalism in maritime Southeast Asia where Islam is a potent political force.⁴² Tensions and conflicts between the states and their Muslim population have existed for a long time. The Islamic resurgence movements have complicated the issues of the role and relationship of Islam and the nation-building process and the question of political participation. Although most states appear to be on top of the Islamic resurgence movements, persistent confrontation between the two sides is a matter of concern given that Muslims constitute a majority of the population in the region. Escalation of the conflict could bring about far-reaching consequences not only for individual countries but also for the region as a whole.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that ASEAN states are now facing a number of challenges to the well-being of peoples. In marked contrast to the real situation, however, the security aims of regional states/military institutions in the post-Cold War period, to a very large extent, remain much as they have always been, that is, strengthening the country's military capability. This can be seen from that, with the exception of Vietnam and the Philippines, countries in the region have engaged in a large-scale arms build-up in recent years. At the same time, national security in most ASEAN states is also defined in terms of the

⁴¹ In addition, included under the area of cooperation in research on the social, cultural and economic aspects of AIDS, is a proposed activity on the Study of Patterns and Effects of Population Movement which may contribute to the spread of HIV. The project aims to formulate strategies to prevent the spread of HIV at the regional level without hindering the movement of people. The people project was designated by the 4th Meeting of the ASEAN Task Force on AIDS held in October 1996.

⁴² See Sjamsuddin Nazaruddin, *The Republic in Revolt: A Study of the Acehnese Rebellion*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988), Mark Turner, "Terrorism and Secession in the Southern Philippines: The Rise of the Abu Sayaff," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 17, No. 2, June 1995 and David Camroux, "State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 9, September 1996.

strength of state. Security establishments in most countries hold unlimited power in order to "safeguard national security."⁴³

Given that Southeast Asia in the post-Cold War era has experienced an unprecedented peaceful environment, the traditional essence of national security is therefore no longer relevant. The security aims of states in the region must be broaden. There must also be a substantial reduction of military expenditure and a diversion of resources from defence to social welfare programs.

⁴³ This point is discussed in detail in Julaporn Euarukskul, "Non-traditional" Security Issues in ASEAN, paper presented at the Asia-Pacific Workshop on the New Security Agendas, Bali, Indonesia, 10-12 January 1997.