INDEX

Abouyoub, Hassan, 145
Aceh, Indonesia, tsunami disaster in, 113
ACFTA (ASEAN–China Free Trade Area), 77, 132
Acharya, Amitav, 12
ACSC (ASEAN Civil Society Conference), 81
ADM (Asian Developing Member), 219, 223
AECF (Asia–Europe Cooperation Framework), 106
AFL–CIO, 145
African Group (in UN), 96, 138
African Union, 111, 152
AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area), 48, 209
agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 7, 201–223, 278; ADMs and, 219, 223; disintegration and rebuilding of coalitions, 214–218; Doha Round, 210–214, 222; heterogeneity/homogeneity affecting, 253; historical background of agriculture in global trade regime, 201–202; initial coalition-building on, 205–210; methodology of study and, 32; new ASEAN members and, 211, 219, 222; table of alliances, 220; Uruguay Round, 202–204, 208, 209, 222
AIPMC (ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus), 233
Alatas, Ali, 35, 55, 56, 81, 149, 231, 235
Albar, Syed Hamid, 96, 236
Ali, Hamidon, 146
AMF (Asian Monetary Fund), 192
AMRO (ASEAN+3 Three Monetary Research Office), 193
analytical framework, 6, 8–37, 274; cognitive prior as basis for, 12–13; constructivist approach to, 11; externalization hypothesis of regional organizational action, 8–14, 249–257; methodology for using, 30–36; negotiation capacities, 20–22; path dependence and, 12, 31; sources of information, 34–36; stages of negotiation in, 22–23; typology of cohesion for, 14–19, 15
Anand Panyarachun, 234
Andean Community, 32, 111, 130, 139, 141, 141, 142, 158, 158
Annan, Kofi, 148, 149, 155, 230
anti-Western/Occidentalist rhetoric, 174–177
INDEX

APA (ASEAN People's Assembly), 81
APF (ASEAN People’s Forum), 81
APRIS I and II programs, 86
APT (ASEAN Plus Three), 177
Arab Swing Seat (on UN Security Council), 138
ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), 106
Arthasastra (Kautilya), 40, 41, 42
ASA (Association of Southeast Asia), 48
Asda Jayanama, 151
ASEAN as actor in international forums, 1–7, 249–279; analytical framework for, 6, 8–37, 274 (See also analytical framework); case studies, 7, 200–248, 278 (See also agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on; forced labor in Myanmar); cognitive prior and, 6, 38–59, 249, 276 (See also cognitive prior); cohesiveness of, 14–19, 257–261 (See also cohesion); contradictory value base and, 5; factors affecting, 3–6; future research on, 270–272; history of, 3–4; knowledge generation and management, improving, 263–264, 266–268; legalization, integration through, 1; multi-level governance, better coordination of, 264–265; negotiation by, 7 (See also negotiation capacities; negotiation strategies; stages of negotiation); organizational structure, effects of, 5; proliferation of regional organizations and, 2; reform of ASEAN and, 261–270; repository of shared cooperation norms, ASEAN Way as, 4; sources of information on, 34–36; uneven institutional playing field in relation to Western powers, 5
ASEAN, border disputes before and after accession to, 251
ASEAN Business Advisory Council (ABAC), 83
ASEAN Chamber of Commerce and Industries (ASEAN-CCI), 83
ASEAN Charter: behind-the-border effects of international law and, 111; cohesiveness of ASEAN and, 261; cosmopolitan liberal norms of, 5; effects of, 52; equal annual contributions in, 53; forced labor in Myanmar as ASEAN issue and, 240; national leadership aspirations and, 252; non-interference norm, 113; normative divisions within ASEAN and, 126; on people-centeredness, 107; quasi-constitutional nature of, 1; Secretariat strengthened by, 80, 84
ASEAN–China Free Trade Area (ACFTA), 77, 132

313
INDEX

Bandung Conference (1955), 196
Bangkok Declaration (1967), 9, 48
bebas dan aktif, 58, 165
behind-the-border effects of international law, 111–115
bilateral talks at global forums, 194
BIMSTEC, 193
blocs, regional organizations acting as: in coalitions, 28; negotiation capacities of, 21; in typology of cohesion, 15, 15–17
Boediono, 62
bowling alone. See non-cooperation or bowling alone in international forums
Brunei: on forced labor in Myanmar, 242; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 65, 66; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 114; UN Security Council, non-permanent seats on, 140; voting behavior, 121, 123
Burmester, Nicolas, 33, 125
Bush, George W., 153, 174, 232
business groups: national negotiation capacities and, 75–77; Secretariat and, 83
Bustami, Gusmardi, 76
Café au Lait Group, 27
Cairns Group: agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 207, 212, 214, 217, 218, 222; negotiation capacities and, 27; negotiation strategies and, 189
cakravartin, 41
Cambodia: agricultural and tropical products, WTO negotiations on, 211, 219, 222; on forced labor in Myanmar, 236, 238, 242; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 64, 65, 66, 72; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 114; ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 72; Preah Vihear temple, dispute over, 115; UN policy on Vietnamese occupation (1980s), ASEAN’s position on, 51, 93, 184, 196, 204, 259; UNCTAD Secretary General, Supachai candidacy for, 148; voting behavior, 121, 125
capacity for negotiation. See negotiation capacities
caucuses, regional organizations acting as: ASEAN generally operating as caucus, 92, 105, 116, 128, 133, 166, 168, 198, 200, 222, 256; negotiation capacities of, 22, 91; in typology of cohesion, 15, 18–19
Centre for International Law (CIL), National University of Singapore, 83
Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia, 54, 72
centralization of regional organizations, 9–10, 256
Chan Heng Chee, 150
INDEX

Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) and Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralized (CMIM), 192
Chuan Leekpai, 144
CIL (Center for International Law), National University of Singapore, 83
Clausewitz, Carl von, 44
Clinton, William Jefferson, 163, 225
CMI (Chiang Mai Initiative) and CMIM (Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralized), 192
coalition-building, 26–28, 184–191, 205–210, 214–218, 220
cognitive prior, 6, 38–59, 249, 276; analytical framework for ASEAN based on, 12–13; constraining factors as legacies of, 5; defined, 12; founding, establishment, and development of ASEAN, 48–59; level of centralization in ASEAN and, 49–50; mandala concept, 40, 41, 42, 45; methodology and, 31; negotiation capacities affected by, 60; pre-colonial empires, principalities, and political literature, 39–46, 250; Western colonialism/imperialism and, 46; Western political theory influencing, 44, 46
cohesion: typology of, 14–19, 15; ways of strengthening, 257–261. See also blocs, regional organizations acting as; caucuses, regional organizations acting as; non-cooperation or bowling alone in international forums; quasi-blocs, regional organizations acting as
Colorado Group, 190
Committee of Permanent Representatives, 87, 107
compliance record of ASEAN, 129–132
consensual decision-making, 23, 50–52
constructive engagement, 234–239
constructivism, 11, 12
Cotonou Agreement, 215
CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies), Indonesia, 54, 72
Cyclone Nargis, UN intervention following, 113, 239

D8 (Developing 8), 165
democracy frame, 181
democratization of international negotiations, 107–111
Derbez, Luis Ernesto, 160
Desker, Barry, 27, 111
Developing 8 (D8), 165
Dharsono, Hartono, 79
Dillon Round (GATT, 1960–1961), 201
diplomatic affairs, ASEAN voting behavior in UNGA on, 126
Djiwandono, Soedjati, 43

Doha Round (WTO): agricultural and tropical products, 210–214, 222; negotiation strategies and, 159, 160, 161, 187–189; stages of
## INDEX

- **negotiation and**, 119, 129;
  - typology of regional cohesion and, 76
- **domestic veto players**, 131
- **East Asian Economic Group (EAEG)**, 191
- **East Asian Summit (EAS)**, 106, 194
- **East Timor crisis**, 113, 162
- **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**, 32, 130, 139, 141, 142, 158, 158
- **economic prosperity/development rhetoric**, 177–181
- **Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA)**, 82
- **ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States)**, 32, 130, 139, 141, 142, 158, 158
- **Eminent Persons Group (EPG)**, 52, 81, 165
- **Enabling Clause**, 213
- **entrepreneurial leadership**, 24, 160, 166
- **EPG (Eminent Persons Group)**, 52, 81, 165
- **epistemic communities**, 63–64, 67
- **equality norm of ASEAN**, 52–54
- **ERIA (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia)**, 82
- **EU Council, presidency of**, 24
- **European Commission**, 80
- **executive positions. See leadership externalization hypothesis, 8–14, 249–257
- **Ferrero-Waldner, Benita**, 153
- **Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)**, 144, 155–157
- **Forced Labor Convention (FLC; 1930)**, 224
- **forced labor in Myanmar**, 7, 223–248, 278; ASEAN as mediator between Myanmar and international pressures, 240–248; constructive engagement approach to, 234–239; heterogeneity/homogeneity affecting, 254; initial ASEAN response to resolution and sanctions, 226–230; initial ILO and international negotiations, sanctions, and resolution against, 223–226; membership of Myanmar in ASEAN and, 224–226; methodology of study and, 35; as regional negotiation issue, 230–234; resolution of ILO against, 226; UN Security Council resolution proposed against, 232, 233; UNGA resolution against, 242
- **formal leadership**, 24, 166
- **Forum of Small States (FOSS)**, 27, 96, 183, 185
- **forum shopping**, 28, 191–195, 222, 233
- **FOSS (Forum of Small States)**, 27, 96, 183, 185
- **framing**, 25–26, 169–184, 213
- **Friends of the New Round**, 102, 189
- **functional specificity of regional organizations**, 9–10, 255

317
INDEX

G7, 162
G8, 109, 162, 216
G15, 189
G20 (enlargement of G8): ASEAN's G20 Contact Group, 70, 87–88, 264; Asia-Pacific Caucus of, 165; bilateral talks at, 194; coalition-building and, 190; Indonesia as G20 member, 87, 104, 163, 164–165, 252
G20 (of developing countries), 216, 222
G20 Plus, 190
G33, 189, 215, 217, 222
G77: ASEAN countries as members of, 68; as coalition within UN, 27; framing by ASEAN members and, 172–173, 178; UN Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 149
Gambari, Ibrahim, 238
game theory, 11
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT): developing countries concept in, 204; Dillon Round (1960–1961), 201; human rights, environment, and labor standards sidelined as trade-related issues in, 176. See also agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on; Uruguay Round
General Assembly. See United Nations General Assembly
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), 208
global financial crisis (2008), 69, 104, 192
global forums, ASEAN as actor in See ASEAN as actor in international forums
Global Governance Group (3G), 183, 190
Global Movement of Moderates (GMM), 118, 182
Goh Chok Tong, 150, 151, 153
government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees, 64–71, 66
Graziano da Silva, José, 156
Green Room meetings (WTO), 109, 160, 161, 187
GSP (Generalized System of Preferences), 208
“Guided Democracy,” 42
Haas, Ernst B., 9–10, 126
Haushofer, Karl, 44
heterogeneity/homogeneity of regional organization members, 9, 10, 253–255
High Level Task Force (HLTF), 52
Hitam, Musa, 149
HLTF (High Level Task Force), 52
Hobbes, Thomas, 55
homogeneity/heterogeneity of regional organization members, 9, 10, 253–255
hosting international events, 196
Human Rights Council: ASEAN member competition for membership in, 168, 244; forced labor in Myanmar and, 233

318
human rights issues: ASEAN voting behavior in UNGA on, 126–128; framing by ASEAN members regarding, 176, 179; R2P (Responsibility to Protect) norm, 112–113. See also forced labor in Myanmar

ICWA (Indonesia Council of World Affairs), 69

ILO. See International Labor Organization

image projection, 29, 195–198

IMF. See International Monetary Fund

Indonesia: agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 202, 203, 205, 207, 211, 212, 214, 215, 217, 218; in Asian financial crisis, 115, 260; business groups, 76, 77; coalition-building and, 185–189; compliance record, 130, 131; Defense Agreement with Singapore, 132; democratization, calls for, 109–110; domestic veto players in, 131; East Timor crisis, 113, 162; emerging state, framing itself as, 183, 251; establishment of ASEAN and, 48; FAO Director General, Susilo candidacy for, 144, 155–157; on forced labor in Myanmar, 231, 232, 233, 242; forum shopping by, 192; framing by, 170, 173, 174, 180, 182, 183; as G20 member, 87, 104, 163, 164–165, 252; global role of ASEAN, ambitions to strengthen, 62; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 65, 66, 67, 68; Human Rights Council, ASEAN member competition for membership in, 168; image projection and creation of “soft power” by, 195, 196; ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 71; knowledge generation and management capacities, 72; leadership positions sought outside UN and WTO systems, 162–166; mandala concept in, 42; media, 74; negotiating style of, 117, 118, 119; NGOs, 75; Papua conflict, 113; on R2P norm and human security concept, 113–114; Sidapan and Ligitan Islands, dispute over, 115; tsunami disaster in Aceh, 113; UN anti-blasphemy and interfaith proposal, 99; on UN reform, 96, 98; UN Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 149; UN Security Council, critique of, 109, 114; UN Security Council, non-permanent seats on, 140; UN Security Council, quest for permanent seat on, 136–137, 183, 186, 252; in UNGA, 101; views on international arena in, 55–57; voting behavior, 123, 128, 129; WTO activity, 102, 103; WTO Director General, candidacy for, 147; WTO leadership positions sought by, 159
INDEX

Indonesia Council of World Affairs (ICWA), 69
Institutes of International and Strategic Studies (ISIS) and ASEAN-ISIS, 71–73, 82
institutional environment of regional organizations, 10
integrative bargaining, 117
Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 110
International Criminal Court, ratification of Rome Statute of, 114
international events, hosting, 196
international forums, ASEAN as actor in. See ASEAN as actor in international forums
International Labor Organization (ILO): establishment of, 223; labor rights issue transferred from WTO to, 103, 194. See also forced labor in Myanmar international law: behind-the-border effects of, 111–115; legalization as trend, 111; mediation of regional disputes in, ASEAN seeking, 115, 130
International Monetary Fund (IMF): Asian financial crisis, rescue packages in, 116, 192, 260; calls for democratization of, 109 international negotiations, democratization of, 107–111
IPU (Inter-Parliamentary Union), 110
ISIS (Institutes of International and Strategic Studies) and ASEAN-ISIS, 71–73, 82
Islam: framing involving, 182;
Indonesian bilateral relationships with Islamic organizations, 164;
UN interfaith and anti-blasphemy proposals, 98;
voting behavior and, 124. See also Organization of Islamic Countries
Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), 196
Jankowski, Michael, 33, 125
Jayakumar, Shunmugan, 35, 43, 55, 57, 58, 138, 150, 153, 161
Kasit Piromya, 151
Katsumata, Hiro, 59
Kausikan, Bilahari, 57, 59
Kaulitya, Arthasastra, 40, 41, 42
Kesavapany, K., 160
Khin Nyunt, 230
Kleib, Hassan, 114, 180
knowledge generation and management capacities, 73, 263–264, 266–268
Koh, Tommy, 35, 150
Laffer, Celso, 146, 147
Laksmono, Agung, 156
Lamy, Pascal, 116, 147
landlocked and shelf-locked states, coalition of, 185
Laos: agricultural and tropical products, WTO negotiations on, 211, 219, 222; on forced labor in
INDEX

Myanmar, 236, 238, 242; framing by, 183; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 64, 66, 72; voting behavior, 121, 125, 128

Leaders’ Network in Support of UN Reform, 152, 186

leadership, 24–25, 134–169; entrepreneurial, 24, 160, 166; FAO Director General, Susilo candidacy for, 144, 155–157; formal, 24, 166; heterogeneity/homogeneity affecting, 255; Human Rights Council, ASEAN member competition for membership in, 168; as national rather than collective regional endeavor, 167–169, 251–253; outside UN and WTO systems, 162–166; UN Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 143, 148–155, 255; UN Security Council, ASEAN members as presidents of, 141, 142; UN Security Council, ASEAN members running for non-permanent seats on, 137–141, 139, 140; UN Security Council, Indonesia’s bid for permanent seat on, 136–137; UNCTAD Secretary General, Supachai candidacy for, 148, 151, 255; UNGA presidencies and presidency bids, 141–143, 161, 166; WTO Director General, Supachai candidacy for, 143–148, 150, 154, 214; WTO leadership positions (other than Director General), 157–162

Lee Kuan Yew, 43

legalization: integration through, 1; as trend in international relations, 111

Leifer, Michael, 196

Liang, Margaret, 161

Ligitan and Sidapan Islands, dispute over, 115

Like-Minded Group, 27

Lin, Chang Li, 35

Mackinder, Halford John (Sir), 44

Mahabharata, 41

Mahathir Mohamad, 96, 117, 143, 173, 191

Mahbubani, Kishore, 150

MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment), 103

Majapahit, 42

majority voting, 23, 120

Malaysia: agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 202, 203, 205, 207, 211, 217; coalition-building and, 185–190; compliance record, 131; on forced labor in Myanmar, 227, 228, 233, 242; framing by, 173, 174, 182; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 66; image projection and creation of “soft power” by, 196; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 114; ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 72;
INDEX

Malaysia (cont.)
knowledge generation and management capacities, 73;
leadership positions sought outside UN and WTO systems, 162, 164; media, 74;
negotiating style of, 117, 118, 119; NGOs, 75;
Pedra Blanca Island, dispute over, 115; Sidapan and Ligitan Islands, dispute over, 115;
UN reform, 95, 98; UN Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 149, 150,
WTO activity, 102, 103; WTO Director General, Supachai candidacy for, 146;
WTO leadership positions sought by, 159
Malik, Adam, 142
mandala concept, 40, 41, 42, 45
Maphilindo, 48
Mchumo, Ali, 146, 147
McLaren, Roy, 145
MDG (Millennium Development Goal), 177, 180, 181
multilevel governance, better coordination of, 264–265
Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), 103
Myanmar: agricultural and tropical products, WTO negotiations on, 219, 222;
Cyclone Nargis, UN intervention following, 113, 239;
Moriyasawa, Kiichi, 163
Moore, Mike, 143, 145, 146, 147
Moratinos, Miguel Angel, 156
MDG (Millennium Development Goal), 177, 180, 181
Miyazawa Initiative, 192
Miyazawa, Kiichi, 163
Moore, Mike, 143, 145, 146, 147
Moratinos, Miguel Angel, 156
multi-level governance, better coordination of, 264–265
Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), 103
Myanmar: agricultural and tropical products, WTO negotiations on, 219, 222;
Cyclone Nargis, UN intervention following, 113, 239;
government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 64, 65, 66;
ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 72;
voting behavior, 121, 125, 128.
See also forced labor in Myanmar
NAM. See Non-Alignment Movement
Natalegawa, Marty M., 56, 62, 94, 110, 180, 245
Negarakretagama, 40
negotiation capacities 7, 59–91, 276;
in analytical framework, 20–22;
ASEAN New York and Geneva Committees, 88–90; business groups, 75–77; cognitive prior

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
INDEX

INDEX

coalitions, 28; negotiation capacities and, 21, 62, 91; in typology of cohesion, 17–18, 15; UN policy on occupation of Cambodia (1980s), ASEAN’s position on, 51, 93, 184, 196, 204, 259

R2P (Responsibility to Protect) norm, 112–113

Ramayana, 41

Ratzel, Friedrich, 44
Razali Ismail, 141–143, 154, 161, 166
reform: of ASEAN, 261–270; of UN, 94–99, 186
regional disputes within ASEAN, tendency to seek international mediation for, 115, 130
regional organizations: centralization of, 9–10, 256
externalization hypothesis regarding, 8–14, 249–257; factors affecting role as international actor, 3–6 (See also ASEAN as actor in international forums); functional specificity of, 9–10, 255; homogeneity/heterogeneity of members, 9, 10, 253–255; institutional environment, importance of, 10; integration through legalization, 1; proliferation of, 2; typology of cohesion for, 14–19, 15 See also specific regional organizations
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm, 112–113

Rice, Condoleezza, 151, 152, 236
Roberts, Chris, 243
“Romance of the Three Kingdoms” (Sam Kok), 42
Rome Statute of International Criminal Court, ratification of, 114
Rossier, William, 147
Rowe, Edward Thomas, 9–10, 126
Ruggiero, Renato, 146

S5 (Small Five Group), 96, 98, 112, 183, 187
SAARC. See South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC (South African Development Council), 32, 130, 139, 141, 142, 158, 158
Sally, Razeen, 65, 76, 89, 157, 188
Sam Kok (“Romance of the Three Kingdoms”), 42
SAPA (Solidarity for Asian People’s Advocacy), 81
Schmitter, Philippe C., 8
SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), 106
SDT (“Special and Differential Treatment for Developing Countries”), 212, 215
Second World War, 10, 47, 258
Secretariat, ASEAN, 78–86, 85, 265–270
Seixas Correa, Luiz Felipe, 168
INDEX

Senior Economic Officials Meeting (SEOM), 210
Severino, Rodolfo C., Jr., 148
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), 106
shelf-locked and landlocked states, coalition of, 185
Siagian, Sabam, 69
Sidapan and Ligitan Islands, dispute over, 115
Singapore: agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 203, 208, 211, 217;
behind-the-border effects of international law and, 111;
coalition-building and, 185–190;
compliance record, 131;
Defense Agreement with Indonesia, 132;
on forced labor in Myanmar, 227,
233, 237–239, 242; forum shopping by, 192; framing by, 170, 172, 174, 183;
government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 65, 66, 67;
image projection and creation of “soft power” by, 195, 196; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 114;
ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 72; knowledge generation and management capacities, 73;
media, 74;
.negotiating style of, 117; Pedra Blanca Island, dispute over, 115;
on R2P norm, 112; small state, framing itself as, 183; on UN reform, 96, 98; UN sanitation proposal, 98; UN Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 149; UN Security Council, bid for non-permanent seat on, 139; UN Security Council, non-permanent seats on, 140; in UNGA, 101; views on international arena in, 57, 58;
voting behavior, 121, 125; WTO activity, 102, 103; WTO Director General, Supachai candidacy for, 147;
WTO leadership positions sought by, 158, 159, 159–161
Singapore Declaration (1992), 210
Singapore themes, 103, 162, 187, 188, 190
Small Five Group (S5), 96, 98, 112, 183, 187
small state rhetoric, “soft power”, 29, 195–198
Sok Sihana, 148
Solidarity for Asian People’s Advocacy (SAPA), 81
South African Development Council (SADC), 32, 130, 139, 141, 142, 158, 158
South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC): comparison with, 32;
negotiation strategies and, 141, 141, 142, 158, 158; stages of negotiation and, 101, 102, 121, 130, 130
special and differential treatment for Developing Countries (SDT), 212, 215
special products (SPs) and special safeguard mechanisms
INDEX

(SSMs) for all developing countries, 215

stages of negotiation, 7, 92–133, 276; in analytical framework, 22–23; compliance, 129–132, 130, 131; negotiation strategies affected by, 23; norm entrepreneurship in, 105–116; phase 1 (identifying problems, defining issues, and agenda-setting), 22, 93–105; phase 2 (setting principles, norms, rules and procedures), 22, 105–119; phase 3 (final phase), 22, 119–132; style of negotiation in, 116–119; voting behavior, 119–129 (See also voting behavior); voting procedure and, 23, 119

strategies for negotiation. See negotiation strategies. See style of negotiation engaged in by ASEAN, 116–119

Sudarsono, Juwono, 44

Suharto, Mohamed, 42, 69, 72, 79, 136, 163

Sukarno, 42

Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 43, 69

Sukma, Rizal, 59, 165, 253

Sukothai, 42

Sumowigeno, Guspiabri, 45

Sun Tze, 42

Sunait Chutintaranond, 58

Supachai Panichpakdi: UNCTAD Secretary General candidacy, 148, 151, 255; WTO Director General candidacy, 143–148, 150, 154, 214

Surakiart Sathirathai: on forced labor in Myanmar, 230; UN Secretary General candidacy, 143, 148–155, 255

Surin Pitsuwan, 84, 148, 151, 168, 243

Susilo, Indroyono, 144, 155–157

synchronize comparisons, 32

TAC (Treaty of Amity and Cooperation [in Southeast Asia]) (1976), 49, 174

Tallberg, Jonas, 24

Ten Minus X formula, 52

Thailand: agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on, 202, 203, 206, 207, 211, 214, 215, 217–218; in Asian financial crisis, 115, 225, 260; coalition-building and, 185–190; compliance record, 130, 131; on forced labor in Myanmar, 227, 230, 232, 233, 242, 244; forum shopping by, 191, 193; framing by, 170, 174; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 67, 68; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 113; ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 71, 72; knowledge generation and management capacities, 73; media, 74; negotiating style of, 117; NGOs, 75; Preah Vihear temple, dispute over, 115; UN Security Council,
INDEX

Thailand (cont.)
non-permanent seats on, 140;
UNCTAD Secretary General, Supachai candidacy for, 148, 151, 214; views on international arena in, 58; voting behavior, 125, 128; WTO activity, 103; WTO Director General, Supachai candidacy for, 143–148, 150; WTO leadership positions (other than Director General) sought by, 158, 159
Thaksin Shinawatra, 150, 152, 154, 186
Than Shwe, 243
Thein Sein, 238, 245
Third-Worldist rhetoric, 172, 177, 178, 213
3G (Global Governance Group), 183, 190
tropical products. See WTO negotiations on agriculture and tropical products
Tsebelis, George, 11
tsunami disaster in Aceh, Indonesia, 113

UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), 148, 151, 193, 255
UNGA. See United Nations General Assembly
United Nations (UN): ASEAN New York and Geneva Committees, 88–90, 268; Cambodia policy in 1980s, ASEAN position on, 51, 93, 184, 196, 204, 259; Cyclone Nargis, intervention following, 113, 239; democratization, calls for, 109, 110, 111; FAO, 144, 155–157; G77 as coalition within, 27; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees at, 65, 66; peace missions, image projection and creation of “soft power” through, 196; R2P norm, 112–113; reform of, ASEAN countries on, 94–99, 186; Secretary General, Surakiart candidacy for, 143, 148–155, 255; synchronic comparisons with, 32. See also forced labor in Myanmar; Human Rights Council
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 148, 151, 193, 255
United Nations General Assembly (UNGA): activity of ASEAN members in, 99–102, 100, 101; ASEAN Ministerial Meetings at sidelines of, 89; ASEAN observer status in, 135; bilateral talks at, 194; democratization, calls for, 110; forced labor in Myanmar, resolution against, 242; framing by ASEAN members in, 169–184; majority voting procedure in, 120; presidencies and presidency bids by ASEAN members, 141, 141–143, 161, 166; reform of, 96; voting behavior of ASEAN members in, 33, 120–128, 122, 123,
INDEX

124, 127; Westphalian sovereignty norms, ASEAN referencing, 107
United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA), calls for, 111
United Nations Security Council: forced labor in Myanmar, proposed resolution against, 232, 233; Indonesian critique of, 109, 114; Indonesian quest for permanent seat on, 136–137, 183, 186, 252; non-permanent seats on, 137–141, 139, 140; presidency of, 141, 142; reform of, 96
UNPA (United Nations Parliamentary Assembly), calls for, 111
Uruguay Round (GATT): agricultural and tropical products in, 202–204, 208, 209, 222; cognitive prior and, 51; negotiation strategies in, 159, 187–189; stages of negotiation in, 51, 76; typology of regional cohesiveness and, 76
Vietnam: agricultural and tropical products, WTO negotiations on, 211, 219, 222; compliance record, 131; on forced labor in Myanmar, 236, 238, 241, 242; framing by, 172, 178, 183; government ministerial, diplomatic, and expert employees and consultants, 65, 66; Human Rights Council, ASEAN member competition for membership in, 168; internal conflicts, internationalization of, 114; ISIS and ASEAN-ISIS, 72; UN policy on occupation of Cambodia (1980s), ASEAN’s position on, 51, 93, 184, 196, 204, 259; on UN reform, 98; UN Security Council, non-permanent seats on, 140; in UNGA, 101; voting behavior, 121, 125, 128
Vietnam War, 47
voting behavior, 119–129; absences and defections, 121–125, 123, 124; consensual decision-making, 23, 50–52; heterogeneity/homogeneity affecting, 255; majority voting, 23, 120; policy fields and, 126–128, 127; in UNGA, 33, 120–128, 122, 123, 124, 127
voting procedure and negotiation process, 23, 119
Wahid, Abdurrahman, 212
Wanandi, Jusuf, 56
Weinstein, Franklin B., 55
West Pacific Forum, 193
Westphalian sovereignty norms, ASEAN adherence to, 49, 57, 107, 108, 184, 276
Win Aung, 230
Wirajuda, Hassan, 69, 108, 136
World Trade Organization (WTO): ASEAN activity in, 102–104; ASEAN members seeking leadership positions (other than Director General) in, 157–162, 158, 159; ASEAN New York and
INDEX

World Trade Organization (WTO)(cont.)
Geneva Committees, 88–90, 268; coalitions-building in, 187–190; coalitions within, 27; compliance of ASEAN with rules of, 129–132; Green Room meetings, 109, 160, 161, 187; human rights, environment, and labor standards sidelined as trade-related issues in, 176; labor rights issue transferred to ILO from, 103, 194; MAI, 103; new round proposals, resistance to, 102, 119, 189; Singapore themes at, 103; Supachai Director General candidacy, 143–148, 150, 154, 214; Synchronic comparisons with, 32; voting behavior of ASEAN in, 129. See also agricultural and tropical products, GATT/WTO negotiations on; Doha Round WTO. See World Trade Organization

Yatim, Y.B. Dato Seri Utama Dr. Rais, 57
Yeo, B. G., 160
Yeo, George, 238
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 45, 55, 56, 62, 99, 104, 186, 195, 243
Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 174