

THE SECOND
ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM
BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, BRUNEI DARUSSALAM, 1 AUGUST 1995

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

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1. The Second ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was held on 1 August 1995 in Bandar Seri Begawan. The Meeting was chaired by His Royal Highness Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam.
2. The Forum was attended by all ARF participants. The Secretary-General of ASEAN was also present.
3. The Ministers welcomed Cambodia to the ARF.
4. The Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the level of stability in the Asia Pacific Region. They noted the ways in which cooperative relationships were developing constructively. In this regard, the Ministers noted the many positive steps taken since the first ARF in Bangkok in July 1994, particularly those which built confidence and created greater transparency. In this respect, they noted the participants' willingness to address substantive security issues in a spirit of mutual respect, equality and cooperation.
5. The Ministers expressed their appreciation for the consultations conducted by the Chairman of ARF, Brunei Darussalam, with ARF participants to obtain their views in preparation for the ARF. Based on the inputs and proposals, ASEAN has produced "The ASEAN Regional Forum – A Concept Paper", as annexed.
6. The Ministers considered and endorsed the Report of the Chairman of the ARF-SOM. In particular, they adopted the following proposals in the context of the Concept Paper:
 - 6.1. Goals and Expectations
 - 6.1.1. The ARF participants shall continue to work closely to ensure and preserve the current environment of peace, prosperity and stability in the Asia Pacific;
 - 6.1.2. The ARF shall continue to be a forum for open dialogue and consultation on regional political and security issues, to discuss and reconcile the differing views between ARF participants in order to reduce the risk to security; and
 - 6.1.3. The ARF recognizes that the concept of comprehensive security includes not only military aspects but also political, economic, social and other issues.

6.2. Method and Approach

- 6.2.1. A successful ARF requires the active, full and equal participation and cooperation of all participants. However, ASEAN undertakes the obligation to be the primary driving force;
- 6.2.2. The ARF process shall move at a pace comfortable to all participants;
- 6.2.3. The approach shall be evolutionary, taking place in three broad stages, namely the promotion of confidence building, development of preventive diplomacy and elaboration of approaches to conflicts. The ARF process is now at Stage I, and shall continue to discuss means of implementing confidence building. Stage II, particularly where the subject matter overlap, can proceed in tandem with Stage I. Discussions will continue regarding the incorporation of elaboration of approaches to conflicts, as an eventual goal, into the ARF process.
- 6.2.4. Decisions of the ARF shall be made through consensus after careful and extensive consultations among all participants.

6.3. Participation

- 6.3.1. The participants of the ARF comprise ASEAN Member States, Observers, Consultative and Dialogue Partners of ASEAN. Any new application should be submitted to the Chairman of the ARF who will then consult the other ARF participants; and
- 6.3.2. To request the next Chairman, to study the question of future participation and develop the criteria for the consideration of the Third ARF through the ARF-SOM.

6.4. Organisation of the ARF

- 6.4.1. There shall be an annual ARF in the context of the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences to be preceded by ARF-SOM;
- 6.4.2. The ARF process would move along two tracks. Track one activities will be carried out by ARF governments. Track Two activities shall be carried out by strategic institutes and relevant non-governmental organizations to which all ARF participants should be eligible. To be meaningful and relevant, the ARF Chairman shall ensure that Track Two activities as indicated in ANNEX B result from full consultations with all ARF participants; and
- 6.4.3. The ARF shall be apprised of all Track One and Track Two activities through the current Chairman of the ARF, who will be the main link between Track One and Track Two.

- 6.5. Implementation of Ideas and Proposals
 - 6.5.1. In order to assist the Chairman of the ARF-SOM to consider and make recommendations to the ARF on the implementation of the proposals agreed by the ARF participants as indicated in ANNEX A of the Concept Paper, the following shall be convened at the inter-governmental level:
 - a. Inter-sessional Support Group (ISG) on Confidence Building, in particular, dialogue on security perceptions and defense policy papers; and
 - b. Inter-sessional Meetings (ISMs) on Cooperative Activities including inter-alia, Peacekeeping.
 - 6.5.2. ISG and ISMs shall be governed by the following guidelines:
 - a. ISG and ISMs shall be co-chaired by ASEAN and non-ASEAN participants;
 - b. ISG and ISMs shall be held in between ARF-SOMs; and
 - c. Findings of the ISG and ISMs shall be presented to the ARF-SOM in Indonesia in 1996. The possible continuation of the mandate of the ISG and ISMs shall be reviewed at that time.
7. In this regard the Ministers agreed that Indonesia would co-chair the ISGs on CBMs with Japan; Malaysia would co-chair the ISMs on Peacekeeping Operations with Canada; and Singapore would co-chair the ISMs Seminar on Search and Rescue Coordination and Cooperation with the United States.
8. The Ministers also agreed on the following:
 - 8.1. To encourage all ARF countries to enhance their dialogues and consultations on political and security cooperation including exchanges on security perceptions on a bilateral, sub-regional and regional basis;
 - 8.2. For the ARF countries to submit to the ARF or ARF-SOM, on a voluntary basis, an annual statement of their defense policy;
 - 8.3. On the benefits of increased high level contacts and exchanges between military academies, staff colleges and training; and
 - 8.4. To take note of the increased participation in the UN Conventional Arms Register since the first ARF and encourage those not yet participating to soon do so.
9. The Ministers expressed the view that their endorsement of such specific ideas and proposals provided sufficient direction for the ARF process at this stage. They also reaffirmed their belief that the Asia Pacific Region currently had a historically unprecedented opportunity to establish and consolidate long term conditions for peace and stability.

10. The Ministers also received the reports of the following seminars on Building of Confidence and Trust in the Asia Pacific, held in November 1994 in Canberra, Australia; Seminar on Peacekeeping: Challenges and opportunities for the ASEAN Regional Forum, held in March 1995 in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam; Seminar on Preventive Diplomacy, held in May 1995, Seoul, Republic of Korea. They commended the hosts and sponsors of those seminars for their efforts and agreed that the arrangements under the Track Two process should continue. They also noted the Russian offer to host a Track Two seminar in Spring of 1996 on the proposed Principles of Security and Stability in the Asia-Pacific Region. They also commended bilateral and multilateral, governmental and non-governmental consultations and seminars in the Asia Pacific region including the Indonesian Workshop Series (co-sponsored by Canada) on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea as a useful means of enhancing dialogue and cooperation.
11. Noting the overall stable environment and many areas of ongoing regional cooperation, the Ministers exchanged views on regional security issues, and highlighted the following:
 - 11.1. Expressed concern on overlapping sovereignty claims in the region. They encouraged all claimants to reaffirm their commitment to the principles contained in relevant international laws and convention, and the ASEAN's 1992 Declaration on the South China Sea;
 - 11.2. Recognized that the Korean Peninsula issue has a direct bearing on peace and security in the Asia-Pacific. They welcomed the recent US-DPRK talks held in Kuala Lumpur and expressed the hope that this would lead to the full implementation of the Agreed Framework of 21 October 1994. The Ministers urged the resumption of dialogue between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and believed that it would assist in the successful implementation of the Agreed Framework and the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. The ministers also recognized the importance which international support for the Korean Peninsula Energy Organisation (KEDO) has for the implementation of the Agreed Framework;
 - 11.3. Expressed their support for the efforts of the Royal Government of Cambodia to achieve security, promote national stability and economic recovery; and

- 11.4. Emphasized the importance of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in promoting regional peace and stability. They welcomed the commitment by all parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to conclude a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty by 1996. Those countries who plan to conduct further nuclear tests were called upon by all other ARF member states to bring immediate end to such testing. They also endorsed the nuclear-weapon free zones, such as the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, in strengthening the international non-proliferation regime and expressed the hope that all nuclear weapon states would in the very near future adhere to the relevant Protocols. They noted with satisfaction the progress made towards the establishment of the South East Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and encouraged further consultations on this issue with those states that would be significantly affected by the establishment of the zone.

THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM: A CONCEPT PAPER

Introduction

1. The Asia-Pacific region is experiencing an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity. For the first time in a century or more, the guns are virtually silent. There is a growing trend among the states in the region to enhance dialogue on political and security cooperation. The Asia-Pacific is also the most dynamic region in the world in terms of economic growth. The centre of the world's economic gravity is shifting into the region. The main challenge of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is to sustain and enhance this peace and prosperity.
2. This is not an easy challenge. The region has experienced some of the most disastrous wars of the twentieth century. It is also a remarkably diverse region where big and small countries co-exist. They differ significantly in levels of development. There are cultural, ethnic, religious and historical differences to overcome. Habits of cooperation are not deep-seated in some parts of the region.
3. ASEAN has a pivotal role to play in the ARF. It has a demonstrable record of enhancing regional cooperation in the most diverse sub-region of the Asia-Pacific. It has also fostered habits of cooperation and provided the catalyst for encouraging regional cooperation in the wider Asia-Pacific region. The annual ASEAN Ministerial Meetings have contributed significantly to the positive regional environment today. There would be great hope for the Asia-Pacific if the whole region could emulate ASEAN's record of enhancing the peace and prosperity of its participants.
4. Although ASEAN has undertaken the obligation to be the primary driving force of the ARF, a successful ARF requires the active participation and cooperation of all participants. ASEAN must always be sensitive to and take into account the interests and concerns of all ARF participants.

The Challenges

5. To successfully preserve and enhance the peace and prosperity of the region, the ARF must dispassionately analyze the key challenges facing the region. Firstly, it should acknowledge that periods of rapid economic growth are often accompanied by significant

shifts in power relations. This can lead to conflict. The ARF will have to carefully manage these transitions to preserve the peace. Secondly, the region is remarkably diverse. The ARF should recognize and accept the different approaches to peace and security and try to forge a consensual approach to security issues. Thirdly, the region has a residue of unresolved territorial and other differences. Any one of these could spark conflagration that could undermine the peace and prosperity of the region. Over time, the ARF will have to gradually defuse these potential problems.

6. It would be unwise for a young and fragile process like the ARF to tackle all these challenges simultaneously. A gradual evolutionary approach is required. This evolution can take place in three stages:

Stage I : Promotion of Confidence-Building Measures

Stage II : Development of Preventive Diplomacy Mechanisms

Stage III : Development of Conflict-Resolution Mechanisms

7. The participants of the first ARF Ministerial Meeting in Bangkok in July 1994 agreed on “the need to develop a more predictable and constructive pattern of relations for the Asia-Pacific region”. In its initial phase, the ARF should therefore concentrate on enhancing the trust and confidence amongst participants and thereby foster a regional environment conducive to maintaining the peace and prosperity of the region.

Stage I : Promotion of Confidence-Building Measures

8. In promoting confidence-building measures, the ARF may adopt two complementary approaches. The first approach derives from ASEAN’s experience, which provides a valuable and proven guide for the ARF. ASEAN has succeeded in reducing tensions among its Member States, promoting regional cooperation and creating a regional climate conducive to peace and prosperity without the implementation of explicit confidence-building measures, achieving conditions approximating those envisaged in the Declaration of Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN). The concepts of ZOPFAN and its essential component, the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (SEANFWZ), are significantly contributing to regional peace and stability. ASEAN’s well established practices of consultation and consensus (musyawarah and mufakat) have been significantly enhanced by the regular exchanges of high-level visits among ASEAN countries. This pattern of regular visits has effectively developed into a preventive diplomacy channel. In the Asian context, there is some merit to the ASEAN approach. It emphasizes the need to develop trust and confidence among neighbouring states.
9. The principles of good neighbourliness, which are elaborated in the concept of ZOPFAN, are enshrined in the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). One simple concrete way of expanding the ASEAN experience is to encourage the ARF

participants to associate themselves with the TAC. It is significant that the first ARF meeting in Bangkok agreed to “endorse the purposes and principles of ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as a code of conduct governing relations between states and a unique diplomatic instrument for regional confidence-building, preventive diplomacy, and political and security cooperation.”

10. The second approach is the implementation of concrete confidence-building measures. The first ARF meeting, in Bangkok entrusted the next Chairman of the ARF, Brunei Darussalam, to study all the ideas presented by ARF participants and to also study other relevant internationally recognized norms, principles and practices. After extensive consultations, the ASEAN countries have prepared two lists of confidence-building measures. The first list (ANNEX A) spells out measures which can be explored and implemented by ARF participants in the immediate future. The second list (ANNEX B) is an indicative list of other proposals which can be explored over the medium and long-term by ARF participants and also considered in the immediate future by the Track Two process. These lists include possible preventive diplomacy and other measures.
11. Given the delicate nature of many of the subjects being considered by the ARF, there is merit in moving the ARF process along two tracks. Track One activities will be carried out by governments. Track Two activities will be carried out by strategic institutes and non-government organizations in the region, such as ASEAN-ISIS and CSCAP. To be meaningful and relevant, the Track Two activities may focus, as much as possible, on the current concerns of the ARF. The synergy between the two tracks would contribute greatly to confidence-building measures in the region. Over time, these Track Two activities should result in the creation of a sense of community among participants of those activities.

Moving Beyond Stage 1

12. There remains a residue of unresolved territorial and other disputes that could be sources of tension or conflict. If the ARF is to become, over time, a meaningful vehicle to enhance the peace and prosperity of the region, it will have to demonstrate that it is a relevant instrument to be used in the event that a crisis or problem emerges. The ARF meeting in Bangkok demonstrated this by taking a stand on the Korean issue at the very first meeting. This was a signal that the ARF is ready to address any challenge to the peace and security of the region.
13. Over time, the ARF must develop its own mechanisms to carry out preventive diplomacy and conflict-resolution. In doing so, the ARF will face unique challenges. There are no established roads or procedures for it to follow. Without a high degree of confidence among ARF participants, it is unlikely that they will agree to the establishment of mechanisms which are perceived to be intrusive and/or autonomous. This is a political

reality the ARF should recognize. However, it would be useful in the initial phase for the Track Two process to consider and investigate a variety of preventive diplomacy and conflict-resolution mechanisms. A good start was made with the three workshops organized by the International Studies Centre (Thailand) and Institute of Policy Studies (Singapore) on ASEAN-UN Cooperation for Peace and Preventive Diplomacy, and the Indonesia-sponsored series of workshops on the South China Sea.

Stage II : Development of Preventive Diplomacy

14. Preventive diplomacy would be a natural follow-up to confidence building measures. Some suggestions for preventive diplomacy measures are spelled out in ANNEXES A and B.

Stage III : Conflict Resolution

15. It is not envisaged that the ARF would establish mechanisms for conflict resolution in the immediate future. The establishment of such mechanisms is an eventual goal that ARF participants should pursue as they proceed to develop the ARF as a vehicle for promoting regional peace and stability.

Organization of ARF Activities

16. There shall be an annual ARF Ministerial Meeting in an ASEAN capital just after the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. The host country will chair the meeting. The incoming Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee will chair all inter-sessional Track One activities of the ARF.
17. The ARF shall be apprised of all Track Two activities through the current Chairman of the Track One activities, who will be the main link between Track One and Track Two activities.
18. In the initial phase of the ARF, no institutionalization is expected. Nor should a Secretariat be established in the near future. ASEAN shall be the repository of all ARF documents and information and provide the necessary support to sustain ARF activities.
19. The participants of the ARF comprise the ASEAN Member States, the Observers, and Consultative and Dialogue Partners of ASEAN. Applications to participate in the ARF shall be submitted to the Chairman of the ARF who will then consult the other ARF participants.
20. The rules of procedure of ARF meetings shall be based on prevailing ASEAN norms and practices. Decisions should be made by consensus after careful and extensive consultations. No voting will take place. In accordance with prevailing ASEAN practices,

the Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee shall provide the secretarial support and coordinate ARF activities.

21. The ARF should also progress at a pace comfortable to all participants. The ARF should not move “too fast for those who want to go slow and not too slow for those who want to go fast”.

Conclusion

22. ARF participants should not assume that the success of the ARF can be taken for granted. ASEAN’s experience shows that success is a result of hard work and careful adherence to the rule of consensus. ARF participants will have to work equally hard and be equally sensitive to ensure that the ARF process stays on track.
23. The ARF must be accepted as a “sui generis” organization. It has no established precedents to follow. A great deal of innovation and ingenuity will be required to keep the ARF moving forward while at the same time ensure that it enjoys the support of its diverse participants. This is a major challenge both for the ASEAN countries and other ARF participants. The UN Secretary-General’s “Agenda for Peace” has recognized that “just as no two regions or situations are the same, so the design of cooperative work and its division of labour must adjust to the realities of each case with flexibility and creativity”.

I. Confidence-building Measures

Principles

1. The development of a set of basic principles to ensure a common understanding and approach to interstate relations in the region; and
2. Adoption of comprehensive approaches to security.

Transparency

3. Dialogue on security perceptions, including voluntary statements of defense policy positions;
4. Defense publications such as Defense White Papers or equivalent documents as considered necessary by respective governments;
5. Participation in UN Conventional Arms Register;
6. Enhanced contacts, including high level visits and recreational activities;
7. Exchanges between military academies, staff colleges and training;
8. Observers at military exercises on voluntary basis; and
9. Annual seminar for defense officials and military officers on selected international security issues.

II. Preventive Diplomacy

1. Develop a set of guidelines for the peaceful settlement of disputes, taking into account the principles in the UN Charter and the TAC;
2. Promote the recognition and acceptance of the purposes and principles of the TAC and its provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes, as endorsed by the UNGA in Resolution 47/53(B) on 9 December 1992; and
3. Seek the endorsement of other countries for the ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea in order to strengthen its political and moral effect (as endorsed by the Programme of Action for ZOPFAN).

III. Non-proliferation and Arms Control

1. Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone (SEANWFZ).

IV. Peacekeeping

1. Seminars/Workshops on peacekeeping issues; and
2. Exchange of information and experiences relating to UN Peacekeeping Operations.

V. Maritime Security Cooperation

1. Disaster Prevention.

I. Confidence-building Measures

1. Further exploration of Regional Arms Register;
2. Regional security studies center/coordination of existing security studies activities;
3. Maritime information data bases;
4. Cooperative approaches to sea lines of communication, beginning with exchanges of information and training in such areas as search and rescue, piracy and drug control;
5. Mechanism to mobilize relief assistance in the event of natural disaster;
6. Establishment of zones of cooperation in areas such as the South China Sea;
7. Systems of prior notification of major military deployments that have region-wide application; and
8. Encourage arms manufacturers and supplier to disclose the destination of their arms exports.

II. Preventive Diplomacy

1. Explore and devise ways and means to prevent conflict;
2. Explore the idea of appointing Special Representatives, in consultation with ARF members, to undertake fact-finding missions, at the request of parties involved to an issue, and to offer their good offices, as necessary; and
3. Explore the idea of establishing a Regional Risk Reduction Center as suggested by the UN Secretary-General in his Agenda for Peace and as commended by UNGA Resolution 47/120 (see section IV, operative para 4). Such a center could serve as a data base for the exchange of information.

III. Non-proliferation and Arms Control

1. A regional or sub-regional arrangement agreeing not to acquire or deploy ballistic missiles.

IV. Peacekeeping

1. Explore the possibility of establishing a peacekeeping center.

V. Maritime Security Cooperation

1. A multilateral agreement on the avoidance of naval incidents that apply to both local and external navies;
2. Sea Level/Climate Monitoring System;
3. Establishment of an ASEAN Relief and Assistance Force and a Maritime Safety (or Surveillance) Unit to look after the safety of the waters in the region;
4. Convention on the Marine Environment
 - Dumping of Toxic Wastes
 - Land-based Sources of Marine Pollution;
5. Maritime surveillance; and
6. Explore the idea of joint marine scientific research.

