

**TRANSFORMATION OF SECURITY-ORIENTED INSTITUTIONS
CASES OF ASEAN, ECOWAS, AND OAU/AU**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation constructs a theoretical model to explain causes and processes of transformation of security-oriented institutions (SOIs). SOIs are defined as multi-purposed state-based groups whose original purpose implicitly derives from political/military security interests of member states. The theoretical basis is established by the combination of conceptual frameworks from punctuated equilibrium in the evolutionary biology field and historical institutionalism in the comparative politics field. Specifically focusing on SOIs created and led by developing states, this study serves as a model explaining both continuity and change in international institutions, which has yet to be explored in the International Relations field.

The central theoretical claim is that expected changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power are likely to trigger SOIs' institutional transformation, while the member states' expectations for SOI's security utility shapes the direction of such an institutional transformation. In this setting, the nature of institutional security utility defined by past institutional decisions largely shape the member states' expectations, and institutional norm entrepreneurs play a significant role in reformulating such institutional utility by introducing new norms and rules into the given institution.

To test the hypotheses, this dissertation employs cases of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS), and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/African Union (AU). Each case has two within-case studies, namely the periods of 1968-1976 and 1988-1997 for ASEAN, the periods of 1976-1981 and 1989-1999 for ECOWAS, and the periods of 1979-1982 and 1989-2002 for OAU/AU.

The empirical evidence for this study indicated the general validation of the three hypotheses. The findings suggest that changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power trigger institutional transformation. Also, it is member states' expectations and internal discussions within SOIs that shape a specific direction of transformation, although other factors, such as timing of interpretation of institutional objectives, a *fait accompli* strategy in decision-making process, and an institution's material capabilities, should be also considered. SOIs' past decisions constrains a degree of freedom to introduce new norms and rules in the institutions.

DEDICATION

*To my parents and brother,
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Institutions change over time. This notion is well accepted, yet there is little scholarly attention paid to the questions of why and how institutions transform in the International Relations (IR) field. In fact, while many IR scholars have dealt with international institutions, their theoretical frameworks have long focused on the general utility of institutions in the international system, which is characterized by cooperation among states under anarchy. Realists argue the utility of institutions is extremely limited in the international system. As the world was essentially anarchic, with no world government to regulate or coerce states' behavior, it is the ultimate responsibility of the state as a sovereign entity to ensure its own security. Under this setting, it is difficult for any state to entirely depend on institutions for its own security, because such institutions may not have military capabilities to defend the member states or a member state could defect from fulfilling its responsibility. On the other hand, other IR theories, including institutionalism and social constructivism, argue that institutions, including security institutions, are not necessarily utility-maximizing tools for states to ensure their own security by aggregating their military capabilities. Institutionalists assert that institutions are useful for states to induce cooperation, even in the security field, under the anarchic international system. Accepting the realist notion that the state values relative gains, through institutions, states can cooperate with each other under certain circumstances where they attain absolute gains through cooperation. Institutions, which have functions of monitoring and sanction to prevent states from "cheating," create these circumstances.¹ Social constructivists argue that institutions create a socialization

¹ Institutions also produce "the shadow of the future" through continued interaction among member states, and their rules and norms help states have similar expectations of states' behavior. Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (October, 1985), p. 232; Kenneth Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986).

effect among actors. Through socialization, actors' shared commitments to social norms promote their learning of how to cooperate, resulting in a reconstitution of their interests.²

These studies of general institutional utility are important in understanding why international institutions exist in the international system, yet it also has setbacks for both academics and policy-makers to fully characterize different kinds of international institutions existing in the international system. First, the current research in the IR field treats all institutions in a monolithic way and creates a problem in explaining variance of institutional changes. This is particularly true for institutionalism and social constructivism, as their focus is more on state interactions within institutions, not on the issues states discuss. Realists, on the other hand, largely examine security institutions by default since they believe security is the most important issue for states. Yet, for them, the multilateral security institutions are merely a reflection of the distribution of capabilities, and they do not have a significant role to play in the international system. Accordingly, at the end of the Cold War, the debates over the causes of security institutions' survivability gained academic attention.³ Particularly, the question of the survivability and *raison d'être* of security institutions in the context of the loss of their original institutional objectives and common security threats have been a cynosure of both the academic and real world, and it focused on the future of U.S. multilateral alliances, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and U.S. bilateral alliances including the U.S.-Japan

² Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), p. 417.

³ There are many definitions of institutions. For example, North, as a rational choice institutionalist, defines institutions as "the rules of the game in a society or, more formally are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." He regards institutions as constraints, which also "[shape] the way societies evolve through time and hence [are] the key to understanding historical change." On the other hand, Scott, as a sociological institutionalist, argues that institutions are "socially constructed symbolic systems that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life." He regards institutions as the reflection of the worldviews that society constructs rather than constraints. However, these formal and informal rules are not static. Since formal and informal rules and principles are not self-evident, their meaning is "always subject to and in need of interpretation." As historical institutionalism points out, organizations are also regarded as institutions. Douglas North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.3; Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, (California: Sage Publications, 2001). For definition of rational choice institutionalism and sociological institutionalism, see "Chapter II. Literature Review."

alliance. However, while there are case studies focusing on institutional transformation for each security institution, particularly NATO, there has yet to be a systematic study in the IR field.

Second, previous studies have a regional bias toward western states, and do not pay much attention to regional institutions created by developing states. It is true that in the post-9/11 era, the debate has subtly emerged over whether there is an increasing role for regional institutions in managing regional security issues, which is different from the post-Cold War debate that mainly dealt with the survival or death of security institutions.⁴ However, these discussions have been primarily centered on U.S. security institutions, while discussion over institutions that do not have formal ties to the United States has been academically marginalized. Although the number of such security institutions is limited, there are several multi-purpose institutions among them that have transformed into institutions, which include security functions, such as Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). These institutional transformations affect regional security politics, as they also include regional powers and the roles that those institutions play need to be considered in regional security dynamics. However, without a theoretical foundation for institutional transformation for these regional institutions, academics face difficulty in explaining such international phenomena and providing policy prescriptions to policy-makers.

Third, the omission of institutional transformation as a research agenda in the IR field also affects the study of regional institutions. The regional study frequently examines third-world institutions. Though there are still on-going debates over the effectiveness of these institutions, examination of these institutions is important to better understand regional political-security

⁴ For example, see debates over the survival/demise of NATO. John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5-56; Stanley Hoffmann, Robert Keohane, and John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future, Part II: International Relations Theory and Post-Cold War Europe," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Fall 1990), pp. 191-199; Bruce Russett, Thomas Risse-Kappen, and John Mearshimer, "Back to the Future Part III: Realism and the Realities of European Security," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 3, (Winter 1990/91), pp. 216-222.

dynamics. For example, scholars in Asian studies argue that ASEAN, as a cooperative security mechanism, plays an important role in mitigating rivalries between great powers in East Asia; and scholars in West African studies point out that ECOWAS also played a security role in containing internal conflicts in West Africa. However, by employing mainstream IR theories, studies often assume the institutions as given and treat them as if their security functionality is well-established and stable, although the same institutions play different roles in different times due to their institutional transformations. Moreover, regional studies tend to fall into a single case study, and causes and processes of institutional transformations have been rarely compared with other regional institutions in a systematic way. In this sense, they cannot provide a general answer as to why and how these institutions transformed themselves.

Given these current setbacks of the study of institutions in the IR field, this dissertation attempts to construct a theoretical framework that can answer causes and processes of institutional transformation of "security-oriented institutions" (SOI) in the developing world.⁵ Defining institutions as "international organizations that have sets of norms and rules," the main puzzle is why some SOIs transform to assume security functions in a particular period of time and how they come to assume such particular functions. For example, in the post-Cold War era, several SOIs transformed their original institutional designs. ASEAN has started to expand its membership, especially in the post-Cold War era, to other Southeast Asian states, namely Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar, and has begun institution-building in East Asia, including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN+3, and the East Asian Summit (EAS),

⁵ I define "security-oriented institutions" as the multi-purposed state-based groups whose original purpose implicitly derives from political/military security interests of member states. Since security institutions are defined as institutions that have explicit security objectives, such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, this is different from security-oriented institutions. Additionally, there are two types of security institutions: great power-led security-oriented institutions, such as the EU, and small-power-led security-oriented institutions, such as ASEAN, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), MERCOSUR, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Therefore, criteria for the security-oriented institutions are four-fold: (i) they are multipurpose institutions, (ii) they are inter-governmental institutions, (iii) they are multilateral institutions (more than two states), and (iv) they have an implicit security purpose. In this dissertation, I focus on small/medium-power-led security-oriented institutions and hereafter call it as SOIs.

while emphasizing political cooperation and creating the ASEAN Charter, which was not its original purpose. ECOWAS, which officially aimed at socio-economic linkages and cooperation among member states, has started to play a security role in West Africa by committing itself to undertake peace operations in Africa. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was dissolved and reborn as the African Union (AU) by establishing a new charter that has given the institution more authority over traditional state sovereignty. In other words, after the changes in the global security environment, these institutions not only survived, but also transformed. Also, although they have little capability to shape global security, these institutions have begun to play a role in managing regional security issues.

To resolve this puzzle, I will employ a combination of two theoretical models: punctuated equilibrium from evolutionary biology and historical institutionalism from the comparative politics. The main focus of the punctuated equilibrium model is on causes of radical transformation. While this theory does not deny that gradual transformation occurs endogenously, its main argument is that in times of an exogenous shock, radical transformation can be observed. Historical institutionalism also deals with the issue of institutional transformation, and its significant conceptual contribution is two-fold. One is its definition of change, which can be both material and normative. For historical institutionalism, a historical reference point defines changes, because it helps actors to evaluate and judge an institution's costs and benefits under the current situation relative to the past. This reference point is created by its institutional history, such as sunk costs, institutional legacy, and past decisions, and it shapes institutions' preference order during a period of stasis. The other is a concept of "critical juncture." This is the period of the "window of opportunity" where agents' choices are more likely to affect the outcome than the period of stasis. Combining these two approaches, it can be argued that institutional transformation occurs when external shock strikes an SOI; the impact on the institution of this external shock is assessed by agents, evaluating its institutional utility to deal with the shock; it also creates a window of opportunity for agents to project their ideas to deal with the shock in a

new way; and the complete transformation also creates a new preference order. Thus, this theoretical model considers both structure and agents imperative to understand the institutional transformation, though structural change comes prior to an agent's input because SOIs, which are state-groupings, are essentially states' creations in response to perceived problems in the environment.

On the basis of these models, my central theoretical claim is that expected changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power are likely to cause SOIs' institutional transformation. However, the change in balance of power itself does not explain everything, and it is only a trigger for such transformation. In other words, it is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. In order to achieve such transformation, an intervening variable is necessary, which is "institutional security preference (ISP)" that shapes member states' assessment of institutional utility in the context of changes in balance of power. ISP is an institution's preference order, and it serves as a reference point to shape the member states' expectations for institutional security utility in the context of a change in the balance of power. Following its expectations, an SOI transforms into one of three directions: institutional consolidation, institutional layering, or institutional displacement. Institutional consolidation refers to solidification of implicit and explicit institutional norms/rules through such means as joint declarations, treaties, the establishment of security functions, or creating a regular agenda. Institutional layering is to add new security norms/rules, functions or objectives that institutions did not previously possess. Institutional displacement refers to abandonment of existing norms/rules, functions, or objectives. In short, when a structural change occurs, such a change is assessed by member states, and through member states' internal discussion, they decide to transform.

Accordingly, this dissertation aims at answering three specific research questions: what causes institutional transformation of SOIs; what conditions are necessary for a certain type of institutional transformation to occur; and how such institutional transformation occurs. To answer these, this dissertation constructs three hypotheses, one each at the structural, institutional, and

agent levels. The first hypothesis relates to the structural level: if the regional and intra-regional balance of power is expected to change by the member states of an SOI, then the institution is more likely to undertake institutional transformation to ensure member states' security. The second hypothesis is at the institutional level: the nature of the member states' expectations for SOI's security utility in the context of a change in the intra-regional/regional balance of power, which are categorized "positive," "uncertain," or "negative," determines the types of institutional transformation. Positive expectation leads to institutional consolidation, uncertain expectation to institutional layering, and negative expectation to institutional displacement. For example, if the SOI's security functions include collective self-defense, and if the member states perceived military threats from external states, SOI's could be seen positively because its function is likely to cover such a strategic problem. As such, the member states decide to undertake institutional consolidation to further ensure its institutional capability and effectively respond to the problem. The third hypothesis is at the agent level: if an SOI faces a change in the regional/intra-regional balance of power, member states refer to its institutional security preference, ISP, to assess institutional security utility, and institutional norm entrepreneurs, INEs, within the SOI propose new ideas for transformation.

In order to test these hypotheses, I will use within- and cross-case studies of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU, and employ the method of structured, focused comparison. These regional institutions, which are led by small/medium powers and do not have great powers as members, transformed themselves to have security functions. Despite the fact that their official original objectives did not include the establishment of security functions, they significantly altered their institutional design and have begun to address regional security issues. The periods for each SOI were selected to focus on times when significant changes in security functions, objectives, actions or norms/rules can be observed. For ASEAN, the periods of 1968-1976 and 1988-1997 were chosen. From 1968 to 1976, ASEAN issued the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), and the

Bali Concord I. This period is divided into two phases. One is the period of 1968-1971, during which ASEAN adopted the declaration of ZOPFAN. The other is the period of 1972-1976, when ASEAN issued TAC and the Bali Concord I. From 1988 to 1997, ASEAN created ARF and ASEAN+3, ASEAN-led multilateral institutions whose membership included states outside Southeast Asia. While ASEAN maintains its central position in both institutions, these newly established institutions formally focus on security issues.

ECOWAS also has two cases. One is the period of 1976-1981. ECOWAS issued two security-related protocols in 1978 and 1981, which are the Protocol on Non-Aggression (PNA) and the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD). Although ECOWAS was a purely socio-economic institution, as stipulated by the 1975 ECOWAS treaty, these security-related protocols allowed ECOWAS to assume security functions, including collective self-defense and collective security, at least on paper. The other period is from 1989 to 1999. ECOWAS during this period reformed its security functions through four important security decisions or documents, namely the establishment of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, the Declaration of Political Principles, the Revised Treaty, and the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security (MCPMRPS). This period is divided into two phases: 1988-1993 and 1994-1999. Through these declarations and documents, ECOWAS officially established a comprehensive security mechanism, including a peacekeeping function.

Two cases of OAU/AU are examined, which are the periods of 1979-1982 and 1989-2002. In the former period, OAU decided for the first time to establish the OAU peacekeeping mission in Chad. Although OAU had a defense committee from its inception, the institution itself did not possess any military function. In the latter period, OAU undertook a significant change and transformed itself into AU, which maintained the right to intervene in intra-state conflicts under certain conditions. This period observed sequential changes in OAU and is divided into two phases. The first is from 1989 to 1993, when OAU decided to establish the Central Organ of the

OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, through the 1993 Cairo Declaration. The second is from 1994 to 2002, when OAU decided to replace itself with AU through its adaptation of the Constitutive Act. Also, the period of 1979-1981 is particularly interesting, because OAU did not take an explicit institutional transformation after its peacekeeping missions in Chad. It did not institutionalize its peacekeeping functions within OAU, and thus, this case study is important to test my hypotheses.

Explaining this phenomenon contributes to both policy development and academic knowledge. From a policy perspective, this study gives policy-makers a better understanding of the utility of each SOI as well as its institutional transformation. With this understanding, they can anticipate when institutional transformation is likely to occur and what types of institutional transformation each SOI may take. Moreover, this helps policymakers when their ideas and proposals influence outcome of institutional transformation, so that they can effectively allocate diplomatic and political resources toward such institutions and formulate their security policies by utilizing SOIs. In short, the analysis provides an understanding of “when” and “how” policy initiatives can have more impact on SOIs’ institutional design.

From an academic perspective, this research has three contributions. First, this study fills a gap in existing literature on international institutions since there are few IR theories that focus on causes and processes of institutional transformation. This contribution helps scholars not to treat security institutions in a monolithic way and to identify each institution’s qualitative change. Second, this study deals with both continuity and change, while the mainstream IR theories tend to focus more dominantly on continuity. Although constructivism explores the evolution of international norms, it has difficulty explaining the process of interaction between agent and structure.⁶ In this sense, this theoretical model enhances explanatory power of characteristics of international institutions, and thus contributes to the development of IR theory. Third, this study

⁶ Jeffrey Checkel, “The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory,” *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (February 1998), pp. 324-348; Dale Copeland, “The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay,” *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 187-212.

deepens understanding of the utility of SOIs. To date, there is no systematic research on institutional transformation of institutions led by small/medium-sized powers; however, SOIs are gaining more currency in regional security, considering the emergence of transnational threats in the security field, including international terrorism. Admittedly, great powers, such as the United States, have political, economic, and military capabilities to shape regional strategic landscapes. However, even great powers began to promote cooperation with and through SOIs. In this sense, it is academically imperative for IR scholars to systematically examine the nature of SOIs.

For the structure of this dissertation, Chapter II reviews academic literatures on current theoretical frameworks relevant to institutional transformation. This includes theories in the IR, Comparative Politics, and Evolutionary Biology fields. By categorizing these theoretical frameworks into three approaches—structure-focused, agent-focused, and structure-agent interaction approaches—the chapter assesses the most appropriate means for constructing a theoretical model of institutional transformation. Through this review, this chapter argues that both structure and agent have roles to play in determining causes and direction of institutional transformation.

Chapter III presents a theoretical model of institutional transformation. This chapter discusses a detailed definition of SOI, types of SOIs, types of institutional transformation, three hypotheses of institutional transformation, and methodologies, including case selection. Chapter IV, V, and VI contains case studies of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU. Chapter VI presents ASEAN's institutional transformation in the periods of 1968-1976 and 1988-1997. Chapter V contains case studies of ECOWAS, in which its periods of 1976-81 and 1989-1999. Chapter VI presents two OAU/AU cases, the period of 1979-1982 and that of 1989-2002. Each chapter assesses the strategic landscape of a region, institutional expectations on the landscape, and member states' discussions about institutional utility. At the end of each chapter, a within-case analysis is presented.

Finally, Chapter VII contains cross-comparison analyses of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU on the basis of each case study conducted above, and Chapter VIII presents conclusions that provide academic contributions and offers policy implications derived from this study.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

While many IR scholars have dealt with international institutions, their theoretical frameworks have paid a little attention to institutional transformation. However, this does not mean that there are no theories relevant to institutional transformation. The existing IR theories, including neo-realism, institutionalism, and social constructivism, make implicit assumptions regarding institutional transformation, although their focus is not on institutional transformation *per se*. In addition, in the comparative politics (CP) field, theories based on “new institutionalism” specifically deal with institutional changes,⁷ while an evolutionary biology theory, punctuated equilibrium, also explains processes of change.

This chapter organizes these theories into three categories by employing a structure-agent framework⁸: structure-focused; agent-focused; and structure-agent interaction approaches. While the structure-focused approach attributes causes of institutional transformation to environmental changes, the agent-focused approach illustrates processes of institutional transformation shaped by a conscious actor. The structure-agent interaction approach emphasizes interdependence between structure and agency, which interactively shape each other’s characteristics. The chapter will also review the utility of these theories to account for institutional transformation, and finally argue that the structure-agent interaction approach, especially part of historical institutionalism and punctuated equilibrium, is the most appropriate approach to explain institutional transformation. However, an IR theoretical model needs to be constructed using the structure-agent interaction approach, as this approach is currently discussed largely only in the context of domestic politics and biological evolution.

⁷ For a general approach to examine institutional transformation, see John Campbell, *Institutional Change and Globalization* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

⁸ Alexander Wendt, “The agent-structure problem in international relations theory,” *International Organizations*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer 1987), pp. 335-370.

I. Structure-Focused Approach

The structure-focused approach emphasizes that structural factors are the most important variables in explaining changes. More specifically, given the assumption that actors are guided by standard expected utility and their preferences are given, changes are likely to be caused by strategic disequilibrium among actors. Thus, it takes place when changes in the balance of power occur. While small shifts in the balance of power induce only small degree of changes, sudden disruption of the balance of power produces radical ones. Accordingly, the balance of power defines changes. Neo-realism and institutionalism in the IR field and rational-choice institutionalism in the CP field fall into this category.

With the assumptions of a state as a rational actor and a unit of analysis, neo-realist theory assumes that states constantly fear other states' domination and intrusion because the international system is essentially anarchic. Although states need to pursue self-help, it is often difficult for them to defend themselves due to their limited resources and capabilities.⁹ Thus, if these states perceive common threats to their national interests, they can form a coalition or alliance in order to protect themselves. However, neo-realists argue that security cooperation is essentially temporal and does not last once equilibrium of the distribution of capabilities is reached.¹⁰ If such common threats or interests disappear, a coalition, alliance or security institution will disappear with them accordingly.¹¹ This is illustrated by the fates of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). They were established in the 1950s in order to contain Communist expansion, but when major powers in the

⁹ Neorealists argue that changes in balance of power occur through differential growth rates of states. Perceiving threats from other states, alliance formation would be more likely when internal balancing (arming) is difficult. See Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979); Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

¹⁰ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (Winter, 1994-1995), pp. 5-49; John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York: Norton, 2001).

¹¹ The Southeast Asian Treaty Organizations (SEATO, 1954-77) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO, 1955-79) were established in order to contain Communist expansion, and when major powers in the organizations, such as the United States and United Kingdom, lost their strategic interests in the region, the alliances were dissolved.

organizations, such as the United States and United Kingdom, lost their strategic interests in the region, the alliances were dissolved in 1977 and 1979 respectively. In this way, institutions are reflection of the distribution of capability that does not have independent effects on state behavior.

However, alliances and political coalitions, such as NATO and ASEAN, have managed to survive for decades after the end of the Cold War. The formation of NATO, a military alliance created to counterbalance the common security threats from the Soviet Union, is consistent with neo-realist theory. Neo-realism has difficulty explaining the continued operation of these institutions after the end of the Cold War. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO survived. By the same token, the disappearance of Communist threats and relative regional stability in Southeast Asia did not lead to ASEAN's dissolution. In short, while neo-realism explains that institutional changes are caused by changes in the balance of power, its dichotomous definition of changes, institutional survival and collapse, suffers difficulties in explaining institutional transformation.

On the other hand, Institutional theory, which is based on the same assumption of neo-realist theories, expands the variance of institutional changes, so that it can better explain institutional behavior after changes in the balance of power. Institutionalists, most notably Wallander and Keohane, argue that when situations change, institutions adapt, and some institutions, such as NATO, transform themselves into different institutions by altering their original objectives and thereby survive.¹² Providing a clear demarcation between threats and risk,¹³ security institutions transform from threat-oriented coalitions to risk-oriented coalitions.

¹² Wallander and Keohane create three dimensions, namely the degree to which security institutions are institutionalized, whether they are organized exclusively or inclusively, and whether they are designed to cope with threats or risks, to investigate the types and transformation of security institutions. See Celeste Wallander and Robert Keohane, "Risk, Threat, and Security Institutions," in Helga Haftendorn, Robert Keohane and Celeste Wallander, *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time and Space*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 23.

¹³ According to Wallander and Keohane, "where a state's leaders regard it as facing a positive probability that another state will either launch an attack or seek to threaten military force for political reasons, it faces *threats*." Also, "[w]hen no such threat exists, either because states do not have the intention or the capability to harm the security of others, states may nevertheless face a security *risk*." However, they do not explain how states perceive such threats or risk and formulate their expectations. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Also, partly due to reduction of transaction costs, a highly institutionalized coalition is likely to persist. Wallander and Keohane also clarified the condition of such transformation by arguing:

[a]daptability is by no means assured. In international relations, institutions that were built on principles contradictory to those of a *new era* may become worse than useless. After 1989, both the Warsaw Pact and CoCom—the institution devised by the United States and its allies to deny strategic materials to the Soviet bloc—disappeared.¹⁴

This explanation is, however, unsatisfactory because the same logic could apply for NATO, which was built on the principles that the United States and its allies would contain communist expansions. Additionally, not all the security institutions transformed from threats-oriented to risk-oriented institutions. For example, both the 1981 ECOWAS Protocol on Mutual Assistance of Defence and the 1990 establishment of the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) were more risk-management, deriving from internal destabilization, although ECOWAS clearly transformed itself into more structured security institutions. In this sense, its scope of institutional transformation remains narrow, and its theoretical applicability is limited to NATO.

More fundamentally, as Wallander and Keohane admit, the limitation of their explanation stems from their assumption that preference is fixed. Their theoretical framework does not provide for formulation and reformulation of preference, though they recognize that an “institutional fact” that is “a collectively recognized status to which a function is attached” can change due to a change in belief and defined preference.¹⁵ In this sense, Wallander and Keohane argue the synthesis of both rationalist and constructivist theories in order to further understand international institutions.¹⁶ Moreover, although institutionalists argue that diversification of

¹⁴ *Emphasis added.* Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵ Robert Keohane, Helga Haftendorn, and Celeste Wallander, “Conclusions,” in Haftendorn, Keohane and Wallander, *Imperfect Unions*, p. 336.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 336-337.

institutional objectives and functions helps the institution to survive, it is not clear whether, prior to such diversification, the member states need to have common security interests. If institutional theory is correct, all institutions should be maintained, which is not the case.

In the CP field, rational-choice institutionalism takes a structural approach. Institutions are regarded as exogenous constraints and set the rules of games made by the actors.¹⁷ Specifically, it emphasizes the cost/benefit “calculus approach” and assumes “[actors] seek to maximize the attainment of a set of goals given by a specific preference function and, in doing so, behave strategically, which is to say that they canvass all possible options to select those conferring maximum benefit.”¹⁸ This rational-choice school assumes that the actors consider the fundamental objective of institutions is to solve a collective action problem,¹⁹ and institutions exist as an intermediary for actors to achieve their individual objectives. It is instrumental logic, by which an institution affects “behavior primarily by providing actors with greater or lesser degrees of certainty about the present and future behavior of other actors,”²⁰ and institutions are to sustain the equilibrium of balance of power. Thus, the logic of rational-choice institutionalism is essentially the same as that of neo-realism and institutionalism. Institutional change occurs when disequilibrium, such as decisive actors’ defection, emerges and produces a new collective action problem.

Following the rational-choice institutionalism logic, institutions are essentially rationally-designed, efficient, effective, and thus become positive entities in solving a particular collective action problem. Admittedly, this institutional positive feedback makes actors attempt to sustain institutions or to establish or reformulate them if a new problem emerges. However, since

¹⁷ Kenneth Shepsle, “Rational Choice Institutionalism,” in R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah Binder, and Bert A. Rockman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 24-25.

¹⁸ Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms,” *Political Studies*, XLIV (1996), p. 939.

¹⁹ For example, see Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast, “The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 81, No 1 (March 1987), pp. 85-104.

²⁰ Hall and Taylor, pp. 942-946; Elisabeth Clemens and James Cook, “Politics and Institutionalism: Explaining Durability and Change,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 25, (1999), p. 444.

rational-choice institutionalism assumes certain collective actions, and thus preferences as given, it does not explain how particular actors consider some issues more or less problematic than others.

The structure-focused approach, therefore, has strength in explaining causes of institutional change, while it is severely restricted in illustrating procedural changes as this approach remains silent on the process of actors' preference formulation and reformulation. On the one hand, the approach clearly specifies the cause of institutional transformation as structurally-driven. A change in the balance of power is a necessary condition for change. On the other hand, since preference affects the direction of institutional transformation, it becomes necessary to introduce preference formulation within institutions into the theoretical framework. Also, the theoretical focus is on stability in the balance of power, so that the role is diminished during periods of disequilibrium, which is important for formulating and reformulating preference. Thus, the structure-focused approach is limited in its explanatory power for institutional transformation.

II. Agent-Focused Approach

Unlike the structure-focused approach, the agent-focused approach regards ideational and normative factors as the causes of institutional stability and changes, because these factors shape agents' "interests" to maintain an institution. Rather than structural constraints, this approach argues that agents construct and reconstruct their worlds by providing ideas, so-called "logic of appropriateness." According to this logic, human behavior was primarily "driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behavior, organized into institutions."²¹ This subjectivity/intersubjectivity creates normative orders that become embodied as actors' "identity" and "culture." From this perspective, ideas are the most significant factors, and diffusion of ideas,

²¹ James March and Johan Olsen, "The logic of appropriateness," (ARENA Working Papers, WP 04/09, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2004), p. 3.

or norm diffusion, produces a new cognitive template to see the reality, which leads to institutional transformation. This school of thought includes social constructivism and a theoretical model of the security community in the IR field and sociological institutionalism in the CP field.²²

Social constructivism emphasizes the role of ideational factors in international relations; these factors include the formulation of identities and interests through interaction among actors.²³ While not completely denying the premises held by realists and institutionalists,²⁴ identities and interests shaped by processes and interactions among actors have established today's dominant concepts in international relations, such as "anarchy" and "self-help."²⁵ As both ideas and practices interactively shape social norms, the ideas are widely shared in society and have an effect on actors' behavior. Thus, for social constructivists, structure is shaped by social norms, which are created by agents, and thus, norms subsume "structure."

Social constructivists generally regard international institutions as autonomous actors that influence state behavior. While there is a variant definition of institutions held by social constructivists,²⁶ they generally view institutions as either processes or outcomes of norm

²² Also, functionalism/neo-functionalism argument was a seminal form of agent-focused approaches since their focuses on elites' decision-making on interstate relations for regional integration process through regional institutions. See David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1943); Ernst Haas, *The Uniting of Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958); Joseph Nye, *Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization* (Boston: Little Brown, 1971).

²³ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁴ Social constructivism does not completely reject but takes into account realist and liberal perspectives of contemporary peace operations is important. Social constructivists, rather than bluntly criticizing realist and institutionalist arguments, attempt to seek the missing explanation on contemporary peace operations, an understanding of the conflicts between traditional and contemporary international norms, and their effects on state behavior. See Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, pp. 139-189; John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), p. 879.

²⁵ Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," pp. 391-425. Also, Critical approaches the similar standing point, where "rather than basing their theories on pre-given and until recently unchallenged assumptions, they begin by outlining and defending basic normative positions.

²⁶ Within the social constructivist perspective, their emphases range from those who "stress state identity subordinates interest in institutions...to the roles assumed by state-actors" to those who "privilege norms as shapers of behavior [and] see the world much as peace theorists do when it comes to international cooperation—they see institutions as agents of change." Moreover, there are those who "regard institutions partly as arenas for designing change and partly as arrangements that bring about change as they alter the

diffusion created by an agent through socialization.²⁷ These differences come from their emphasis on the different procedural point of norms and identity consolidation: whether norms and identity have already been taken for granted among agents, or whether agents are still shaping and nurturing them. However, both have difficulty in explaining the consolidation of norms and identity; and how these shape actors' behavior; or how such a transition from norm/identity shaping to norm/identity internalization would occur.

Moreover, social constructivists have methodological difficulty operationalizing how identities and interests shape each other. According to the constructivist argument,²⁸ although both identities and interests are constantly shaped by each other and formulated over time, it is extremely difficult to analyze when and how such interactions occur as well as which factor comes first. In this sense, while constructivist emphasis on the role of norm diffusion is useful for understanding the process of actors' preference formulation and for analyzing institutional transformation, there is no consistent framework to explain it due to a broad range of differences existing within social constructivist.

Another field that relates to institutional transformation in the IR field is that of the security community. In 1957, Deutsche provided the definition of a security community, describing it as a community where use-of-force as a resolution of conflicts among member states is unthinkable.²⁹ Adler and Barnett developed a theoretical perspective on the development of the security community by emphasizing social constructivist and path-dependent theories. In this context, they argue that there are three phases to developing a security community: nascent,

perceptions of their members. Peter M. Haas and Ernst B. Haas, "Pragmatic Constructivism and the Study of International Institutions," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, (2002), pp. 582.

²⁷ For example, see Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (December 2001), pp. 487-515; Jeffrey Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework," *International Organization* 59 (Fall 2005), pp. 801-826.

²⁸ See Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory"; Copeland, "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism."

²⁹ Karl W. Deutsch, Sidney A Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee, Jr., Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, Richard W. Van Wagenen, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957).

ascendant, and mature security communities.³⁰ Nonetheless, this framework also faces theoretical weaknesses. First, Alder and Barnett argue that an increase in the number of interactions and the creation of mutual trust and collective identity play a critical role in the transformation from one phase of the security community into another. However, they do not explain whether endogenous, exogenous or other factors change such mutual trust and collective identity. Secondly, Alder and Barnett assert that the disintegration of the security community is possible due to external and internal factors because values and identities are not static, and thus “the same forces that ‘build up’ security communities can ‘tear them down.’”³¹ However, they do not identify to what extent mutual trust and common identities exist in the “mature” security community that is resilient to these opposing forces.³²

³⁰ In the first phase, that of the nascent security community, states exogenously or endogenously attempt to coordinate their relations with each other, resulting in the establishment of social institutions and organizations. Through coordination, the number of interactions among states increases through such means as international dialogue. This stage emerges for any number of reasons, and thus the first step to reaching a security community is equifinality. The next phase, that of the ascendant security community, deepens the social interaction among states. Both states and the people within them have begun to socially interact frequently, which begins to transform their environment and nurtures the sense of community through social institutions. In turn, these frequent interactions foster the development of existing social institutions and organizations whose functions include not only material benefits, such as reduction of transaction costs, but also the creation of shared interest and collective identity. In this context, both structural elements, such as power and knowledge, and procedural elements, such as transaction, organization, and social learning, play important roles. The mature security community, the last phase in the development of a security community, establishes both mutual trust and collective identity, and within this community, war among member states becomes unthinkable. Founded on a dense network of social interaction, mutual trust and collective identity become mutually reinforcing, and states no longer rely on concrete rules or organizations to constrain member states’ behavior. In other words, even in an anarchic international setting, member states do not see other member states as adversaries. Rather, they believe that their relationship becomes “fatalistic collaboration.” In this sense, the security arrangement within the community evolves into collective defense and collective security systems. The right to use force is only legitimized when they encounter an external threat or against community members that violate the core norms of the community. Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, “A framework for the study of security communities,” in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 37-57.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³² Another school that touches upon security community is “logic of habit.” It differs from “logic of practice” since “trust” is not an issue to maintain such a community. According to Hopf, habits, which are “the unreflective reactions we have to the world around us: our perceptions, attitudes, emotions, and practices,” provides “taken-for-granted” feeling among the member’s of security community. Yet, habits can be broken if there are (1) exogenous shocks, including contacts with other cultures, or political and economic crises; (2) erosion through disuse; and (3) identity change. However, it has yet to develop a theoretical model on the basis of this logic. See Ted Hopf, “The logic of habit in International Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 553-554.

To overcome such theoretical weaknesses, Pouliot introduced the “logic of practicality” to the security community literature. The logic of practicality is a relatively newer logic than rational choice’s “logic of consequence” or constructivism’s “logic of appropriateness,” and it is located at the “intersection of structure and agency.”³³ In other words, practice creates the knowledge-in-context (practical knowledge) that can only be attainable through actual practice, is difficult to convey, and is contagious, which differs from theoretical knowledge (representative knowledge). Iteration of such practice shapes actual human cognition and behavior.³⁴ As the different practical knowledge is attained in different social contexts, such as market investment and family interaction, the logic of practice is ontologically prior to other logics, and it is constitutive of human behavior.³⁵ In this setting, Pouliot argues that security community was the product of a “practical *modus operandi*” through practical knowledge such as accumulation of “trust,” which is gained by iterative practices for internalization, and that security officials’ practical sense considers that diplomacy is the “self-evident way to solving inter-state disputes.”³⁶ The concept of “logic of practicality” sheds lights on different dimensions of agent interaction that produce different knowledge from that of conventional constructivism; yet, this explains neither how nor when such practical knowledge could be attained, nor why such security communities could emerge in one place and not in another.

In the CP field, sociological institutionalism, which adopts the “cultural approaches,” focuses on “the degree to which behavior is not fully strategic but bounded by an individual’s world view.” This tends to emphasize the degree to which the choice of a course of action depends on the interpretation of a situation rather than on purely instrumental calculation. It

³³ Vincent Pouliot, “The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities,” *International Organization*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (Spring 2008), p. 257; Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, “International Practices,” *International Theory*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (2011), pp. 1-36.

³⁴ Pouliot argues that the difference between representative knowledge and practical knowledge was that of “knowing-that” and “knowing-how,” and that the difference between “taken-for-grantedness” and practical knowledge is that the former is “once reflected upon before becoming internalized” while “practical knowledge is learned tacitly.” Therefore, this differs from constructivist’s “norm internalization” through representative knowledge. Pouliot, “The Logic of Practicality,” p. 270 and p. 272.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

regards institutions driven by logics of appropriateness, where the institution provides “moral or cognitive templates for interpretation and action.”³⁷ The socially constructed patterns of behavior are likely to be “reproduced” within existing institutions,³⁸ and changes occur when new cognitive templates are introduced or imposed from outside. However, this does not tell us which properties of these templates are more durable than others.³⁹

In sum, the agent-focused approach is situated ontologically prior to structure-focused approach, and it emphasizes the normative role of actors, such as ideas, which affects “structure.” In this sense, structural change, namely a change in the balance of power, is a sufficient, but not necessary condition for institutional transformation. Institutional transformation occurs at the agent level, not the structural level. Since these theories examine construction of the logic of appropriateness for each actor, and thus, the actors’ preference structures, they become useful tools in explaining why there are different characteristics and functionality among institutions. Nonetheless, just as in the structure-focused approach, the agent-focused approach emphasizes continuity, or equilibrium, rather than change.⁴⁰ In other words, whereas the structure-focused approach focused on material perspective of equilibrium, the agent-focused approach emphasizes normative perspectives of equilibrium.

III. Structure-Agent Interaction Approach

In order to explain institutional continuity and change, structure-agent interaction theories incorporate the theoretical strengths that the structural-focused and agent-focused approaches

³⁷ Hall and Taylor, pp. 946-950; Clemens and Cook, p. 442.

³⁸ James March and Johan Olsen, “The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (September 1984), pp. 734-749; Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (April, 1983), pp. 147-160; Scott, *Institutions and Organization*.

³⁹ See James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Kathleen Thelen, “Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2 (1999), p. 387; Colin Hay, “Constructivist Institutionalism,” in Rockman, Binder, and Rhodes, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, pp. 57-60.

provide, and they attempt to explain interactions between structure and agent. These theories examine causes and processes of institutional transformation and recognize the importance of both exogenous and endogenous factors for such changes. They consider that radical changes could occur when there is a change in balance of power; norm diffusion; and accumulation of incremental changes, while institutional practice create incremental changes in the stable period. From this perspective, institutions constantly change incrementally or radically. Although institutional reproduction occurs, this does not necessarily mean that institutions always undertake the same reproduction processes. While neo-classical realism in the IR field incorporates such an approach, the most notable literature on this process is historical institutionalism in the CP field and the punctuated equilibrium model in the evolutionary biology field.⁴¹

Neo-classical realism, deriving from neo-realism in the IR field, is one model of the structure-agent approach. It examines internal and external variables to explain states' foreign policy.⁴² Its primacy of external variable is the same as that of neo-realism, distribution of capabilities in the international system, but the difference from the neo-realism tradition is that it also considers internal variables, such as domestic politics, seriously. This is because "systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level."⁴³ In short, while structural constraints matter for states, state behavior depends on their subjectivity to interpret the current system. Its emphasis is still on structure and distribution of capabilities as an independent variable, yet it relaxes the assumption of neo-realism and examines domestic factors in each state.

⁴¹ In the IR field, John Ikenberry emphasizes the importance of path-dependence and institutions, the essences of historical institutionalism. See John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 2001; Jeffrey Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

⁴² To be sure, neo-realism emphasizes the nature of international politics and is not a theory of foreign policy. See Kenneth Waltz, "International Politics is not Foreign Policy," *Security Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1996), pp. 54-57.

⁴³ Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (October 1998), p. 146. Also, see Steven Lobell, Norrin Ripsman, and Jeffrey Taliaferro, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

In this sense, unlike social-constructivism, it provides a clear sequential causal path. Nonetheless, it also suffers from little consensus on specifying the most influential types of internal variable for foreign policy formation. As a result, neo-classical realists identify a broad range of internal variables, such as regime types, national culture and identity, and domestic actors, including state leaders, political institutions, interest groups, and public opinion.⁴⁴ Furthermore, since this school inherited a neo-realism tradition, it remains silent on institutional transformation.

Historical institutionalism synthesizes rational-choice institutionalism and sociological institutionalism.⁴⁵ The rationale of historical institutionalism over the linkage between rational and sociological institutionalism is that “the strategies induced by a given institutional setting may ossify over time into a world view, which are propagated by formal organizations and ultimately shape even the self-images and basic preferences of the actors involved in them.”⁴⁶ Therefore, while it does not disregard the importance of actors’ strategies, they nurture their own ideas and worldviews over time.

To illustrate this logic, historical institutionalism provides three concepts: path dependence, critical junctures, and lock-in effects. “Path dependence” refers to the period of the limited degree of freedom that determines “the range of current possibilities and/or options in institutional innovation.”⁴⁷ Therefore, this concept focuses more on the dynamic of institutional reproduction, which is continuity, rather than on changes,⁴⁸ and it explains the mechanism that

⁴⁴ Norrin Ripsman, “Domestic practices and balancing: integrating practice into neoclassical realism,” in Emmanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, *International Practices*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 201-204.

⁴⁵ Hall and Taylor, pp. 937-942; Peter Hall, “Historical Institutionalism in Rationalist and Sociological Perspective,” in Mahoney and Thelen, *Explaining Institutional Change*, p. 205.

⁴⁶ Victoria Hattman, *Labor Visions and State Power: the Origins of Business Unionism in the United States* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), cited in Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalism” *Political Studies*, XLIV (1996), p. 940.

⁴⁷ Klaus Nielson, Bob Jessop, and Jerzy Hausner, “Institutional Change in Post-socialism,” in J. Hausner, B. Jessop, and J. Hausner, eds., *Strategic Choice and Path-Dependency in Post-socialism: Institutional Dynamic Dynamics in the Transformation Process*, (Hants, UK: Edward Elgar, 1995), p. 6.

⁴⁸ Different schools of institutionalism define path dependence differently. For example, historical Institutionalism includes the concept of “critical junctures” into path dependence. According to Pempel, thus, path dependency explains both institutional long continuities and abrupt changes. Mahoney also points out that “path-dependence characterizes specifically those historical sequences in which contingent

sustains certain patterns of politics on the basis of institutions.⁴⁹ For the concept of “critical junctures,” despite many definitions,⁵⁰ Capoccia and Kelemen’s definition captures important elements of the concept, which is “relatively short periods of time during which there is a substantially heightened probability that agents’ choices will affect the outcome of interest.”⁵¹ Contrary to path dependence, this concept focuses on changes. It is “critical” because decisions chosen for institutions during the critical juncture affect consequences of the future institutional choices. Critical junctures can span a relatively short period of time because the assumption is that institutions are stable for a long period on the basis of the concept of path dependence. This explains the reasons that institutions are difficult to change, and the condition of uncertainty relaxes constraints on institutional choices. Also, lock-in effects consolidates the status quo of balance of power within an institution, thus an equilibrium, and this represents the period of stasis within the institution that both rational-choice and sociological institutionalism feature.⁵²

events set in motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties.” In order to clearly distinguish the period of institutional reproduction from that of institutional innovation, which historical institutionalism generally do, I will use a narrow definition of path-dependence and separate it from the concept of critical junctures. See T.J. Pempel, *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), p.1; James Mahoney, “Path Dependence in Historical Sociology,” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (August 2000), p. 507; Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen, “Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies”, in Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen, *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 6-9.

⁴⁹ Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Kelemen, “The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism,” *World Politics*, Vol. 59, No. 3, (April 2007), pp. 341-369; Streeck and Thelen, “Introduction,” in Streeck and Thelen, pp. 6-9.

⁵⁰ The concept of “critical junctures” goes under several names, including “critical periods” and the “branching tree model.” For example, Mahoney defines it as a “choice point” when a particular option is adopted among two or more alternatives, defined by antecedent historical conditions. James Mahoney, *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁵¹ According to Capoccia and Kelemen, this definition captures three characteristics of critical junctures: first, they are a “brief phase,” so that “the probability that actors’ choices will affect outcomes decreases after the critical junctures”; second, “agents face a broader than typical range of feasible options”; and third, “the notion that their choices from among these options are likely to have a significant impact on subsequent outcomes.” Capoccia and Kelemen, p. 348.

⁵² Also, there are three other types of institutional reproduction where a particular path was reinforced: positive feedback, increasing returns, and self-reinforcement. First, positive feedback effects are to constantly provide positive externalities that institution generates, and this reinforces a current institutional arrangements. Second, increasing returns represents incremental institutional changes that positive externalities increase, which is different from positive feedback. Third, self-reinforcement is to reinforce its institutional design by establishing complementary relations with other institutions. See Orfeo Fioretos,

Among these three concepts, change will come about during critical junctures, and thus this concept becomes central for historical institutionalism to explain institutional transformation. The causes of critical junctures are basically two-fold: one is based on the model of punctuated equilibrium and the other is based on the model of gradual transformation. According to the concept of punctuated equilibrium, exogenous shocks create changes in an old equilibrium, which creates a new equilibrium that is followed by a long period of stasis until further such shocks occur.⁵³ In other words, while institutions constrain behavior of actors for a long time, actors can defeat these constraints in periods of uncertainty.⁵⁴ This is a useful approach to analyze institutional evolution, although the model ultimately assumes that institutions “explain everything until they explain nothing,” which is also called *social inertia*.⁵⁵

The other type of transformation that occurs endogenously is called “gradual transformation.”⁵⁶ According to this model, institutional transformation can occur without exogenous shocks. Although change is likely to be minor, the accumulation of small, seemingly insignificant adjustments may reach to a tipping point at which institutional transformation, and thus discontinuity, occurs. This concept is important because it provides the background on for how institutions may change without external shocks. Combined with the approach of path dependence, it provides insights on how institutions react when they face external shocks.

“Historical Institutionalism in International Relations,” *International Organization*, Vol. 65, No. 2, (Spring 2011), p. 377.

⁵³ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2002); Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 29.

⁵⁴ This also relates to “agency” and “structure” debates. See Ira Katznelson, “Periodization and Preferences: Reflections on Purposive Actions in Comparative Historical Social Science,” in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 270-304.

⁵⁵ Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo, “Historical institutionalism in comparative politics,” in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-32.

⁵⁶ Streeck and Thelen, p. 8.

Table 2.1: Types of Institutional Change: Processes and Results⁵⁷

		<i>Result of Change</i>	
		Continuity	Discontinuity
Process of Change	Incremental	Reproduction by adaption	gradual transformation
	Abrupt	Survival and return	Breakdown and replacement

By introducing the concept of “gradual transformation” into historical institutionalism, Streeck and Thelen developed the typologies of institutional transformation that are summarized in *Table 2.1*. Focusing on gradual transformation, they introduced the types of gradual transformation into five categories: *displacement*, *layering*, *drift*, *conversion*, and *exhaustion*.⁵⁸ *Displacement* is “slowly rising salience of subordinate relative to dominant institutions” caused by defection. *Layering* refers to “new elements attached to existing institutions gradually change their status and structure” caused by differential growth. *Drift* occurs through “neglect of institutional maintenance in spite of external change resulting in slippage in institutional practice on the ground” caused by deliberate neglect. *Conversion* occurs through the “redeployment of old institutions to new purposes; new purposes attached to old structures” caused by redirection or reinterpretation. *Exhaustion* reached through the “gradual breakdown (withering away) of institutions over time” by depletion. However, this typology of institutional change has four major shortcomings. First, it is difficult to distinguish an incremental process of change from an abrupt one because the typology does not specify the degree of change, and thus, the system does not account for differences between gradual and abrupt change. It is not explained clearly the extent to which it is incremental or abrupt. Second, while an abrupt process of change or discontinuity may lead to “breakdown and replacement,” it is also possible that institutions undergo “rapid transformation,” which provides accelerated processes of the five types of gradual

⁵⁷ Streeck and Thelen distinguish *processes of changes* from *results of changes*. Processes of changes are incremental or abrupt, and results of change are continuity or discontinuity. Streeck and Thelen, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Streeck and Thelen, “Introduction,” in Streeck and Thelen, pp. 1-39; Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 225.

transformation. Third, if an abrupt process is based on the existence of exogenous shocks, it is also possible that exogenous shocks lead to gradual transformation because there may be a time lag between the period of exogenous shocks and institutional transformation.

Focusing on gradual institutional changes, Mahoney and Thelen further developed this argument by including political context and of institutional characteristics, which delineate causal connections with types of institutional change.⁵⁹ In this theory, they assume that institutions always face potential change because their norms and rules are constantly ambiguous and thus open to reinterpretation. They also argue that a certain political context, where veto possibilities are either strong or weak, induces a particular institutional change. Yet, while these concepts are useful for analyzing what type of institutional transformations occur under what conditions, they do not explain how such a particular political context was created in the first place. This problem stems from the assumption that the “political context” is given, and Mahoney and Thelen do not discuss why and how those political contexts are created. Also, in order to better understand institutional transformation, the linkage between “path dependence” and “critical junctures” needs to be examined. Admittedly, these two concepts are opposing phenomena; path dependence focuses on institutional persistence while critical junctures explain the rapid institutional changes. Nonetheless, they are not mutually exclusive. Within the process of institutional change, both concepts are important to understanding institutional dynamics. Indeed, they are mutually complementary and strengthen the explanatory power when used in tandem; while critical junctures creates a relatively large degree of change, the change also depends on the process that the institution took in the past. The important question, thus, is how these linkages are established.

To answer this question, the punctuated equilibrium model, which is also acknowledged by historical institutionalism, explores causal linkages between path dependence and critical juncture. The punctuated equilibrium model was originally developed in the field of biology,

⁵⁹ Mahoney and Thelen, pp. 14-32.

when Eldredge and Gould proposed the theory of “punctuated equilibria.”⁶⁰ Analyzing the discrepancy between data of fossil records and the mainstream evolutionary theory, which asserted gradual evolution of species by natural selection, they argued that the rapid evolution becomes possible in the period of disequilibrium. Krasner employed this concept to explain how institutional changes occur.⁶¹ In this punctuated equilibrium model, changes in the external environment cause institutional crises, which cause dysfunction in the institutions whose objectives include reproduction of an institutional pattern. This leads old institutional designs to dissolve and triggers intense political conflicts in order to create new institutional arrangements.

Goertz developed this mode for investigation of decision-making procedures within institutions. Although this model employs a functional approach and focuses on creation and implementation of international institutions, it provides one model of institutional change. According to Goertz, institutional norms, once established, become standard operating procedures, and they “fade into the background and relatively obscurity until something provokes a reevaluation of the policy.”⁶² During the period of disequilibrium, decision-makers attempt to create new norms by introducing a new agenda or policy. However, since an initial set of these norms has never been optimal, they fiddle with these norms for a while. Once this period of policy fiddling is over, new norms are introduced, and it becomes costly for actors to break them.⁶³ While not denying that the general fiddling exist even the period of stasis, large shifts occur when such punctuation takes place. Yet, it does not define which external shocks have the most impact on international institutions and how institutional transformation occurs.

The structure-agent interaction approach, thus, attempts to comprehend institutional transformation by explaining periods of both equilibrium and disequilibrium. Also, despite their

⁶⁰ See Niles Eldredge, *Reinventing Darwin: The Great Debate at the High Table of Evolutionary Theory*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995).

⁶¹ Stephen Krasner, “Review: Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (January 1984), pp. 223-246.

⁶² Gary Goertz, *International Norms and Decision Making: A Punctuated Equilibrium Model*, (Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), p. 51.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

difficulties in specifying variables of structure and agent, they provide a basic line of logic on the process of institutional transformation. The sequential mechanism of radical institutional transformation would occur from external factors, and internal variables determine direction of such transformation. For example, neo-classical realism attributes change in distribution of capabilities to change in states' foreign policy, while such a policy is ultimately determined by variables at the state level. Punctuated equilibrium also stresses that external shocks are the trigger for institutional transformation and that internal decision-making systems that determine the outcome. Historical institutionalism is also similar to the punctuated equilibrium model, although it does not deny that institutional transformation could occur without external shocks. Therefore, this comprehensive approach enhances explanatory power for institutional transformation more than the structure-focused and agent-focused approaches. Since it could provide reasons and processes of institutional transformation, the structure-agent interaction approach is the most appropriate for explaining transformation.

IV. Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Structure-Agent Interaction

Given these approaches, there are basically two arguments on institutional transformation. On the one hand, structural or environmental change fosters institutional transformation despite the fact that definitions of external shocks or environmental changes differ or are undefined. Structure-focused theories, including neo-realism, institutionalism, rational-choice institutionalism, and sociological institutionalism, emphasize or at least admit that external shocks are one of the most important independent variables to explain institutional transformation. The concept of "critical juncture" in historical institutionalism illustrates this point. On the other hand, institutional transformation also occurs by internal changes, although it is likely to be less drastic than the transformations caused by external shocks, as shown in the case of Social Constructivists' norm development, Mahoney and Thelen's gradual institutional change, and Pouliot's logic of practicality. Yet, these literatures tend to separate external shocks

from internal changes and they do not ask how these transformations could interact with each other. In this sense, Goertz's punctuated equilibrium model introduces the importance of the interaction between external shocks and internal discussions in institutional decision-making.

Comparing with structure-based and agent-based theories, thus, the structure-agent interaction approach provides more comprehensive explanatory power for institutional transformation. Specifically, its strength rests on clarification of the roles that structure and agent play and their interactions in the period of disequilibrium. Particularly, historical institutionalism is useful in clarifying how institutions change during the period of disequilibrium. Changes ultimately are defined by a historical reference point that shapes institutional preferences during a period of stasis, which historical institutionalism calls path dependence. Then, during the period of disequilibrium, actors evaluate the utility of institutions through such preference orders and decide direction of institutional transformation.⁶⁴ To be sure, other models, such as punctuated equilibrium model, implicitly assume sequential institutional development with preference formation and discuss variance of institutional changes; nevertheless, historical institutionalism is the analytical model that developed such conceptual frameworks that are useful in explaining changes.

While the structure-agent interaction approach provides useful tools for understating institutional transformation, it is necessary to construct a theoretical model of institutional transformation on the basis of the approach. Five considerations need to be taken. First, it is necessary to determine at which level of analysis the theory of institutional transformation needs to be undertaken. Theories in the CP field generally look at subgroups and individuals, such as governments and interest groups, in order to understand domestic policies. Likewise, at the international level, a state-centric approach, though often criticized by those who emphasize foreign policy formulation through domestic politics, is a useful tool in order to understand transformation of intergovernmental institutions, because these institutions are composed of

⁶⁴ Fioretos, pp. 373.

states, not individuals. The member states' policies toward institutions differ, but it is ultimately those states that determine the direction of institutional transformation. Second, the structure-agent approach model needs to identify the sequence in which structure and agent influence and produce changes in each other. Admittedly, as some social-constructivist theories discuss, both structure and agent shape each other. However, this creates confusion on concepts as well as causal procedures, and it becomes difficult to operationalize. This dissertation emphasized the structure-based transformation. This is because SOIs are essentially state groupings, and the institutions do not have a complete autonomy as states do, from the perspective of the international system level. Also, states' interaction and practice within SOIs is more limited than agents at the domestic level. As a result, the agent-based gradual transformation, which historical institutionalism emphasizes, is rare. Third, a model of preference formulation/reformulation for institutions needs to be built. Existing literatures have yet to investigate reformulation of preferences within institutions in order to understand how institutions transform, as the agent-focused approach argues. Although member states within the institution may exhibit rational behavior, the exact definition "rationality" depends on their values and preferences. In the security field, this means that it is important to understand how they see the utility of the institutions for their own security. Thus, understanding member states' expectations for institutional utility is necessary. Fourth, although the concepts of path dependence and critical junctures are useful as the literatures on historical institutionalism literatures illustrate, these concepts need to be modified and defined in terms of international security institutions. Fifth, the typology of institutional transformation that Streeck and Thelen provide is useful yet needs to be modified, since the types are established on the basis of data on domestic institutions; the international security field has its distinct features, such as greater competitiveness and higher stakes for states.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Robert Jervis, "Security Regime," *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 357-378.

Thus, it is necessary to understand the mechanism of international institutional transformation by bringing the concepts of external shocks, critical junctures, and path dependence explicitly into hypotheses. In this sense, synthesizing them with variables in the IR field, such as regional and intra-regional balance of power as well as formulation/reformulation of preferences within institutions, is necessary to explain why and how institutions undertake transformation. In the next chapter, considering these factors, I will construct new hypotheses of transformation of security-oriented institutions.

CHAPTER III: CONSTRUCTING A THEORY OF INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION DEFINITION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESES, AND METHODOLOGIES

The original security objectives and functions of Security Oriented Institutions (SOIs) evolve over time. Their norms/rules and security arrangements shift from one to another and change the characteristics of their existing ones. The puzzle that this dissertation poses is why and how this phenomenon occurs, and it seeks to investigate both causes and processes of institutional transformation. To this end, three questions need to be answered. First, what causes institutional transformation of SOIs? Second, what conditions determine which type of institutional transformation (consolidation, layering, and displacement) occurs? Third, how does institutional transformation occur once such transformation is observed?

This dissertation takes a structure-agent interaction approach to explain institutional transformation. Yet, a question remains regarding whether structure or agent comes first. According to historical institutionalism, both structure and agent trigger institutional transformation. While exogenous, structural shocks become a trigger to a radical transformation, there are also endogenous developments that may play a role. Interactions and practices among agents within the institution gradually shape norms/rules within institutions, and although these changes are relatively small and gradual, the accumulation of these gradual changes would also produce a radical overall change once they reach a threshold level. In other words, both structure and agent are causes of institutional transformation and essentially sufficient conditions, not necessary conditions.

However, the conceptual framework of historical institutionalism is based on domestic politics, where interactions among agents are more intensive than those in the international arena. Domestic institutions have more potential to endogenously transform themselves. Since the frequency of interaction among agents in the international arena is thinner, endogenously-propelled institutional transformation in the international arena is a relatively rare phenomenon.

The level of analysis in this dissertation is international system, and thus, the primary factor that promotes institutional transformation is an exogenous factor, a structural change.

At the same time, this does not mean that agents do not have any role to play in institutional transformation. A structural change only triggers such transformation, and it does not explain the direction of transformation. The role that agents play is to shape the direction of institutional transformation, which is essentially created by agents' decisions within an institution. In this sense, both exogenous and endogenous factors play a role in institutional transformation.

With this in mind, this chapter provides a theoretical model of institutional transformation. It first discusses a detailed definition of SOI, the various types of SOIs, offers a definition of institutional transformation, and outlines the types of institutional transformation. Incorporating these definitions and conceptual frameworks, the chapter then provides three hypotheses to explain causes and processes of institutional transformation. Finally, it discusses the methodology that this dissertation employs, namely the method of structured, focused comparison, with case selections of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU.

I. Definition of Institutions and Security-Oriented Institutions (SOIs)

The definition of institutions is complex, yet I simply define institutions as “international organizations that have sets of norms and rules,” where norms are implicit appropriate standards of behavior within the organization, while rules are explicit. In previous scholarly definitions, the most commonly used is Steven Krasner’s “international regime,” which is “sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations.”⁶⁶ Although this definition does not include institutions, Keohane argues that international regimes are “specific institutions involving state and/ or transnational actors, which apply to particular issues in international

⁶⁶ Stephen Krasner, “Structural Causes and Regime Consequence: Regimes as Intervening Variables,” in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 2.

relations.”⁶⁷ Young and Osherenko also argue that regimes are “social institutions composed of agreed-upon principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures that govern the interaction in specific issue areas.”⁶⁸ Although these definitions fold international institutions into international regimes, March and Olsen relax the definition by characterizing an institution as “a relatively stable collection of practices and rules defining appropriate behavior for specific groups of actors in specific situations.”⁶⁹

This resonates with Goertz’s definition, which broadens its definitional scope by stating that institutions are “a structure of norms and rules” on the basis of four reasons.⁷⁰ First, institutions put their emphasis on a specific issue area as Krasner argues, but at the same time, they do not necessarily limit themselves strictly to one particular issue area. In other words, there are multi-purposed institutions in the international arena. Second, institutions do not necessarily influence actors’ behavior. They do not always “guide” member states’ expectations or “govern” their interactions. Determining links between institution and their behavior is theory’s role, not definition’s, and “the explanation of Y (institution) is different from explaining what Y is.”⁷¹ Third, principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures all entail all the same logical structure, “a standard of appropriate behavior,” so that it is not necessary to use these different terms.⁷² Fourth, the term “structure” is introduced because norms interact with each other, create weak or strong linkages among them depending on coherence and consistency of decision-making procedures, and exist in a hierarchical order.⁷³ The significance of this definition is not

⁶⁷ Robert Keohane, “International Institutions: Two Approaches,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (December, 1988), p. 384.

⁶⁸ Oran Young and Gail Osherenko, *Polar Politics: Creating International Environmental Regimes*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 1.

⁶⁹ James March and Johan Olsen, “The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), p. 948.

⁷⁰ Goertz, p. 15.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷² Krasner defines principles as “beliefs of fact, causation and rectitude”; norms as “standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations”; rules as “specific prescriptions or proscriptions for action”; and decision-making procedures as “prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice.” See Krasner, *International Regimes*, p. 2.

⁷³ Goertz, pp. 100-101.

only simplification but also opening up space for institutions to be multi-purposed. In reality, most international institutions generally function in multiple issue areas, and these are intertwined with each other and produce institutional norms.

Under this definition of “institution,” security institutions do not have any difference from other types, such as socio-economic institutions—as opposed to Jervis’ definition of “security regime.” As Jervis argues, the state of the security field is likely to be dominated by short-run self-interests, which would conflict with norms that a security regime creates.⁷⁴ Due to the security dilemma, cooperation among states is relatively harder to achieve than in other fields, and it would be difficult for security institutions to exist in the long-term. Nevertheless, institutions themselves do not automatically produce an effective means to foster cooperation in the security field among states. There is no definitional linkage between its existence and effectiveness.⁷⁵ Further, the concept of security could alter the form and design of security institutions. As Buzan, Waever, Wilde argue, the concept of security can be defined through “securitization,” through which states define their own concept of security.⁷⁶ Although military security has been the most important aspect of security, the concept has become essentially different from state to state and from region to region; for instance, it is possible for institutions that focus on economic stability as a means to their own security to be called security institutions. Thus, even within the realm of security, institutions can be multiple-purposed.

Thus, while differentiating the conventional definition of security institution that predominantly focuses on the military sector, SOIs refer to “the multi-purposed state-based groups whose original purpose implicitly derives from political/military security interests of member states.” There are mainly two main categories that SOIs consider their own security

⁷⁴ Jervis, “Security Regime,” p. 357.

⁷⁵ Goertz, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁶ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998). Also, *see* Ole Waever, “Securitization and Desecuritization,” in Ronnie Lipschutz, ed., *On Security*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86.

purposes: internal security management and external security management. In other words, SOIs are multi-functional institutions in order to achieve diverse “security” purposes.

II. Types of Security-Oriented Institutions

In order to identify how SOIs transform from one institutional design to another, it is necessary to distinguish functional/normative types of SOIs. There are basically two broad types: internal security management and external security management. Most of the IR literature on security institutions does not distinguish between these functional differences; however, existing concepts have implicitly defined their characteristics. For example, while “cooperative security” and “collective security” focus on intra-member states’ security relations, “collective defense” deals with external actors outside member states. These distinctions are useful in analyzing institutional transformation because they clarify the particular security focus of institutions.

To be sure, the effectiveness or institutionalization of these functional types is another matter. Rather, once SOIs politically indicate a security arrangement explicitly through such means as formal declaration or protocols, they are defined by such a security arrangement.

1. Internal Security Management

Internal security management refers to security management among member states. Despite the fact that SOIs do not originally possess a military means to ensure security of member states, they attempt to manage security among member states by setting institutional principles, which become the basis of internal security arrangement. *Table 3.1* shows the degree of security management among member states from “non-intervention” to “inter-state intervention.” These institutional forms range across “intra-conflict containment” to “exclusive cooperative security,” “non-traditional collective security,” and “traditional collective security”. The degree of political commitment of member states needs to increase from a less restrictive security arrangement (the top) to more restrictive security arrangements (the bottom). Thus, the more restrictive the norms

on states' behavior SOIs adopt, the more coordination among the member states will be required. For example, intra-member conflict containment merely prevents conflicts among member states politically, while non-traditional and traditional collective security allows the institution to have authority to undertake military intervention under certain conditions.

Table 3.1: Internal Security Management

Degree of Political Commitment	Principles	Arrangements	Objectives and Characteristics
Low	Non-Intervention	Conflict Containment	Prevent conflicts among member states in a non-military way without interactions.
	Non-Aggression		
	Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	Exclusive Cooperative Security	Prevent conflicts among member states in a non-military way through interaction.
	Diplomatic Intervention	Political Collective Security	Resolve inter-state conflicts between or among member states through such non-military means, including political persuasion and deterrence.
	Intervention (Domestic)	Non-Traditional Collective Security	Resolve intra-states conflicts in a member state both militarily and non-militarily.
High	Intervention (Inter-State)	Traditional Collective Security	Resolve inter-states conflicts between or among member states both militarily and non-militarily.

The characteristics of each type are different in not only member states' political commitments but also their functions. *Conflict Containment*, which is associated with principles of non-intervention and non-aggression, is the weakest type of SOI because it requires only political declaration at a minimum. Although member states prefer not to engage in military conflicts with each other, it does not codify any enforcement mechanism within institutions. In SOIs, by fostering cooperation other than in a military field, member states may contain conflict among intra-member states. However, codification of non-intervention and non-aggression as institutional objectives creates a more robust version of intra-member conflict management.

Exclusive cooperative security is associated with a peaceful settlement of disputes. In this arrangement, member states need to increase their political commitment beyond intra-member conflict containment by engaging with each other. Functionally, this type of security management has the same characteristics as "cooperative security." It aims at reassurance among member states rather than deterrence, and its scope includes both military and non-military security. It is "inclusive" in terms of engagement with adversaries and non-like-minded actors. It does not aim

at bilateral or multilateral collective self-defense and can coexist with such arrangements, although its ultimate objective is to establish institutional multilateralism to replace them when the conditions become favorable.⁷⁷ Yet, the difference is that even though it takes a non-discriminatory approach to state membership, its institutional membership is restricted, and the institution focuses more on intra-member relations.

Political collective security is the limited version of collective security. The concept of collective security is based on the notion of “all against one.”⁷⁸ Every member state within the institution needs to respond to any aggression undertaken by any one member by such means as political, economic, and military intervention. With political collective security, member states collectively use such means, and only such means as diplomatic and political condemnation as an institutional response to an aggressor. It does not have material teeth, such as economic and military sanctions, to counter against the aggressor.

Non-traditional collective security has the same characteristics as conventional collective security, yet its member states engage politically, economically, and militarily with intra-state conflicts of member states. Examples of this include disaster reliefs and peace operations, wherein the institution coordinates member states’ security commitment to stabilize the situation by using military means. However, such military means do not aim at war operations, and are characterized as “military operations other than war” (MOOTW). Also, this type of collective security does not apply for intra-member state conflicts, which is the role of traditional collective security.

Traditional collective security is the institutional mechanism that attempts to manage the inter-state balance of power among member states by regulating states’ behavior through rules

⁷⁷ “Common Security” also has the same functional characteristics as cooperative security, but the difference is their timeline to achieve their objectives: common security aims at achieving institutionalized multilateralism in a relatively short period of time. However, since their functions are the same, the concept of cooperative security includes common security. David Dewitt, “Common, Comprehensive, and Cooperative Security,” *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1994), p. 7.

⁷⁸ Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, “Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe,” *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Summer 1991), p. 118.

and norms. This mechanism is based on the assumption that “regulated, institutionalized balancing predicated on the notion of all against one provides more stability than unregulated, self-help balancing predicated on the notion of each for his own,” and to this end, states “agree to abide by certain norms and rules to maintain stability and, when necessary, band together to stop aggression.”⁷⁹

2. External Security Management

The other security objective is external security management. This refers to security management outside the institution. As *Table 3.2* illustrates, the SOI can utilize its institutional framework in order to prevent, deter, or respond to external threats. The variety of such functions ranges from “political alignment” to “inclusive cooperative security” and “collective self-defense.” The degree of the political commitment of member states increases from “political alignment” (on the top) to “collective self-defense” (on the bottom). The basic functions of external security management are similar to those of internal security management. The difference rests on its geographical scope, which is an area outside of member states.

Table 3.2: External Security Management

Degree of Political Commitment	Principles	Arrangements	Objectives and Characteristics
Low	Non-External Interference (or Independence)	Political Alignment	* Prevent conflicts among member states in a non-military way without interventions. * When facing potential intervention, the institution would employ political and diplomatic means to counter the intervention.
	Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	Inclusive Cooperative Security	* Prevent intervention from states outside the institution by including them as partnership
High	Counter-External Military Threats	Collective Self-Defense	Counter state-based security threats posed by other states in a military means.

Political alignment is similar to political collective security. It focuses on collectively preventing external intervention towards member states, yet its means is restricted to political and

⁷⁹ Although Kupuchan and Kupuchan define collective security more broadly, including concerts, as “looser and more informal regulation of balancing,” this dissertation employs more restricted definition of collective security. Charles Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, “The Promise of Collective Security,” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 52-53.

diplomatic approaches. It does not have material teeth to physically respond to any threats or aggression from outside the institution. *Inclusive cooperative security* aims at engaging actors outside the institution, which is the traditional concept of cooperative security. It is more inclusive in terms of membership and geographical scope than exclusive cooperative security.

Collective self-defense is a multi-state military alliance against particular threats or aggression as stipulated in Article 51 of the UN Charter.⁸⁰ By definition, it consists of “formal associations of states for the use (or non-use) of military force, intended for either the security or the aggrandizement of their members, against specific other states, whether or not these others are explicitly identified.”⁸¹ Since collective self-defense needs to be established only by formal commitments from member states and aims at deterring aggression from a particular state or states, this arrangement does not necessarily include the function of collective security management. In this sense, they can exist separately, but the two systems are not mutually exclusive. A hybrid function of collective security management and collective self-defense may exist.

Although the degree of required political commitment to each security arrangement in both internal and external security management differs, the development of SOIs is not necessarily linear. For example, in the area of external security management, it is entirely possible to develop from political alignment to collective security management without going through inclusive cooperative security. Also, if member states decrease commitments to an SOI, the institution would face institutional devolution. Moreover, it is also possible that SOIs

⁸⁰ Article 51 of the UN Charter states, “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.” It continues, “Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.” See “Chapter VII: Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.” United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>.

⁸¹ Glenn Snyder, “Alliance Theory: A Neorealist First Cut,” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Summer 1990), p.104.

undertake institutional transformation even without changing their institutional security functions if institutional norms change.⁸² In other words, this typology is only an analytical tool to distinguish functional changes of SOIs rather than providing a theoretical perspective on institutional transformation.

III. Definition of Change and Types of Institutional Transformation

SOIs' original security objectives and functions evolve over time, and their norms/rules and security arrangements shift from one to another or strengthen the characteristics of the existing arrangement. Institutional transformation is essentially a relative term. It is evaluated from the existing institutional arrangement of each SOI. In other words, "institutional transformation" refers to a significant change in SOI's norms/rules, security functions, or objectives, making reference to the existing institutional arrangement.

Given this definition, there are three main types of institutional transformation: institutional consolidation, institutional displacement, and institutional layering. Each type has its distinct characteristics of institutional transformation as *Table 3.3* illustrates.

Table 3.3: Types of Institutional Transformation

Types of Institutional Transformation	Phenomenon	Consequence
Institutional Consolidation	Consolidating existing institutional norms/rules, functions, or objectives, through such means as joint declaration, treaties, and establishment of a security mechanism.	Solidifying the Types of Institution
Institutional Layering	Introduce new norms/rules, functions, or objectives in addition to old ones. This can be on either internal security management or external security management.	Adding Institutional Functions and Objectives
Institutional Displacement	Displace existing institutional norms/rules, functions, or objectives by introducing new ones. This can be on either internal security management or external security management	Displacing Existing Institutional Norms/Rules, Functions, or Objectives

⁸² For example, if strict adherence to a principle of non-interference is relaxed and changes to a principle of conditional non-interference, it also means institutional transformation although its functionality may not change.

Institutional consolidation refers to the consolidation of existing institutional norms/rules, functions, or objectives. Such means include issuing joint statements, declarations, protocols, treaties, and establishment of a security mechanism. For example, if SOIs that have “exclusive cooperative security” mechanism set up a conflict resolution arrangement, such as a peacekeeping function, it means that the institutions have undergone security consolidation. Likewise, if SOIs that implicitly consider a principle of non-interference important explicitly stipulate the principle through a joint declaration, we can term this institutional consolidation.

Institutional layering occurs when an SOI add on new norms/rules, functions or objectives, which are different from its original institutional ones. Although this type of transformation is similar to security displacement, its institutional rules and norms would not rapidly shift. There are two potential consequences of this transformation. First, over time, new functions or objectives encroach on traditional ones and ultimately take over, the so-called process of “differential growth.”⁸³ Second, new elements coexist with traditional ones. The process of layering depends on the stickiness of the original institutional design as it becomes more costly politically and financially to dismantle it.⁸⁴

Institutional displacement occurs when “new models emerge and diffuse which call into question existing, previously taken-for-granted organizational [norms and rules].”⁸⁵ In the case of an SOI, new institutional norms and rules are introduced and replace existing dominant ones.

⁸³ Streeck and Thelen, p. 23.

⁸⁴ Paul Pierson, “The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Approach,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1996), pp. 123-163; Myles John and Paul Pierson, “The Comparative Political Economy of Pension Reform,” in Paul Pierson, ed., *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 305-333.

⁸⁵ The concept of “displacement” was originally created in the field of comparative politics. See Neil Fligstein, *The Transformation of Corporate Control*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Neil Fligstein, “Markets as Politics: A Political Cultural Approach to Market Institutions,” *American Sociological Review* vol. 4, (August 1996), pp. 656-73; Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, “Introduction,” in Walter Powell and Paul DiMaggio, eds., *Globalization and Institutions* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1991), pp. 302-333; Frank Dobbin, *Forging Industrial Policy: The United States, Britain and France in the Railway Age*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Elisabeth Clemens, *The People’s Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Since the logic of existing norms/rules is no longer accepted within the institution, as they are considered either less important or even negative, new norms and rules are introduced.

IV. Three Hypotheses of Institutional Transformation

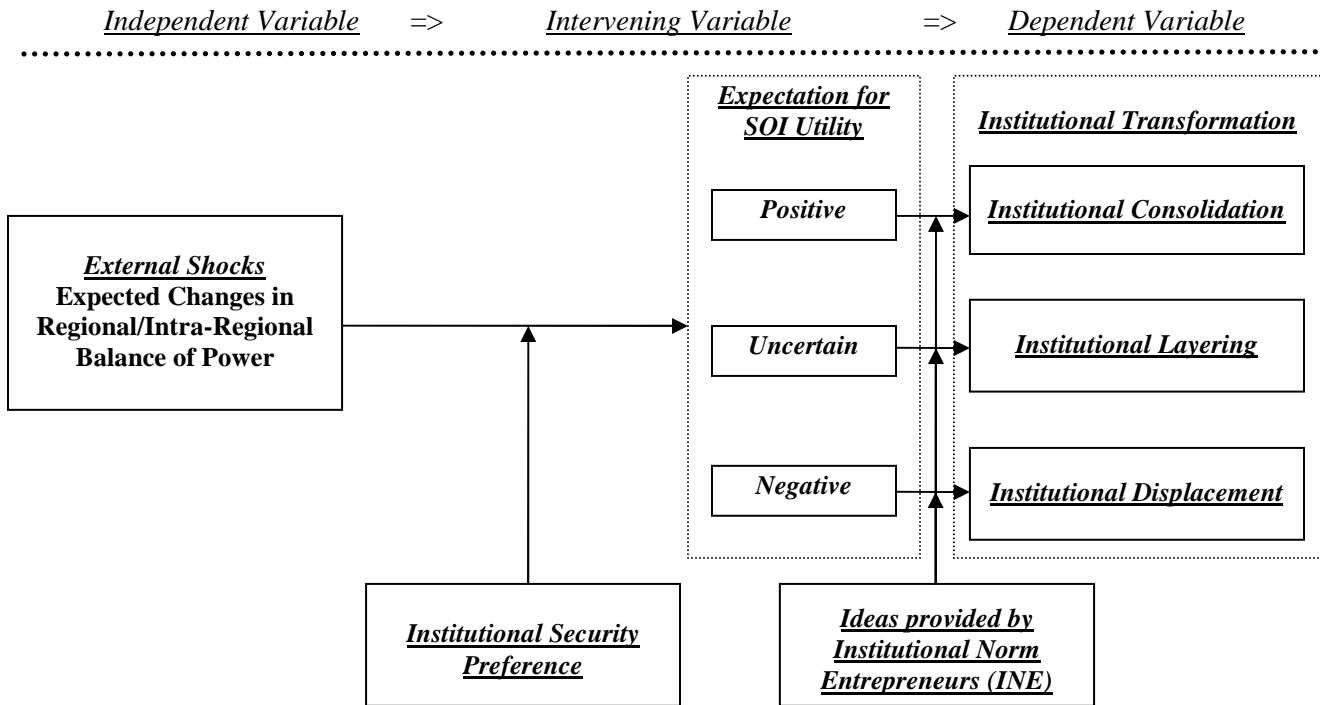
With these definitions, this section constructs hypotheses to explain causes and processes of institutional transformation. My central theoretical argument is three-fold: First, expected changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power are likely to cause SOIs' institutional transformation. This means that a change in balance of power is not a sufficient, but a necessary condition for each type of transformation, and it plays a role as a trigger for the transformation.

Second, an intervening variable to translate this trigger into institutional transformation is "institutional security preference (ISP)." ISP is the SOI's historically nurtured preference order for security cooperation among member states. While institutional agreements or decisions determine what types of security management the SOI assumes, its decision-making process formulates its preference order. For example, if a principle of non-interference is reiterated within the institution in the process more than any other norms/rules, the principle will be considered as a priority norm. This preference order thus affects the member states' expectations for institutional security utility in the period of change of a balance of power. By referring to ISP of the security institution, the member states assess institutional capability to respond to such a change, and such types of expectations fall into positive, negative, and uncertain.

Third, such expectations lead to a certain types of institutional transformation. If the member states have positive expectations, it will lead to institutional consolidation. If they are uncertain, it will lead to institutional layering. Finally, their negative expectations result in institutional displacement. However, the types of security arrangements that resulted from institutional transformation is ultimately shaped by institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs), which are the member states or any other actors within an SOI—those who propose ideas for the transformation.

Through these three sequential causal paths, SOIs' institutional transformation occurs, as illustrated in *Figure 3.1*. To review the three hypotheses:

Figure 3.1: Process of Institutional Transformation



H1: *If member states of a security-oriented institution (SOI) expect that the regional/intra-regional balance of power will change, then the institution is more likely to undergo institutional transformation in order to ensure member states' security.*

A change in regional/intra-regional balance of power is the most important factor to trigger institutional transformation of SOIs.⁸⁶ The assumption of this first hypothesis rests on the structural constraints on small/medium-power states in the international system. The international environment is essentially anarchic, since there is no world government to regulate states' interaction, and states are always concerned about their own security to survive and protect their

⁸⁶ The "balance of power" here refers to the balance of power as a system. While the distribution of material capabilities influences actors' threat perception, the formulation of such perception depends on not only the distribution of material capabilities, but also their conceptualization of regional security that help actors interpret such the distribution. For further discussions regarding the balance of power, *see* Inis Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962); Richard Little, *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

sovereignty.⁸⁷ Since there is always a “possibility” of cheating, states are concerned about this uncertainty and relative gains vis-à-vis other states and the need to primarily pursue self-help solutions for their own security.⁸⁸ This state behavior creates a “security dilemma” among states, yet when their power becomes closer to parity, the probability of conflicts will decrease, and the balance of power becomes relatively stable.⁸⁹ Given this assumption, states basically have two main policy options: increasing their own armament (internal balancing) and forming coalitions (external balancing).⁹⁰ However, for small/medium power states, two additional strategic options under anarchy exist.

First, small/medium power states are likely to consider one other policy option than internal and external balancing: the establishment of small/medium power-led institutions. This has two strategic objectives. One is to avoid entrapment in great power conflicts by external balancing. The other is to reduce the burden of internal balancing. Since small/medium power states lack political stability and material resources to increase their own armament to counter great powers or other powers, they face difficulty in pursuing internal balancing. Thus, the establishment of small/medium power-led multilateral institutions potentially serves the strategic purpose of avoiding entrapment and reducing potential conflicts among themselves, while the institution aims at maintaining the balance of power outside and inside the SOI.

⁸⁷ For realist arguments, see Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New York: Knopf, 1948); Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987); Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” pp. 5-49.

⁸⁸ However, there are conceptual distinction between “possibility” and “probability”. While “possibility” does not count the likelihood of occurrence of particular phenomenon, “probability” considers such likelihood, which in turn changes states’ behavior. Stephen Brooks, “Dueling Realisms,” *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 445-477.

⁸⁹ Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (January 1978), pp. 167-214; Charles Glaser, “The Security Dilemma Revisited,” *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (October 1997), pp. 171-201.

⁹⁰ Defensive realist and institutionalist argue that there are certain conditions that can promote cooperation among states through institutions. For defensive realist argument, see Charles Glaser, “Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 50-90; Robert Jervis, “Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate,” *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 42-63. For institutionalist arguments, see Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, “The Promise of Institutional Theory,” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 39-51.

A second factor is geographic. Since small/medium power states do not possess extended power projection capabilities, their geographical focus is likely to be limited, while great powers have the capabilities to politically and militarily penetrate distant states in the world.⁹¹ This makes small and medium power states more seriously consider security relations with geographically proximate states as well as great powers' intrusion to their regions. From this perspective, their main geographical scope, "region," becomes an important factor for member states' security.

In this sense, when an SOI is created, maintaining the balance of power in the region becomes the most important political objective for an SOI. Admittedly, the global balance of power largely managed by great powers has an impact on regional balance of power as their power projection capabilities extend globally; however, the global balance of power matters rather more indirectly. Since the SOI exists in a particular region, the causal chain depends on the degree of linkage between the global balance of power and a particular regional balance of power. For example, if the regional balance of power in a particular place, say Central Africa, is very distant from key areas of contention for the global balance of power, say between the United States and the Soviet Union, changes in the global balance of power are less likely to affect the regional one. On the other hand, more commitment great powers have in a region, the more strategic impact their maneuver has. Thus, the global balance of power does not automatically translate into balance of power in a region, and for an SOI the balance of power in its region is the main focus of their strategic stability.

Also, balance of power in the region can be divided into two categories: regional and intra-regional balance of power. The regional balance of power refers to the general balance of power in the region, which the SOI member states and external states construct. Thus, changes in the regional balance of power depend on changes in both the member states and external states'

⁹¹ For example, Buzan and Waever consider that geographical proximity becomes important to consider security dynamics and assert that "regions" are appropriate levels of analysis in international security. See Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Region and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

strategic commitment to the region. For example, when a great power, which previously had strong strategic commitment to the area in order to maintain regional stability, decides to lower its commitment, it creates power vacuums in the region, resulting in potential destabilization of the balance of power. Under these changes, the SOI also needs to adjust to changes in regional strategic environment through such means as inviting other external actors or transforming itself to neutralize the power vacuum, since its main aim is to play a strategic role in maintaining a regional balance of power.

The other type of balance of power is the intra-regional balance of power, which refers to the balance of power among the member states of an SOI. Changes in the intra-regional balance of power basically depend on member states' strategic maneuvers and domestic political stability. The former includes increase in their military capabilities, the level of political tensions among member states, and so forth. This potentially creates shifts in strategic balance among the member states. The latter includes states collapse caused by domestic instability, such as civil wars. This again creates a power vacuum in the region, which potentially leads to shifts in the intra-regional balance of power.

Thus, small/medium power states in an SOI are constantly concerned about intra-regional/regional balance of power and sensitive to changes in the security environment. While SOIs do not have military functions in their original institutional objectives, changes in its security environment have an impact on the future course of the institution because the institutions are basically established to ensure member states' security. Accordingly, when they perceive potential changes in regional or intra-regional balance of power, member states are likely to adjust to a new security environment by transforming the SOI to ensure their security.

To be sure, these strategic changes also do not immediately translate into institutional transformation. This is because there are always possibility that the regional power vacuum may be neutralized without changing SOIs security norms/rules, functions, and objectives. Such possibility includes great power re-engagement and UN involvement in the region. If the SOI

member states perceive these external forces favorably, there is little incentive for them to transform the institution. In this sense, changes in the regional or intra-regional balance of power are not a sufficient, but a necessary condition for types of institutional transformation.

H2: *The member states expectations for the SOI's utility in the context of the expected changes is likely to lead to a specific type of institutional transformation. Positive expectations are likely to lead to institutional consolidation; uncertain expectations are likely to lead to institutional layering; and negative expectations are likely to lead to institutional displacement.*

All SOI member states are concerned about their own security. They attempt to find the security utility of the institution in both internal and external security management even though the institution may not be the best tool to ensure their own security. In the context of a changing strategic environment, the existing expectation for the utility of institutions is unlikely to be sustained unless the member states consider that the institution can satisfactorily deal with the changing environment to ensure the member states' security. Accordingly, with the exogenous change, the member states attempt to seek to sustain or increase the utility of the institution.

While perceived changes in regional/intra-regional balance of power is a necessary condition for institutional transformation, expectations of member states of SOIs for such changes affect the direction of institutional transformation.

First, positive expectation for SOI's institutional security utility in the context of changes in the regional or intra-regional balance of power promotes institutional consolidation. If the member states perceive that the regional environment is likely to shift in a way that the SOI can deal with threats similar to those in the past, security would not be threatened for the moment, and instead an opportunity to enhance the SOI's existing institutional capability to ensure member states' security may be present. States take advantage of this opportunity to further consolidate the institutions in order to better manage or prevent regional security destabilization in the future.

Second, expectations of the member states for SOI's utility in changing regional strategic environment become uncertain when it is unclear whether SOIs can satisfactorily adjust in a new security environment and deal with existing or new threats. Under this condition, SOIs are likely to undergo institutional layering. While the member states fear that institutional consolidation or displacement would not produce any meaningful outcome for their security, lack of institutional transformation might leave the institutions unable to adapt to the new security environment, potentially resulting in weakening the institutions and increasing strategic uncertainty in the region. Thus, the member states attempt to add new institutional norms/rules, functions, and objectives in order to hedge against strategic uncertainty. Without displacing the original institutional purposes, institutional layering aims at reducing the risk of institutional decay or breakdown.

Third, negative expectations for the SOI's utility induce institutional displacement. Since changes in the regional or intra-regional balance of power are perceived as a force that weakens the effectiveness of the SOIs or decrease the member states' security, the institutions become unsustainable. In this situation, the institutions need to either transform themselves into a different form to ensure member states' security by displacing existing norms/rules, functions, and objectives, or completely disappear and dissolve.

The assumption here is that the majority of the SOI members reach consensus over expectations for the future environment, and the institutions provide some form of security for member states.⁹² In fact, it is rare that all member states share exactly the same expectations in times of change in the security environment. At worst, a wide divergence in their expectations may produce institutional inaction or trigger institutional breakdown unless strong proponents for institutional transformation among the member states undertake a *fait accompli* strategy to change.

⁹² Here, "consensus" means that institutions can make a decision, even though some member states may not agree to the same degree with other members or may disagree. In other words, it is different from "unanimity." The member states simply do not veto, thus, including "abstention," no matter what their individual preferences are.

H3: *If an SOI faces a change in the regional/intra-regional balance of power, member states refer to its institutional security preference to assess institutional security utility, and institutional norm entrepreneurs in SOIs emerge to introduce new ideas for transformation.*

How “positive,” “uncertain,” or “negative” expectations of member states of the SOI are formed is essentially an inter-subjective matter, and it depends on the SOI’s institutional security preference. “Institutional security preference” (ISP) refers to the ranking-order of the institutional security management, which is determined by past institutional decisions on security arrangement.⁹³ When facing a change in the security environment, this ISP becomes a reference point to evaluate the institutional security utility, balancing the costs and benefits of institutional transformation with the costs and benefits of ensuring or losing member states’ security in the existing arrangements. As such, each of the past institutional decisions becomes a historical reference point as a tool to assess institutional utility, and thus, the ISP can be reformulated over time.

This preference reformulation involves a three-fold process: first, emergence of institutional norm entrepreneurs; second, consensus building among member states; and third, institutional decisions. The process starts from external shocks, which are changes in regional/intra-regional balance of power. This fosters SOI member states’ to reevaluate institutional utility, and it opens a window of opportunity for actors within the institutions to possibly introduce and embed a new norm.⁹⁴ These actors are called “institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs),” who are likely to emerge from inside institutions. However, unlike Finnemore and Sikkink’s definition of “norm entrepreneurs” whose motives consist of altruism, empathy, ideational, values, and personal commitment, in SOIs, they are more strategically

⁹³ Preferences “signify propensities to behave in determinate circumstances by people who discriminate among alternatives they judge either absolutely or relatively.” However, considering that historical decisions influence actor’s judgment of alternatives, this dissertation focuses on preference in relative terms. See Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast, “Intersections between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism,” in Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast, eds., *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005), p. 7.

⁹⁴ Goertz, p. 53.

motivated, and aimed at ensuring their own security through a collective means.⁹⁵ These new ideas may alter existing institutional norms/rules, functions or institutional *raison d'être* and compel institutional transformation.

The member states then begin to evaluate whether new norms can be accepted, and the degree of member states' acceptance depends on two factors: relations with the existing institutional format and normative utility for "security" defined by their own subjective concept of security. First, existing institutional format, including norms/rules, functions, and objectives, are important because these are the *raison d'être* of the institution and become a reference point to evaluate the situation. When proposed norms are not in conflict with old ones, the institution would strengthen old ones. But if they are in conflict, it is necessary for INEs to persuade member states that the existing mechanism in the context of changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power cannot sustain or even negatively affects the institution's security utility. Thus, an institution is likely to reinterpret or displace old norms in order to add new meanings or change existing ones. As Mahoney and Thelen argue, the guiding expectations of interpretation and implementation of these norms "often remain ambiguous," and thus member states are subject to interpretation, debate, and contestation.⁹⁶ Then, through calculation of costs and benefits of maintaining existing security utility with those of assuming proposed change, the institution will strengthen the existing arrangement or undertake reinterpretation of the arrangement. Second, member states also evaluate the proposed normative utility for their own security. Since small and medium power states face several types of security threats, including at domestic, intra-regional, and regional levels, they attempt to discern the SOI's ability to counter one or several levels of threats. Moreover, their concept of security does not only rest on political-

⁹⁵ Finnemore and Sikkink argue that it is "very difficult to explain the motivations of norm entrepreneurs without reference to empathy, altruism, and ideational commitment." Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), p. 898.

⁹⁶ Mahoney and Thelen, p. 10.

military security, but also economic and social development.⁹⁷ Among these cross-cutting threats, if member states can find a new norm's utility for their own concept of security, the proposed change is likely to be accepted. Nevertheless, SOIs are unlikely to be an elixir for the management of member states' security due to their limited capabilities.

Then, once new decisions are made, SOIs begin to adjust their institutional design and functions. As mentioned above, these adjustments occur through three types of institutional transformation, depending on member states' expectations of future regional or intra-regional balance of power. As this institutionalization confirms the preference by iterative practice among member states, the process is likely to lead to new institutional norms, which are associated with ISP. Thus, this process fosters internalization of new norms/rules, further consolidates the ISPs among members, and makes the change durable until another external shock occurs.⁹⁸

Through these three processes, once new institutional norms are accepted, they become internalized and reformulate the ISP. In this sense, the ISP creates general path dependence, which is not deterministic but ultimately affects institutional decisions during the period of disequilibrium. At the same time, the ISP is not the only factor that plays a role in shaping the direction of institutional transformation. INEs affect the specific direction of institutional transformation by providing new ideas to the institution.

V. Methodologies

In order to test the three hypotheses of institutional transformation, I will employ the method of structured, focused comparison, using case studies. I do so for three reasons. First, as the objective of this study is heuristic, it seeks to "inductively identify new variables, hypotheses, causal mechanisms, and causal paths". This method helps uncover general causal mechanisms of institutional transformation: how changes in the regional and intra-regional balance of power

⁹⁷ Buzan, Waever, and Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, pp. 21-48.

⁹⁸ This processing mechanism corresponds with "Stage 3: Internalization" of norms that Finnemore and Sikkink argue. See Finnemore and Sikkink, pp. 904-905.

induce institutional transformation. Second, this method is useful to compare clearly each case because focusing on the particular aspects of the historical cases makes "systematic comparison and cumulation of the findings of the cases" possible.⁹⁹ This verifies the degree of the applicability of my hypotheses on institutional transformation. Third, using case studies through process-tracing is useful to investigate each causal chain carefully. Particularly, as my question focuses on the process of the institutional transformation of SOIs, this method is beneficial to test my hypothesis by comparing each case. Thus, the method of structured, focused comparison is the most appropriate for testing my hypothesis both empirically and theoretically.

More specifically, I analyze both institutional security preference (ISP) and expectations that member states of an SOI have by utilizing the concepts of "path dependence" and "critical junctures" for each case. For ISP, I conduct historical analysis on the evolution of agendas and decision-making process in an SOI to identify key actors and processes of construction of SOI's security preferences through historical institutional discussions and decisions. The questions to be asked in this regard include what demands arise, how organizational agenda formation was undertaken, how the agenda was set into the program, and how each member state perceived the outcome.¹⁰⁰ For expectations, by employing the analysis of critical junctures—that is "the analysis of decision making under conditions of uncertainty"¹⁰¹—I analyze decision-making process among member states under changes in regional or intra-regional balance of power. To this end, I employ process-tracing with such analytical tools as discourse analysis, archival research, and interviews.¹⁰² While discourse analysis helps analyze how common security

⁹⁹ Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), p. 67.

¹⁰⁰ This is a similar argument of Ernst Haas' organizational learning. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 18-28.

¹⁰¹ Capoccia and Kelemen, p.354.

¹⁰² Discourse analysis refers to "a methodology for analyzing social phenomena that is qualitative, interpretive, and constructionist." This is different from content analysis, which refers to the analysis on the transcripts of official documents, interviews, etc. yet it "adopts a positivistic approach – the fundamental activity is hypothesis testing using statistical analysis," which differs from the assumption of discourse analysis. The basic idea is to attempt to understand the meaning of the communications by assuming that

agendas and concepts of security are defined by each SOI, archival research provides a tool to identify the in-historical path of their decision making. Therefore, I conduct theory-guided narrative to identify the type of institutional transformation that each SOI has taken.¹⁰³

These methods enable the research to investigate how changes in the security environment impact each SOI and how the institution evolved. In other words, this dissertation will investigate transformed SOIs, as comparison between these cases can verify or falsify my hypotheses.

Case Selection

The criteria for selecting cases are three-fold. First, institutions need to be SOIs. In addition to being multi-purpose institutions, the selected SOIs need to focus on functional cooperation, such as economic, social and cultural cooperation among member states. Security was not the only or even primary function at inception, although they implicitly focused on managing security issues, such as security stability among member states and prevention of external intervention. Second, the institutions are those that have experienced institutional transformations as my research aims at explaining why and how institutional transformation of

“meaning of text is constant.” Although there are debates over the compatibility of these two analyses, however, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As Hardy, Hardy, and Nelson argue, “more qualitative forms of content analysis that do not assume highly stable meanings of words but, rather, include a sensitivity to the usage of words and the context in which they are used are compatible with discourse analysis and can, in fact, be used within a broad discourse analytic methodology in the analysis of social reality.” In this paper, I employ discourse analysis, if necessary, in order to understand the meanings of “security” for member states of an SOI develop. This is because they are socially constructed in the context that they are embedded rather than an objective reality that last permanently. See Cynthia Hardy, Bill Harley, and Nelson Philips, “Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis: Two Solitudes?” *Qualitative Methods Newsletter*, (Spring 2004), pp. 19-22; Ted Hopf, “Discourse and Content Analysis: Some Fundamental Incompatibilities,” *Qualitative Methods Newsletter*, (Spring 2004), pp. 31-33.

¹⁰³ For theory-guided analysis, the main analysis is narrative by specifying “main actors, their goals, preferences, decisions, and the events that directly influenced them.” Also, narrative over the both the decisions and actions that were taken but also that were considered but not taken, and the consequences of the decisions both of which were taken and not taken need to be analyzed in order to understand “off-the-path” behavior. Capoccia and Kelemen, pp. 357-359.

SOIs occurred. Third, they are not directly connected to the world Great Powers.¹⁰⁴ Since there are few systematic analyses regarding institutions which do not have membership in the Great Powers, this paper focuses only on SOIs that are led by small- and medium-size powers.

With these three criteria in mind, I select three cases: ASEAN,¹⁰⁵ ECOWAS,¹⁰⁶ and OAU/AU.¹⁰⁷ These institutions are multi-purpose institutions, do not have any membership from Great Powers, and all have transformed their security arrangement. ASEAN, whose original internal security arrangement was intra-member conflict containment and whose external security management was political alignment, now has different arrangements, which are inclusive cooperative security and quasi-political collective security. ECOWAS, while originally focused on creating an economic community among member states and promoting non-external interference, later assumed a non-traditional collective security arrangement whose missions

¹⁰⁴ The status of “Great Powers” is defined by “size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence” in terms of the global setting, which is different from regional great powers. See Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁵ ASEAN was established in 1967 by the Bangkok Declaration (the ASEAN Declaration), and its original institutional purposes implicitly included the containment of regional conflicts among member states and ensuring national independence of member states in accordance with the UN Charter. The original membership includes Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei became a member in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, Laos and Myanmar in 1997, and Cambodia in 1999. While ASEAN assumed that economic, social, and cultural cooperation among member states would promote regional peace and stability in 1967, it aimed at enhancing security cooperation among member states in 2007. See ASEAN Secretariat, “The ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration),” Bangkok, 8 August 1967, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/1212.htm>; ASEAN Secretariat, *The ASEAN Charter*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2007), accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ ECOWAS was established in 1975 by the Treaty of ECOWAS, and the membership includes Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. The membership for Guinea and Niger was suspended due to coups in 2008 and 2009 respectively. Despite its official objective is to create an economic community in West Africa, its aim included to maintain the regional stability through regional cooperation and integration, and it has now explicit security mandates to maintain peace and stability in the region through such means as preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping. See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), “5.5.1. 1975 ECOWAS Treaty (Regional Conference on Refugee Protection and International Migration in West Africa, Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Concluded at Lagos on 28, May 1975,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/49e47c892.html>; ECOWAS Secretariat, “Treaty of ECOWAS,” July 24, 1993, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=treaty&lang=en>.

¹⁰⁷ OAU is the Organization of African Unity, which was established in 1963, dissolved and taken over by the African Union (AU) in 2002. The primary purpose of the organization includes “to defend [the African States’] sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence,” which adhered to non-intervention principle and “to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa,” which aimed at preventing external interventions. The number of member states at its inception was 32, yet it expanded to 53 in 2002. See Article II and III of OAU Charter. Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

include military interventions to resolve internal conflicts of a member state. Also, the OAU/AU, which originally focused on political alignment to prevent external interference, transformed the African Union in 2002. The organization began to have a right to intervene in internal affairs of the member states under certain conditions, which has characteristics of a non-traditional collective security arrangement.¹⁰⁸

Cross-comparison and within-case studies have benefits for analyzing institutional transformations. The cross-comparison studies between various paths of these institutional transformations are useful for testing my hypotheses since the method identifies necessary, sufficient, and INUS conditions, which are “parts of large combinations of factors that are jointly sufficient for outcomes.”¹⁰⁹ Cases of these institutional variances would validate or falsify my hypotheses because my hypotheses assume that all institutions will transform into one of three types that are laid out in my hypotheses section after changes in the regional or intra-regional balance of power. For example, since the cases focus on different regions, East Asia and Africa, they can broadly test whether reformulation of the ISP contributes to the direction of institutional transformation of the SOIs.

It should be noted, however, that these case studies also have limitations. Although the SOIs I choose as cases exhibit variation in institutional development, they are limited to Asia and Africa, and do not include the SOIs in other regions, such as the League of Arab States and Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG or GCC) in the Middle East, and Mercosur in Latin America. In this sense, the findings of this research will not be universally

¹⁰⁸ See Article III Objectives and Article IV Principles of the Constitutive Act of the African Union. African Union (AU) Secretariat, *The Constitutive Act*, Accessed June 4, 2012, http://www.african-union.org/About_AU/Constitutive_Act.htm.

¹⁰⁹ According to Mackie, “while an INUS condition is itself neither necessary nor sufficient for an outcome, it is part of a larger combination of factors that is sufficient for an outcome.” John Mackie, “Causes and Conditions,” *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1965), p 246, cited in James Mahoney, “After KKV: The New Methodology of Qualitative Research,” *World Politics*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (January 2010), p. 131.

generalizable, and thus the results will be “contingent generalizations” until other case studies in those regions are conducted.¹¹⁰

The within-case studies are conducted to examine development of the ISP before a change in the regional/intra-regional balance of power and types of transformation they undertook after the structural change. Each change is expected to have produced various types of institutional transformation.

For ASEAN, two cases are examined: the period of 1968-1976 and that of 1989-1997. In the former period, the section examines how US and UK political and military retrenchment from Southeast Asia, the Sino-US rapprochement, and the Sino-Soviet conflicts affected ASEAN’s decision-making process. Also, I examine how these structural changes connect to ASEAN’s decision to issue the Declaration of Zone of Peace, Freedom, Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in 1971, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), and the Bali Concord I in 1976. In the latter period, it examines the US and Soviet disengagement in Southeast Asia after the end of the Cold War and rise of regional powers, such as China and Japan, and their connections with ASEAN’s decision to build the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994 and ASEAN+3 in 1997.

For ECOWAS, two structural changes are examined. First, the section discusses the impact on West Africa of the Portuguese retrenchment from the African continent in 1975 and subsequent inter-state and domestic conflicts on the African continent. Also, its connection with the creation of the Protocol on Non-Aggression (PNA) in 1978 and the Protocol relating to the Mutual Assistance of Defence (PMAD) in 1981 will be examined. Second, I discuss how the Liberian Civil War from 1989 to 1997 and the Sierra Leonean Civil War from 1991 to 1999 in the context of non-involvement in West African security of Great Powers and the United Nations influenced the ECOWAS discussions. This also includes how the change in the intra-regional balance of power connected with ECOWAS decisions to establish the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee and ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia in

¹¹⁰ George and Bennett, p. 84.

1990 and produce the Declaration of Political Principles in 1991, the Declaration of the Revised Treaty in 1993, and the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security (MCPMRPS) in 1999.

For OAU/AU, there are two cases to be examined: the 1979 Chad Civil War and the impact of the end of the Cold War in 1989. First, the impact on OAU's internal discussions created by the 1979 Chad Civil War is examined. The section also analyses the institutional processes of the OAU peacekeeping missions in Chad. This case study is particularly important since there was no institutionalization of the OAU peacekeeping after its mission or security mechanisms were established, and there seems to have been no institutional transformation taking place. In order to identify whether institutional transformation ever took place, this section extensively examines OAU's internal political discussions. Second, the section analyzes how the end of the Cold War in 1989 created political changes in the intra-continental balance of power in Africa and influenced the subsequent spread of internal conflicts throughout Africa. It also discusses the connection with the establishment of the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in 1993, and the adaptation of the African Union Constitutive Act in 2002.

After analyzing these cases, finally, a cross-case comparison is conducted in order to deepen the understanding of similarities and differences of these institutional transformations. In this way, it attempts to identify general processes of institutional transformation.

From next three chapters, ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU are examined through process-tracing.

CHAPTER IV: ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

The first case is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which currently has ten member states. ASEAN was established in 1967, and originally included five Southeast Asian states—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. The association later expanded its membership to Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam, mostly in the post-Cold War era. While ASEAN's original institutional objectives included neither political nor security cooperation, ASEAN had created affiliated institutions which dealt with regional security issues, such as the ARF, ASEAN+3, and EAS. While these developments were mainly seen after the 1990s, the evolution of ASEAN's institutional agenda also derives from its early stages. Thus, this chapter focuses on two periods of ASEAN's institutional transformation: the period of 1968-1976 and that of 1989-1997.

I. ASEAN in 1968-1976: ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I

From 1968 to 1976, ASEAN undertook institutional transformation by producing three official documents. After August 8, 1967, when it was created and adopted the ASEAN Declaration,¹¹¹ ASEAN created the concept of the Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality

¹¹¹ The ASEAN Declaration, which was produced at its inception in 1967, provided very broad institutional objectives. Its main objective is to ensure Southeast Asian states' economic and social development as well as non-interference from outside. They needed to accept international norms and rules that adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter to ensure their independence and "strengthen further the bonds of regional solidarity and cooperation" through economic and social cooperation in such fields as training and research facilities, agriculture, industries, trade, and Southeast Asian studies. Considering the fact that Southeast Asian states disputed over their own territories and were intruded upon by outside powers, the non-interference principle within and from outside the region was the most important norm that ASEAN needed to enforce. Therefore, the value of this declaration was to provide a conceptual framework to consider three basic principles: first, to gain mutual understanding and recognition of the necessity to ensure independence of Southeast Asian states; second, to contain conflicts between member states through economic, social and cultural cooperation; and third, to prevent interference through UN charters. Yet, ASEAN's institutional activity aimed at only fostering socio-economic cooperation among member states. Moreover, the practicality of such cooperation was still unclear as shown in the case of the 1968 Singapore-Indonesia political tensions and the 1969 Malaysian-Philippines territorial dispute over Sabah. Thus, ASEAN was still an unclear organization at the time, and as the ASEAN Declaration itself was intentionally a vague document, ASEAN suffered a lack of priority setting and conceptual clarification of its institutional objectives and means to achieve them. *See* ASEAN Secretariat, "The ASEAN Declaration (Bangkok Declaration)."

(ZOPFAN) in November 1971, and it concluded the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) as well as the Declaration of ASEAN Concord (the Bali Concord) in February 1976. The process of institutional transformation through these three documents shows ASEAN's functional evolution.

First, the 1971 Declaration of ZOPFAN provided more specific institutional objectives on regional cooperation than the ASEAN Declaration.¹¹² While “the neutralization of South East Asia” was a “desirable objective,” the ZOPFAN document focused more on the fundamental normative code of conduct inside and outside Southeast Asia. It emphasized the “sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states,” “abstention from threat or use of force,” “peaceful settlement of international disputes,” and “equal rights and self-determination and non-interference in affairs of States.” Its concept of non-interference was particularly sharpened: ASEAN began to distinguish non-interference “within” the region from “outside” it by emphasizing “external” interference.¹¹³ In this sense, ASEAN began to forge a capacity for collective action toward outside powers: to disseminate and secure “the recognition of, and respect for” ZOPFAN principles to outside powers, while broadening the area of cooperation among member states.

Second, the 1976 TAC provided a code of conduct in Southeast Asia in a legally binding form.¹¹⁴ The treaty stipulates six principles: 1) mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations, 2) the right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion, 3) non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, 4) settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means, 5) renunciation of the threat or use of force, and 6) effective cooperation among the member states. According to Articles 4, 9, and 11 of TAC, the means to achieve peace and stability

¹¹² ASEAN Secretariat, *Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration, Malaysia, 27 November 1971*, (1971).

¹¹³ The Declaration of ZOPFAN used the term “external interference” three times, while the ASEAN Declaration merely mentioned “interference.”

¹¹⁴ ASEAN Secretariat, *Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, 24 February 1976*, (1976).

became not only regional cooperation in the economic, social, technical, scientific, and administrative fields through regular contacts and consultations but also each respective member's national economic and social development. Moreover, as Article 7 stipulates. ASEAN began to focus on formulating regional economic strategies for economic development and mutual assistance.¹¹⁵

Third, the 1976 Bali Concord stipulated ASEAN's institutional form, objectives, and prioritization. The objectives were "the stability of each member state and of the ASEAN region."¹¹⁶ In order to achieve these goals, ASEAN prioritized fostering national development and strengthening not regional solidarity, but ASEAN solidarity through peaceful processes in the settlement of intra-regional differences and more specifically institutional cooperation, including political, economic, social and cultural, and information exchanges. In addition, although military cooperation would be undertaken on a non-ASEAN basis, ASEAN had begun to explicitly promote security cooperation in the so-called non-traditional security fields, such as natural disasters and human security, including the elimination of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. Through these principles and institutional settings, the Declaration pointed out ASEAN's need to strengthen its member states' "national and ASEAN resilience."

While these transformations did not add a new institutional function or displace its original objectives, ASEAN consolidated its ambiguous institutional objectives by providing a more specific conceptual framework and means to ensure its members' security. ASEAN's external security management function changed little during this period. As ASEAN member states' national and institutional capabilities were limited, it was difficult to militarily constrain external powers' behavior. Instead, it attempted to politically align member states with each other in international economic negotiations as TAC indicates. Moreover, although at ASEAN's

¹¹⁵ Article 7 of TAC stipulates, "The High Contracting Parties, in order to achieve social justice and to raise the standards of living of the peoples of the region, shall intensify economic cooperation. For this purpose, they shall adopt *appropriate regional strategies for economic development and mutual assistance.*" [emphasis added]. Ibid.

¹¹⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, *Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Indonesia, 24 February, 1976*, (1976).

inception the Bangkok Declaration envisioned ASEAN's function as containing the intra-member conflicts by adhering with the UN Charter and fostering economic, social and cultural cooperation among member states, it only reiterated the existing international legal terms and so established a weak form of intra-member conflict containment.

However, TAC and the Bali Concord provided changes in its security functions by adding a code of conduct, consultation mechanisms, and regional scope. First, TAC provided a more explicit code of conduct in Southeast Asia. Though it still lacked material military and economic "teeth" in times of treaty violation, TAC created behavioral guidelines among member states. Second, further institutionalization of ASEAN proceeded through the setting up of such forums and mechanisms as the ASEAN Summit and ASEAN Secretariat, which provided ample opportunities for member states to further interact with each other. These forums and mechanisms helped them exchange information and coordinate their policies. Third, its scope of regional cooperation became more evident in the Bali Concord. The Concord used the term "ASEAN resilience" instead of "regional resilience" in order to justify strengthening intra-member states' cooperation. At its inception, ASEAN envisioned inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states, and this institutional posture had not changed even in the ZOPFAN declaration. However, the Bali Concord was the first official document to distinguish between Southeast Asia and ASEAN, and it prioritized cooperation among ASEAN member states.

Admittedly, this did not mean that other Southeast Asian states could no longer assume membership, as Article 18 of TAC stipulated that it would be "open for accession by other States in Southeast Asia." Yet, ASEAN temporarily introduced soft-exclusivity and started to consolidate its cooperation among member states. In this sense, ASEAN undertook institutional transformation in political terms.

Given this, why and how did ASEAN's institutional transformation occur? In the next section, I will analyze the formation of ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord. While ZOPFAN was created in 1971, TAC and the Bali Concord on the other were concluded in 1976. I will

divide the period into two phases: 1968-1971 (Phase I) and 1972-1976 (Phase II) to trace the process of creating these documents.

1. Phase I: ASEAN in 1968-1971—ZOPFAN

(1) Triggers: UK and US Military Retrenchment and Sino-US Rapprochement

Before ASEAN issued the Declaration of ZOPFAN in 1971, the regional strategic environment in Southeast Asia began to shift. In fact, three significant events influenced the regional balance of power in Southeast Asia from 1968 to 1971: the UK decision to withdraw from Southeast Asia, US disengagement from Vietnam in 1969 through the Nixon Doctrine, and Sino-US rapprochement in the early 1970s.

First, the United Kingdom's security role in Southeast Asia was gradually diminishing in the late 1960s. The purpose of UK engagement was originally for defense of its colonies and former colonies, especially Malaysia and Singapore through the Anglo-Malayan/Malaysian Defence Agreement (AMDA), and maintaining regional stability by countering communist threats. Although AMDA itself did not specifically aim at the containment of communism, it served as a security tool to prevent British colonies and former colonies from falling to communist hands by providing military assistance to check communist influence and thwart internal communist insurgencies. Although it had long asserted its regional security role, which is well-illustrated by the 1957 White Paper that lays out the United Kingdom's responsibility "to defend British colonies and protected territories against local attack, and undertake limited operations in overseas emergencies,"¹¹⁷ the United Kingdom increasingly faced economic difficulties in the early post-war era, which made the UK presence in Southeast Asia unsustainable.

¹¹⁷ The other responsibility that the UK held was "to play their part with the forces of Allied countries in deterring and resisting aggression." At the same time, however, the United Kingdom was concerned about its overall military burden in the world by stating "...it is impossible to escape the conclusion that Britain has been bearing a disproportionately large share of the total burden of Western defence." White Paper on Defense, *Defence: Outline of Future Policy*, 1957, Cmnd. 124 (White Paper on Defence), p. 2.

In fact, throughout the 1960s, there was political tension within the United Kingdom regarding its military presence overseas, namely the “East of Suez” policy. Prime Minister Harold Wilson consistently confirmed his intent to sustain the UK security commitment to Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaysia and Singapore, despite its prolonged domestic economic stagnation and the increasing prospect that the United Kingdom would reduce its military commitment to Southeast Asia, if not completely withdraw.¹¹⁸ However, the domestic coup in Indonesia propelled change of UK policy. After Sukarno’s political power was significantly debilitated by the 1965 *coup-d’état*, the so-called 30 September Movement (G30S), Indonesia’s *Konfrontasi* policy, by which Indonesia engaged confrontational policy against Malaysia, was formally relinquished in August 1967. After Suharto came into power, the political and military tensions between Malaysia/Singapore and Indonesia were significantly reduced. Already existing debates about the UK’s global role in the context of economic setbacks, this allowed reconsidering Britain’s “East of Suez” policy, and the government started to discuss defense reduction, which would be completed by around 1970.¹¹⁹

The decision for UK withdrawal from Southeast Asia had another security impact on the region beyond AMDA itself through the security linkage with the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO). As the United Kingdom had an institutional connection with SEATO, whose membership included Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, it could induce military and political assistance from those member states in times of regional security instability. For example, when Indonesia’s *Konfrontasi* policy intensified in 1963, the United Kingdom induced political and military cooperation from Australia and New Zealand as AMDA associates

¹¹⁸ This was also illustrated in the 1965 British White Paper. Kin Wah Chin, *The Defence of Malaysia and Singapore: The Transformation of a Security System, 1957-1971*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 126.

¹¹⁹ According to Chin, the British Cabinet began to reassess the scale of its commitments to the East of Suez policy between the end of 1965 and early in 1966, and the Defence Committee seemed to favor its withdrawal from Singapore in 1970 while not considering about an alternative to placing its presence in Australia. In May 1966, because the end of Indonesian *Konfrontasi* seemed more likely, the debates within the British Labor Party over East of Suez became intensified, and a private meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party faced the demand for its withdrawal from Malaysia, Singapore, and the Persian Gulf. *Ibid.*, p. 127, and pp. 130-131.

to defend Malaysia.¹²⁰ Moreover, since Australia was associated with SEATO, Australia warned Indonesia that the conflicts would lead to Australian involvement through AMDA and the United States would become involved through the Australia, New Zealand, United States (ANZUS) Security Treaty.¹²¹ Therefore, the United Kingdom was a security linchpin in Southeast Asia, especially for Malaysia and Singapore, but that linchpin began to weaken due to AMDA's dissolution.

A second factor that caused the regional strategic shift was the US intention of military withdrawal from Vietnam. As the Vietnam conflict became prolonged, US public support for the war began to decline due to the increasing number of casualties and little future prospect of victory. After North Vietnam's *Tet* Offensive, launched on the first day of Vietnam's lunar year on January 31, 1968, the psychological impacts on the United States and the international community prompted US consideration of a strategic exit from Indochina. Indeed, the signal for US disengagement from Vietnam was already clear in 1967, when Richard Nixon, the then a candidate for President, wrote an article in *Foreign Affairs*. Nixon even proposed a modified version of a regional collective security system managed by regional states that mainly focused on internal threats, which was not assisted by outside powers. Recognizing the military, economic, social, and political burden that the United States incurred in the Vietnam War, Nixon questioned US unilateral intervention and argued that despite the communist threats from both the Soviet Union and China in Asia, the US role in the world should be limited.¹²² He argued that the United States should aim at multilateralizing political and military efforts should communist threats need to be countered, and regional security efforts, including regional defense pacts, should be considered.¹²³ After he assumed the US Presidency in 1969, this line of argument

¹²⁰ Chin, p. 83-91.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹²² Richard Nixon, "Asia After Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (October 1967), pp. 114-115.

¹²³ More specifically, he raised three points: (a) a collective effort by the nations of the region to contain the threat by themselves; and, if that effort failed, (b) a collective request to the United States for assistance.

informed policy, resulting in the Guam Doctrine, the so-called “Nixon Doctrine,” declared on July 25, 1969.¹²⁴

On November 3, 1969, when Nixon made his “silent majority” speech,¹²⁵ the US exit strategy from Vietnam became more evident. According to Nixon, the United States should encourage Asian nations to take more responsibility to deal with their regional problems by suggesting three principles for US policy toward Asia: keeping all of its treaty commitments, providing a shield against nuclear threats, and providing economic and military assistance in the case of aggression other than a threat of nuclear weapons.¹²⁶ While the United States would provide extended nuclear deterrent to maintain security stability in Asia, it would not become involved in regional conflicts at the level of the Vietnam War.

In so doing, the United States took a cautious approach. Since the United States feared that immediate withdrawal might invite a potential rollback of North Vietnam, which would also endanger US credibility of alliance commitments in Asia and foster a “domino effect” not only in Asia but also across the world including the Middle East, Berlin, and the West, US withdrawal needed to be carefully crafted. Accordingly, the United States took a two-pronged exit strategy by pursuing both negotiations with North Vietnam and US conditional withdrawal from South Vietnam. On the negotiations front, the United States offered three proposals for Vietnamization: the complete withdrawal of all outside forces within one year, a cease-fire under international supervision, and free elections under international monitoring. For US withdrawal, the United States considered training South Vietnam’s forces and providing its military equipment while reducing its own troop commitment. Yet, both strategies faced difficulties in implementation. The US proposals were flatly rejected by North Vietnam, and the complete withdrawal depended on two factors: North Vietnam’s military and political acceptance of peaceful settlement of conflicts

¹²⁴ Richard Nixon, “279-*Informal Remarks in Guam With Newsmen*” (July 25, 1969), accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2140>.

¹²⁵ Richard Nixon, “425-*Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam*,” (November 3, 1969), accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=2303>.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

through the Paris talks and the level of training of South Vietnamese forces. Consequently, such a conditional exit strategy was not smoothly conducted, and further, the United States faced deteriorating military and political situations in both Vietnam and the US domestic arena following such events as the *Tet* offensive and public demonstrations caused by news reports about the *My Lai* Massacre in 1969 and the release of the Pentagon Papers in 1971. Nevertheless, US troop levels began to decrease regardless of the level of implementation of the US two-pronged strategy.

With the US withdrawal, the *raison d'être* of SEATO was called into question. Admittedly, the Manila Pact, which was concluded in 1954 to establish SEATO, maintained its political flexibility for contracting parties to act separately and jointly “to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.”¹²⁷ Yet, SEATO’s role was clearly decreasing with respect to the inter-state conflicts. As US Secretary of State William Rogers put it, SEATO needed to undertake institutional changes to focus more on “countering subversion” and “economic development” in the region at the SEATO Council in 1969; the resulting communiqué reflected this position and emphasized “political consultations, counter-insurgency, and economic and cultural cooperation.”¹²⁸ In other words, despite the fact that SEATO never functioned as “collective defense” in reality, it began to change its institutional objectives even on paper in order to adjust to the expected consequences of US military withdrawal.

Third, the United States began to undertake a rapprochement with China starting in the late 1960s. This policy was not motivated by exploiting the Sino-Soviet split, because such a diplomatic maneuver would increase political tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the Soviet Union and China, which would make regional conflicts more

¹²⁷ See Article II of the Manila Pact. “Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Manila Pact); September 8, 1954,” accessed June 4, 2012, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/usmu003.asp#art11.

¹²⁸ US Department of State, “SEATO Council of Ministers Meets at Bangkok,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 60, June 9, 1969, p. 478 and p. 480.

likely.¹²⁹ Instead, no longer recognizing that the world was a rigid bi-polar structure, President Nixon sought rapprochement with both China and the Soviet Union to reduce political and military tensions with them in the international arena. In Asia, China was the important actor due to its political influence and social connections to Asian states. It was not in US interest to maintain hostile relations, because if it became the case, China might expand its political influence to form a regional bloc in order to prevent US re-engagement with the region in the future. To keep its options open, the United States increased its channels of communication, reduced its economic restrictions, and began to negotiate with China for conditions of US-China normalization. For its part, China also needed to align with the United States to deter the Soviet Union, as indicated by deterioration of its relations with the Soviet Union caused by two border conflicts over *Zhenbao* island and *Xinjian* in 1969 and the Soviet consideration of military attack against China's nuclear facilities in northwest China.¹³⁰

From 1970, the United States and China intensified their diplomatic efforts to improve the Sino-US relations through such means as resuming the Warsaw Talks and undertaking Ping-Pong diplomacy, and these diplomatic maneuvers culminated in the United States and China issuing the Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, the so-called Shanghai Communiqué, in February 1972. The Shanghai Communiqué sought out common interests and compromises for both the United States and China, including the current international and regional strategic situation.¹³¹ In this communiqué, both states agreed that they would not seek “hegemony” in the “Asia-Pacific region” and would reject third-

¹²⁹ Evelyn Goh, *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974: From “Red Menace” to “Tacit Ally*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 118-119 and pp.136-142.

¹³⁰ Allen Whiting, “Sino-American Détente,” *China Quarterly*, Vo. 82, (1980), p. 336.

¹³¹ Its four agreed assumptions were: 1) progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries; 2) a mutual wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict; 3) neither power should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and 4) neither side was prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states. See Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America, “Joint Communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America (28 Feb, 1972),” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://us.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zywj/t36255.htm>.

country or group efforts to establish “hegemony,” and recognized the necessity of the balanced distribution of the power in the region. Admittedly, “hegemony” and “Asia-Pacific region” were never defined in the statement, and it was not clear what criteria needed to be employed to assess the strategic situation in the region. Nevertheless, considering the military and economic capabilities at the time, the potential candidate for a “third party” was the Soviet Union,¹³² and the statement sent a diplomatic signal to deter Soviet expansion of influence in Asia.

With these changes in great power politics in Southeast Asia, ASEAN member states were concerned about regional strategic uncertainty. Though each ASEAN member state had its own political position towards the development of the regional balance of power, they also perceived a need to have a certain political cooperation among ASEAN member states in changing the regional balance of power. In fact, on October 2, 1971, ASEAN Foreign Ministers met for the first time in an informal meeting to discuss strategic changes in the region, including the end of the Vietnam War.¹³³ However, on October 25, 1971, when the United Nations General Assembly held voting for the membership entry of the People’s Republic of China, ASEAN member states’ stances were inconsistent: Malaysia and Singapore supported membership, the Philippines opposed it, and Indonesia and Thailand abstained.¹³⁴ Accordingly, there arose political concerns among member states that if they continued to be divided, Southeast Asia would be once again dominated by foreign powers. ASEAN member states considered the necessity of coordinating their political stance to counter both communist insurgencies in ASEAN member states and China’s potential political influence over Southeast Asia. In this sense, the shift in the regional balance of power created a strategic incentive for ASEAN member states to

¹³² Japan could be considered another “third party,” yet the United States could coordinate Japan’s security policy through the US-Japan alliance. Joachim Galubitz, “Anti-Hegemony Formulas in Chinese Foreign Policy,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (March 1976), pp. 205-215.

¹³³ Boni Ray Siagian, ed., *Eighth Year Cycle of ASEAN: With Forewords/Messages of ASEAN Foreign Ministers*, (Jakarta: ASEAN National Secretariat of Indonesia, 1976), p. 385.

¹³⁴ “Most Asian Nations Applaud U.N. Action,” *The New York Times*, October 27, 1971, p. 16.

increase institutional utility for their own security, and yet the strategic shift itself did not explain ASEAN's behavior.

(2) Positive: Creation of ZOPFAN Concept

As described above, changes in the Southeast Asian strategic landscape affected security perceptions of each ASEAN member state, and they each faced a certain political dilemma. On the one hand, from the perspective of ASEAN's fundamental institutional *raison d'être*, it was a positive change since one of the ASEAN's institutional objectives was to "ensure their stability and security from external interference in any form or manifestation in order to preserve their national identities in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of their peoples."¹³⁵ The US and UK withdrawal meant reduction of Western influence in the region, which would contribute to regional autonomy in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, the Western military withdrawal would create a power vacuum in the region, and other outside powers, especially the Soviet Union and China, might fill that vacuum. To overcome this dilemma, ASEAN attempted to put its institutional emphasis on ensuring non-interference from outside through the ZOPFAN declaration, which envisioned freedom from external interference.¹³⁶

To be sure, there were gaps in ASEAN member states' perspectives on the association's utility in the context of the changing political and security situation in Southeast Asia, and thus, the creation of the ZOPFAN declaration was neither a simultaneous nor a unanimous institutional product. Indonesia and Malaysia viewed the situation more positively, and they regarded ASEAN as the key institution to achieve regional autonomy. Indonesia consistently advocated for non-intervention from external actors. Since ASEAN's inception, Suharto attributed historical Southeast Asian division to foreign domination,¹³⁷ and Adam Malik, Indonesian Foreign

¹³⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, *Bangkok Declaration*.

¹³⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, *Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality*.

¹³⁷ For example, "Opening Statement by H.E. General Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia at the Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, 6 August 1968" in ASEAN Secretariat, *Statements by the*

Minister, predicted that the great power disengagement from Southeast Asia would “jointly consider policies in [regional] effort to cope with the new emerging situation...it is our duty to direct [the centre of gravity] into that of a polarization of forces of the Southeast Asian Nations themselves” and recommended consolidating ASEAN to discourage the rise of another external power into the region.¹³⁸ The Indonesian initiative to convene the Jakarta conference for peaceful resolution for the Cambodian crisis in 1970 showed its determination to provide a regional solution for a regional problem. In September 1971, Malik also characterized the situation as “ASEAN...[is] basically reflecting the determination of its member countries to take charge of their own future and to reject the assumption that the fate of their region is to continue to be determined by outside powers.”¹³⁹ Therefore, Indonesia’s political stance towards Southeast Asia had been consistent, and it perceived that the shift in the regional strategic situation was beneficial to regional autonomy.

This position was echoed by Malaysia. In 1968, recognizing that UK and US disengagement would pose security challenges to Southeast Asia, Malaysia’s Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra encouraged further bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the region by stating “a time of danger is also a time of opportunity.”¹⁴⁰ Abdul Razak, deputy prime minister of Malaysia, stated that bilateral and multilateral cooperation among Southeast Asian states could safeguard outside interference and intervention,¹⁴¹ and that ASEAN should take decisive steps toward more responsibility for preventing regional conflicts.¹⁴² In 1971, Ismail Abdul Rahman attributed the prolonged Vietnam War to the great powers’ intervention and

ASEAN Heads of Government at ASEAN Ministerial Meeting: 1965-1985, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1986), p. 7.

¹³⁸ Adam Malik, “ASEAN—Equal Partners in Development” (1968), in Siagian, pp. 121-123; Adam Malik, *In the Service of the Republic*, (Singapore: Gunung Agung (S) PTE, 1980), p. 269.

¹³⁹ Dick Wilson, *The Neutralization of Southeast Asia*, (New York, Washington and London: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 54.

¹⁴⁰ ASEAN Secretariat, *Statements by the ASEAN Heads of Government at ASEAN Ministerial Meetings 1968-1985* (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1986), p. 15.

¹⁴¹ Abdul Razak, “The Primary Responsibility of ASEAN” (1968), in Siagian, p. 77.

¹⁴² Abdul Razak, “An Established ASEAN Tradition” (1969), in Siagian, p. 127.

interference in the region's internal affairs.¹⁴³ Since the announcement of the UK withdrawal in 1967, Malaysia had shifted its foreign policy from alignment with the Western powers to nonalignment, and it actively sought for regional autonomy in Southeast Asia. Yet, as the regional security situation was still unstable due to the ongoing Vietnam War and conflicts in Laos and Cambodia, Malaysia saw the positive change in the regional balance of power as still unstable and considered transformation of ASEAN necessary in order to secure these gains. It is in this context that Ismail Abdul Rahman at the 3rd AMM of 1971 made a speech on a policy of neutralization for Southeast Asia, which aimed at gaining guarantees of the United States, the Soviet Union and China to ensure regional security despite the on-going conflicts.¹⁴⁴ Thus, Malaysia pushed a regional neutralization policy in order to ensure regional security.

On the other hand, the perspectives of Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand on the regional environment were more ambivalent. Singapore, having a relatively positive view at the beginning, became more uncertain about the future prospect of ASEAN's utility. Although it feared a rapid change of the regional strategic landscape would negatively affect its national security, it regarded ASEAN as an instrument to fill the power vacuum created by UK and US withdrawal not through political or military means, but through economic and social cooperation among member states. Singapore concurred with this point of view that the utility of ASEAN in a new environment was economic and social development for member states, which would indirectly ensure member states' security.¹⁴⁵ Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, emphasized in 1968 that in rejecting the idea of becoming a military organization, ASEAN should promote economic, social and cultural cooperation among member states, because such cooperation helped increase the national strength of regional states.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ismail Abdul Rahman, "A Policy of Neutralization for Southeast Asia" (1971), in Siagian, pp. 156-157.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-160.

¹⁴⁵ With this line of argument, which was similar to Indonesia's concept of "national resilience," Singapore believed that regional strength stemmed from each state's national stability, which would be achieved by national development.

¹⁴⁶ Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, "The Inevitability of Regional Cooperation" (1969), in Siagian, p. 85.

However, increasingly frustrated with the slow progress of institutional cooperation, at the 3rd AMM in 1969, Rajaratnam argued that ASEAN would need to “seek the assistance and participation from outside the region” while ASEAN member states should firstly consider internal stability through social and economic development.¹⁴⁷ In 1971, he also asserted that ASEAN needed to implement its cooperative projects more effectively rather than merely issuing declarations and setting up new projects.¹⁴⁸ In this sense, Singapore’s view shifted from positive to uncertain because of ASEAN’s institutional inefficiency, although it advocated more rigid institutional consolidation of ASEAN.

The Philippines’ view was relatively uncertain, and it did not expect ASEAN to play a major security role in Southeast Asia. This view stemmed from the fact that the Philippines did not consider ASEAN to be the only regional institution able to foster regional cooperation or to play a security role in Southeast Asia. In fact, it was more inclined to utilize and strengthen other regional organizations, such as the Asia Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), which had political linkages with the great powers. Especially, since the membership of ASPAC included Japan, a rising regional economic power in Asia, the Philippines’ focused more on ASPAC.¹⁴⁹ In this sense, the Philippines saw ASEAN as an institution that was limited to managing the intra-member conflicts. Considering that the territorial disputes over the Sabah with Malaysia became intensified in late 1960s, from the Filipino perspective, ASEAN needed to advocate the peaceful settlement of disputes among member states.¹⁵⁰ Also, Carlos Romulo argued that self-reliance, mutual assistance within the

¹⁴⁷ Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, “The Future of ASEAN” (1969), in Siangian, p. 113.

¹⁴⁸ Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, “ASEAN Future–Regional Cooperation” (1971), in Siangian, p. 138.

¹⁴⁹ This is well illustrated by President Marcos’ 1969 State of Nations Address, which reiterated his proposal to establish an Asian political forum, including all Asian states, to defuse potential conflicts in East Asia. He stated that conflicts should be solved peacefully, and “for this reason, we have proposed, more than once, the creation of an Asian political forum, to help solve intra-regional conflicts or, at least, defuse potentially explosive situations.” See Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Fourth State of the Nation Address, January 27, 1969*, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.gov.ph/1969/01/27/ferdinand-e-marcos-fourth-state-of-the-nation-address-january-27-1969/>.

¹⁵⁰ For example, in 1968, Narciso Ramos, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, regarded ASEAN as an institution of intra-member security management by emphasizing the necessity of its firm adherence

region, and assistance from “other sources” were important for development as well as peace and stability in Southeast Asia.¹⁵¹

Admittedly, in 1970, the Philippines’ expectations toward ASEAN began to tilt toward a similar line as Malaysia and Indonesia in terms of regional political or security cooperation. Although Marcos argued that it was unrealistic for ASEAN to play a military security role in the region, he would be “receptive...to the merits of a regional security system committed to the defense of the region” albeit not a military role.¹⁵² In 1971, he also pointed out that Southeast Asia was torn by foreign intrusions and that the region needed to foster strong cooperation.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, the Philippines still regarded ASEAN more as an economic and social development institution. Indicating that the Philippines needed to restructure its foreign policy, Marcos in 1971 asserted that ASEAN should foster the establishment of a common market and free trade area and development of member states by proposing an “ASEAN Development Decade” by focusing on implementation of ASEAN projects, such as food production and technological cooperation.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the Philippines’ expectation for ASEAN’s political and security roles in the region were relatively low.

Like the Philippines, Thailand did not expect ASEAN to play a military role in Southeast Asia due to its institutional limitations, and it remained ambivalent regarding changes of the balance of power in the region. In fact, it had little expectations for ASEAN to counter security threats from communist insurgencies in Northern parts of Thailand and to resolve the 1970 Cambodian crisis, which were foremost Thai security concerns. Yet, Thailand saw ASEAN’s

to the UN Charter of peaceful settlement of the disputes. See Narciso Ramos, “ASEAN a Living Reality” (1968), in Siagian, p. 80.

¹⁵¹ Carlos P. Romulo, “Our Sanguine Hopes for the Prospects of ASEAN” (1969), in Siagian, p. 106.

¹⁵² Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Fifth State of the Nation Address, January 26, 1970*, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.gov.ph/1970/01/26/ferdinand-e-marcos-fifth-state-of-the-nation-address-january-26-1970/>.

¹⁵³ “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Republic of The Philippines, at the Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, 12 March 1971,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *Statements by the ASEAN Heads of Government*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵⁴ Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Sixth State of the Nation Address, January 25, 1971*, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.gov.ph/1975/01/25/ferdinand-e-marcos-sixth-state-of-the-nation-address-january-25-1975/>; Carlos P. Romulo, “Only Direction for ASEAN to Go is Forward” (1971), in Siagian, p. 161; ASEAN Secretariat, *Statements by the ASEAN Heads of Government*, pp. 19-20.

security role in economic and social fields. Recognizing the importance of regional security arrangements, such as border security cooperation between Thailand and Malaysia and between Indonesia and Malaysia, Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, argued in 1969 that military power was not enough to secure regional stability, and that economic, social, and political developments were imperative for national stability, which could be achieved only when ASEAN maintained the “unifying force of solidarity.”¹⁵⁵ In 1971, Khoman further argued that it was only through ASEAN that member states could gain increasing economic assistance from other international organizations, such as the United Nations.¹⁵⁶ Thus, for Thailand, it was unclear whether ASEAN could appropriately deal with the changing security environment, but Thailand did not deny ASEAN’s political and security utility in a long-term and the overall necessity of institutional consolidation.

Given this, ASEAN member states had diverging perspectives on ASEAN’s utility for member states’ security in the context of changes in the regional balance of power. Although each perceived some security concerns regarding Western military withdrawal, Indonesia and Malaysia strongly supported these security developments in the region and expected ASEAN to play a certain security role, if not a military one; Singapore and Thailand recognized the evolving security situations, but did not expect ASEAN to deviate from original institutional purposes of economic and social cooperation; and the Philippines regarded ASEAN as an intra-member conflict containment mechanism, but attempted to open its security option by considering possibilities to develop other regional organizations.

Despite these differences, the bottom line was that all the ASEAN member states attempted to manage a new regional security environment, possibly preventing further foreign powers from expanding its sphere of influence into Southeast Asia, and to this end, they attempted to find some, if not major, ASEAN’s institutional utilities for regional security. The

¹⁵⁵ Thanat Khoman, “ASEAN—A Productive and Effective Organization” (1969), in Siagian, p. 117.

¹⁵⁶ Thanat Khoman, “Asian Solutions for Asian Problems” (1971), in Siagian, p. 146.

implicit consensus was that while they considered the change in the regional balance of power positively if viewed from ASEAN's institutional perspective, all perceived that the existing ASEAN institutional capability would not be enough to meet a new security environment to ensure one of the ASEAN's fundamental objectives, the non-interference principle.¹⁵⁷ In this sense, the divergence among ASEAN member states emerged because of institutional prioritization and methods for implementation, not for its *raison d'être*. The declaration of ZOPFAN was created, not to develop military capabilities or as a military pact among member states to counter potential external intervention, but to ensure the unification of their political stance vis-à-vis outside powers.

(3) ISP: From Neutrality to ZOPFAN

The shift in the regional balance of power encouraged ASEAN's transformation, and ASEAN's original institutional *raison d'être* provided the positive perspectives of such strategic changes and moved toward institutional consolidation. And yet, ASEAN did not have an institutional consensus on its prioritization and methods to implement its objectives, and thus the

¹⁵⁷ This implicit consensus was formed by ASEAN's incremental institutional consolidation process from 1969 to 1971. Even though ASEAN did not have clear institutional intentions to form a unifying political stance at its inception, the gradual development by providing joint communiqué fostered such institutional development. According to AMM joint communiqués from 1967 to 1968, there was not any description regarding ASEAN's political cooperation. They specifically focused on ASEAN's functional cooperation, such as tourism, food production and supply including fisheries, civil air transportation, shipping, and means of expanding intraregional trade. However, facing the UK and US withdrawal in early 1970s, Informal political and security discussion among ASEAN member states took place. In March 1971, the ASEAN foreign ministers emphasized the importance of "close consultation and cooperation" at regional and international forums to show its united stance for their common interests. Moreover, an informal meeting for consultation was regarded as a useful diplomatic tool for ASEAN member states to discuss international and regional political security issues. Because of its informality, it did not have to provide the image of security institution to the international community, which might otherwise provoke other regional powers in Asia. This system was institutionalized in October 2, 1971, when ASEAN foreign ministers agreed to "meet periodically to discuss international developments affecting the region" in New York. As a result, ASEAN foreign ministers met in Kuala Lumpur on November 26-27, 1971 outside ASEAN institutional framework and issued the ZOPFAN declaration, and they decided to establish a Summit Meeting for peace and stability in the region. For ASEAN's statement, see ASEAN Secretariat. "Joint Communiqué of the Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, 12-13 March 1971," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, (Jakarta, ASEAN Secretariat, 1988), pp. 71-72; ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement Special ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Issue The Declaration Of Zone Of Peace, Freedom And Neutrality, Kuala Lumpur 25-26 November 1971," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3712.htm>. For ASEAN's chronology, see Siagian, p. 385.

direction of institutional consolidation was undecided. In this context, the member states attempt to forge ASEAN's utility for their security, and two main institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs), Indonesia and Malaysia, emerged.¹⁵⁸ Indonesia offered potential security cooperation within the framework of ASEAN and implicitly proposed functional expansion of ASEAN into the security field. In 1969, Suharto stated in his letter to the 2nd AMM that:

[ASEAN member states] must strengthen [their] dedication and increase [their] efforts to implement the aims of ASEAN, not only to achieve economic and technical progress, but also to help *safeguard peace, security and stability in our region*, as a contribution towards peace, security and stability in the world.¹⁵⁹

Although it was not a formal proposal, other member states implicitly and explicitly rejected this proposal. For example, the Philippines suggested that ASEAN's posture be "neither defensive nor counter-aggressive, but open, positive, and friendly"; Singapore argued that ASEAN should focus solely on economic cooperation and that those who are "preoccupied with ideological and security problems could perhaps profitably set up other organizations for this purpose"; and Thailand also pointed out that making ASEAN another forum for military alliance would become

¹⁵⁸ The Philippines proposed the establishment of an Asian political forum. The idea of an Asian political forum dates back to 1966, when President Marcos proposed to create an inclusive regional cooperative security, which would consist of the members of the ECAFE to discuss the political issue because China, a nuclear power, could not be counterbalanced by only Asian states "without the assistance of non-Asian countries like America." At this time, the Philippines attempted to lock US involvement in Asian affairs institutionally to counter communist threats, but this idea was significantly modified at a later time due to US disengagement. In 1969, Marcos asserted in his state of nation address that while strengthening regional cooperation through the ASPAC and ASEAN, the region would need to establish an Asian political forum in order to solve or diffuse intra-regional conflicts through peaceful means with the international law. This idea was proposed more concretely to ASEAN member states in the 1971 Kuala Lumpur meeting and reiterated in the 1973 state of nation address, and he emphasized that participation in ASEAN and creation of the forum as "a meeting-place of the diverse ideologies, cultures, religions, political orders and national interests of the Asian national states," were Philippine's interests. While the Philippines considered that there should be an overarching institutional mechanism in Asia for the regional stability, this initiative was essentially out of ASEAN's scope, because it neither envisioned developing ASEAN into an Asian political forum nor positioned ASEAN as a core to establish such a forum. Thus, it did not foster change for institutional structure of ASEAN, and it only reconfirmed that ASEAN was an institution that aimed at no foreign dominance in the region. See Ferdinand E. Marcos, "Address to Congress, September 15," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 55, No. 1424, October 10, 1966, pp.539-540; Marcos, *Fourth State of the Nation Address*; Heiner Hanggi, *ASEAN and the ZOPFAN Concept*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991), p. 16; Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Eighth State of the Nation Address, September 27, 1969*, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.gov.ph/1973/09/21/ferdinand-e-marcos-eighth-state-of-the-nation-address-september-21-1973/>.

¹⁵⁹ *Emphasis added*. Suharto, "Moving in the Right Direction" (1969), in Siagian, pp. 102-103.

a drawback because military power was not sufficient for regional security and stability.¹⁶⁰ Thus, whether or not the Indonesian concept of “security” meant military, there were clear oppositions among ASEAN member states to form military cooperation under ASEAN’s institutional framework.

Malaysia proposed the idea of regional neutralization. The original idea was casted within the Malaysian Parliament in January 1968. Ismail Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, pointed out that neutralization of Southeast Asia should be achieved by the great powers’ guarantee and non-aggression pacts within the region.¹⁶¹ Abdul Razak also touched on Southeast Asian neutrality in the 1968 AMM, though he did not elaborate its meaning.¹⁶² In fact, Malaysia itself wavered over the actual feasibility of its own proposal about regional neutralization. Yet, in April 1970, in the Preparatory Non-Aligned Conference at Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania, Ghazali bin Shafie, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pushed the idea forward to neutralize the entirety of Southeast Asia under the great powers’ guarantee, namely the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China, and the United States.¹⁶³ Subsequently, Prime Minister Razak reiterated the idea at the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Lusaka,

¹⁶⁰ See ASEAN Ministers’ speeches in 1969. Carlos P. Romulo, “Our Sanguine Hopes for the Prospects of ASEAN,” Rajaratnam, “Future of ASEAN,” and Thanat Khoman, “ASEAN-A Productive and Effective Organization,” in Siagian, p. 106, p. 113, and p. 117.

¹⁶¹ Perbahasan Parlimen, Jilid IV. Penggal 4, Bab II, 23 January 1968, column 3615, cited in Zainal Abidin Bin Abdul Wahid, “ZOPFAN: Enhances Asean Security” in B.A. Hamzah, ed., *Southeast Asia and Regional Peace: A Study of the Southeast Asian Concept of Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (Zopfan)* (Kuala Lumpur: the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia, 1992), p. 121. Also, Ismail considered an alternative policy of weakening AMDA, and for him, the idea of neutralization was the second best option since he asserted that “the alternative to neutralization is an open invitation to the big powers to make [Southeast Asia] a pawn in big power politics” while “the alternative to the signing of non-aggression treaties [among regional states] is a costly arms race in the region.” See Ghazali Shafie, “The Preparatory Non-Aligned Conference in Dar-Es-Salaam, 13th-17th April: Speech by Tan Sri M. Ghazali bin Shafie, special representative of Malaysia to the Preparatory Non-Aligned Conference, and Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Malaysia,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June 1970), p. 37.

¹⁶² Abdul Razak, “The Primary Responsibility of ASEAN,” in Siagian, p. 76.

¹⁶³ Ghazali Shafie said, “Consistent with the principles of the self-determination of peoples, and of non-interference in any way whatever in the internal affairs of states, it is Malaysia’s hope that non-aligned countries will be able to endorse the neutralization not only of the Indo-china area but the entire region of Southeast Asia, guaranteed by the three major powers, the People’s Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States, against any form of external interference, threat or pressure.” Ghazali Shafie, “The Preparatory Non-Aligned Conference in Dar-Es-Salaam, 13th-17th April,” p. 37.

Zambia in September 1970,¹⁶⁴ and the proposal became Malaysia's official position. At the Third AMM in March 1971, this proposal was formally presented for the first time by Deputy Prime Minister Ismail Abdul Rahman's speech, "A Policy of Neutralization for Southeast Asia." Although its geographical scope was beyond ASEAN member states, encompassing the whole of Southeast Asia, the idea was introduced at the ASEAN meeting, and later it was modified and adopted as the ZOPFAN in November 1971.

In short, the ideas of institutional transformation were proposed by Indonesia and Malaysia, and while Indonesia's proposal was flatly rejected, Malaysia's neutrality proposal was ultimately incorporated as ASEAN's institutional objective despite undergoing significant modification in the process. However, both Indonesia's and Malaysia's proposals contributed to forging the institutional security preference (ISP) of ASEAN by setting institutional limitations on security cooperation and fostered creation of an institutional approach to pursue security. For security cooperation, the Indonesian proposal challenged an institutional ambiguity regarding security cooperation since security cooperation was not explicitly prohibited in its formative years: neither the 1967 Bangkok Declaration nor other ASEAN's official documents contained any statement regarding security cooperation, and yet they did not explicitly deny its potentiality.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, regional security cooperation during this period was being

¹⁶⁴ Razak said, "It is my hope that in reaffirming the right of self-determination and non-interference in the Indo-China area, the Non-Aligned Group would at the same time take a positive stand in endorsing the neutralisation of the area of peace and possibly of the entire region of Southeast Asia, guaranteed by the three major powers, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. I mention the need to extend the area of peace and neutralisation to include all of Southeast Asia because it is obviously easier and wiser to strengthen the fabric of peace before it is ruptured rather than attempt to eliminate disorder and conflict once they have penetrated in the region." Tun Abdul Razak, "Third Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Lusaka, September 8-10," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1970), p. 16.

¹⁶⁵ It is, however, noted that Indonesian definition of "security cooperation" was not clear at the time. In the context of the middle of the Cold War, "security" in the international arena had a strong connotation of military on the inter-state basis while Southeast Asian states regarded that their security was linked with not only inter-state military conflicts, but also transnational and domestic insurgencies. In fact, most of bilateral defense cooperation among ASEAN member states aimed at thwarting domestic insurgencies, not directed at external relations. This potential definition of regional security notwithstanding, it was until the post-Cold War era when ASEAN could redefine the meaning of "security" even though such institutional cooperation took place during the Cold War.

developed on a bilateral basis. Malaysia and Singapore attempted to strengthen its security consultation mechanism in the context of dissolution of AMDA as both recognized their security was inseparable.¹⁶⁶ Malaysia and Thailand, facing the increased number of the communist insurgencies along the Thai-Malaysian border, strengthened border patrols and joint intelligent operations.¹⁶⁷ In addition, Indonesia and Malaysia also cooperated on the border between Sarawak and Kalimantan to suppress communist sanctuaries by joint military operations.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the proposal was to further push security cooperation on a multilateral basis.

Nevertheless, the proposal was rejected by most of ASEAN member states for three main reasons. First, the multilateral defense cooperation would send a wrong signal to major powers. It would likely be seen as another regional security bloc, which also provoked external powers, especially the Communist bloc. This would likely lead Southeast Asia to be seen as an anti-communist bloc, since most of ASEAN member states had security linkage with the Western states despite their decreasing presence of the foreign powers. Second, ASEAN had little defense practicality to prevent external interference due to member states' limited military capabilities. Additionally, most Southeast Asian states struggled for stabilizing domestic politics and fostering economic development and did not have capacity to drastically increase its military budget. Third, it would become more difficult to integrate all Southeast Asian states into ASEAN, and at worst, such an action might further divide Southeast Asia, considering on-going political and military conflicts in Indo-China states. Particularly, North Vietnam was likely to regard ASEAN as another anti-communist bloc in the region. Thus, multilateral security cooperation under ASEAN was explicitly rejected by member states, and the Indonesian proposal became a low priority into ASEAN's ISP set.

¹⁶⁶ Lee Kuan Yew, *From Third World to First: The Singapore Story: 1965-2000*, (New York: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2000), p. 45.

¹⁶⁷ Frank Darling, "Thailand: De-Escalation and Uncertainty," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (February 1969), p.116.

¹⁶⁸ Lee Yong Leng, "The Razor's Edge: Boundaries and Boundary Disputes in Southeast Asia" (Research Notes and Discussions Paper, no. 15, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1980), p. 6.

The Malaysian proposal of neutrality fostered ASEAN's discussion to clarify the concept of "security" and provided means to meet security threats to the member states. In fact, ASEAN's security did entail not only inter-state security, but also intra-state security, which consisted of three levels: external intervention from regional powers, intra-regional conflicts over such issues as disputed islands, and internal threats from secessionist and communist insurgencies. The 1967 Bangkok Declaration comprehended these threats in a disorganized manner and provided vague institutional responses to these three threats: collective determination to prevent interference and intervention from outside with their adherence to the UN Charter; economic, social, and cultural cooperation to contain or diffuse regional conflicts in addition to their adherence to the UN Charter; and national development to thwart internal insurgencies. However, except for actual economic, social, and cultural cooperation among the member states, these responses remained purely declaratory policies, and the institutions did not have any action plans to achieve such objectives, even in the diplomatic sense.

Under such a circumstance, Malaysia's neutralization proposal provided a conceptual framework for ASEAN to weave three levels of threats together and produced a linkage between regional and internal threats. The original proposal put forward three major requirements for ASEAN member states to achieve regional neutralization. First, it was necessary for Southeast Asian states to promote regional cooperation, strictly follow the principle of non-interference, respect other states' sovereignty, and "not participate in activities likely to directly or indirectly threaten the security of another."¹⁶⁹ Second, the major powers in Southeast Asia, namely the United States, the Soviet Union, and China, needed to provide their security guarantees by accepting Southeast Asia as a zone of neutrality. In other words, they were to be responsible to maintain regional stability, to prevent regional conflicts that are caused by external involvement,

¹⁶⁹ Ghazali Shafie, "The Neutralization of Southeast Asia," *Pacific Community*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (October 1971), pp. 110-117.

and to voluntarily intervene when such conflicts would likely occur.¹⁷⁰ Third, ASEAN member states were responsible for their internal stability. In other words, aiming at regional neutralization, the proposal provided more concrete action plans: first, pursuing domestic stability individually; second, foster bilateral and multilateral contacts and consultation in the region; and third, assure great powers that these actions do not impede their interests.¹⁷¹

If this neutralization policy were ideally achieved, it would contain external intervention as well as regional conflicts, which would benefit security for not only ASEAN member states but also other non-member Southeast Asian states. Admittedly, its feasibility was highly in doubt due to three political difficulties. First, neutrality might not enable Southeast Asia to prevent external interference as indicated in the case of Laos. The 1962 Geneva Agreement, which made Lao a neutral state, could not prevent the state from being involved in conflicts with Indochina. Second, the requirement of great power guarantee was practically infeasible. In theory, it imposes on great powers the requirement to refrain from any internal interference unless neutralized states

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Malaysian officials repeatedly proposed this neutralization concept and its requirements to international fora. In 1971, Ismail stated this concept by making a speech of a policy of regional neutralization at the Third AMM. He argued:

It is with Vietnam in mind together with the withdrawal of the American and British from Southeast Asia that my government is advocating a policy of neutralization for Southeast Asia to be guaranteed by the big powers viz. the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and People's Republic of China. The policy is meant to be a proclamation that this region of ours is no longer to be regarded as an area to be divided into spheres of influence of the big powers. It may be regarded as a project to end or prevent small countries in this region from being used as pawns in the conflict between the big powers. The policy of neutralization represents a programme to ensure stability and preserve peace in this area so that we may get on with the urgent task of developing our countries and improving the wealth and welfare of our people.

Mr. Chairman, before we are in a position to seek an undertaking from the three big powers to guarantee our independence, integrity and neutrality, it is imperative amongst other things that we develop a strong sense of regional consciousness and solidarity. In this respect I am happy to note that we have now in Southeast Asia a number of regional organizations for a variety of purposes. The decade of the 70s is not the time nor is an ASEAN Meeting the place to state reasons why we should cooperate together and reiterate our firm belief in the concept of regional cooperation.

See Ismail Abdul Rahman, "A Policy of Neutralization for Southeast Asia," in Siagian, pp. 156-157.

¹⁷¹ Wilson, pp. 13-15; Ismail, "Speech by Tun (Dr.) Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, at the commemorative session of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly in New York on October 15," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1970), p. 58.

ask for assistance. Also, in the case of conflicts within the zone caused by external factors or violations by other powers, they have obligations to quell these conflicts.¹⁷² The reaction from China and the Soviet Union was sympathetic towards the proposal, but reserved.¹⁷³ While the Soviet Union was eager to establish a second front on Southeast Asia to counterbalance China's political influence in the region, China was wary about the regional development of the balance of power.¹⁷⁴ The United States, which began to militarily disengage from the region, also was concerned about the development of the regional balance of power once accepted.¹⁷⁵ Such political commitment was likely to constrain their freedom of action to pursue their respective national interests. Consequently, great powers could neither agree nor disagree with the concept. Third, ASEAN member states were also skeptical about this proposal. Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore worried that neutralization would accelerate US disengagement from the region.¹⁷⁶ Indonesia also questioned its practicality. Malik argued in September 1971 that neutralization was a more attractive option for the region than alignment with major powers, but it required major powers' guarantee, which would easily invite major powers' intervention, considering political conditions of early 1970s.¹⁷⁷ He pointed out that neutralization was more a long-term objective, and that what regional states needed to pursue was domestic stability through socio-political and economic development by bringing principles of Indonesia's own concept of "national resilience" to ASEAN. With these setbacks, even Malaysia recognized that the feasibility of regional

¹⁷² Wilson, pp. 13-15.

¹⁷³ C. Y. Chang, "ASEAN's Proposed Neutrality: China's Response," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (December 1979), p. 249; Alexander Ghebhardt, "The Soviet System of Collective Security in Asia," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 13, No. 12 (December 1973), pp. 1078-1080.

¹⁷⁴ Noordin Sopiee, "Towards a 'Neutral' Southeast Asia," in Bull, Hedley, ed., *Asia and the Western Pacific: Towards a New International Order*, (Sydney: Nelson, 1975) pp. 132-158.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Wilson, pp. 20-22; Ralf Emmers, *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF*, (Oxon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 68.

¹⁷⁷ Adam Malik, "Southeast Asia: Towards an Asian Asia," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 73, No. 39, September 25, 1971, p. 31.

neutralization was considerably low in the short-term as Ismail and Razak admitted in 1970 and 1971 respectively.¹⁷⁸

However, one significant outcome of this proposal was that all the ASEAN member states did not deny, if not agree to, the terms of Malaysia's proposal as a long-term objective for the region, and this became an informal focal agenda for ASEAN. To push its idea forward, Malaysia was also ready to compromise on its own proposal. This was because, in addition to its recognition of the difficulty in achieving neutralization in the short-term given the on-going regional conflicts in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, Malaysia had also difficulty in attaining international supports for its own proposals. Moreover, even though in numerous international conferences, including the UN General Assembly, Non-Aligned Conferences, and the Conference on Economic Development of Southeast Asia, Malaysia explained its rationale and objectives of regional neutralization, these efforts did not produce a fruitful outcome, and Malaysia began to regard ASEAN as a crucial constituency for its proposal.¹⁷⁹

The outcome of its compromise was the declaration of ZOPFAN. After ASEAN member states held a special ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting at Kuala Lumpur on November 25-26, 1971,¹⁸⁰ the neutralization proposal was modified in six ways. First, ASEAN explicitly stated that regional neutralization was the long-term goal, not a short-term one. Second, great power guarantees were not mentioned. Instead, ASEAN would make necessary efforts to "secure the recognition of, and respect for," Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Third, non-involvement in the region by external powers was deleted. Instead, non-interference of

¹⁷⁸ Ismail said, "My Government is aware that we are still a long way away from attaining that desirable objective which we believe should be high in the priorities of the regional agenda." Razak stated "We are naturally aware that this is a long-term solution." For Ismail's speech, see *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1970), p. 58. For Razak's speech, see Abdul Razak, "Malaysia's Foreign Policy, Malaysian Government, 1971 (speech of 26 July 1971)," cited in Wilson, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷⁹ Wilson, pp. 22-24.

¹⁸⁰ The meeting was held outside the ASEAN framework, and thus it could be seen as a genesis of informal ASEAN meeting. In this meeting, according to Hanggi, three agenda items were discussed in the meeting: 1) Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, 2) the attitude of the ASEAN member countries towards the PRC, and 3) the desirability of having an Asian Summit as envisaged by the President of the Philippines. Hanggi, p. 16.

external powers was reiterated by including the sentence from the 1967 Bangkok Declaration. Fourth, the non-aggression principle among Southeast Asian states was stated. Fifth, the statement regarding a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia was introduced, though it was only recognized and not enforced by the member states. Sixth, the legal terms of neutralization were entirely deleted, and ZOPFAN became a political document rather than a legal one. Because of these significant modifications, the original substance of neutralization was diluted.

These substantial compromises notwithstanding, the declaration of ZOPFAN synthesized the neutralization concept into non-interference principles inside and outside Southeast Asia as well as reiterated the national development objective stipulated in the Bangkok Declaration. ZOPFAN required not only great power non-interference, but also containment of intra-regional and intra-member conflicts through such means as non-interference or non-aggression and national development. Thus, providing the conceptual framework to pursue security, all three levels of institutional cooperation and individual efforts existing separately became an integral part of ZOPFAN realization.

This conceptualization also fostered the institutionalization of political consultations among ASEAN member states. As the ZOPFAN declaration stipulated, ASEAN member states would “explore ways and means of bringing about its realization” and collectively and individually secure the recognition and respect from outside states. ASEAN member states produced the initial procedural steps for realization of ZOPFAN: continuation of consultation for an integrated approach on “all matters and developments which affect the Southeast Asian region”; holding a Summit Meeting among ASEAN member states; creating a Committee of Senior Officials to study necessary steps toward ZOPFAN; and reaching out to non-member Southeast Asian states to inform of existence of the ZOPFAN concept.¹⁸¹ At this point, detailed political procedures and the ZOPFAN concept had yet to be materialized; however, this

¹⁸¹ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Press Statement Special ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Issue The Declaration Of Zone Of Peace, Freedom And Neutrality.”

declaration became a reference point for ASEAN to evaluate the regional strategic landscape and its action, and it enabled ASEAN to take one step to further clarify and prioritize its future institutional actions.

In sum, the years between 1968 and 1971 was a period of policy fumble for ASEAN to effectively manage the changing regional strategic landscape and ensure member states' security. Debates over the proposals for security and political cooperation under the ASEAN framework clarified ASEAN's *raison d'être* and to shape its ISPs: avoidance of the ASEAN military pact and creation of the conceptual framework of institutional approach to ensure security—promotion of diplomatic and political cooperation among ASEAN member states, continuation of economic, social, and cultural cooperation among ASEAN and other Southeast Asian states, and promotion of national development.

2. Phase II: ASEAN in 1972-1976—TAC and Bali Concord I

(1) Triggers: US Disengagement and the Sino-Soviet Rivalry in Southeast Asia

During the period of 1972-1976, the regional strategic balance in Southeast Asia underwent readjustment. The shift of the US global strategy and US decision on relative disengagement from Southeast Asia had a major impact on the regional balance of power. Indeed, after the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué and US-Soviet détente in Europe, which was typified by the conclusions of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks I (SALT I) Treaty, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in 1972, US relations with major powers improved in relative terms. However, this improvement did not translate into immediate tranquility of the intra-regional balance of power in Southeast Asia. Instead, the intra-regional balance of power remained fluid because of the concurrent evolution of the Sino-Soviet rivalry over the regional power vacuum created by the Western disengagement. With civil wars in Indochinese states, namely Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, reconfiguration of a new regional strategic balance was underway. Admittedly, even under this circumstance, some positive

strategic trend in Indochina was seen in 1973. After the 1972 Easter Offensive, at which North Vietnam undertook massive military assaults to South Vietnam, both South and North Vietnam began to commit themselves to hold the Paris peace talks, which had been held since 1968, and on January 17, 1973 the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, the so-called 1973 Paris Accord, was reached. However, even this seemingly positive trend created more uncertainty for some ASEAN member states.

With the US disengagement from Vietnam, several ASEAN member states faced not only reduction of US military presence in Southeast Asia, but also its military and economic aid to them, which was imperative for their national development. To be sure, before 1973, despite the fact that the general direction of U.S. foreign policy had been already set by the “Nixon Doctrine” and reducing troop numbers in Southeast Asia, the United States considered the importance of maintaining its political and military commitments to Southeast Asia as regional security was still unstable and other regional security framework were ineffective. In February 1972, Nixon, mentioning about ASEAN’s concept of ZOPFAN, pointed out the validity of ASEAN’s own understanding that to realize ZOPFAN, “much remains to be done before such an objective can be realized,”¹⁸² and subsequently, he confirmed US treaty commitments, nuclear deterrence, and military and economic assistance in Southeast Asia.¹⁸³ As a result, the United States maintained its material commitment to Southeast Asia, and instead of increasing its military presence, from 1971 to 1973, it increased both economic and military assistance to ASEAN member states from US\$402.1 million to US\$551.6 million.¹⁸⁴

However, due to the conclusion of the Paris Peace Accords, the United States had substantially decreased economic and military assistance towards ASEAN member states from 1973 to 1974. The amount of U.S. economic assistance to Indonesia, the Philippines, and

¹⁸² Richard Nixon, “Letter of Transmittal: To the Congress of the United States, Feb. 9, 1972,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 1707, March 13, 1972, p. 356.

¹⁸³ Richard Nixon, “U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970’s Shaping a Durable Peace: A Report to the Congress,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 68, No. 1771, June 4, 1973, p. 720.

¹⁸⁴ See “Appendix I: US Aid to ASEAN Member States (1967-1976).”

Thailand as well as its military assistance to the Philippines and Thailand, US military allies in Southeast Asia, was less than halved, and US total assistance to ASEAN member states dropped from US\$551.6 million to US\$275 million.¹⁸⁵ The United States argued that this assistance aimed more at strengthening the internal security management of each Southeast Asian state.¹⁸⁶ It also stated that reduction of its political commitment to ASEAN aimed at alleviating suspicions that the United States would create a puppet organization in Southeast Asia and foster the Asian states to take initiative to resolve their regional issues by their own.¹⁸⁷ In this sense, while reducing hostility with the Soviet Union and China, the United States aimed at not only “Vietnamization,” but also “Southeast Asianization” after 1973.¹⁸⁸

At the same time, the political vacuum created by the US disengagement also began to increase the tension between China and the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia. While the Sino-Soviet rivalry consolidated political division in Indochina, China and the Soviet Union attempted to influence ASEAN member states. This was because both began to prevent each other from taking advantage of this strategic opportunity to increase their political and military influence in Southeast Asia. On the one hand, already undertaking rapprochement with the United States and producing the Shanghai Communiqué in 1972, China became more explicit in its attempt to counter balance the Soviet influence in the international arena and North Vietnam’s intervention in Indochina. During the 1960s, China competed with the Soviet Union over strengthening ties with North Vietnam by providing strategic visions in Indochina and economic and military aid to North Vietnam. However, in the early 1970s, China substantially lessened its strategic commitment to North Vietnam because it could no longer compete with the Soviet Union in terms of economic and military technological advantages and the amount of aid provided to North

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Kenneth Rush, “Department Discusses Security Assistance Program for Fiscal Year 1974,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 68, No. 1770, May 28, 1973, p. 696.

¹⁸⁷ William Rogers, “Secretary Rogers Discusses Major Foreign Policy Issues,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 1704, February 21, 1972, pp. 239-240.

¹⁸⁸ Although the United States provided more assistance to ASEAN members in 1975 and 1976, its increase did not reach to the same level of 1971-1973.

Vietnam.¹⁸⁹ By 1973, China had substantially reduced its aid and completely withdrawn its troops,¹⁹⁰ and it became more assertive on its territorial claims on both the land border and the South China Sea, especially the Paracel and Spratly Islands. This is illustrated by the series of the

¹⁸⁹ The strategic competition between the Soviet Union and China over North Vietnam set in forth from the mid-1960s, when the United States decided to intensify the Vietnam War by sending its troops in Vietnam. Both the Soviet Union and China increased its military and economic assistance to North Vietnam in order to counter balance the US military involvement. While China contributed to its engineering troops for the construction and maintenance of defense works, airfields, roads, and railways in North Vietnam as well as anti-aircraft artillery troops, the Soviet Union substantially increased its economic and military aid from approximately US\$ 150 million to US\$500 million. However, it was four main events in 1968 that the foundation of major strategic changes in the relations among the Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam shifted toward the Sino-North Vietnam split and intensification of the Sino-Soviet rivalry. First, the *Tet* Offensive was undertaken, and this offensive strategy constituted a contradiction with China's strategy of "people's war." According to Mao Zedong's theory of protracted people's war, the revolutionary force would use guerilla tactics, gradually move from rural areas to city areas, and eventually commit positional warfare. However, the offensive did not take a necessary step and quickly moved into positional warfare, and China began to directly contact with the NLF, bypassing North Vietnam. Second, although China had been opposing the peace talks with the United States in order to pursue a protracted war, North Vietnam decided to hold the talks in 1968. China criticized this maneuver partly because negotiated settlement was more preferred by the Soviet Union in the context of the US-Soviet détente, and partly because it would likely marginalize China's international and regional political influence as it would illustrate US and the Soviet Union bypassing China. Third, the Soviet Union announced the doctrine of "limited sovereignty," by which it would intervene in other socialist states under the name of the Warsaw Pact when their political system was in danger. This is well-illustrated when the Soviet crushed the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. As this political doctrine would justify Soviet intervention in other region, including Southeast Asia, it became possible that the Soviet Union would attempt to increase its political and military influence in Southeast Asian socialist states by intervention. Fourth, Richard Nixon became the US president-elect in November 1968, and it became more likely that the United States would undertake its military withdrawal from Vietnam. This was expected to create the regional political and military vacuum in Indochina, and the expectation that such windows of opportunity for the Soviet Union would increase its political and military influence in the region in the near future heightened. In this setting, from China's perspective, it became more challenging to win over North Vietnam and thwart the Soviet influence, and pursuing its status-quo strategy would no longer serve its national interests. In order to overcome these setbacks, China began to gradually shift its strategy by starting to reduce its military and economic supports for North Vietnam, approaching to other Southeast Asian states, including Laos and Cambodia, and considering potential rapprochement with the United States to capitalize on the US-Soviet contention. Admittedly, it did not induce an immediate, complete strategic shift from both China and North Vietnam. For example, North Vietnam still attempted to maintain a strategic tie with China in 1971 by refusing the Soviet proposal to conclude a "Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" to counter China's influence. Also, even though China became more reluctant to provide economic and military aid to North Vietnam, it kept providing them, especially during and after the 1972 Easter Offensive. In short, Vietnam still hedged not to be strategically dominated by either the Soviet Union or China, while China hedged by pursuing a two-pronged policy: maintaining its influence over North Vietnam and approaching to the United States and Southeast Asia. However, their strategic inclination became more evident, and the broader strategic shift was under way. It was after the 1973 Paris Peace Accord that Hanoi and China stopped pursuing these hedging policies. See Douglas Pike, *Vietnam and the Soviet Union: Anatomy of an Alliance*, (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987), p. 91 and p. 139; Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 221-229 and p. 231; Qiang Zhai, *China and the Vietnam Wars 1950-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 174-177, p. 179, and p. 182; Chen, p. 235.

¹⁹⁰ Zhai, pp. 135.

Sino-Vietnamese armed border skirmishes, which had counted more than one hundred since 1973.¹⁹¹ In addition, China began to take a more accommodative approach towards ASEAN. For example, when Chen Ji-Shen visited Malaysia in July 1974, China officially mentioned for the first time that the ZOPFAN concept was compatible with China's principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of the region and freedom from external intervention, and Zhou Enlai also gave the same statement later.¹⁹² Since China intended to hold off the Soviet influence over Southeast Asia, it endorsed if not fully approved the concept of neutrality, even though China's guarantorship for neutrality was still limited in terms of its military capability vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union strengthened its political, economic and military ties with North Vietnam, and it attempted to expand its political and military influence in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union, maintaining détente with the United States, began to thwart China's influence in Southeast Asia by a "divide-and-rule" strategy. First, it further strengthened its ties with North Vietnam by providing more aid. At this time, the Soviet Union had already shifted its policy towards global communist movements, and instead of indiscriminately providing assistance to any socialist states, it concentrated on providing its resources to states that were likely to be successful in their communist movement.¹⁹³ Accordingly, the Soviet Union concentrated on its assistance to North Vietnam, and by 1975, its economic aid accounted for approximately 80 percent of North Vietnam's state budget.¹⁹⁴ Also, North Vietnam increasingly relied on the Soviet heavy weapon systems, including its SAMs, arsenals, tanks and rocketry, in its war-fighting strategy, and their economic and military ties became stronger than ever. Second,

¹⁹¹ North Vietnam remained silent when the 1974 naval clash over the Paracel Islands between China and South Vietnam, even though North Vietnam had proposed to resolve the territorial disputes in December 1973. China became more assertive on its territorial claim, and after the naval clash in 1974, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted that the Paracel and Spratly Islands, and two archipelagos in South China Sea "have always been China's territory." Nayan Chanda, "Disputes: Sino-Soviet rivalry: Islands of friction," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 90, No. 50, December 12, 1975, p. 28; Zhai, p. 210.

¹⁹² Chang, "ASEAN's Proposed Neutrality," p. 250.

¹⁹³ Susanne Birgerson, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia: Implications for Russian Foreign Policy," *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Winter 1997), pp. 216-217.

¹⁹⁴ Pike, p. 77 and p. 106.

the Soviet Union also approached to Southeast Asian states. Indonesia, which had been suspicious about China's ambitions in Southeast Asia, announced an agreement with Moscow to resume Soviet project aid, including power projects of the 500 and 180 megawatt range.¹⁹⁵ Also, while sympathizing the ZOPFAN concept, the Soviet Union attempted to strengthen its influence over the ASEAN states by revitalizing Brezhnev's "Asian collective security" proposal, which aimed at excluding the United States and China,¹⁹⁶ although this proposal again failed.¹⁹⁷

By 1975, when North Vietnam captured Saigon, the Sino-Soviet strategic rivalry over Indochina became more evident. After the war, China suggested to North Vietnam to keep distance from the Soviet Union as the Soviet Union had a political intention to become a regional hegemon, yet North Vietnam did not take this anti-hegemony stance.¹⁹⁸ Since then, China had no longer had a political intention to win over North Vietnam. In September, when North Vietnamese delegations visited China, China clearly showed its reluctance to provide aid to Vietnam, resulting in no joint communiqué or statement after the meeting. Chairman Mao Zedong implicitly told Vietnamese Party Secretary General Le Duan that Vietnam should not look for aid from China any longer.¹⁹⁹ On the contrary, the Soviet-Vietnamese relations were further strengthened. When the bilateral meeting was held in Moscow in October, the Soviet Union agreed to provide more economic and military aid in the next five years to purchase Soviet equipment and technical assistance and to strengthen economic ties, while showing their

¹⁹⁵ Dan Coggin, "AID: Indonesia: A Soviet fund package," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 90, No. 50 December 12, 1975, p. 48.

¹⁹⁶ William Bundy, "New Tides in Southeast Asia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (January 1971), p. 189; Birgeron, "The Evolution of Soviet Foreign Policy in Southeast Asia," pp. 221-222.

¹⁹⁷ Since North Vietnam maintained its hostile posture toward ASEAN as a result of Thai and Filipino participation in the Vietnam War on the side of the United States, and since the Soviet Union did not spell out the full detail of the proposal nor ask for endorsement, the idea again dissipated. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, "Parliamentary Questions and Answers," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1973), p. 90. Moreover, Tun Abdul Razak argued in July 1973 that "we should concentrate our efforts on ensuring the security for our region of Southeast Asia through our neutralization proposal first." See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, "Parliamentary Questions and Answers," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 1973), p. 38.

¹⁹⁸ Sheldon Simon, "China, Vietnam, and ASEAN: The Politics of Polarization," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 12 (December 1979), p. 1173.

¹⁹⁹ Mao said on September 24 that "today, [Vietnam is] not the poorest under the heaven. [China is] the poorest. We have a population of 800 million." See Zhai, p. 213.

congruence of political views on “many issues,” including the Soviet détente to the United States, and discussing creation of a formal bilateral alliance. In December, the Soviet promised to reconstruct more than 160 heavy and light industrial enterprises and to provide 40 capital projects, whose total aid amount was estimated at \$500 million.²⁰⁰ In addition, by strengthening strategic ties with Vietnam and utilizing its strategic location including the Cam Ranh Bay, the Soviet Union began to militarily contain China in Indochina comprehensively. Therefore, in late 1975, in the face of an increasingly diminishing US presence, the Southeast Asia faced a different strategic power balance that was shaped by the Sino-Soviet rivalry.

ASEAN member states, having already expected that the United States would not maintain the same level of military presence in the region in the early 1970s, perceived the changing regional balance of power, resulting in formulation of the 1971 ZOPFAN concept. However, as changes in the Southeast Asian balance of power were still underway in early 1970s, each ASEAN member state also expected further changes from 1971, and yet they had difficulty in assessing how the future strategic balance in the region was reconfigured. In the meantime, from 1972 to 1976, both the Soviet Union and China approached ASEAN member states, and consequently, despite the informal consultations among ASEAN member states, their views and diplomatic maneuvers were not congruent in terms of their relations with regional powers.²⁰¹

Two ASEAN member states, Indonesia and Singapore, were unwilling to have a formal tie with China. Indonesia, having frozen diplomatic ties with China since 1967 after its domestic anti-Chinese movements and having skepticism about China’s support for communist insurgencies, was wary about China and did not pursue diplomatic normalization by emphasizing its domestic concern, where Indonesia fought against domestic communist insurgencies

²⁰⁰ Marian Leighton, “Vietnam and the Sino-Soviet Rivalry,” *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Sept.-Oct., 1978), pp. 3-5; Radio Moscow in Vietnamese, August 28, 1975, cited in Sheldon Simon, “Peking and Indochina: The Perplexity of Victory,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 16, No. 5 (May 1976), pp. 402-403.

²⁰¹ In fact, there were several exchanges of views among ASEAN member states, regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, through such an informal dialogue as the Razak-Suharto and the Razak-Kittakachorn meetings. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, “Parliamentary Questions and Answers,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 1973), pp. 41-42.

considered to be supported by China. Malik argued in 1974 that it would take a time to normalize relations with China because Indonesia needed to “prepare” its people properly, while acknowledging that its political position toward China was different from other ASEAN member states.²⁰² Singapore, while holding its diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union since June 1968, also remained wary about China because it was more inclined to maintain the regional balance of power by keeping the Western Power relationship. For example, Lee Kuan Yew regarded Western powers as more benign than communist states and urged the United States to maintain a military presence in Thailand at the beginning of 1973.²⁰³ Even when it became more apparent that the United States would disengage from the region and Singapore decided to make high-level official visits to China, Singapore remained skeptical. In Rajaratnam’s visit to China in 1975, it did not establish formal diplomatic relations with China because Singapore intended to monitor Indonesia’s decision to normalize China as well as to firmly establish “Singapore identity” by distinguishing its ethnic origin from the Chinese.²⁰⁴ In 1976, when Prime Minister Lee visited China for the first time, he had no intention to normalize the relations despite China’s usual assurance of non-interference.²⁰⁵

On the other hand, Malaysia approached both the Soviet Union and China in the early 1970s in order to realize its neutralization proposal by gaining great power guarantees. Already establishing its diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1967, Prime Minister Razak visited Moscow in November 1972 to hold a talk with Chairman Podgorny and produced a joint Soviet-Malaysian communiqué, which aimed at strengthening economic and technical cooperation. After Malaysia began diplomatic relations with North Vietnam in 1973, it became the first ASEAN member state to restore its relations with China in 1974 through the Sino-Malaysian agreement,

²⁰² “ASEAN and the PRC,” *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (Jul.-Aug., 1974), p. 428.

²⁰³ Wilson, p. 58.

²⁰⁴ R. S. Milne, “Malaysia and Singapore, 1975,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (February 1976), p. 192.

²⁰⁵ Singapore did not have a formal diplomatic relation with China until 1990. Robert Tilman and Jo Tilman, “Malaysia and Singapore, 1976: A Year of Challenge, A Year of Change,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (February 1977), pp. 152-153.

which contained mutual diplomatic recognition, “mutual non-aggression,” “non-interference in each other’s internal affairs,” and “peaceful co-existence.”²⁰⁶ The Philippines followed suit after Malaysia, and in June 1974, the state made diplomatic relations with China, emphasizing “mutual respect of sovereignty,” “mutual non-aggression,” “non-interference,” and “to settle all disputes by peaceful means.”²⁰⁷ Despite the domestic political instability that derived from the October 1973 democratization, Thailand also established diplomatic relations with China in July 1975 by adopting a joint communiqué in the same manner as the Sino-Filipino communiqué.²⁰⁸ However, as Thailand perceived more immediate threats from Vietnam, it tilted towards China rather than the Soviet Union, which economically and militarily assisted Vietnam.

Instead of pursuing a common policy towards China and the Soviet Union during the period from 1971 to 1976, ASEAN attempted to include all states in Southeast Asia by inviting non-member states to the AMMs to fill the power vacuum created by the United States and to establish the region free from external intervention, a step toward realization of ZOPFAN. ASEAN invited observers from the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic in 1972 and from the Khmer Republic and the Royal Kingdom of Laos in 1973 and 1974.²⁰⁹ In fact, ASEAN’s membership expansion was discussed intensively at the AMMs.

²⁰⁶ Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Malaysia, “Joint Communiqué of the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of Malaysia, 1974.05.31,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://my.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/BilateralDocuments/t317712.htm>.

²⁰⁷ Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of the Philippines, “Joint Communiqué of the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, June 9, 1975,” November 15, 2000, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://ph.china-embassy.org/eng/zfgx/zzgx/t183265.htm>.

²⁰⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, “Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Kingdom of Thailand and the People’s Republic of China, July 1, 1975,” November 15, 2000, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/tyfls/tyfl/2631/t15506.htm>.

²⁰⁹ See ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué of the Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting 1972, Singapore 13-14 April, 1972” in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988* (Jakarta, ASEAN Secretariat, 1988), pp. 72-73; ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué of the Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Pattaya, Thailand, 16-18 April 1973,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 73-74; ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué of the Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, Indonesia, 7-9 May 1974,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 74-76.

However, such institutional efforts were thwarted when the political divide between the Soviet Union and China became evident in 1975, and the security situation in Indochina increasingly became enmeshed in the Sino-Soviet rivalry. In April 17, Cambodia fell to the communist forces, and the Khmer Rouge, backed by China, and Pol Pot seized political power in September. In April 30, Saigon was captured and unified by North Vietnam with the support of the Soviet Union, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established in July. In December, Laos came under the control of the communist force, Pathet Lao, backed by Vietnam, which abdicated King Savang Vatthana and created the Laos People's Democratic Republic. Indochina was further entangled in great power politics.

Furthermore, North Vietnam and later unified Vietnam had considered ASEAN as a quasi-military alliance supported by the United States,²¹⁰ and it did not have any interest in becoming a member. Although Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien visited all the ASEAN member states except for Thailand in 1976 to reassure that Vietnam had no intention to intervene in other Southeast Asian states due to its concentration on economic reconstruction in the post-war period,²¹¹ Vietnam's intention was to seek for improvement of bilateral relations with ASEAN member states by establishing diplomatic relations, but did not seek relations with ASEAN as an organization.²¹²

In this sense, the ZOPFAN concept could not prevent Indochinese states from major power intervention, and it became more difficult for ASEAN to realize the terms of ZOPFAN. It is in this strategic context that ASEAN needed to reconsider its institutional methods to realize ZOPFAN.

²¹⁰ Simon, "China, Vietnam, and ASEAN," p. 1181.

²¹¹ Leighton, "Vietnam and the Sino-Soviet Rivalry," pp. 20-21.

²¹² In fact, Vietnam seemed to accept the principle of the ZOPFAN concept although it used the term, "zone of peace, independence, and neutrality." However, it advocated that US bases and arrangements with the Philippines and Thailand, as well as Malaysian and Singaporean ties with the West through the FPDA should be abolished. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

(2) Quasi-Positive: Emerging Two Divisions in Southeast Asia

During the period from 1972 to 1976, the process of ASEAN's institutional transformation was not straightforward. Since the ZOPFAN concept required inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states and great power guarantees, engagement toward all Southeast Asian states and great powers was the policy option that ASEAN needed to pursue. However, while US disengagement opened windows of opportunity, the instability in Indochina, namely Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, which was caused by domestic political instability and entanglement of the Sino-Soviet rivalry, remained, and it became the greatest concerns in ASEAN, as such instability might spill over to Southeast Asia as a whole. Thus, ASEAN member states' expectations of the future regional balance of power during this period oscillated between "positive" and "uncertain," struggling for institutional consolidation: positive consensus in 1972; mixed views of positive and uncertain in 1973; consensus on uncertainty in 1974; and diverging views of positive and uncertain in 1975.

In April 1972, the ASEAN's overall evaluation of the regional security situation was cautiously positive. Singapore argued that despite major powers' continued involvement in the region, there was a game change in great power politics. Rajaratnam pointed out that while there was conflicts "on the basis of a life-and-death struggle between the free world and socialist camps...when necessary, with direct military intervention by the big powers to ensure victory" in the past, great powers no longer considered the third world as the stage of great power conflicts.²¹³ Thailand and the Philippines also generally saw a positive change in the regional balance of power on the basis of the Sino-US rapprochement. Kohman touched on the Shanghai Communiqué and argued that both the United States and China agreed "not to seek hegemony in the Asia Pacific region and to oppose efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony" in addition to the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs

²¹³ S. Rajaratnam, "The Importance of ASEAN Enhanced" (1972), in Siagian, p. 200.

of other states, which was an “encouraging sign” for regional stability.²¹⁴ Kohman added that although North Vietnam’s 1972 Easter Offensive had a serious negative effect on regional stability, it was small states’ responsibilities to refrain from such action, and he did not attribute regional conflicts to great powers. The Philippines, pointing out the Shanghai Communiqué produced by the Sino-US rapprochement and the US-Soviet détente, also saw the positive development for the ZOPFAN declaration.²¹⁵

Indonesia regarded the rapid change in the political relations among the major powers rather favorable. While it maintained a cautious attitude towards the shift by arguing that the shifts in the regional balance of power “may have adverse effects for [Southeast Asia]” due to the Indochinese conflicts, Indonesia asserted that it was ASEAN’s responsibility to take adequate measures for its institutional principles, such as the Jakarta Conference for Cambodian settlement.²¹⁶ Malaysia considered that the development of the security situation was slowly moving toward “peace and tranquility,” and the Sino-US rapprochement was the evidence of the potential to realize the ZOPFAN because “states with different political systems can co-exist peacefully on the basis of mutual respect for each other’s sovereignty and integrity.”²¹⁷ Due to the great powers’ rapprochement, this is reflected by ASEAN’s expectations that ASEAN could gradually include all the Southeast Asian states.

Accordingly, ASEAN in this period attempted to cautiously consolidate its political-security function by holding informal AMMs, followed by the 1971 Kuala Lumpur meeting, which made ASEAN function as a cooperative security mechanism. In July 1972 and February 1973, ASEAN held two informal meetings to assess development of the security situation in Southeast Asia. The two meetings basically reconfirmed that Southeast Asian states were primarily responsible for regional stability, including Indochina, in the context of changes in the

²¹⁴ Thanat Khoman, “The New Reproachment of Relations [sin]” (1972), in Siagian, pp. 175-176.

²¹⁵ Jose D. Ingles, “ASEAN Should Have Two Levels of Priorities” (1972), in Siagian, pp. 198-199.

²¹⁶ Adam Malik, “ASEAN Strategy in the First Development Decade” (1972), in Siagian, p. 179.

²¹⁷ Ismail Al-Haj, “The Steady Progress of ASEAN,” at the 1972 AMM, in Siagian, p. 192.

balance of power, and they endorsed periodic informal consultations among ASEAN countries.²¹⁸ While the 1972 meeting was to reaffirm the basic principle of ASEAN, the 1973 meeting, which was held immediately after the Paris Peace Accords, went further to express their satisfaction with the Accords regarding Vietnam's cease-fire and respect for non-intervention of Laos and Cambodia. To further consolidate the institution, ASEAN considered creation of an "Asian forum" of all the Southeast Asian states and expansion of the membership.²¹⁹ Each member held a positive development of the evolving regional security situation and suggested that ASEAN needed to become more effective by institutional consolidation.²²⁰ Although ASEAN's security function was essentially limited to political discussions about the development of the regional security situations, it became clear that ASEAN attempted to develop itself into an exclusive cooperative security institution in Southeast Asia.

In April 1973, however, ASEAN faced security challenges despite the Paris Peace Accords. Since Indochina was still unstable and the US aid to Southeast Asia was expected to decline, ASEAN member states could not maintain the same positive expectations as they did in April 1972. Since some ASEAN member states were more affected by these changes than others, perspectives of the intra-regional balance of power and expectations for ASEAN differed: Thailand held a more negative view of a change; Singapore and the Philippines were more uncertain; and Indonesia and Malaysia maintained a positive view. Thailand, concerned more seriously about Indochinese conflicts, especially its neighbor, Cambodia, showed a negative view on the intra-regional balance of power. This was shown when Thailand's Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, Prime Minister, despite ASEAN's institutional preference that it would not

²¹⁸ ASEAN Secretariat, "The ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting to Discuss International Developments Affecting the Region, Manila, 13-14 July 1972," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 151; ASEAN Secretariat, "The ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting to Assess the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam and to Consider its Implications for Southeast Asia, Kuala Lumpur, 15 February 1973," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

²¹⁹ Thanom Kittikachorn, "The Spirit of Solidarity and Cooperation" (1973), in Siagian, p. 212; *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

²²⁰ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 72-73.

institutionally form any military coalition, advocated that ASEAN should collectively tackle the security issues and initiate the Southeast Asian forum wherein all the states in Southeast Asia would gather to discuss security issues.²²¹ Brigadier-General Chatichai Choonhavan, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, also argued that ASEAN needed to assume its responsibilities for security issues, and opposing expansion of the membership, suggested detachment of ASEAN member states from other Southeast Asian states to consolidate the institution, including the establishment of the ASEAN central secretariat.²²² Although these ideas were not further discussed within ASEAN, this shows Thailand's immediate concerns regarding its own security.

Singapore, which emphasized ASEAN as an "economic organization," leaned towards more an uncertain view due to two major concerns: ASEAN's economic growth and intra-regional conflicts. First, it was concerned about the reduction of aid coming from the United States because great powers shifted their strategies to settle differences "not buying allies but through direct negotiation among themselves."²²³ Rajaratnam saw this trend as a negative economic situation for ASEAN member states. He feared that it would slow economic growth because ASEAN's growth was dependent on not intra-ASEAN cooperation but extra regional trade and investment. Second, Singapore considered the possibility of further instability in the intra-regional balance of power in Southeast Asia. Rajaratnam argued that while Singapore considered wars from external actors were less likely, the probability of conflicts and rivalry within Indochina, namely Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, increased. The Philippines were also uncertain about the future prospect of the regional balance of power by asserting that the current regional situation faced "unpredictable change."²²⁴

On the other hand, Indonesian and Malaysian expectations were little changed. Indonesia maintained a cautious optimistic view. Acknowledging that rapprochements among major powers

²²¹ Kittikachorn, "The Spirit of Solidarity and Cooperation," p. 212.

²²² Chatichai Choonhavan, "The Establishment of ASEAN Secretariat" (1973), in Siagian, p. 233-234.

²²³ S. Rajaratnam, "We Formed ASEAN Without War" (1973), in Siagian, p. 213.

²²⁴ Carlos P. Romulo, "Wider Consultation between Great Powers and Countries of the Region Urged" (1973), in Siagian, p. 229.

were still a positive trend, it advocated that the “shifts in the power equilibrium may have adverse effects on Southeast Asia” unless ASEAN undertook actions through institutional consolidation, including strengthening national and regional development program, creation of an ASEAN central secretariat, and coordinating unified political stances in economic negotiations with major powers towards the establishment of ZOPFAN.²²⁵ Malaysia still maintained its positive perspective on ASEAN’s utility in the changing regional balance of power and regarded this shift as an opportunity for ASEAN to create peace in Indochina through the ASEAN Coordination Committee in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Indochina and to “consolidate [ASEAN’s] foundations.”²²⁶ Therefore, at this point, ASEAN member states’ views were not a monolith, while all of them attempted to seek for its institutional utility for their security.

In May 1974, despite dissonances in 1973, ASEAN’s expectations towards the changes again began to converge and to have a consensual view of “uncertainty” as the member states were increasingly aware that the major power rapprochement had not positively affected the regional balance of power and high probability of Indochina conflicts still existed. Indonesia remained convinced that uncertainty in Indochina was heightened because of external intervention into Southeast Asia. Suharto argued that “the present détente still refers to the behavior of superpowers...[and] détente still prevails in certain regions of the world only while war and conflicts continue to be the disturbing reality in [Southeast Asia],” and thus, the détente “[does] not automatically provide [Southeast Asians] with the assurance that outside powers will cease interfering in the internal affairs of our region.”²²⁷ Malik followed the same line by stating that Southeast Asia was “being confronted with an alarming chain-reaction of new crises enveloping the world...[and] real peace has still not returned to the people of Indochina.”²²⁸

²²⁵ Adam Malik, “ASEAN—Cristalized [sic] into a Dynamic Reality and a Noticeable Force in the International World” (1973), in Siagian, p. 219.

²²⁶ Ismail Abudul Rahman, “The New Challenges in ASEAN Cooperation” (1973), in Siagian, p. 228.

²²⁷ Suharto, “ASEAN—Made Progress in Transforming Differences into Mutual Confidence” (1974), in Siagian, pp. 241-242.

²²⁸ Adam Malik, “The Blueprint of ASEAN” (1974), in Siagian, p. 272.

Other ASEAN member states also followed suit. Malaysia attempted to maintain its positive prospects of great powers' rapprochement, yet tended to see a negative side of the development in terms of conflicts in Indochina and economic uncertainties due to world inflation and monetary instability.²²⁹ This was also echoed by Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen Rithaudeen, Malaysian Minister of Information and Special Functions for Foreign Affairs, who explained that détente among super powers was not a "panacea" for world major political, economic and social problems.²³⁰ The Philippines held a similar perspective to Malaysia's by mentioning that the ceasefire agreement in Indochina gave the "sense of optimism" but did not bring peace in Cambodia and Vietnam.²³¹ Singapore argued that the Paris Peace Treaty and détente between the great powers had "little substance" in 1974.²³² Thailand also said, "[Indochina's] developments since [the Paris Peace Accords] have given us little reason to rejoice," and it was concerned about the possibility of North Vietnam's new offensive toward Cambodia.²³³

In May 1975, the regional security assessment among ASEAN member states again differed from each other due to the fall of Saigon and Cambodia. Some states, such as Indonesia and Malaysia, attempted to see the security situations in Southeast Asia relatively positive, albeit their cautious assessment. Razak asserted that Southeast Asia became "a different place from what it was only a few short weeks ago...Peace, for the most part, has come to this Region,"²³⁴

²²⁹ Since Tun Dr. Ismail, Deputy Prime Minister, died in August 1973, his successor, Datuk Hussein Onn, attended the 1974 AMM meeting. Since this was the first time for him to attend the AMM, his speech was relatively short and did not have much policy contents. See Hussein Onn, "Good Would Come out of ASEAN Spirit—Vision—Faith in it" (1974), in Siagian, pp. 248-249.

²³⁰ Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, "Co-ordinating Bureau Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana March 17-19: Speech by Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, Minister of Information and Special Functions for Foreign Affairs. March 18," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 1975), p. 37.

²³¹ Carlos P. Romulo, "ASEAN Way is That of Dialogue Rather than Confrontation" (1974), in Siagian, p. 252.

²³² S. Rajaratnam, "The Seven Year History of ASEAN Justifies an Optimistic Assessment" (1974), in Siagian, p. 259.

²³³ Chrunphan Isarangun Na Ayuthaya, "The Spirit of Compromise of Mutual Accommodation" (1974), in Siagian, p. 264.

²³⁴ Abdul Razak, "ASEAN will always remain an Efficient and Vigorous Organization" (1975), in Siagian, p. 288.

and Malik said “peace has come to Indo-China, suddenly and dramatically.”²³⁵ Others, namely Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand, were more cautious about the development. Singapore’s Rajaratnam warned that despite the shift of regional balance of power, ASEAN member states should not forget that the United States would remain engaged in Asia, and that ASEAN should not take a side with one major power.²³⁶ The Philippines was concerned that the shift in the balance of forces in Indochina would still have potential for Chinese and the Soviet intervention, which would destabilize the region, and thus, Romulo pointed out that “no matter how we view the situation, the Asian future is decidedly uncertain.”²³⁷ Thailand, while it said that ASEAN welcomed the restoration of peace in Cambodia and Vietnam, still saw the possibility of conflicts among Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand on the basis of historical patterns shown in the past 100 years in the Indochinese Peninsula.²³⁸ In this sense, the oscillation of security perspective among ASEAN member states from 1973 to 1975 illustrates that there was a little institutional consensus on security outlooks in Southeast Asia.

However, the significance of this period for ASEAN was that ASEAN member states began to geographically detach themselves from the Indochinese states that were entangled by great power politics. Indeed, unlike the period between 1968 and 1971, ASEAN’s security discussions from 1972 to 1976 focused exclusively on Indochina and the major powers’ maneuver, not intra-member conflicts within ASEAN. There was no speech indicating the intra-member rivalry in this period, and ASEAN member states no longer debated in its meetings over intra-member rivalry on the basis of territorial disputes or potential major powers’ military and political encroachment into the ASEAN region. Their security concerns were more about each member states’ internal subversion and the spill-over effects of the potential intensification of the

²³⁵ Adam Malik, “The Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and Mutual Beneficial Cooperation” (1975), in Siagian, p. 311.

²³⁶ He said, “Worse [still] if we have no choice but to come to terms with one power, then that is disaster.” S. Rajaratnam, “ASEAN Today is Our Shield” (1975), in Siagian, p. 300.

²³⁷ Carlos P. Romulo, “A Period of Sober Reassessment” (1975), in Siagian, p. 293.

²³⁸ Chatichai Choonhavan, “A Sad Chapter of History has ended” (1975), in Siagian, pp. 305-306.

conflicts in Indochina, not of that in ASEAN region, although they disagreed over the implication of the potential effects of the future intra-regional balance of power. In other words, they perceived the intra-member security situations more positively than that of Indochina, and ASEAN decided to first consolidate itself rather than including the unstable Indochinese states immediately.

This does not necessarily mean that ASEAN abandoned the Indochinese states as potential members of the association. The ZOPFAN concept, which encompassed the entire Southeast Asian region, was still institutionally valid, and one of the ASEAN's ultimate objectives was to include all the Southeast Asian states as members. For example, the joint communiqué of the 1972 informal AMM meeting stipulated ASEAN's desire to expand its membership to Indochinese states,²³⁹ and in the 1973 AMM soon after the Paris Peace Accords, Indonesia and Singapore argued for expansion of ASEAN's membership. Also, in 1973, Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister Ismail rejected an ASEAN institutional option to build defenses against the potential emergence of an Indochinese communist bloc and pursue a policy of containment, as it would only exacerbate conflicts in Southeast Asia.²⁴⁰ Yet, institutional momentum to include non-member states in Indochina diminished as uncertainty in the Indochinese security situation increased, and while it remained as an institutional objective, ASEAN did not expand its membership in the 1970s. By 1975, several ASEAN states were more explicit in emphasizing differences between ASEAN and Indochina. For example, Singapore argued that Southeast Asia had two systems of government, non-communist governments on the one hand, and communist or communist influenced governments on the other, and it emphasized that ASEAN member states had a larger population, more dynamic economic growth, and were

²³⁹ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

²⁴⁰ Ismail Abudul Rahman, "Current Scene in Southeast Asia and Malaysia's Perspective, at the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs at Wellington on March 22," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (March 1973), p. 22.

more integrated than those in Indochina.²⁴¹ Consequently, when the first ASEAN summit was held in 1976, it was only Malaysia that still advocated the expansion of membership.²⁴² Indeed, according to Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, Malaysian Foreign Minister, ASEAN decided to postpone taking a collective stance about its membership expansion by then.²⁴³

Instead, ASEAN began to pursue two phased institutional consolidations. First, ASEAN in a relatively positive security environment proceeds to consolidate itself, and second, whenever the security situation became favorable in Indochina, non-member Southeast Asian states would join in ASEAN. This is well-illustrated by the 1976 TAC and Bali Concord. On the one hand, TAC aimed at applying its principles to all the Southeast Asian states. As the formal name of TAC was the “Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in *Southeast Asia*” indicated, it stipulated that the treaty “shall be open for accession by other States in Southeast Asia” in Article 18.²⁴⁴ On the other hand, it also stipulated in Article 19 that the treaty “shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification with the Governments of the signatory States,” while leaving the Indochinese states aside at the time of 1976. The Bali Concord explicitly aimed at consolidating ASEAN by increasing national and “ASEAN” resilience instead of using the term “regional resilience.”²⁴⁵ In short, ASEAN created a tentative geographical scope, and ASEAN member states attempted to ensure their own security through consolidation of the institution.

²⁴¹ Rajaratnam, “ASEAN Today is Our Shield,” in Siagian, p. 301.

²⁴² At the 1976 Summit Meeting, Onn said, “At the last Ministerial Meeting held in Kuala Lumpur almost a year ago, ASEAN has shown its readiness to extend its hand of friendship, goodwill and cooperation to the Government of the Indo-China states.” However, there was no statement regarding the membership expansion in the 1975 AMM joint communiqué. Hussein Onn, “Statement by the Prime Minister of Malaysia His Excellency Datuk Hussein Onn at the Opening of the Meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government on February 23, 1976 at Denpasar, Bali,” in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, (Jakarta: State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1976), p. 16.

²⁴³ Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, “ASEAN: Contributor to Stability and Development,” (at the conference on “ASEAN—Today and Tomorrow”) *Fletcher Forum*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 1982), p. 364.

²⁴⁴ ASEAN Secretariat, *Treaty of Amity and Cooperation*.

²⁴⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, *Declaration of ASEAN Concord*.

(3) *ISP: Creating Geographical Divisions—ASEAN and Southeast Asia*

In 1971, the ZOPFAN declaration created a broad conceptual framework for ASEAN's activities and forged its ISPs by integrating regional, intra-regional, and internal security concepts. Also, as ASEAN's long-term objective, ZOPFAN became the member states' guideline for action in the international arena. Nevertheless, since details of the concept were still under consideration of a Committee of Senior Officials, and since institutional priorities had yet to be decided, ASEAN did not put any official statement regarding ZOPFAN in its AMM joint communiqués from 1972 to 1975.²⁴⁶ Instead, representatives of ASEAN member states engaged in informal discussion and provided their assessments of the progress of ZOPFAN in their speeches and press statements at AMMs.²⁴⁷ Thus, during the period from 1972 to 1976, two-level of institutional processes were concurrently undertaken to set institutional priorities for the realization of ZOPFAN: one at the foreign ministers' level and the other at the "senior official" level.

At the foreign ministers' level, the 1973 Paris Peace Treaty triggered ASEAN's discussion on ZOPFAN. Although the prospect of regional stability was still under question, at least, the peace treaty created a window of opportunity to realize ZOPFAN in Southeast Asia, and ASEAN member states began to consider and discuss an institutional consolidation process to transform the ZOPFAN concept into practice. In this setting, four INEs emerged: Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines. First, Indonesia introduced the concept of "regional resilience" on the basis of its own concept of "national resilience." In 1972, defining national resilience as "to enhance the capabilities and abilities of each member country and its people in

²⁴⁶ The 9th AMM in June 1976 mentioned about the ZOPFAN not because of outcomes of ASEAN Foreign Ministers' discussions, but because of outcomes of the first ASEAN Summit, which was held in February 1976 and officially mentioned about ZOPFAN for the first time.

²⁴⁷ The 1972 and 1973 Joint Press Statements after the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meetings touched on the development of the ZOPFAN concept. See ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement The ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Discuss International Developments Affecting The Region, Manila, 13-14 July 1972," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/1254.htm>; *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

all fields of national endeavor, in order to withstand and to overcome all kinds of outside interference and adverse influences, harmful to its sound and harmonious development,” Malik connected the concept to the regional context by stating that national resilience would be applied “within the regional context and its special bearing on ASEAN.”²⁴⁸ He further argued that it should be “the guiding principle” for ASEAN toward regional peace and stability.²⁴⁹ The concept of regional resilience, thus, introduced coordination efforts among Southeast Asian states as an alternative policy to neutralization though the two were not mutually exclusive. Suharto explained that “mutual trust and understanding” through interaction were necessary to strengthen regional resilience.²⁵⁰

Essentially, the concept of “national and regional resilience” placed ASEAN’s institutional security priority on intra-regional and internal security. The corollary of this is that achievement of national development and regional cooperation would create regional strength in Southeast Asia to prevent external powers from intervening into the region in any form. Since the principle of regional resilience did not contradict ZOPFAN concept and could be regarded as the first step to realize it, the term began to be used in the ASEAN context. The 1973 joint press statement of the ASEAN Ministers’ informal meeting used this term for the first time in the ASEAN meeting and expressed “the developing national and regional resilience could be the foundation on which Southeast Asian countries could assume responsibility [to achieve the peace and stability of the region and their own well-being].”²⁵¹ Subsequently, Malik expressed national and regional resilience as “vital for the eventual creation of a cohesive, strong, stable, prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian Nations” at the 1973 AMM.²⁵² It was echoed by

²⁴⁸ Adam Malik, “ASEAN Strategy,” in Siagian, p. 181.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Suharto, “ASEAN—Made Progress,” in Siagian, p. 241.

²⁵¹ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

²⁵² Adam Malik, “ASEAN—Cristalized [sic] into a Dynamic Reality,” in Siagian, p. 223. Ayuthaya, “The Spirit of Compromise of Mutual Accommodation,” in Siagian, p. 266; Ismail, “The New Challenges in ASEAN Cooperation,” in Siagian, p. 228.

other ASEAN member states, such as Malaysia and Thailand. For example, Malaysia asserted that national and regional resilience was “the promise of the neutralization proposal.”²⁵³

Second, Singapore emphasized more the strengthening of the economic function of ASEAN. Considering the economic weakness of each ASEAN member states, Singapore had long held a firm position that ASEAN should be an economic institution by placing a priority on member states’ economic consolidation for their domestic development. Yet, given the fact that ASEAN member states’ economies were competing with each other as most of member states were primary producers, Singapore dismissed the idea to strengthen intra-regional economic cooperation through such a means as establishment of a regional free-trade area as a short-term objective, and instead, it advocated that ASEAN need to foster trade with and attract investment from outside the region, although it did not explain detailed means to achieve it.²⁵⁴

In fact, in the context of the 1970s’ world economic and monetary instability, unequal terms of trade, emergence of trade blocs in the world, and decreasing economic aid to Southeast Asia from developed states in early 1970s, all the ASEAN member states were concerned about slowing domestic economic development, which would affect their internal security, and thus economic cooperation became one of the most important agendas in ASEAN in terms of economic negotiation with outside the region. For example, ASEAN created the Special Coordinating Committee of ASEAN (SCCAN) to negotiate with the European Economic Community (EEC) for better trading terms in 1972. Perceiving a “serious threat” economically from “indiscriminate expansion of the synthetic rubber industry by Japan,” ASEAN decided to work out appropriate measures, which eventually induced an agreement that Japan exercises self-restraint.²⁵⁵ By 1973, these economic policy coordinating groups among ASEAN member states

²⁵³ Ayuthaya, “The Spirit of Compromise of Mutual Accommodation,” in Siagian, p. 266; Ismail, “The New Challenges in ASEAN Cooperaiton,” in Siagian, p. 228; Razak, “ASEAN will always remain an Efficient and Vigorous Organization,” in Siagian, p. 291.

²⁵⁴ Lee Kuan Yew, “ASEAN Must Achieve Institutional Strength to Survive” (1972), in Siagian, p. 171.

²⁵⁵ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 73-74; ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué of the Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting,” in *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 75-76.

became an institutionalized practice, as is shown in the 1973 joint communiqué, which stated that the ASEAN Geneva Committee was established in order to “make necessary preparations for, and a collective approach to, the [Tokyo] multilateral trade negotiation.”²⁵⁶ Moreover, these economic collaborative efforts evolved into the ASEAN Economic Ministers’ Meeting, whose first meeting was held in 1975. Thus, ASEAN began to politically cooperate and coordinate their economic policies in multilateral trade negotiations with the world.

This Singapore’s economic emphasis resonated with Indonesia’s “national and regional resilience,” as Singapore considered economic development was a vital factor for each member states’ national development as well as for their internal security. It is doubtful that Singapore envisioned economic cooperation as a first step to realize ZOPFAN given the fact that it had never mentioned about such cooperation with other states in Southeast Asia. Its focus was more on national and intra-ASEAN cooperation. However, it did not contradict ZOPFAN concept and rather fostered ASEAN’s institutionalization process.

Third, Thailand induced a two-step approach for ASEAN’s institutional consolidation. This is illustrated by its proposal of an Asian Forum in 1973 after the Paris Peace Agreement. This forum was a modified version of the 1960s Filipino proposal of an Asian political forum. Instead of inviting all Asian states, which included such major powers as the United States and the Soviet Union, it would invite only Southeast Asian states, and this proposal was well considered within ASEAN. According to the informal AMM joint press statement in February 1973, ASEAN expressed its desire to hold an Asian forum and expand the membership of ASEAN to all the states in Southeast Asia, although the sentiment was expressed with some reservation, as evidenced by the statement that such a conference should be held “at an appropriate time in the future.”²⁵⁷ In April 1973, ASEAN reconfirmed its desirability of convening an Asian forum to “discuss problems of vital interest in the region,” “remove

²⁵⁶ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 73-74.

²⁵⁷ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, p. 152.

misunderstanding and dispel suspicion,” and “lead to productive and peaceful co-operation among the Southeast Asian nations,” in order to “safeguard the interests of the region as a whole.”²⁵⁸ In other words, now that the peace agreement was reached in Vietnam, there was a general agreement among ASEAN member states to consider the potential expansion. This idea took a cautious step to the realization of ZOPFAN in terms of securing Southeast Asia, which emphasized regional autonomy free from external interference, and it put ASEAN’s institutional priority more on intra-regional security. When the Sino-Soviet rivalry intensified and the prospect of Indochinese conflicts were more uncertain, this idea lost support; instead, the two-step approach was taken in creation of TAC and the Bali Concord.

Fourth, the Philippines, touching on its proposal for the adoption of an ASEAN charter in 1973,²⁵⁹ advocated in 1974 that the principle of the ASEAN Declaration in 1967 should be legally binding in order for the member states to strictly adhere and fully commit to the principles through the creation of such Charter.²⁶⁰ Although there was no consensus, the 1974 joint communiqué stated that the proposal would be under consideration of the Standing committee and member governments.²⁶¹ Considering its strong endorsement of Thailand’s proposal of the Asian forum, the Philippines at this time aimed at strengthening political commitments to the Bangkok Declaration from all Southeast Asian states. However, although this proposal gave ASEAN member states an opportunity to consider an institutional option to conclude a binding treaty for ASEAN’s objectives, it was not materialized due to the fact that ASEAN had yet to include all the Southeast Asian states as its members and that such a binding charter might prevent other non-member Southeast Asian states from assuming membership.

²⁵⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, “Press Statement issued at the end of the Conference of Foreign Ministers from ASEAN countries, in Pattaya, Thailand, April 17,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1973), p. 30.

²⁵⁹ Ingles, “ASEAN Should Have Two Levels of Priorities” (1972), in Siagian, p. 196.

²⁶⁰ C. P. Romulo, “ASEAN Way,” in Siagian, p. 255.

²⁶¹ *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 75-76.

In addition to these four ideas, in order to realize ZOPFAN, Malaysia attempted to gain political and security guarantees for neutralization from the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. Malaysia began to make continuous diplomatic efforts to approach all the major powers that have current and potential influences on Southeast Asia and to spread the idea of neutralization in several international forums. In 1973, Ismail in New Zealand endorsed to “establish contacts with all Southeast Asian countries and all the major powers...[for] the development of a strong neutral Southeast Asian region...”²⁶² Shaife argued in Zurich that in order to realize ZOPFAN, “[i]t must and can be founded and forged on the basis of a relationship between all the major powers.”²⁶³ Moreover, on March 12, 1973, Malaysia decided to withdraw its participation in the ASPAC, which was seen as an anti-communist institution, and began to seek the establishment of diplomatic ties with not only Southeast Asian states, but also China. In early 1974, Razak said, “There is a legitimate role for all to play in Southeast Asia and Japan in particular has an important and a neutral role...It is in the interest of [Japan] and the major countries of the world which have a stake in Southeast Asia, to work with ASEAN, to strive for peace, stability and prosperity in the region.”²⁶⁴ In fact, Razak considered that the major powers’ guarantee was the “very heart of the Neutralization proposal.”²⁶⁵

Unlike the 1968-1971 debates, all ASEAN’S ideas pointed toward the same direction to realize ZOPFAN: Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand concentrated on internal and intra-regional security; Singapore focused more on internal and intra-ASEAN security; and Malaysia attempted to secure major powers’ guarantees for regional security. Because ZOPFAN concept weaved regional, intra-regional, and internal security together, despite their different emphases, it

²⁶² Ismail Abudul Rahman, “Current Scene in Southeast Asia and Malaysia’s Perspective,” p. 23.

²⁶³ Ghazali Shafie, “‘The Search for Stability,’ at the Malaysian Investment Conference In Zurich, Switzerland on March 5, 1973,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (March 1973), p. 56.

²⁶⁴ Abdul Razak, “Visit of Prime Minister of Japan to Malaysia January 12-14: Speech by Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia at the dinner given in honour of the visiting Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Kakuei Tanaka, in Kuala Lumpur, January 12,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1974), p. 31.

²⁶⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia, “Parliamentary Questions and Answers,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 1973), p. 37.

became less difficult for ASEAN member states to come to agreements with regard to ASEAN's cooperation. For the institutional priority, ASEAN leaned towards concentrating on intra-regional and internal security, yet they did not dismiss Malaysian attempts to secure major powers' guarantees, either, since these ideas were not mutually exclusive. In this sense, the 1973 Paris Peace Accords were important in fostering these ideas. With the US disengagement and the settlement of conflicts in Indochina, the 1973 informal AMM press statement expressed this security situation as "a favourable climate" for realization of ZOPFAN, albeit temporarily.²⁶⁶ Indeed, there was little disagreement among ASEAN member states on the direction of the institutional consolidation, especially on the issue of expansion of its membership, although they had different opinions on the timing of implementation. In other words, the Accords created the institutional momentum to include all the Southeast Asian states into ASEAN and to consolidate the association.

On the other hand, at the senior official level, ZOPFAN blue-print committee helped shape the specific direction of ASEAN's institutional consolidation. This Committee of Senior Officials was established by the 1971 ZOPFAN Declaration, and its objective was "to study and consider what further necessary steps should be taken to bring about the realization of their objectives."²⁶⁷ This created two general direction of ASEAN's consolidation process.

First, the committee marginalized a "neutralization" process from being *the* institutional objective to one of being means to realize ZOPFAN by defining the concept of "neutrality." Its definition of neutrality was broadened from the traditional meaning,²⁶⁸ and while traditional

²⁶⁶ "Press Statement issued at the end of the Conference of Foreign Ministers," *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 30.

²⁶⁷ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement Special ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Issue The Declaration Of Zone Of Peace, Freedom And Neutrality."

²⁶⁸ In 1972, the Committee reached a "common understanding of the interpretation" of ZOPFAN, and defined three terms, "Peace," "Freedom," and "Neutrality." It defined "Neutrality" as "zonal states shall undertake to maintain their impartiality and shall refrain from involvement directly or indirectly in ideological, political, economic, armed or other forms of conflict, particularly between powers outside the zone, and that outside powers shall not interfere in the domestic or regional affairs of the zonal states." On the other hand, the traditional definition of neutrality is "the maintenance of a state of impartiality in any war between other states as understood in international law and in the light of the United Nations Charter."

neutrality is generally applied to a state during wartime, ASEAN's definition was applied to both peacetime and wartime in any forms of conflict from outside the zonal states. As ASEAN's definition of neutrality was broadened, "neutralization" became not the only objective to realize ZOPFAN. This was followed through by the 1972 AMM press statement, which asked the Committee to consider "other means" to achieve it.²⁶⁹ Accordingly, while the subsequent meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials in 1973 and 1974 produced the 14-point "Guidelines that would constitute a code of conduct covering relations among states within the zone and with states outside the zone" and "Measures to be taken in the event of violation,"²⁷⁰ they had not stipulated any major power guarantee to prevent or intervene into the region in the case of war or for maintaining regional neutrality. Instead, it produced "Manifestation of recognition and respect of the zone" as a means to secure recognitions from major powers.²⁷¹ Therefore, although ASEAN stated the regional neutralization was a "desirable objective" in the 1971 Kuala Lumpur Declaration,²⁷² it became one means among others, and these definitions left ASEAN's options open to pursue ZOPFAN other than pursuing neutralization.

Second, the committee constructed behavioral constraints of Southeast Asian states in terms of intra-regional relations in Southeast Asia by setting the regional code of conduct. The 14-point guideline set specific principles and rules; "Manifestation of recognition and respect of the zone" provided an action plan for Southeast Asian states; and "Measures to be taken in the event of violation of the zone" provided the procedures that Southeast Asian states would take in

See ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement The ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Discuss International Developments Affecting The Region." For definitions, see "Southeast Asia: The Neutralization Proposals," in *Current Notes on International Affairs*, no. 43 (October 1972), pp. 501-502; Roeslan Abdulgani, *Nationalism, Regionalism and Security: Problems in South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Banyan Publications, 1986), pp. 47-48; Hasjim Djalal, "Gagasan ZOPFAN-KBSN-AT dalam Upaya Peningkatan Stabilitas Kawasan Asia tenggara," (The ZOPFAN-SEANWFZ Concept as a Means to Enhance the Stability of the Southeast Asian Region) in *Jurnal Luar Negeri*, no. 12 (April 1989), p. 131. All cited in Hanggi, pp. 22-24.

²⁶⁹ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement The ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting To Discuss International Developments Affecting The Region."

²⁷⁰ See "Appendix II: A Set of Fourteen Guidelines" and "Appendix III: Measures in the Event of Violation."

²⁷¹ See "Appendix IV: Manifestation of recognition and respect of the zone."

²⁷² ASEAN Secretariat, *Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration*.

times of violations of those principles and rules. For example, “peaceful settlement of differences or disputes” and “restriction from the use of armed forces for any purpose in the conduct of international relations except for self-defense,” which the guideline spelled out, became a more specific regional code of conduct than the 1967 ASEAN Declaration.

These diplomatic and institutionalization processes produced the ideas for the institutional consolidation process, its geographical scope, and concept of security and contributed to further shaping the direction of ASEAN’s consolidation. As the security situation in Indochina showed little improvement despite the Paris Accords, ASEAN member states began to consider the exclusion of the Indochina states from its initial roadmap of ASEAN’s consolidation along with Thailand’s tentative idea of a two-step approach. Chrunphan Isarangkun Na Ayuthaya, a leader of the Thai delegation of the seventh AMM in 1974, stated that while aiming at inviting all the Southeast Asian states to subscribe to the objectives and principles of ASEAN, the current ASEAN member states should promote consultation among themselves for regional stability.²⁷³ Also, even Malaysia, a proponent of a neutralization policy, redirected its efforts to focus on ASEAN’s cooperation. Instead of seeking major powers’ guarantee, Tan Sri Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir, Malaysia’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, argued in September 1974 that ZOPFAN proposals should “first have the support of countries in the proposed zone.”²⁷⁴ In 1975, Shafie put more emphasis on cooperation among ASEAN member states on the basis of national and regional resilience by introducing the term “Pax-ASEANA.”²⁷⁵ In other words, by 1975, there was an intended modification of an original idea of pursuing ZOPFAN: instead of focusing on the membership expansion as well as major powers’ guarantees,

²⁷³ Ayuthaya, “The Spirit of Compromise of Mutual Accommodation,” in Siagian, p. 266.

²⁷⁴ Sardon Jubir, “29th Session U.N. General Assembly: Speech by Tan Sri Haji Sardon bin Haji Jubir, Malaysia’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in New York, September 30,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 1974), p. 51.

²⁷⁵ Ghazali Shafie, “On the Domino Theory,” *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June 1975), p. 11.

ASEAN aimed at undertaking a two-step approach by pursuing its institutional consolidation among the existing ASEAN member states.

In February 1976, when the first ASEAN Summit was held, ASEAN's institutional consolidation officially materialized. ASEAN leaders came to a consensus on its ISP: setting a mechanism to manage intra-regional and internal security as their priorities. Concluding TAC and the Bali concord, ASEAN aimed at further promoting ASEAN cooperation and consolidation, while postponing inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states in the short-term. Also, as already recognized by several ASEAN states,²⁷⁶ the concept of security for ASEAN expanded beyond the political-military realm. While Malaysian Prime Minister Onn said that economic development would serve national and regional security,²⁷⁷ Marcos argued that economic development was the most effective means to counter subversion and insurgencies.²⁷⁸ Singaporean Prime Minister Lee, Indonesian President Suharto, and Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj all valued ASEAN's cohesive economic diplomacy to counter economic pressures from the world economic powers and groupings for their national security and stability.²⁷⁹ Since ASEAN member states' security depended on national resilience, which required economic development of each state, ASEAN's

²⁷⁶ For example, in 1974, Marcos said that security "doesn't merely mean military security. Today military security is interchangeable with economic stability." In 1975, Lee argued that if there is any adverse consequence [to ASEAN member states], it will not be external aggression by Hanoi or Khmer Rouge or the Pathet Lao but by our inability to contain our domestic communists. So the communist threat is not external but internal...[and ASEAN] can successfully fight if we realize that the way to fight indigenous communists is through appropriate economic, political and social policies within our own countries...[Thus] [m]ore than ever before ASEAN is today our shield." See Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Ninth State of the Nation Address, September 21, 1974*, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.gov.ph/1974/09/21/ferdinand-e-marcos-ninth-state-of-the-nation-address-september-21-1974>; Rajaratnam, "ASEAN Today is Our Shield," in Siagian, p. 302.

²⁷⁷ Onn, in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 16.

²⁷⁸ Ferdinand E. Marcos, "Statement by the President of the Republic of the Philippines His Excellency Ferdinand E. Marcos at the Opening of the Meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government on February 23, 1976 at Denpasar, Bali," in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 21.

²⁷⁹ Lee Kuan Yew, "Statement by The Prime Minister of Singapore His Excellency Lee Kuan Yew at the Opening of the Meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government on February 23, 1976 at Denpasar, Bali," in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 24; Suharto, "Statement by the President of the Republic of Indonesia His Excellency General Soeharto at the Meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government on February 23, 1976, At Denpasar, Bali," in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 32; Kukrit Pramoj, "Statement by The Prime Minister of Thailand His Excellency Kukrit Pramoj at the Opening of the Meeting of ASEAN Heads of Government on February 23, 1976 at Denpasar, Bali," in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 27.

concept of security extended mostly into the economic field. This is well-illustrated by Suharto's speech at the summit, which said:

Our concept of security is inward-looking, namely to establish an orderly, peaceful and stable condition within each individual territory, free from any subversive elements and infiltration, wherever from their origins might be. This problem becomes even more important because our success in this endeavor will be the key to the growing regional stability and to the increasing pace of development efforts of each of our nation...It is mainly for this purpose that we ought to promote constantly our respective national resilience which in turn will be conducive to the creation of a regional resilience."²⁸⁰

In sum, most of the ideas of the INEs were modified but taken into account as a means to achieve ZOPFAN. This became possible because the Committee of Senior Officials changed "neutralization" from ASEAN's objective to a means by defining "neutrality" in ASEAN's term. As an alternative means, the Indonesia's "national and regional resilience" became the key conceptual framework to place an institutional priority on dealing with intra-regional and internal security. While Thailand's and the Philippines' proposals gave ideas for the process of its institutional consolidation, Singaporean proposal for diplomatic cooperation on international economic negotiation provided clear benefits for ASEAN's economic development. Malaysia continued to pursue a "neutralization" path, yet it realized its difficulty in attaining major powers' guarantee and redirected its efforts to first focus on regional resilience. These internal processes and outcomes were embodied by the Bali Concord, a political document that described "ASEAN resilience" for the first time in any official documents. On the other hand, the ASEAN's ultimate objectives remained in TAC. TAC remained focused on ultimate inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states as its formal name, the "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation *in Southeast Asia*," illustrated,²⁸¹ and the treaty became formalized for the first time in its institutional history.

²⁸⁰ Suharto, in *ASEAN Summit Meeting, Bali, 23-25 Feb. 1976*, p. 31.

²⁸¹ In 1987, ASEAN amended TAC. ASEAN member states agreed that its geographical scope applied not only to Southeast Asia, but also outside the region, and they decided that states outside the region could accede to the treaty. See ASEAN Secretariat, "Protocol Amending The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in

II. ASEAN in 1988-1997: ARF and ASEAN+3

The period from 1988 to 1997 witnessed ASEAN's undertaking of institutional-building by creating the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994 and ASEAN+3 in 1997. In fact, several development of ASEAN's function in both political and economic fields began to develop.

On the political security front, ASEAN's security functions began to develop from the late 1980s: facing changes in the international environment, ASEAN began to include security issues in the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM) agendas. In 1989, ASEAN went beyond the assessment of the Cambodian issues and jointly assessed the regional political environment, which touched upon the Sino-Soviet Summit held in May 1989.²⁸² At the 1990 AMM, ASEAN further developed its formal agenda and reviewed overall international situation, resulting in ASEAN Foreign Ministers' endorsement to hold the ASEAN Summit meeting.²⁸³ Moreover, its political and security assessment became more comprehensive, and the agendas included security situation in Southeast Asia, international security and disarmament, and regional political and security situations in such areas as Eastern and Central Europe, Middle East, Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, and Southern Africa. In the 1991 AMM, the security agendas were institutionalized, and the joint communiqué touched on the Track 1.5 seminar, "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990s," which was initiated by the Philippines.²⁸⁴ Although this was not under the ASEAN framework, it was apparent that ASEAN began to look for its new security role in not only Southeast Asia, but also the larger region.

Southeast Asia, Manila, 15 December 1987," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1967-1988*, pp. 43-44.

²⁸² ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communiqué Of The 22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-4 July 1989," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3670.htm>.

²⁸³ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communiqué Of The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, 24-25 July 1990," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3669.htm>.

²⁸⁴ According to the 1991 AMM Joint Communiqué, it said "[i]n this connection, the Foreign Ministers noted the report of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines on the seminar on the theme "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990's", which was organized by his Department and held in Manila from 5 to 7 June 1991 with the participation of senior experts from the government and academic sectors of ASEAN and a number of other countries. The Foreign Ministers further noted that a second seminar on the same theme, to be organized by the International Study Centre, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, will be held in Thailand in November

The security agenda began institutionalized from January 1992, when the third ASEAN Summit in Singapore included the agenda, “Political and Security Cooperation,” and ASEAN began to consider having security cooperation through enhancing its dialogues among ASEAN member states as well as with external states.²⁸⁵ According to the Singapore declaration, ASEAN “could use established for a to promote external dialogues on enhancing security in the region as well as intra-ASEAN dialogues on ASEAN security cooperation” through ASEAN-Post Ministerial Conference (ASEAN-PMC), although it noted the 1976 Bali Concord, which advocated that security cooperation would be on a non-ASEAN basis. Furthermore, among ASEAN member states, ASEAN held intra-member dialogue on security cooperation convening foreign and defense ministers as a Special Senior Officials Meeting in Manila in June 1992; the ASEAN PMC included political and security agendas, aiming at mitigating regional uncertainties in the Asia-Pacific region; and it produced “ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea,” calling for restraints of disputing states, albeit a non-binding form.²⁸⁶ In this sense, security cooperation among ASEAN member states became more visible, resulting in the 1993 ASEAN’s endorsement of the proposal to hold the “ASEAN Regional Forum” in Bangkok by inviting senior officials from China, Laos, Papua New Guinea, Russia and Vietnam in addition to its dialogue partners.²⁸⁷ With the expansion of its participants, this led to the creation of ARF in July 1994.

1991, and that the objective of the two seminars is to provide an opportunity for a frank and informal discussion by recognized experts, which could be of interest to governments, on the requirements of security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, with a special focus on Southeast Asia, during the present decade and beyond. The Foreign Ministers regarded these initiatives as useful and constructive building blocks for the enhancement of regional security.” See ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué Of The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19-20 July 1991,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3668.htm>.

²⁸⁵ In 1987, ASEAN held the 3rd ASEAN Summit in Manila, the Philippines. Although its agenda included “political development, it never included the word “security.” See ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué The Third ASEAN Heads of Government Meeting, Manila, 14-15 December 1987,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/5107.htm>; ASEAN Secretariat, “Singapore Declaration Of 1992, Singapore, 28 January 1992,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/5120.htm>.

²⁸⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué of the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Singapore, 23-24 July 1993,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3666.htm>.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

On the economic front, ASEAN began to expand its economic grouping by including Northeast Asian countries, namely China, Japan, and South Korea. Already concerning that economic growth was an imperative factor for their security on the basis of the concept, “national and regional resiliency,” being export-oriented economies, the ASEAN member saw the economic protectionism tendency among developed states in the context of slowing world economic growth and decreasing world prices of primary commodities as threats to their development. Consequently, in 1987, ASEAN decided to further pursue a political alignment on international economic negotiations as well as economic integration. Consequently, the joint communiqué of the 1987 ASEAN Manila Summit demanded “developed countries to refrain from adopting that would hinder the access to markets of commodities,” while the Manila Declaration put emphasis on intra-ASEAN economic cooperation, including reduction of economic barriers among ASEAN member states through the improvement and the Preferential Trading Arrangements (PTA) to further attract foreign investments.²⁸⁸

In 1989, the world economic landscape has also changed. Europe began to aim at the Single European Market, and the United States pursued to have an American free trade area, including Canada and Mexico. Consequently, ASEAN was concerned about the accelerating tendency of “trade protectionism, including new forms of protectionism, the unstable and low commodity prices, heavy debt burden and the drastic aggravation of reversed transfer of financial flows and the persistent monetary instability.”²⁸⁹ In the Asia Pacific region, although the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was established, it was by the initiative taken by developed states, namely Australia and Japan, and ASEAN was concerned that such an institution might marginalize the association. In 1990, ASEAN emphasized the APEC basic principles, stating “that the APEC should continue to be a loose, exploratory and informal consultative

²⁸⁸ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué The Third ASEAN Heads of Government Meeting, Manila, 14-15 December 1987”; ASEAN Secretariat, “Manila Declaration, Philippines, 15 December 1987,” accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/5117.htm>.

²⁸⁹ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communiqué Of The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting.”

process, that APEC process should not dilute ASEAN's identity and that it should not be directed towards the establishment of an economic trading bloc."²⁹⁰ Furthermore, after the Brussels negotiation for the Uruguay Round failed, the ASEAN Economic Ministers issued "ASEAN Economic Ministers Declaration on the Uruguay Round" in June 1991 to express their disappointments about the progress.²⁹¹

In this context, ASEAN launched the ASEAN Working Group on the East Asia Economic Group (EAEG) in Kuala Lumpur in July and September 1991, resulting in producing the EAEG concept paper. The concept of EAEG was discussed in the ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting (AEM) in October 1991,²⁹² and the name, EAEG, was changed into the East Asia Economic Caucus (EAEC) without changing its original concept.²⁹³ The AEM discussed two objectives of EAEC, which consisted of expanding intra-regional cooperation in East Asia to provide "the necessary collective approach in areas of mutual concern in international and economic fora," and not being "an institutionalized entity" or "a trading bloc."²⁹⁴ Thus, ASEAN aimed at expanding its membership to other East Asian states, which were not specified at the time.

The 1992 Singapore Summit decided the role of APEC for ASEAN as sustaining the growth and dynamism of the Asia-Pacific region and the role of EAEC as consultations on issues of common concern among East Asian economies, which could expand cooperation among the region's economies, and created the mechanism, a Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM), to further

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ ASEAN Secretariat, "ASEAN Economic Ministers Declaration On The Uruguay Round, Luxembourg, 1 June 1991," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/6156.htm>.

²⁹² Although the AEM joint press statement stated only "The Ministers agreed that officials pursue the establishment of consultative mechanisms between ASEAN and other dialogue partners in order to enhance trade and economic cooperation with them," Malaysian Prime Minister advocated the establishment of EAEG, which will be "GATT-consistent, compatible with APEC, and not detrimental to ASEAN's cohesiveness." ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement, The Twenty-Third Meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 7-8 October 1991," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1991-1992, Supplementary Edition*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1992), pp. 31-32.

²⁹³ ASEAN Secretariat, "Overview," accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.asean.org/11491.htm>.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

elaborate the concept, which was held on July 1992.²⁹⁵ In 1993, both AMM and AEM discussed EAEC and decided that ASEAN Secretary General would consult with the prospective members of EAEC, which were also members of APEC and agreed that the EAEC is a caucus within APEC.²⁹⁶ The concept of EAEC was always on the agenda of AMM and AEM until 1997, and the first meeting of ASEAN+3 was held in December 1997 at the informal ASEAN Summit in Jakarta.

Thus, in both security and economic fronts, ASEAN developed ASEAN-PMC to ARF and EAEC to ASEAN+3 respectively. Keeping its chairpersonship in both institutions, the association added these new functions without changing ASEAN's own institutional form, and thus, ASEAN undertook institutional-building. Although their functional foci were different, political security for ARF and economic security for ASEAN+3, both institutions aimed at enhancing regional consultation mechanisms in each field by expanding its membership, and ASEAN attempted to attain inclusive cooperative security characteristic by including states in the Asia Pacific region within ARF, while ASEAN+3 was expanded political alignment, whose member was limited only to "East Asian" states.

Admittedly, there was other institutional development within ASEAN during this period. ASEAN itself began to expand its membership to other Southeast Asian states, namely Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia. The end of the Cold War and the end of Cambodian conflicts created a favorable political and security environment in Southeast Asia. This fostered ASEAN's institutional momentum to include all the Southeast Asian states as the members, which was envisioned by ASEAN founding fathers in the 1960s. However, if this was the ultimate objective of ASEAN, it would not be necessary for ASEAN to add other security functions, creating cooperative security mechanisms and expanding its political alignment by including non-

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communique of the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting"; ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Press Statement Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM) Singapore, 7-8 October 1993," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series 1992-1994: Supplementary Edition*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1994), p. 26.

Southeast Asian states through ARF and ASEAN+3. Thus, the questions during the period from 1988 to 1997 become why and how ASEAN undertook such institutional transformation during the 1990s.

The following section is divided into two parts. One focuses on the creation of ARF, and the other on ASEAN+3. In each case, I discuss and analyze the impact of changes in the regional balance of power at the end of the Cold War, ASEAN's perception on political security and economic security, and ASEAN's internal discussions.

1. ASEAN in 1988-1994—ARF

(1) Triggers: US and Soviet Disengagement and Rise of Regional Powers

In the period between 1988 and 1994, the geostrategic landscape in the Asia Pacific region was under a drastic transition mainly due to changes in great power relations, especially the US-Soviet détente and the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, this security dynamic was set in force from 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev was elected as General Secretary by the Politburo, the Soviet Union changed its East Asia policy, and the United States began to respond to such policy changes.

The Soviet strategic posture in East Asia during the 1980s began to alter dramatically. Facing difficulties in matching its economic and technological development with the West in the 1980s, the Soviet Union concentrated on restructuring its economic and political foundations, especially after Gorbachev assumed General Secretary position in 1985. As its focus became more on domestic economic and political reform, the resources for its foreign policy toward East Asia needed to be reconstructed, and the Soviet Union aimed at improving ties with regional states even at the expense of the Soviet-Vietnamese relations.²⁹⁷ Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech

²⁹⁷ As early as 1982, the Soviet considered the cost of the alliance with Vietnam, and by 1987, it put diplomatic pressures on Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia. In 1988, when Vietnam had a naval conflict with China over the Paracel Islands, the Soviet Union remained silence. In other words, the Soviet Union

on July 28, 1986 is a case in point. This speech contained strengthening its bilateral ties with ASEAN member states, military reduction in Southeast Asia, and fostering resolution of the Cambodian conflicts, and improving its relations with Asian states, including China.²⁹⁸ Gorbachev also supported the concept of ZOPFAN and the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ).²⁹⁹ In September 1988, he also addressed Soviet Asian policy at Krasnoyarsk by showing its intention to improve economic bilateral relations with Asian states, and putting forward seven-point proposal, which included freezing the number of nuclear weapons in the region, creation of multilateral consultative institutions in Northeast Asia to reduce political and military tensions, elimination of naval bases in Cam Ranh Bay in exchange of US naval withdrawal from the Philippines.³⁰⁰ Thus, it became more evident that the Soviet Union attempted to reduce tensions with Asian states and to militarily retrench from East Asia in late 1980s.

Admittedly, such changes were relatively slow because the United States was still skeptical about the Soviet policy changes. In 1985, the United States regarded ASEAN as “a key barrier to communist pressure in Southeast Asia”³⁰¹ and considered its military facilities at the Subic Bay and Clark Air Base played a strategic role in offsetting “the expanding Soviet military presence at Cam Ranh Bay and...preserve the stability of Southeast Asia by securing the vital South China sea-lanes against the ever-increasing Soviet threat.”³⁰² Even after Gorbachev made his Asia policy speech at Vladivostok in 1986, the United States did not positively respond to such a declaration. For example, Gaston Sigur, the US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, argued that the Soviet would intend to “increase its influence in the region

valued improvement of Sino-Soviet relations more than its alliance with Vietnam by late 1980s. Charles McGregor, “Southeast Asia’s New Security Challenges,” *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1993), p. 268.

²⁹⁸ “Gorbachev Greets Aquino on ASEAN Summit,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 16, 1987.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ “Speech in Krasnoyarsk,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, September 19, 1988.

³⁰¹ Paul Wolfowitz, “Developments in the Philippines (October 30, 1985),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 2106, January 1986, p. 49.

³⁰² Gaston Sigur, “U.S. Security Interests in the Philippines (April 10, 1986),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 2111, June 1986, p. 41.

through subtle tactics designed to overcome the suspicions most Asian nations have of Soviet intentions” because it still had a large number of SS-20 missiles in Siberia aiming at Northeast Asian states.³⁰³ Accordingly, when ASEAN discussed SEANWFZ, the United States made it clear in 1986 and 1987 that it would not support such a diplomatic agreement because it would weaken US nuclear deterrent capabilities against the Soviet Union, which is crucial for regional stability.³⁰⁴

However, after Gorbachev’s visit to the United States in October 1987 and conclusion of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union in November 1987, the US policy began to change. While admitting the Soviet qualitative military capabilities were still increasing, the first national security strategy report that the United States issued in 1988 stated that the US response was not to counter the Soviet military strength, but to strengthen its military, economic, and political ties with Asian states, especially its allies, and undertake burden-sharing with them.³⁰⁵ Also, with the four-party agreement made by the United States, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, including the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan in April 1988, President Regan decided to visit Moscow for the first time for the US president. In September 1988, Michael Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, argued that considering the on-going US-Soviet and Sino-Soviet political détente, the relations among major powers in Asia was likely to become “more balanced” albeit

³⁰³ Gaston Sigur, “China Policy Today: Consensus, Consistence, Stability (December 11, 1986),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 87, No. 2119, February 1987, p. 50.

³⁰⁴ The United States position was to reduce the number of nuclear stockpiles with the Soviet Union. The department of state in 1986 said, “...the thing to do is to concentrate on what the real problem is or what the real objective should be, namely to reduce nuclear weapons generally, rather than try to prohibit them in certain areas.” Also, in 1987, it said “Our view is that the nuclear-free zones are basically not a good idea at this point. And the reason is this: Peace in the world depends upon our ability, along with other but primarily our ability as a major nuclear power, to deter aggression, and it’s the deterrent capability that maintains the peace.” See George Shultz, “Secretary Visits East Asia and the Pacific (June 27, 1986),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 2114, September 1986, p. 26; George Shultz, “Secretary’s Visit to Asia and the Pacific,” (June 16, 1987), *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 87, No. 2125, August, 1987, p. 31.

³⁰⁵ White House, “National Security Strategy of the United States (President Reagan),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 88, No. 2133, April, 1988, p. 24.

its fluidity remained.³⁰⁶ Thus, from 1988, the United States started to relax its containment policy against the Soviet Union and to readjust its East Asian strategy.

In 1990, facing domestic difficulties, the Soviet Union took unilateral military disengagement from East Asia and more active diplomatic engagement with Asian states. From Cam Rahn Bay, it withdrew MIG-23 fighters and TU-16 bombers,³⁰⁷ although the United States was still negotiating with the Philippines regarding the base agreement and its prospect was uncertain. Also, the Soviet Union reduced its forces in East Asia, including medium- and long-range missiles, 200,000 personnel, and complete withdrawal from Mongolia.³⁰⁸ Diplomatically, the Soviet Union decided to normalize its relations with China after the Sino-Soviet Summit held in May 1989, and began to approach to South Korea in September 1990 to establish diplomatic relations. Although the timing of the reduction of Soviet forces in the region stemmed from the high prospect of US military withdrawal from the Philippines due to on-going difficult negotiations between the United States and the Philippines, the Soviet Union had a clear political intention to substantially reduce its commitment to East Asia.

In this context, this US strategic trend culminated in the department of defense document, “A Strategic Framework for Asia: Looking to the 21st Century,” the so-called “East Asian Strategy Initiative (EASI)” in April 1990. According to the report, the United States recognized that the rapid and major changes in US policy would destabilize the region, and it would maintain its military commitment to East Asia. Its objectives were clearly laid out: “protecting the United States from attack; supporting our global deterrence policy; preserving our political and economic access; maintaining the balance of power to prevent the rise of any regional hegemony; strengthening the Western orientation of the Asian nations; fostering the growth of democracy

³⁰⁶ Michael Armacost, “The United States in the Changing Asia of the 1990s (June 6, 1988),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 88, No. 2138, September 1988, pp. 10-11.

³⁰⁷ *Izvestiya*, 19 January 1990, cited in Byung-joon Ahn, “Strategic Trends in East Asia,” *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1991), pp. 110-111; Susumu Awanohara, “Withdrawal Symptoms,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 147, No. 5, February 1, 1990, p. 8.

³⁰⁸ US Department of Defense (DOD), *A Strategic Framework for the Asian Pacific Rim: Looking toward the 21st Century—Report to Congress (East Asia Strategic Initiative: EASI)*, (April 1990), p. 6.

and human rights; deterring nuclear proliferation; and ensuring freedom of navigation.”³⁰⁹ However, despite its declared commitment to East Asia, the report also said that the United States needed to restructure its forward deployed force considering diminishing Soviet and Vietnamese threats as well as decreasing US defense budget.³¹⁰ To this end, the United States requested its allies, especially Japan and South Korea, to play a greater role in securing regional stability, while it pursued three-phased policy of military disengagement.³¹¹ In terms of Southeast Asia, the US security posture was not clear. Although the report touched upon ASEAN, it only stated that the United States focused on the new basing arrangements due to the uncertainty of its military facilities in the Philippines and strengthening security commitment through its “network of bilateral security relationships.” Therefore, the United States, while asserting that it would maintain its security commitment to East Asia, heavily focused on Northeast Asian security, and its policy toward Southeast Asia remained uncertain.

While regional consensus was to maintain security and stability in East Asia and welcomed reduction of political and military tensions among Asian states, Soviet and US military disengagement produced perceived power vacuum that would be filled by other powers in the region, namely Japan and China. One regional power arising in East Asia was Japan. By late 1980s, Japan had already achieved its rapid economic development and been regarded as the world economic superpower. Although Japanese defense capabilities were limited due to its constitutional constraints, its self-constrained defense policy, including one percent ceiling for

³⁰⁹ The US State Department also had similar objectives by providing five key foreign policy objective: 1) Promoting and consolidating democratic values, 2) Promoting market principles, 3) Promoting peace, 4) Protecting the world community against transnational threats, and 5) Strengthening US alliance and international ties,” See DOD, *EASI*, pp. 2-3 and p. 16; James Baker, “US Foreign Policy Priorities and FY 1991 Budget Request—Secretary Baker: Prepared statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, February 1, 1990,” *Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 3, 1990, pp. 1-10.

³¹⁰ DOD, *EASI*, pp. 2-3.

³¹¹ In Phase I (1-3 years), “Over the next three years... Adjustments in our combat forces will be minimal. As an interim goal, our overall force total of 135,000 forward deployed in Asia will be reduced by 14,000 to 15,000 personnel. In Phase II (3-5 years), the United States would pursue “proportionally greater reductions in combat forces will be undertaken incrementally to ensure that potential adversaries do not misread our deterrent capability and intentions.” In Phase III (5-10 years), “Further reduce forces and stabilize at a somewhat lower level as circumstances permit.” *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

defense budget of its GDP, and division of labor under the US-Japan alliance, its defense budget and technology were the most advanced in East Asia with its large GDP. In addition, since the United States made it clear to undertake more burden-sharing for regional security with Japan during this period, Asian states began to be concerned about increasing Japan's political and security role in East Asia. In fact, ASEAN member states were constantly alarmed about Japan's military role in the region due to its historical legacy of World War II, and Japan continuously needed to reassure that it had no intention to become a regional military power. For example, when Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita attended the 1987 ASEAN Manila Summit, and when Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu made a tour to ASEAN member states except for Indonesia in 1991, both reassured that Japan would play a greater political role in East Asia but had no intention to become a military power and Japan's constitution prohibited "the path to military power."³¹² This trend was especially so after the Gulf War, when Japan dispatched its Maritime Self-Defense Force (SDF) for minesweeping missions in 1991, the very first time for SDF to operate overseas.³¹³ Certainly, some Asian states, such as China, had been still skeptical about these reassurances, as illustrated by the fact that Yang Shangkun, President of the People's Republic of China opposed to the UN Peace Cooperation Bill, which enabled Japan to dispatch its Self-Defense Force to overseas.³¹⁴ But Japan's reassurances for limited expansion of its security role were well received by ASEAN member states, including Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia, and it alleviated ASEAN's concerns for the time being.³¹⁵

³¹² Rodney Taker, "DIPLOMACY: No call to arms: Takeshita assures Asean that Japan will not become military power," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 138, No. 53, December 31, 1987, p. 26.; Michael Vatikiotis, "FOREIGN RELATIONS: Kaifu soothes fears over Japan's political plans: The gentle giant," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 152, No. 20, May 16, 1991, p. 11.

³¹³ For example, see Taker "No call to arms," p. 26; Nigel Holloway, "Memories die hard: Beyond economic leadership, unease over a regional role," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 141, No. 34, August 25, 1988, p. 24; Nigel Holloway, "POLITICS: Strong in one way, weak in another," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 144, No. 23, June 8, 1989, p. 87.

³¹⁴ "Yang Shangkun Warns Japan of 'Emotional Repulsion' Over Dispatch of Troops," *Kyodo News Agency*, October 26, 1990.

³¹⁵ For example, Tommy Koh, Singapore's former ambassador to the UN, recognized Japan's position prudential, while Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister, said that Japan was acting within its rights. See Vatikiotis, "Kaifu soothes fears over Japan's political plans," p. 11.

China was another uncertain factor in a changing regional strategic landscape. With the decline of the Soviet political and military influence in East Asia, ASEAN member states were concerned that its military capabilities, which used to aim at balancing against the Soviet Union, would redirect toward Southeast Asia, especially over the South China Sea. Although several ASEAN member states, namely Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand, had already normalized its diplomatic relations, there were still perceived suspicions within ASEAN about its future intention. Particularly, the 1988 naval clash over the Spratly Islands between China and Vietnam had created such security concerns. After China accused Vietnam of invading several islands in the South China Sea in April 1987,³¹⁶ it began to send patrol vessels of its People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to the islands and rejected Vietnam's accusation.³¹⁷ This resulted in not only heightening political and military tensions between them but also triggered chain reactions with other claimants. China rejected the Philippine's claim over the islands,³¹⁸ while Malaysia began to diplomatically reemphasized its claim over them.³¹⁹ These tensions soon culminated into the Sino-Vietnam naval clash on March 14, 1988, and China's six warships sank three Vietnamese freighters and caused one Vietnamese soldier killed and 74 missing.³²⁰ Since the territorial disputes in the Spratly Islands were overlapped by several ASEAN member states, namely Brunei, Malaysia, and the Philippines, this incident alarmed ASEAN about China's future behavior in Southeast Asia.³²¹

³¹⁶ "The Week," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 136, No. 18, April 30, 1987, p. 11.

³¹⁷ "Indochina; Chinese spokesman rejects SRV statement on Spratly islands," *Xinhua*, June 18, 1987; Jerry Cushing, "FOREING RELATIONS: Beached again on shoals: Sino-Vietnamese relations deteriorate over Spratlys," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 139, No. 11, March 17, 1988, p. 23.

³¹⁸ "China Objects to Philippines Claim to Spratlys," *Xinhua*, December 2, 1987.

³¹⁹ "Malaysia reiterates claim to Spratlys," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 25, 1988.

³²⁰ "Vietnam Gives Further Details of Spratly Incident with China," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, March 18, 1988; "One Killed, 74 Missing in Spratlys, Says Hanoi," *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 26, 1988.

³²¹ Specifically, two main territorial disputes exist in the South China Sea. First, the Paracel Islands, in which the 1974 naval clash between China and Vietnam occurred, are claimed by Vietnam and China (and Taiwan). Second, the Spratly Islands were claimed by China (and Taiwan), Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. China claims the entire Spratly Islands and its adjacent water, while others claims different parts of the Spratly Islands.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 exacerbated this trend. By 1991, the US grand strategy of containment during the Cold War had been already ceded as President Bush announced its changed national security strategy on August 2, 1990 and the 1991 National Security Strategy. These reports pointed out that “a return to the same superpower adversary we have faced for over 40 years is unlikely.”³²² Facing these drastic changes, the United States published the second EASI in 1992, which situated itself as the “honest broker” and “key regional balancer” and emphasized the necessity of its forward deployed presence to deter and respond various potential contingencies in East Asia, including the Korean Peninsula.³²³ Nevertheless, as for Southeast Asia, due to the closure of the Subic Bay facilities and Clark Air Base, the United States decided to shift “from a large, permanent presence at a single complex of bases in the Philippines to a more widely distributed, less fixed, posture,”³²⁴ and US presence was significantly decreasing. The US military reduction was on-going along with the Phase I reduction of the first EASI, and the Department of Defense determined to withdraw 15,250 personnel from Japan, Korea and the Philippines by 1992, which would become 10 to 12 percent reduction of the total number 135,000 personnel at the 1990 level. Among them, the entire 14,800 U.S. personnel in the Philippines planned to be relocated in other places by 1993.³²⁵ Therefore, it became clear that the most drastic reduction of US military presence in East Asia would take place in Southeast Asia.

With the improvement of great power relations in East Asia and possibility of rising regional powers, ASEAN member states clearly recognized fluid strategic situation in the regional balance of power. They attempted to maintain regional stability in Southeast Asia by taking its own initiatives collectively and individually, since there had not been an alternative regional security arrangement to comprehensively manage regional security issues in East Asia,

³²² White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (August 1991).

³²³ DOD, *A Strategic Framework for the Asian Pacific Rim: Report to Congress* (EASI II), (1992), pp. 4-5, and p. 29.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

and ASEAN began to create some regional security mechanisms on the issue-by-issue basis. For South China Sea, Indonesia began to hold a series of informal, non-government level workshops, “the Workshop Series on Managing Potential Conflict in the South China Sea,” by inviting ASEAN and non-ASEAN member states to build confidence among claimant states. However, despite these efforts, in 1992, China passed its domestic law regarding its territorial water, which included the Spratly Islands. ASEAN responded to this by issuing its collective declaration for the first time to strengthen their commitments to resolve the disputes peacefully with accordance to TAC. For withdrawal of US forces from the Philippines, Singapore offered the repair and maintenance facilities to the United States, so that the United States could maintain its military presence in Southeast Asia, albeit not permanent bases. For potential rises of China and Japan, ASEAN member states began to consider inclusion of security issues in its PMC agendas in the late 1980s, which would provide an opportunity ASEAN to discuss and clarify Chinese and Japanese political intensions. Malaysia invited China as a guest to the 1991 AMM and created a consultative relationship with China despite the fact that China was not a dialogue partner at the time. In this sense, expecting potential changes in the regional balance of power in East Asia, ASEAN member states took their own diplomatic initiatives to manage regional security issues rising from the end of the Cold War.

(2) Uncertainty: From ASEAN-PMC to ARF

During the period from 1988 to 1994, facing the drastic strategic changes, ASEAN had dual expectations for its security utility: one on Southeast Asia, and the other on East Asia. One assessment was on relations between ASEAN and Southeast Asian regions, and ASEAN member states saw the shift in intra-regional balance of power a relatively positive trend for ASEAN’s utility throughout this period. Several ASEAN member states argued that these changes provided opportunities to realize ZOPFAN and began to consolidate the institution by including ASEAN member states. Admittedly, ASEAN, after concluding the Bali Concord in 1976, focused more on

intra-member cooperation than Southeast Asia as a whole despite its original institutional objective that aimed at inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states. However, after the US-Soviet détente in the late 1980s, ASEAN began to consider expansion of its membership due to their assessment on a relative increase in the stability in the Indochina. The Soviet Union began to show less interest in being involved in Cambodia and supporting Vietnam. Vietnam announced its military withdrawal of 50,000 troops from Cambodia by the end of 1988. There was an increased possibility of Cambodian political independence despite the fact that uncertainty still existed in Cambodia's future due to its internal conflicts.³²⁶ While ASEAN member states maintained skepticism regarding Vietnamese future withdrawal and asserted the necessity of international verification of such a withdrawal,³²⁷ the general trend of the Cambodian issues became more positive as Wong Kan Seng, Singapore's Foreign Minister, put it, "A Cambodian settlement is now only a matter of time."³²⁸

³²⁶ For example, in 1988, General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, said that because of involvement of international community, including the United Nations, in Cambodia, he held "optimistic that an equitable solution to the Kampuchean problem is in sight," while Hassan Omar, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, argued "On Kampuchea the situation has never been more opportune than now. As of now, the prospects towards the search for a political solution for the Kampuchean problem appear promising." Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas also argued that these positive changes created opportunities for regional peace in the world as well as Cambodian issues, and that ASEAN "should not fail in seizing this momentum for change to forge ahead in its efforts to resolve the actual and potential conflict-situations within its own region, and hence, to move purposefully towards the realizations of ZOPFAN" through achieving SEANWFZ." Also, Raul S. Manglapus, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, asserted that after recognizing economic achievement in the "ASEAN region" the settlement of the Cambodian conflict would be a significant step to the realization of ZOPFAN in Southeast Asia." See Prem Tinsulanonda, "Welcome Remarks by H.E. General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand at the Twenty-First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, 4-5 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Bangkok, 4-9 July 1988*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1988), pp. 7-8; Hassan Omar, "Opening Statement by H.E. Dato Haji Abu Hassan bin Haji Omar, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, at the Twenty-First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, 4-5 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 16; Ali Alatas, "Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Twenty-First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, 4-5 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 12; Raul Manglapus, "Opening Statement by The Honourable Raul S. Manglapus, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, at the Twenty-First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, 4-5 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 21.

³²⁷ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communique Of The 22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting."

³²⁸ Wong Kan Seng, "Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Wong Kan Seng, Foreign Minister and Minister of Community Development of the Republic of Singapore, at the Twenty Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-4 July 1989," in ASEAN Secretariat, *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*

This positive assessment was consolidated in 1989, when Vietnam and Laos showed its intention to accede TAC, and Siddhi Savetsila, Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, asserted the ASEAN should aim at “creation of a community of peace and prosperity for all of Southeast Asia.”³²⁹ After the Soviet Union collapsed in 1992, Laos and Vietnam attended AMM as observers. In this context, Singapore went further by stating in 1993 that the state of affairs in Southeast Asia “approximate[d] those envisaged in the Declaration of ZOPFAN,”³³⁰ and Malaysia mentioned that the end of the Cold War produced “a more positive political environment” for Southeast Asia and created “an impetus towards the realization of ASEAN’s ultimate goal of creating a true community of Southeast Asian nations characterized by cooperation, dialogues, consultations, and consensus-building.”³³¹ In 1994, Indonesia observed the situation by saying that there was “relative peace in Southeast Asia,” so that ASEAN needed to pursue the realization of ZOPFAN.³³² In this sense, though it had detached the ASEAN region from Southeast Asia and consolidated an exclusive cooperative security system among ASEAN member states since 1976, ASEAN began to undertake institutional consolidation by letting non-ASEAN Southeast Asian states accede ASEAN declarations and treaties, including ZOPFAN and TAC.

and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-8 July 1989, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1989), p. 21.

³²⁹ Siddhi Savetsila, “Opening Statement by H.E. Air Chief Marshal Siddhi Savetsila, Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, at the Twenty Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-4 July 1989,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 26.

³³⁰ Goh Chok Tong, “Inaugural Address by H.E. Mr. Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore, at the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Singapore, 23 July 1993,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Singapore, 23-28 July, 1993*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1993), p. 7.

³³¹ Abdullah Badawi, “Opening Statement by H.E. Datuk Abdullah Bin Haji Ahmad Badawi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia, at the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Singapore, 23 July 1993,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 23.

³³² Ali Alatas, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 July 1994,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Regional Forum, and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Bangkok, Thailand, 22-28 July, 1994*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1994), p. 9.

While the institutional consolidation was being undertaken within the Southeast Asia region, the other assessment, which was a more significant impact on ASEAN's institutional utility, was also undertaken on the basis of East Asian region. Since most of its official agenda focused on the Cambodian conflicts throughout the 1980s, ASEAN's concerns were revolved around not the overall East Asian strategic impact of the US-Soviet détente, but its impact on the Cambodian issue. However, this institutional emphasis gradually shifted, and several ASEAN member states began to focus more on the prospect of regional balance of power in East Asia from late 1980s at AMMs.

In 1989, three states, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, touched upon the impact of the US-Soviet rapprochement on the world and Southeast Asia, though their assessments were not congruent. Indonesia argued by pointing out on-going conflicts in Middle East and Africa that the scope and impact of superpower rapprochement were "still limited" and that "the pace of advance in the resolution of regional conflicts remain[ed] uneven at best,"³³³ while Malaysia regarded the reduction of tensions as the window of opportunity to further encourage peace processes in the world.³³⁴ On the other hand, Singapore was more concerned about the strategic uncertainty in East Asia. Wong Kan Seng, Singapore's Foreign Minister, asserted that the rapprochement created a new momentum to alter the general relationships among major powers and promoted US military disengagement from East Asia, resulting in "a multipolar international system, and that "new issues and stresses" in regional security would emerge because these changes no longer sustained the same level of bonds for alliance systems.³³⁵ Thus, he warned that ASEAN need to go beyond the Cambodian issue, which bounded ASEAN member states together, in order to find a "new rallying point."³³⁶ Also, in 1990, Indonesia and the Philippines provided their own

³³³ Ali Alatas, in ASEAN Secretariat, *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 12.

³³⁴ Hassan Omar, "Opening Statement by H.E. Dato' Haji Abu Hassan HJ Omar, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, at the Twenty Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-4 July 1989," in ASEAN Secretariat, *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 14.

³³⁵ Wong Kan Seng, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 21.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

assessment of the regional strategic environment, and they were concerned about strategic uncertainty. Indonesia regarded that the world situation was under “a high degree of fluidity,” and it suggested that ASEAN need to change its institutional form to include agendas to assess “critically and comprehensively, ASEAN’s position, interests and objectives within a regional and global environment in rapid transition and continuing flux.”³³⁷ The Philippines were more concerned about the US military disengagement from the Philippines, which would invite the regional instability because ASEAN member states implicitly relied on US military presence in Southeast Asia for their security despite the ZOPFAN declaration.³³⁸ Most of the member states implicitly concurred and were concerned about growing regional uncertainty.

It was in this context that all the ASEAN member states addressed potential changes in the regional strategic environment in 1991. All the ASEAN member states, except for the Philippines due to its preoccupation with the natural disaster of the eruption of Mount Pinatubo, had the similar attitude towards the regional strategic environment: uncertainty. Malaysia argued that the end of superpower rivalry in Southeast Asia produced the opaque regional strategic landscape in the future.³³⁹ Singapore pointed out that the US military disengagement from the region due to the end of the Cold War produced uncertainty and potential political and economic

³³⁷ Suharto, “Inaugural Address by His Excellency President Soeharto of the Republic of Indonesia At the Opening Ceremony of the Twenty-Third ASEAN Ministerial Meeting at the State Palace, Jakarta, 24 July 1990,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, 24-25 July 1990*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1990), p. 7.

³³⁸ Raul Manglapus, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Raul S. Manglapus, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, at the Twenty-Third ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, 24-25 July 1990,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 15.

³³⁹ Mahathir Mohamad, “Inaugural Address by the Honourable Dato’ Seri Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, at the Opening Ceremony of the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Kuala Lumpur, 19-24 July 1991*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1991), p. 9. In addition, Prime Minister Mahathir stated in 1991, “Despite the age of confrontation and Cold War being behind us we still do not seem to know where we are going.” Michael Vatikiotis, “SOUTHEAST ASIA: Asean leaders mull over grouping’s future: Time to rethink,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 151, No. 12, March 21, 1991, p. 18.

marginalization of the region despite US promises for continued commitment to the region.³⁴⁰ Thailand emphasized that while the end of the Cold War would provide an opportunity for a new world order, the regional instability needed to be addressed as the events of democratization processes and domestic instability in Central and Eastern Europe illustrated.³⁴¹ Brunei followed a suit by arguing that the external environment was “extremely uncertain,”³⁴² and Indonesia mentioned, “the overall picture that is discernible so far is one in which the bright prospects and opportunities towards [the end of the Cold War] continue to be overcast by the gathering clouds of new and unprecedented challenges, by pervasive uncertainties and profound contrasts and contradictions,” including ethnic strife and religious contention.³⁴³ In short, from ASEAN member states’ perspective, the concept of the bipolar world during the Cold War was no longer applicable to assess regional security situations as both superpowers began to disengage from the region. For ASEAN, which had long aimed at realizing ZOPFAN in Southeast Asia, this change in the regional balance of power was seemingly positive; however, without any other alternative regional security mechanism to manage the perceived power vacuum in the region, ASEAN member states’ expectations for its own institutional utility in the East Asian strategic balance remained uncertain.

In this context, the 1992 ASEAN Summit in Singapore was held. On the basis of their assessment of strategic uncertainty in East Asia, ASEAN member states went beyond its traditional formal objectives of strengthening economic, social, and cultural cooperation among Southeast Asia. The association decided to include security agendas in order to increase

³⁴⁰ Wong Kan Seng, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Wong Kan Seng, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Singapore, at the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19 July 1991,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 15.

³⁴¹ Arsa Sarasin, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Arsa Sarasin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19 July 1991,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 18.

³⁴² Mohamed Bolkihah, “Opening Statement by His Royal Highness Prince Mohamed Bolkihah, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam, at the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19 July 1991,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 21.

³⁴³ Ali Alatas, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19-20 July 1991,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 24-25.

ASEAN's security utility in the region. To be sure, ASEAN's original purpose was still valid, and ASEAN continued to maintain its original objective to create Southeast Asian community by including all the Southeast Asian states. Yet, the significant difference was that ASEAN member states did not consider that the original institutional objectives were enough to maintain regional stability in the Cold War period. Consequently, at the 1992 AMM, ASEAN member states advocated further enhancement of ASEAN's regional security role.

Yet, their points of emphases with regard to such a role were not necessarily the same. While Malaysia focused more on inclusion of all the Southeast Asian states into ASEAN for intra-regional security consolidation on the foundation of ZOPFAN and TAC,³⁴⁴ the Philippines, which was one of the claimants on territories in the South China Sea, argued that ASEAN “[could] not anymore postpone the urgent necessity to seriously seek a solution...and [ASEAN] should develop common vision of the security of the region in the years and even generations to come...The ongoing dialogues on regional security and the inclusion of security concerns in ASEAN's formal agenda are an encouraging beginning.”³⁴⁵ Singapore argued that in order to maintain the windows of opportunity for regional peace after the end of the Cold War, ASEAN “[needed] to review and reassess security arrangements [in East Asia] and [ASEAN could] build in these beginning to elaborate new security arrangements for the Asia-Pacific.”³⁴⁶ Thailand, the most preoccupied ASEAN member state with the Cambodian conflicts due to its geographical proximity, also argued that TAC would be the key instrument for “the guiding principles of peaceful settlement of disputes and cooperative inter-state relations” both within and outside the

³⁴⁴ Abdullah Badawi, “Opening Statement by H.E. Datuk Abdullah Bin Ahmad Badawi, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, at the Twenty-Fifth of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, Philippines 21-22 July 1992,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Manila, 21-26 July, 1992*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1992), p. 23.

³⁴⁵ Fidel Ramos, “Inaugural Address by H.E. Mr Fidel V. Ramos, President of the Republic of the Philippines, at the Opening Ceremony of the Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, Philippines 21-22 July 1992,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8.

³⁴⁶ Wong Kan Seng, “Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Wong Kan Seng, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, at the Twenty-Fifth of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, Philippines 21-22 July 1992,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 11.

region.³⁴⁷ Indonesia asserted further strengthening bilateral and trilateral defense networks existing among ASEAN member states on the basis of the Bali Concord.³⁴⁸ Despite these differences, for the first time, ASEAN has decided to expand agendas of the ASEAN-PMC to discuss regional security issues.

By the time of the 1993 AMM, convincing that the regional uncertainty, ASEAN member states decided to establish the first regional security forum in East Asia, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), by building on the ASEAN-PMC meetings. At the same time, ASEAN did not consider that ARF would become a dominant security mechanism to maintain regional security and stability in East Asia; rather, it aimed at two broad objectives. First, ASEAN member states expected that ARF would play a complementary role for existing US bilateral security arrangements and other multilateral forums.³⁴⁹ There was a political risk in pursuing balancing or bandwagoning with particular regional major powers, because it would create political divisions as well as military tensions in East Asia. This is one of the reasons that ASEAN included other consultative partners, China and Russia, and sectorial partners, India and South Korea. Second, ASEAN expected the security function of ARF would employ confidence-building measures and preventive diplomacy, which was repeatedly confirmed by ASEAN Foreign Ministers at AMMs in 1993 and 1994.³⁵⁰ Since ASEAN has long been convinced that behavior of great powers would

³⁴⁷ Arsa Sarasin, "Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Arsa Sarasin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the Twenty-Fifth of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, Philippines 21-22 July 1992," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 14.

³⁴⁸ Ali Alatas, "Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Ali Alatas at the Twenty-Fifth of ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, Philippines 21-22 July 1992," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 18.

³⁴⁹ Goh, in *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 9.

³⁵⁰ For example, see Prasong Soonsiri, "Opening Statement by H.E. Squadron Leader Prasong Soonsiri, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Singapore, 23 July 1993," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 11; Badawi, in *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 23; Chuan Leekpai, "Keynote Address by H.E. Mr. Chuan Leekpai, Prime Minister of Thailand, at the Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 July 1994," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Regional Forum, and Post Ministerial Conferences with the Dialogue Partners, Bangkok, Thailand, 22-28 July, 1994*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1994), p. 2; S. Jayakumar, "Opening Statement by H.E. Professor. S. Jayakumar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore, at the Twenty-Seventh ASEAN

affect security in Southeast Asia, it needed some security mechanisms to assure US commitment to East Asia to the extent that its disengagement would not weaken regional stability, to promote better relations among major powers in the region, and to foster defense transparency and maintain channels of communications among them. These aimed at making the fluid strategic situation in East Asia relatively more predictable.³⁵¹ In other words, ASEAN neither situated ARF as a military fallback position for them nor utilized the forum to shape the regional balance of power: rather, it attempted to mitigate the regional uncertainty by setting objectives at reorienting the regional security order in the long-term, and in the short term, providing a security layer in the region not to immediately fall into conflicts among regional states in the case of crisis, which strategic uncertainty might cause.³⁵²

In sum, despite their different security focuses, ASEAN member states held consensual security perceptions during the period between 1988 and 1994: while the general assessment of reduction of tensions between two superpowers was seen as positive for ASEAN's security utility, the impacts on intra-regional and regional balance of power differed. At the intra-regional level, ASEAN perceived more positive impacts since the Soviet Union and Vietnam began to its military presence from Cambodia, and thus, the association began to further consolidate its institutional form on the basis of ZOPFAN, and it moved from an semi-regional exclusive

Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 July 1994," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 20.

³⁵¹ Singaporean Foreign Minister Jayakumar stated that in the context of global strategic uncertainty, it is necessary to have "strong regional and international institutions to regulate relations in peace time and in times of crisis," and he added that a step-by-step approach of ARF could produce trusts and confidence among members states, which would eventually create "the foundation for the peaceful resolution of disputes in times of crisis." Thai Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri also made a similar argument by stating that ARF could "forge a more predictable and constructive pattern of relationships among the actors in the Asia Pacific region." This statement was also confirmed by the 1994 Joint Communique of Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. Jayakumar, in *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 20-21; "Opening Statement by H.E. Squadron Leader Prasong Soonsiri, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 July 1994," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 23.

³⁵² Jusuf Wanandi made a similar argument. He argued that ASEAN aimed at maintaining the balance of military power in the region in the context of US military disengagement and creating a regional order for the entire Asia Pacific region. However, it was not clear how the balance of military power in the region could be maintained through ASEAN. Jusuf Wanandi, "Peace and Security in Southeast Asia" (ASEAN-ISIS Meeting, June 2-4, 1991), p. 35.

cooperative security, which was established on the basis of the 1976 Bali Concord that created the concept of “ASEAN region,” to an full-fledged regional exclusive cooperative security system, which was envisaged by ASEAN founding fathers. At the regional level, however, the US-Soviet rapprochement triggered the US disengagement from the region despite its political promise for continued security commitment, and ASEAN perceived the regional strategic uncertainties, which the institution might not be able to deal with. In order to prevent further regional uncertainties, ASEAN added a new security function by establishing ARF, an inclusive cooperative security mechanism in East Asia without altering ASEAN’s institutional characteristics. Thus, since ASEAN’s original objectives to establish the Southeast Asian community was still perceived valid by ASEAN member states, ASEAN did not displace its institutional objectives even though the regional security environment changed drastically.

(3) ISP: ASEAN Centrality in East Asia

Facing strategic uncertainty caused by the on-going changes in the regional balance of power, ASEAN added an inclusive cooperative security function by establishing ARF. Although ASEAN member states had several strategic choices, including formulation of regional collective defense, balancing against or bandwagoning with the rising power, either Japan or China, in the context of the US and Soviet disengagement, ASEAN took neither choices. There are two reasons for this institutional behavior, which are based on ASEAN’s ISPs: avoidance of creating a collective self-defense mechanism and maintenance of a principle of non-interference from outside on the basis of its ZOPFAN concept.

First, ASEAN member states ensured that ASEAN was not a military pact because it would send wrong signals to other states outside ASEAN. Admittedly, bilateral and trilateral defense cooperation among ASEAN member states had already existed, and there were several INEs within ASEAN member states in late 1980s and early 1990s that advocated ASEAN’s enhanced military and security cooperation. For example, after ASEAN-ISIS, ASEAN track-2

network provided a recommendation to strengthen military consultation over such issues as maritime surveillance and sea-lines of communications, among the member states in 1990,³⁵³ in 1992, Philippine's President Fidel Ramos expanded the idea by stating that ASEAN should "enlarge the scope of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation...[and] military consultations and exercises at various levels should be intensified and expanded. Cooperation in military training and technical exchange ought to be stepped up."³⁵⁴ Sukhumbhand Paribtra, security adviser to the Thai government, also proposed "Southeast Asian Military Committee" where senior officers from all the Southeast Asia discuss defense issues.³⁵⁵ However, other ASEAN member states, such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore, were extremely reluctant to pursue such ideas.³⁵⁶ With its limited military capabilities and different threat perceptions, the argument was similar to its concerns when the 1976 Bali Concord was issued: ASEAN was more concerned about the diplomatic and military signals that would be sent to outside the region if ASEAN turned into a multilateral defense pact. This was well-illustrated by Goh Chok Tong's statement in 1993 that even "any multilateral political and security dialogue would [then] have conjured up images of blocs and ideological conflict."³⁵⁷ In this sense, ASEAN maintained its ISP to reject formulation of a multilateral military pact.

³⁵³ ASEAN-ISIS, "Superpower Military Presence and the Security of Southeast Asia: Problems, Prospects and Policy Recommendations." (Bangkok, 10-13 May 1990), in ASEAN-ISIS, *A Time for Initiative: Proposals for the Consideration of the Fourth ASEAN Summit*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies, 1991), pp. 20-21.

³⁵⁴ Philippine National Security Adviser Rafael Iletto also proposed an "ASEAN military pact" due to US military disengagement from the Philippines. See Ramos, in *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8; "Asean should not form military pact: Indonesia," *The Straits Times*, March 29, 1991.

³⁵⁵ Mohammed Razak, "Regional Security: Towards Cooperative Security and Regional Stability," Speech at Land Warfare Conference, Darwin, 9 April 1992, in Gary Klintworth, "Asia-Pacific: More security, less uncertainty, new opportunities," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1992), p. 228.

³⁵⁶ Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas argued that ASEAN should "remain true to its essence and that is economic, cultural and even now political cooperation, but not a defense pact." Malaysian Armed Forces Commander General Tan Sri Hashim also said that ASEAN's defense cooperation should be bilateral basis rather than multilateral. "Philippine Minister Calls for ASEAN Defense Cooperation," *Xinhua*, November, 25, 1989, in Alice Ba, *[Re]Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations*, (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 177; "Malaysia unaware of any plan for Asean military pact: Najib," *The Straits Times*, March 2, 1992.

³⁵⁷ Goh, in *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 9.

Second, the idea to establish an inclusive cooperative security mechanism in East Asia followed the same logic of the ZOPFAN concept. As the decision-making process about the concept of ZOPFAN within ASEAN member states from 1971 to 1976 indicates,³⁵⁸ the objectives of ZOPFAN were altered from creation of a regional neutrality by gaining great powers' guarantees to strengthening a non-interference principle in Southeast Asia by buttressing "national and regional resilience" and ensuring outside powers not to intervene in regional affairs through diplomatic communications. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas articulated this by saying that ZOPFAN was "an evolutionary process...to promote national and regional resilience and to seek the disentanglement of the region from the contending strategic designs of the great powers."³⁵⁹ During the Cold War period, the Indochinese conflicts were intensified by regional powers' military interference, and thus, the end of the Cold War was also a window of opportunity for ASEAN to ensure their military non-interference, and institutionalization of a cooperative security mechanism in East Asia was complementary for realization of ZOPFAN. Although ASEAN well recognized that the key for regional stability was US military involvement,³⁶⁰ it was not only the United States, but also other regional powers to ensure the stability in the region. In this sense, ASEAN began to invite China and the Soviet Union to the

³⁵⁸ See Kei Koga, "The Process of ASEAN's Institutional Consolidation in 1968-1976: Theoretical Implications for Changes of Third-World Security Oriented Institution," *RSIS Working Paper No. 234*, (February 24, 2012).

³⁵⁹ Amitav Acharya argued that Malaysia and Indonesia considered that "the implementation of ZOPFAN in its *original form* as a feasible response to the challenge of post-Cold War regional order." However, the definition of ZOPFAN had been already modified in the 1970s, and ASEAN understood in the late 1980s that it needed to need to consult with outside powers for their security as the 1988 Joint Communiqué stated that to achieve one of ZOPFAN components, SEANWFZ, "ASEAN members—collectively or individually—shall undertake consultations with other states in the Southeast Asia as well as nuclear states on primary elements of SEANWFZ for the purpose of obtaining their support for the Zone." See Ali Alatas, "Keynote address by Ali Alatas to the United Nations Regional Disarmament Workshop for Asia and Pacific," in *Disarmament* (New York: United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, 1991), p. 14 in Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 198; ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communiqué, Twenty First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, 4-5 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series 1988-1989: Supplementary Edition*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1989), pp. 11-12.

³⁶⁰ For example, see Goh, in *The Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8.

AMM meeting from 1991 as a consultative partner even though they did not have a dialogue partnership status with ASEAN at the time.

With its empirical conviction that the consultation process would be a diplomatic tool to alleviate the inter-state tensions,³⁶¹ it was not difficult in nature for ASEAN member states to promote the idea of establishing an inclusive cooperative security mechanism in East Asia in the post-Cold War period. All the ASEAN member states agreed to encourage a political and security dialogues in the region, as Philippine's President Romulo put it, "ASEAN's reliance on dialogue and consultation and its gradual, pragmatic approach are now being projected onto a broader platform."³⁶² In short, the ZOPFAN concept and TAC still provided reference points for ASEAN to evaluate the strategic changes in the region, and it was mostly continuity of ASEAN's ISPs rather than changes.

The significant change, however, that occurred in ASEAN's ISP during this period was its attempts to establish "ASEAN centrality" in a new institutional mechanism. This aimed at ensuring ASEAN's political security, which prevented outside powers from forcefully exercising their political influence and imposing their rules in the region. At this point, ASEAN member states had achieved relative social stability supported by rapid economic development, and the prospects of relations among Southeast Asian states became more positive due to the Soviet and Vietnamese withdrawal from the Cambodia. Accordingly, ASEAN's security focus became more on its external relations, and the member states were concerned about political pressures coming from outside. In fact, as the Tiananmen Incident in the 1989 indicated, the United States and Europe began to further push democratization and human rights protection in the world. Since ASEAN member states lagged behind to promote these values, they were concerned that if necessary, the West was ready to impose sanctions on those who did not follow their standard.

³⁶¹ Suharto, in *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 9.

³⁶² Roberto R. Romulo, "Opening Statement by the Hon. Roberto R. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, at the Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, 22 July 1994," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 17.

When President Clinton put “democratic values” as a third priority for creating the “Pacific Community” in 1993,³⁶³ it became more evident that the United States would demand that East Asian states promote such values. ASEAN valued a gradual approach for domestic political changes and aimed at preventing outside intervention even in the ideational term, and ASEAN became more cautious about the initiatives taken by outside ASEAN. Besides, there was also a risk of political marginalization of ASEAN in the region if any initiatives were taken and led by outside.

In fact, the idea of the establishment of a multilateral security framework in the Asia-Pacific was not initiated by ASEAN member states. In the context of the regional major power rapprochement during the late 1980s, states in the Asia Pacific region were concerned about the future regional security architecture because there was no multilateral security mechanism in East Asia. Three major blueprints for a new regional security architecture in East Asia were then proposed by non-ASEAN states. First, the Soviet Union threw the idea of multilateral regional security mechanism. This proposal for multilateralism, which were based on Gorbachev’s speeches at Vladivostok in July 1986 and Krasnoyarsk in September 1988, emphasized the establishment of a multilateral confidence building measures, such as the “Pacific Ocean conference,” a similar concept to the CSCE,³⁶⁴ as it attempted to indicate more accommodative posture towards states in the Asia Pacific region.

Second, Japanese Foreign Minister proposed utilization of the ASEAN-PMC framework to hold security talks. This idea first came from the 1988 ASEAN-Japan PMC, where Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno recommended that the ASEAN-Japan dialogue should incorporate security

³⁶³ William Clinton, “Building a New Pacific Community—President Clinton: Address to students and faculty at Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, July 7, 1993 (opening remarks deleted),” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 28, July 12, 1993, p. 488.

³⁶⁴ Also, in September 1990, Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze suggested to create a pan-Asia foreign ministers summit meeting to be held in Vladivostok in 1993, while Gorbachev proposed a five nation forum, consisting of the Soviet Union, the United States, China, Japan, and India, to discuss Asia Pacific security issues. Paul Evans, “Proposal for Confidence Building and Conflict Reduction Mechanisms for the Pacific: Prospects for Multilateralism,” 28 May 1991, ASEAN-ISIS Meeting, Jakarta, June 2-4, 1991, p. 12.

issues to contribute the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region in the world.³⁶⁵ This is because Japan felt necessity to reassure Asian states that it had no intention to become a military power with its economic power. Thus, while he assured that Japan's definition of "security" was nonmilitary means, Japan aimed at "embark[ing] on new forms of contributions in the political and diplomatic fields, with a view to finding solutions to regional conflicts and relaxing tensions."³⁶⁶ Later, Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama built on this idea and recommended in 1991 to hold a political consultative mechanism on the basis of ASEAN-PMC, but his idea was that the dialogue would be held with the "friendly countries" and be different from "confidence building measures which aim at easing military tensions."³⁶⁷ In this sense, the Japanese idea envisioned a cooperative security mechanism not as inclusive as ARF.

Third, Australia proposed the establishment of CSCE-like mechanism in the Asia Pacific region, the so-called "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia (CSCA)." While recognizing the differences in the security outlook between Europe and Asia, Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, proposed at the 1990 ASEAN-Australia dialogue to consider phased approaches for the creation of CSCA, first sub-regional level through the PMC and then the entire region, by employing ASEAN's experiences to spread "the web of cooperation," though he admitted it was too early to map out in detail.³⁶⁸ This idea was supported by Canada, and Joe Clark, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, asserted that the Asia-Pacific region should establish consultation and cooperative framework for their own...[in]

³⁶⁵ Sosuke Uno, "Statement by H.E. Mr. Sousuke Uno, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the Meeting Between ASEAN and the Dialogue Partners, Bangkok 7-9 July 1988," in ASEAN Secretariat, *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 92-93.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Taro, Nakayama, "Statement by H.E. Mr. Taro Nakayama, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the Meeting between ASEAN and the Dialogue Partners, Kuala Lumpur, 23 July 1991," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 70.

³⁶⁸ Gareth Evans, "Statement by The Honourable Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, at the ASEAN-Australia Dialogue Session, Jakarta, 28 July 1990," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 87.

a part of the world which is marked both by uncommon growth and uncommon tensions.”³⁶⁹

However, the proposal provoked controversies among states in the Asia Pacific region mainly because the political and security settings in Europe, where CSCE was established, was different from that in Asia.³⁷⁰

With these three new ideas, ASEAN as a sole multilateral, inter-governmental institution in East Asia at that point needed to respond to these ideas due to its concerns of lessening regional autonomy. If other major powers took a lead to establish a new multilateral framework in the region, this might lead ASEAN to have less capabilities to pursue “regional solution to regional problems,” and ASEAN would be politically marginalized in the region as outside powers control its institutional form. Especially, ASEAN member states were concerned about the idea of CSCA because it might have the agenda for democratization and human rights protection in East Asia on the basis of the “Western” standard. Thus, ASEAN attempted to modify the ideas that outside power provided. As some regional powers, such as Japan and to the lesser extent Australia, considered a new security framework on the basis of ASEAN-PMC, ASEAN in turn attempted to take a lead in establishing the institution. In this context, an INE

³⁶⁹ Joe Clark, “Statement by The Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at the Meeting between ASEAN and the Dialogue Partners, Jakarta, 27 July 1990,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 68.

³⁷⁰ Many, including the ASEAN member states, the United States, and Japan, argued that Asian diversities were completely different from European settings. For example, Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, argued “Some observers have suggested that the state of East Asia establish a collective security forum similar to the CSCE. East Asia is a region so vastly different from Europe in terms of its history cultural diversity, levels of economic development, and geopolitical architecture that imposing the logic of European security is simply inappropriate... We see the region’s problems addressed more appropriately by adapting existing institutions to new circumstances, working through the UN, and/or forging ad hoc coalitions of states suited to the nature of the problem rather than by working through a large, unwieldy and ill-defined region-wide collective security forum.” Richard Solomon, “US Relations with East Asia and the Pacific: New Era—Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs: Statement before the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, May 17, 1991,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 21, May 27, 1991, p. 387. Also, conceptually, CSCE was founded on “common security” which stemmed from the concept of deterrence while it was not clear whether the proposed CSCA was based on “common security” or “cooperative security”. See Dewitt, “Common, Comprehensive and Cooperative Security,” pp. 1-15; Stewart Henderson, “Zone of Uncertainty: Canada and the Security Architecture of Asia-Pacific,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter 1992/1993), pp. 103-120; Hiro Katsumata, *ASEAN’s Cooperative Security Enterprise: Norms and Interests in the ASEAN Regional Forum*, (Hampshire, UK and New York, US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 61-63.

emerged: ASEAN-ISIS.³⁷¹ This is the Track-II network of ASEAN, and it played a significant role in shaping ASEAN's institutional preference at the beginning of the post-Cold War period.

The ASEAN-ISIS, facing a number of proposals for a new regional security architecture from outside ASEAN, made recommendations in the report, "A Time for Initiative," that ASEAN take an initiative for establishing a regional security mechanism. While emphasizing ASEAN's centrality in "whatever processes and mechanisms arise," ASEAN-ISIS argued that ASEAN's initiative need to be founded on existing processes and institutions, which included ASEAN-PMC.³⁷² In fact, it produced a specific recommendation for creation of a regional security dialogue mechanism, an ASEAN-PMC initiated "Conference on Stability and Peace in the Asia Pacific," whose agenda and agreement should be prepared by senior official meeting made up of senior officials of the ASEAN states and the dialogue partners."³⁷³ It also recommended including China, the Soviet Union, North Korea and Vietnam for regular participation.³⁷⁴

After these recommendations were proposed, the 1991 AMM joint communiqué expressed ASEAN's willingness to take an initiative for creating regional security cooperation

³⁷¹ ASEAN-ISIS stands for ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies, which is an association of non-governmental organizations registered with ASEAN. It was established in 1988 to "encourage cooperation and coordination of activities among policy-oriented ASEAN scholars and analysts, and to promote policy-oriented studies of, and exchanges of information and view points on various strategic and international issues affecting Southeast Asia's and ASEAN's peace, security and well-being." The founding members included five research institutions: the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Indonesia, the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) of Malaysia, the Institute of Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) of the Philippines, the Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), and the Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) of Thailand. See Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), "ASEAN-ISIS," accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.siiainline.org/?q=node/2040>.

³⁷² ASEAN-ISIS, *A Time for Initiative*, p. 5.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ The scope of such a regional mechanism was already discussed in ASEAN-ISIS in 1990. ASEAN-ISIS held a conference to evaluate the regional security situation, which was predominantly based on the balance-of-power consideration. According to the 1990 report, ASEAN-ISIS argued that while general assessment was positive for Southeast Asia; first, the US-Soviet bipolarity continued; second, US-Soviet rapprochement provided power vacuum for China, Japan, and India; third, US military presence was imperative for regional security; and forth, China became more assertive over the South China Sea, and thus, it recommended for ASEAN member states to consider "new inter-governmental mechanisms and measures for regionwide conflict-resolution and cooperation in order to reinforce the existing ones," such as dialogues regarding the South China Sea. However, at this time, ASEAN centrality was not emphasized as strongly as the 1991 report. See Ibid.; ASEAN-ISIS, "Superpower Military Presence," in ASEAN-ISIS, *A Time for Initiative*, pp. 14-19.

with non-ASEAN member states. It also endorsed other ASEAN member states' initiatives for holding security seminars, "ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects for Security Cooperation in the 1990's," in Manila in June 1991 and in November 1991.³⁷⁵ Subsequently, the 1992 ASEAN Summit, which was the first ASEAN Summit in the post-Cold War period, decided to include security agendas within ASEAN frameworks. The summit showed its intention to employ "established fora to promote external dialogues on enhancing security in the region," and suggested enhancement of the ASEAN-PMC.³⁷⁶ Since then, ASEAN's direction to establish the regional security dialogue had been accelerated: the association created a senior official meeting for the ASEAN-PMC in 1993, and it decided to include China, Russia, Vietnam, Laos, and Papua New Guinea. Then, the pre-ARF meeting was undertaken at an AMM-PMC informal dinner in July 1993; and the first ARF meeting was held in July 1994.³⁷⁷

In sum, as the scope of ASEAN's regional security consideration began to broaden in the end of the Cold War, ASEAN began to be concerned about its institutional *raison d'être* in terms of regional security. With the blue-print of East Asian security architecture proliferated, this led to the emergence of an INE, ASEAN-ISIS. Considering both outside ideas and ASEAN's existing ISPs, the ASEAN-ISIS eventually provided the direction of ASEAN's institutional transformation: the establishment of an inclusive cooperative security system, ARF, while designing it to maintain ASEAN's centrality.

2. ASEAN in 1988-1997—ASEAN+3

(1) Triggers: Regional Economic Blocs, APEC, and US Economic Policy

ASEAN member states have seen economic development as a crucial part of their national security since ASEAN incorporated the concept of "national and regional resilience,"

³⁷⁵ The 1993 ASEAN joint communiqué noted ASEAN-ISIS's contribution of the idea to develop security cooperation among the ASEAN member states. ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communique of the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting."

³⁷⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, "Singapore Declaration of 1992."

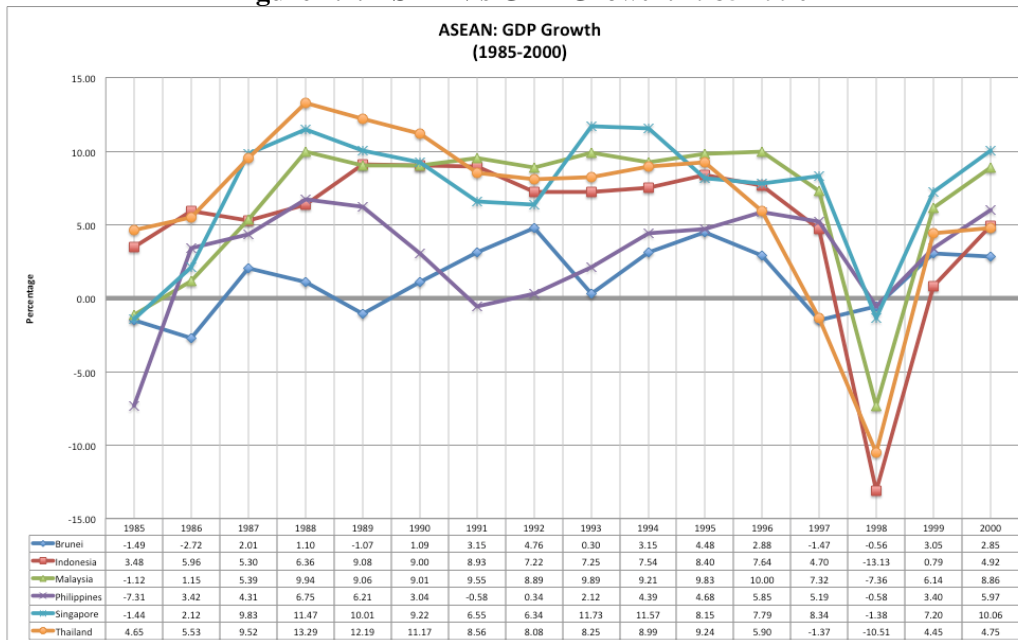
³⁷⁷ Katsumata, *ASEAN's Cooperative Security Enterprise*, pp. 68-69.

which focused on domestic political, economic and social stability as imperative parts for national strength, into its institutional principle in 1976 through the Bali Concord. This is well illustrated when ASEAN formed political coalition in its international negotiations with such major economic actors as Japan and Europe during the 1970s, resulting in the creation of ASEAN-PMC. For ASEAN member states, international economic issues were relevant to their own security, as Indonesia's Foreign Minister Alatas stated that ASEAN was "founded on the proposition that there can be no [sic] stable peace nor common security without economic growth and prosperity, and the reverse holds equally true."³⁷⁸

In this context, the shifts in the regional balance of political-military power in East Asia in the late 1980s caused reconstruction of the Asia-Pacific economic system. To be sure, during this period, ASEAN member states had enjoyed their rapid economic growth on the basis of exported-oriented economic model, although ASEAN member states continuously expressed their concerns about the world economic issues as recessions, commodity prices, and protectionism throughout the 1980s. As indicated in Figure 1, while their GDP growth stagnated in 1985, ASEAN member states, except of the Philippines, achieved high GDP growth rate from 1986 to 1989, approximately ranging from 5 percent to 14 percent. Despite existing economic obstacles, ASEAN member states significantly benefited its trade with the Western states, especially the United States, since they depended on them for its export.

³⁷⁸ Alatas, in *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 20-21.

Figure 4.1. ASEAN's GDP Growth: 1985-1990



Source: The World Bank, “GDP Growth (annual %): 1961-2010,” <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG> (accessed November 22, 2011).

However, as the Cold War political bipolar system in the world dissipated in the late 1980s, the world political economic structure began to change. There are three main changes in the world and regional economic balances affecting Southeast Asia: rise of regional economic blocs in the world, establishment of APEC, and changes in the US economic policy toward East Asia.

First, there were a political momentum for economic regional integration among developed states, especially in Europe and North America. Europe, aiming at establishing a free trade area among European Community members, attempted to materialize its objective through the revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. This resulted in the conclusion of the 1992 Single European Act, which envisioned a single market among the member states. On the other hand, the United States and Canada signed the US-Canada Free Trade Agreement in 1988, and the United States began to negotiate with Mexico for free trade agreement in 1991, which eventually formed the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) in 1994. The United States reassured that it would not fall into a trading bloc by stating:

[NAFTA's] purpose is to eliminate internal barriers among its participants so as to increase their efficiency, productivity, and growth. Growth will expand markets for Asian traders and investors, thus strengthening, not weakening, trans-Pacific links.³⁷⁹

However, from the perspective of outside states, these trade arrangements also had potential to be utilized for trading blocs.³⁸⁰ In fact, in 1990, when the Uruguay Round negotiation on agricultural reforms failed due to US and EU disagreement, states that mainly produced the primary products, including ASEAN member states, were concerned about the future prospects of these regional trade agreements.

Second, the first inter-governmental economic institution in the Asia-Pacific region, APEC, was established in 1989. Although there were several forums already existed in the Asia Pacific region, such as The Pacific Trade and Development (PAFTAD), the Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC) in the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), they were basically non-governmental organizations.³⁸¹ Through the initiatives taken by Japan and Australia, the APEC forum became the very first multilateral intergovernmental organization in the Asia-Pacific region, which primarily aimed at enhancing economic cooperation and promoting market economy in the region. Although this forum was said to be an informal forum at its inception, APEC became more institutionalized after the first meeting, by establishing the secretariat in

³⁷⁹ For example, US State Secretary Baker argued, "...the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) that we are negotiating will support both APEC and the global trading system. Unlike a customs union, NAFTA will not establish common barriers to those outside. Instead, its purpose is to eliminate internal barriers among its participants so as to increase their efficiency, productivity, and growth. Growth will expand markets for Asian traders and investors, thus strengthening, not weakening, trans-Pacific links." James Baker, "The US and Japan: Global Partners in a Pacific Community—Secretary Baker: Address before the Japan Institute for International Affairs, Tokyo, Japan, November 11, 1991," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 21, November 18, 1991, p. 843.

³⁸⁰ For example, Indonesian President Suharto argued in 1990, "The formation of powerful economic groupings among developed countries as exemplified by the prospective Single European Market, indeed offers new trade and investment opportunities for ASEAN countries but may equally impact adversely if such groupings become inward-looking and erect new external barriers." Suharto, in *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8.

³⁸¹ For details in the ideas and processes of establishing APEC, see Takeshi Terada, "The origins of Japan's APEC policy: Foreign Minister Takeo Miki's Asia Pacific policy and current implications," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (1998), pp. 337-363.

1992, expanding its agendas into telecommunications, human resource development, energy, marine resources and tourism, and holding the Summit meeting in 1993.

Third, changes in US economic policy towards the Asia-Pacific region occurred at the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the US supports for ASEAN member states as well as other East Asian states were based on its view that ASEAN and regional partners could be a political and military shield against communism in Southeast Asia. Consequently, the United States was willing to economically support East Asian states, including ASEAN member states.³⁸² Also, the United States explicitly applauded ASEAN's efforts for its economic cooperation during the Cold War as a "model for regional cooperation."³⁸³ However, after the Cold War, no longer facing the Soviet threats, the United States began to alter its economic policy in three significant ways. First, the United States emphasized democratization and human rights protection and connected them to the international trade negotiations, such as labor rights. Second, it emphasized the importance of the APEC forum to implement US economic policies. Third, it situated its economic policy as a top priority of its foreign policy in order to reduce its trade deficit.³⁸⁴

These elements were clearly stipulated in US official documents, such as the 1990 EASI.³⁸⁵ In addition, State Secretary Baker argued:

³⁸² For example, in 1986 when President Ronald Reagan visited the AMM, he said that he was willing to bring ASEAN's economic issues, such as low commodity prices, the flow of investment, and protectionism in the developed states, to the G7 Summit in Tokyo, although it did not produce any real actions from G7 states. However, this stance has shifted. Ronald Reagan, "President's Address Before ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, May 1, 1986," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 2112, June 1986, p. 15.

³⁸³ George Shultz, "ASEAN: A Model for Regional Cooperation (May 27, 1987)," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 87, No. 2124, July 1987, p. 12.

³⁸⁴ For example, in the context of the intensified US-Japan trade disputes from the late 1980s, the United States approached to Japan through the Structural Impediments Initiative (SII) to open up Japanese markets in 1989. Also see Warren Christopher, "The Strategic Priorities of American Foreign Policy—Secretary Christopher: Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, November 4, 1993," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 47, November 22, 1993, p. 797.

³⁸⁵ According to the 1990 EASI, US foreign policy priorities are "1) Promoting and Consolidating Democratic Values, 2) Promoting Market Principles, 3) Promoting Peace, 4) Protecting the World Community Against Transnational Threats, [and] 5) Strengthening Our Alliance and International Ties."

[T]he dynamic growth of the Pacific region makes it in our long-term interest to help build and institutionalize a greater sense of collective purpose among the East Asian and Pacific nations that share our economic and political values. I think we are on our way to establishing a new institution to facilitate such cooperation.³⁸⁶

Also, in 1990, Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, asserted:

...national security is increasingly reckoned in economic terms, [and] the international standing of a state is now less a matter of military might than of scientific and commercial capabilities, of environmental health, of political and social vitality...³⁸⁷

In other words, while promoting its democratic and human rights values in the world after the triumph of the Cold War, the United States placed the world economy as the most important issue in the post-Cold War era, and its focus was more on the Asia Pacific region, where the most rapid economic growth was undertaken.

Indeed, the United States began to become more proactive in shaping regional economic structure in the Asia Pacific and maintained its political and economic influence. This is well illustrated when the United States advocated the concept of the “Pacific Community.” During the Bush administration period, the concept of the “Pacific Community” was used to “visualize the structure of US engagement in the Pacific,” which had three components: providing security through US bilateral alliance network in East Asia; fostering economic integration and sustaining market-oriented growth through APEC; and supporting democratization in East Asia.³⁸⁸ In 1993,

³⁸⁶ James Baker, “US Foreign Policy Priorities and FY 1991 Budget Request—Secretary Baker: Prepared statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC, February 1, 1990,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 3, 1990, pp. 1-10.

³⁸⁷ Solomon also envisioned economic cooperation would be the most significant tool for the regional security by stating “by emphasizing economic progress rather than defense issues as the basis for regional integration, we can provide a more broadly acceptable framework for assuring security in the Asia-Pacific region in the post-Cold War era.” Richard Solomon, “Asian Security in the 1990s: Integration in Economic, Diversity in Defense—Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs: Address at the University of California at San Diego, October 30, 1990,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 1, No. 10, November 5, 1990, p. 248.

³⁸⁸ Baker, “The US and Japan,” p. 843; George Bush, “The U.S. and Asia: Building Democracy and Freedom,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 46, November 18, 1991, p. 839; James Baker,

President Clinton developed this idea into the “New Pacific Community.” According to his speech made in Japan in July 1993, the core of the New Pacific Community should be the United States and Japan to promote open market, trade, and democratization in the region and that APEC would be the key institution to promote these purposes.³⁸⁹

For its part, ASEAN member states were concerned about these changes and the future development of these policies. First, ASEAN was anxious about rapid institutionalization of the APEC forum. The 1990 AMM joint communiqué stated that

[T]he APEC process should continue to be a loose, exploratory and informal consultative process, that APEC process should not dilute ASEAN’s identity and that it should not be directed towards the establishment an economic trading bloc...³⁹⁰

ASEAN’s concern was that APEC institutionalization would politically and economically marginalize the association in the Asia Pacific region.

Second, while ASEAN had explicitly showed their concerns about raising protectionism, especially on agricultural goods, among developed states since 1980, the failure of the 1991 Uruguay Round negotiation triggered ASEAN’s reactions. In November 1991, the ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting (AEM) produced “ASEAN Statement On The Uruguay Round At The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Ministerial Meeting,” which expressed its concern regarding the failure of Uruguay Round negotiation on agricultural goods, although the association admitted that the major powers, such as the United States, the European Commission, and Japan, showed their commitments to achieve the GATT objective.³⁹¹

Third, democratization and human rights issues that the United States and European states prioritized became another concern for several ASEAN member states. Although those

“America in Asia: Emerging Architecture for a Pacific Community,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 5 (Winter 1991/1992), pp. 1-18.

³⁸⁹ Clinton, “Building a New Pacific Community,” p. 485 and p. 488.

³⁹⁰ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communique Of The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting.”

³⁹¹ ASEAN Secretariat, “ASEAN Statement On The Uruguay Round At The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Ministerial Meeting, Seoul, 12-14 November 1991,” accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.asean.org/976.htm>.

issues were never imposed to ASEAN member states, the political and economic pressures were perceived. For example, Mohamad Mahathir, the Malaysian Prime Minister, argued in 1991 that ASEAN would not dispute the value of democratic freedom and human rights, yet that there was not only one definition of democracy and “when the issue of human rights are linked to trade investment and finance, [ASEAN] cannot but view them as added conditionalities and protectionism by other means.”³⁹²

In this sense, these three changes in the regional political economic structure in the Asia-Pacific region triggered ASEAN’s institutional response for the member states’ economic and political security, resulting in such ASEAN’s ideas as the concept of East Asian Economic Group (EAEG)/East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC). Eventually, when the Asian Financial Crisis began to unfold in the mid-1997 and the United States demanded the structural reform to those affected states, the bailout delayed, and the crisis spread in the region. This incident became one accelerator for ASEAN’s institutional transformation, the creation of ASEAN+3.

(2) Uncertainty: Hedging by Institution-Building

With regard to its economic security, ASEAN’s expectations of changes in the economic structure in the Asia-Pacific region during the period from 1988 to 1997 oscillated between uncertainty and negative. This period of ASEAN’s expectations can be divided into three phases: the first phase from 1988 to 1990; the second from 1991 to 1992; and the third from 1993 to 1997.

In the first phase, while ASEAN member states generally possessed more uncertain perspective toward the world and regional economic trend, they attained relatively positive perspective towards ASEAN’s utility of economic security. ASEAN had been concerned about the world economic trends, including rise of protectionism and formulation of free trade areas

³⁹² Indonesia’s Foreign Minister Alatas also stated, “But [Prime Minister] Mahathir at Bali made much of the need for Asia to stand up to the West on trade threats, environment and labour practices.---These are widely shared by developing countries as a whole.” Mahathir, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8; “Interview/Ali Alatas: Live and let live,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 153, No. 28 (July 11, 1991), p. 12.

among developed states. In fact, from 1988 to 1990, recognizing the international economic interdependence had been strengthened, ASEAN member states, especially Indonesia and Malaysia, continuously expressed their concerns about the slow progress of the Uruguay Round negotiations and the possibility that the world economic recessions would negatively affect their economic growth.³⁹³ In 1989, Malaysian Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar explicitly stated that the world economic trend was different from positive the world political scene caused by the superpower détente; threats of protectionism was the “a major danger to the sustained and stable growth of ASEAN economies”; and that if the current economic situation would continue, ASEAN member states’ economies would be devastated due to its dependence on export-oriented economies.³⁹⁴ In the same manner, Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila stated, “global economic adjustments create uncertainties and strain traditional links, where the reality of economic interdependence has become accepted but at the same time has created the enormous challenge of proper management of such interdependence, ASEAN cannot become rattled...”³⁹⁵

Yet, the ASEAN member states’ assessment on the utility of ASEAN for economic cooperation was rather positive. Since the 1987 Manila Declaration, which set new institutional objectives for its economic cooperation, ASEAN also reconfirmed member states’ commitment to further consolidate intra-regional economic cooperation and promoted to forge collective stances in the international negotiations.³⁹⁶ When the idea of the establishment of APEC was proposed, ASEAN member states generally agreed to enhance economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, yet they began to collectively consider whether such institution would be a political and economic impediment to ASEAN. Consequently, they formed political alignment to shape the

³⁹³ See Alatas, in *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 15; Omar, in *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 17; Manglapus, in *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 20.

³⁹⁴ Omar, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 15.

³⁹⁵ Savetsila, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 26.

³⁹⁶ For example, see Omar, in *21st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 17; “Inaugural Address by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Olkiah Mu’izzuddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, at the Opening Ceremony of the Twenty-Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, 3-4 July 1989,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 7.

form of APEC.³⁹⁷ Moreover, due to their similar perspectives regarding the world economic trend and use of institutions already established within ASEAN, such as the ASEAN-PMC framework, Indonesia Foreign Minister Alatas was convinced that ASEAN had increasingly possessed similar perspectives in the international economic negotiations.³⁹⁸ In this sense, despite the member states' concerns over the economic uncertainty in the future, ASEAN member states expected that these ASEAN's cohesion would provide a positive outcome, including the GATT Uruguay Round scheduled in December 1991.³⁹⁹

In the second phase between 1991 and 1992, however, several ASEAN member states perceived increased uncertainty in the world economic trend mainly due to the failure of the Uruguay Round negotiations in 1991. For example, despite ASEAN's efforts to produce successful outcome of the negotiation and ASEAN's continuance of relatively high economic growth rate, the Philippine's Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus pessimistically argued that while the Uruguay Round negotiation would continue, it would possibly collapse again.⁴⁰⁰ Yet, the most assertive was Malaysia. At the 1991 AMM, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir expressed his disappointment at the failed outcome, and he stressed that the world economic trend would create a negative effect on developing states' security by stating:

³⁹⁷ At this time, Singapore made a reservation, while Indonesia and Thailand argued that ASEAN should use existing frameworks and maintain its centrality in order to maintain ASEAN cohesion. Wong, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 23; Alatas, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 12; Savetsila, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 26.

³⁹⁸ Alatas, in *22nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 10.

³⁹⁹ Suharto explicitly argued, "[ASEAN] should help ensure that the present GATT Uruguay Round is brought to a successful conclusion and a balanced outcome." Also, Thai Foreign Minister Savetsila argued that ASEAN's cohesiveness would be the key to adjust changing economic environment, including successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round as well as successful development of APEC. Suharto, in *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8; Siddhi Savetsila, "Opening Statement by H.E. ACM Siddhi Savetsila, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand, at the Twenty-Third ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Jakarta, 24-25 July 1990," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The 23rd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 21.

⁴⁰⁰ Raul Manglapus, "Opening Statement by H.E. Mr. Raul S. Manglapus, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, at the Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 19 July 1991," in ASEAN Secretariat, *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 13.

In the ASEAN experience, we have learnt that both at the national and regional levels, peace and security, democracy and freedom as well as stability are possible and sustainable only when the people are free from economic deprivation and have a stake in the national life.⁴⁰¹

Brunei followed a suit, and emphasized the important role that economics plays in security issues,⁴⁰² and ASEAN member states argued that economic stability was the most important source for political and social development in Southeast Asia, which some considered was then threatened by economic policies of developed states. Thus, ASEAN stipulated in the 1991 AMM joint communiqué its concerns regarding rise of regional economic groupings and new conditionalities for development assistance, including human rights considerations.⁴⁰³

This Uruguay Round's failure induced ASEAN's response, and ASEAN produced two institutional proposals: one focused on intra-ASEAN economic integration, such as Thai proposal to strengthen ASEAN's economic integration through ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), which was developed on the basis of ASEAN's continuous economic efforts from the 1987 Manila declaration; and the other was Malaysia's proposal for formulating the "East Asian Economic Group (EAEG)," later called the "East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC)," which was said to be not a trading bloc, but a regional consulting group.⁴⁰⁴ Understanding that the EAEG concept would be seen as a potential trading bloc in East Asia, Alatas pointed out that given the rise of regional trading arrangements in other areas and the collapse of the Uruguay Round, the EAEG proposal was seen as "an understandable reaction."⁴⁰⁵ Singapore evaluated this situation as the outcome of changes in the strategic environment in East Asia: now that the Cold War ended, the

⁴⁰¹ Mahathir also stated, "While regional peace and security are essential preconditions for our economic growth, the new world order which we should strive for is not only one that is free from the threat of war but it should also be a world free from poverty, hunger and diseases as well as an order which promotes equal economic opportunity and easy access to modern technology for all countries and peoples. And, most important of all, it should be a world order which recognizes that countries and peoples can and must be allowed to maximize their national political, economic and social potentials in ways compatible with their historical, cultural and national circumstances..." Thus, he made the connection between economic security and national security. Mahathir, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 8.

⁴⁰² Bolkiah, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 22.

⁴⁰³ ASEAN Secretariat, "Joint Communiqué Of The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting."

⁴⁰⁴ Mahathir, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁵ Alatas, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 28.

Western powers had less interest in supporting ASEAN as it did during the Cold War, which also supported ASEAN's relatively high economic growth.⁴⁰⁶ Although ASEAN had yet to reach consensus on the EAEG concept, it was taken under consideration.

This increased uncertainty, however, was temporarily mitigated after the 1992 ASEAN summit decided to pursue AFTA in the future. Admittedly, ASEAN member states still considered that the access to the US and European markets was the vital for their own economic security, and the stalemate situation of the Uruguay Round was not ASEAN's economic interests. However, by setting its own economic objective, AFTA, to make ASEAN economically competitive and utilizing APEC to foster economic cooperation in the Asia Pacific region, ASEAN started to have a more diplomatic tool to influence decisions of the international economic organization, GATT. Indeed, Singaporean Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng stated that regional economic arrangements, such as AFTA and APEC, were not only means to increase trade and investment, but also "insurance policies."⁴⁰⁷ Also, Omar argued that the purpose of the EAEC was to produce a "distinct and united East Asian voice" for the purpose of "writing of the new rules for global trade and economic interaction."⁴⁰⁸ In this sense, ASEAN situated APEC as the gateway for ASEAN to economically connect with outside region, EAEC as the regional connection, and AFTA as intra-regional connection.⁴⁰⁹ Thus, defining regional institution's role for its economic security in its own term, ASEAN picked up its institutional confidence, even though ASEAN perceived the development of the future global economic situation still remained uncertain.

⁴⁰⁶ Wong, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁷ Wong, in *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 10. Also, according to Hadi Soesastro, "...APEC as well as the proposed EAEC (East Asia Economic Caucus), is an insurance policy for ASEAN: it is an insurance policy against the uncertain development in the world economy. Indeed, uncertainty appears to be the driving force behind many forms of regional cooperation that are currently being proposed, including ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) in the politico-security field." Hadi Soesastro, "ASEAN and APEC: do concentric circles work?" *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1995), p. 478.

⁴⁰⁸ Alatas, in *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁰⁹ Sarasin, in *The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 13.

The third phase between 1993 and 1997 saw relative stasis of ASEAN's expectations, which was largely "uncertainty." Yet, with the new regional arrangements in East Asia, it was rather the period that ASEAN concentrated on institutionalization of regional economic frameworks, such as EAEC, AFTA and the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). Though was not yet clear for ASEAN member states whether these institutional arrangements would have any effect to mitigate the economic trend, ASEAN attempted to seek for the economic connection with economic major powers in the world in order to alleviate the economic uncertainties by influencing their decisions.

When the 1997 Asian financial crisis struck in East Asia, the institutionalization process of EAEC was rapidly accelerated. At the beginning of the crisis, however, ASEAN member states were confident that they would be able to sustain its economies despite the rapid destabilization of ASEAN currencies. In fact, at the 1997 AEM, the ASEAN Economic Ministers were not so much concerned about ASEAN's economic growth because they believed that ASEAN had "strong economic fundamentals, abundant investment opportunities, high savings ratio and consistent application of sound, market-oriented and outward looking policies,"⁴¹⁰ which turned not to be the case. Facing the economic setbacks, ASEAN discussed the regional economic crisis with three Northeast Asian states at the occasion of the informal ASEAN Summit with Japan, China, and South Korea in 1997, and this increased ASEAN's political momentum to hold regular talks with them.⁴¹¹ Eventually, this framework was officially institutionalized into the ASEAN+3 in 1999.

⁴¹⁰ "Joint Press Statement: The 29th ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting (AEM), Subang Jaya, Malaysia, 16 October 1997," in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series 1996-1997: Supplementary Edition*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1997), p. 105.

⁴¹¹ At the 1998 AMM, ASEAN Foreign Ministers showed positive views on the ASEAN+3 framework. For example, see Abdullah Badawi, "Opening Statement of H.E. Dato' Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia at 31st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, 24 July 1998," accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3921.htm>; Domingo Siazon, "Winning the Challenges of the 21st Century Statement of H.E. Domingo L. Siazon, Jr, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and Chairman of the 31st ASEAN Standing Committee, at the Opening of the 31st ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Manila, 24 July 1998," accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.aseansec.org/3923.htm>.

In sum, the period between 1988 and 1997 saw the long process of institutionalizing ASEAN+3. In the late 1980s, ASEAN found its institutional utility, political alignment, in shaping the format of APEC. However, when ASEAN's expectations for its institutional utility changed due to its skepticism that ASEAN might not produce its favorable outcome in the international economic negotiation, the uncertainty over ASEAN's utility in the international economic negotiation increased. Then, the association began to hedge against this uncertainty to produce ideas for a new regional framework, EAEG. In fact, ASEAN faced an institutional dilemma at this point. On the one hand, ASEAN considered that its collective stance through political alignment in the international economic negotiation, the Uruguay Round, would not be strong enough to influence the outcome of the international negotiations in the future. On the other hand, ASEAN still saw an institutional utility to influence the decision-making process in the regional environment as shown in the case of APEC establishment process and ASEAN's agreements as well as the intra-ASEAN economic cooperation. In order to solve this dilemma, ASEAN attempted to undertake institutional transformation. ASEAN provided proposals, including AFTA and EAEG, to enhance its institutional utility, and the ASEAN Summit in 1992 eventually included these proposals for its new objectives. In this sense, the seeds of the establishment of ASEAN+3 were set in 1992, and the 1997 Asian financial crisis was an accelerator to formulate it rather than a fundamental trigger.

(3) ISP: Relaxing a Principle of Southeast Asian Regional Autonomy

Since the 1970s, ASEAN had found its institutional utility in the international economic negotiations through ASEAN-PMC. This was particularly a useful tool for the member states to negotiate with major economic powers, such as the United States, Japan, and Europe. This is partly because the US-Soviet bipolar system during the Cold War gave small and medium powers a political room to negotiate with major powers as both the United States and the Soviet Union competed with expanding their sphere of influence. Thus, ASEAN could utilize this strategic

environment to induce positive outcomes in their economic negotiation. However, given the end of the bipolar system in the post-Cold War period, ASEAN member states realized that changes in the regional economic structure, such as rising regional trading blocs, the establishment of APEC, and US economic policy changes, would negate political economic advantages that ASEAN had enjoyed.

ASEAN's ISPs with regard to economic issues during this period were mainly to creating a regional mechanism to secure economic growth by maintaining regional autonomy. Its preference towards regional autonomy was well illustrated when the creation of APEC was discussed between ASEAN and the non-ASEAN member states in the late 1980s. ASEAN's concerns were to become politically and economically marginalized in the region if APEC was led by outside powers. In order to project its political influence into APEC, ASEAN attempted to reach a common stance toward APEC through internal discussion, resulting in the so-called "Kuching Consensus" in 1990. This aimed at maintaining APEC as an informal and non-institutionalized economic arrangement.⁴¹² The regional powers, especially Australia and Japan, also considered ASEAN's concerns, which led them to craft the format of the APEC process jointly. While the ASEAN's political alignment had some effects on the international economic decision-making processes, ASEAN was still uncertain whether the current institutional framework could sustain its effectiveness. Admittedly, the Kuching Consensus was gradually eroded as APEC became more institutionalized over time. However, despite APEC's

⁴¹² The Kuching Consensus contains the following principles: "(a) ASEAN's identity and cohesion should be preserved and its cooperative relations with its dialogue partners and with third countries should not be diluted in any enhanced APEC; (b) an enhanced APEC should be based on the principles of equality, equity and mutual benefit, taking fully into account the differences in stages of economic development and socio-political systems among the countries in the region; (c) APEC should not be directed towards the formation of an inward-looking economic or trading bloc but, instead, it should strengthen the open, multilateral economic and trading systems in the world; (d) APEC should provide a consultative forum on economic issues and should not lead to the adoption of mandatory directives for any participant to undertake or implement; (e) APEC should be aimed at strengthening the individual and collective capacity of participants for economic analysis and at facilitating more effective, mutual consultations to enable participants to identify more clearly and to promote their common interests and to project more vigorously those interests in the larger multilateral forums; and (f) APEC should proceed gradually and pragmatically, especially in its institutionalization, without inhibiting further elaboration and future expansion." Hadi Soesastro, "ASEAN and APEC," p. 484.

institutionalization, several ASEAN member states became more comfortable with the institutional development as major powers repeatedly reassured that APEC did not impede ASEAN's existence in the Asia-Pacific region.

On the other hand, ASEAN's preference to increase and maintain economic growth faced a severe challenge in 1991, when the Uruguay Round negotiation failed. Given ASEAN's interest in promoting open markets in the agricultural good and its continuous efforts made to negotiate with developed states through political alignment, the failed outcome of the Uruguay Round made several ASEAN member states realize that the current institutional framework, including ASEAN-PMC, would not be as effective in the global setting as it used to be. This consideration led emergence of two groups of INEs: member states, including Indonesia, focused on the enhancement of ASEAN's economic cooperation, and the other, prominently Malaysia, focused on the enhancement of ASEAN's political leverage in the global setting.

First, several ASEAN member states, including the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, began to accelerate their cooperative efforts in the economic fields in order to maintain economic growth and to raise its economic influence in the world. For example, the Philippines proposed ASEAN Treaty of Economic Cooperation; Indonesia did a Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) scheme on a sector-by-sector approach; and Thailand did an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). Although not all the proposals were approved at the ASEAN Summit in 1992, they aimed at strengthening the regional economic capabilities, so that it could not only sustain its economic growth but also strengthen its presence in the international economic negotiations. In fact, Malaysian Prime Minister stated in 1991, "An ASEAN supported by economic strength will have a stronger voice in international negotiations for fairer trade terms with the developed countries..."⁴¹³ Since there had already existed an institutional consensus to strengthen intra-

⁴¹³ Mahathir, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 10.

ASEAN economic linkages since its inception, these were politically supported by all the ASEAN member states throughout the 1990s.⁴¹⁴

Second, Malaysia created the concept of EAEG, whose membership consisted of only East Asian states in order to increase their political influence in the international economic negotiations, thus expanded political alignment. While recognizing the necessity to increase ASEAN's own economic capabilities to influence in the international economic negotiations, the Uruguay Round illustrated that the association had yet to attain such negotiation power. Accordingly, the concept included non-ASEAN states, including Northeast Asian states, especially Japan, to enhance its negotiation power. In fact, Mahathir stated that "...if the whole of East Asia tells Europe that it must open up its markets, Europeans will know that access to the huge Asian market obliges them not to be protectionist."⁴¹⁵

To be sure, the initial idea of the EAEG was never clear: although Mahathir rejected the idea that the EAEG concept would become a regional trading bloc, Malaysian Industries Minister Lim Keng Yaik implicitly equated EAEC to a regional economic bloc and pointed out that an "Asian trade bloc" could counter the emergence of protectionism and other regional trading blocs.⁴¹⁶ ASEAN member states' initial reactions to the concept of EAEC were relatively positive with some cautions: Brunei, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore immediately reacted to this proposal and showed their desire to explore the concept by setting up the Senior Official Meetings (SOM),⁴¹⁷ and subsequently, the ASEAN-ISIS also supported the concept as it could

⁴¹⁴ For example, like the 1992 Mahathir speech at the AMM for his desirability to form unified "voice" to overcome difficulties in the GATT negotiation, Thai Prime Minister Leekpai stated in 1995 that in order to counter the danger of exclusive economic entities, ASEAN should "undertake a pro-active stand within the World Trade Organization as a voice of the developing world." See Leekpai, in *The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 2-3.

⁴¹⁵ Mahathir Mohamad and Shintaro Ishihara, *The Voice of Asia: Two Leaders Discuss the Coming Century*, (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1996), p. 44.

⁴¹⁶ Michael Vatikiotis, Anthony Rowley, Doug Tsuruoka and Shim Jae Hoon, "Business Affairs: TRADE 1: Japan negative about leading Asian economic pact: Building blocs," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 151, No. 5, January 31, 1991, p. 32.

⁴¹⁷ Bolkiah, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 22; Alatas, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 28; Manglapus, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, p. 13; Wong, in *The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting*, pp. 15-16.

“strengthen ASEAN’s voice in regional and international economic affairs.”⁴¹⁸ Although the name of EAEG connotes a trading bloc and changed into EAEC,⁴¹⁹ the AMM continuously discussed the EAEC concept from this initiative till 1997, when the first informal ASEAN+3 was convened.

Though the prospective membership was expected to expand beyond ASEAN member states, the process of the establishment of ASEAN+3 faced several political obstacles. The initial idea of EAEC was significantly modified through the internal discussions as well as discussions with other East Asian states. First, the outside economic powers, namely the United States and Japan, implicitly opposed or hesitated to support the initiative. While China supported the concept from the beginning,⁴²⁰ the United States, aiming at making APEC a central institution to foster economic cooperation in the Asia Pacific region, considered EAEC as the potentially competing concept against APEC, and US officials subsequently criticized the concept. For example, in 1991, the US ambassador to Japan, Michel Armacost said that the United States was concerned about the concept because it would “diminish” the APEC.⁴²¹ James Baker said, “in private, I did my best to kill [EAEC],” implying that the United States implicitly put strong pressures on Japan not to support the EAEC concept.⁴²² Also, in 1992, Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, cautioned that while AFTA was compatible with GATT, the development of exclusionary groupings would be “very costly for

⁴¹⁸ ASEAN-ISIS, *A Time for Initiative*, p. 8.

⁴¹⁹ Mahathir explained that since the term, “group,” carried a trading bloc, while “caucus” means “a meeting to discuss things,” which was the initial objective of the concept, ASEAN changed the term from EAEG to EAEC. Mahathir and Ishihara, *The Voice of Asia*, p. 43.

⁴²⁰ Michael Vatikiotis, “ASEAN B: Singapore Solution,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 156, No. 31, August 5, 1993, p. 11.

⁴²¹ “Briefing-Business: US opposes Mahathir over East Asia group,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 151, No. 11, March 14, 1991, p. 55.

⁴²² Baker said, “without strong Japanese backing, [EAEC] represented less of a threat to [America’s] economic interests in East Asia,” while it was difficult for the Japanese government to raise any issues against the United States during the period when Japan had intense debates over its security role in the Gulf War with the United States. Cited in Terada, “Constructing an ‘East Asian’ concept,” p. 259.

trading partners” and “go against the trend toward Pacific economic interdependence...”⁴²³ This US stance also affected Japan’s position, and Japan hesitated to support such a concept as it would likely provoke the United States if supported. Second, ASEAN’s internal debates led the concept of EAEC to be a less clear one. Since most of ASEAN member states, such as Thailand and the Philippines, had a strong trading relations with the United States, they were not willing to establish a rigid economic group that could exclude the United States. While Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong supported the idea as long as it was “consistent with GATT; did not build trade barriers; and supplemented the work of APEC,”⁴²⁴ this would dilute that the original EAEC concept because it would become not an independent framework, but under the APEC framework. Nevertheless, in the 1993 AMM, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers agreed that EAEC is “a caucus within APEC.”⁴²⁵

Despite these setbacks, ASEAN’s continuous efforts to materialize EAEC continued, and the framework was gradually institutionalized. There are three main factors that fostered such process. First, ASEAN continuously discussed the realization of EAEC. Especially after assuming its leading role to materialize EAEC, AEM decided in 1993 to order the Secretary-General of ASEAN to consult with the prospective members and create a report for further consideration.⁴²⁶ Through these consultations, ASEAN began to discuss the agenda for economic cooperation with the prospective members of EAEC. ASEAN set specific agendas in 1996, which were to develop program for the development of small and medium enterprises and human resources, and these agenda were on the table of the first informal ASEAN+3 meeting in 1997.⁴²⁷

Second, the process of establishment of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) provided ASEAN a

⁴²³ Richard Solomon, “America and Asian Security in an Era of Geoeconomics—Richard H. Solomon, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Address before the Pacific Rim Forum, San Diego, California, May 15, 1992,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 3, No. 21, May 25, 1992, p. 414.

⁴²⁴ Michael Vatikiotis, et al. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 31, 1991, p. 32.

⁴²⁵ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Communique of the Twenty-Sixth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting.”

⁴²⁶ ASEAN Secretariat, “Joint Press Statement Twenty-Fourth Meeting of the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM), Singapore, 7-8 October 1993,” in ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Documents Series: 1992-1994, Supplementary Edition*, (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1994), p. 26.

⁴²⁷ ASEAN Secretariat, “The 28th ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting (AEM), Jakarta, Indonesia, 12 September 1996,” in *ASEAN Documents Series 1996-1997*, p. 102.

justification to invite “East Asian” states to discuss with European counterparts. After Singapore’s Prime Minister Goh proposed the Asia-Europe economic meetings in Paris at the occasion of the World Economic Forum in October 1994 and approved by both ASEAN and EU in 1995, ASEAN invited Japan, China, and South Korea, which formed a framework of ASEAN+3.⁴²⁸ In fact, when Asian foreign ministers met in Phuket to prepare for the first ASEM meeting, Mahathir explained in 1996 that it was “a meeting of the EAEC countries.”⁴²⁹ Third, the United States became less critical against the EAEC concept in the mid-1990s. According to Joan Spero, US Under-Secretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs, the United States would not oppose it “as long as it did not split the Pacific Rim down the middle.”⁴³⁰ Furthermore, when ASEAN and EU decided to convene ASEM in 1995, Sandra Kristoff, US ambassador-designate to APEC, stated that the ASEM summit was not a threat to APEC because APEC has already been a rigid institution.⁴³¹ In this sense, there was a room to politically maneuver for establishing EAEC by 1995.

When the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis occurred, despite its pledged economic commitment to the Asia Pacific region, the economic major power, the United States was unwilling to financially bail out Asian member states. During the crisis, the regional institutions, such as APEC and ASEAN, were largely incapable of alleviating the economic crisis, and instead, the International Monetary Fund with the United States stepped in and demanded economic structural reforms in Asian states, which included such measures as reduction of the public spending, rise of interest rates, and a floating exchange rate system. In response, Japan proposed the establishment of the Asia Monetary Fund (AMF) to deal with the on-going crisis, yet it was

⁴²⁸ See Richard Stubbs, “ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (May-June 2002), p. 442.

⁴²⁹ The news was broadcasted by *RTM Television (Kuala Lumpur)* on February 5, 1996. “Asia-Europe Meeting Preparations: Malaysian premier says Phuket conference actually East Asia Economic Caucus meeting,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 6, 1996.

⁴³⁰ “ASEAN Meetings Seen as Just Talk by Sceptics,” *New Straits Times* (Kuala Lumpur), July 27, 1996, cited in Stubbs, p. 442.

⁴³¹ Irene Ngoo, “Asia-Europe summit no threat to forum, says US,” *The Straits Times*, August 5, 1995.

categorically rejected by the United States.⁴³² These political maneuver of the United States and the IMF during the crisis convinced ASEAN to establish a regional institution by including China, Japan, and South Korea, which might be able to deal with such an economic crisis.

Admittedly, the ideas of EAEG/EAEC and ASEAN+3 contradicted with ASEAN's ISP, a regional autonomy, deriving from its non-interference principle vis-à-vis external actors. Since the EAEG/EAEG concept needed to include non-ASEAN member states,⁴³³ the idea was inevitably influenced by outside powers, which was seen as a compromise with the ASEAN's existing ISP. However, ASEAN's autonomy was essentially maintained as it did not replace ASEAN with a new framework and made ASEAN a center of a new institution. Furthermore, ASEAN ultimately retained its right to shape agenda setting in ASEAN+3, so that its centrality would not be threatened by outside states. Thus, in responding to the Asian Financial Crisis, ASEAN accelerated institutionalization of EAEC into ASEAN+3, and ASEAN stroke a balance between maintaining regional autonomy and inclusion of non-ASEAN states in a new institution, ASEAN+3.

III. Within-Case Analysis—ASEAN

This chapter analyzed the institutional transformation that occurred within ASEAN during the periods between 1968 and 1976 and between 1989 and 1997. The period of 1968-1976 saw two institutional transformations of ASEAN, divided between Phase I (1968-1971) and Phase II (1972-1976). In Phase I, ASEAN underwent an institutional consolidation of political alignment function through the declaration of ZOPFAN. This consolidation was undertaken by specifying its principle of non-interference, which aimed at preventing external intervention into

⁴³² The political discussions and maneuvers in East Asia during the Asian Financial Crisis, *see* Stubbs, pp. 448-449; Terada, "Constructing an 'East Asian' concept," p. 265.

⁴³³ The potential membership in the initial blue-print of the EAEG concept was said to include the ASEAN member states, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, China, Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, which excluded all the Western states including the United States. Michael Vatikiotis, Anthony Rowley, Doug Tsuruoka and Shim Jae Hoon, "Business Affairs: TRADE 1: Japan negative about leading Asian economic pact: Building blocs," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 151, No. 5, January 31, 1991, p. 32.

the Southeast Asian region rather than interventions among the member states. Considering its abstract objective of regional autonomy, inferred from the 1967 Bali Concord, ASEAN attempted to take advantage of a changing security environment to ensure regional autonomy by approaching Indochinese states as well as preventing external actors' intrusion into Southeast Asia.

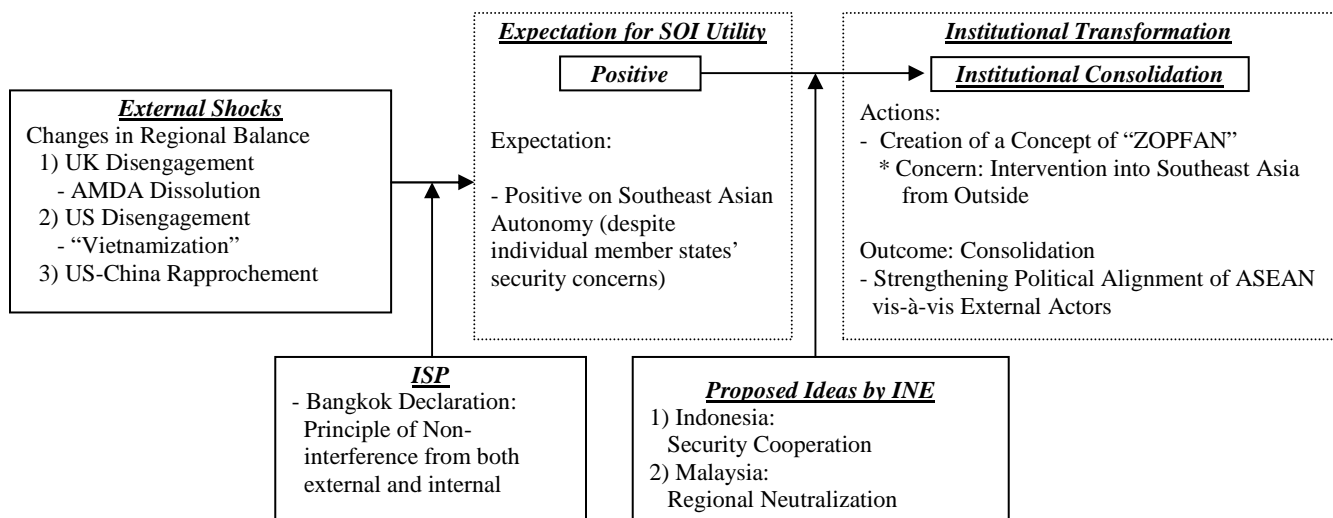
Figure 4.2 illustrates the sequence of such a transformation from 1968 to 1971. The institutional consolidation of political alignment basically occurred as a result of ASEAN's expected changes in the regional balance of power from the late 1960s. The trigger was the UK's decision to dissolve AMDA, the US declaration of "Vietnamization," which signaled its intent to militarily withdraw from Vietnam, and a rise of Sino-US rapprochement. While such disengagement would create a regional power vacuum, ASEAN generally perceived such political maneuvering as a positive sign for ASEAN's institutional utility. This is because ASEAN's existing ISP was essentially based on the 1967 Bangkok Declaration, which valued the principle of non-interference.

Most ASEAN states individually were concerned about the power vacuum. US disengagement posed a threat to Thailand and the Philippines because they might face a reduction of US commitment to them despite their mutual defense treaties. Additionally, Malaysia and Singapore, which had a defense treaty with the United Kingdom, were concerned when AMDA was abrogated. Nevertheless, from ASEAN's institutional perspective, changes in the regional balance of power were seen as a positive trend because it opened a window of opportunity to ensure Southeast Asian regional autonomy. In this context, ASEAN could serve as a strategic fallback position for them, although it was not the best strategic option for the existing form of ASEAN needed to change.

As the existing form of ASEAN needed to change in order to fill a political power vacuum in Southeast Asia, two INEs, Indonesia and Malaysia, emerged. While Indonesia's proposal to move into ASEAN security cooperation was quickly dismissed by other member

states, Malaysia’s proposal of creating “regional neutrality” was taken up by the member states. This proposed “neutralization” idea was not accepted by the member states because most perceived that its requirement of great powers’ security guarantee was basically unattainable. In this sense, the concept of ZOPFAN was created. With this concept, ASEAN aimed at strengthening its political alignment function specifically to prevent external actors from intervening in Southeast Asia while ASEAN attempted to include Indochinese states, especially Vietnam, into ASEAN membership. This became a new ISP for ASEAN in 1971.

Figure 4.2: ASEAN’s Institutional Consolidation from 1968 to 1971



In Phase II, which last from 1972 to 1976, ASEAN also undertook another institutional consolidation through TAC and the Bali Concord, as Figure 4.3 shows. During this period, the intra-regional balance of power became more fluid. While the US disengagement became more visible in military, political, and economic dimensions, the intensification of the Sino-Soviet rivalry over not only Vietnam, but also Southeast Asia, became more evident. Moreover, while the 1972 Paris Peace Accord seemingly brought about temporary political tranquility in Indochina, the Indochina situation had not changed significantly, resulting in the 1975 fall of Saigon and Cambodia. For its part, ASEAN after 1971, while recognizing that a degree of

uncertainty in the intra-regional balance of power still existed, accelerated the process of institutional consolidation by approaching Indochinese states. Referring to newly created ISP, a norm of non-defense pact, the objective of ZOPFAN, and a specified principle of non-interference from outside, ASEAN regarded the changes more positively, and it attempted to include other Southeast Asian states into the association in order to consolidate the association. At the same time, several member states cautiously established channels of communication with both China and the Soviet Union, so that they could avoid politically antagonizing or finding themselves entrapped within the Sino-Soviet rivalry.

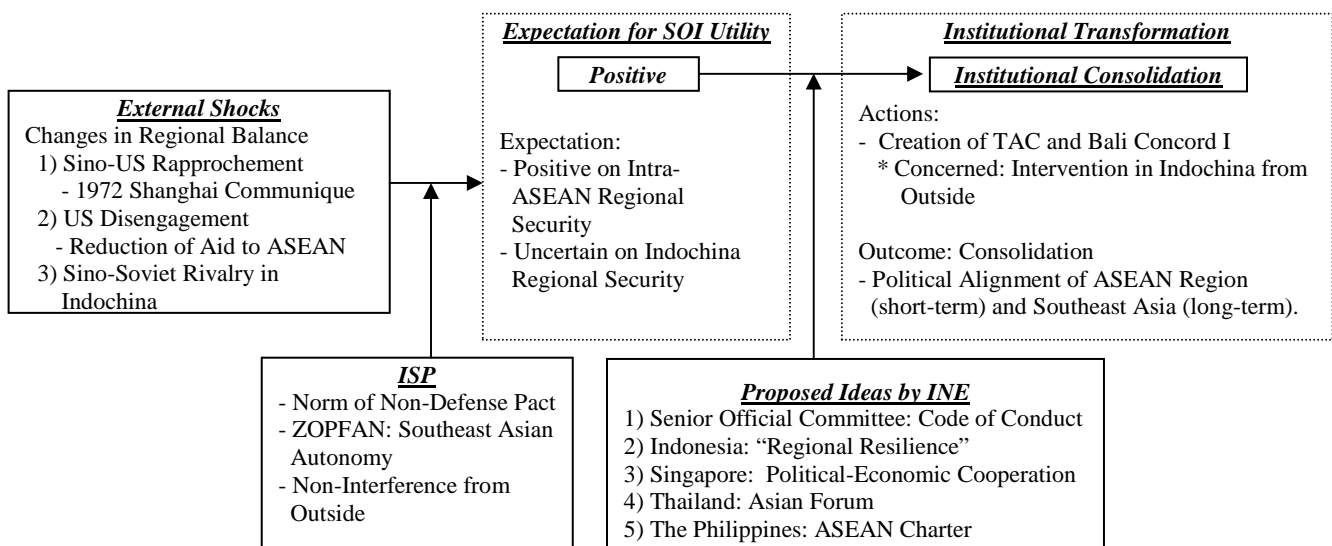
In the meantime, there are five INEs: the Senior Official Committee, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. All proposals aimed at ASEAN's consolidation, although the Filipino idea of creating an ASEAN Charter was not realized. The Senior Official Committee created a code of conduct among ASEAN member states, while modifying the concept of ZOPFAN in order for the region to consider regional neutralization as not an objective, but a method to maintain regional autonomy. Indonesia proposed the concept of regional resilience in order to comprehend various dimensions of regional cooperation so as to ensure regional security. Singapore pushed for political economic cooperation designed to enhance ASEAN's negotiation power vis-à-vis external powers. Thailand also proposed a two-step approach for holding the Asian Political Forum, which would include external powers, such as the United States. Before holding such a forum, Thailand emphasized the use of an intra-regional forum only among all Southeast Asian states. As a result, these ideas culminated in establishment of several economic consultation groups as well as TAC.

Yet, after the stability of Indochina became uncertain in 1975 due to the intensification of the Sino-Soviet rivalry, ASEAN's expectations for its utility were divided: while ASEAN was able to ensure the existing ASEAN member states' political security to some extent, it would be difficult to extend its secured areas to the Indochinese states. Therefore, ASEAN undertook two-step approach designed to realize the Southeast Asian community by concluding the Bali

Concord I: first, focusing on the ASEAN region in the short-term and on the whole Southeast Asian region in the long-term.

As such, ASEAN in the period of 1968-1976 undertook institutional consolidation of political alignment. They attempted to enhance its institutional function vis-à-vis political alignment in order to ensure the principle of non-interference, through the creation of ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I. Its political emphasis on non-interference was created by the 1967 Bangkok Declaration, but the 1971 ZOPFAN declaration shaped more specific terms of non-interference, which aimed at external actors. Accordingly, ASEAN began to emphasize its security utility as an external security management mechanism, rather than internal security ones. Although it did not explicitly form such alignment to prevent external intervention, a nascent form of political alignment began to emerge through a process of diplomatic cooperation conducted through multilateral and bilateral economic negotiations with actors outside of the region. In this sense, the decisions and discussions that ASEAN took during this period became the ISP, which was an important reference point to assess ASEAN’s institutional utility with respect to changes in the regional balance of power.

Figure 4.3: Phase II—ASEAN’s Institutional Consolidation from 1972 to 1976



The difference between Phase I and Phase II is clear in terms of its geographical identification. In Phase I, ASEAN consistently considered Southeast Asia as its geographical reference point. Yet, in Phase II, when Indochinese states strengthened military and political ties with either China or the Soviet Union in mid-1970s, ASEAN decided to prioritize the ASEAN region rather than Southeast Asia as a whole, since its institutional utility was more positive for the existing ASEAN member states at that point. In this sense, changes in the balance of power triggered ASEAN's conceptual frameworks, and ASEAN used a different framework to assess the regional balance of power in Phase I and Phase II.

During the period from 1989 to 1997, ASEAN's institutional transformation was embodied by the establishment of ARF and ASEAN+3. As illustrated in Figure 4.4, the establishment of ARF began with changes to the regional balance of power in East Asia in the late 1980s. While the US-Soviet détente near the end of the Cold War did not itself produce the trigger, chain reactions created by Soviet unilateral disengagement triggered US military disengagement from Southeast Asia. Particularly, Filipino negotiations with the United States over the US bases in Subic Bay and Clark Air Base decided the withdrawal of the US troops, and this accelerated the US withdrawal from the region. This military and political disengagement itself was a positive trend for intra-Southeast Asian relations since the reduction of political involvement from external power promoted regional autonomy in Southeast Asia.

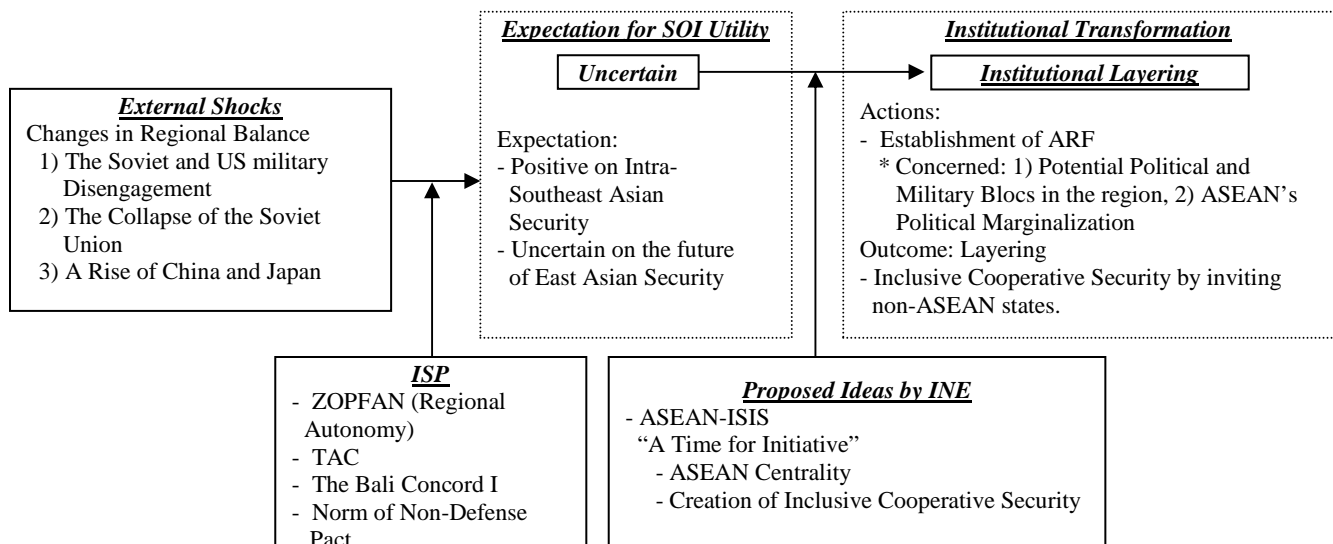
However, at the same time, the rise of regional powers Japan and China created a concern for ASEAN member states. While Japan continued to reassure that it would not become a regional military power, China's behavior in Southeast Asia created security concerns for ASEAN member states. In other words, ASEAN feared that rising regional powers would fill the power vacuum created by great power disengagement.

ASEAN's options are limited by its own ISP. Since ASEAN understood that its aggregated military capabilities would not match that of regional powers, the creation of a defense pact against these powers would be only counterproductive. ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali

Concord emphasized regional autonomy, but it was unclear to what extent these political declarations could be valued by outside ASEAN states due to such a strategic changes. Moreover, as opposed to US political declaration, it remained unclear whether the United States would maintain its security commitment in Southeast Asia. As a result, ASEAN’s expectation for its institutional utility remained uncertain.

In the meantime, several ideas regarding East Asian security architecture, such as CSCA, came from non-ASEAN member states, such as Japan and Australia. Having been concerned that ASEAN would be likely politically marginalized in the region if it did not take any action, ASEAN began to forge an idea in establishing a multilateral security mechanism in the region. In this context, an INE, ASEAN-ISIS, provided an idea to maintain its centrality by establishing a regional security dialogue, “Conference on Stability and Peace in the Asia Pacific,” on the basis of ASEAN’s existing mechanism. This idea was supported by ASEAN member states, and ASEAN created ARF in 1994. In this way, ASEAN undertook institutional layering to add its new security function and inclusive cooperative security mechanism, while maintaining ASEAN and aiming at consolidating ASEAN by including other Southeast Asian states.

Figure 4.4: ARF—ASEAN’s Institutional Layering from 1989 to 1994



Another transformation, which occurred from 1989 to 1997, was the establishment of ASEAN+3. The triggers were gradual changes in the East Asian political economic architecture beginning in the late 1980s caused by emerging regional economic blocs in the world, such as EU and NAFTA, establishment of APEC, and changes in US economic policy toward East Asia. Particularly, the United States, through the US-Soviet détente, no longer had to provide economic and military assistance to Southeast Asia without any preconditions as a part of its Cold War strategy and began to promote human rights and democratic principles in East Asia. Moreover, establishment of a new economic framework, APEC, had the potential to politically and economically marginalize ASEAN in the region. Since ASEAN's "security" concept included issues related to economics as it touched upon regional resiliency, these structural changes posed a threat to ASEAN's regional economic autonomy. ASEAN faced economic difficulty in ensuring regional economic autonomy.

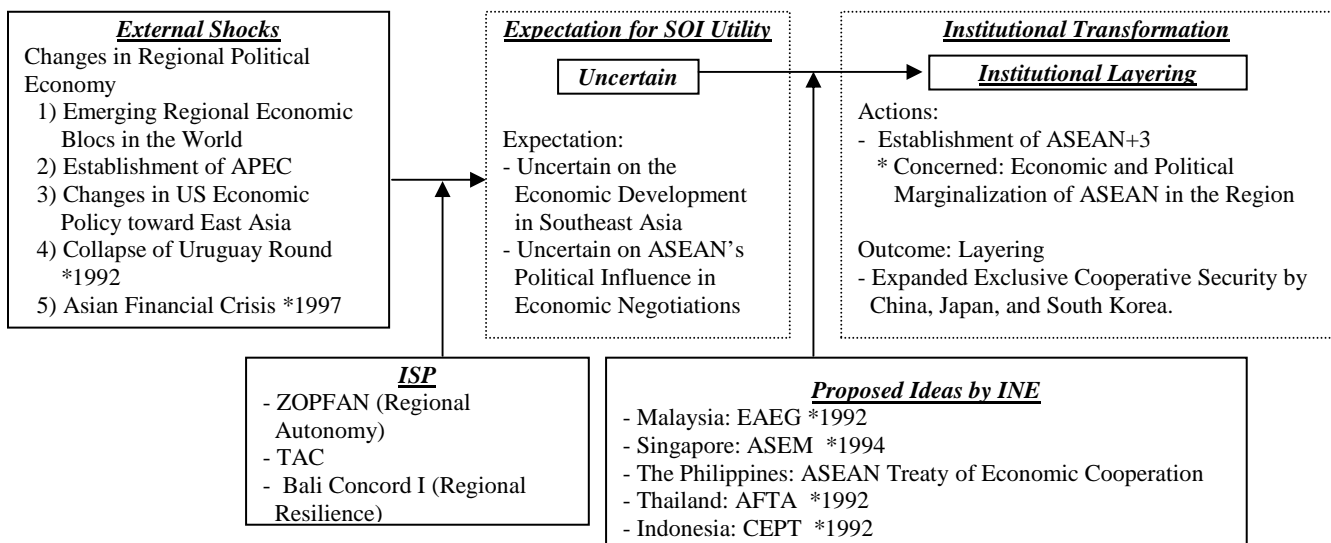
While ASEAN believed that PMC still had some negotiating power in shaping outcomes of international economic negotiations, it became more evident that its negotiating power did not produce positive outcomes when the prospect of the GATT Uruguay Round failed in 1991. In response, ASEAN's expectations for its economic utility became divided. On the one hand, ASEAN could promote Southeast Asian economic cooperation regardless of changes in the regional economic structure, and its utility was seen as positive. On the other hand, ASEAN's utility for international economic negotiation was seen as weakening, and there was increasing uncertainty regarding PMC capability.

In this context, several INEs emerged, namely, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. Internal economic consolidation through such means as CEPT and AFTA was advocated by Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Singapore. Yet, Malaysia asserted that ASEAN should include other East Asian states, particularly Japan, so as to establish an informal economic bloc, EAEG. The idea was opposed by non-ASEAN member states, especially the United States, as well as several ASEAN member states. However, the idea did not

disappear and was instead modified by other ASEAN member states, resulting in change in the concept from EAEG to EAEC, which functioned mainly as a consultative group within APEC. Despite this modification, ASEAN sustained this idea for over six years, and during this period, Singapore proposed establishment of ASEM in 1995, which informally created Asian counterparts of other regional economic blocs. When the Asian financial crisis occurred in 1997, this EAEG idea finally materialized, and ASEAN+3 was established, which allowed ASEAN to once again maintain its centrality.

In this sense, ASEAN undertook two acts of institutional layering during the period of 1989-1997, establishment of ARF and ASEAN+3. Both institutions were additional functions of ASEAN and maintained ASEAN centrality. While ARF was an inclusive cooperative security management, ASEAN+3 served as an expanded political alignment, and they aimed at hedging the security strategic uncertainty amplified by changes in the regional balance of power.

Figure 4.5: ASEAN+3—ASEAN’s Institutional Layering from 1989 to 1997



Given the tests that arose during these two periods, three main findings can be laid out. First, changes in the regional balance of power triggered ASEAN’s institutional transformation. Each case showed that changes in the strategic landscape preceded institutional transformation. In

the period between 1968 and 1976, Southeast Asia faced changes in great power politics, which began with UK and US retrenchment and included Sino-US rapprochement, further US disengagement, and the Sino-Soviet rivalry. Since Southeast Asia, particularly Indochina, was embedded in great power politics, their impacts were relatively strong. Despite the fact that a global balance of power during this period showed US-Soviet and Sino-US détente, the regional strategic balance in Southeast Asia did not exactly reflect such a trend. Likewise, in the period between 1989 and 1997, changes in the regional balance of power caused by the US-Soviet détente laid the political conditions of establishment of ARF and ASEAN+3. However, such changes did not immediately caused institutional changes. Rather, the accumulation of after-shocks, such as increasing uncertainty of China's strategic maneuvers in the region and the Asian Financial Crisis, promoted this institutional transformation. Yet, these strategic changes did not explain the variance of institutional transformation. Both cases faced such changes, but their types of transformation were different. In this sense, a change in the regional balance was the trigger.

Second, ASEAN's expectations for its security utility determined its types of change, yet ASEAN member states held several parallel expectations. Admittedly, ASEAN's expectations in both periods fluctuated and changed several times. Moreover, ASEAN member states often held diverging opinions regarding its utility. This is because even though their reference points were based on past institutional decisions, such as the Bangkok Declaration, ZOPFAN, TAC and the Bali Concord I, each member's interpretation of them was different. However, when ASEAN member states reached general consensus, the types of institutional transformation were determined as the second hypothesis predicted. During the period of 1968-1976, ASEAN member states reached a general consensus that ASEAN became a useful tool for enhancing its principle of non-interference from external powers and attempted to further enhance such a utility through ZOPFAN. During the period of 1989-1997, ASEAN member states felt uncertain about its utility in dealing with the strategic changes and undertook institutional layering in order to hedge the

risk. At the same time, both cases illustrates that ASEAN simultaneously undertook institutional consolidation and institutional layering. For example, while this period witnessed ASEAN create ARF and ASEAN+3, ASEAN consolidated itself by including other Southeast Asian states as envisaged by the Bangkok Declaration, ZOPFAN and TAC. Thus, there was not only one consensual expectations existing within the institution.

Third, ASEAN's ISP became reference points to access its institutional utility, and this ISP had a path dependent nature. ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I were all decisions aimed at short-term or long-term institutional objectives, and their principles and norms became ASEAN's reference points to assess ASEAN's utility. For example, ASEAN often referred to ZOPFAN in the early 1990s and asked whether such an institutional objective was still valid for ASEAN's utility. If not, the principles and norms of ZOPFAN were deconstructed and separated into parts, such as regional neutralization, a principle of non-interference and regional autonomy. Then, valid norms are eclectically selected, and new sets of norms were reconstructed through institutional decisions. In this process, INEs introduced new norms and incorporated them into such decisions. This is well illustrated when ASEAN created TAC and the Bali Concord I on the basis of the ZOPFAN concept and established ARF and ASEAN+3 by incorporating a new norm of ASEAN centrality, a modified version of regional autonomy, into ASEAN's inclusive cooperative security mechanism.

Thus, two tests of ASEAN's institutional transformation during the periods of 1968-1976 and 1989-1997 followed the same logic that the three hypotheses illustrated. A change in the regional balance of power in Southeast Asia triggered ASEAN's institutional transformation; ASEAN's expectations for its utility directed the types of change; and the changes in the strategic landscape fostered the emergence of INEs and formulated and reformulated ASEAN's ISP.

CHAPTER V: ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

The second case is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS consists of fifteen states: Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Upper Volta. The institution was established in May 28, 1975, by the initiative of Nigeria and Togo. The original purpose of ECOWAS was “to accelerate, foster and encourage the economic and social development of [member] states in order to improve the living standards of their people.”⁴³⁴ To this end, the institution aimed at creating an Economic Community of West African States by furthering economic and social-cultural cooperation and integration among member states, including elimination of tariffs, joint development of transport, communication, energy and other types of infrastructure, harmonization of monetary, and economic and industrial policies. However, ECOWAS began to include a security agenda from the late 1970s and decided to provide peacekeeping forces in the 1990s. This section focuses on two periods of ECOWAS transformation: the period of 1976-1981 and that of 1990-1999.

I. ECOWAS in 1976-1981: Non-Aggression and Defense Protocols

ECOWAS undertook institutional transformation during the period of 1978-1981 by adopting the Protocol on Non-Aggression (PNA) in 1978 and the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance of Defence. The 1975 ECOWAS Treaty indicated that the community solely focused on socio-economic cooperation, not politico-military security cooperation, and its conflict resolution mechanism, a Tribunal of the Community, was extremely limited. According to Article 11, the institution ensures “the observance of law and justice in the interpretation of the provisions” of the treaty and has “the responsibility of settling such disputes.”⁴³⁵ The procedure of

⁴³⁴ “Multilateral: Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Concluded at Lagos on 28 May 1975,” *United Nations Treaty Series*, No. 14843 (1976), p. 19.

⁴³⁵ Article 11, in *Ibid*, p. 24.

settling the dispute had two steps: first, concerned member states should pursue direct agreement between them; and second, if this failed, the Tribunal might be employed to settle disputes and would produce a final decision.⁴³⁶ However, this had three main restrictions. First, the tribunal did not deal with disputes outside the interpretation of the provisions. For example, other ontested matters, such as border disputes among the member states, would not be referred to the Tribunal. Second, the Tribunal was an option that the member states could employ to settle their disputes, but was not mandatory. Third, there was no mechanism to enforce a “final” decision made by the Tribunal.⁴³⁷ In this sense, ECOWAS member states considered the Tribunal as an optional dispute management mechanism. Its authority was severely limited to judicial interpretation only of those aspects of socio-economic cooperation among the member states defined by the institution. Thus, ECOWAS did not possess any security management mechanism at its inception.

One of the pivotal periods of ECOWAS’s transformation is 1978-1981. It was at this time that the institution adopted the Protocol on Non-Aggression (PNA) in 1978 and the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance of Defence in 1981. While the 1975 ECOWAS treaty did not touch upon any politico-military security issues, ECOWAS discussed security regulations on November 5, 1976, when the member states discussed signing an Annexed Protocol on non-recourse to force.⁴³⁸ The protocol indicated the necessity of security stability for economic development by arguing that the economic community could not be attained without “an atmosphere of peace and harmonious understanding among the Member States of the Community.”⁴³⁹ There are only six articles in this protocol, but it has unique political characteristics. On the one hand, Article 1 stipulated a mode of regulation for member states’ behavior which was similar to a conventional

⁴³⁶ Article 56 in *Ibid*, p. 37.

⁴³⁷ See Ralph I. Onwuka, “Role of ECOWAS in Ensuring a Working Peace System,” in Akinola Owosekun, ed., *Towards an African Economic Community: Lessons of Experience From ECOWAS (Proceedings of An International Conference)*, (Ibadan: Akinola Printing Works, 1986), pp. 380-382.

⁴³⁸ The details of the draft Annexed Protocol are not known, yet it was stipulated in the Protocol on Non-Aggression. Also, instead of signing the Annexed Protocol, the member states created the resolution, though the details of the resolution were also not known. ECOWAS, “Protocol on Non-Aggression,” in Modupeola Irele, *The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): A Bibliography and Sourcebook*, (Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1990), pp. 197-200.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*.

non-aggression pact: prohibition of the threat or use of force or aggression against states' territorial integrity and sovereignty. In addition, Article 5 facilitated the principle of peaceful means in the settlement of disputes. Although there was not any enforcement mechanism for peaceful settlement, the heads of member states would create a Committee of the Authority to manage intra-member disputes. Meanwhile, Article 2 prohibited acts of subversion among member states, which related to the principle of non-interference; Article 3 requested member states to prevent "foreigners resident on [member state's] territory from committing acts of subversion"; and Article 4 demanded member states to prevent non-resident foreigners from using their territories as bases for subversion.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, recognizing that potential subversions in West Africa as well as interstate conflicts would likely occur, the protocol aimed at preventing conflicts at both the inter-state and intra-state levels.

Despite the merely political nature of PNA, which again possessed no enforcement mechanism, the protocol created an opportunity for ECOWAS to further assume internal security management mechanisms among member states. Although this protocol was named "non-aggression," its functionality was not only non-aggression between member states but also encompassed peaceful settlement of disputes, a process which would be assisted by the heads of member states and a Committee of the Authority. Through this protocol, ECOWAS assumed an intra-member conflict containment mechanism, and this also created an avenue for member states to discuss security issues.

In addition, ECOWAS further developed its security mechanism by concluding the "Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence" (PMAD) on May 29, 1981. Through this protocol, ECOWAS attempted to further institutionalize its military function by establishing such organs as the Defence Council, the Defence Commission, and the Allied Armed Forces of the Community (AAFC). Reiterating that ensuring security preceded economic development, its main

⁴⁴⁰ Also, the procedure to make this protocol enter into force was two-step: first, it needed to be signed by all the member states. Second, however, the protocol would become effective when at least seven member states ratified. Ibid.

objectives are three-fold: first, preventing and responding to external aggression; second, managing intra-member conflicts; and third, countering internal armed conflicts harbored by external agents, including states.⁴⁴¹ To this end, the member states would provide mutual aid and assistance for defense, and the AAFC, an envisaged ECOWAS intervention force, would be established by combining member states' national forces.⁴⁴² The decision to utilize the AAFC belonged to the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, the Authority. The Authority had the mandate to assess the security situation in West Africa through annual ordinary meetings and extraordinary sessions, and made the final decision to use AAFC.⁴⁴³ In case of conflicts between member states, the Authority first attempts to play a mediation role, and if necessary, utilizes the AAFC to "interpose" between troops. Under the Authority were the Defence Council and a Defence Commission. While the Defence Council, which consisted of Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs of the member states, prepared an agenda on defense and security matters and examined security situations in times of crisis, the Defence Commission had the responsibility to examine the technical issues.⁴⁴⁴ Moreover, once the institutionalization of the protocol was completed, the member states would "end the presence of foreign military bases within their national territories."⁴⁴⁵

Unlike PNA, this protocol aimed at both internal and external security management with potential employment of the AAFC. For internal security management, it assumed the characteristics of a non-traditional collective security mechanism. Although the protocol did not state an "all-against-one" military policy among member states as a traditional collective security mechanism usually does, the AAFC might be used to halt conflicts among the member states if

⁴⁴¹ See "Chapter II: Objectives" of PMAD. ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/SP3/5/81 Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence," *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 3 (June 1981), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴² To be sure, the AAFC was not a standing army. "Chapter V: Modalities of Intervention and Assistance," in *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁴³ "Chapter III: Institutions—Section I: The Authority," in *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁴ "Chapter III: Institutions—Section II: The Defence Council," and "Chapter III: Institutions—Section III: The Defence Commission," in *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁵ "Chapter VI: Special Provisions," in *Ibid.*, p. 11.

mediation efforts failed. In this sense, the AAFC was theoretically allowed to intervene in armed conflicts among member states in a peacekeeping role if the Authority reached consensus. For external security management, the protocol gave to ECOWAS the characteristics of a collective self-defense mechanism in two ways: by allowing response to interstate conflicts from outside and internal armed conflict supported from outside. In each case, member states would provide defense assistance to the member state or states concerned, including the AAFC; Article 2 indicated that “any armed threat or aggression directed against any Member State shall constitute a threat or aggression against the entire Community.” Yet, this was primarily defensive and did not obligate the member states to retaliate against those states that conducted armed attacks or supported subversion within the member states. In this sense, through PMAD, ECOWAS theoretically assumed security functions of both non-traditional collective security and collective self-defense.

Admittedly, there were several flaws in the process of actually activating such institutional security roles. Whereas PNA was merely a code of conduct of states’ behavior without any enforcement mechanism, PMAD went further but still did not guarantee the member states’ security assistance, as the Authority had an ultimate right to assess the situation and to decide whether to use AAFC, a decision which required consensus. Moreover, the AAFC was not an ECOWAS standing army, so that it would take a considerable amount of time to coordinate national armies to respond to crisis.⁴⁴⁶ However, these protocols created member states’ political foundation for ECOWAS to undertake active security roles in West Africa. Then, the question becomes: why and how were these protocols, which formally enabled ECOWAS to assume security functions created?

⁴⁴⁶ For example, *see* John Chipman, “French Military Policy and African Security,” *Adelphi Papers*, No. 201, (Summer 1985), p. 38.

(1) Triggers: Potential External Intervention in West Africa

The high risk of political instability in West Africa from the mid-1970s led to changes in the regional balance of power.⁴⁴⁷ This risk relates to the political and strategic landscapes that African continent faced from 1974 onward. In fact, the 1974 Portugal's Carnation Revolution in Portugal created political power vacuums, and this led to independence of Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Angola in 1975. The political instability of these newly independent African states invited external intervention, including that of the great powers, such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba. These states became deeply involved in Angola's civil war in 1975. In the context of the East-West conflicts, political and military interventions expanded into other regions in Africa, which would have potentially included West Africa.

Admittedly, external interventions were a frequent occurrence in Africa even before 1974. While France frequently intervened into Francophone states that experienced domestic instability,⁴⁴⁸ the international community more broadly also did so, as illustrated by the 1960-65 Congo crisis, in which the civil war in the newly independent state became internationalized. Nevertheless, the character of external interventions during the mid-1970s changed as policymakers increasingly perceived these conflicts in the context of the East-West rivalry; the United States became more wary about intervention while the Soviet Union and Cuba became more active in Africa. In addition, external intervention was not limited to newly independent states, but also expanded to the existing independent African states.

The Ogaden War between Somalia and Ethiopia from 1977 to 1978 was case in point. Somalia had traditionally claimed the Ogaden province, an area of Ethiopia, since Somalia's independence in 1960, resulting in increasing military tensions and several skirmishes in the area

⁴⁴⁷ "West Africa" includes Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

⁴⁴⁸ Francophone West African states are Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Dahomey (Benin) and Niger.

between Somalia and Ethiopia. However, when the Western Somali Liberation Front, which was supported by the Somali government, invaded the Ogaden in July 1977, the conflict developed into a major war, involving the Soviet Union, Cuba, and also the United States to some extent. On the one hand, Somalia had been backed by the Soviet Union since the early 1970s. The Soviet Union provided military aid through the 1974 Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friendship, which amounted to over \$250 million by 1977 and stationed approximately 2,000 personnel in the country, of which were 300 military advisers. Since the Soviet Union was interested in utilizing Somalia's seaport that enabled access to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, it constructed port facilities in Berbera.⁴⁴⁹ On the other hand, relations between Ethiopia and the United States, which had strong political and military ties with Ethiopia until 1974 when Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown, deteriorated.⁴⁵⁰ Despite the US longstanding interests in accessing the Indian Ocean through Ethiopian ports to extend its power projection capabilities, Ethiopian domestic instability caused by the military coup and intensification of secessionist movements in Eritrea forced the United States to abandon its base in Asmara in 1974. With the election of the Carter administration, US policy toward Ethiopia was restructured to withhold support.⁴⁵¹

Against this backdrop of an African local rivalry with superpower support, Somalia invaded the Ogaden area in July 1977, taking advantage of its Soviet-backed military strength and Ethiopia's domestic instability.⁴⁵² However, the Soviet Union and Cuba shifted their Somalia policy and began to support Ethiopia soon after the Ogaden incident, with Cuba also sending military instructors to Ethiopia. The Soviet Union justified this move by emphasizing communist

⁴⁴⁹ The United States provided over \$200 million in military assistance between 1953 and 1974, which accounted for approximately half the total US military assistance to Africa, and helped Ethiopia suppresses the Eritrean Liberation Movement by aid of its counter-insurgency team. Peter Schwab, "Cold War on the Horn of Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 306 (January 1978), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵⁰ The United States had its military base near Asmara, Eritrea, which was used for "tracking satellites, relaying military communications, and monitoring radio broadcasts from Eastern Europe and the Middle East. *See Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁵¹ For example, the United States only gave \$7 million aid in early 1975 when asked by Somalia to provide \$25 million in arms to counter secessionist groups in Eritrea in 1975. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁵² Gebru Tareke, "The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2000), pp. 638-639.

ties in both states, a desire to create strategic balance by providing military aid, and restore domestic stability in Ethiopia in order to prevent Eritrea from seceding.⁴⁵³ If successful, the Soviet Union could have political and military influence over both Somalia and Ethiopia and dominate the horn of Africa, thus obtaining access to the Indian Ocean through the Red Sea. However, after several warnings towards the Soviet Union regarding its aid to Ethiopia, Somalia decided to expel all Cuban and Soviet personnel from Somalia and abrogated the Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation as well as banned access for the Soviet Union to Somali ports in November 1977. This then led to a Soviet decision to switch its support completely from Somalia to Ethiopia.⁴⁵⁴ In response to an Ethiopian request, Cuba sent 16,000 additional troops to Ethiopia from both Cuba and Angola in December in order to counter Somali aggression on the ground, while the Soviet Union provided logistical support and military equipment.⁴⁵⁵ With the Soviet and Cuban aid, Ethiopia eventually expelled Somalis from the Ogaden area in March 1978, while preventing Eritrea from intensifying its secessionist movements.⁴⁵⁶

For its part, the United States drew closer to Somalia by announcing that it would supply defensive weapons in July 1977, although such support was not realized before the end of the Ogaden War.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, the United States approached Somalia by sending Richard Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, to discuss US assistance, although the United States did not provide substantial aid during this period. Only after Soviet invasion of Afghanistan did Somalia discuss with the United States the possibility of US use of naval

⁴⁵³ The Soviet military aid to Ethiopia, amounting approximately \$385 million, included 48 MIG jet fighters, 200 T-54 and T-55 tanks, a number of SAM-3 and SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles. Schwab, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁵⁴ Harry Ododa, "Somalia's Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations since the Ogaden War of 1977-78," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (July 1985), p. 285.

⁴⁵⁵ Edward George, *The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965-1991: From Che Guevara to Cuito Cuanavale*, (London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 132-133.

⁴⁵⁶ Oye Ogunbadejo, "Soviet Policies in Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 316 (July 1980), p. 310.

⁴⁵⁷ Ododa, p. 294.

facilities at Berbera in December 1979, which eventually resulted in a US-Somali military agreement in August 1980.⁴⁵⁸

The Ogaden War instigated several African states' fears of the expansion of Soviet influence in Africa. It is true that the Soviet and Cuban intervention in the war at least helped preserve OAU's fundamental principle of the inviolability of Africa's borders and territorial integrity. Yet, Soviet political and military influence in the horn of Africa consequently expanded more due to the war, which suggested that the Soviet Union would intervene in other areas, particularly considering its on-going active diplomatic and military engagement in other regions of Africa, including Central, Northern as well as Southern Africa. Even before the war, such a fear existed in several African states. For example, Sudan's Major-General Gaafar Mohamed Nimeire, which considered the 1976 abortive coup to have been plotted by the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and Libya, attempted to restore relations with the United States; Egypt's President Sadat also stated that prevention of Soviet domination of the Sudan was a priority, and concluded a mutual military agreement with the Sudan in 1976.⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, the Ogaden War consolidated the perception that further African conflicts could result from the East-West rivalry.

This perception of changes in the balance of power in African sub-regions is well illustrated by other conflicts in Africa, especially in Zaire. In 1977 and 1978, Zaire experienced two rounds of Katangan secessionist attacks in the Shaba region, so-called "Shaba I" and "Shaba II" respectively. Shaba I occurred on March 8, 1977, when the dissident Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC), consisting of the Katangan rebels, invaded the Shaba province. Since the Katangan rebels were entrenched in Angola, which was also supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba at the time, it was assumed that these rebels were a manifestation of the Soviet and Cuban "expansionism" in Africa. The United States and Zaire condemned Cuba for helping the

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Schwab, pp. 18-20.

rebels plot such actions,⁴⁶⁰ and assumed that there was also a political connection with the Soviet Union. Indeed, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko argued, "The offensive directed against my country, as everyone knows, is a generalized offensive of the Soviets in Africa encouraged by the successful operation in Angola and the indifference that they have perceived on the part of the West. It is therefore the Russians who have made the situation what it is today."⁴⁶¹

Although the United States did not send troops due to its Vietnam trauma, it provided limited aid to Zaire, while France and Belgium provided logistical support and Morocco provided 1,500 troops to intervene.⁴⁶² However, as Fidel Castro was undertaking trips to Africa during the time of Shaba I in order to mediate the Ogaden disputes between Ethiopia and Somalia, and as such Cuban intervention would not only ruin his legitimacy in playing a mediation role but also deteriorate the conflicts in Angola and Zaire, these accusations were denied by Castro himself.⁴⁶³ Also, Shaba II erupted on May 11, 1978, when FNLC invaded again. Like Shaba I, Cuba was once again accused of supporting the incursion, and France and Belgium responded swiftly by sending their troops with US logistical support.⁴⁶⁴ Although both incursions were suppressed quickly, these incidents enhanced perceptions that African local conflicts were strongly linked to the East-West rivalry despite the on-going global détente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

⁴⁶⁰ The United States was divided in assessing the situation. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the US National Security Adviser, claimed that the Cuban troops were involved in training and aiding rebellions and convinced President Carter the attack was instigated by Cuba. However, later he expressed that he was not sure whether Cuban troops were actually involved. See Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1983), p. 2089; Prexy Nesbitt, "US Foreign Policy: Lessons from the Angola Conflict," *Africa Today*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Angola and Mozambique 1992 (1st Qtr.-2nd Qtr., 1992), p. 63; George, *The Cuban Intervention in Angola*, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁶¹ *Salongo* (Kinshasa), 7 July 1977, in Michael Schatzberg, "Military Intervention and the Myth of Collective Security: The Case of Zaire," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (June 1989), p. 331.

⁴⁶² Kenneth Adelman, "Zaire's Year of Crisis," *African Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 306 (January 1978), p. 40.

⁴⁶³ Castro confessed to Erich Honecker, the leader of the German Democratic Republic, in Berlin in April 1977 that he did not know about the incident. See Piero Gleijeses, "Truth or Credibility: Castro, Carter, and the Invasions of Shaba," *The International History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (February 1996), p. 94; *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ The United States provided C-141 aircraft for its air lift to 1,200 French and 1,700 Belgian soldiers into Zaire. Christopher Coker, "The Western Alliance and Africa 1949-81," *African Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 324 (July 1982), p. 332; Gleijeses, p. 84.

For African states, the lessons from local conflicts after 1975 were three-fold. First, the Soviet Union and Cuba would likely intervene in internal conflicts in Africa to increase their sphere of influence. While the United States might provide some economic and military assistance to African states to counter the influence of the communist powers, it would be more likely that the Soviet Union and Cuba, which had already been deeply involved in African political affairs, would take advantage of US hesitation to bring its troops on the ground for intervention. Second, interstate tensions in Africa, especially deriving from border disputes, could escalate into a war and invite external intervention. As indicated in the Ogaden War, when one state considered that it had a strategic opportunity, it would resort to use of force, and the other state would become more prone to invite external forces, most likely superpowers, to counter such invasion. This would likely internationalize African local conflicts, which African states generally wanted to prevent. Third, political instability in African states, including ethnic and secessionist conflicts, could be utilized as a tool of military subversion and intervention by not only African states, but also by external powers. Although these conflicts might have been mainly caused by domestic reasons as Shaba I and II indicated, African states' perception was that these state weaknesses could be easily manipulated, which would cause changes in a regional balance of power and lead to weakened regional security.⁴⁶⁵

West African states also perceived this potential danger more than ever, as they considered the high possibilities of external powers' intervention during the period of 1978-1981. Three main factors enhanced this perception: interstate border conflicts, a high possibility of military coup occurrence, and security linkages with external powers.

First, there were several interstate political and military tensions, including subversive activity and border conflicts, among West African states. Most notably, Nigeria and Francophone

⁴⁶⁵ For example, Aboud Diouf, the Senegal's Prime Minister also argued that the Western states' hesitation would "run the risk of seeing the whole of Africa become Communist." *Le Monde*, Paris, 20-23 April 1977, cited in Emeka Nwokedi, "Franco-African Summits: A New Instrument for France's African Strategy?" *The World Today*, Vol. 38, No. 12 (December 1982), p. 479.

states in West Africa were mutually suspicious of each other. Francophone states feared Nigeria's potential ambition to dominate West Africa, as Nigeria was considered as a regional great power due to its military and economic capabilities.⁴⁶⁶ To hedge this potential risk, Francophone states attempted to maintain security links with France. For its part, Nigeria was also concerned that political tensions with West African states would cause negative consequences to its own security,⁴⁶⁷ particularly considering the 1967-1970 Nigerian Civil War, wherein France and other Francophone states, such as Cote d'Ivoire, supported Biafran secessionists.⁴⁶⁸ Nigeria thus constantly feared dangers of state collapse accelerated by externally-supported subversion despite its military and economic dominance.

Other West African states also had border conflicts. For example, Benin unilaterally shut its border with Togo between 1975 and 1977 after Benin accused Togo of committing subversion and supporting a coup.⁴⁶⁹ Others conflicts in the mid-1970s included those between Upper Volta and Mali, Togo and Ghana, and Benin and Niger. These conflicts occurred even among the Francophone states, which had defense agreements with France. France did not intervene in these conflicts because of a revision of their military arrangements between 1974 and 1976. These arrangements basically ensured to provide technical military assistance and military logistics, but

⁴⁶⁶ Nigeria's preponderance in military and economy remained potential security concerns among West African states. In fact, the military and economic balance was extremely skewed to the heavy dominance of Nigeria's power. As indicated in "Appendix V: ECOWAS' Member States' Military and Economic Strengths," Nigeria's total armed force was around 230,000 troops from 1976 to 1978. Although this number was reduced to approximately 150,000 from 1979 to 1981 due to its defense restructuring programs, Nigeria's forces were approximately two times as large as all the forces combined from other West African states. Furthermore, Nigeria's GDP significantly outnumbered those of the rest of the West African states. Nigeria increased its GDP from \$27.7 billion in 1975 to \$64.2 billion in 1980, and despite the economic recessions that it faced in early 1980s, it maintained \$49.7 billion in 1982, which was two-fold of those of the combined GDP of the rest of West African states. Given this, Nigeria with its military and economic capabilities had a power to dominate neighboring states in the region.

⁴⁶⁷ See Olusegun Obasanjo, *My Command: An Account of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-70*, (London: Heinemann, 1980), p. 155.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibrahim Gambari, *Political and Comparative Dimensions of Regional Integration: The Case of ECOWAS*, (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press International, Inc.: 1991), p. 19.

⁴⁶⁹ Emeka Nwokedi, "Sub-Regional Security and Nigerian Foreign Policy," *African Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 335 (April 1985), p. 201.

they did not formally commit to intervention in conflicts among them.⁴⁷⁰ Although France repeatedly ensured its security commitment to the Francophone states through the Franco-African summit conferences, France's political stance to establish "African solutions to African problems" was applied to those disputes among the Francophone states.⁴⁷¹ In this sense, there was an increasing danger of interstate conflicts in the region.

Second, the regional states were susceptible to military coups, which could lead to not only state collapse, but also spill-over of conflicts. During the period of 1975-1981, West Africa faced 13 failed and successful coups of 43 total (30.2%) on the African continent.⁴⁷² This list included Benin and Nigeria in 1975; Nigeria and Niger in 1976; Ghana and Mauritania in 1978; Ghana (twice) in 1979; Liberia, Guinea Bissau, and Burkina Faso in 1980; and Mauritania, Gambia, and Ghana in 1981. Admittedly, coups in West Africa were not restricted to this period. The region faced 85 failed and successful coups of 188 total on the African continents from 1956 to 2001 (45.2%), which indicated that the region was highly prone to coups across decades.⁴⁷³ Considering the overall number of coups throughout this period, the period of 1975-1981 seemed to be a relatively calm one in terms of coup occurrence in the region. However, the number of coups on the African continent fluctuated, and there were three particular periods that Africa faced a high number of coups: the mid-1960s, the mid-1970s, and the early 1990s. Given the fact that the overall number of coups on the African continent increased rapidly in the mid-1970s partly due to the decolonization process caused by the 1974 Portuguese revolution that affected Southern Africa, the number indicates that West Africa still had a high political risk of coups compared to other African states during the period.

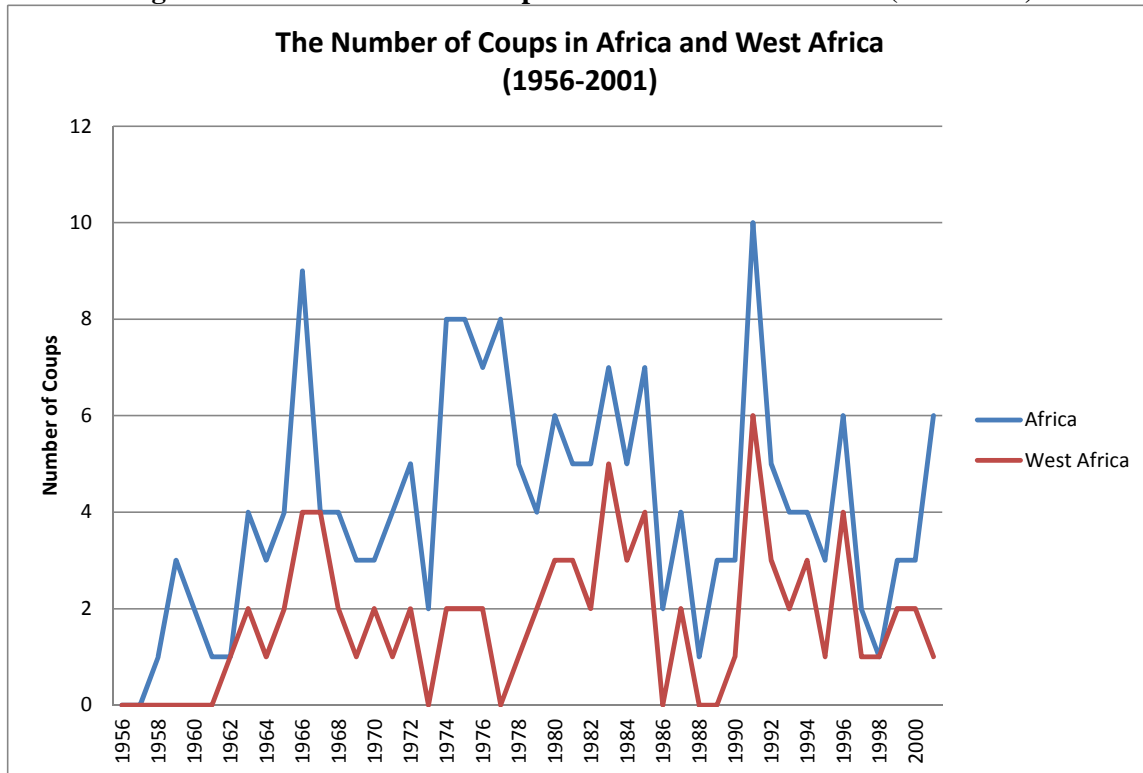
⁴⁷⁰ Also, unlike the 1960 French defense accord with Francophone states, which ensured French to utilize "all raw materials and strategic products," the revised cooperation agreements did not provide such promises. In this sense, French interests in the Francophone states became less visible than it previously did in the mid 1970s. *See Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴⁷¹ The French involvement of African affairs became more uncertain from late 1970s. *See* "Mutual defence in ECOWAS?" *West Africa*, No. 3279, June 2, 1980, p. 956.

⁴⁷² For the data set, *see* MacGowan's "Chronology of Failed and Successful African Military Coups D'état, 1956-2001." Patrick McGowan, "African military coups d'état, 1956-2001: frequency, trends and distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2003), pp. 363.

⁴⁷³ *See* Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: The Number of Coups in Africa and West Africa (1956-2001)



Source: Patrick McGowan, "African military *coups d'état*, 1956-2001: frequency, trends and distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2003), p. 355.

Third, West African states had military linkages with great powers outside the African continent during the 1970s. The United States had a security assistance agreement with Senegal and Niger from 1962, and Ghana, Mali and Liberia from 1972.⁴⁷⁴ The Soviet Union had given military aid to Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, and Nigeria.⁴⁷⁵ France signed a defense cooperation agreement with Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo, and Upper Volta (Guinea Bissau).⁴⁷⁶ In addition, Cuba had given military aid to Guinea.⁴⁷⁷ Although these military involvements were not as intensive as in other regions of Africa, namely Southern Africa, there

⁴⁷⁴ International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance: 1980-1981*, (London: IISS Publications, 1980), p. 51; International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance: 1981-1982*, (London: IISS Publications, 1981), p. 60.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

were security links between West African states and external powers, which potentially allowed these outside powers to intervene in times of internal as well as interstate conflicts.

In fact, these regional weaknesses could be utilized by external powers, not only by great powers, but also other African states. This is well illustrated by the Libya's political and military maneuvers during mid-1970s and early 1980s. With the Soviet military assistance, Libya occasionally attempted to increase its sphere of influence in Central and West Africa during this period. For example, Libya attempted to conclude defense treaties with several West African states. Niger, after experiencing difficult negotiations with France regarding uranium prices, concluded a mutual defense pact in March 1974 although such a pact was abrogated in April.⁴⁷⁸ In 1980, Libya's Colonel Qadhafi even alluded to Mali and Niger by stating that they could always rely on political and military assistance from Libya.⁴⁷⁹ Also, it made a security treaty with Chad in 1980 to assist the Chadian transitional government, GUNT, led by Goukouni Oueddei, and subsequently announced merger of two states in January 1981. In this sense, taking advantages of situations of interstate and internal conflicts, external actors attempted to increase its political influence in Africa.

In sum, the chronic domestic instability and interstate tensions existing in West Africa with increases in the Soviet and Cuban interventions from 1975 strengthened West African states expectations on potential changes in the regional balance of power in the region. Although there still had been potentials of external intervention in West Africa by France, a combination of a decline of the US military commitments to Africa and the Soviet and Cuban interventions created perceptions of potential changes in the regional balance of power not only in the overall African continent, but also in West Africa. West African states felt more acute risk in the changing the regional balance of power and needed to counter three-level of threat at the same time: the Soviet

⁴⁷⁸ Nwokedi, "Sub-Regional Security and Nigerian Foreign Policy," p. 205.

⁴⁷⁹ "CEAO makes progress," *West Africa*, No. 3301, October 27, 1980, p. 2113.

and Cuban incursions; interstate political and military conflicts among them; and potential coups within their domestic boundaries.

(2) Uncertainty: No Institutional Hedging with Risks of West African Security Instability

The fundamental institutional objective of ECOWAS was economic cooperation, and the member states basically did not expect ECOWAS to play a major political-military security role at the time of its inception. Indeed, the 1975 ECOWAS treaty included neither security provision regarding political stability in the member states nor interstate political disputes among the member states. ECOWAS primarily focused on economic cooperation and development within the member states in order to lay a rigid foundation of regional economic development. ECOWAS considered that economic development would lead to member states' stability, and its security concept rested on economic security rather than political or military. However, this expectation gradually changed when the member states faced security threats to domestic stability, interstate conflicts in West Africa, and changes in the regional balance of power in Africa from 1975, resulting in the 1978 protocol on non-aggression (PNA) and the 1981 protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD).

During the period of 1975 to 1981, ECOWAS was internally divided, and it was difficult for the member states to reach a broad consensus regarding the assessment of changes in the regional balance of power. This is because the majority of ECOWAS member states perceived strategic uncertainty over not only external interference, but also intra-member tensions and domestic instability. In fact, soon after the establishment of ECOWAS, member states faced political crises within and among themselves. First, Nigeria faced a *coup d'état* in July 1975, overthrowing General Gowon, one of the ECOWAS architects. Given the domestic instability of the largest state in ECOWAS, the ECOWAS's institutional future became uncertain. Second, intra-member conflicts also erupted. For example, border conflicts between Togo and Benin, and between Mali and Burkina Faso, occurred in 1975, while tensions between Senegal and

Mauritania continued. Third, there was disagreement over the protocols, resulting in the delay of ECOWAS's institutional set-up. Although drafts of five initial protocols were created by July 1976, member states could not agree on the term, resulting in postponement of the meeting until November.⁴⁸⁰ Due to Nigeria's domestic instability and intra-member tensions, after the first Summit meeting in 1975, no summit-level meeting was held until November 1976. Overall, the member states were uncertain about ECOWAS's utility. Although ECOWAS's original purpose was to promote socio-economic cooperation, aiming at alleviating political and military tensions, it became more likely that ECOWAS would collapse before achieving such an objective. Political tensions within ECOWAS member states could be worsen over the long time required to achieve economic and social cooperation.

However, despite such difficulties, Nigeria saw positive political security utility in ECOWAS and attempted to sustain the institution. In fact, Nigeria's motivation for the establishment of ECOWAS was as much driven by political and security concerns as economic motivations, as the country considered that political tensions with West African states would harm its own security.⁴⁸¹ In addition to its experience of the 1967 civil war, Nigeria's leaders thought it possible that French influence could encircle the country, given that surrounding states were all Francophone, including Benin, Burkino Faso, Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Togo. Consequently, since its independence, Nigeria had advocated its strong resistance against external intervention on the African continent, especially from France. For example, when Dr. Omoniyi Adewoye, the Chairman of ECOWAS Council of Ministers and Nigeria's Economic Minister, made an opening speech at the Council of Ministers in November 1977, he argued that ECOWAS

⁴⁸⁰ Five protocols included: 1) contributions of member states to the ECOWAS budget; 2) reexportation within ECOWAS of goods imported from third countries; 3) the Fund for Cooperation, Compensation, and Development; 4) assessment of loss of revenue by member states as a result of trade liberalization within the community; and 5) definition of the concept of products originating from participating states. Last two protocols became contentious. Adebayo Adedeji, "ECOWAS: A Retrospective Journey," in Adekeye Adebajo and Ismail Rashid, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in A Troubled Region*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), pp. 32-33.

⁴⁸¹ See Obasanjo, *My Command*, p. 155.

was the instrument to fight against neo-colonialism in Africa and prevent economic and resource exploitation from external powers, as Africa was still economically dominated by outside powers even after most African states gained political independence.⁴⁸² Also, the message from General Obasanjo at the same meeting showed a similar view in the assertion that the great powers attempted to preserve their “economic advantages over the Third World countries” by exploiting natural resources in West Africa.⁴⁸³ Adewoye also reiterated his argument in 1978 by arguing that self-reliance through ECOWAS would be the tool for West African states to gain negotiating powers in the international setting as West African economies were still largely “neocolonial, manipulated *ab extra* by people who have only the least marginal interest in our welfare.”⁴⁸⁴ For its part, France had seen Nigeria’s political maneuvers as attempts to reduce French influence on the continent. In 1972, thus, French president Georges Pompidou argued in Niger that Francophone states should “harmonize their views and coordinate their efforts, vis-à-vis English-speaking Africa and Nigeria in particular” to constrain Nigeria’s political ambitions.⁴⁸⁵ In this French-Nigerian rivalry in West Africa, Nigeria saw ECOWAS as a political device to reduce French influence.

⁴⁸² According to Adewoye, neo-colonialism is “state of affairs in which the nature of the economy of a nation that is nominally politically independent is determined by external forces.” Omoniyi Adewoye, “Annex I: Address by the Chairman of ECOWAS Council of ministers, Dr. O. Adewoye, Delivered at the Second Meeting of the Council Held in Lagos, 18-19 November, 1977,” in ECOWAS, “Council of Ministers, 18 and 19 November 1977,” ECW/CM/(2)/1 (1977), pp. 1-8.

⁴⁸³ “ECOWAS on the move,” *West Africa*, No. 3138, August 29, 1977, p. 1757.

⁴⁸⁴ At the same time, ECOWAS cooperation had a political implication. This point was particularly emphasized in the ECOWAS meetings throughout the period of 1975-1981. While both Adewoye and Obasanjo were from Nigeria, this statement was also supported by other states. For example, Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of Senegal, pointed out that the “present international economic order” did not consider economic situations of developing states due to “the spirit of incomprehension and egoism,” so that ECOWAS member states needed to pursue the step-by-step process for regional integration. *See* Abdou Diouf, “Appendix I: Meeting of the Council of Ministers, Dakar 20-21 November 1978, Opening speech delivered by Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of Senegal,” in ECOWAS, “Report, November 20-21, 1978”; Omoniyi Adewoye “Appendix II. Address of Dr. Omoniyi Adewoye, Nigeria’s Federal Commissioner for Economic Development and Chairman, ECOWAS Council of Ministers to the Fourth Meeting of the Council Held in Dakar, Senegal 21-22 November 1978,” in p. 3 and pp. 6-7, in in ECOWAS, “Report of the Meeting of the Council of Ministers, Dakar, November 20-21, 1978.”

⁴⁸⁵ Quoted in Yakubu Gowon, “The Economic Community of West African States: A Study of Political and Economic Integration” (Ph.D. diss., Warwick University, 1984), p. 239, cited in Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*, (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), p. 31.

In fact, despite the fact that Nigeria was a regional power in West Africa, its military and economic capabilities could not match France, and thus, Nigeria considered France as a potential security threat. Ishaya Audu, a former External Affairs Minister argued that Nigeria's increasing cooperation with neighboring states was required to ensure that "these states are not turned into areas of activities that are likely to impair [Nigeria's] national security."⁴⁸⁶ General Olusegun Obasanjo also argued that French interests in the region included cutting Nigeria "to size by dismembering her and reducing her influence in Francophone Africa,"⁴⁸⁷ and thus, Nigeria needed to reduce French influence over the Francophone states.⁴⁸⁸ To this end, since the early 1970s, Nigeria had begun to strengthen relations with regional states by providing economic aid, including oil exports to Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Togo, and playing a mediation role in border disputes among them, including ones between Dahomey, now Benin, and Niger and between Benin and Togo.⁴⁸⁹ In early 1975, France attempted to prevent the creation of ECOWAS by convening an emergency summit for Francophone states in Niamey to warn of Nigeria's potential domination in the region, although Francophone states, especially Cote d'Ivoire, considered that ECOWAS would not pose threats to French influence.⁴⁹⁰ Accordingly, the creation of ECOWAS pushed by Nigeria, with Togo as an ally, was part of Nigeria's political strategy in the region to reduce political tensions with Francophone states through socio-economic cooperation.

On the other hand, Francophone states were uncertain about ECOWAS's utility, since it had long considered that Nigeria would expand its political influence over the region, if not pose a serious security threat to them. While maintaining their economic, military, political and social-cultural ties with France through such means as the annual Franco-African Summit from

⁴⁸⁶ *Daily Times* (Lagos), 19 March 1981, cited in Emeka Nwokedi, "Sub-regional Security and Nigerian Foreign Policy," *African Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 335 (1985), p.196.

⁴⁸⁷ Obasanjo, *My Command*, p. 152.

⁴⁸⁸ Gambari, p. 48.

⁴⁸⁹ Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁹⁰ Adebayo Adedeji, in Adebajo and Rashid, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges*, p. 31.

November 1973,⁴⁹¹ the Francophone states also created their own strategy to hedge Nigeria's ambitions. This is well illustrated by creation of two regional Francophone institutions during the 1970s in West Africa. First, the *Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (CEAO) was created in 1972, whose members included Upper Volta, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal.⁴⁹² This institution aimed at strengthening economic cooperation among the member states, taking advantage of the same currency, CFA Fran. Second, CEAO created *Accord de non-agression et d'assistance en matiere de defense* (ANAD) in June 1977, which is the non-aggression and mutual defense pact among the Francophone states in West Africa and Togo. According to this defense arrangement, the member states commit to non-use of force to settle disputes, while providing mutual aid and assistance for defense against aggression.⁴⁹³ The Francophone states could use these two institutions to hedge the Nigerian-dominated institution, ECOWAS, as well as to increase their political leverage over political and economic negotiations vis-à-vis Nigeria. In fact, even after the five socio-economic protocols were signed by the member states, Francophone states seemed to dismiss ECOWAS. The strongest advocate of the Francophone states, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, asserted that the complete harmonization of the regional economic policy in West Africa would take at least fifteen years, and that Senegal considered CEAO as a more promising institution for economic integration than ECOWAS, as the former had already set up a regional taxation scheme as well as a cooperation fund.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, although Francophone states' military and economic capabilities, even if combined, could not match those of Nigeria, these accords had the political effect of constraining Nigerian domination.

⁴⁹¹ Nwokedi, "Franco-African Summits," p. 479.

⁴⁹² It began operational from 1974. See Franklin Vivekananda and Wilfred A. Ndongko, *Bilateral and Multinational Economic Co-operation in West Africa: Self Reliance Through Putting the Resources Together*, (Stockholm: Bethany Books, 1990), p. 123.

⁴⁹³ "Non-Aggression and Defence Assistance Agreement between the States of the West African Economic Community (CEAO) and Togo," *United Nations Treaty Series*, No. 22866 (1984), p. 215.

⁴⁹⁴ "ECOWAS Count-down," *West Africa*, No. 3110, February 14, 1977, p. 322.

Against this backdrop, Nigeria and Togo proposed discussion regarding a potential non-aggression pact at the ECOWAS Summit in Lome in November 1976.⁴⁹⁵ Togo, which cooperated with Nigeria to establish ECOWAS in 1975, attempted to enhance both the economic and security utility of ECOWAS. Considering the fact that Togo had a border conflict with Benin in 1975, which became an obstacle for regional trade,⁴⁹⁶ Togo regarded the containment of intra-member states conflicts as a priority for realizing the economic objectives of ECOWAS as well as for states' own security. However, this proposal instigated a fierce debate, and the discussion was postponed for a future meeting. Instead of drafting a non-aggression pact, ECOWAS created a resolution regarding the signing of an Annexed Protocol on Non-Recourse to Force.

In 1977, the strategic landscape in West Africa was perceived to gradually change by the states in the region. The United States decreased its political and military commitment to Africa and stayed wary about its involvement of African affairs. Cyrus Vance, US Secretary of State, argued that the United States could be “neither right nor effective if [the United States] treat[s] Africa simply as one part of the Third World, or as a testing ground of East-West competition.”⁴⁹⁷ At this time, French policy to Africa also became unclear. Although President Giscard d’Estaing asserted his belief in an “Africa for the Africans” and argued that France would not send any troops to Africa, this policy was seen as inconsistent. For example, France did not send troops to Zaire in March 1977, yet sent troops to Chad in April 1978.⁴⁹⁸ Given US passivity and French policy fluctuation, the African states feared that while the West would potentially abandon them, the Soviet Union would expand its sphere of influence over Africa.⁴⁹⁹ Having supported Ethiopia in the Ogaden War with Cuba and having considered supporting Shaba I, it became more evident that the Soviet Union was a menace to many West African states.

⁴⁹⁵ Daniel Bach, “The Politics of West African Economic Co-Operation: C.E.A.O. and E.C.O.W.A.S.,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (December 1983), pp. 620-621.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ “The US and Africa,” *West Africa*, No. 3134, August 1, 1977, p. 1571.

⁴⁹⁸ “France and her African friends,” *West Africa*, No. 3176, May 29, 1978, p. 1011.

⁴⁹⁹ “Russia in Africa,” *West Africa*, No. 3121, May 2, 1977, p. 842.

In this context, General Obasanjo, Nigeria's Head of State, asserted that the presence of Russian and Cuban troops in Africa was disturbing and dangerous, while some Francophone states in West Africa, especially Senegal, tightened military ties with France. Senegal sent troops to assist Mobutu in order to prevent Zaire from falling into the communist camp.⁵⁰⁰ Considering these perceived changes in the African strategic landscape, Nigeria's Obasanjo and Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema held bilateral talks and proposed again to create a non-aggression pact among ECOWAS member states.⁵⁰¹ In order to alleviate political and military tensions among the member states, Nigeria considered that ECOWAS should assume a security function, and it submitted its own study of the Non-Aggression Pact to the ECOWAS Council of Ministers in November 1977.⁵⁰² However, this agenda was postponed to the next meeting,⁵⁰³ as administrative and economic issues still dominated ECOWAS's agenda.

Yet, in April 28, 1978, ECOWAS member states suddenly agreed to sign the Protocol on Non-Aggression (PNA). According to one news report, the Somali-Ethiopia conflict, the Ogaden War, "persuaded the Heads of State and their deputies meeting in Lagos that it was in the Community's interests to pass the protocol now."⁵⁰⁴ Considering that the Ogaden War was caused by the border conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, which induced external intervention, namely by the Soviet Union and Cuba, ECOWAS member states faced more acute pressure to contain potential border conflicts among member states and avoid the possibility of the Ogaden War-like conflicts in West Africa.

In fact, an ECOWAS's security function was desired by both Anglophone and Francophone states in West Africa by this point. On the one hand, the Anglophone states could

⁵⁰⁰ "Africa, Russia and the West," *West Africa*, No. 3178, June 12, 1978, p. 1103.

⁵⁰¹ "Togo, Nigeria call for ECOWAS nonaggression pact," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-77-215, November 8, 1977, p. D1.

⁵⁰² While the ECOWAS Summit on November 1976 considered a resolution about a non-recourse to force by the member states in November 1976, ECOWAS did not put the agenda regarding a non-aggression pact until November 1977. See ECOWAS, "Meeting of the Council of Ministers: Provisional Agenda, Lagos, 18-22 July 1977," ECW/CM/(1)/1; ECOWAS, ECW/CM/(2)/1, p. 4.

⁵⁰³ ECOWAS, ECW/CM/(2)/1, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁴ "ECOWAS and non-aggression," *West Africa*, No. 3172, May 1, 1978, p. 831.

not expect any intervention from outside, as the United States was wary about its policy posture toward Africa.⁵⁰⁵ On the other hand, Francophone states could not expect guaranteed French involvement. Although they had ANAD to hedge against Nigeria's institutional domination, the agreement's security utility for containing intra-member states' conflicts remained uncertain. As illustrated by diplomatic tensions between Togo and Benin, border conflicts between Upper Volta and Mali and between Cameroon and Gabon, Francophone states had their own disputes among themselves, while France did not intervene.⁵⁰⁶ Moreover, they could not rely on the continental organization, OAU, to resolve such disputes and conflicts among ECOWAS member states. Although the OAU had a conflict mediation mechanism, it had been ineffective partly because its political focus was more on independence in Southern Africa and ending Apartheid in South Africa and partly because its mediation mechanism had not worked well since its inception. Thus, ECOWAS member states could set the political foundation for security cooperation only by agreeing to a non-aggression pact.

Yet, PNA was only the first step, and it was not enough for ECOWAS to deal with external security threats politically and not militarily. Admittedly, the member states regarded PNA as a positive institutional development, and there was little disagreement over this protocol. Indeed, it had "a value as a statement of intent and a demonstration of the goodwill that exists in the region."⁵⁰⁷ However, several still remained uncertain regarding its security utility because it did not have any provisions to deal with external threats coming from outside West Africa. As the regional security landscape became more complex, several member states pushed ECOWAS to assume other security functions.

⁵⁰⁵ Anglophone states in West Africa are Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria.

⁵⁰⁶ CEAO Secretary General Ngom argued that one of the objectives of ANAD was "to prevent events" like a conflict between Upper Volta and Mali. See "CEAO Secretary reviews results of fifth summit," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-232, November 30, 1979, p. A4; Nwokedi, "Sub-Regional Security and Nigerian Foreign Policy," pp. 195-209.

⁵⁰⁷ *West Africa*, May 1, 1978, p. 831.

Thus, despite the 1978 conclusion of PNA, the majority of ECOWAS member states remained uncertain about ECOWAS security utility vis-à-vis changes in the regional balance of power. Both Anglophone and Francophone states in ECOWAS considered further enhancement of ECOWAS security utility in the future. For example, when Nigeria's Obasanjo and Togo's Eyadema held a bilateral meeting in Lome in 1978, soon after concluding PNA, its joint communiqué stipulated that both states hoped that the protocol would lead to a common defense agreement within the organization.⁵⁰⁸ Also, Francophone states in West Africa became more concerned about the future of French policy, as France was internally divided over its policy toward Africa due to its presidential election. President Giscard's African policy, characterized by intervention in Zaire, Chad, and Mauritania, was politically attacked by former Prime Ministers, M. Michel Debre and M. Maurice Couve de Murville, as well as the Socialists under M. Francois Mitterrand, and the Communists under M. Georges Marchais.⁵⁰⁹ Perceiving this internal division in France, Senegal's Senghor was particularly concerned about French security guarantee, especially vis-à-vis potential expansion of Soviet influence into West Africa. Approximately two months after the conclusion of PNA, Senghor made an announcement:

The situation in Africa today cannot continue without grave hazards to Africa, Europe and America. When the West quits a continent, the East comes in. The Soviets are attracted by a vacuum—they will occupy it through their Cuban and East German surrogates ... The game would be lost without the French, who *so far* have respected the defence agreement signed with African states.⁵¹⁰

In 1978, Senghor's perception on West African security was more alarming. In order to secure security protection for outside, Senghor urged the United States not to continue to refuse

⁵⁰⁸ "Lagos reports communiqué on Obasanjo visit to Togo," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-78-177, September 12, 1978, p. D1.

⁵⁰⁹ "Disarray in west over Africa," *West Africa*, No. 3179, June 19, 1978, p. 1159.

⁵¹⁰ *Emphasis* added. "Senghor's message to America," *West Africa*, No. 3179, June 19, 1978, p. 1163.

selling sophisticated arms to African countries who “cannot defend themselves with their bare hands.”⁵¹¹ Senghor stated at the 1978 Franco-African summit:

The need for security is a major point of national awareness in all African states...They were concerned with being independent, being able to “think and act by themselves for themselves,”...This independence is now being threatened again. Why? Because, since the end of the Indochina war, the confrontation between the East and West’s ideologies and economic interest has been transferred from Asia to Africa. I would say it started with the “Angola coup” and then spread to the Western Sahara, the horn of Africa, Chad and Shaba...The ideal solution would be an OAU force, but since this organization is divided into four currents, this force would be divided from the start...⁵¹²

This concern was also shared by several other Francophone states. While France had advocated Francophone unity during the 1960s and still had military bases in Senegal and Cote d’Ivoire, it began to politically and economically approach Anglophone states. At this point, Nigeria became France’s major trading partner in Africa, and Francophone states grew concerned about French political abandonment.⁵¹³ In other words, the Francophone states began to perceive that France might not be an absolute security guarantor in the future, and they needed to improve relations with Anglophone states, especially Nigeria.

In this context, President Senghor and President Eyadema, President of the Republic of Togo, provided two drafts pertaining to the security of the region at the 1979 ECOWAS Summit meeting. According to its final communiqué, ECOWAS would discuss two drafts by requesting the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Executive Secretary to “convene a meeting for a Technical Commission composed of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance and

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² “Senghor suggests regional defense agreements for Africa,” Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-78-121, June 22, 1978, p. D1.

⁵¹³ “France’s role in Africa,” *West Africa*, No. 3214, February 19, 1979, p. 279.

Economic Affairs as well as Chiefs of Defence Staff” in order to harmonize two draft defense pacts and submit them at the 1980 Summit meeting.⁵¹⁴

To be sure, not all the ECOWAS member states shared the same expectations toward ECOWAS during the period of 1978-1981. Mali, Benin, Cape Verde, and Burkina Faso consistently opposed or made reservations to concluding a defense pact within ECOWAS or any other regional institutions. Mali strongly opposed the drafts of the ECOWAS defense pact. On May 30, 1979, one day after the Summit meeting, Malian President Moussa Taore argued that while the ideas of the defense pact was discussed in 1977 at the Franco-African conference and Mali wanted to ensure the security of the African populations, it “absolutely refuses to protect any colonial interests” as such a pact might fix the security dependence on outside powers.⁵¹⁵ In 1980, Colonel Filing Sissoko, a member of the Executive Bureau of the Malian People’s Democratic Union, the ruling party, further elaborated this point and argued that the establishment of such a defense pact would create a regional military bloc, which could be politically and militarily utilized by outside powers and likely divide Africa.⁵¹⁶ In 1980, Taore confirmed Sissoko’s point by arguing:

[a defense pact] divides us more than it unites us...[Mali] prefers the fundamental, which is the vast program of economic integration that [ECOWAS] has assigned itself as its objective...it is evident that we have to avoid the creation of military groups on the continent, because, in doing this, we will be arousing suspicions which will be potential sources of tension in Africa. Mali does not harbor foreign bases, it has not signed any pact with any power and it is [not] ready to renounce its national sovereignty in favor of an African group...⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ ECOWAS, “Meeting of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Dakar 28-29 May, 1979: Final Communiqué,” ECW/HSG.II/7/REVI (1979), p. 5.

⁵¹⁵ “President Traore reviews ECOWAS summit results,” Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-106, May 31, 1979, p. D1.

⁵¹⁶ “Malian delegate details objections to ECOWAS defense pact,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-104, May 28, 1980, p. Q2.

⁵¹⁷ “Traore returns from ECOWAS summit, departs for FRG,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-106, May 30, 1980, p. T4.

Benin also echoed this reasoning. According to Benin radio, the Voice of Revolution, in 1980, “the creation of a separate military organization from the Organization of African Unity would undoubtedly bring irreparable harm to this all-African organization as well as to the interests of preserving and strengthening the independence of the African countries,” and “Africa, split up into separate groups, would fall easy prey to the imperialist countries which could use these groups in their neocolonialist aims.”⁵¹⁸ Further, Cape Verde’s Foreign Minister Silvino da Luz argued that the ECOWAS defense pact would be still “premature” as there was “practical difficulties” in pursuing such a pact.⁵¹⁹ Consequently, due to a lack of consensus, the scheduled conclusion of a defense pact in 1980 was postponed. Even in May 1981, when the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD) was created, it could not reach consensus, and Mali, Cape Verde, and Burkina Faso refused to sign.⁵²⁰

Nevertheless, these perception gaps existing among ECOWAS member states did not hinder ECOWAS in assuming security functions through PNA and PMAD. During the period of 1978-1981, the majority of the member states increasingly became uncertain regarding ECOWAS security utility due to the changing dynamics of external powers’ commitments, especially the Soviet Union with Cuba, the United States, and France. Moreover, ECOWAS member states were more prone to military coups than states in other regions and had numerous border disputes among themselves. Considering that there were a plethora of precarious factors for regional destabilization in West Africa, these potential conflicts would become an entry point to invite external forces. Under this extremely uncertain security situation, thus, majority of the member states began to perceive the necessity for ECOWAS to deal with political-military security issues

⁵¹⁸ “ECOWAS Meeting in Lome: Dangers of a Defence Pact,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 5, 1980.

⁵¹⁹ “Foreign Minister speaks against defense pact,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-81-061, March 31, 1981, p.T1.

⁵²⁰ “Commentary calls ECOWAS defense pact ‘first step’,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-81-110, June 9, 1981, p. T3.

and undertook institutional transformation, focusing on first its internal security management and then external security management.

(3) ISP: Forging “Conditional” Non-Interference Principle

Through PNA and PMAD, ECOWAS assumed security functions. Two changes in ECOWAS’s institutional security preference (ISP) occurred, the first from 1976 to 1978 and then again from 1978 to 1981. From 1976 to 1978, ECOWAS expanded its institutional focus from economic security to political-military security. As described above, ECOWAS initially purely focused on socio-economic development of the member states, and it did not consider that “a [political-military] security dimension would be a necessary part of the new organization.”⁵²¹ Economic development was considered as the most salient issue for West Africa, as it could prevent member states from depending entirely on external economic powers and enable them to maintain their internal stability. Thus, all the five protocols ECOWAS adopted in November 1976 aimed at eventual socio-economic regional integration in West Africa.

ECOWAS member states began to consider that while ECOWAS’s economic utility was in the long-term efforts at integration,⁵²² the institution should deal with precarious elements existing in West Africa that might lead to regional security destabilization, namely intra-member states conflicts, especially deriving from border conflicts, which might directly and indirectly invite external powers to intervene. Moreover, the window of opportunity for ECOWAS institutional transformation was widely open at this time. This is because ECOWAS was still in its formative phase, wherein no institutional principle or organizational structure were yet

⁵²¹ Adekeye Adebajo’s personal discussions with Adebayo Adedeji, New York, 20 June 2001, in Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa*, p. 30.

⁵²² From the early stage, ECOWAS officials recognized its objective required the long-term efforts. For example, concerning ECOWAS economic integration, Senegal’s Prime Minister said, “...we need to be patient and cautious without failing to be bold; and above all, we need faith and a sense of responsibility for the task which history has imposed on us.” Also, Adewoye pointed out that it was necessary for West Africa to develop with exercising “necessary patience.” See Abdou Diouf, “Appendix I: Meeting of the Council of Ministers, Dakar 20-21 November 1978, Opening speech delivered by Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of Senegal,” in ECOWAS, “Report of the Meeting of the Council of Ministers, Dakar, November 20-21, 1978,” p. 8.

consolidated, and the member states recognized the initial two years of 1976 and 1977 as an “introductory period” to allow ECOWAS to have institutional flexibility for such formulation.⁵²³ In this context, Nigeria and Togo emerged as institutional entrepreneurs.

Nigeria and Togo, which also took the initiative to establish ECOWAS in 1975, were eager to add a security function to the institution. Given Nigeria’s fear of Francophone states intruding in Nigeria’s internal affairs with France and Togo’s uncertainty about ensuring French support vis-à-vis Ghana or Benin, with which Togo had border disputes, the two states’ security interests for creating a conflict management mechanism within ECOWAS were congruent with each other.⁵²⁴ Thus, as early as November 1976, Nigeria and Togo proposed at the ECOWAS summit that ECOWAS assume a security function by providing a draft Non-Aggression Proposal. Since the focus of the summit was to produce protocols relating to socio-economic cooperation, the proposal was not fully discussed and the participating states only issued a resolution regarding it. In July 1977, the Council of Ministers did not discuss anything relating to security issues,⁵²⁵ yet Nigeria and Togo continuously aimed to discuss the matter within ECOWAS.⁵²⁶ They held a bilateral meeting in November 7 and called for a non-aggression pact as both states considered that ECOWAS objectives should include maintenance of peace.⁵²⁷ Subsequently, Nigeria submitted a study of the Non-Aggression Protocol in November 1977 and the Council of Ministers consensually agreed to discuss the draft protocol.⁵²⁸

During this period, several CEAO states assumed such a security role by creating their own security framework, ANAD, in June 1977. After Shaba I in 1977, Francophone states

⁵²³ “Handing Power to ECOWAS,” *West Africa*, No. 3110, February 14, 1977, p. 310.

⁵²⁴ Olatunde Ojo, “Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS,” *International Organization*, vol. 34, No. 4 (Autumn 1980), p. 591.

⁵²⁵ ECOWAS, ECW/CM/(1)/1.

⁵²⁶ By August 1977, the Council planned to discuss a draft non-aggression treaty at the next meeting, which was scheduled to be held in October 1977. See “ECOWAS on the move” *West Africa*, No. 3138, August 29, 1977, p. 1757.

⁵²⁷ FBIS, FBIS-SSA-77-215, November 8, 1977, p. D1.

⁵²⁸ ECOWAS, ECW/CM/(2)/1, pp. 3-4.

considered extending the agreement “to include other (ECOWAS) states in the region.”⁵²⁹ Since the treaty included Togo as a member, it was a logical sequence that CEAO with Togo invited other West African states to sign ANAD, and the treaty became open to outside accession. This effort was undertaken even after ECOWAS concluded PNA because ANAD contained both non-aggression and military assistance. CEAO Secretary General Ngom in 1979 argued that studies were being conducted to extend the accord to ECOWAS states because of the potential to link 16 states, which had more legitimate power than the 7 states of ANAD.⁵³⁰ However, this proposal was not considered seriously by the other mainly Anglophone ECOWAS member states, and none of them acceded to ANAD.⁵³¹

PNA was signed in April 1978 by most ECOWAS member states except Mali and Niger.⁵³² Its purpose was to create a security utility within ECOWAS in order to contain intra-member states conflicts, and thus reduce the possibility of outside intervention, which any member state might invite in times of crisis. Yet, the protocol had a significant impact on ECOWAS’s nascent ISP from two dimensions. First, the protocol did not strictly put forward the principle of non-interference among the member states. In fact, the emphasis of the protocol was on peaceful means of settlement of disputes among the member states, as illustrated by the fact that its specific reference was to the Article 2(4) of the UN Charter and Article 3(3) of the OAU Charter, both of which stipulated peaceful settlements of international disputes. Admittedly, it stipulated the importance of territorial integrity, political independence, and sovereignty of the member states. Nevertheless, it also put emphasis on prohibition of support for any groups which could commit subversion against other member states, considering the possibility of a spill-over

⁵²⁹ *New Nigerian* (Kaduna), 22 October 1979, cited in Julis Emeka Okolo, “Securing West Africa: The ECOWAS Defence Pact,” *The World Today*, Vol. 39, No. 5 (May 1983), p. 193.

⁵³⁰ FBIS-SSA-79-232, p. A5.

⁵³¹ “Why ECOWAS is short of staff,” *West Africa*, No. 3215, February 26, 1979, p. 334; Uka Ezenwe, *ECOWAS and the Economic Integration of West Africa*, (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1983), pp. 144-147.

⁵³² Initially, Mali and Niger did not sign the Protocol on Non-Aggression. ECOWAS, “Meeting of the Authority of Heads of State of the Economic Community of West African States: Final Communiqué,” ECW/HSG/I/21/Rev.1 (1978); ECOWAS, *Protocols Annexed to the Treaty of ECOWAS*, (Lagos: Economic Community of West African States, 1989), pp. 85-86.

effect of conflicts deriving from internal instability in one state. Since such subversion would lead to domestic political issues in one state and potentially spill over to neighboring states, the distinction between interference and non-interference became blurred. In this sense, the protocol did not explicitly stipulate that ECOWAS should hold the principle of non-interference. As subversion was highly possible in West Africa at the time, ECOWAS rather maintained the possibility of relaxing the non-interference principle, unlike in the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Second, the protocol fostered ECOWAS to assume the characteristics of an exclusive cooperative security mechanism. While there was no formal description in the protocol that ECOWAS would undertake security dialogues among the member states, security discussions at official meetings began to be implicitly endorsed. For example, though there was no discussion about security issues at neither the summit nor the ministerial level, the communiqué of the 1978 summit meeting applauded the relaxation of the diplomatic tensions among Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, and Senegal.⁵³³ In 1979, General Obasanjo of Nigeria took an initiative to discuss Chad, as Nigeria and Niger sought to settle the Chadian conflict by organizing the Kano Agreement with other neighboring states of Chad, and the summit commended such efforts.⁵³⁴ In 1980, after the Liberian coup, the summit decided to form a committee to study the evolution of the situation in Liberia.⁵³⁵ In 1981, President Shenhu Shagari of Nigeria, President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, and President Samuel Doe of Liberia showed their concerns about securing ECOWAS borders and situations in Chad and Namibia at the summit, while member states discussed the border

⁵³³ After a mercenary attack on Cotonou, Benin, in January 1977, Benin accused Gabon, Morocco, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, and Togo of complicity. Guinea also sided to Benin and accused Guinea Bissau, resulting in closure of Guinean Embassy in Bissau in September 1976. *See* Julis Emeka Okolo, "Securing West Africa," p. 178; ECOWAS, ECW/HSG/I/21/Rev.1, p. 3.

⁵³⁴ ECOWAS, ECW/HSG.II/7/REVI, p. 5.

⁵³⁵ "Text of Lome ECOWAS Conference Communique issued," Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-106, May 30, 1980, p. Q3.

conflicts between Cameroon and Nigeria and between Cameroon and Gabon.⁵³⁶ Although these security agendas were not formally institutionalized, the summit began to discuss security issues and situations within and near the West African region, which was unprecedented before the Protocol on Non-Aggression. As such, PNA opened the institutional option for ECOWAS to transform from a purely economic institution to a security-oriented one, and ECOWAS began to comprehensively discuss the regional issues, and thus played the role of an exclusive cooperative security mechanism.⁵³⁷

During the period of 1978-1981, two other institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs), Senegal and Togo, emerged to further enhance ECOWAS security utility, as both considered that PNA was not sufficient for ensuring West African security. In fact, Senegal was the first state that advocated such security necessity, namely collective self-defense, though it attempted to modify ECOWAS's security utility in order to prevent Nigeria's domination. On June 19, 1978, Senghor made a proposal to create an "Atlantic Africa" by extending ANAD to West and Central Africa and to conclude an ECOWAS defense pact through expansion of the member states of ECOWAS to Central Africa.⁵³⁸ Given Senghor's fear of Nigeria's domination in ECOWAS,⁵³⁹ he attempted to include other Central African states, but the proposal was not seriously taken by ECOWAS member states. Even after modification of his "Atlantic Africa" proposal, Senghor proposed to establish a "genuine pact of solidarity among West African states" to prevent foreign aggression,⁵⁴⁰ which connoted a draft defense pact within ECOWAS that necessitated

⁵³⁶ ECOWAS, "Fourth Meeting of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Freetown, May 28-29, 1981: Final Communique," ECW/HSG/IV/3 (1981), pp. 4-5 and 7.

⁵³⁷ In fact, Aboubacar Diaby-Ouattara, the Executive Secretary of the ECOWAS, later argued that ECOWAS began a forum that provided an opportunity to have "contact between English-speaking and French-speaking countries," and that it contributed to "creating the feeling of belonging to one region." See "ECOWAS is operational," *West Africa*, No. 3331, June 1, 1981, p. 1209.

⁵³⁸ FBIS-SSA-78-121, June 22, 1978, p. D1.

⁵³⁹ *West Africa*, February 26, 1979, p. 334.

⁵⁴⁰ "President Senghor calls for ECOWAS solidarity pact," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-106, May 31, 1979, p. D2.

harmonization with the CEAO agreement.⁵⁴¹ In this sense, while Senghor hesitated to create a defense pact purely on the basis of ECOWAS, he provided a draft defense pact to ECOWAS in 1979 and considered that creating a defense pact at the regional-level would be more feasible than one at the continental-level in Africa due to vast ideological diversities.⁵⁴² On the other hand, Togo envisioned more comprehensive mechanism, which would include the establishment of both collective self-defense and collective security systems on the basis of ECOWAS. In fact, President Eyadema argued that Togo's draft defense pact stipulated that whenever any ECOWAS member state was attacked, the other states would "automatically come to its assistance."⁵⁴³ Given Togo's concern about its own security, President Eyadema stated that Togo would "participate in any initiative aimed at safeguarding peace in our region" since regional peace and security was the "necessary force for [the] new war for [Togolese] economic and social development."⁵⁴⁴

At this point, most member states agreed in principle to further enhance ECOWAS security function, yet the two draft proposals needed to be further studied by the member states. Also, unlike the creation of PNA, the main discussion regarding a defense pact took place essentially at the summit level, and the Council of Ministers remained silent during this period.⁵⁴⁵ Accordingly, the ECOWAS summit formed a special committee comprising their Chiefs of Staff,

⁵⁴¹ Senghor later said, "Concerning the [ANAD] conference, we agreed that it was necessary to harmonize our nonaggression and mutual defense agreement with the pact which will be examined by ECOWAS next year." "Senghor returns from Nouakchott conferences, comments," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-205, October 22, 1979, p. D8; "Statements of Traore, other CEAO heads of state cited," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-206, October 23, 1979, p. D2.

⁵⁴² "Senghor discusses concept of ECOWAS defense pact," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-80-031, February 13, 1980, p. D9.

⁵⁴³ "Eyadema returns from ECOWAS Talks, Discusses defense pact," Daily report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-107, June 1, 1979, p. D4.

⁵⁴⁴ "Majority shares in industry by 1989 and defence pact considered," *West Africa*, No. 3280, June 9, 1980, p. 1036.

⁵⁴⁵ From May 1979 to May 1981, the Council of Minister did not discuss security cooperation at all, at least formally. See ECOWAS, "Report of the Fifth Meeting of the Council of Ministers, Dakar, May 2-4, 1979," ECW/CMV/7 (1979); ECOWAS, "Sixth Meeting of The Council of Ministers, Dakar, November 26-28, 1979: Final Report," ECW/CM.VI/12/Rev.1 (1979); ECOWAS, "7th Session of the Council of Ministers, Lome, 22-25 May 1980," ECW/CM.VII/13/Rev.1 (1980); ECOWAS, "8th Session of the Council of Ministers, Lome, 17-19 November, 1980," ECW/CM.VIII/14/REV.1 (1980); ECOWAS, "Ninth Session of the Council of Ministers, Freetown, 24-27 May, 1981: Final Report," ECW/CM.IX/15/Rev.1 (1981).

Ministers responsible for defense, foreign affairs, finance and economic planning and development of all 16 member states, to merge two draft defense pacts and to submit the report to the 1980 summit meeting.⁵⁴⁶ In May 22, 1980, just before the ECOWAS summit meeting, the draft committee combined two defense pact proposals from Senegal and Togo into one document, and the members came to unanimously agree on “the need to organize the collective security of [West African] subregion through a formula of mutual assistance between the ECOWAS countries in the field of defense.”⁵⁴⁷ However, three states, including Mali and Benin, made reservations on the new draft,⁵⁴⁸ which led the 1980 summit to fail in adopting the defense pact.⁵⁴⁹ In response, frustrated Senghor argued that it would be “advisable and even normal to leave out those countries [which did not agree with the draft] and let those wishing to do so negotiate a defense pact.”⁵⁵⁰ As most of ECOWAS member states emphasized “the urgency surrounding the organization of a collective defense as a guarantor of the community’s institutions,” ECOWAS went on to adopt Senghor’s suggestion and form a limited ministerial council, which comprised only 8 members, namely Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo, to produce the final draft.⁵⁵¹ Although the final draft neither reconciled differences nor persuaded Mali, Benin, and Guinea-Bissau to sign, the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD) was created and signed by a majority of ECOWAS member

⁵⁴⁶ ECOWAS Secretariat, “A/DEC14/5/79 Decision of the Authoreads [sic.] of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States relating to Draft Defence Pacts,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 1 (June 1979), p. 13.

⁵⁴⁷ Liberia was not invited due to its coup in April 1980, yet Mr. Samuel Pearson, the Liberian minister of defense, expressed that he was in favor of the defense pact since it would help reduce tension in the region and create an atmosphere of confidence between the member states. “ECOWAS defense pact talks produce two draft projects,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-104, May 28, 1980, p. Q1; “Minister says Liberia not invited to ECOWAS Summit,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-102, May 23, 1980, p. T4.

⁵⁴⁸ At this point, the third state was not mentioned. “ECOWAS defense ministers fail to agree on defense pact,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-102, May 22, 1980, p. T6.

⁵⁴⁹ “No agreement on defence pact,” *West Africa*, No. 3279, June 2, 1980, p. 995.

⁵⁵⁰ “Senghor Speech,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-105, May 29, 1980, p. Q5.

⁵⁵¹ “AFP reports on results of ECOWAS summit conference,” Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-105, May 29, 1980, p. Q8; FBIS-MEA-80-106, May 30, 1980, p. Q3.

states.⁵⁵² At the same time, ECOWAS also created a Defence Council before waiting for the defense protocol ratification.⁵⁵³

Creating PMAD had two main implications for ECOWAS's ISP. First, ECOWAS began to consider that security and stability were essential to socio-economic cooperation and development. While the security issues were supplementary for socio-economic development during the discussion about PNA, this protocol reversed such a position. In fact, at the 1979 Summit, when Senegal and Togo submitted draft defense pacts, the authorities issued the decision that ECOWAS was "[c]onvinced that peace, security and territorial integrity are the basic conditions for political stability, economic and social progress of ECOWAS Member States."⁵⁵⁴ Up until then, Senegal and Togo had repeatedly emphasized this point in their speeches.⁵⁵⁵ Consequently, this statement was reiterated in the PMAD provision, which stated that "economic progress cannot be achieved unless the conditions for the necessary security are ensured in all Member States of the Community."⁵⁵⁶ This put security issues as an institutional priority of ECOWAS.

Second, the protocol clarified ECOWAS' perspective on the principle of non-interference, and it allowed the member states to intervene in other member states' internal affairs under certain conditions. Admittedly, unlike PNA, which specifically referred to Article 2(4) of the UN Charter and Article 3(3) of the OAU Charter, PMAD only referred to Article 2 of the UN Charter and Article 3 of the OAU Charter. Thus, this defense protocol acknowledged the importance of

⁵⁵² ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/SP3/5/81," pp. 9-12.

⁵⁵³ At first, Mali, Cape Verde, and Guinea Bissau did not sign this additional protocol. ECOWAS, "Additional Protocol Amending Article 4 of the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States relating to the Institutions of the Community," in ECOWAS, *Protocols Annexed to the Treaty of ECOWAS*, pp. 127-128.

⁵⁵⁴ ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/DEC 14/5/79," p. 13.

⁵⁵⁵ For example, Eyadema argued in 1980, "We must, at all costs, maintain peace and stability which are indispensable for any development," and asserted in 1981, "...we all know that our common venture of economic integration can only succeed if a climate of peace, unity and solidarity prevails in our subregion." Senghor stated in 1980, "As we are all aware, and as is often said, there is no development without security." See "Text of Eyadema Speech," Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-80-105, May 29, 1980, p. Q3; "Eyadema Speech," Daily report, Middle East and Africa, FBIS-MEA-81-103, May 29, 1981, p. P4; FBIS-MEA-80-105, May 29, 1980, p. Q5.

⁵⁵⁶ See "Preamble" of PMAD. ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/SP3/5/81," p. 9.

sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence of state, and even the principle of non-interference.⁵⁵⁷ However, this principle was never reiterated in the protocol, and instead, the idea of the ECOWAS intervention force, AAFC, was constructed. AAFC could be used for intervention under three conditions: when the member state was under an external armed threat or aggression and sends a written request for assistance to the Chairman of the Authority of ECOWAS; when the ECOWAS authority considered the necessity to deploy the AAFC in the case of a conflict between two member states; and when the internal conflict of the member states was sustained and maintained from outside.⁵⁵⁸ While Article 18 ensured that AAFC would not be used when a conflict remained purely internal, Article 15 of the protocol even stipulated, “Intervention by AAFC shall in all cases be justified by the legitimate defence of the territories of the Community.”⁵⁵⁹ As such, PMAD followed the PNA principle not to strictly follow the guideline of non-interference, and rather maintain institutional flexibility by setting conditions to interfere in member states’ internal affairs.

Thus, the two periods of 1975-1978 and 1978-1981 saw changes in ECOWAS’s ISPs, and ECOWAS began to include security functions through PNA and PMAD. Certainly, signing security pacts do not automatically translate to the institutional capabilities necessary to execute them. In 1982, there was only one state which deposited with the Secretariat its instruments of ratification,⁵⁶⁰ and it took almost five years for PMAD to enter into force.⁵⁶¹ Moreover, even after it became politically effective, it was difficult to institutionalize the Defence Council and Defence Committee to use the AAFC as envisaged. As a result, the AAFC was never invoked during the 1980s. Nevertheless, as Radio Nigeria suggested, this should be seen as “a first step towards an

⁵⁵⁷ Article 3 (2) of the OAU Charter included “Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.” OAU Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

⁵⁵⁸ Article 16, 17, and 18 of PMAD. ECOWAS Secretariat, “A/SP3/5/81,” p. 11.

⁵⁵⁹ Article 18 and 15 of PMAD. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ ECOWAS, “Final Report: Eleventh Session of the Council of Ministers,” ECW/CM XI/14/Rev. 2, Cotonou, 21-26 May, 1982, p.13.

⁵⁶¹ The protocol became effective on September 30, 1986. See Babajimi Peters, “The ECOWAS Defence Pact: Problems and Prospects,” *Nigerian Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 10-12 (October-November 1983), pp. 1267-76; Julius Okolo, “The Development and Structure of ECOWAS,” in Julius Okolo, ed., *West African Regional Cooperation and Development* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 39-42.

attempt for a collective [security] system for the West African subregion,”⁵⁶² since ECOWAS clearly transformed itself into an institution that could discuss security issues and laid a political foundation of legitimate intervention under certain conditions.

PNA not only created a threshold for the member states to discuss security issues within the institution, but also maintained institutional ambiguity regarding the principle of non-interference. Then, PMAD clarified that security and stability was the precondition for socio-economic cooperation and development, and it crafted not a strict but a conditional principle of noninterference by arguing that ECOWAS military intervention could be justified under certain circumstances. These changes became possible because the ECOWAS treaty focused solely on socio-economic issues and did not strictly adhere to a noninterference principle from the beginning. In other words, ECOWAS did not have any institutional constraints to adding an internal and external security management functions as long as a majority of the member states could agree upon this role. This resulted in ECOWAS’s creation of a conditional principle of non-interference.

II. ECOWAS in 1989-1999: Path to MCPMRPS

The 1981 PMAD went into force in 1986, when more than seven member states ratified the protocol.⁵⁶³ Yet, the institutionalization of the protocol lagged behind. Despite amendments of ECOWAS’s institutional composition to set up a Defence Council and a Defence Commission, neither was convened at all, and a Deputy Executive Secretary was never appointed. Moreover, even though Article 19 of PMAD stipulated that “[t]he implementation of [the] Protocol shall be supplemented by additional Protocols,” ECOWAS did not issue any protocols relating to PMAD

⁵⁶² “Nigerian Comment on ECOWAS Defence Pact,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 11, 1981.

⁵⁶³ According to Article 21(1) of PMAD, it stipulated, “Any Member State which accedes to the Treaty, automatically accedes to this Protocol and to the Protocol of Non-Aggression signed in Lagos on the 22nd April 1978. See ECOWAS Secretariat, “A/SP3/5/81,” p. 12.

between 1981 and 1990.⁵⁶⁴ In short, although the political intention of the member states was clarified in this protocol to deal with intra-state conflict under some circumstances, inter-state disputes, and external aggression, they could not execute the means to realize this vision.

From 1989 to 1999, however, ECOWAS bolstered its political security mechanism through four official decisions. First, ECOWAS created a Community Standing Mediation Committee in May 1990. The purpose of the committee was to enhance the 1978 PNA and to mitigate diplomatic and military tensions among the member states, focusing on intra-member conflict containment. The committee comprises five member states, the chairman of the Authority and four other members appointed by the Authority, and the membership of the committee will be reviewed every three years.⁵⁶⁵ The committee would be activated when a concerned member or members informed the Executive Secretary in “writing of its intention to refer the matter to the Standing Mediation Committee for settlement.”⁵⁶⁶ Since ECOWAS had not institutionalized a the “Committee of Authority” stipulated in the 1978 protocol,⁵⁶⁷ this was an institutional attempt to consolidate PNA for containing potential intra-member conflicts.

Second, ECOWAS issued a declaration on “Political Principles of Economic Community of West African States” in July 1991. The declaration reiterated the member states’ commitment for peace and stability in West Africa and reaffirmed refraining from “any threat or use of forces, directly or indirectly, against the territorial integrity or political independence of any Member State” and pursuing peaceful means to settle any dispute among the member states.⁵⁶⁸ Politically, this declaration also emphasized democratization and human rights protection in West Africa. It

⁵⁶⁴ See Article 19 of PMAD. Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ See Article 1 of the decision relating to the establishment of the Standing Committee. ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/Dec.9/5/90 Relating to the Establishment of the Standing Mediation Committee,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 21 (1992), p. 5.

⁵⁶⁶ See Article 2.

⁵⁶⁷ According to Article 5 (2) of the 1978 Protocol, “[a]ny dispute, which cannot be settled peacefully among Member States, shall be referred to a Committee of the Authority.” See ECOWAS, “Protocol on Non-Aggression,” in Irele, *The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*, pp. 197-200.

⁵⁶⁸ ECOWAS, “Declaration A/DCL.1/7/81 of Political Principles of the Economic Community of West African States,” Fourteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 4-6 July 1991.

was a political declaration and did not have any enforcement mechanism. Rather, it only recognized the importance of such norms by using such wording as “respect,” “promote,” and “encourage.” Nevertheless, this was the first time that ECOWAS set its institutional stance on democratization principles.

Third, ECOWAS revised its 1975 Treaty and incorporated political and security elements in order for the institution to officially deal with them. The Revised Treaty, which was created in July 1993, included security as one of its fundamental principles by emphasizing that “maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness,” and to this end, it asserted the necessity of security cooperation among the member states.⁵⁶⁹ According to Article 58 (2), ECOWAS aims at “establishing and strengthening appropriate mechanism for the timely prevention and resolution of intra-State and inter-State conflicts.”⁵⁷⁰ The security mechanism that ECOWAS envisaged includes establishment of consultation and mediation mechanisms to deal with interstate conflicts, sanctions for non-compliance of ECOWAS obligations, a regional peace and security observation system, and peacekeeping forces. Although the Revised Treaty does not specify a detailed mechanism for ECOWAS security functions, it officially evinced the fact that ECOWAS was both a socio-economic and security institution. Moreover, the treaty also emphasized “promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance” in member states, showing that it is also a political institution. Following the principles laid out by PNA, PMAD and the 1991 declaration, ECOWAS consolidated the political and security aspects of the institution.

Fourth, ECOWAS issued the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security (MCPMRPS) in December 1999. This protocol was created on the basis of the 1993 ECOWAS Revised Treaty, and it consolidated the security function by establishing a “mechanism for collective security and peace” that clearly

⁵⁶⁹ ECOWAS Secretariat, “Treaty of ECOWAS” (1993).

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

linked to democratic principles.⁵⁷¹ The objectives of the mechanism reaffirmed the importance of regional security and stability in West Africa, including interstate relations among the member states and intrastate stability, and thus, it aimed at preventing, managing, and resolving regional security instability through such means as the establishment of an early-warning system and installment of peacekeeping forces. In this protocol, ECOWAS took two significant changes. One is its condition for the application of the mechanism. While it included circumstance, such as aggression or conflict in any member state, as PNA and PMAD did, the protocol also included the case of internal conflict.⁵⁷² Unlike PNA and PMAD, it does not specify under what circumstances of internal conflict MCPMRPS can be applied, so that the institution becomes flexible to collectively discuss the potential implications to regional security and stability of internal conflict within has and can authorize, if necessary, intervention. Moreover, it considered that democratic norms needed to be enhanced in the region. As a result, military intervention can be applied under the definition of “an overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically elected government.”

The other is the abrogation of previous security-related protocols. Article 53 of the protocol stipulates that “[t]he provisions of this Protocol shall replace all the provisions” of PMAD, since they are “in conflict with the spirit” of MCPMRPS.⁵⁷³ As all the institutional procedures that PMAD created were largely dysfunctional, including the Defence Council, the Defence Committee, and the Allied Armed Force of the Community (AAFC), this protocol was entirely replaced. Moreover, the provision of PNA, which is incompatible with those of MCPMRPS, was deemed to be “null and void.”⁵⁷⁴ These changes took place as a result of the fact that ECOWAS decided to relax its interpretation of the situation wherein the institution would

⁵⁷¹ ECOWAS, “Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security,” accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=ap101299&lang=en>.

⁵⁷² See Article 25. Ibid.

⁵⁷³ See Article 53. Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

manage “internal conflicts.” Therefore, MCPMRPS displaced PNA and PMAD in order to consolidate ECOWAS’s nontraditional collective security mechanism.

In order to examine several steps of institutional changes that occurred in ECOWAS, this section is divided into two phases, Phase I from 1989 to 1993, when the Revised Treaty was concluded, and Phase II from 1994 to 1999, when the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security was created.

1. Phase I: ECOWAS in 1989-1993—The Political Principles and The Revised Treaty

(1) Triggers: US Retrenchment, Liberia’s Civil War, and Divided West Africa

West Africa’s regional balance of power was under transition in the late 1980s partly because of the US-Soviet détente. In Southern Africa, the Soviet Union and Cuba planned their troop withdrawal, and their political and military commitment began to decrease. Although the main external powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba, had not become involved in the West African affairs as intensively as they did in the Southern African region, their reduced commitment to the entire African continent indirectly affected the balance of power in West Africa. In this context, the Liberian civil war broke out from December 24, 1989, when the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor, a former government official convicted under Samuel Doe’s regime for embezzlement, invaded Nimba County from Cote d’Ivoire. Liberia’s President Samuel Doe countered by sending the state’s Armed Force of Liberia (AFL), yet the conflicts quickly intensified and led Liberia to state collapse, which created a power vacuum in West Africa. Three main factors caused these changes in the intra-regional balance of power: changes in US-Liberia political and military relations; several ECOWAS member states’ support for NPFL; and non-action from the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

First, changes in the US-Liberia relations from the late 1980s weakened Liberia’s political and military foundations substantially. Traditionally, the United States had had a strong

tie with Liberia, as the state was established by freed American slaves in the 19th Century with US support. The relationship was basically strong during the Cold War era, although it was somewhat strained when Liberia established diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union in 1971. The United States consistently provided economic and military aid to Liberia, and partly due to the 1979 Soviet invasion to Afghanistan, the amount of aid increased substantially after Ronald Reagan assumed presidency in 1981, even though Samuel Doe had just staged a *coup d'état* against President William Tolbert in April 1980. From the early 1980s, Doe began to lay a rigid political foundation for his dictatorship. According to OECD statistics, US Official Development Assistance (ODA) increased from \$32 million in 1980 to \$63 in 1981.⁵⁷⁵ From 1982 to 1986, the total ODA amounted to \$300 million, which well exceeded the total amount, \$282.98 million that Liberia received from 1960 to 1979.⁵⁷⁶ When Liberia held the presidential election in 1985, which Samuel Doe was said to manipulate and in which he took 50.9 percent of the vote to reassume the presidency, the US government supported the election result.⁵⁷⁷ In return, Liberia diplomatically supported US global policy and provided military facilities to the United States. For example, Liberia closed the Libyan mission in Monrovia, normalized relations with Israel which most of African states opposed after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, and modified the US-Liberia mutual defense pact in favor of the United States to let US troops use military facilities in Liberia more flexibly.⁵⁷⁸ In this sense, the United States and Liberia maintained strong relations during the Doe era.

⁵⁷⁵ OECD, "QWIDS: Query Wizard for International Development Statistics," accessed June 5, 2012, <http://stats.oecd.org/qwids>.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ In December 10, 1985, Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, testified before the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs, "however imperfect...Liberia and its friends would use [the election] as a benchmark for the future." See US Government, "Liberia and United States Policy: Hearing before Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate—Ninety-Ninth Congress, First Session, December 10, 1985," S. HRG. 99-543, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁸ The revised mutual defense pact allowed the United States to use military facilities at Liberia's sea and airports for the US Rapid Deployment Force on 24-hour notice. Reed Kramer, "Liberia: A Casualty of the Cold War's End," *CSIS Africa Notes* (July 1995), July 1, 1995, in Africa News Service, accessed June 5, 2012, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200101090216.html>.

However, this trend began to change as US-Soviet tension lessened near the end of the Cold War. The United States began to further consider democratization and human rights protection as factors to shape its African policy, and following this direction, decided to reduce economic and military aid to Liberia. As early as May 1989, the US interagency African Policy Coordinating Committee (PCC) was concerned about Doe's human rights record.⁵⁷⁹ As soon as the civil war broke out in December 1989 and AFL's human rights violations were confirmed, President Bush sent a letter to Doe in January 1990 in order to express US concerns about Liberia's transgressions. However, as Doe did not change its conduct of war, the United States suspended military aid and attempted to find a political solution to the civil war.⁵⁸⁰ In March, the US Congress significantly decreased economic and military aid to Liberia for the fiscal year 1991, resulting in an aid reduction from \$26.5 million in 1990 to approximately \$10 million in 1991.⁵⁸¹

When it became apparent that Doe was losing the war in April 1990, Doe asked the United States to provide arms to him, which the United States refused. Instead, the United States asked Doe to negotiate with NPFL, to hold elections and to leave Liberia. Doe refused this proposal by stating that he "would never negotiate with Taylor."⁵⁸² In May, although the United States began to set up a negotiation table for Doe and NPFL, it decided not to get involved in the Liberian affairs because Robert Gates, a deputy national security advisor, refused to recognize any US responsibility for the crisis.⁵⁸³ After AFL attacked the United Nations compound and killed refugees in the building in May 30,⁵⁸⁴ President Bush decided in early June that "the United States would not take charge of the Liberian problem."⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁷⁹ Herman Cohen, *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), p. 129.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵⁸¹ "Less money from Uncle Sam?" *West Africa*, No. 3784, March 5-11, 1990, p. 366.

⁵⁸² Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, p. 143.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴ "Liberia," *Africa Contemporary Record*, Vol. 23 (1990-1992), p. B70.

⁵⁸⁵ Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, p. 144.

Doe, again, sought help from the United States in June by stating that he hoped that the United States would “join Liberia in searching for peace in the current conflict,”⁵⁸⁶ though this request was not taken seriously by the United States. Furthermore, since Liberia was an Anglophone state and did not have a strong connection with the other external regional power, France, no other foreign actor became involved in the conflict, except for evacuating their nationals in Liberia. Losing his strong strategic ally, Doe could not quell NPFL attacks, leading to Liberia’s state collapse and creating a power vacuum in West Africa.

After the end of the Cold War, it became more evident that the United States would not deeply become involved in Liberia’s civil war, especially after the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in August 1990. On this lack of US commitment to the Liberia’s civil war, Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor during the Bush administration, stated, “There was the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and, after Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in August of 1990, the build up [of] the war in the Gulf...You can only concentrate on so many things at once.”⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, Liberia’s strategic position was relegated to a lower priority after the Cold War, and the United States did not take any military commitment to the Liberian Civil War.

Second, there was the increasing possibility that states both inside and outside West Africa would fill the power vacuum left by Liberia’s collapse. In fact, Liberia’s civil war was not purely an internal conflict as some ECOWAS states, namely Cote d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso, and to some extent Libya supported NPFL in attacking against Doe’s regime. Admittedly, in January 1990, Doe himself rejected the assertion that Cote d’Ivoire directly or indirectly supported NPFL, and he stated that by sending his delegation to see Cote d’Ivoire’s President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, he was assured that “nobody will use [Cote d’Ivoire’s] territory to work against

⁵⁸⁶ “Liberia government-rebel talks begin in Freetown; Doe appeals for US help,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 14, 1990.

⁵⁸⁷ Kramer, “Liberia: A Casualty of the Cold War’s End.”

[Doe].⁵⁸⁸ Yet, as Doe's regime faced difficulty in resisting the NPFL invasion, Doe quickly reversed his position and began to accuse Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Libya of aiding NPFL.⁵⁸⁹ The linkage between NPFL and these three states became evident through the confession of captured rebels. For example, as early as January 1990, five captured rebels confirmed that Charles Taylor had complete contact with Burkina Faso; NPFL soldiers trained in Libya in 1988; and the rebels accessed Liberia through Cote d'Ivoire.⁵⁹⁰ Nonetheless, these three states denied any allegation that they supported NPFL. The Ivorian Minister of Communication, Auguste Miremont, stressed that Cote d'Ivoire had not aided the rebels,⁵⁹¹ and Libya simply denied such a support while Burkina Faso issued a statement that it would "combat terrorism in all its forms and would never authorize [NPFL] to train on its territory with the aim of destabilizing another country."⁵⁹²

Yet Liberia's allegations have some credibility. Libya under Qadhafi's rule had been long eager to expand its sphere of influence across the African continent, including West Africa, and was not only a threat to Doe but also to other West African states' security and political concerns. Libya could quickly fill the power vacuum in West Africa by installing Charles Taylor in Liberia without US and Soviet involvement in the conflict. To the lesser extent, The motives of Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso for supporting NPFL were more limited. Cote d'Ivoire, although denying any support for NPFL, was also said to harbor NPFL, provide arms supplies, and allowed the rebel force to access Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire.⁵⁹³ This is because Liberian President Benedict Tolbert, who was killed by Doe in the 1980 coup, was the husband of Houphouet-

⁵⁸⁸ "Liberian President's News Conference Says Situation Returning to Normal," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 6, 1990.

⁵⁸⁹ "Cote d'Ivoire," *Africa Contemporary Record*, Vol. 23 (1990-1992), p. B33.

⁵⁹⁰ "Liberia: 'Confessions' galore," *West Africa*, No. 3778, January 22-28, 1990, p. 113.

⁵⁹¹ "Curfew and coup fever in Nimba," *West Africa*, No. 3777, January 15-21, 1990, p. 44.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁹³ "Cote d'Ivoire," *Africa Contemporary Record*, p. B33; Stephen Ellis, "Liberia 1989-1994: A Study of Ethnic and Spiritual Violence," *African Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 375 (April 1995), p. 181.

Boigny's adopted daughter, and Houphouet-Boigny was said to never forgive Doe.⁵⁹⁴ In addition, Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaore had had a strong tie with NPFL leaders and with Libya as well. In 1987, Qadhafi and a group of Liberian exiles in Burkina Faso assisted Compaore to achieve a successful coup.⁵⁹⁵ Also, he was a friend of Qadhafi and introduced Taylor to him in order to punish Doe's support of US anti-Libyan policies.⁵⁹⁶ In fact, Compaore admitted that Burkina Faso decided to support NPFL in 1989 and continued to support Taylor by supplying arms⁵⁹⁷ and sending troops.⁵⁹⁸ Thus, while Libya had political ambitions to increase its sphere of influence in West Africa, both Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso's ambitions were limited to personal motives to oust Doe from Liberia.

Since Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso are Francophone states, this created division in West Africa between Anglophone and Francophone states, which further weakened cohesiveness of the region. This division would also open the window of opportunity for Libya to increase political influence in the region. Thus, a potential change in this intra-regional balance of power became a concern for most of the Anglophone states, especially Nigeria and Ghana. Both states considered that NPFL would become a strategic tool of Libya's regional ambition and a means for Francophone states to create a political counterweight against Nigeria's predominance.

Third, there was little support from the international organizations, UN and OAU, to prevent or fill the power vacuum that would be created by the Liberian civil war. From January to December 1990, there was no resolution or statement in the UN regarding the Liberian civil war even after the US-Soviet détente and the end of the Cold War, while OAU had considered other issues more important, including South Africa's Apartheid issue, post-conflict reconstruction of

⁵⁹⁴ Ellis, "Liberia 1989-1994," p. 181.

⁵⁹⁵ Quentin Outram, "Recent History," in Europa Publications (33rd ed.) *Africa South of the Sahara 2004* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 602-603; Ikechi Mgbefo, *Collective Insecurity: The Liberian Crisis, Unilateralism, and Global Order*, (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2003), p.41.

⁵⁹⁶ Ellis, "Liberia 1989-1994," p. 181.

⁵⁹⁷ Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, p. 159.

⁵⁹⁸ *L'Observateur Paalga*, 9 September 1991, in "Burkina Faso," *Africa Contemporary Record*, Vol. 23 (1990-1992), p. B18.

the Southern African states, and economic cooperation and development among the member states. Partly due to the principle of non-interference, to which OAU strictly adhered at that point, these organizations could not take action. For the UN, it was difficult for the Security Council to discuss the Liberian issue because Cote d'Ivoire was one of three African nations included as members at the time. As the Security Council agenda items are chosen through the informal session of the Council members, it was highly likely that Cote d'Ivoire would not put the Liberian issue on the agenda, while other states were less concerned about the issue.⁵⁹⁹ Because of this, even after ECOWAS intervened in Liberia in August 1990, the UN Security Council could not table the agenda. According to Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, the United States could not pressure Cote d'Ivoire to discuss the Liberian issue as it counted on Cote d'Ivoire's support for a war against Iraq, stating that it "[made] it impossible for [the United States] to get tough with them over Liberia."⁶⁰⁰ The United States also asked the Soviet Union to informally consult with Cote d'Ivoire, yet the response was that Cote d'Ivoire was "adamantly opposed and had enough support among the nonaligned members to keep Liberia off the agenda."⁶⁰¹

Admittedly, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 788 in September 1992, Resolution 813 in March 1993, and Resolution 866 in September 1993, by which the international community was obligated to undertake an arms embargo against Liberia and established the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). The OAU Council also produced a resolution regarding the Liberian civil war in February 1991 to commend ECOWAS efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement.⁶⁰² However, before 1991, the international organizations neither took any institutional action nor issued any statement or resolution to manage the Liberian

⁵⁹⁹ Dawda Jawara Ghana's President and ECOWAS Chairperson, argued, "UN Security Council endorsement was not possible, because Cote d'Ivoire is a member of the Security Council." See "Towards peace in Liberia," *West Africa*, No. 3822, November 26-December 2, 1990, p. 2895.

⁶⁰⁰ Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, pp. 155-156.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶⁰² OAU, "Resolution on the Armed Conflict in Liberia," CM/Res.1317 (LIII), Fifty-third Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 25 February – 1 March, 1991.

conflict. Although it is generally considered that the end of the Cold War created opportunities for the United Nations to undertake peacekeeping operations, it did not function in such a capacity in Liberia, and by January 1991, there were 20,000-25,000 people killed in the Liberian civil war.⁶⁰³

Given these three factors, the Liberian situation was internationally neglected, even though it had potential to induce changes in the intra-regional balance of power. Thus, it was necessary for several West African states to neutralize a power vacuum in Liberia in order to maintain regional stability while preventing Libya from increasing its sphere of influence. By August 1990, the security situation in West Africa had already deteriorated not only in Liberia but also in the region as a whole. There had already been massive refugees from Liberia to neighboring states, for instance, 225,000 refugees to Guinea and 69,000 to Sierra Leone.⁶⁰⁴ Because the prospect of Liberia's state collapse became higher, the situation would likely become worse, and the West African states, especially Anglophone states, began to consider filling the power vacuum through any means that they possessed.

(2) Divided Expectations: Positive, Negative, and Fait Accompli Strategy

ECOWAS officially became an institution dealing with not only socio-economic development but also security issues in West Africa by adopting the 1993 Revised Charter. Given its adoption of PNA in 1978 and PMAD in 1981, such institutional transformation can be classified as consolidation. Yet, the Liberian crisis itself did not directly translate into ECOWAS transformation because ECOWAS reactions were slow and the institution saw the war as an internal conflict. In fact, from December 1989 to May 1990, despite the ongoing Liberian crisis, ECOWAS had been more preoccupied with member states' economic security, deriving from slow economic development and rising economic blocs in the world. Throughout 1989, economic

⁶⁰³ See Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999), p. 313.

⁶⁰⁴ Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa*, p. 49.

and financial issues dominated the ECOWAS agenda at both the Ministerial and Summit level, and the institution was especially concerned about the “threat” of economic marginalization in the world posed by the 1992 single European market.⁶⁰⁵ In order to respond to such a global economic trend, the Council of Ministers put the “highest priority” on the promotion and expansion of intra-member trade,⁶⁰⁶ and the Summit decided to closely monitor the development of European economic integration by assigning the Executive Secretary to submit proposals for West African response.⁶⁰⁷ At this time, Togo proposed a security-related draft resolution on Terrorism at the Ministerial level, but the proposal was quickly dismissed because such a proposal needed to be examined from legal and technical perspectives and it would take a long time to review.⁶⁰⁸ This trend continued until May 1990, and “threats” continued to be basically defined as an economic term in the context of the changing world economy.⁶⁰⁹ This is well illustrated in the production of a draft decision by the Council of Ministers relating to “the effects of the completion of the internal European Market (Europe 1992) on West Africa” by stating that ECOWAS “[d]etermined to protect the West African economy and address at the sub-regional level the problem of marginalization of West Africa by the international community.”⁶¹⁰

This trend gradually shifted at the Summit level on May 30, 1990. The regular agendas were still dominated by economic development and emerging regional economic blocs in the world. Yet, responding to the deteriorating security situation in Liberia against a backdrop of slow US responsiveness as well as increasing the inter-member states conflict, especially between Mauritania and Senegal and between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal, both of which heightened tensions in 1989, ECOWAS discussed interstate and intrastate security situation among the

⁶⁰⁵ ECOWAS, “Twenty-Fifth Session of the Council of Ministers, Ouagadougou, 25-27 June 1989: Final Report,” ECW/CM.XXV/24/Rev.1 (1989), p. 8.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶⁰⁷ ECOWAS, “Press Release: Final Communique” (1989), p. 5.

⁶⁰⁸ ECOWAS, ECW/CM.XXV/24/Rev. 1, p. 20.

⁶⁰⁹ ECOWAS, “Twenty-Seventh Session of the Council of Ministers, Banjul, 22-27 May, 1990: Final Report,” ECW/CM.XXVII/17/REV.1 (1990), p. 8.

⁶¹⁰ ECOWAS, “Draft Decision A/DEC.7/5/90 Relating to the Effects of the Completion of the Internal European Market (Europe 1992) on West Africa,” Banjul, 28th-30th May, 1990.

member states. In order to mitigate the interstate tensions and conflicts among ECOWAS member states, the Authority referred to PNA and established a Standing Mediation Committee, comprised of the Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo for the first three year cycle, to mediate intra-member state disputes.⁶¹¹ For the Liberian civil war, the Authority also referred to PNA to settle the conflict,⁶¹² although the Liberian civil war was theoretically seen as an internal affair. Since PNA prohibited any state to support subversions in other member states and did not have any provisions regarding a purely internal conflict, ECOWAS implicitly assumed that several states were supporting the Liberian subversion from outside. However, instead of accusing Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Libya of support for NPFL, ECOWAS merely called for a cease-fire. Thus, ECOWAS as an institution did not play a specific role in managing the Liberian civil war.

The significant change occurred between July 1990 and February 1991. ECOWAS became more deeply involved in the Liberian civil war after the Liberian Council of Churches, or the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee, failed to mediate Doe and Taylor in June due to Doe's refusal of a demand for his immediate resignation and the establishment of transitional government that did not include Doe.⁶¹³ Since the United States was not willing to become involved in the Liberian civil war other than demanding Doe's resignation,⁶¹⁴ ECOWAS began to mediate the conflict by inducing compromises from Doe and Taylor. On July 1, ECOWAS's executive secretary met Taylor to state the Authority's willingness to mediate and scheduled a meeting in Freetown, Sierra Leone, on July 5.⁶¹⁵ An emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the ECOWAS standing mediation committee, which consisted of the Gambia, Ghana, Togo, Mali, and Nigeria with Guinea and Sierra Leone, was held on July 5 to work out the Liberia peace

⁶¹¹ ECOWAS, "Thirteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Banjul, 29-30 May 1990: Final Communique," ECW/HSG/XIII/3 (1990), pp. 9-10.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶¹³ "Peace talks falter," *West Africa*, No. 3800, June 25-July 1, 1990, p. 1089.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁵ ECOWAS Secretariat, "Joint Statement Signed on 1st July 1990 By the ECOWAS Executive Secretary Dr. Abass Bundu, and the Leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia Mr. Charles Taylor," *Official Journal of Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 21 (1992), p. 5.

plan, including the peacekeeping missions, and both representatives from the Liberian government and NPFL showed an interest in the peace plan.⁶¹⁶ After the meeting, Doe called for the cease-fire agreement, yet NPFL was about to seize the Liberian capital, Monrovia, and rejected Doe's call. In the meantime, ECOWAS made a proposal to an interim government without Doe and Taylor as a leader and to send an African peacekeeping force to restore the stability in Liberia.⁶¹⁷ As Doe and NPFL did not take the ECOWAS proposal and the security situation in Monrovia worsened, Doe finally sent a letter to the chairperson of the ECOWAS mediation committee on July 14, stating:

...in order to avert the wanton destruction of lives and properties and further forestall the reign of terror, I wish to call on your Honourable Body to take note of my personal concerns and the collective wishes of the people of Liberia, and to assist in finding a constitutional reasonable resolution of the crisis in our Country as early as possible. Particularly, it would seem more expedient at this time to introduce and [sic] *ECOWAS Peace-Keeping Force* into Liberia to forestall increasing terror and tension and to assure a peaceful transitional environment.⁶¹⁸

Thus, for the first time, the Liberian government formally asked the ECOWAS mediation committee to undertake a peacekeeping operation. Given the negotiation deadlock caused by NPFL's demand for Doe's immediate resignation and Doe's intransigence, it became extremely difficult to reach any agreement between the two parties. Having lost military assistance and commitment from the United States and faced with the inactiveness of the international organizations, Doe considered that ECOWAS was the only option to achieve a ceasefire and maintain his political power, at least for the time being. In fact, although ECOWAS had never

⁶¹⁶ Michael Knipe, "West African states may send troops into Liberia," *The Times*, July 6, 1990; "ECOWAS attempts mediation," *West Africa*, No. 3803, July 16-22, 1990, p. 2126.

⁶¹⁷ Charles Taylor argued in a BBC radio interview that he rejects an ECOWAS mediation effort because "some of the countries involved were known supporters of Mr. Doe." See "Truce Broken as Rebels Raid Monrovia," *Courier-Mail*, July 12, 1990; Mark Huband, "Rebels arrive at peace meeting," *The Guardian*, July 12, 1990; "Liberia rebels say they will participate in Freetown talks," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 19, 1990.

⁶¹⁸ *Emphasis added.* ECOWAS Secretariat, "Text of a Letter Dated 14th July 1990 Addressed by President Samuel K. Doe to the Chairman and Members of the Ministerial Meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee," *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 21, (1992), p. 6.

played a peacekeeping role since its inception, PMAD provided a certain legitimacy for ECOWAS to undertake such intervention by installing an interposing force, AAFC. However, since the organs to support PMAD, such as a Defence Council and Defence Committee, were never activated, it was not clear whether ECOWAS could ever authorize dispatch of a peacekeeping force to Liberia.

Against this background, the ECOWAS member states' expectations for the Liberian conflict were deeply split into two blocs: Anglophone and Francophone states. On the one hand, a majority of the Anglophone states considered the security utility of ECOWAS was relatively positive. Politically, Nigeria and Ghana were concerned about the justification of an NPFL coup against Liberia's dictator, Doe. Since Nigeria's Ibrahim Babangida and Ghana's Jerry Rawlings were both part of military regimes that undertook self-succession, the successful coup by NPFL might provide justification and set a precedent for potential coups in their own states, which could also be supported from outside.⁶¹⁹ Also, Sierra Leone and Guinea had suffered from massive refugee flow from Liberia since the war started, and they needed to stop, or at least reduce, such a flow. In this sense, for potential military intervention in Liberia, politically, ECOWAS framework could provide more legitimacy since it would be not unilateral, but multilateral intervention. Institutionally, because of the member states' ratification of PNA and PMAD, ECOWAS was no longer a purely economic institution, and the formulation of ECOWAS peacekeeping operation was an open possibility, if the Authority of ECOWAS agreed with the decision.

On the other hand, the Francophone states, especially Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, saw such an ECOWAS security role negatively. First, Ivorian and Burkinabe Presidents' personal desire to make NPFL's raid successful were in contradiction with undertaking such an ECOWAS security role in Liberia. Second, the Francophone states still regarded ECOWAS as a possible Nigerian tool for regional domination, if unchecked. Therefore, there was a severe political

⁶¹⁹ Clement Adibe, "Foreign Policy Decisionmaking in Anglophone," in Gilbert Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons, eds., *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp. 28-29.

division among ECOWAS member states to further its security role in Liberia beyond mediation. In this sense, it was highly unlikely that the Authority could reach consensus on ECOWAS new role in peacekeeping, and ECOWAS undertook only a mediation role in the Liberian civil war in July.

The situation became more complicated in late July due to split within NPFL. ECOWAS three-point proposal, demanding a ceasefire, the deployment of a peacekeeping force, and the immediate formation of a government of national unity, was frankly rejected by NPFL. NPFL's chief negotiator, Tom Woewiyu, argued that the mediation role should not be taken by ECOWAS.⁶²⁰ However, the war situation in Monrovia by this time was dominated by the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), which was a splinter of NPFL and led by Prince Johnson. Thus, although NPFL controlled most parts of Liberia, a real power broker of Monrovia was INPFL, and without INPFL participation in negotiations, it became difficult to settle the conflict. Worse, Doe still attempted to maintain his political power in Liberia. By this time, Liberian government ministers called for Doe's resignation, considering the deteriorating situation in Liberia, yet Doe did not respond to the proposal.⁶²¹

Given this situation, Nigeria took the initiative to hold an extraordinary meeting of the ECOWAS standing mediation committee to deal with the Liberian conflict at Banjul, The Gambia, on August 6-7, 1990. Nigeria, which was willing to intervene in the Liberian crisis, saw the ECOWAS framework positively and considered it as a useful mechanism to deal with the conflict. However, since the Authority and the Council of Ministers needed to include all the 16 member states and were likely to face opposition to any decision for military intervention from Francophone states, it took a bold step to establish the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) through the ECOWAS mediation committee, which consisted of only seven states among ECOWAS member states, mostly Anglophone states, including the Gambia, Ghana, Mali,

⁶²⁰ "Liberian rebels reject peace plan; ministers 'advise' President Doe to resign," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 23, 1990.

⁶²¹ "Ministers tell Doe to resign," *The Advertiser*, July 23, 1990.

Nigeria, Togo, Sierra Leone and Guinea. The meeting was attended by Nigerian President Babangida, Ghanaian President Rawlings, the foreign ministers of Mali and Togo, and Sierra Leone President Joseph Momoh, Guinean President Lansana Conte, and OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim.⁶²² Justifying that the mediation committee was “an appropriate mechanism for resolving the situation,” and assuming that the Liberian crisis was supported from outside forces, the Committee referred to PMAD in order to justify the creation of ECOMOG.⁶²³ Through the emergency meeting, the mediation committee decided to become fully in charge of the Liberian civil war, and ECOMOG was established under the committee’s auspices, not the Authority or the Council of Ministers. Consequently, according to the mediation committee, ECOMOG would consist of “military contingents drawn from the Member States of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee as well as from Guinea and Sierra Leone.”⁶²⁴ The ECOWAS mediation committee began to prepare for sending troop force consisting of contingents from the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone and which would be led by Ghana’s Lieutenant-General Arnold Quainoo.⁶²⁵ In order to hedge potential criticism from the international community, Nigeria immediately sent a letter to the UN Secretary-General regarding the establishment of ECOMOG and its intervention in Liberia, by reaffirming that its purpose was “to stop the senseless killing of innocent civilian nationals and foreigners, and to help the Liberian people to restore their democratic institutions,” not to “save one part or punish another.”⁶²⁶

⁶²² The justification to invite heads of Sierra Leone and Guinea was that both states had significant number of refugees; however, Cote d’Ivoire, which also had a refugee problem, was not invited to the meeting. “Delegations Arrive for ECOWAS Summit,” Daily Report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-AFR-90-151, August 6, 1990.

⁶²³ ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/Dec.1/8/90 on the Ceasefire and Establishment of an ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group for Liberia,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 21 (1992), pp. 6-7.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶²⁵ “W African force to intervene in Liberia’s war,” *The Independent*, August 8, 1990, p. 8; “Liberia NPFL tells ECOWAS no cease-fire till Doe goes; ECOMOG details,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 10, 1990.

⁶²⁶ UN Security Council, “Letter dated 9 August 1990 From the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations Addressed to the Security-General,” S/21485, August 10, 1990, p. 3.

Yet there were still three main political and legal problems on the establishment of ECOMOG. First, the ceasefire agreement was not reached in Liberia, so there was no ceasefire to keep, which constituted a contradiction with the mandate of ECOMOG. NPFL's Taylor warned that any foreign intervention would violate "an internal matter" of Liberia and that the international community should "respect [Liberia's] sovereignty and let Liberians form a new government."⁶²⁷ Woewiyu also argued that foreign intervention would be a "breach of international rules, a dangerous precedent," and that NPLF would fight against foreign troops.⁶²⁸ Second, the decision to send an ECOWAS peacekeeping force was not made at the Summit level, which contradicted the PMAD provision. According to Article 6 of PMAD, the Authority should examine the situation through either the annual ordinary meeting or extraordinary session on defense matters, and it "shall decide on the expediency of the military action and entrust its execution to the Force Commander of the Allied Forces of the Community (AAFC)."⁶²⁹ In short, although the ECOWAS mediation committee did not establish the "AAFC," the military action needed to be discussed and decided by the Authority if the committee referred to PMAD. Third, several ECOWAS member states, as expected, opposed the decision made by the mediation committee. Burkinabe President Compaore stated Burkina Faso's "total disagreement" with the ECOWAS mediation committee's decision to intervene in Liberia by arguing that the committee had "no competence to interfere in member states' internal conflicts, but only in conflicts breaking out between member countries,"⁶³⁰ as the committee was established under PNA

⁶²⁷ "Liberia Taylor opposes foreign intervention; US Marines to rescue US nationals," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 6, 1990.

⁶²⁸ "Liberia NPFL to attend ECOWAS meeting; Taylor comments on hostage-taking," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 7, 1990.

⁶²⁹ See Article 6 of PMAD. ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/SP3/5/81," p. 10.

⁶³⁰ "Liberia Taylor to visit Banjul; Burkinabe leader rejects ECOWAS intervention," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 15, 1990.

provisions. Accordingly, Burkina Faso called for an extraordinary session to assess Liberian issues in early September.⁶³¹

The debate over ECOMOG legitimacy for intervention went beyond the ECOMOG member states' authorities and diffused to the international community. While OAU itself did not take any resolution or decision over the ECOWAS mediation committee's initiative, OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim strongly supported the creation of ECOMOG. He stated in August 1990;

Before Ecowas undertook its initiative many, including the African media, were condemning the indifference demonstrated by Africa. The most desirable thing would have been to have an arrangement of all parties to the conflict and the convergence of views of all members of Ecowas. But to argue that there is no legal basis for intervention is surprising. Should the countries in West Africa just leave Liberians to fight each other? Will that be more legitimate? Will that be more understandable? In my very frank opinion the decision of the Ecowas countries to despatch a peace-keeping force or a monitoring group was a timely and very bold decision. I regret very much that there has not been the consensus which there should be between the Ecowas countries, and I will hope that every effort will be made to try and get this consensus. [But] I will rather make a mistake trying to solve the problem than to remain completely indifferent in such a situation.⁶³²

In addition, OAU Chairman, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda backed the ECOMOG intervention by stating that Africans could "learn to solve their own problems,"⁶³³ and the United States informally endorsed the formation of ECOMOG.⁶³⁴ Within Liberian factions, Prince Johnson, the leader of INPFL, supported foreign intervention and argued that Liberia needed "peaceful intervention of the United States or ECOWAS."⁶³⁵ Thus, several national and

⁶³¹ "Burkina Faso: Call for Summit; Taylor Said Ready to Join," Daily Report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS- AFR-90-174, September 7, 1990.

⁶³² "Africa's destiny," *West Africa*, No. 3816, October 22-28, 1990, p. 2691.

⁶³³ "East Africa in Brief; US official's talks with Ugandan President and Foreign Minister," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 8, 1990; "ECOWAS peace-keeping force to be sent to Liberia; foreigners released by INPFL," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 9, 1990.

⁶³⁴ Robert Press, "African Nations to Send Military Force to Liberia," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 9, 1990, p. 4.

⁶³⁵ "Liberian threatens to attack Marines," *St. Petersburg Times*, August 8, 1990, p. 14A.

international actors politically backed the decision made by the ECOWAS mediation committee, and the committee's *fait accompli* intervention in Liberia was undertaken.

While there was still dissonance among ECOWAS member states regarding the ECOMOG intervention, institutional expectations began to converge after Prince Johnson captured and killed Doe on September 9, 1990. Since the political objective of Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire was to oust Doe, there was no longer reason to substantially support NPFL. Yet, the political and legal problems of the ECOMOG legitimacy still needed to be worked out. If the *fait accompli* strategy that the ECOWAS mediation committee undertook was left as it was, the institutional use of force might be again utilized by the small committee in the future. Nigeria, which took the initiative to provide a substantial number of troops for ECOMOG, was a particular concern for not only the Francophone states but also several Anglophone states in ECOWAS. Seydina Oumar Sy, the Senegalese Foreign Minister, argued that although he understood the rationale of ECOMOG, "the manner in which the decision was arrived at set a dangerous precedent," and he insisted that all ECOWAS Heads of State "should be involved in the decision-making process" for the activation of a peacekeeping force.⁶³⁶ Accordingly, it became imperative to establish a certain decision-making process within ECOWAS, and several ECOWAS states began to call for an extraordinary ECOWAS summit to discuss the Liberian issue and ECOMOG. In addition to Burkina Faso, Togo and Guinea-Bissau echoed the call for a meeting in September.⁶³⁷ Senegal also informally asked ECOWAS Chairman Jawara about the possibility of holding the extraordinary summit in September,⁶³⁸ and in October, Cote d'Ivoire also requested a meeting. Since there was suspicion among the ECOMOG contributing states, mainly the Anglophone states, that Burkina Faso or Cote d'Ivoire would reverse the institutional decision to

⁶³⁶ "Senegal: Reservations on Ecomog," *West Africa*, No. 3811, September 10-16 1990, p. 2453.

⁶³⁷ FBIS-AFR-90-174, September 7, 1990; "Summit Meeting Chances 'Remote'," Daily Report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-AFR-90-178, September 13, 1990; "Government 'Will Not' Join ECOMOG Troops," Daily Report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-AFR-90-182, September 19, 1990.

⁶³⁸ *West Africa*, November 26-December 2, 1990, p. 2895.

execute peace operations,⁶³⁹ the venue of Bamako, Mali, was finally chosen as the place for the first ever ECOWAS extraordinary summit on November 27-28, 1990.⁶⁴⁰

The first extraordinary summit, which was attended by all the member states except for Liberia, including Burkinabe President Compaore and Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny, extensively discussed the Liberian situation as well as ECOWAS's conduct during the intervention.⁶⁴¹ The meeting led to a compromise among ECOWAS member states over ECOMOG's existence. On the one hand, the Authority formally endorsed the committee's decision, the ECOWAS peace plan, made by the mediation committee on August 7, 1990.⁶⁴² Since this plan included the establishment of ECOMOG and its justification of ECOWAS intervention in the Liberian civil war, ECOMOG was adopted as an institutional tool to promote peace and stability in Liberia.⁶⁴³ On the other hand, the Authority decided to expand the membership of ECOMOG. As the ECOMOG contingents were entirely composed of the members of the mediation committee, the Authority "appealed to all other members of the Community able and willing to do so to contribute forces" to ECOMOG.⁶⁴⁴ The ECOMOG enlargement was aimed at "[enhancing] its peace-keeping capability,"⁶⁴⁵ but also attempted to

⁶³⁹ Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, p. 155.

⁶⁴⁰ "Towards peace in Liberia," *West Africa*, No. 3822, November 26-December 2, 1990, p. 2895.

⁶⁴¹ ECOWAS, "First Extraordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Bamako, 27 and 28 November 1990: Final Communique," in UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Letter dated 14 December 1990 from the Permanent Representative of the Gambia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary General," A/45/894-S/22025, December 20, 1990.

⁶⁴² The ECOWAS peace plan included (a) a complete cease-fire and cessation of destruction of life and property; (b) ECOWAS monitoring of the cease-fire; (c) The establishment of a broad-based interim government acceptable to the people of Liberia; (d) The holding of general and presidential elections within 12 months; and (e) Observation of the elections by ECOWAS and other international bodies to ensure that they are free and fair. *Ibid.*

⁶⁴³ The ECOWAS mediation committee attempted to have a ceasefire agreement among AFL, NPFL, and INPFL on October 24, 1990. However, NPFL did not sign the agreement because Taylor was highly skeptical about ECOMOG's conduct of intervention, whose troops was mainly composed of Nigerian contingents. In the emergency summit, ECOWAS successfully gained signatures from three warring factions for ceasefire though NPFL did not yet recognize the interim government as a legitimate government of Liberia. ECOWAS, "Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities and Peaceful Settlement of Conflict," *Official Document of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 21 (1992), pp. 10-11.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

increase legitimacy. Thus, these compromises officially created an ad hoc tool to enhance its non-traditional collective security capabilities.

This extraordinary meeting had a significant impact on the member states' expectations for the ECOMOG operation in Liberia. Burkina Faso began to persuade the NPFL chieftain who attended the Bamako summit to sign a peace agreement, which included ECOMOG responsibility to disarm all the war factions in Liberia.⁶⁴⁶ Also, Cote d'Ivoire asked the President of the UN Security Council to indirectly authorize the ECOWAS action in Liberia.

From the institutional perspective, since an intervention without a cease-fire agreement was not a traditional method of peace operations, and since such an act would violate the international law regarding non-interference, it became necessary for ECOWAS to gain the endorsement of the UN Security Council. In this context, on January 15, 1991 Cote d'Ivoire sent a letter to the Security Council asking the Council Chair to adopt a statement endorsing the "efforts made by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government to promote peace and normalcy in Liberia."⁶⁴⁷ A week later, the Security Council meeting was convened, and Liberia and Nigeria were asked to speak about the situation in Liberia. Both of them implicitly discussed the justification of ECOMOG presence in Liberia. Nigeria stated that an ECOMOG role in Liberia was "to reconcile the sides, to restore peace and to create an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of free political activity and, eventually, democratic elections."⁶⁴⁸ Liberia argued that the non-interference principle of the UN Charter contributed to hampering the "effectiveness of the Council and its principal objectives of maintaining international peace and security," and that there was "the imperative need" to review or interpret the UN Charter's provision for non-

⁶⁴⁶ Adebajo's personal interview with Prosper Vokouma, foreign minister of Burkina Faso 1989-1991, Ouagadougou, 22 July 1999, in Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa*, p. 53.

⁶⁴⁷ UN Security Council, "Letter dated 15 January 1991 From the Charge D'Affaires A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Cote d'Ivoire to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/22076, January 15, 1991.

⁶⁴⁸ UN Security Council, "Provisional Verbatim Record of the Two Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Fourth Meeting, Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 22 January 1991, at 5 p.m.," S/PV.2974, January 22, 1991, p. 7.

interference.”⁶⁴⁹ Consequently, the President of the Security Council issued a note that endorsed ECOWAS action in Liberia.⁶⁵⁰

To be sure, ECOWAS member states’ expectations for the institution’s security utility were far from a monolith. For example, Nigeria considered ECOWAS’s security function more positively than did other states, since it had more control over ECOMOG by providing the largest number of troops of any country. Ghana, although supporting the ECOWAS peacekeeping function in principle, was concerned about the involvement of Nigerian soldiers in “various corrupt and illicit businesses” in Liberia.⁶⁵¹ Burkinabe President Compaore continued to support Taylor’s NPFL, although he admitted that “the operation [to get rid of Doe] turned hideously wrong” and that the Liberia situation became disastrous.⁶⁵² Nevertheless, the ECOWAS member states in general saw high utility in the institutional security function of ECOMOG. In April 1991, Compaore said that Burkina Faso would consider sending troops to ECOMOG if “a certain number of conditions” were met, and in 1992, he also supported the arms embargo on NPFL by stating that ECOWAS had made progress since the Bamako summit in November 1991.⁶⁵³ Given that the United States, the UN and OAU, did not swiftly move to prevent the Liberian conflict from deteriorating, several ECOWAS states saw that it was only ECOWAS, which could be able to maintain West African regional stability. With international political support, they could gain legitimacy to confidently operationalize ECOMOG.

The expectations for the institutional security utility of ECOWAS member states gradually converged after endorsing ECOMOG’s operational legitimacy, yet ECOWAS still

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁵⁰ It is noted that the members of Security Council also supported the ECOWAS appeal of increasing humanitarian assistance from to the international community, but it did not mention for financial assistance to ECOMOG. UN Security Council, “Note by the President of the Security Council,” S/22133, January 22, 1991.

⁶⁵¹ Eboe Hutchful, “Peacekeeping Under Conditions of Resource Stringency: Ghana’s Army in Liberia,” in Jakkie Cilliers and Greg Mills, eds., *From Peacekeeping to Complex Emergencies: Peace Support Missions in Africa*, (Johannesburg and Pretoria: South African Institute of International Affairs, and Institute for Security Studies, 1999), p. 107.

⁶⁵² Cohen, *Intervening in Africa*, p. 159.

⁶⁵³ “Burkinabe and Guinean Leaders note Regional Consensus for Resolution of Conflict,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 19, 1992.

needed to deal with the ineffectiveness of PNA and PMAD. Since two ECOWAS member states, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire, supported NPFL and indirectly caused the Liberian crisis, it became necessary for ECOWAS to lay a more robust political foundation to encourage the member states' adherence to PNA, which prohibited support for subversion. As early as the first emergency summit in November 1990, ECOWAS recognized this weakness and reiterated the importance of PNA. In the final communiqué, the Authority emphasized "the commitment by all member States to refrain from committing, encouraging or condoning acts of subversion, hostility or aggression against any other member states."⁶⁵⁴ In order to further buttress this point, the ECOWAS Executive Secretary initiated the delineation of basic political principles for ECOWAS, which enables the institution to deal with political issues.⁶⁵⁵ Then, on the basis of the report submitted by the Executive Secretary, the Authority issued a Declaration of Political Principles in July 1991, which emphasized member states' adherence to PNA and democratization generally in West Africa.

The Authority also began to consider PMAD institutionalization more seriously in July 1991. The idea of PMAD implementation was brought up at the third ECOWAS mediation committee meeting in February 1991, when Nigeria, Senegal and Togo presented the outcome of the Tripartite Summit of January 28-29, 1990, which aimed at the institutionalization of PMAD.⁶⁵⁶ The mediation committee concurred and expressed the necessity to implement both PMAD and PNA in order to "guarantee in the sub-region the peace and security essential for the integration and development of ECOWAS Member States."⁶⁵⁷ It then requested the Executive Secretary to produce a proposal for implementation, especially regarding the process of setting up

⁶⁵⁴ ECOWAS, "First Extraordinary Session," in UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/45/894-S/22025, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁵⁵ ECOWAS, "Twenty-Ninth Session of the Council of Ministers, Abuja, 30 June-3 July 1991," (1991), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁵⁶ ECOWAS, "ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, Final Communiqué of the Third Summit Meeting of the Community Standing Mediation Committee, Lome, Togo, 13 February, 1991."

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

the institutions.⁶⁵⁸ This matter was also taken up by the Authority in July 1991, which mandated the Executive Secretary to implement the two protocols after obtaining financial provision from the Council of Ministers by the end of the year.⁶⁵⁹

In addition, ECOWAS began to revise its 1975 treaty, whose provisions solely focused on socio-economic cooperation among the member states. The Authority began the process of reviewing the 1975 Treaty in May 1990 by mandating the Executive Secretary to establish a Committee of Eminent Persons in West Africa. Admittedly, the Authority did not consider enhancement of the ECOWAS security mechanism during this review, but only emphasized three topics for consideration: the legislative powers of the Authority, the financing of the budgets of the Institutions, and the decision-making procedures of the Authority and Council.⁶⁶⁰ However, after the Committee held six plenary meetings from May 27 to 31 1991 to conduct studies on the issues, its 1992 final report included and emphasized “Political Cooperation, Regional Peace and Security” as one of its four reviewing focuses.⁶⁶¹ The Committee recommended that the revised treaty include new provisions regarding security, particularly for effectively responding to internal conflicts in ECOWAS member states.⁶⁶² Already recognizing the growing internal instability on the African continent and in Liberia, the Authority also discussed the security issue

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ However, according to the ECOWAS Council’s Final Report in November 1991, the Council did not include any financial provision for implementing PMAD. ECOWAS, “Fourteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 4-6 July 1991: Final Communique,” ECW/HSG/XIV/6/Rev.1 (1991), p. 10; ECOWAS, “Thirtieth Session of the Council of Ministers, Lome, 20-22 November, 1991: Final Report,” ECW/CM.XXX/10/Rev.1 (1991).

⁶⁶⁰ ECOWAS, ECW/HSG/XIII/3, pp. 7-8; ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/Dec/10/5/90 on the Setting Up of a Committee for the Review of the ECOWAS Treaty,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 17 (June 1990), p. 25.

⁶⁶¹ Four foci included (i) Institutional Matters, (ii) Political Cooperation, Regional Peace and Security, (iii) Financing of Regional Integration Efforts, and (iv) Available option for Cooperation and Regional Economic Integration. ECOWAS Committee of Eminent Persons, “Appendix: Review of the ECOWAS Treaty Final Report of the Committee of Eminent Persons,” in Kofi Oteng Kufuor, *The Institutional Transformation of the Economic Community of West African States*, (Hampshire, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 133.

⁶⁶² Ibid., p. 137.

in West Africa in 1992⁶⁶³ and adopted the Revised Treaty in 1993, which included provisions regarding political cooperation in Article 56 and regional security issues in Article 58. Although details on the mechanism of implementing the ECOWAS security functions in this Revised Treaty was deferred to the “relevant Protocols,” these changes officially transformed ECOWAS into an institution that could deal with security issues in West Africa.

In sum, the ECOWAS institutional developments from 1989 to 1991 were not straightforward. ECOWAS did not take the Liberian crisis seriously until May 1990, when it became clear that the key external actors, the United States, UN, and OAU, did not have any intention to intervene in the Liberian conflict. ECOWAS was thus compelled to deal with the situation. Though it still lacked the institutional capacity to implement the two security-related protocols, PNA and PMAD, these protocols could be used to create an institutional justification ECOWAS security action in West Africa and made it relatively easier for several ECOWAS members to set up ECOMOG to respond to the Liberian conflict. In fact, PNA and PMAD were constantly referred to in the various decisions taken by the Authority, Council, and committees to deal with the security situation in Liberia.

Nevertheless, the member states’ expectations for ECOWAS security utility were considerably divided. From May to November 1990, several Anglophone states, particularly Nigeria, considered ECOWAS more positively as a useful tool to manage the Liberian crisis. On the other hand, other ECOWAS member states, mainly the Francophone states, regarded ECOWAS’s initial responses, such as the establishment of ECOMOG, as potentially producing negative impacts on the institution, particularly since the mediation committee undertook a *fait accompli* strategy. Many states raised objections and reservations about the legitimacy of the ECOWAS peace plan, and ECOWAS held the first extraordinary summit in November 1990 in order to discuss the legitimacy of ECOMOG.

⁶⁶³ ECOWAS, “Fifteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Dakar, 27-29 July 1992: Final Communiqué,” ECW/HSG/XV/7/Rev.1 (1992), p. 6.

It is only after the political compromises reached in this summit that these diverging expectations were gradually, if not completely, converged. The ECOWAS peace plan, including ECOMOG, also gained formal endorsement from the Authority and the international community. Yet, by the correcting decision-making procedure on the institutional response to regional security issues, the member states began to consider ECOWAS's security utility more positively.

(3) ISP: Forging Democratization and Intervention Norms

The adoption of PNA and PMAD implied that ECOWAS recognized security as a foundation of socio-economic development. Through the two protocols, ECOWAS fundamental objectives, and through PNA and PMAD, ECOWAS became theoretically capable of dealing with external aggression to the region, inter-state conflicts between the ECOWAS member states, and intervention in internal conflicts under the condition when subversive actors were supported by external actors.⁶⁶⁴ Admittedly, PNA and PMAD were never invoked during the 1980s, and PMAD was never institutionalized. However, PNA was often referred to by ECOWAS Heads of State as a justification to contain interstate conflicts among member states,⁶⁶⁵ and thus, ECOWAS's ISP was to create a mechanism dealing with inter-state conflicts among member states rather than to address internal conflict or external aggression. This is also illustrated by the ECOWAS Authority's creation of a standing mediation committee in May 1990, which was a preventive measure of containing interstate conflicts. In contrast, although the Liberian issue was discussed, ECOWAS did not begin to institutionalize PMAD or provide any mechanism to deal with internal conflicts of member states.

⁶⁶⁴ See PNA and PMAD. ECOWAS, "Protocol on Non-Aggression," in Irele, *The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*, pp. 197-200; ECOWAS Secretariat, "A/SP3/5/81," pp. 9-12.

⁶⁶⁵ Throughout the 1980s, PNA was often referred to remind ECOWAS member states of peaceful settlement of disputes. For example, when Liberia-Sierra Leonean disputed over their borders, the ECOWAS Summit brought up PNA. See "Southern Africa: In Brief; Communique on ECOWAS Summit Meeting in Nigeria," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 3, 1986; "Communique on Togo Summit to Discuss Liberia-Sierra Leone Tension," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, September 19, 1988.

When ECOWAS perceived that the Liberian civil war had deteriorated and the international community was indifferent to the conflict, the member states shifted their international security preferences to place internal conflicts as the highest priority on their security agendas. In fact, both the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles and the Revised Treaty in 1993 emphasized the political security dimension of internal conflicts among member states. Both the Declaration and the Treaty were created by two INEs: ECOWAS's Executive Secretary, Abass Bundu, and the Committee of Eminent Persons.

First, Bundu initiated the connecting of member states' political stability with West African security by creating a blueprint of the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles. In his 1990/1991 Annual Report, he argued that ECOWAS's fundamental objective of socio-economic development could not be attained without West African regional peace and stability, and political upheavals such as that in Liberia seriously undermined regional stability.⁶⁶⁶ Accordingly, Bundu initiated work on "the formulation of basic political principles to guide both the Community and the Member States so that the Community could address the political dimension of regional integration more meaningfully."⁶⁶⁷ He emphasized the linkage between political principles and regional security, and encouraged ECOWAS to undertake political cooperation.

While the Council of Ministers only noted the report,⁶⁶⁸ it influenced the Authority's discussions, and the Authority decided to issue the Declaration of Political Principles in July 1991. Admittedly, the meaning of the declaration remained vague. The Authority did not reiterate Bundu's logic for the political principles, which directly linked socio-economic development with West African stability. Rather, the Authority only expressed that due to the increasing demands for political pluralism and human rights throughout Africa, it decided to put forward the

⁶⁶⁶ ECOWAS, "Twenty-Ninth Session of the Council of Ministers," pp. 6-7.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

declaration.⁶⁶⁹ Nevertheless, this declaration put an emphasis on the reaffirmation of PNA and the overall promotion of democracy and human rights in West African states, and it became the very first political document to which ECOWAS subscribed. In other words, the Declaration created a new reference point to assess ECOWAS political and security utility in the future.

Second, the Committee of Eminent Persons shaped the ideas of the new ECOWAS treaty and proposed the creation of a security mechanism within ECOWAS institutional functions. In 1991, the committee, led by former Nigerian President Yabuku Gowon was established under the Authority's direction in order to discuss the provisions of a new ECOWAS Treaty. In the context of NPFL's incursion to Sierra Leone in April 1991, concerns about the spillover of the Liberian conflicts were noted by ECOWAS member states. For example, President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone proposed the establishment of a security mechanism which would enable West African states "to raise a peacekeeping force which would be able to deal rapidly with any political strife or crisis" in West Africa.⁶⁷⁰ This also resonated with the committee's concerns, and the committee suggested that a new treaty needed to include provisions relating to political cooperation, and regional peace and stability. The committee also observed that there was an urgent need for ECOWAS to implement PNA and PMAD beyond the Liberia situation, due to the increasing number of internal conflicts stemming from popular uprisings in the region. Thus, in its proposal, the committee stated:

"...[ECOWAS] ha[s] to pay greater attention to problems of internal stability in member countries and should therefore *make provision in the revised Treaty for preventive and curative measures, adapting them as necessary to fit the nature and scope of the internal conflicts in question.* It may also require the adoption of new Protocols or, at the very least, substantial amendments of existing ones...We are gratified to observe...by [the Declaration of Political Principles at the Abuja Summit in July 1991], there is now a clear need for the harmonization of national policy to be extended to the political arena; for it not only reaffirms the need to ensure a

⁶⁶⁹ ECOWAS, "Final Communique of the Fourteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, July 1991," *Official Documents of the Economic Community of West Africa*, p. 59.

⁶⁷⁰ "Sierra Leone troops reportedly halt NPFL 'advance'; Nigeria pledges help," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 9, 1991.

stable, secure and peaceful environment, but it goes on to reiterate [the importance of PNA and PMAD].”⁶⁷¹

As such, the committee connected the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles with PNA and PMAD, and in order for ECOWAS to more comprehensively deal with internal conflicts, it proposed three suggestions for new ECOWAS security functions: amendments of PNA and PMAD, and the establishment of a regional observation system. Among these recommendations, the most notable suggestion was the committee’s opinion that PMAD should incorporate the substance of the 1991 declaration and that a new treaty should “include the [re]consideration of purely domestic conflicts in Member States.”⁶⁷² Accordingly, it recommended “establishing and strengthening mechanisms for the timely prevention and resolution of intra-State and inter-State conflicts,” and such mechanisms would include “establishing a regional peace and security observation system and peacekeeping forces, where appropriate” and “providing, where necessary and at the request of Member States, assistance to Member States facing crisis threatening internal peace, stability and security, or for the observation of democratic elections.”⁶⁷³ The committee cautiously crafted new ECOWAS security mechanisms that could resolve the internal conflicts: institutionalizing a peacekeeping function and intervention with state’s consent.

With this proposal, the Authority decided to adopt the Revised Treaty in July 1993. The committee’s proposal was submitted to the Council of Ministers in 1993, and with the Council’s amendments, the treaty included both political principles and security provisions. Having concerns about the effects on West African security of the Liberian crisis and the utility of ECOMOG peacekeeping forces, the Authority considered that it was necessary to consolidate ECOWAS’s political and security functions deriving from PNA and PMAD. The Authority also

⁶⁷¹ ECOWAS Committee of Eminent Persons, in Kufuor, *The Institutional Transformation of the Economic Community of West African States*, p. 161.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

incorporated PNA's idea that security was the basic foundation for the development and the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles into the Revised Treaty. The Treaty also included several PNA provisions as its principles, namely "non-aggression between Member States," "maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness," and "peaceful settlement of disputes among Member States."⁶⁷⁴ Regarding political principles, ECOWAS stipulated "recognition, promotion, and protection of human and people's rights" and "promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance" in ECOWAS member states.⁶⁷⁵ Moreover, in Article 56, political cooperation became a new obligation for ECOWAS member states, and the signatory states are obliged to cooperate in order to realize the objectives of PNA, PMAD, the 1991 Declaration, and the OAU charter on Human and People's rights.⁶⁷⁶ In Article 58, ECOWAS established security mechanisms, which enabled the institution to manage intrastate and interstate conflicts. Therefore, through the Revised Treaty, ECOWAS was enabled to regularly and formally deal with political and security issues.

Nevertheless, several ambiguities remained in the revised treaty. First, the treaty did not pursue the amendment of PNA and PMAD, which the Committee of Eminent Persons proposed in 1992. While ECOWAS would pursue the objectives of PNA and PMAD as Article 56 stated, the institutionalization of a Defence Council or a Defence Committee was not stipulated in its Article 6 on institutions. The Authority had a right to establish new institutions other than those stipulated in the treaty, yet it was not clear to what extent ECOWAS still considered PNA and PMAD as feasible security protocols.

Second, the method to deal with intrastate conflict remained vague. Article 58 stipulated that ECOWAS would prevent and resolve intra-state conflicts, but was vague under what conditions ECOWAS could deal with such conflicts. Previously, the Committee of Eminent

⁶⁷⁴ See the Article 4(d), (e), and (f) of the Revised Treaty. ECOWAS Secretariat, "Treaty of ECOWAS" (1993).

⁶⁷⁵ See the Article 4(g) and (h) of the Revised Treaty. Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ See Article 56 of the Revised Treaty. Ibid

Persons proposed that assistance would be possible under two conditions: when ECOWAS member states faced a “crisis threatening internal peace, stability and security or for the observation of democratic elections.”⁶⁷⁷ Yet, the condition of a “crisis threatening internal peace, stability and security” would potentially become contradictory with the 1991 Declaration. If an authoritarian regime of the member states faced a popular uprising regarded by the leaders as a “crisis threatening internal peace, stability and security,” ECOWAS could be mobilized to assist the regime to quell the uprising. Thus, the Council of Ministers amended a draft of the Revised Treaty and limited “assistance to Member States for the observation of democratic elections” only.⁶⁷⁸

However, considering that elections can only take place after a cease-fire, this step significantly limited ECOWAS’s legitimacy to resolve intra-state conflicts. This then contradicted PMAD provisions, which allowed states to assist member states facing subversion supported by others. As a result, the treaty could not articulate under what conditions ECOWAS could provide assistance to the member states, and such assistance still depended on a political decision of the Authority.

Third, the Revised Treaty did not clarify the connection between political principles and regional stability. This was because despite popular uprisings throughout the African continents, there were still coups and a general anti-democratic trend in West Africa. For example, in April 1992, Sierra Leone faced a coup, which ousted Joseph Saidu Momoh, and in June 1993, despite a general election in Nigeria, President Ibrahim Babangida annulled the results and refused to hand over political power to the civilian government. Both incidents were not formally mentioned in the ECOWAS meetings, although the treaty clearly stipulated that ECOWAS facilitate democratization and human rights protection among the member states. If the connection between

⁶⁷⁷ ECOWAS Committee of Eminent Persons, in Kufuor, *The Institutional Transformation of the Economic Community of West African States*, p. 163.

⁶⁷⁸ ECOWAS, “Thirty-Third Session of the Council of Ministers, Conotou, 17-20 July 1993: Final Report,” ECW/CM/XXXIII/18/Rev.1, (1993), p. 12.

political principles and regional stability was clearly made, ECOWAS would have needed to deal with the Sierra Leone and Nigeria situations.

Yet, the significance of the revised treaty was to set a legitimate institutional procedure to discuss political and security issues among the ECOWAS member states, including situations of intra-state and inter-state conflict. The institutionalization of ECOWAS security mechanisms was deferred as stated in Article 58 (3): “The detailed provisions governing political cooperation, regional peace and stability shall be defined in the relevant Protocols.”⁶⁷⁹ This was done because the activities of ECOMOG in the Liberian civil war might lose operational flexibility to settle the conflicts, if immediate institutionalization of the security mechanism was solidified. Nevertheless, the two security-related protocols—PNA and PMAD—and the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles became the foundation to establish the Revised Treaty. While these protocols focused on three levels of threats, intrastate conflicts caused by subversions supported by other states, interstate conflicts, and external aggression, the Revised Treaty restructured ECOWAS’s ISPs, focusing on intra-state conflicts among the member states rather than inter-state ones or external aggression from outside.

2. Phase II: ECOWAS in 1994-1999—MCPMRPS

(1) Triggers: End of the Liberian Civil War and Intensification of the Sierra Leone Civil War

The intra-regional balance of power in West Africa had been in flux throughout the 1990s due to internal conflicts caused by coups. The international community largely neglected internal instability in West Africa, which created a political power vacuum in the region. Moreover, as these coups were either directly or indirectly supported by outside states, ECOWAS repeatedly emphasized the importance of PNA and PMAD in order to contain outside support for rebels. However, the such reforms were largely neglected by the ECOWAS member states, and to

⁶⁷⁹ See Article 58(3) of the Revised Treaty. ECOWAS Secretariat, “Treaty of ECOWAS” (1993).

various degrees, West African states attempted to install friendly governments in war-torn states. This was particularly evidenced in the Liberia and Sierra Leonean internal conflicts.

It took almost seven years for ECOWAS to mediate and end the Liberian conflict. Admittedly, since the first extraordinary summit in November 1990, ECOWAS had begun to build a consensus for ECOMOG's intervention in Liberia, and the mediation committee expanded its membership to include other Francophone states, such as Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, and Senegal. In this sense, ECOMOG became a truly institutional tool to neutralize the power vacuum and promote stability in West Africa. However, the installation of ECOMOG with a more diversified array of member states, and expansion of the mediation committee's membership did not immediately translate into political stability in Liberia because of the continued violation of a number of cease-fire agreements among warring factions.

In fact, the 1991 Lome agreement, which was concluded among NPFL, INPFL, and the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), became ineffective because NPFL's Charles Taylor insisted on the establishment of a new interim government before disarmament. Subsequently, from June to October 1991, four negotiation meetings held in Cote d'Ivoire, produced the Yamoussoukro IV agreement in October 30, 1991.⁶⁸⁰ The mandate of ECOMOG, including deployment across the entirety of Liberia, the encampment and disarmament of combatants, and protection of the buffer zone between Sierra Leone and Liberia, were agreed to by all three parties under the condition that other ECOWAS member states would contribute troops to ECOMOG in order to diversify its troop contributors and dilute Nigeria's domination, which Charles Taylor strongly requested. Despite these compromises, Charles Taylor complained against Senegal's troop contribution as the troops were materially and financially supported by

⁶⁸⁰ ECOWAS, "Annex: Final Communiqué of the Fourth Meeting of the Committee of Five of the Economic Community of West African States on the Liberian crisis, held in Yamoussoukro on 29 and 30 October 1991," in UN Security Council, "Letter Dated 17 November 1992 From the Permanent Representative of Benin to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/24815, November 17, 1992.

the United States,⁶⁸¹ and he requested the United Nations to provide peacekeepers instead of ECOMOG. As a result, NPFL attacked the Senegalese contingents in ECOMOG, and Senegal decided to withdraw in July 1992.⁶⁸² Moreover, Taylor supported the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) to enter Sierra Leone and destabilize the country's government in March 1992 in order to thwart the sitting administration's strong support for ECOMOG. In response, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Guinea decided to support for a newly created faction, the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO),⁶⁸³ which began to encroach into NPFL dominated territory in the western parts of Liberia. Accordingly, the Yamoussoukro IV agreement became ineffective, and by November 1992, the United Nations also began to be involved in the Liberian crisis by issuing UN Security Council Resolution 788.⁶⁸⁴ By referring to Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, the resolution officially allowed ECOWAS to play a role in resolving the Liberian crisis, and aimed at enforcing a general and complete embargo on arms to all combatants except ECOMOG; however, the UN did not provide any peacekeeping forces in Liberia.

In July 1993, another peace agreement, the Cotonou Accord, was concluded among IGNU, NPFL, and ULIMO. This agreement included ceasefire and disarmament guidelines under the expanded ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission, granted ECOMOG peace-enforcement power against violators, stipulated the creation of buffer zones between Liberia and Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone, provided for the establishment of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG), consisting of legislative, executive and judicial branches, and prepared the way for general elections in Liberia.⁶⁸⁵ With respect to the peacekeeping force, the accord decided to expand ECOMOG by including African troops from outside West Africa as

⁶⁸¹ Taylor said "the US is using the Senegalese for their [sic] surrogate activities in Liberia." Quoted in "Taylor Explains," excerpts of a BBC interview, *West Africa*, No. 3892, April 20-26 1992, p. 674.

⁶⁸² "Senegalese Battalion Withdrawn Following Renewed Clashes Between NPFL and ULIMO," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 10, 1992.

⁶⁸³ "NPFL Leader says ECOMOG has 'Again Declared War'; Calls for Defence of Nation," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, October 15, 1992.

⁶⁸⁴ UN Security Council, "Resolution 788", S/RES/788 (1992), November 19, 1992.

⁶⁸⁵ *Cotonou Agreement* [Liberia], July 25, 1993, accessed June 7, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b5796.html>.

well as the UN observers. While ECOMOG assumed the peace enforcement capacity with the approval of a UN-led ceasefire observation committee, the membership expansion of ECOMOG aimed at preventing Nigeria from utilizing the institution in favor of its own interests. As a result, Tanzania, Zambia, Egypt and Zimbabwe were expected to contribute contingents to ECOMOG.⁶⁸⁶ Also, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 866 to establish UNOMIL in September 1993.⁶⁸⁷

Nevertheless, ECOMOG faced difficulties in executing the Cotonou agreement due to its lack of military and financial capacity. While Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe all promised to contribute their contingents by December 1993, only Tanzania and Uganda actually did provide troops to ECOMOG, and these arrived in January 1994. The combined number of troops from these two states approximately 1,500, much less than the originally expected number of 4,000 from non-West African states.⁶⁸⁸ UNOMIL was also small and had only 368 noncombatant military observers.⁶⁸⁹ ECOMOG also faced financial difficulty, as it did not receive the level of financial assistance promised by the international community. Consequently, ECOMOG could not lay a foundation for successful ceasefire and disarmament in Liberia, and the conflicts among rebels ensued.

With these difficulties, the Akosombo agreement, which was signed by NPFL, ULIMO, and AFL on September 12, 1994, amended the Cotonou Accord.⁶⁹⁰ The basic objective of this agreement was to empower the LNTG. For example, the agreement modified disarmament and monitoring authority to include the LNTG in addition to ECOMOG and UNOMIL. Also, in

⁶⁸⁶ "Nigeria Plans to Withdraw from Peace-keeping Force in Liberia," *Africa News*, September 9, 1993.

⁶⁸⁷ UN Security Council, "Resolution 866," S/RES/866 (1993), September 22, 1992.

⁶⁸⁸ Tanzania and Uganda contributed 773 and 796 troops respectively. UN Security Council, "Second Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia," S/1994/168, February 14, 1994, para. 24; *Africa News*, September 9, 1993.

⁶⁸⁹ UNOMIL was comprised of 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel and 45 military engineering personnel, and humanitarian and electoral components. UN Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia," S/26868, December 13, 1993, para. 4.

⁶⁹⁰ *Akosombo Agreement* [Liberia], September 12, 1994, accessed June 6, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b4f01c.html>.

addition to ECOMOG, LNTG assumed a peace-enforcement power to “use the necessary force available to compel compliance.”⁶⁹¹ However, as the LNTG’s legislative branch, the Council of State, was composed of three members from AFL, NPFL, and ULIMO with representatives from two other unarmed Liberian groups, it further empowered those warring groups before a cease-fire was concretely implemented. Additionally, criticism regarding the power-sharing agreement mounted within Liberia as it excluded other warring factions, including the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), the Central Revolutionary Council of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (CRC-NPFL), and ULIMO-J, a splinter of ULIMO. In order to overcome these questions of legitimacy, the Accra peace conference was convened in November 1992 in order to clarify the terms of the Akosombo agreement and include those factions previously excluded.⁶⁹² This Accra agreement, however, did not produce any effective results on ceasefire or disarmament, while the number of troops and observers in ECOMOG and UNOMIL was reduced from 15,000 to 11,000 and from 368 to 90 respectively, due to the protracted and worsening war.⁶⁹³ Also, Tanzania and Uganda decided to withdraw their peacekeeping forces from ECOMOG in March 1995,⁶⁹⁴ and they pulled out all troops on July 18, 1995.⁶⁹⁵

In August 1995, another agreement, the Abuja Accord, was concluded. This reversed several decisions made by the Akosombo and Accra agreements. This accord, while including all the warring factions by expanding the members of the Council of State from five to six, limited peace-enforcement capacity to only ECOMOG. The accord also allocated the Chairman of the Council post to Wilton Sankawulo, and each faction received a share of the ministry positions, a

⁶⁹¹ Article 8 (1) of the Akosombo agreement. Ibid.

⁶⁹² Those excluded factions were combined into AFL, as stipulated as “Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) Coalition.” See “Agreement on the Clarification of the Akosombo Agreement,” December 21, 1994, in Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, Emma Birikorang, and Thomas Jaye, eds., *Compendium of ECOWAS Peace & Security Decisions: Protocols, Declarations and Peace Agreements* (Accra: Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, 2010), pp. 252-254.

⁶⁹³ “The ‘forgotten civil war’ in Liberia: Peace hopes recede further,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, October 31, 1994; Boutros Boutros-Ghali, “Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization 1995,” accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/SG-Rpt/intro.htm>.

⁶⁹⁴ “NRA to Withdraw From Liberian Mess,” *African News*, March 1995.

⁶⁹⁵ “Last Ugandans pull out of Liberia,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, July 18, 1995.

power-sharing scheme agreeable to all the factions. Yet, even after this conclusion, the peace process still faced military and financial difficulties. Heavy fighting among factions occurred in Monrovia on April 6, 1996, and would be called the “worst ceasefire violation” in the past four years.⁶⁹⁶ In response, ECOWAS sent “a long list of conditions and a two-month ultimatum” to all the factions to comply with the agreement in May 1996.⁶⁹⁷ Given the deteriorating situation, ECOWAS also decided to postpone the election date from August 1996 to May 1997. When the situation stabilized, ECOWAS member states increased the number of ECOMOG peacekeepers, and by May 1997, troops from Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, and Cote d’Ivoire joined ECOMOG, which had already consisted of contingents from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Gambia.⁶⁹⁸ Finally, in July 1997, the election was held, and Charles Taylor became the president of Liberia. In this sense, the Liberian civil war finally found a political equilibrium only after the exhaustion of the seven-year conflict.

The second internal conflict in West Africa was in Sierra Leone, where fighting had broken out by early 1991. The situation in Sierra Leone became more complicated because of the involvement of external actors supporting rebels as well as intra-governmental rivalry. On the one hand, the NPFL’s Charles Taylor began to support the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in March 1991, which consisted of Sierra Leonean rebels and NPFL members and was led by Foday Sankoh. RUF invaded the southeastern region of Sierra Leone, an area rich in diamonds. Taylor supported RUF in order to secure NPFL’s economic resources through the diamond trade, to install a pro-NPFL government in Sierra Leone, and to thwart ECOMOG’s activities, as Freetown was the major military hub for ECOMOG. Since the Sierra Leonean government faced an economic crisis and high public discontent, it was a strategic opportunity for Taylor to support RUF. In addition, Sierra Leone also encountered intra-governmental rivalry. On April 29, 1992, a military coup toppled President Joseph Momoh and established the National Provisional Ruling

⁶⁹⁶ “Liberia Ceasefire Violations Worsen As Fighting Intensifies,” *Africa News*, April 1996.

⁶⁹⁷ “West Africans frustrated by failure of Liberia summit,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, May 9, 1996.

⁶⁹⁸ “Benin joined African peacekeepers in Liberia,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, May 14, 1997.

Council (NPRC), which was led by Captain Valentine Strasser. After its failure to realize a peace deal with RUF, the NPRC strengthened its military by increasing troop numbers and hiring private mercenaries from the Executive Outcomes, a private military company in South Africa, in order to thwart the advancement of the rebels. However, on January 16, 1996, another coup, led by Brigadier-General Julius Maada Bio, toppled Strasser. Accordingly, Sierra Leone, although it consistently supported ECOMOG in Liberia, was also on the verge of state collapse.

In March 1996, democratic government was established; Bio held elections in February 1996 and handed over political power to the newly elected President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah the next month. However, domestic instability still remained. While RUF controlled the diamond-rich areas and continued incursions to Sierra Leone, the Kabbah administration faced several coup attempts. Against this background, ECOWAS made a diplomatic effort to quell the conflict and agreed in July 1996 to support the Sierra Leonean government to thwart incursions, while the member states individually and collectively contacted and persuaded RUF to participate in peace negotiations.⁶⁹⁹ While ECOWAS itself did not take initiative to resolve the Sierra Leonean civil war, Cote d'Ivoire with the UN, OAU and Commonwealth of Nations, brokered the conflict between the Kabbah government and RUF, and the two parties reached a peace agreement, the so-called "Abidjan Agreement." This cease-fire agreement forced the Executive Outcomes to withdraw from Sierra Leone and introduced a Neutral Monitoring Group (NMG) from the international community in order to disarm combatants, while RUF consented to become a "political movement."⁷⁰⁰

Despite this peace agreement, another military coup occurred on May 25, 1997, and Kabbah was forced into exile. The coup installed the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC), led

⁶⁹⁹ "ECOWAS Summit Issues Communique; 'Declaration of Political Principles'," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 9, 1997; "ECOWAS members agree to intensify contacts with rebel RUF," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 31, 1996.

⁷⁰⁰ National Legislative Bodies, *Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone*, 1 November 1996, accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b5064.html>.

by Major Johnny Paul Koromah, and AFRC invited the RUF leader Foday Sankoh to join the government. The international community swiftly criticized this coup because, unlike previous military coups in Sierra Leone, it toppled a democratically-elected president. The UN Security Council issued a presidential statement on May 27 stating, “[the Security Council] strongly deplores this attempt to overthrow the democratically elected government and calls for an immediate restoration of constitutional order.”⁷⁰¹ OAU’s Council of Ministers also condemned the coup. The Council agreed to take necessary measures to “make life impossible” for AFRC, and it adopted decisions to “[appeal] to the leaders of ECOWAS to assist the people of Sierra Leone to restore constitutional order to the country; and calls for the support of other African countries and the International Community at large, in that regard.”⁷⁰² In June 1997, according to the OAU spokesperson Ibrahim Dagash, the OAU summit unanimously decided not to recognize AFRC, while 29 out of 53 OAU member states in the summit decided to approve ECOWAS to take “appropriate action...to restore legality and constitutionality” in Sierra Leone,⁷⁰³ although the summit could not issue any formal resolution or decision regarding Sierra Leone in the 1997 summit meeting.⁷⁰⁴ In the meantime, Nigeria undertook an air campaign to Freetown, Sierra Leone, on June 2, and began to militarily intervene in the conflict.⁷⁰⁵ While Dagash argued that this was taken not by Nigeria unilaterally, but rather by ECOMOG,⁷⁰⁶ it was not clear if that was actually the case since OAU and ECOWAS did not take any decision on ECOMOG’s role in

⁷⁰¹ UN Security Council, “Statement by the President of the Security Council,” S/PRST/1997/29, May 27, 1997.

⁷⁰² OAU Secretariat, “Sierra Leone—(DOC.CM/2004(LXVI)-C-,” CM/Dec.356 (LXVI), (2004); “OAU seeks to ‘make life impossible’ for Sierra Leone military junta,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, May 30, 1997.

⁷⁰³ “ECOMOG gets OAU backing for military action in Sierra Leone,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, June 3, 1997.

⁷⁰⁴ There was no decision regarding Sierra Leone made by the OAU Summit in June 1994. See OAU Secretariat, “Declarations and Decisions adopted by the Thirty-Third Assembly of Heads of States and Government,” Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-Third Ordinary Session, 2-4 June, 1997, Harare, Zimbabwe.

⁷⁰⁵ “OAU gives ‘green light’ for use of force in Sierra Leone,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 5, 1997.

⁷⁰⁶ *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, June 3, 1997.

Sierra Leone. However, even if it was Nigeria's unilateral action, the fact was that it could not quickly change the situation by early June.⁷⁰⁷

After Nigeria's military intervention was found to be ineffective, both ECOWAS and the United Nations pursued a peaceful settlement of Sierra Leonean crisis. On June 26, 1997, all the ECOWAS member states' foreign ministers except for Mauritania convened a meeting on the Sierra Leonean conflict at Conakry, Guinea.⁷⁰⁸ The meeting created the Committee of Four, consisting of Nigeria, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana with representatives of the OAU and the ECOWAS secretariats, to ensure the implementation of the Abidjan peace accord. On July 11, 1997, the UN Security Council issued a presidential statement which supported the ECOWAS mediation efforts,⁷⁰⁹ yet the Security Council only approved a peaceful means to settle the conflict.⁷¹⁰ The ECOWAS Committee of Four was again convened on July 21, 1997 and agreed to settle the crisis "peacefully".⁷¹¹

However, after AFRC made an announcement that it would stay in power until November 2001,⁷¹² which meant that the ECOWAS mediation efforts failed, the United Nations began to consider more forceful measures. The UN Security Council stated that it would "be ready to take appropriate measures with the objective of restoring the democratically elected government of President Kabbah."⁷¹³ ECOWAS also decided to impose economic sanctions by

⁷⁰⁷ According to Bundu, Nigeria, after failing to reinstall Kabbah by military means, began to use diplomatic means to resolve the crisis. Abass Bundu, *Democracy by Force? A study of international military intervention in the conflict in Sierra Leone from 1991-2000*, (London: Universal Publishers, 2001), p. 92.

⁷⁰⁸ UN Security Council, "Letter dated 27 June 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/1997/499, June 27, 1997.

⁷⁰⁹ UN Security Council, "Statement by the President of the Security Council," S/PRST/1997/36, July 11, 1997.

⁷¹⁰ According to Ghana's deputy foreign minister, James Victor Gbeho, the UN Security Council "only supported the use of peaceful means." "UN Supports 'only' peaceful ECOWAS means to resolve crisis," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 15, 1997.

⁷¹¹ "ECOWAS ministers, AFRC delegation issue communique after talks in Abidjan," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 21, 1997.

⁷¹² Before the Committee of Four was again convened on July 29 and 30, AFRC made an announcement. Bundu, p. 97.

⁷¹³ UN Security Council, "Statement by the President of the Security Council," S/PRST/1997/42, August 6, 1997.

introducing a blockade against Sierra Leone under ECOMOG supervision.⁷¹⁴ Accordingly, ECOWAS took a decision to expand the scope of activity and mandate of ECOMOG to cover Sierra Leone on August 29, 1997, by assigning ceasefire monitoring, enforcement of sanctions, and other mandates given by the Authority.⁷¹⁵ Also, on October 8, 1997, the UN Security Council produced Resolution 1132 for economic sanctions, including an oil and arms embargo, under Chapter VII and authorized ECOWAS to play a leading role in resolving the crisis under Chapter VIII.⁷¹⁶ This became the first UN Security Council Resolution regarding the Sierra Leonean crisis.

On October 23, 1997, the ECOWAS Six-Month Peace Plan for Sierra Leone, the so-called “Conakry Peace Plan,” was concluded in Conakry by AFRC and the Committee of Five, which added to the Committee of Four as well as representatives of the UN and OAU.⁷¹⁷ This plan included aspects covering a ceasefire, disarmament, humanitarian assistance, return of refugees, restoration of the constitutional government, and immunities and guarantees. In this plan, the parties also agreed that ECOMOG would play a role in ceasefire monitoring and disarmament with assistance by a UN military observer group. However, the conflict still continued while the United Nations could not create a UN military observer mission in Sierra Leone, and the plan fell behind schedule.

On February 6, 1998, the Committee of Five briefed the UN Security Council and asked to provide the UN observers.⁷¹⁸ Although the UN Security Council did not issue any statement, the Committee of Five received the Council’s reaffirmation of support to ECOWAS efforts to

⁷¹⁴ “Sierra Leone Junta Leader Refuses to Abdicate Power; Denial of Civilian Rule Stalls Regional Talks,” *The Washington Post*, August 1, 1997.

⁷¹⁵ ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/DEC.7/8/97 Extending the Scope of Activity and Mandate of ECOMOG to Cover Sierra Leone,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 33 (August 1997), pp. 13-14.

⁷¹⁶ UN Security Council, “Resolution 1132 (1997),” S/RES/1132 (1997), October 8, 1997.

⁷¹⁷ ECOWAS, “ECOWAS Six-Month Peace Plan for Sierra Leone , 23 October 1997-22 April 1998,” *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1997), pp. 998-1001.

⁷¹⁸ “Sierra Leone; West African Ministers Brief U.N. On Sierra Leonean Peace Impasse,” *Africa News*, February 6, 1998.

resolve the crisis.⁷¹⁹ However, at the same time, ECOMOG and Sandline International, a British private security firm, clashed with AFRC, resulting in the ousting of AFRC and reinstatement of the Kabbah government in March 1998. Facing a deadlock of negotiations and under the justification of reinstalling the democratically elected government of Sierra Leone, Nigerian troops were said to advance to topple AFRC by the use of force, which induced international criticism.⁷²⁰ However, by April 1998, the UN Security Council expressed a positive opinion of the Sierra Leonean situation by welcoming the return of the Kabbah administration in Resolution 1156 and commending ECOWAS and ECOMOG roles.⁷²¹ The UN Secretary General then proposed to provide “a limited number of unarmed military observers” to foster disarmament while preventing clashes between combatants.⁷²² Consequently, on July 13, the Council issued Resolution 1181 and established the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL), which would include up to 70 military observers and a medical unit.⁷²³

Although the conflicts continued despite the installation of UNOMSIL, on July 7 1999, a peace agreement between the Sierra Leone government and RUF, called the Lome Agreement, was reached. The agreement endorsed UNOMSIL to play a primary role in monitoring and verifying the ceasefire in all areas of Sierra Leone, with the assistance of the Sierra Leonean Government, RUF, the Civil Defence Forces, and ECOMOG.⁷²⁴ As ECOMOG had been considered a non-neutral force, the peacekeeping mandate was virtually taken over by the United Nations. In fact, by that point, Nigeria began to consider the phased exit strategy, and the ECOMOG presence in Sierra Leone decreased and began to hand over its responsibility to

⁷¹⁹ “West Africa; ECOWAS Received Positive Hearing from U.N. Security Council,” *Africa News*, February 7, 1998.

⁷²⁰ For example, see Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa*, pp. 88-89; Bundu, pp. 103-106.

⁷²¹ UN Security Council, “Resolution 1156 (1998),” S/RES/1156 (1998), March 16, 1998.

⁷²² UN Security Council, “Fifth Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Sierra Leone,” S/1998/486, June 9, 1998, p. 12.

⁷²³ UN Security Council, “Resolution 1181 (1998),” S/RES/1181 (1998), July 13, 1998.

⁷²⁴ The Civil Defence Forces was a pro-government paramilitary force in Sierra Leone, which fought against AFRC and RUF. UN Security Council, “Letter dated 12 July 1999 from the Charge d’Affaires ad [sic] Interim of the Permanent Mission of Togo to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council,” S/1999/777, July 12, 1999.

UNOMSIL. On August 19, 1999, Nigerian President Obasanjo informed the UN Secretary General of the gradual reduction of 2,000 troops every month and total completion of the withdrawal by December 1999.⁷²⁵ While ECOWAS redefined the ECOMOG mandate in Sierra Leone to collaborate with UNOMISIL on August 25,⁷²⁶ it became evident that the number of ECOMOG troops would be reduced. In this context, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMISIL) was established on October 22, 1999, comprising a maximum of 6,000 military troops, including 260 military observers,⁷²⁷ and UNAMISIL virtually took over the ECOMOG role in Sierra Leone.

In both the Liberian and Sierra Leonean cases, it became apparent that at the beginning of conflicts, the United Nations and the international community did not commit political and military resources to fill the power vacuum created by the civil wars. Unlike the Cold War era, no external powers seriously committed to West African security. The post-1991 Gulf War and the on-going internal conflict in Yugoslavia throughout the 1990s, in fact, diverted international attention, and diplomatic and military resources were used other than West Africa.

Moreover, internal conflicts caused by coups continued to be a major security issue in West Africa. After and during civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau also faced a coup in June 1998. To immediately fill this power vacuum, Senegal and Guinea sent their troops to quell the rebellion, though they were eventually replaced by ECOMOG to monitor ceasefire and disarmament. This civil war was settled in May 1999, a much quicker resolution than the two civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, yet again the UN Security Council was slow in its action. It was on November 6, 1998, five months after the civil war broke out, three months after ECOWAS and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) created the Praia

⁷²⁵ UN Security Council, "Eighth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone," S/1999/1993, September 28, 1999, p. 8.

⁷²⁶ ECOWAS Secretariat, "Decision C/AHSG/DEC.1/8/99 Redefining the Mandate of ECOMOG in Sierra Leone," *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 36 (August 1999), pp. 2-3.

⁷²⁷ UN Security Council, "Resolution 1270 (1999)," S/RES/1270 (1999), October 22, 1999, pp. 2-3.

Ceasefire Agreement, and five days after the Abuja Agreement was created for disarmament and presidential elections, that the President of the UN Security Council for the first time issued a statement regarding the Guinea-Bissau civil war.⁷²⁸ Given these international and regional political trends, states in West Africa realized the need to take the initiative to address local instability, neutralize regional power vacuums by themselves.

To this end, ECOMOG was utilized to settle the Liberian and Sierra Leonean civil wars, even though it was not formally institutionalized within ECOWAS. Admittedly, considering the fact that approximately 90 percent of ECOMOG forces in Liberia and Sierra Leone consisted of Nigerian troops, Nigeria, a major regional power in West Africa, could intervene unilaterally in these conflicts. However, Nigeria's unilateral action would likely make the West African conflicts even more complicated as other states, especially Francophone states, would support internal subversion efforts to thwart such Nigerian ambition. This would not only potentially destabilize regional security, but also creates further division within ECOWAS. Therefore, ECOMOG, a multilateral intervention force, became a useful tool for West African states to neutralize regional power vacuums created by civil war, if its formal decision-making process and the diversity of ECOMOG contingents were ensured.

(2) Negative on PMAD and Positive on ECOMOG

After the first extraordinary ECOWAS Summit in November 1990, the creation of ECOMOG was seen as a positive device for ECOWAS security functioning. Functionally, in the context of international indifference to West African civil wars, ECOMOG became a tool to neutralize power vacuums in the region, which would be otherwise exploited by external powers such as Libya. Politically, as more member states became involved in a decision-making process to determine ECOMOG establishment and mandates through the mediation committee, weak

⁷²⁸ UN Security Council, "Statement by the President of the Security Council," S/PRST/1998/31, November 6, 1998.

member states less capable of providing military and financial resources could utilize other more powerful states' resources, especially that of Nigeria. Because of this, ECOWAS member states positively accepted the utility of ECOMOG for maintaining regional security in West Africa. These functional and political benefits provided the *raison d'être* of ECOMOG.

In fact, the ECOWAS member states never asked questions regarding ECOMOG legality in Liberia between 1993 and 1997, although several states as well as NPFL raised questions about the structure of ECOMOG, which was predominantly dominated by Nigerian forces. Since the mediation committee expanded to include more member states and ECOMOG was authorized by the ECOWAS summit, the force was seen as legitimate. Indeed, after the Authority formally announced the establishment of ECOMOG in July 1991,⁷²⁹ it continuously recognized ECOMOG in Liberia by making statements of appreciation for troop-contributing member states as well as appealing for military and financial assistance from member states and the international community.⁷³⁰ By the 18th Session of the ECOWAS summit in 1995, the Authority further officially recognized and appraised the sacrifices of member states contributing troops to ECOMOG in Liberia, particularly in the context of ECOMOG troop withdrawals of Tanzania and Uganda.⁷³¹ The Authority had already seen the Liberian civil war as one of the key “problems of regional peace and security” and considered ECOMOG as a part of the solution.⁷³²

However, this does not mean that the ECOMOG formula could be applied to other conflicts since ECOMOG was ultimately an ad hoc security function that ECOWAS created specifically to resolve the Liberian civil war. Two concerns regarding the ad hoc nature of ECOMOG remained among the ECOWAS member states: the conditions under which ECOMOG

⁷²⁹ ECOWAS, ECW/HSG/XIV/6/Rev.1, pp. 13-14.

⁷³⁰ ECOWAS, ECW/HSG/XV/7/Rev.1, p. 10; ECOWAS, “Sixteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Cotonou, 22-24 July 1993,” ECW/HSG/XVI/7/Rev.1 (1993), p. 5; ECOWAS, “Seventeenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 5-7 August 1994: Final Communiqué,” ECW/HSG/XVII/Rev.1 (1994), pp. 8-10; ECOWAS, “Final Communiqué 1996/1997, Abuja, August 1997,” (1997), p. 10.

⁷³¹ ECOWAS, “Eighteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Abuja, 28-29 July 1995: Final Communiqué,” ECW/HSG/XVIII/Rev.1 (1995), pp. 8-9.

⁷³² Ibid.

could intervene in member states' internal affairs and the decision-making process to establish ECOMOG in conflict areas other than Liberia. These problems became more apparent when the Sierra Leonean civil war changed ECOMOG's course of action after the coup on May 25, 1997.

First, the PMAD provision regarding non-intervention in the case of "purely internal affairs" became increasingly unsustainable. This is mainly because the member state faced a political dilemma in invoking PMAD. In order for ECOWAS to intervene under PMAD, it was necessary to provide evidence that external actors had actively supported the rebels. In other words, it required a "naming and shaming" strategy. However, since the actors in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean civil wars were basically supported by some of the ECOWAS member states, it was politically difficult for ECOWAS itself to invoke PMAD as such actions would create political divisions among the member states. This is well illustrated by the fact that ECOWAS had not formally condemned any member states for supporting rebels in Liberia and Sierra Leone, although some member states had already been accused on a the bilateral basis. On the other hand, if ECOWAS did not recognize that external actors supported rebels, it could not invoke PMAD. In order to overcome this dilemma, ECOWAS needed to have other security provisions that could enable the institution to intervene in internal affairs under some other conditions which PMAD did not stipulate and which circumvent PMAD's "purely internal affairs" clause.

Certainly, in the process of creating the 1993 Revised Treaty and the Peace Agreement for Liberia, PMAD had been often referred to, although ECOWAS recognized that these two protocols were largely unimplemented.⁷³³ For example, during the fourth ECOWAS Extraordinary Meeting held in December 1997 regarding the establishment of a security mechanism, the Authority recalled PNA and PMAD as the "instruments binding the member

⁷³³ ECOWAS Secretariat, "Request for the Inclusion of an Item in the Provisional Agenda of the Forty-Eighth Session of the General Assembly: Observer Status for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the General Assembly," *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 25 (July 1993), p. 23.

states in the field of peace and security.”⁷³⁴ When creating the post of “Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defence and Security” in the Executive Secretariat in 1998, the Authority also referred to PMAD.⁷³⁵ However, as opposed to the Liberian case, the Authority did not invoke PMAD in order to establish ECOMOG in Sierra Leone in August 1997. According to the communiqué of the 1997 ECOWAS Summit, the Authority “endorsed the objectives set out by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs with regards to Sierra Leone,” which included the early reinstatement of the Kabbah administration, the return of peace and security, and the resolution of refugees, and it “mandated ECOMOG, to specifically monitor the ceasefire, enforce sanctions and embargo and secure the peace in Sierra Leone.”⁷³⁶ Instead of utilizing PMAD, the Authority referred to Article 7, 8, and 9 of the Revised Treaty, which specified establishment, composition and functions of the Authority, to extend and expand ECOMOG mandates from Liberia to Sierra Leone.⁷³⁷ Also, the notion of creating the Deputy Executive Secretary was only mentioned in PMAD among all the official documents at this point. In other words, ECOWAS used these two protocols temporarily in order to institutionalize the ECOWAS security functions, but did not refer PMAD to establish ECOMOG.

Second, the institutional decision-making process to establish ECOMOG became increasingly political. As the Liberian case showed, due to the delay of institutionalizing the decision-making process stipulated in PMAD, ECOMOG was created on an ad hoc basis, and the same problem recurred in the Sierra Leonean case. Soon after the coup in Sierra Leone on May 25, 1997, the international community and ECOWAS criticized the rebels overthrow of the democratically elected government in Sierra Leone, and in response, Nigeria undertook a military intervention. However, the legitimacy of such intervention came under question. On the one hand,

⁷³⁴ “ECOWAS leaders agree to set up peacekeeping, conflict management body,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 19, 1997.

⁷³⁵ ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/DEC.11/10/98 Relating to the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol.35 (October 1998), p. 26.

⁷³⁶ ECOWAS, “Final Communiqué 1996/1997,” pp. 11-12.

⁷³⁷ ECOWAS, “Decision A/DEC.7/8/97,” p. 13.

the action was said to derive from the Status of Force Agreement (SOFA) between Nigeria and Sierra Leone, which was concluded on March 7, 1997, and thus it was undertaken by bilateral agreement. The SOFA created the Nigerian Forces Assistance Group (NIFAG), which was designed to provide the military and security assistance to defend sovereignty.⁷³⁸ Although the same SOFA did not allow NIFAG to undertake an offensive role,⁷³⁹ Nigeria was essentially acting unilaterally in Sierra Leone, and thus, Nigeria, not ECOWAS, was fully responsible for the military actions. It could further be argued that neither ECOWAS nor ECOMOG were involved in the military offensive as it was only after August 1997 that ECOWAS decided to give a mandate to ECOMOG in Sierra Leone.

On the other hand, Nigeria did not clearly characterize this intervention as legitimate on the sole basis of the SOFA between Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In fact, Sierra Leonean President Kabbah called on “all members of [ECOWAS] to help restore the elected government,”⁷⁴⁰ and on May 27, Nigerian President Sani Abacha sent Nigerian troops in Liberia to Sierra Leone aboard two naval ships.⁷⁴¹ While Abacha was said to be consulting with ECOWAS leaders,⁷⁴² Nigeria undertook an air campaign in Freetown on June 2. OAU spokesperson Dagash interpreted the action as being taken by ECOMOG. Yet, Nigeria’s Foreign Minister Tom Ikimi, when asked the intervention was by Nigeria, did not clarify whether the action was taken by Nigeria or ECOMOG. He said:

⁷³⁸ Article 2 of the SOFA stipulates “The Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall make available the military and security assistance of the Nigerian Forces Assistance Group (NIFAG) for the sustenance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Sierra Leone.” *See* Bundu, p. 73.

⁷³⁹ Article 21 of the SOFA prevents Nigeria from taking “any offensive role except in defence of its localities.” However, according to Levitt, it allows Nigeria to intervene in the case of internal threat to the state. *See* *Ibid.*, p. 74; Jeremy Levitt, “Humanitarian Intervention by Regional Actors in Internal Conflicts: The Cases of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone,” *Temple International and Comparative Law Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1998), p. 368.

⁷⁴⁰ “African countries ‘plan intervention in Sierra Leone,’” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, May 28, 1997.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*; “Nigerian ships reportedly sent to Sierra Leone to help restore government,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, May 29, 1997.

⁷⁴² “Sierra Leone; Sierra Leone Challenges Nigeria’s Leadership Role,” *Africa News*, June 2, 1997.

...I will continue to insist and inform that we, as Nigeria, are not in Sierra Leone as Nigeria. We are there because we have always been there as Ecomog and Ecomog, indeed, before it moved into Liberia, it passed through Sierra Leone, and as the head of state himself stated during the emergency summit of ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia a few weeks ago in Abuja...he stated that because of the impressive performance of Ecomog in Liberia, Ecomog could become the basis of a subregional [multi-force]...[When asked whether the intervention in Sierra Leone is by Nigeria] Well, this is because Nigeria happens to be a major power in the subregion. After all, Ecomog is more than 75 percent Nigerian, even in Liberia, and the leadership of Nigeria is well acknowledged not only within the subregion, but all over the world.⁷⁴³

It is true that before the Sierra Leonean crisis occurred, Nigerian President Sani Abacha proposed at the extraordinary summit in May 1997 that ECOWAS transform ECOMOG into a permanent regional peacekeeping force after the Liberian election.⁷⁴⁴ Also, the 1993 Revised Charter suggested a need to institutionalize a security mechanism, including peacekeeping. Nevertheless, there were no immediate institutional follow-ups or decisions regarding Abacha's proposal. Further, in July 1997, Abacha stated ambiguously that Nigeria's presence in Sierra Leone should not be viewed as interference but "as pursuit of Ecomog's mandate which is in the national security interest of the Sierra Leonean people and the entire West Africa."⁷⁴⁵ Thus, it was not clear that Nigeria's military action was taken under the name of ECOMOG or the bilateral agreement. This ambiguity was further complicated after the Authority established ECOMOG in Sierra Leone in August 1997 in order to monitor all cease-fire violations and to enforce the sanctions and embargo that the Authority had decreed. This is because, as Nigerian forces had been already in Sierra Leone, they could take on further obligations of ECOMOG while executing its military tasks as NIFAG at the same time.

Partly in order to prevent Nigeria from utilizing the ECOMOG name to justify intervention, some ECOWAS member states, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal and Togo,

⁷⁴³ "Nigerian foreign minister clarifies country's role in Sierra Leone," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 5, 1997.

⁷⁴⁴ "Abacha suggests permanent West African peacekeeping force," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, May 21, 1997.

⁷⁴⁵ "Gen Abacha on Sierra Leone, transition, foreign relations, violence," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 29, 1997.

raised strong objections against the use of force in Sierra Leone. Ghana, although it never dismissed the potential use of force in Sierra Leone, preferred negotiation by stressing “a negotiated political settlement which upholds the respect of the democratic choice of the people of Sierra Leone.”⁷⁴⁶ Burkinabe Foreign Minister Ablasse Ouedraogo argued in July 1997 that the negotiations would prevail and that it would not be difficult to “justify any military intervention—regardless of where it comes from—to restore legality in Sierra Leone” because there was no agreement on ECOMOG actions in Sierra Leone.⁷⁴⁷ Liberian President Charles Taylor, even after he openly condemned the coup and ECOWAS decided to impose sanctions on Sierra Leone on August 1997, asserted that “[i]f the resolution of the Liberian crisis is to be used as model for conflict resolution, then we must deemphasize the use of force,” and this view was shared by Senegalese Prime Minister Habib Thiam and Togolese President Eyadema.⁷⁴⁸ In response, Nigeria insisted on the use of force to dislodge AFRC if such a course of action received support from the United Nations, regardless of opposition from ECOWAS member states.⁷⁴⁹

The United Nations never authorized the use of force, and political dissension still existed among the ECOWAS states regarding the method to achieve peace and security as well as the means to return to a democratically elected government in Sierra Leone; yet, in February 1998, the Nigerian force overthrew AFRC reinstalled the Kabbah administration in March. Nigeria’s actions created a political backlash from the ECOWAS member states as well illustrated by their reactions after the attacks by the Nigerian-led ECOMOG. In February, the Committee of Five was convened in Freetown, but only the Nigerian foreign minister and the ECOWAS Executive

⁷⁴⁶ Ghanaian Foreign Minister Kwamena Ahwoi said on May 31, 1997. See “Sierra Leone News, May 1997,” *Sierra Leone Web*, May 31, 1997, accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.sierra-leone.org/Archives/slnews0597.html>.

⁷⁴⁷ “Burkinabe foreign minister comments in advance of Abidjan talks,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 21, 1997.

⁷⁴⁸ “Sierra Leone; West Africa; West African Leaders Seek Consensus on Sierra Leone,” *Africa News*, August 29, 1997.

⁷⁴⁹ “ECOWAS summit unlikely to reach consensus on Sierra Leone,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, August 29, 1997.

Secretary participated, while the other four member states, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia, did not attend in protest, and Liberia requested an extraordinary summit regarding ECOMOG formation.⁷⁵⁰

Despite this internal dissonance among ECOWAS member states, the international community, intentionally not referring to or officially criticizing the forceful removal of AFRC, recognized ECOMOG actions and applauded the consequence of Kabbah's reinstallation. After Sierra Leone sent a letter on March 9, 1998 to the Security Council stating that AFRC was "ousted by forces of [ECOMOG] on 12 February 1998,"⁷⁵¹ the UN Security Council, issuing Resolution 1156 on March 16, welcomed "the return to Sierra Leone of its democratically elected President on 10 March, 1998" without critiquing ECOMOG actions.⁷⁵² OAU had gone further in appreciating ECOMOG military actions in Sierra Leone. The OAU Secretary General Salim openly lauded the removal of AFRC by ECOMOG forces on February 26, 1998,⁷⁵³ and in June 1998, the OAU Council of Ministers issued a decision which "welcomes the reinstatement of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah to Sierra Leone, following the successful ousting of the illegal military regime by ECOMOG."⁷⁵⁴ As such, international legality aside, there were perception gaps regarding ECOMOG actions in Sierra Leone between the international community and some of the ECOWAS member states. Without political support from the international community to criticize Nigeria's actions, those among the ECOWAS member states that opposed Nigeria's *fait*

⁷⁵⁰ Interestingly, the Ghanaian ECOMOG commander, Brig Joseph Kwarteng, argued that the military operation in Sierra Leone was not "a wholly Nigerian affairs," but "a joint effort by ECOWAS." "Dissension reported within ECOWAS Committee of Five," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 20, 1998; "Liberia's Taylor requested 'extraordinary' ECOWAS summit," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 20, 1998; "Ghanaian ECOMOG Official: Overthrow of Sierra Leone Leaders not 'Wholly Nigerian'," *BBC Monitoring Africa—Political*, February 23, 1998.

⁷⁵¹ UN Security Council, "Letter Dated 9 March 1998 From the Charge d'Affaires A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Sierra Leone to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/1998/215, March 9, 1998.

⁷⁵² UN Security Council, "Resolution 1156 (1998)."

⁷⁵³ "Africa-at-Large; Salim Welcomes Removal of Sierra Leone Junta," *Africa News*, February 26, 1998.

⁷⁵⁴ OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Sierra Leone—(DOC. COM/2062 (LXVIII)), CM/DEC.415 (LXVIII), Sixty-Eight Ordinary Session, Council of Ministers, 4-7 June 1998, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

accompli use of force were compelled to institutionalize the decision-making process of its security mechanism in order to hedge against potential abuse of such a mechanism in the future.

Thus, the expectations of the ECOWAS member states were positive regarding ECOMOG yet negative with respect to PMAD. The ECOWAS member states implicitly reached institutional consensus that if properly formulated, ECOMOG might be able to maintain regional peace and stability in West Africa, as shown by its success in Liberia and, to some extent, Sierra Leone. Yet, to this end, ECOWAS needed to restructure its security systems. PMAD was not a viable protocol any more to justify establishment of ECOMOG because its provisions, on both security principles and decision-making process, were not implemented at all by the time ECOWAS decided to deploy ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone. As a result, the decision-making process became highly political and ad hoc. Moreover, it became politically difficult for West African states to invoke PMAD in order to militarily intervene in the member states because the subversions were supported by several ECOWAS member states. On the other hand, it became more evident that some ECOWAS member states, especially Nigeria, undertook the *fait accompli* method to intervene and use force under the name of ECOMOG to gain legitimacy. Other member states were concerned about such a decision-making process and attempted to establish a more formal one to deploy peacekeepers.

This is well illustrated when ministers decided to institutionalize ECOWAS peacekeeping functions on March 1998 soon after the Nigerian action in Sierra Leone. The ministers agreed the need to work out the details of such a mechanism.⁷⁵⁵ As ECOWAS Executive Secretary Lansana Kouyate argued, within such a mechanism, the member states “should never be faced with a *fait accompli*” and create a system of consultations “without excluding the authorities in the process,” which was also emphasized by Senegalese Foreign Minister Mustapha Niasse in the meeting.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁵ “West African states monitoring group seen as ‘backbone’ of future peacekeeping,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, March 14, 1998.

⁷⁵⁶ “ECOWAS Secretary Comments on Conflict Resolution Mechanism,” *BBC Monitoring Africa--Political*, March 17, 1998.

Ivorian Foreign Minister Amara Essy also asserted that ECOMOG should be “managed in a collective manner” and its legal status, formation of troops, and the decision-making process needed to be carefully specified.⁷⁵⁷ In this sense, the ECOWAS member states considered that while they found a security utility in ECOMOG and perceived its function positively, they saw the PMAD provisions to establish a security mechanism in ECOWAS negatively. Consequently, ECOWAS created the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security (MCPMRPS) in December 1999, subsuming PNA and replacing PMAD, and this represented both institutional consolidation and displacement.

(3) ISP: Relaxation of Conditional Non-Interference Principle

ECOWAS’s ISP focused on the establishment of a security mechanism to resolve internal conflicts in West Africa from 1993 onwards. Article 58 of the 1993 Revised Treaty had already envisaged the establishment of a robust ECOWAS security mechanism to maintain regional stability in West Africa, but the prolonged Liberian civil war prevented ECOWAS from undertaking such an institutionalization. By the time that the prospect of an end to the Liberian civil war emerged with the election plan in 1997, ECOWAS member states had already recognized the nature of internal conflicts and needed to institutionalize its security mechanism more robustly to address these threats.

In fact, the ECOWAS member states saw that an internal conflict in the member states would spillover into other neighboring states, as illustrated in what occurred in the extension of the Liberian conflict to Sierra Leone. While there was a possibility that a “conflict remains purely internal” as Article 18(2) of PMAD stipulated, it would be likely that the conflict in a new regional security environment could quickly spread and destabilize the whole of West African security. Moreover, such a conflict would also create a political power vacuum and provide an

⁷⁵⁷ “Minister praises ECOWAS agreement on managing Ecomog,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, March 19, 1998.

opportunity for other states to increase their sphere of influence. Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso support of Charles Taylor's NPFL and Charles Taylor's support for RUF in Sierra Leone were cases in point. In this sense, the ECOWAS member states found that the primary security utility of ECOMOG was to neutralize power vacuum and maintain stability in the region by intervening in the internal affairs of a member state.

Nevertheless, some states also regarded ECOMOG as likely becoming a security and political tool of a regional power, Nigeria, to justify intervention into other member states' internal affairs. Given the fact that Nigeria provided approximately 90 percent of financial and military components of ECOMOG in Liberia and the ECOMOG commander position was continuously dominated by Nigeria, other member states, especially Francophone states, were concerned about ECOMOG's legitimacy. Although such concerns were relatively alleviated by the first ECOWAS extraordinary summit in November 1990, the member states assumed the *fait accompli* strategy could be once again used by Nigeria. With this political dilemma, the ECOWAS member states began to reform and institutionalize its security function, including its decision-making process.

This question became a means to create a new security mechanism. Since PNA and PMAD had already set the conditions of intervention, they needed to be modified. In this context, Togo took the initiative to institutionally discuss security situations in West Africa by holding the 4th Extraordinary Summit in Lome, and fostered the establishment of a robust security mechanism within ECOWAS. While Ghana, which had heightened a political tension with Togo over Togolese border incursions caused by Eyadema's internal repression on democratic movements, did not agree with holding such an extraordinary summit, other states, especially Nigeria, backed the summit.⁷⁵⁸ On December 16, 1997, twelve heads of the member states attended the summit, and Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, also sent a message in support of the initiative by emphasizing the importance of political cooperation and diplomatic coordination among the West

⁷⁵⁸ "West Africa; ECOWAS Convenes an Emergency Summit," *Africa News*, December 16, 1997.

African states to resolve the conflict.⁷⁵⁹ According to the final communiqué issued by the end of the extraordinary summit, the ECOWAS member states agreed to “act together to install safeguard peace and security which are indispensable to the economic integration of states” in West Africa as well as to “[explore] the ways and means of conflict prevention, management and resolution as well as the maintenance and strengthening of peace, security and stability” in the region.⁷⁶⁰ Although the summit itself did not provide any details regarding a security mechanism, its aim was to reinforce security stability through “the implementation of existing protocols, cooperation in the areas of conflict prevention, early launching of peacekeeping operations and the struggle against trans-border crime, and the proliferation and trafficking of light weapons and narcotics.”⁷⁶¹ To this end, the summit created the committee of foreign, defense, and interior ministers, which became an INE in creating the 1999 Protocol relating to the MCPMRPS.

However, despite the summit consensus, dissonance still lingered. In January 1998, when ECOWAS foreign ministers met, Senegal, Togo, and Burkina Faso asserted that the ECOMOG force should be comprised of national contingents, rather than be a centralized force.⁷⁶² At the same time, foreign ministers of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), which aimed at economic integration among the CFA-franc states and consisted of Francophone states, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo, discussed the possibility of setting up a political council within UEMOA. While it condemned Sierra Leone’s May 25 coup in 1997, UEMOA considered that the use of force was not the best option to resolve the conflict and encouraged dialogue instead.⁷⁶³ Burkinabe Foreign Minister Ablasse Ouedraogo argued that since UNEMOA and ECOWAS membership overlapped

⁷⁵⁹ “West Africa; ECOWAS Summit Shows West African States’ Determination,” *Africa News*, December 17, 1997.

⁷⁶⁰ “ECOWAS leaders agree to set up peacekeeping, conflict management body,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 19, 1997.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² Yusuf Bangura, “The Ecowas dimension,” *West Africa*, No. 4190, May 4-17, 1998, p. 431.

⁷⁶³ “West Africa: UEMOA Ministers urge setting-up of Political Council,” *BBC Monitoring Africa—Political*, January 20, 1998.

and needed to be consistent, an ECOWAS meeting to discuss these issues would be set up on March 11-12, 1998.⁷⁶⁴

Nevertheless, when the ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Affairs and Security met in Yamoussoukro on March 11-12, 1998, the ministers discussed security issues, including conflict prevention, management and resolution, peacekeeping, and regional security, and they decided to assign experts from the member states and Executive Secretary to set up guidelines for mechanisms on conflict prevention, management and resolution and for peace-keeping.⁷⁶⁵ The meeting of experts came together from July 13 to 20, 1998 and prepared for the draft mechanism, and the Meeting of Ministers was reconvened in Banjul, July 23-24, 1998, to discuss the draft and produced the draft ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict, Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security,⁷⁶⁶ the so-called “framework of mechanism.” This framework proposed significant changes in the ECOWAS security mechanism both institutionally and normatively.

First, the decision-making process necessary to apply the ECOWAS security mechanism was clarified. The process had been unclear during the establishment of ECOMOG in Liberia in 1990, which was authorized only by the ECOWAS mediation committee, and ECOMOG in Sierra Leone in 1997, which took military actions before authorization at the summit level. Accordingly, the framework proposed a formal decision-making process in ECOWAS through the establishment of security-related organs, which included the Mediation and Security Council, the Defence Council, the Defence and Security Commission, the Executive Secretary, the Council of Elders and the Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defence and Security.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁵ ECOWAS, “African Legal Materials: ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security,” *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1999), pp. 148-165.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Defence and Security Commission provides advice to the Mediation and Security Council, while Council of Elders will be created in a case-by-case basis by the Executive Secretary and play a role of mediator, conciliator and arbiter on behalf of ECOWAS. It was not clear in this report what role a Defence

The most important security organ in this framework was the Mediation and Security Council. This was composed of nine member states serving two-year terms, chosen by all the member states, which would take decisions on regional peace and security issues on behalf of the Authority. Nine heads of states of the Mediation and Security Council would meet twice a year, and their decision would be final. Its function included authorization of all forms of intervention and determining mandates and terms of reference on such missions. Also, all the decisions in the council would be made by a two-thirds majority. Taking ECOWAS experiences in Liberia and Sierra Leone into account, the ministers attempted to strike a balance between preventing potential one-state domination of the use of ECOMOG and preventing institutional inaction by one-state veto.⁷⁶⁸ Accordingly, the framework also proposed that the council become the highest body for the authorization on security issues, separate from the Authority.

Second, the framework further relaxed the conditions of intervention in internal affairs, as compared to PMAD. Although PMAD allowed the ECOWAS member states to intervene in the cases of internal armed conflict supported from outside and intra-member states armed conflicts, the protocol prohibited them to intervene if the conflict was “purely internal.” The draft framework, however, set three conditions that ECOWAS could intervene in such internal conflicts: when they (i) “[t]hreaten to trigger a humanitarian disaster,” (ii) “[p]ose a serious threat to peace and security in the sub-region, and (iii) “erupt following the overthrow of a democratically-elected government.”⁷⁶⁹ With the adoption of these conditions, ECOWAS ministers decided to further relax PMAD security provisions and displace a pure principle of non-interference, given ECOMOG’s experience in Liberia, which caused a humanitarian disaster and

Council and the Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defence and Security would play as it did not mention about them.

⁷⁶⁸ Adebajo asserts that “the experts meeting in Banjul in 1998 to discuss the ECOWAS mechanism did not suggest alternatives to break [minority objections’] possible deadlock for fear of creating negative loopholes that could be exploited by member states.” Adekeye Adebajo, “Pax West Africana? Regional Security Mechanism,” in Adebajo and Rashid, eds., *West Africa’s Security Challenges*, p. 309.

⁷⁶⁹ ECOWAS, “African Legal Materials,” p. 158.

posed threats to regional stability, and in Sierra Leone, where a coup overthrew a democratically elected government.

Third, the framework officially created a connection between ECOWAS security actions and its political principles. Although the 1992 Committee of Eminent Persons discussed such a connection, the 1993 Revised Treaty left it out. In this framework, the ministries assumed that ECOWAS had “accepted a direct linkage between the objectives of economic development and the security of the peoples and states,” since the adoption of the 1991 Political Principles and Article 58 of the Revised Treaty, and explicitly created the linkage between them.⁷⁷⁰ As a result, one of the conditions under which ECOWAS would intervene in the member states’ internal affairs included the case of the overthrow of a democratically-elected government. Now that a mechanism to protect the principle of democratization was explicitly embedded in the ECOWAS’s ISP, the draft created the backbone of the non-traditional collective security system to contain coups within democratic regimes in West Africa.

Although several clarifications on the framework needed to be made, this framework was officially endorsed by the Authority in October 31, 1998, when it decided to create the post of Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defence, and Security.⁷⁷¹ After several modifications with the framework, the Authority produced the Protocol relating to the MCPMRPS. This protocol inherited the basic principles that the framework provided and honed the decision-making process, conditions of intervention, and institutionalization of ECOMOG.

With regard to the decision-making process, the Authority attempted to prevent any member state from undertaking a *fait accompli* intervention by utilizing the name of ECOMOG. While it mandated the Mediation and Security Council to take decisions on the security matters, the Authority restricted the mechanism by setting five conditions on when the mechanism could

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 149.

⁷⁷¹ ECOWAS Secretariat, “Decision A/DEC.12/19/98 Creating the Post of Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Affairs, Defence and Security in the Executive Secretariat,” *Official Journal of the Economic Community of West African States*, Vol. 35 (October 1998), pp. 27-28.

be activated: upon the decision of the Authority; upon the decision of the Mediation and Security Council; at the request of a Member State; on the initiative of the Executive Secretary; and at the request of OAU or UN.⁷⁷²

Also, ECOWAS expanded the conditions of intervention. While the framework set three conditions, the protocol added one other condition, which was “in the event of serious and massive violation of human rights and the rule of law.”⁷⁷³ Since the framework left out a consequence management plan with regard to a humanitarian disaster, this provision was created in addition to the condition of internal conflict “that threatens to trigger a humanitarian disaster,” which emphasized more preventive measures.

Additionally, ECOMOG was institutionalized through the creation of “stand-by multi-purpose modules” including civilian and military forces. It was not clear what would be composed of ECOMOG units, since it did not specify whether it would become a centralized unit under ECOWAS.⁷⁷⁴ However, each member state agreed to “make [personnel] available to ECOMOG units” by undertaking the same training and preparations for the missions.⁷⁷⁵

In sum, the importance of the Protocol relating to the MCPMRPS was to further relax the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, and to set institutional constraints to prevent any member state from abusing an institutional right to intervene. Admittedly, there was a possibility that the protocol would be incompatible with international law; however, ECOWAS made this decision because each member state recognized that the UN Security Council did not act swiftly in the cases of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau, and the Security Council also did not raise objections to ECOMOG actions even after ECOWAS informed of its intervention in an *ex post facto* manner. Thus, ECOWAS considered that it would be better “to retain autonomy over

⁷⁷² Article 7 and Article 26. ECOWAS, “Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security.”

⁷⁷³ Article 25. *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁴ Article 21 and Article 28. *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁵ Article 30. *Ibid.*

the decision to intervene and not let the Security Council prevent ECOWAS from taking urgent action to maintain” regional stability in West Africa.⁷⁷⁶

PNA and PMAD did not have a strict principle of non-interference; yet, the newly established conditions of the protocol became incompatible with PNA and PMAD in terms of intervention and decision-making processes. Accordingly, Article 53 of the protocol replaced all the provisions that PNA and PMAD provided,⁷⁷⁷ although it inherited the conditions of intervention in cases of aggression and conflict among member states.⁷⁷⁸

III. Within-Case Analysis—ECOWAS

In this chapter, two periods of ECOWAS institutional transformation are examined. One is from 1976 to 1981, and the other is from 1989 to 1991. The former period witnessed ECOWAS’s institutional layering through PNA and PMAD. The latter saw several transformations through the establishment of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, the 1991 Declaration of Political Principles, the 1993 Revised Treaty, and the 1999 Protocol relating to MCPMRPS, all of which are characterized by institutional consolidation and displacement.

In the period from 1976 to 1981, there were two phases of ECOWAS’s institutional transformation. One occurred between 1976 and 1978, when ECOWAS concluded PNA as illustrated by Figure 5.2. In the mid-1970s, the regional balance of power in West Africa was relatively stable, whereas regional security in other parts of the African continent, especially Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa, became fluid due to the emergence of independent

⁷⁷⁶ Adebajo’s personal discussions with Margaret Vogt, director of the International Peace Academy’s Africa Program at the time, who headed the team of experts in Banjul, in Adekeye Adebajo, “Pax West Africana?” in Adebajo and Rashid, eds., *West Africa’s Security Challenges*, p. 302.

⁷⁷⁷ It stipulated in Article 53, “The provision of this Protocol shall replace all the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance in Defence signed on 29 May 1981, which are in conflict with the spirit of this Protocol; The provisions of the Protocol on non-Aggression signed on 22 April, 1978, which are incompatible with those of the present Protocol are hereby declared null and void.” ECOWAS, “Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security.”

⁷⁷⁸ The two conditions of Article 25 are based on external aggression and conflicts, and intra-member states conflicts. Ibid.

African states after the end of Portuguese political control in 1975. These newly independent states suffered from internal conflicts, and this political power vacuum invited intervention by external powers, including the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba. This resulted in intensification of internal conflicts and destabilization of regional security, as illustrated by the Angolan Civil War. In West Africa, despite the establishment of ECOWAS to enhance socio-economic cooperation, the regional states still had political and military tensions deriving from the Francophone-Anglophone rivalry, border disputes, and intra-state conflicts caused by coups. Since such inter-state and intra-state conflicts would potentially invite external powers to intervene as shown in the case of the 1967-1970 Nigerian Civil War, the risk of intensification of conflicts among West African states that would lead to changes in the intra-regional balance of power remained high despite relative security stability in the region.

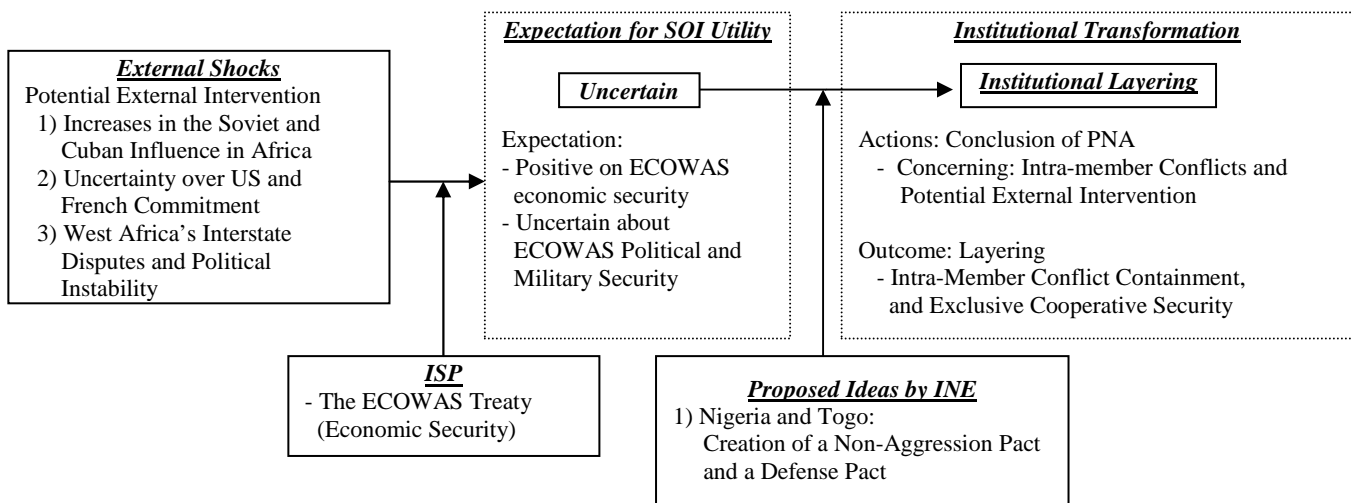
In this context, the ECOWAS member states remained uncertain about ECOWAS's security utility since the institution's ISP was essentially based on economic security. On the one hand, socio-economic cooperation among West African states was less contentious than political-military cooperation, and it had the potential to lead to the alleviation of intra-member states' political and military tensions. Yet, it was difficult to implement such cooperation in the short-term. On the other hand, considering that ECOWAS was ultimately based on socio-economic cooperation, not many member states considered that the institution could play any security role. However, Nigeria saw ECOWAS's utility positively and believed that ECOWAS had the potential to develop security functions since it included the Francophone states in West Africa, which could serve to weaken their political and security ties with France. Also, as Togo, one of the Francophone states, did not have strong ties with France in comparison with others and saw some potential in ECOWAS, both Nigeria and Togo began to play the role of INEs.

In 1976, facing these security risks, Nigeria and Togo proposed a draft protocol of Non-Aggression at the 1976 summit in order to alleviate and contain intra-member states conflicts. Although this proposal was not initially seriously discussed at either the summit or ministerial

levels, both states kept proposing. When the Ogaden War broke out in 1977, the West African states believed that inter-state conflicts in West Africa would likely be manipulated by external powers, especially the Soviet Union and Cuba, and lead to the deterioration of regional security.

Accordingly, PNA was signed in April 1978. Admittedly, this was only a political declaration, and it did not set up any enforcement mechanism. It was each member state's prerogative whether to comply with the protocol. However, the contents of PNA were rather unique. They contained provisions that went beyond the conventional non-aggression pact, concerning potential political and military subversions in a member state from both outside and inside the states and prohibited such support to other member states. Thus, the ECOWAS member states saw ECOWAS's security utility in terms of internal security management, and ECOWAS assumed an exclusive cooperative security mechanism which operated at both inter-state and intra-state levels to prevent subversion, prohibit the use or threat of force, and foster peaceful settlement of disputes. Even though it did not have an enforcement mechanism, it had "a value as a statement of intent and a demonstration of the goodwill that exists in the region,"⁷⁷⁹

Figure 5.2: PNA—ECOWAS's Institutional Layering from 1976 to 1978



⁷⁷⁹ *West Africa*, May 1, 1978, p. 831.

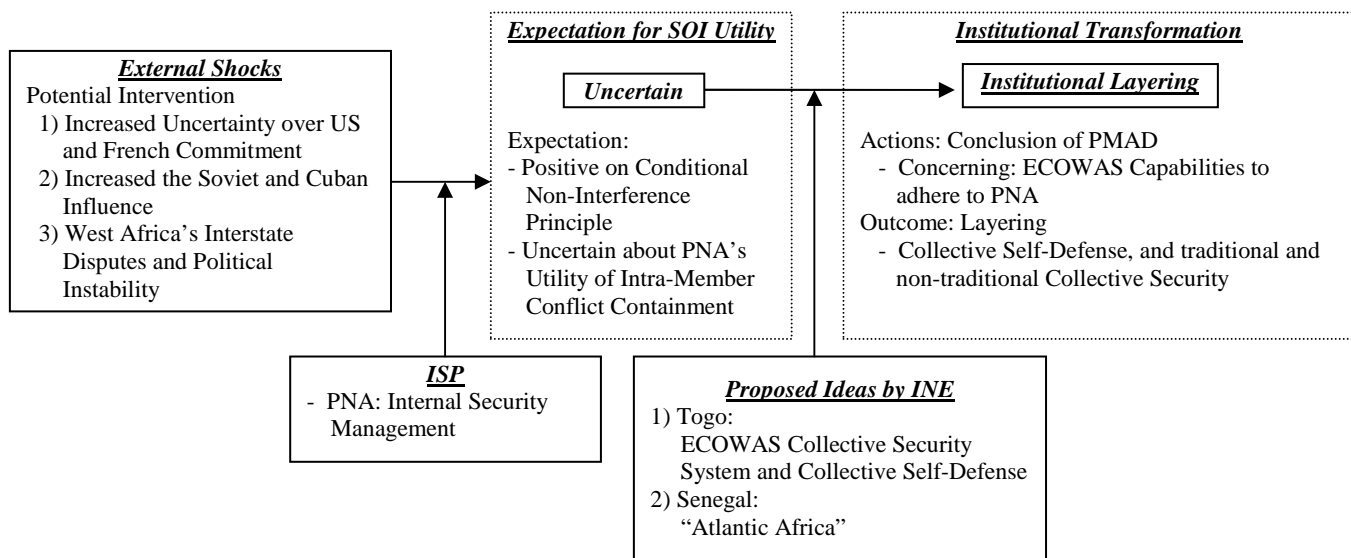
The other period of ECOWAS's institutional transformation took place between 1978 and 1981 and was marked by the conclusion of PMAD, as shown in Figure 5.2. After 1978, even after concluding PNA, the structural changes produced more strategic uncertainty in West Africa. The United States, after failing to secure pro-US factions in Angola, began to reduce its commitment to the African continent. Also, France, which had been eager to maintain its comprehensive influence in Africa since the de Gaulle era, encountered political difficulty in maintaining commitment due to domestic opposition in the face of Presidential elections. Facing these strategic trends, the West African states also feared potential political and military intrusion to the region by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The Francophone states also perceived the strong possibility that the region would lose military and economic support from the West, which would give strategic advantages to the Anglophone states, especially Nigeria, and lead to a change in the regional balance of power. In short, there was the possibility of change in the intra-regional/regional balance of power.

Given these strategic trends, the ECOWAS member states again questioned ECOWAS's security utility. Admittedly, ECOWAS's ISP evolved from purely economic development to security issues by concluding PNA. The protocol provided an internal security management mechanism, and if the member states complied with PNA provisions, it could significantly reduce the possibility of external actors intervening in regional affairs. However, even if the West African states did not invite any external power for intervention, there would exist the possibility that such intervention occurred. In this case, ECOWAS could not do anything collectively for regional stability as PNA did not include any security provisions to deal with external supports for subversion and external aggression. In this sense, PNA's security utility was limited only to intra-regional security matters. Since the US and French commitments would likely decline, both the Anglophone and Francophone states needed to create a mechanism to deal with those risks.

Accordingly, two INEs emerged: Togo and Senegal. This time, the proposals were made by the Francophone states, given uncertainty about French commitment in the future. Both states

focused on adding functions of external security mechanisms, such as collective self-defense and collective security. Though Senegal first attempted to restructure its membership due to its fear of Nigerian domination by proposing the establishment of “Atlantic Africa” that included several Central African states or expansion of ANAD, these suggestions were either neglected or rejected by other states, and thus, the state refocused on the ECOWAS framework. Unlike in the case of PNA, there was also strong opposition coming from such member states as Mali and Burkina Faso, but other ECOWAS member states proceeded to conclude PMAD, by which ECOWAS could assume external security mechanisms. In this sense, ECOWAS theoretically became a combined security system of non-traditional collective security, traditional security, and collective self-defense.

Figure 5.2: PMAD—ECOWAS’s Institutional Layering from 1978 to 1981



During the period from 1989 to 1999, ECOWAS undertook two institutional transformations: institutional consolidation from 1989 to 1993 and institutional displacement from 1994 to 1999. In the former period, ECOWAS issued the Declaration of Political Principles and concluded the Revised Treaty, and it formally became not solely a regional socio-economic institution, but also a security institution on the basis of PNA and PMAD. As shown in Figure 5.3,

this institutional consolidation began from a change in the intra-regional balance of power, caused by the Liberian Civil War. While the United States supported the Doe regime in Liberia during the Cold War, it began to shift its Liberia policy near the end of the Cold War. As the civil war erupted in Liberia, the United States attempted to promote negotiations between the Liberian government and factions, yet decided not to commit militarily to the war. Since the United States and the United Nations were more concerned about other international issues, notably the Persian Gulf Crisis, the Liberian conflicts was neglected. On the other hand, NPFL was supported by two ECOWAS member states—Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire—and Libya, and thus, as the civil war deteriorated, threatening neighboring states through spill-over of conflicts, there was a possibility that this power vacuum would further deepen political divisions within ECOWAS and the opportunity utilized by an external power, Libya.

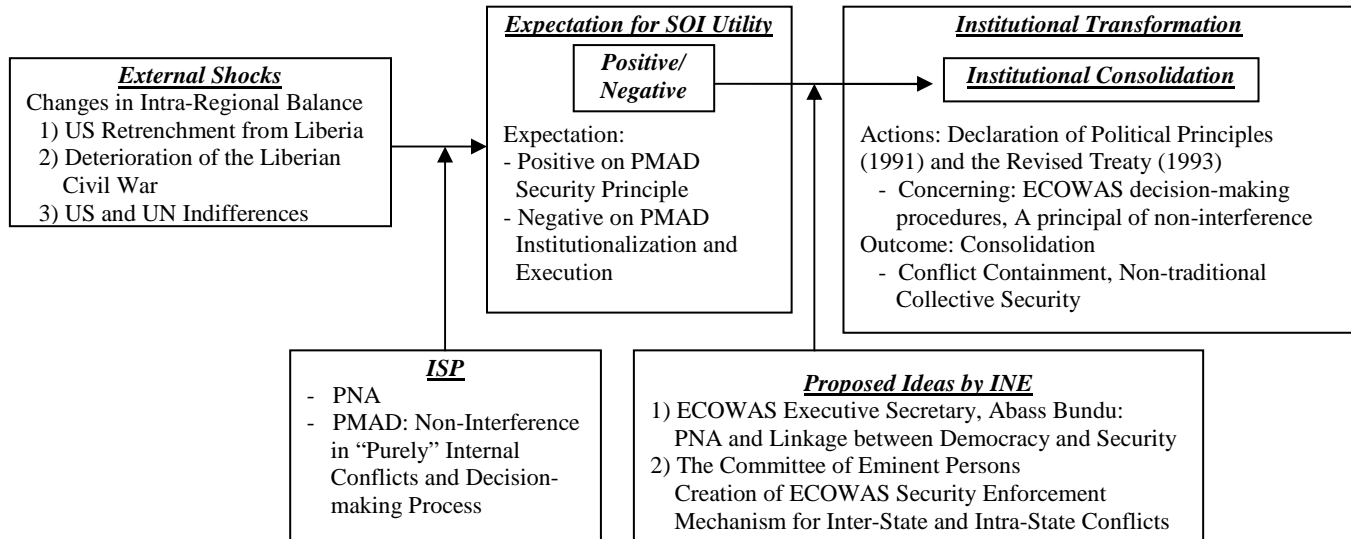
In this situation, the member states' expectations for ECOWAS's security utility were deeply divided between those who positively saw a change in the regional strategic landscape, and those who viewed changes negatively. On the one hand, several member states, mainly the Anglophone states such as Nigeria, considered that ECOWAS had a security role to play in this Liberian conflict. Having concluded PNA and PMAD and established the Standing Mediation Committee, they established ECOMOG as a peacekeeping force in Liberia to settle the disputes, using PMAD to justify such action. On the other hand, other ECOWAS member states, mostly the Francophone states, considered that the establishment of ECOMOG set a dangerous precedent in deciding to use force under the name of ECOWAS. Since they considered that the Liberian conflict fell into the category of "purely internal" issues, PMAD could not be invoked. Moreover, the decision-making procedure for establishing ECOMOG was not authorized by the ECOWAS Authority. Thus, although the creation of ECOMOG was a *fait accompli*, there was a deep political division in expectations for ECOWAS's utility, and it was not until the Extraordinary Summit in November 1991 that all the member states officially recognized the existence of ECOMOG with attempts of modification of its force structure.

ECOWAS's ISP was essentially creating the mechanism to deal with internal conflicts on the basis of PNA and PMAD, since these protocols were the only security-related ones that ECOWAS possessed at the time. PNA was often reasserted by ECOWAS member states in order to stop support for the Liberian rebels from external states as well as several member states, and PMAD was referred to in order to establish ECOMOG in Liberia. However, these protocols largely remained ineffective. While the institutionalization and decision-making procedures that PMAD defined were never implemented, PNA was neither complied with nor enforced. ECOMOG was institutionally seen as a positive instrument, but it received only *de facto* approval from the international community, and its legal justifications remained unclear. Facing this legal ambiguity, ECOWAS Executive Secretary Abass Bundu and the Committee of Eminent Persons played a role as INEs. Bundu emphasized the political dimension to deal with internal conflicts through compliance with PNA and democratic norms, and he successfully pushed the ECOWAS Authority to adopt the Declaration of Political Principles in 1991. Building on Bundu's efforts, the Committee of Eminent Persons attempted to connect the political principles with internal security management, and it submitted recommendations under the Revised Treaty that ECOWAS assume a security mechanism to deal with internal conflicts under certain conditions. However, although the Authority acknowledged the importance of these recommendations and made ECOWAS formally assume security functions through Articles 56 and 58 of the 1993 Revised Treaty, which envisioned non-traditional collective security, it deferred establishment of such a mechanism to later security-related protocols. Thus, for the time being, the Authority still regarded PNA and PMAD as legitimate protocols to deal with on-going conflicts.

In this sense, ECOWAS realized that while the objectives and principles of PNA and PMAD were still valid, their operational effectiveness was extremely limited. Through creating the Revised Treaty, it attempted to deconstruct the rules of PNA and PMAD and replace them with new protocols by incorporating the political principles of the previous agreements. Hence, the Revised Treaty was the embodiment of ECOWAS's institutional consolidation. However,

partly due to the prolonged civil war in Liberia and partly due to the fact that several ECOWAS member states, including Nigeria, were yet to become democratic, institutional discussions about the establishment of a new security mechanism was postponed until the end of the Liberian civil war.

Figure 5.3: Revised Treaty—ECOWAS’s Institutional Consolidation from 1989 to 1993



From 1994 to 1999, the second phase, ECOWAS issued the protocol relating to MCPMRPS, by which ECOWAS created a rigid mechanism of non-traditional collective security that could deal with other states’ internal conflicts, as Figure 5.4 illustrates. In this protocol, ECOWAS abrogated PMAD and PNA in order to further relax the conditions under which intervention would be possible. While PMAD prohibited the member states from intervening in a “purely internal” conflict, this protocol set four conditions under which ECOMOG could intervene: humanitarian disaster, serious and massive violation of human rights and the rule of law, a serious threat to regional security, and overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically elected government. Therefore, this transformation is characterized as institutional displacement.

The trigger for this ECOWAS transformation was the Liberian Civil War. However, deterioration of the Sierra Leone Civil War also accelerated the process. While the Liberian

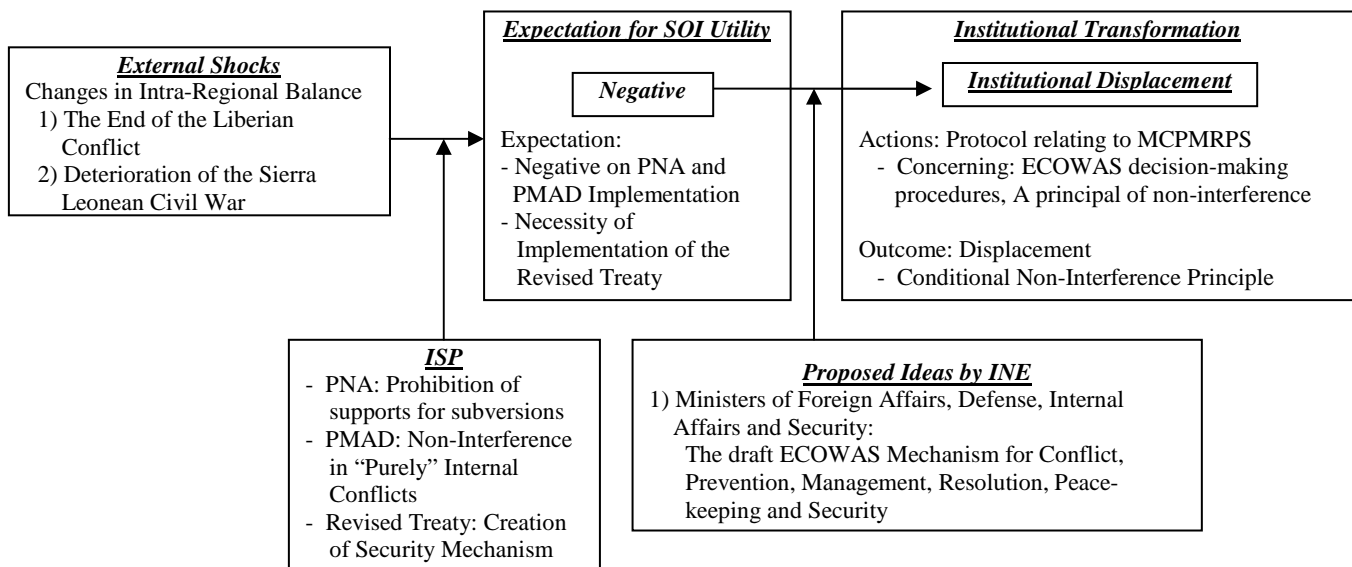
conflict was coming to an end in 1997 by holding a general election, the May 1997 coup in Sierra Leone overthrew the democratically-elected government of Kabbah. If there had been no political and military force to prevent and manage the conflict, it would likely have set a precedent that no other states or institution would intervene in another states' internal affairs. As the Liberian conflict showed, the international community was again slow to respond, and the United Nations did not immediately act in order to solve the internal conflict except for condemning the coup. In this setting, with a power vacuum created by a civil war, West Africa would likely have faced the same consequences that Liberia had, which were the destabilization of regional security due to massive flow of refugees and other spillover effects. Moreover, considering that West Africa faced an increasing number of internal conflicts caused by coups, these security dynamics could further destabilize regional security. Therefore, ECOMOG became a useful tool for ECOWAS to contain such internal conflicts and prevent them from spreading to the entire region.

At this point, the ECOWAS member states faced a similar dilemma over institutional utility as they did at the beginning of the 1990s. On the one hand, their expectations for ECOMOG's utility were basically positive. ECOMOG intervened in the Liberian conflict and brought the conflict to the end, although it took over seven years. On the other hand, the expectations of the member states except Nigeria were also negative in terms of the decision-making process which established ECOMOG and the conditions for intervention that PMAD provided. PMAD's prohibition of intervention in a purely internal conflict and its decision-making system made ECOWAS peacekeeping forces temporary and decision-making process highly political. In fact, as ECOMOG was basically an ad hoc peacekeeping force specifically intended to resolve the Liberian conflict, the force was not deployed to other states or regions unless the Authority decided to do so. In the Sierra Leonean case, however, Nigerian forces from ECOMOG were sent to enact a counter-coup before the Authority's decision was made. Even after the Authority decided to deploy ECOMOG in Sierra Leone in August 1997, the majority of its contingents were from Nigeria, and it overthrew the rebel government in February 1998

despite several member states' desire to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. In this sense, PMAD became unsustainable over time.

While the ISP of ECOWAS was basically PNA, PMAD, the Declaration of Political Principles, and the Revised Treaty, it was not clear that ECOWAS actually implemented these provisions because there was no such formally constituted security mechanism. To be sure, PMAD provided a conditional principle of non-intervention. According to its provisions, ECOWAS could intervene in internal conflicts in the case of subversion actively supported from outside. However, this provision was difficult to invoke if some member states supported such subversion, as in the Liberian conflict. In this context, an INE, the ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Affairs and Security, suggested restructuring the security mechanism by submitting a new framework for the decision-making process, institutionalization of ECOMOG, and creating new conditions of intervention, in addition to the principles of PNA and PMAD relating to interstate relations. In other words, the Ministers deconstructed the norms and rules that PNA, PMA, and Declaration of Political Principles provided, and reconstructed new provisions providing new rules of conditional intervention, as envisaged by the Revised Treaty. Eventually, this resulted in the Protocol relating to MCPMRPS.

Figure 5.4: MCPMRPS —ECOWAS’s Institutional Displacement from 1994 to 1999



These two tests showed processes of institutional transformation taking place in the periods of 1976-1981 and 1989-1999. The basic sequence was again three-fold. An expected change in the intra-regional/regional balance of power in West Africa became a trigger for the transformation. The members' expectations for ECOWAS utility determined the types of institutional transformation. As a path dependent effect, past institutional decisions became ECOWAS's ISP, which was also shaped by the ideas and proposals of INEs. Two findings are particularly important to note in these case studies.

First, it was an *expected*, not an *actual* change in the intra-regional/regional balance of power that became a trigger for institutional transformation. Admittedly, it is difficult to distinguish the two when there is an actual change in the balance of power, because both of the causal allows are pointing in the same direction. However, Phase I of the 1976-1981 case illustrates that while no specific change in the regional balance of power in West Africa is observed, ECOWAS concluded PNA. Also, the subsequent conclusion of PMAD was triggered by the ECOWAS member states' fear of increasing Soviet and Cuban influence on the African continent in the context of potential reduction of US and French commitment. Moreover, the Liberian civil war, which began in 1989, was not at first considered as a factor to change the regional balance of power by the ECOWAS member states despite its potential to do so. Because Liberia traditionally had strong strategic ties with the United States, the member states assumed that the conflict would be quelled in a short period of time and did not even discuss the conflict in the ECOWAS meeting. However, when the United States decided not to become involved in the conflict, ECOWAS began to consider that the conflict would create a power vacuum in the region. Therefore, rather than the actual balance of power, it was their expectations that influenced their decision to create these security-related protocols.

Second, there was an outlier regarding the ECOWAS member states' expectations for its security utility. This was when the ECOWAS Standing Committee decided to establish

ECOMOG in August 1990 through a *fait accompli* strategy. Admittedly, the ECOWAS member states' expectations for ECOWAS's security utility were hardly monolithic, as illustrated by several member states' opposition and reservations to the creation of PNA and PMAD. When these differences gradually narrowed through discussions at the ECOWAS meeting, ECOWAS could make a certain protocol or issue a declaration. If not, the majority rule would be applied or the topic would be indefinitely postponed, which was usually made at the highest level of authority. Thus, given a clear division of the member states' expectation for its institutional utility, the second hypothesis would predict that no institutional transformation would be made until their expectations converge to some extent.

However, in establishing ECOMOG in August 1990 by referring to some values of the PMAD provisions that could create the intervening forces, ECOMOG was created by a coalition of several member states that were concerned about the Liberian conflict. This decision was highly political and institutionally unsustainable due to intensive criticism by other member states, so that ECOWAS eventually needed to convene an extraordinary summit meeting to legitimize ECOMOG's existence. Thus, while the member states' expectations matter to determine the type of institutional transformation, it is not necessary true that an institutional decision is made by a formal decision-making process.

CHAPTER VI: ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)/ AFRICAN UNION (AU)

The third case is the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/ African Union (AU). OAU, established in 1963, was the sole pan-African organization at the time. Its member included newly-independent states on the African continents, and it had 33 member states at the time of inception.⁷⁸⁰ The number of members gradually expanded as more African states became independent. Its institutional objectives included political, economic, and social cooperation among the member states, while inheriting territorial borders created by Europeans at the Conference of Berlin in 1885. In 1994, OAU included South Africa, which had been under Apartheid rule, and the institution was subsequently replaced by AU in 2002. This chapter examines institutional transformation of OAU/AU in the 1979-1982 and 1989-2002 periods.

I. OAU in 1979-1982: the First OAU Peace Operations in Chad

When OAU was established in May 25, 1963, its fundamental objective was clearly laid out: pan-Africanism and independence in the international arena. The UN General Assembly's "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in 1960 created a political momentum to form a regional organization encompassing the African continent.⁷⁸¹ African states attempted to politically and economically consolidate newly independent states as well as liberate other African states yet to fully gain political independence. In fact, during the early 1960s, several states on the African continent were still under the strong political and economic influence of the Western Powers, such as the United Kingdom, France,

⁷⁸⁰ The initial OAU members included Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Brazzaville (now the Republic of Congo), Leopoldville (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), Dahomey (now Benin), Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, The Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), and Zanzibar (now Tanzania).

⁷⁸¹ UN General Assembly, "1514 (XV). Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples," Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2 (A/4494), 947 plenary meeting, December 14, 1960.

and Portugal, and several states were controlled by a white minority, especially South Africa. This was well illustrated by the resolutions issued by the Heads of State at the OAU's first meeting, where most of discussions focused on "Decolonization" and elimination of "Apartheid and Racial Discrimination" of African states.⁷⁸² Therefore, OAU was the first regional organization to ensure complete independence from extra-continental states as well as white minorities within.

To this end, OAU created its charter, which stipulated five objectives: (a) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states; (b) to coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; (c) to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; (d) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (e) to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁷⁸³ For these purposes, the organization set seven principles, which were: 1) the sovereign equality of all member states; 2) non-interference in the internal affairs of states; 3) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence; 4) peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration; 5) unreserved condemnation in all forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring states or any other states; 6) absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; 7) Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.⁷⁸⁴ In addition, OAU clarified its intent to ensure "diplomatic and political cooperation" as well as "cooperation for defence and security" among member states.

In this sense, OAU was an institution of "political alignment" for external security management, while aiming at becoming the "exclusive cooperative security" mechanism for

⁷⁸² OAU Secretariat, "Resolutions Adopted by the First Conference of Independent African Heads of State and Government held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, From 22 to 25 May 1963," *CIAS/Plen.2/Rev.2A-F*, *CIAS/Plen.3A-C*, *CIAS/Res.1/Rev.1*, and *CIAS/Res.2*, pp. 2-6.

⁷⁸³ OAU, "Article II: Purposes," OAU Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

⁷⁸⁴ OAU, "Article III: Principles," OAU Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

internal security management. For external security management, although OAU attempted to pursue defense and security cooperation among member states, its objective was unclear. It was not evident whether the organization would enable collective self-defense against external states. The OAU Charter was silent in this regard. For internal security management, OAU attempted to enhance economic and social cooperation among member states and formed the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration at its establishment in order to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes among member states; however, it only stipulated:

Member states pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and conditions of service shall be defined by a separate Protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said Protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.⁷⁸⁵

OAU remained ambiguous about its security and defense role. Admittedly, due to this organizational ambiguity, several ideas were introduced by actors soon after OAU was established. For example, the Council of Ministers discussed the possibility of establishment of the Federal Government of Africa and African Nuclear Free Zone,⁷⁸⁶ which had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana. In addition, the OAU Defence Commission discussed and recommended the creation of “collective self-defense”⁷⁸⁷ or “peacekeeping” functions,⁷⁸⁸ as the OAU’s security function during the 1960s. Yet, these ideas did not materialize for more than two decades due to lack of political will, defense capabilities, and financial resources.

⁷⁸⁵ See “Article XIX: Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration” of the OAU Charter. OAU Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

⁷⁸⁶ OAU Secretariat, “Item 9: Outline Proposal for the Constitution of the Federal Government of Africa,” in OAU Secretariat, “Council of Minister: Second Session,” Lagos, February 1964; OAU Secretariat, “CM/6: Correspondence Between President Kwame Nkrumah and His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I on Comprehensive Convention to Make Africa a Nuclear-Free Zone,” in OAU Secretariat, “Council of Minister: Second Session,” Lagos, February 1964.

⁷⁸⁷ OAU Secretariat, “Def.1/Res./1.: Recommendations on the Organization and Functions of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity,” November 2, 1963 in OAU Secretariat, “Council of Minister: Second Session,” Lagos, February 1964.

⁷⁸⁸ OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Administrative Secretary-General on the Co-Ordination of Africa’s Defence System,” CM/655 (XXV), Council of Ministers, Twenty-Fifth Ordinary Session, Kampala, Uganda (1975).

Nevertheless, this stagnation of the organizational evolution of OAU's security function was altered significantly in 1979. At this time, the Chadian Civil War severely intensified, and other states, such as France, Nigeria, and Libya were unilaterally providing peacekeeping forces in Chad. In this setting, the first Lagos Conference was held, and the possibility of a "Pan-African Force" for a peacekeeping mission in Chad was first proposed. Although such a proposal did not materialize, the Nigerian peacekeeping mission in Chad received the OAU's endorsement. Furthermore, the subsequent Lagos conference in August 1979 issued a final document, known as the Lagos Accord, which called for the multilateral peacekeeping mission and ultimately served as a mandate for the OAU's peacekeeping mission.⁷⁸⁹ Eventually, the OAU peacekeeping mission began from November 1981 to July 1982.⁷⁹⁰

To be sure, a peacekeeping function was not officially institutionalized until the 1993 Cairo Summit, at which OAU established a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution,⁷⁹¹ and this was the only ad hoc peacekeeping mission that OAU undertook during the Cold War period despite on-going conflicts on the African continent. Thus, the question here is, first, why and how OAU peacekeeping missions became possible. Why did OAU not institutionalize a peacekeeping mission? Is there any institutional transformation within OAU after its missions, given the fact that a peacekeeping function was not institutionalized? What institutional transformation within OAU occurred in the post-intervention? In this section, testing my hypotheses, I will analyze the reasons and processes of formulation of OAU peacekeeping operations in Chad and subsequent internal discussions regarding its security functions, and clarify OAU's institutional transformation.

⁷⁸⁹ Terry Mays, *Africa's First Peacekeeping Operation: The OAU in Chad, 1981-1982*, (Westport: Praeger, 2002), pp.45-47.

⁷⁹⁰ It is noted that Congolese soldiers under the OAU Peacekeeping mission first arrived in Chad in January 1980; however, since other states did not provide its forces in a timely manner, they left Chad in March, 1980.

⁷⁹¹ OAU Secretariat, "Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the Establishment Within the OAU A Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution," AHG/Decl.3 (XXIX) Rev.1, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Twenty-ninth Ordinary Session, 28-30 June 1993, Cairo, Egypt.

(1) Triggers: Power Shifts among France, Libya, and Nigeria in the Chadian Civil War

The regional balance of power on the entire African continent was in flux after 1975, when the Portuguese government decided to let its African colonies assume independence after the Carnation Revolution on April 15, 1974. In fact, since then, Africa had become a potential Cold War theater due to continual intervention by the superpowers.⁷⁹² The Soviet Union and Cuba penetrated Southern Africa, especially in Angola, which gained independence in November 1975. Despite the general détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and despite the fact that Soviet and Cuban penetration was limited to Southern Africa, the superpower rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States over the African continent began to emerge through their political, economic, and military interventions in African internal conflicts.

Central Africa also experienced potential changes due to the intensification of the Chadian Civil War. Although Chad gained independence from France in 1960, given the fact that French colonization policy in Chad was concentrated in the Southern part of the country, it was difficult to fill the political and economic developmental gaps between the Northern part, where the Muslim nomadic pastoralists dominated, and the Southern part, where the Christian agriculturalists settled. The first President, Francois Tombalbaye, who was a southerner, attempted to suppress the northern part, resulting in the northern uprisings, particularly the formation of the National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) in 1965. As such, its ally and the suzerain power, France, had intervened to quell conflicts, yet the fundamental differences between the North and the South were never resolved. In the meantime, the successful military coup in 1975 ousted Tombalbaye; however, due to the deterioration of the central authority which was losing power to control the entire country, this coup further intensified the internal conflict.

⁷⁹² Olajide Aluko, "African Response to External Intervention in Africa since Angola," *African Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 319 (April 1981), pp. 159-179.

The rebel groups were split and factional divisions emerged within the military government, which eventually resulted in the civil war in February 1979 in N'Djamena, the capital of Chad.

Since Chadian politics became increasingly fragile due to the loss of central authority, a political power vacuum arose, creating the possibility for outside states to increase their political influence in Chad and in the region. Although the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were concerned about their influence in Africa in general, their political attention at the time was largely on Southern Africa, especially Angola, where Soviet military assistance and Cuban installment of military troops intensified after the new Portuguese government decided to retrench from African affairs in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution in April 1974. Thus, the situation in Chad was basically left to three candidates for external intervention: France, Libya, and Nigeria.

First, French political and military involvement in Chad was traditionally strong, yet its policy had begun to shift to reduction of commitment by the late 1970s. France was the former colonial state and had intervened in Chadian internal conflicts several times since independence, especially through its multilateral military assistance with former French Equatorial Africa (AEF), including Chad, Gabon, Central African Republic, and Congo. The intervention was facilitated by the fact that France already had economic ties through CFA currency links and maintained a military presence in Chad; French intervention could also strengthen the former colonial power's military credibility to other Francophone states in Africa, which helped preserve its political influence. During the early and mid-1970s, the Giscard d'Estaing administration maintained an active foreign policy toward Africa. For example, nine of sixteen official overseas visits by Giscard from 1974 to 1979 were to Africa.⁷⁹³ In March 1976, France concluded a military technical assistance agreement with Chad, though the new Chadian military government, established in 1975, was first eager to ask French withdrawal. Also, France was on the ground

⁷⁹³ James Goldsborough, "Dateline Paris: Africa's Policeman," *Foreign Policy*, No. 33 (Winter 1978/1979), p. 175.

before the 1979 Civil War in Chad to prevent FROLINAT from taking over N'Djamena in 1978, which helped France, Libya and Sudan to broker an agreement for the establishment of a government of National Reconciliation under President Felix Malloum.⁷⁹⁴ However, French policy shifted by 1979. This was because Chad's internal turmoil had never been settled despite French helps for the central government, and the overall situation had the potential to become what one French liberal called a "French Vietnam."⁷⁹⁵ Considering the then-perceived lack of material resources in Chad, the only French interest was Chad's strategic location, specifically the potential that Libya would expand its sphere of influence in the Central and West African regions through its *de facto* occupation of the Aouzou Strip.⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, Giscard d'Estaing's foreign policy, which entailed France's intervention in Africa, was castigated by African states, especially Nigeria.⁷⁹⁷ Given the fact that France faced difficulty in justifying its political and military involvement in Chad domestically, France began to consider reduction of its commitment to Chad in 1979.

Second, Libya had long held its own regional vision to integrate states in Northern Africa to create an Islamic Union, which also extended to Chad. Colonel Qadhafi's beliefs, including Arab nationalism, Islamic unity, and an anti-Western posture, led Libya to propose a greater Shelian or North African state as illustrated by its agreement with Egypt in 1972, Algeria in 1973, and Tunisia in 1974.⁷⁹⁸ Although it is unclear if Qadhafi had a strong political intention to integrate Chad into such a union, given the Christian majority in the southern part of the country, Libya did have an interest in gaining influence in the northern part. Moreover, Libya had a territorial dispute with Chad over the Aouzou Strip, where it was believed that deposits of

⁷⁹⁴ Julian Crandall Hollick, "Civil War in Chad, 1978-1982," *The World Today*, Vol. 38, No. 7/8 (July-August 1982), p. 298.

⁷⁹⁵ Sam Nolutshungu, *Limits of Anarchy: Intervention and State Formation in Chad*, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1996), p. 150; Goldsborough, "Dateline Paris," p. 187.

⁷⁹⁶ Although many considered the potential of new mineral and petroleum deposits in Chad, there was no evidence for it at the time. Mays, p. 27.

⁷⁹⁷ Pierre Lellouche and Dominique Moisi, "French Policy in Africa: A Lonely Battle against Destabilization," *International Security*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Spring 1979), pp. 108-133.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.22.

uranium were present, and in 1973, Libya occupied the Strip. Since then, Libya utilized the split in Chadian political factions by militarily and economically assisting those who did not oppose Libya's influence, such as FROLINAT, prior to 1975. After the 1975 military coup, while the new Felix Malloum military government could not achieve reconciliation with FROLINAT, Libya attempted to increase its influence on Chad through FROLINAT by increasing its military and financial supports as well as removing Abba Sidick as a secretary general of the movement, who lost control over FROLINAT. Despite the fact that this resulted in the split of FROLINAT, Libya gained political leverage over the Chadian internal conflicts. In 1977, when the Malloum government, along with France, attempted to pursue reconciliation with FROLINAT—who, like the government, the Libyan seizure of the Aouzou Strip as well as Libyan imposition of its ideology through the Green Book—Libya approached to one isolated group, *Conseil Democratique Revolutionnaire* (CDR), headed by Ahmat Acyl. Since Acyl was in the Volcan Army, an insurgency group in Chad supported by Libya, Qadhafi quickly strengthened ties with Acyl to ensure that Malloum's reconciliation with FROLINAT would not create a powerful anti-Libyan front.⁷⁹⁹ Thus, Libya's position prior to the 1979 Civil War was rather defensive in order not to drastically reverse the *fait accompli* territorial gain in the Strip as well as its political leverage in Chad.

Third, Nigeria was concerned about the potential expansion of influence by France and Libya in West Africa. Nigeria considered the potential strategic changes that would result by both French and Libyan intervention in Chad, yet for Nigeria, French intervention became more threatening than Libyan influence. While Nigeria had been checking Libyan political ambition to create an Islamic Union that extended into West Africa, it was more concerned about the prolonged French influence in Central and West Africa due to the 1967 Nigerian civil war, in which France openly supported secessionist groups in Biafra, as did other Francophone states in West Africa. In fact, although most African states backed the federalists in the civil war, “white

⁷⁹⁹ Nolutshungu, *Limits of Anarchy*, pp. 147-148.

South” African states as well as outsiders, including France, Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa, supported the secessionists, which were perceived not only as threats to Nigeria, but also as part of the external actors’ strategy to thwart decolonization processes on the African continent.⁸⁰⁰ Accordingly, Nigeria began to advocate “African unity” through OAU in order to protect the principle of noninterference within the African continent from extra-continental states.⁸⁰¹ Although Nigeria considered in 1963 that African unity should be achieved through the accumulation of practical steps, such as economic, educational, scientific and cultural cooperation,⁸⁰² it also began to assert the principle of African unity in political terms. Soon after the war, Nigeria visited most sub-Saharan African states in order to harmonize its foreign policy with the stated objectives of the OAU, particularly the principle of non-interference and the decolonization process, and criticized minority rule in Southern Africa.⁸⁰³ Viewed in this light, Nigeria repeatedly criticized French intervention throughout the 1970s,⁸⁰⁴ including Chad. While Nigeria was reluctant to give a free-hand to Libya, Libya, which still lacked military projection capabilities in West Africa, was a member of OAU and not considered as an extra-continental power. Thus, Nigeria did not openly denounce Libya’s intervention into Chad.

⁸⁰⁰ Oye Ogunbadejo, “Nigeria’s Foreign Policy under Military Rule 1966-79,” *International Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Autumn 1980), pp.757-758.

⁸⁰¹ Before the civil war, Nigeria’s position was different. For example, during the Congo crisis in 1964 and 1965, it was ready to support US and Belgian intervention on the side of Tshombe government as “humanitarian assistance,” while viewing the OAU mediation efforts as violation of the state sovereignty. See Catherine Hoskyns, “Trends and Developments in the Organization of African Unity,” in W. Keeton and George Schwarzenberger, eds., *The Year Book of World Affairs*, (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), pp. 172-173A; Mark Weisburd, *Use of Force: The Practice of States since World War II*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 1997), p. 267.

⁸⁰² Nigerian Prime Minister Abubaker Tafawa Balewa said, “Some of us have suggested that African unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific, and cultural cooperation and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union. My country stands for the practical approach to the unity of the continent.” Proceedings of the Summit Conference of Independent African States, vol. 1, sec. 2 (Addis Ababa, May 1963), pp. 104-105, in Godfrey Binaisa, “Organization of African Unity and Decolonization: Present and Future Trends,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 432, Africa in Transition (July 1977), p. 57.

⁸⁰³ Oye Ogunbadejo, “General Gowon’s African Policy,” *International Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 35 (1977), pp. 38-40.

⁸⁰⁴ For example, General Obasanjo criticized that France’s intervention in Shaba. *Le Monde*, 21 July 1978, cited in Lellouche and Moisi, “French Policy in Africa,” p. 108.

Against this background, the Chadian Civil War between the Malloum government and Hissène Habre's *Forces Armées du Nord* (FAN), which was one of the factions splitting from FROLINAT in 1978, broke out in February 1979. This occurred despite the French effort to mediate conflicting factions in 1978 by promoting a new political arrangement, which resulted in appointment of Habre as Prime Minister and Malloum as President. Because of the quick intensification of the conflict, Sudan took the initiative to foster reconciliation between Malloum and Habre and to suggest holding a peace conference in neutral territory. Nigeria offered to host the conference in Kano, Nigeria, and the so-called "KANO I" meeting was held on March 11-16, 1979 by inviting Malloum, Habre, Goukouni Oueddei, the head of FROLINAT, and Aboubaker Abderahmane, a leader of the *Mouvement Populaire pour la Liberation de Tchad* (MPLT), with an OAU representative and neighboring states as observers, including Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, Libya, and Sudan.⁸⁰⁵ In this conference, the participants reached the Kano Accord on National Reconciliation, aiming at establishing the Transitional National Union Government (GUNT) for the next election, along with other conditions, including:

1. A general ceasefire in Chad and the establishment of a *neutral peacekeeping force to be provided by Nigeria*.
2. The setting up of an independent monitoring commission under the chairmanship of Nigeria and comprising delegates from the countries attending the Kano conference and from representatives of the Chad factions.
3. The establishment of a "transitional government of national union" to prepare a programme leading to the installation of a freely elected government composed of all factions with its leader selected by them.
4. The demilitarization of the capital city of Ndjamenà to a radius of 100 kilometres.

⁸⁰⁵ MPLT was said to be supported by Nigeria. Sam G. Amoo, *Frustrations of Regional Peacekeeping: The OAU in Chad, 1977-1982*, The Carter Center (1995), Columbia International Affairs Online, accessed June 7, 2012, <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/ams02/ams02.pdf>; Mays, p. 36.

5. A general amnesty for political prisoners and hostages and the release of prisoners of war, the pardon extending also to those living in exile.
6. The dissolution of all political organizations and the gradual integration of military factions into the national Army.⁸⁰⁶

From a strategic point of view, the significance of this accord was to produce changes in the internal political balance of power in Chad by accelerating the French withdrawal. First, French military links with the Chadian government became weakened due to Malloum's political relegation through the establishment of the transnational government, GUNT. Before the accord, Malloum had a strong link with France through the military assistance agreement, while Goukouni as the head of FROLINAT had the primary objective of breaking such a link and thereby attempt to weaken Chad's political and military ties with France. It was agreed that GUNT was headed by neither Malloum nor Habre since two were directly involved in the conflict. Instead, they were relegated to take on ministership roles while Goukouni assumed the presidency. Second, as Nigeria took the responsibility to put its "neutral" peacekeeping force to monitor the situation, the accord implicitly intended to remove French troops from Chad. By promising installation of the African "neutral" peacekeeping force to ensure the internal stability in Chad, the *raison d'être* of French troops would have been lost. Therefore, even though the KANO I agreement did not stipulate any provision regarding the future role of the French military in Chad, it opened the political venue to remove French troops.

For its part, France also took this opportunity to show its intention of withdrawal. While the French military forces refused to completely leave Chad and there was no immediate withdrawal undertaken, the French government mentioned on March 20, 1979 that "all the elements are now in place for a Chadian solution to the problem...The mission given to the French military presence is over," although France would still maintain "technical assistance and

⁸⁰⁶ *Emphasis added. Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (February 1, 1980), p. 30065.

other forms of co-operation.”⁸⁰⁷ Thus, France showed the African states its political intention for withdrawal from Chad.

In order to fill this expected power vacuum, created by the pledged French withdrawal, the Nigerian peacekeeping forces were installed. Yet, the Chadian Civil War continued to intensify because the accord did not include other Chadian warring factions as participants in the agreement. Consequently, Nigeria initiated another conference, the KANO II, on April 3-11, 1979 to include other factions, yet the idea was rejected by Malloum and Habre as their political power would likely be reduced. In the meantime, since the Nigerian peacekeepers were not seen as “neutral” by several factions, including Habre, GUNT also began to question the Nigerian role in Chad and demanded their withdrawal, and instead, it asked the French troops to stay.⁸⁰⁸ To overcome such difficulties, Nigeria again proposed and held another conference in Lagos, the so-called LAGOS I in May 26-27, by including those factions excluded by the KANO I; however, the signatory factions of the KANO I then boycotted the conference again. Even though LAGOS I participants produced the final communiqué, which demanded the establishment of a new transnational government that was more representative than the existing one and proposed the creation of a “Pan-African Force” for peacekeeping instead of Nigerian forces, it again failed to reach the consensus with all the Chadian factions. Thus, the power vacuum in Chad still remained.

Following the Nigerian initiative, the breakthrough of this unsettled situation came with LAGOS II, the fourth reconciliation conference in Lagos on August 14-21, 1979, among eleven Chadian factions. This conference resulted in the so-called “Lagos Accord,” which included:

1. The implementation of an immediate and general ceasefire to be supervised by an independent monitoring commission headed by the OAU Secretary-General or his representative. This commission would also oversee *a neutral force, comprising contingents from countries not bordering on Chad*, which would enforce the cease fire.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Mays, p. 42.

2. The demilitarization of Ndjamena to a radius of 100 kilometres.
3. The proclamation of a general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles.
4. The establishment of a broad-based transitional government under the presidency of Mr [Goukouni] Oueddei and with Lt.-Col. Kamougue as Vice-President to prepare for elections within 18 months.
5. The dissolution of all armed forces in the country and the formation of an integrated national force.
6. The *withdrawal of French soldiers* from Chad.⁸⁰⁹

While this agreement was built on KANO I, there were two different items put forward in this accord. First, OAU's supervision on the cease-fire in Chad replaced Nigerian peacekeeping force. Since Nigeria's peacekeepers were not seen as a "neutral force" by Chadian factions, OAU took over the responsibility of monitoring the multinational "neutral" peacekeeping forces. Further ensuring the impartiality of a neutral force, the agreement prohibited the participation of countries which shared the border with Chad.⁸¹⁰ Second, the accord clearly stipulated French withdrawal from Chad. Although France had already showed its political intention to withdraw its troops from Chad after the KANO I, several Chadian factions asked French troops to stay, and France continued its presence in Chad at that point. With this accord, however, France had a legal justification to withdraw its troops, which began from the beginning of September 1979 and resulted in withdrawal of 1,400 of its 2,500 troops, and was completed on May 17, 1980.⁸¹¹ Therefore, by OAU's replacement of Nigerian troops and confirmation of French withdrawal, the Lagos II Accord sought a different approach to internal political settlement in Chad.

⁸⁰⁹ The signatory parties noted that "the continued presence of French soldiers is an impediment to a lasting solution of the problems in the country." *Emphasis added. Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (February 1, 1980), p. 30067.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹¹ In 1979, the French withdrawal was delayed because of a request by Goukouni that French troops should remain in Chad until the arrival in the country of the African force to supervise the ceasefire. However, in 1980, French troops, asked to stay by both President Oueddei and Habre, withdrew. *Ibid.*; Mays, p. 58; Oye Ogunbadejo, "Qaddafi's North African Design," *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Summer 1983), p. 162; *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (February 6, 1981), p. 30654.

The conclusion of the Lagos II Accord notwithstanding, OAU however failed to provide the peacekeeping forces, which were promised by Benin, Congo, and Guinea. Although Congo provided 550 soldiers in N'Djamena on January 18, 1980, Benin and Guinea failed to provide their peacekeeping contribution due to logistical and transportation problems.⁸¹² The Congolese contingents stayed in N'Djamena for over two months, yet they left on March 30 when renewed conflicts erupted. Thus, this first OAU attempt to provide peacekeeping support not only failed to establish the environment to achieve the Lagos II Accord, but also was unable to fill the power vacuum in Chad, resulting in re-intensification of the conflicts among Chadian factions, especially between GUNT and FAN.

Taking advantages of this strategic situation, where OAU could not provide effective peacekeeping forces and the gradual withdrawal of French troops took place, Libya attempted to expand its sphere of influence over Chad by aligning with GUNT. In April 1980, the Libya agencies, including the Libyan Radio and TV (LRT) and the Libyan Foreign Ministry, stated that Goukouni asked for help from Libya,⁸¹³ and on June 11, while applauding the French withdrawal decided by the Lagos Accord, Qadhafi argued that without the formal Libya-Chad treaty, it [was] the duty of the Libyan people not to intervene materially in the strife in Chad."⁸¹⁴ On June 15, then, Libya and Chad concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, which provided Libya to have a sole right to intervene in the event of "a threat to [Chad's] independence, territorial integrity or internal security."⁸¹⁵ With GUNT's invitation and the treaty registered to the United Nations in October 1980, Libya had the legal justification for the intervention, and in fact, it began to intervene from November 1980. Once Libya decided its intervention, the action was

⁸¹² Mays, p. 47.

⁸¹³ "Chad," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 4, 1980; "Chad," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 8, 1980; "Chad," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 12, 1980.

⁸¹⁴ "Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Chad: Treaty of friendship and alliance. Signed at Tripoli on 15 June 1980—registered by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on October 23, 1980" *United Nations Treaty Series* (1980), pp. 405-406.

⁸¹⁵ Qadhafi's speech text was issued through Tripoli Voice of the Arab homeland on June 11, 1980. "Qadhafi's Speech at Ra's Lanuf," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 13, 1980.

swiftly undertaken. Libya provided approximately 2,000 troops, and by December, it increase the number of troops to 5,000 with 50 Soviet-supplied T-54 and T-55 tanks, 122-mm rocket launchers, 81-mm mortars, and US-built Chinook helicopters,⁸¹⁶ which helped GUNT to regain control in N'Djamena on December 15, 1980, while Habre fled to Cameroon.⁸¹⁷ Thus, the Chadian internal power balance shifted to Goukouni. Subsequently, Libya announced its merger with Chad on January 6, 1981, through the Chad-Libya joint communiqué. According to this communiqué, both Libya and Chad agreed “[t]o work to achieve full unity between two countries—*Jamahiri* unity in which authority, the arms and resources are in the hands of the people; their instruments being the people’s congresses and committees,” while condemning the Sudanese and Egyptian governments for their intrusion of internal affairs in Chad.⁸¹⁸

Libya’s intervention and the merger announcement triggered reactions from African states, including other Chadian factions. For example, the Chad Ambassador in Cairo, Homsala Ouangmotching, stated that Chadians were strongly opposed to Libya’s objective to annex Chad.⁸¹⁹ Gabon called for a renewed French intervention in Chad in order to prevent Libyan ambitions, and Egypt asked African states to collectively pressure Libya to withdraw its troops from Chad.⁸²⁰ Senegal, Gambia, and Ghana suspended official diplomatic ties with Libya, and Nigeria, although not explicitly rejecting the Libya-Chad declaration, called for prioritizing not merger, but consolidation of cease-fire, economic recovery, and free and fair elections under

⁸¹⁶ “Libya and Chad,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, November 7, 1980; Ogunbadejo, “Qaddafi’s North African Design,” p. 163.

⁸¹⁷ “Chad Capital Falls to Goukouni: Habre Flees via Cameroon—Paris home service 1800 gmt 15 Dec 80: Excerpts from report and commentary,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 17, 1980.

⁸¹⁸ The communiqué was broadcasted through *Tripoli home service* and *Jamahiriya News Agency* on January 6, 1981. “Libya-Chad Joint Communiqué: Agreement to Work to Achieve ‘Full Unity,’” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1981.

⁸¹⁹ This is the text of report of statement in Cairo by the Chad Ambassador, which was transmitted by *MENA* on January 22, 1981. “Chad Ambassador in Cairo Denounces ‘Libyan Treachery,’” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 24, 1981.

⁸²⁰ Nolutshungu, p. 153; “Reaction to Proposed Libya-Chad Merger: Text of 7th January Egyptian Foreign Ministry statement,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1981.

OAU according to the Lagos Accord.⁸²¹ Yet, the immediate reactions from the western states were somewhat lukewarm. For example, the United States showed its concern about the merger proposal and its willingness to consult with African states to ensure Chad's sovereignty and territorial integrity; however, it also explicitly stated that the United States did not intend to intervene in Chad's internal affairs.⁸²² Likewise, France, while taking no action against the Libyan intervention, only gave a verbal warning to Libya.⁸²³ Therefore, Libya had the political advantage to fill the power vacuum in Chad, now that Goukouni's strongest political rival, Habre, was exiled and that there was no strong commitment from great powers, especially France. Legally, GUNT, headed by Goukouni, was the "legitimate" government under the Lagos Accord, and the Libya-Chad Treaty provided Libya a legal justification of its intervention in Chad. Libya now attempted to increase its military, economic and social influence over Chad, which was confirmed by the bilateral talks between Qadhafi and Goukouni on January 26, 1981,⁸²⁴ though the merger was slow to be implemented due to the lack of general consensus among the Chadian people.⁸²⁵

In this context, the only viable option to encourage the withdrawal of Libyan forces in Chad was to provide effective peacekeeping forces under OAU supervision with the consent of GUNT, which was originally stipulated in the Lagos Accord that all the parties concerned had agreed upon. Immediately after Libya's merger announcement, the Lome conference was held, where twelve West and Central African States—Nigeria, Niger, Sudan, Central African Republic,

⁸²¹ Nigeria was also concerned about increasing Libyan presence close to the West Africa. Later, Nigerian President Shehu Shagari warned Libyan Foreign Minister Ali Treki that Libya's involvement would likely escalate the civil war. See *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1981; "Nigeria: Gaddafi 'Adventures' Causing Concern," *Africa Diary*, January 22-28, 1981, p. 10375; "Nigeria: Strong Warning to Libya," *Africa Diary*, February 5-11, 1981, p. 10399.

⁸²² US Department of State, "Proposed Chad-Libya Merger—Department Statement, Jan. 9, 1981," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 2047, February 1981, pp. 31-32.

⁸²³ The Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet reaffirmed that it would refrain from any interference in Chad. See "Chad: 12-Nation Summit Discusses Situation," *Africa Diary*, February 19-25, 1981, p. 10411; Ogunbadejo, "Qaddafi's North African Design," p. 169.

⁸²⁴ This news was broadcasted through *Tripoli home service* on January 23, 1981. "Press Statement on Chad President's Visit to Libya," *BBC Summary of World Broadcast*, January 26, 1981.

⁸²⁵ "Chad and Libya," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 27, 1981.

Cameroon, Togo, Guinea, Benin, Congo, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Libya—discussed the Libyan presence in Chad, and the conference issued the final communiqué that condemned the merger plan for violating “the spirit and the letter” of the Lagos Accord and asked for the immediate dispatch of African peacekeeping forces. In response, the Libyan government stated, “The withdrawal of Libyan forces from Chad can only be requested by the party which had asked for these forces to come...Goukouni has complete legitimacy which enables him to ask for and keep Libyan forces. He alone can ask for the withdrawal of these forces.”⁸²⁶

During the period between January and November 1981, Nigeria took the initiative to put forward the realization of the OAU peacekeeping operations in Chad through Nigerian-Libyan bilateral talks, as well as dialogues with the OAU Assembly and Council of Ministers. Also, the western states reacted. Although maintaining a minimum commitment to Chad’s internal affairs, France assumed a political role to foster the establishment of an OAU peacekeeping force for Chad.⁸²⁷ Moreover, the deterioration of the bilateral relations between the United States and Libya and the changes in the US administration from Carter to Reagan created political traction for the United States to commit to the Chadian conflict. For example, Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, argued in July 1981:

Africa has increasingly become victim of Qadhafi’s diplomacy of subversion...[and] the Libyan intervention in Chad has been the most disturbing manifestation to date of Qadhafi’s intentions in Africa...[Although] We have stated that the Libyan military presence in Chad is an African problem requiring an African solution...we want to help African nations threatened by Qadhafi’s diplomacy. In our FY 1982 budget, this Administration added substantial funds for military assistance to Tunisia and Sudan, two countries directly threatened by Libya. We are seeking ways to help, with both economic and military support, other similarly threatened.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁶ “Libya: Condemnation at Lome Meet,” *Africa Diary*, March 12-18, 1981, p. 10422.

⁸²⁷ Mays, p. 70.

⁸²⁸ Chester Crocker, “Libyan Interference in Chad,” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 2055, October 1981, pp. 28-30.

Accordingly, the United States also endorsed the OAU peacekeeping force to replace the Libyan troops. In this setting, Libya finally announced a plan for the withdrawal of its troops in November 1981, and the OAU peacekeeping forces took over the cease-fire monitoring in December. Nevertheless, as the OAU peacekeeping forces could not fill the power vacuum created by the Libyan withdrawal, Habre's forces, FAN, advanced their troops from eastern Chad, and eventually took over the capital in June 1982, resulting in the ousting of Goukouni and creating a new GUNT, which was eventually recognized by OAU in 1983.

In sum, two sequential changes in the regional balance of power occurred in the period between 1979 and 1980. The first shift occurred in February 1979. After the 1979 Civil War broke out, France clearly reduced its political and military commitment to Chad, while Nigeria pushed KANO I to facilitate French withdrawal by providing its own peacekeeping forces to Chad. However, after Nigerian peacekeeping forces could not successfully monitor the cease-fire agreement among Chadian factions, LAGOS I was issued, which mandated the withdrawal of French troops in Chad and the installation of the OAU peacekeeping force. With this agreement, the Chadian political power vacuum was filled, yet the civil war resurrected due to the failure of the OAU peacekeeping operations in the early 1980s. The second shift came in March 1980, when the civil war again intensified and Libya attempted to increase its political and military influence in Chad. GUNT called for Libyan military supports to address the situation by establishing the treaty of friendship and alliance, and it defeated the FAN led by Habre. However, even after the FAN's defeat, Libyan forces stayed in Chad, and Qadhafi and Goukouni issued a joint communiqué that aimed at the merger of Libya and Chad. As it was increasingly evident that Libya would attempt to increase its sphere of influence over Central and West Africa through Chad, African states quickly reacted to this communiqué by holding the Lome conference. In order to promote the withdrawal of the Libyan troops, African states, especially Nigeria, determined to send the second OAU peacekeeping force to Chad through OAU. In this sense, two incidents triggered the OAU's decision to play a peacekeeping role in Chad.

(2) *Positive Expectations: The OAU's Political Utility for the Chadian Conflict*

OAU's peacekeeping efforts in the period between 1980 and 1982 can be divided into two phases: one is in 1980, when the Congolese contingent arrived in Chad in January 1980 and left in March due to the non-arrival of other contingents from Benin and Guinea; and the other is from 1981 to 1982, when OAU successfully provided its peacekeeping force in Chad. Admittedly, these peacekeeping operations were ad hoc and sequential operations on the basis of the Lagos II Accord in 1979. The peacekeeping operations were never institutionalized as an OAU security function during these periods. Further, the OAU peacekeeping forces did not resolve the Chadian conflicts, and their effectiveness was very limited. Nevertheless, in both phases, OAU member states saw the OAU's security utility positively as it was providing peacekeeping forces to maintain the regional balance of power by excluding external forces, first France, and then Libya, from Chad and making the Chadian conflicts purely internal affairs.

In the first phase of OAU peacekeeping, the West and Central African member states of OAU faced a dilemma between the execution of effective conflict prevention and the legitimacy of such a mechanism. On the one hand, it was necessary to effectively prevent deterioration of the Chadian civil wars erupting from February 1979. The neighboring states, especially Nigeria, were concerned about its potential spillover effects, including massive flow of refugees. In fact, refugees from Chad did enter in considerable number into Nigeria and Cameroon,⁸²⁹ and by March 1980, approximately 20,000-30,000 civilian refugees crossed the border into northern Cameroon.⁸³⁰ In order to quell the conflict, it was necessary to put an effective cease-fire enforcement mechanism in place; however, the only states possessed such financial and military capabilities were France, Nigeria, and Libya, yet if these states intervened, the impartiality of such actions was likely to be questioned.

⁸²⁹ "Refugees From Chad," *The Washington Post*, June 14, 1979, p. A44.

⁸³⁰ "Inhabitants flee Chad's capital as fighting continues," *The Globe and Mail*, March 28, 1980, p. A44.

On the other hand, peacekeeping forces through international organizations such as the United Nations and OAU would likely provide the international legitimacy for the cease-fire as they could be seen as neutral forces, and the parties concerned in the conflict would likely accept such a proposal. However, usage of these international organizations' forces faced several difficulties, including limitation of financial and military resources, as well as conflicts of interests among parties concerned, which made reaching consensus on the the mandate of such peacekeeping operations difficult. Consequently, peacekeeping operations through the international organizations would unlikely be as effective as those provided by states with financial and military capabilities.

Nigeria attempted to strike a balance on this dilemma. With its initiative, the Kano Accord in 1979 created "neutral" peacekeeping forces, comprising solely Nigerian forces, to create a conflict prevention mechanism in Chad, and Malloum, Habre, Goukouni, and Abderahmane agreed with the agreement.⁸³¹ In order to ensure its legitimacy, OAU also endorsed this Nigerian-led peacekeeping operation.⁸³² However, as described above, since KANO I did not include all the Chadian factions, and since the Nigerian forces were not seen as "neutral," the conflicts continued and the peacekeeping force could neither monitor the cease-fire nor maintain stability in Chad. In June, the Chad government demanded the withdrawal of Nigeria's "neutral" forces, and they left on June 3-4.⁸³³

In this context, OAU began to be involved in the Chadian conflict; yet such involvement was rather gradual. In March 1979, representatives of the OAU attended the first Kano conference at Nigerian invitation, and OAU itself did not have any obligation to take actions for the conference. In May, the OAU's representatives again attended the Lagos conference, and the

⁸³¹ The conference was also attended by Libya, Sudan, Cameroon, Central African Republic, and Niger as observers.

⁸³² Mays, p. 45.

⁸³³ *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (February 1, 1980), p. 30066.

idea of an African multinational peacekeeping operation was proposed.⁸³⁴ Although this proposal did not materialize due to GUNT's rejection of the Lagos I final communiqué, the OAU peacekeeping operation for Chad was put forward in Lagos II in August 1979, and after that point, OAU began to formally involve itself in the Chadian civil war.

It is worth noting that not all the OAU member states had an interest in the Chadian conflicts. First, institutional attention was simply not on Chad during the late 1970s. Since 1975, when the Portuguese government ceased political administration in the Southern African states, and when the Soviet, Cuban, and US involvement in the conflicts in the region began to fill the power vacuum, the Southern African issues, including Angola, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and South Africa, dominated the OAU's institutional agendas. Consequently, the OAU Assembly or Council of Ministers did not issue any formal resolutions on Chad until February 1980.⁸³⁵ Second, the initiatives were not taken within the OAU institutional framework, and the OAU peacekeeping missions in Chad were only endorsed as an *ex post facto* approval. As the OAU Secretary General's report, "Report on the Chad Question," illustrated,⁸³⁶ the establishment of the OAU peacekeeping forces, which were decided to be composed of military contingents from Benin, Congo and Guinea in 1979, and the creation of a control commission composed of Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Liberia, Libya, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan and the eleven political factions of Chad under the OAU Secretary General or his representative, were undertaken prior to the formal endorsements from both the Assembly and the Council.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁴ Mays, p. 39.

⁸³⁵ In February 1980, the OAU Council of Ministers adopted Resolution 769, which authorized the dispatch of an OAU peacekeeping force, consisting of Benin, Congo, and Guinea. See OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Chad," CM/Res.769 (XXXIV), Council of Ministers, Thirty-Fourth Ordinary Session, 6-15 February 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁸³⁶ OAU Secretariat, "Report on the Chad Question," CM/1022 (XXXIV), Council of Ministers, Thirty-Forth Ordinary Session, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 6-15 February 1980.

⁸³⁷ The OAU Council of Ministers endorsed the OAU peacekeeping forces in Chad in February 1980 by arguing "Convinced of the need to have an OAU Peace Keeping Force in Chad" and "APPROVED the dispatch of an OAU Peace Keeping Force from Benin, Congo and Guinea to Chad for the purpose of maintaining law and order as stipulated by the Lagos accord." When the OAU faced withdrawal of the Congolese peacekeeping force in March 1980, Nigeria took an initiative to hold a Special Economic Summit Conference (the Second Extraordinary Meeting) in April 1980, where the OAU discussed not only

The installation of the OAU peacekeeping force in 1979, which was agreed by the Lagos Accord, was seen positively by Chad as well as neighboring states. Admittedly, there was a commitment gap between the member states of OAU in West and Central Africa to achieve stability in Chad through peacekeeping. For example, even though OAU asked member states for a voluntary financial contribution of US\$50,000, which was necessary to undertake the peacekeeping mission, the institution faced difficulties in achieving this goal. In addition, the mission never had bright prospects to ensure Chadian political stability. However, positive political consensus on the OAU peacekeeping role in Chad was reached by the Chadian factions as well as neighboring states due to the political implications of the accord.

First, the fact that eleven Chadian factions for the first time gathered in the meeting and reached an agreement, including on the elimination of external actors, itself represents the legitimacy of the meeting since it was consistent with the OAU's main principles of "self-determination" and "non-interference." In fact, the OAU Assistant Secretary General Peter Onu mentioned that one of the main constraints for the Chadian reconciliation was "the question of the withdrawal of French troops."⁸³⁸ President Senghor from Senegal, one of the Francophone states, argued that "if there were no foreign intervention in Chad the problem could be settled" and that OAU should appeal to the UN to send troops if OAU peacekeeping forces could not be established."⁸³⁹

Second, the neighboring states also had positive views on the accord. For example, Nigeria, having failed to achieve sending its own peacekeeping forces to fulfill the mission, favored the OAU's role since this precluded any foreign states, especially France, from intervening in any African states. Meanwhile, Francophone states, which had held a skeptical

economic issues, but also financial matters for its peacekeeping forces in Chad. Subsequently, the OAU Assembly endorsed it in July 1980, referring to the CM/Res.769. *See* OAU Secretariat, CM/Res.769 (XXXIV); *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, (November 7, 1980), p. 20557 ; OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Chad," AHG/Res.101 (XVII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Seventeenth Ordinary Session, 1-4 July 1980, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

⁸³⁸ "The OAU and Chad," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 28, 1980.

⁸³⁹ "Conclusion of Franco-African summit in Nice," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, May 12, 1980.

view on Nigeria's unilateral peacekeeping forces in Chad due to its perceived ambition to expand its influence in West Africa, preferred multilateral operations,⁸⁴⁰ and thus, the OAU's mission was generally seen favorably. Sudan considered that the peacekeeping forces could deter Libya's ambition to expand its political influence in Chad, while Libya, which had occupied the Aouzou Strip, also preferred French withdrawal.⁸⁴¹ In other words, the 1979 OAU peacekeeping operation in Chad created the political condition for the French troops to withdraw. Furthermore, the operation helped further consolidating OAU's political alignment to reduce external interference as well as its non-traditional collective security system.

In the second phase, OAU member states positively perceived the organization as a policy option to settle Chadian conflicts because the potential of the OAU peacekeeping forces still existed despite the first-phase failure. However, after the French withdrawal, their objective changed to deterring Libyan ambitions over Chad as Libya's political influence over GUNT increased in 1980. After OAU failed to build up its peacekeeping forces in Chad, the Chadian situation became more volatile, and the conflicts in N'Djamena between Habre's FAN and Goukoni's GUNT intensified. As Habre was prevailing over the conflict, Goukouni decided to conclude the treaty of friendship and alliance with Libya in June 1980 in order to gain military assistance.

Libya's gradual expansion alarmed several OAU member states. For example, Senegal openly accused Libya of its ambition to annex Chad, Niger and Mali in July 1980.⁸⁴² Nigeria also warned that unauthorized foreign military intervention should immediately cease while the OAU peacekeeping forces needed to be established to ensure ceasefire.⁸⁴³ Sierra Leone President Siaka

⁸⁴⁰ Ambassador Olu Shanu, personal interview with Terry Mays, January 18 1991, cited in Mays, p. 42.

⁸⁴¹ Mays, p. 43.

⁸⁴² "Senegal's accusations against Libya," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 7, 1980.

⁸⁴³ Aminu Tijiani and David Williams, eds., *Shehu Shagari: My Vision of Nigeria* (London: Frank Cass, 1981), p. 53.

Stevens also concurred with these positions by stating that the civil war in Chad was frustrated by “outside interference,” implicitly indicating Libya.⁸⁴⁴

In order to contain internal conflicts and reduce external influence in Chad, OAU attempted to accelerate its efforts to materialize the establishment of its peacekeeping forces in Chad. This is well illustrated in OAU’s 17th Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in July 1980. As OAU was concerned about its failure to raise the financial and material assistance to establish a peacekeeping force, the organization decided that “in the event of failure by the OAU to raise the necessary funds of the Peace-Keeping Force by its own effort after a period of one month, the UN Security Council will be requested, through the African Group, for assistance, particularly the necessary financial means to enable peace to be restored in Chad.”⁸⁴⁵ Thus, OAU decided to set the deadline for the establishment of its peacekeeping force as well as define its fallback option to appeal to the United Nations.

However, having failed to raise funds for its peacekeeping force, OAU began to access the United Nations and to pursue mediation efforts. Although the Togolese attempt to hold the meeting in Lome in October 1980 failed, the first conference of OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Chad, whose members included Benin, Congo, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Togo and which was chaired by Sierra Leone and Togo, was held in November 1980. This conference issued a communiqué which included a cease-fire provision effective on December 15, 1980 and the establishment of a “neutral peacekeeping force” consisting of Benin, Congo, Guinea and Togo.⁸⁴⁶ In the meantime, under the treaty of friendship, Libya increased its military and financial support to GUNT, resulting in Goukouni’s seizure of N’Djamena on December 15, 1980. On December 23-24, 1980, the second conference of OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Chad was held in Lagos. Discussing whether the final communiqué should include condemnation against Libyan intervention, the committee published a conclusion stating that the national election should be

⁸⁴⁴ Leon Dash, “Africans’ New Leader Is Wily Referee,” *The Washington Post*, July 17, 1980.

⁸⁴⁵ OAU Secretariat, AHG/Res.101 (XVII).

⁸⁴⁶ Mays, p. 60.

held in collaboration with OAU by the end of January 1982 with the UN support and reaffirming the stance against foreign troops in Chad in general.⁸⁴⁷

However, the Libyan encroachment into Chad further developed, and the Chadian political situation drastically changed in January 8, 1981, when Libya and Chad announced the future merger through their joint communiqué. The OAU member states, including Central African Republic, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta, and Guinea, began to be more concerned about Libya's political ambitions.⁸⁴⁸ In fact, a week after the merger announcement, the Lome Conference, where twelve West and Central African States—Nigeria, Niger, Sudan, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Togo, Guinea, Benin, Congo, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Libya—discussed the Libyan presence in Chad, was held in Lome on January 13-14. The conference issued a final communiqué condemning the merger plan as well as the Libyan presence in Chad, arguing that Goukouni went outside the mandate of the 1979 Lagos Accord; requesting an OAU peacekeeping force, composed of Benin, Congo, Guinea, and Togo, to be immediately dispatched; and mandating the OAU Secretary General to organize free and fair elections by the end of April in 1981.⁸⁴⁹ By using the forum of this meeting, OAU member states, especially Nigeria, attempted to replace the Libyan forces with an OAU peacekeeping force. In response, Libya argued that its troops could withdraw only by the request of “the party which had asked for these forces to come.”⁸⁵⁰ On the other hand, although Nigeria attempted to induce Goukouni's cooperation to follow the Lome communiqué, Goukouni confessed that Libya forced him to sign the merger plan, yet he refused to change his position unless Nigeria helped him to

⁸⁴⁷ Sudan accused Nigerian hesitation to condemn Libya. “Chad: The OAU's Lagos Meeting and Sudan's Criticism of Libya,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 30, 1980; Mays, pp. 61-62.

⁸⁴⁸ For example, see “Central African Republic President's Statement on Libya-Chad Merger,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 16, 1981; “Upper Volta Foreign Minister's Statement: Libya and Chad,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 19, 1981; “Statements on Chad by Guinean and Nigerian Leaders,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 21, 1981.

⁸⁴⁹ The election was not held in April 1981. *Africa Diary*, March 12-18, 1981, p. 10422; “Resolution of the Lome OAU Meeting on Chad,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 16, 1981; “OAU Chairman on Lome Meeting's Results on Chad,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 17, 1981.

⁸⁵⁰ “Libyan Reaction to OAU Lome Conference Statement on Chad,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 17, 1981.

strengthen his position against Libya by asking for a unilateral Nigerian peacekeeping force.⁸⁵¹ Goukouni did not trust the capability of the OAU peacekeeping force to defend him from Habre's assault. Thus, OAU faced a political stalemate on Chadian issues.

Nevertheless, the OAU efforts to install the peacekeeping force continued. In June 1981, the OAU Assembly reaffirmed noninterference in the internal affairs of Chad; the dispatch of the OAU peacekeeping force whose composition was first submitted to GUNT for its approval; and providing financial and material means to create a national integration army "for the gradual replacement of foreign troops."⁸⁵² As such, the OAU finally induced Goukouni's approval for introducing the peacekeeping forces in Chad, and in August 1981, President Moi of Kenya had sent letters to ask Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal and Madagascar to provide their contingents in Chad.⁸⁵³ France had supported this African initiative, especially after the Libyan announcement of its merger plan with Chad, and when it decided to provide military and financial assistance to reinforce GUNT's defense, Goukouni finally decided on Libyan withdrawal in October 1981.⁸⁵⁴ Subsequently, Libya reluctantly announced its troop withdrawal in November.⁸⁵⁵

This opened the door for the second OAU peacekeeping operations. As OAU member states began to consider OAU's political and security role more positively, the OAU needed to implement its peacekeeping mission in Chad from November 1981 onwards. However, the situation again changed in three ways, resulting in the withdrawal of the OAU peacekeeping force from Chad in June 1982.

First, lack of financial and logistical supports despite its appeal to the United Nations led to a slow deployment of the OAU peacekeeping force, and created the opportunity for Habre's FAN to fill the power vacuum in Chad. After the Libyan withdrawal, FAN occupied the area

⁸⁵¹ "Visit of Chad President fails to satisfy Lagos," *The Times*, January 22, 1981, p. 7.

⁸⁵² OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Chad," AHG/Res.102 (XVIII) Rev. 1, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Eighteenth Ordinary Session, 24-27 June 1981, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁸⁵³ "The OAU and a peace-keeping force for Chad," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, August 31, 1981.

⁸⁵⁴ "President Returns from Mexico: Says Conference Was Constructive," *The New York Times*, October 25, 1981, p. 12.

⁸⁵⁵ "Libyan troops to quit Chad immediately, Gadaffi says," *The Globe and Mail*, November 4, 1981.

where the Libyan troops resided, namely the town of Adre on November 11 and Guereda on November 12.⁸⁵⁶ Even after the deployment of the OAU peacekeeping force, FAN did not cease its advancement toward N'Djamena while avoiding a direct military confrontation with OAU. Admittedly, OAU successfully appealed the United Nations, and the UN Security Council issued Resolution 504 on April 30, 1982 to request the Secretary-General to establish a fund for OAU peacekeeping.⁸⁵⁷ However, the United Nations was not fast enough to provide such a fund to OAU, and by June 1982, FAN had a massive military advantage, and it took only less than three hours for FAN to occupy the Chadian capital.⁸⁵⁸

Second, different expectations on the OAU peacekeeping mandates between OAU and GUNT created difficulty in the peaceful settlement of the Chadian conflict. While Goukouni assumed that the OAU peacekeeping mandate included the defense of GUNT from Habre's intrusion to N'Djamena, OAU maintained its policy of no direct participation in any confrontation against FAN. In fact, Gebre Dawit, the OAU Special Representative, argued in November 1981, "We do not want to repeat the UN experience in the former Belgian Congo, which was supporting a government to repress a rebellion."⁸⁵⁹ As a result, Goukouni never accepted the OAU's objective of holding negotiations between Goukouni and Habre.

Third, the mandate of the OAU peacekeeping changed from November 1981 to June 1982, which weakened the legitimacy of GUNT. Although the Paris Accord, which was concluded on November 14, 1981 and aimed at establishing a peacekeeping force, was signed by Goukouni under the auspices of France and the OAU Secretary General Kodjo,⁸⁶⁰ OAU member states denounced this agreement due to French involvement. Instead, OAU created the so-called

⁸⁵⁶ Mays, p. 84.

⁸⁵⁷ Interestingly, the Security Council did not refer Chapter VII or Chapter VIII to grant the OAU peacekeeping missions despite its efforts to financially assist the mission. *See* UN Security Council, "Resolution 504 (1982) of 30 April 1982," accessed May 5, 2012, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/435/28/IMG/NR043528.pdf?OpenElement>.

⁸⁵⁸ Mays, p. 99.

⁸⁵⁹ "Chad Peacekeeping Force Countries to Meet 27 Nov.," Daily Report. Middle East & Africa, FBIS-MEA-81-227, November 25, 1981, p. P1.

⁸⁶⁰ Mays, p. 82. Amadu Sesay, "The Limits of Peace-Keeping by a Regional Organization: The OAU Peace-Keeping Force in Chad," *Conflict Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 1991), p. 13

“Nairobi II” agreement through the OAU Ad Hoc Meeting in November 27, 1981, which replaced the Lagos Accord as well as the Paris Accord.⁸⁶¹ At this point, the agreement still regarded GUNT as the only legitimate transitional government in Chad. However, the Nairobi III, which was reached by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Chad in February 1982, changed its position and regarded Habre as a legitimate faction to participate in the reconstruction of the Chad government.⁸⁶² In this sense, although the OAU peacekeeping force was fielded, OAU could not reach political consensus over the reconstruction of Chad between the internal factions, and after Habre took over N’Djamena, the OAU peacekeeping force left without a political settlement.

Thus, OAU member states regarded its ad hoc peacekeeping mission positively to fill the power vacuum created by the departure of external actors—France and Libya—and in fact, OAU successfully created the political situation through which these actors were compelled to withdraw their troops. However, the organization was politically less deft in managing the internal situation in Chad. As foreign troops in Chad disappeared, OAU became indifferent to resolving the internal conflict due to lack of its material capabilities as well as the principle of non-interference. Subsequently, OAU peacekeeping forces did not keep peace in Chad and were forced to withdraw in early 1982. Moreover, despite the member states’ positive perspective of OAU’s security utility, they did not consolidate the organization by institutionalizing any security mechanism, including a peacekeeping function until the 1990s.

(3) ISP: Ad Hoc Peacekeeping for “Non-interference”

Before the ad hoc OAU peacekeeping force in Chad was created during the Chadian civil war in February 1979, OAU had already discussed the potential institutionalization of its security function, namely the establishment of a OAU Defense Force, which included a peacekeeping

⁸⁶¹ Mays, p. 85.

⁸⁶² Mays, pp. 92-95.

function. In fact, the most notable attempt to create such a mechanism was made by Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, who advocated pan-Africanism through the creation of an African Federation. This idea included the establishment of an African High Command, a military-security structure that aimed at defending the territorial integrity and sovereignty of member states. This never materialized; however, a similar idea had been discussed within the OAU Defense Commission since its inception, because the commission attempted to create a security mechanism which guaranteed a principle of non-interference, for two reasons.

On the one hand, OAU member states needed to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty from other member states. While OAU member states agreed to inherit the borders created by European colonialism, border disputes among the member states still existed as shown in the case of the Ethiopian-Somali disagreement. To ensure peaceful settlement of intra-member disputes, OAU set up the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, yet it became dysfunctional due to two reasons. First, the member states involved in disputes were unwilling to use the commission, and instead, they preferred to use ad hoc committees appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on a case-by-case basis. Second, because of financial difficulties, OAU could not even establish the Commission's rules of procedures.⁸⁶³ Thus, while considering reactivation of the commission in order to ensure the territorial integrity of member states, the OAU defense commission also considered the defense force as a mechanism to further assist in maintaining such a principle.⁸⁶⁴

On the other hand, the principle of noninterference also aimed at preventing extra-continental states from intervening in member states' internal affairs, given the fact that extra-continental powers in Africa prevented several African states from gaining independence and OAU aimed instead at fostering decolonization process. With this regard, one of the most

⁸⁶³ OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Administrative Secretary-General of the Commission of Mediation, Conciliations and Arbitration," CM/924 (XXXI), Council of Ministers, Thirty-First Ordinary Session, 7-15 July 1982, Khartoum, Sudan, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁶⁴ The OAU Charter specifically stipulated respect for the territorial integrity of each member states. *See* Article 2.1(c) and Article 3.3 of the OAU Charter. OAU Secretariat, *OAU Charter* (1963).

important OAU's principles, non-interference, envisaged preventing both member state and external actors from intervention. Considering OAU's strict adherence on non-interference in internal affairs, the OAU Defence Force was seen as a security mechanism to manage inter-state relations, not internal conflicts.

To accomplish this goal, the OAU Defence Commission recommended the creation of an "Africa peace-keeping system" at an early stage.⁸⁶⁵ The reports and recommendations issued by the Defence Commission discussed the possibility of the establishment of such a system, but the Council of Ministers did not take these reports seriously.⁸⁶⁶ However, this institutional passivity gradually altered after intensification of conflicts on the African continent triggered by the 1975 Portuguese withdrawal. The nature of these conflicts were basically externally driven, and extra-continental powers, as the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba, began to support one faction or another in the internal conflicts. In order to manage these conflicts effectively, three institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs) provided ideas to enhance OAU's security utility: the OAU Defence Commission, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria.

First, the OAU Defence Commission, which was reactivated by the Council of Ministers, proposed the establishment of the OAU Defence Force. As described above, given the nature of the conflicts on the African continent, it aimed at the creation of such a force primarily to prevent extra-continental powers' intervention. As the Council of Ministers was concerned about deepening external involvement in the Southern Africa affairs, the council issued several political declarations pertaining to this issue. For example, in 1976, the Council of Ministers drafted the

⁸⁶⁵ From 1963 to 1974, the Defence Commission held five ordinary sessions. During the first and second sessions in 1963 and in 1965 respectively, the commission recommended to create an African-peacekeeping system and standardization in military training of OAU member states. *See* OAU Secretariat, CM/655 (XXV), p. 1.

⁸⁶⁶ When the Council of Ministers met at the Seventh Extra-Ordinary Session in 1970, it asked the Defence Commission to examine the details of establishing an adequate and speedy defence of African States. After the study done by the committee, however, the Council postponed its recommendations in 1972. The Council again discussed such a possibility in mid-1972 and called on further study by the commission, but it again only took note of recommendations the committee provided in 1973. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

“Resolution on Mercenaries,”⁸⁶⁷ resulting in the 1977 “Convention of the OAU for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa.”⁸⁶⁸ Also, it issued the “Draft Resolution on Measures to be taken against Neo-Colonialist Maneuvres and Foreign Military Interventions in Africa” in 1978, although this resolution was rejected.⁸⁶⁹ However, these declarations did not alleviate the conflicts, and the political and military conflicts on the African continent, including in Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique, continued to intensify. In this context, the Council of Ministers resurrected the agenda on the creation of the Pan-African forces in 1978, calling for the reactivation of the OAU Defence Commission.⁸⁷⁰

At this point, the Council of Ministers envisaged that the Pan African Force aimed at thwarting interferences from outside, not intra-member disputes. The 1978 Council’s resolution, “Resolution on the Inter-African Military Force of Intervention,” stipulated that an Inter-African force prioritize OAU’s objectives, including “the elimination of the racist minority regimes of Southern Africa, the total liberation of the continent, and the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States,” while “Africa’s defence and security are the exclusive responsibility of the Africans.”⁸⁷¹ Although this resolution did not explicitly eliminate the possibility that the force would deal with intra-member states conflicts, it prioritized the elimination of external forces from the African continent. In fact, for intra-member disputes, it reaffirmed a peaceful settlement of disputes among the member states through such means as the

⁸⁶⁷ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Mercenaries,” CM/Res.497 (XXVII), Council of Ministers, Twenty-Seventh Ordinary Session, Port Louis, Mauritius, 24 June-3 July 1976.

⁸⁶⁸ OAU Secretariat, “Convention of the OAU for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa, Libreville, 3rd July 1977,” CM/817 (XXIX), Annex II Rev.1, accessed June 6, 2012, http://www.africa-union.org/official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/Convention_on_Mercenaries.pdf.

⁸⁶⁹ The draft resolution stated, “the measures to be taken against neo-colonialist measures and foreign military interventions in Africa... Conscious of the fact that the African Continent should not be the battle field of the conflict of world powers. See OAU Secretariat, “Draft Resolution on Measures to be taken against Neo-Colonialist Maneuvres and Foreign Military Interventions in Africa,” CM/Res.638 (XXXI), Council of Ministers, Thirty-First Ordinary Session, 7-18 July 1978, Khartoum, Sudan.

⁸⁷⁰ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on amendments to the OAU Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration,” CM/Res.628 (XXXI), Council of Ministers, Thirty-First Ordinary Session, Khartoum, Sudan, 7-18 July 1978; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Inter-African Military Force of Intervention,” CM/Res.635 (XXXI), Council of Ministers, Thirty-First Ordinary Session, Khartoum, Sudan, 7-18 July 1978.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

OAU Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.⁸⁷² Thus, the Council of Ministers conceptualized the role of an Inter-African force as external security management while internal security management could be undertaken by its mediation committee.

Yet, this conceptual demarcation was soon altered to the Defence Committee's original idea, peacekeeping functions for both external and internal security management, after the Chadian conflicts intensified in 1979. As the discussion about the establishment of an African Defence Force accelerated, the sixth OAU Defence Commission was held in June 1979 to discuss the formulation of the OAU Defence Force.⁸⁷³ According to Peter Onu, OAU Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Political Affairs, the Defence Force would assume four roles:

- 1) To support member states in the event of aggression from outside the continent, including aggression by the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa.
- 2) To assist in the liberation struggle being waged in African countries still under colonial and racial domination.
- 3) To provide *a peacekeeping observer force in the event of conflicts between member states*.
- 4) To cooperate with the United Nations on matters of defence and security affecting member-states.⁸⁷⁴

This Defence Commission conceptual framework had a significant implication for the OAU security structure because the defense force would play a peacekeeping role in the conflicts between member states, which before had been under the purview of the Mediation Committee according to the Council of Ministers. In fact, Onu insisted on such a vision because he believed

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ It had been five years since the last fifth OAU Defence Commission was held in January 7-12, 1974, which discussed "the aggression by Portugal against Guinea-Bissau and how best to help Guinea-Bissau repel that aggression." However, due to its own skepticism over the practicality of the commission, the Defence Commission decided to postpone the meeting until a Defence Office would be established within the OAU General Secretariat. OAU Secretariat, CM/655 (XXV).

⁸⁷⁴ *Emphasis added*. "OAU to Set Up Defence Force," *Africa Diary*, Vol. 19, No. 25, (June 18-24, 1979), p. 9559.

that “the Chadian situation would not have occurred if there was an OAU Defence Force.”⁸⁷⁵ In this sense, the Defence Commission led OAU to consider bolstering its security function comprehensively by institutionalizing *de facto* OAU peacekeeping operations.

However, the idea for OAU to assume more comprehensive security functions brought political controversy within the organization. It is true that, in July 1979, receiving the Council of Ministers’ 1978 resolution regarding the defense force, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government accepted the “principle of creating an OAU Defence Force” and requested “further study should be made on the financial and legal implications on the setting-up of the OAU Defence Force.”⁸⁷⁶ But several OAU member states considered that the feasibility of the OAU Defence Force’s peacekeeping role was questionable. For example, in July 1979, Daniel Toroiticharap Moi, President of Kenya, argued the formulation of Pan-African peace-keeping force as “a lofty and impractical notion in the present circumstances prevailing in Africa.”⁸⁷⁷

This related to the organizational financial and legal problems. The legal and financial research regarding the establishment of the OAU Defence Force, conducted by OAU financial and legal experts with the request of the Assembly on May 8, 1980, indicated that it was necessary to convene the Defence Commission to provide “basic data” on financial implications, including size and composition, organization and deployment, *modus operandi*, are and region of deployment of such a force, while also needing to produce the convention or legal instrument defining the purposes, missions, roles, and command and control of the force in order to make it consistent with the OAU and UN charters.⁸⁷⁸ Although the Council of Ministers adopted a

⁸⁷⁵ OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Rapporteur of the meeting of Experts on the Legal and Financial Implications on the setting up of the OAU Defence Force,” Addis Ababa, 7 to 14 May 1980, in Annex II of “Report of the Secretary-general on the Meeting of Experts on the Legal and Financial Implications of the Establishment of the OAU Defence Force,” CM/1051 (XXXV), Council of Ministers, Thirty-Fifth Ordinary Session, 18-28 June 1980, OAU Secretariat.

⁸⁷⁶ OAU Secretariat, CM/1051 (XXXV), p. 1; OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Rapporteur of the meeting of Experts on the Legal and Financial Implications on the setting up of the OAU Defence Force,” in Annex II, CM/1051 (XXXV).

⁸⁷⁷ “President Moi Dismissed Idea of Pan-African Peace Force,” Daily Report, Sub-Saharan Africa, FBIS-SSA-79-137, July 16, 1979, p. B4.

⁸⁷⁸ OAU Secretariat, CM/1051 (XXXV).

resolution in June 1980 to convene the Defence Commission “as soon as possible” to discuss the recommendations of the meeting of experts,⁸⁷⁹ it was only in April 1981 when the seventh meeting of the Defence Commission, which worked on the protocol on the establishment of the Defence Force, was convened.⁸⁸⁰

Second, Sierra Leone also proposed the establishment of an OAU Political Security Council in 1980. Facing a deteriorating security situation on the African Continent, Sierra Leone attempted to create an OAU permanent security organ, the Political Security Council, which would discuss both internal and external security matters, and requested feedback from the member states.⁸⁸¹ In June 1981, this idea led to the establishment of an ad hoc ministerial committee to further study the possibility of the Political Security Council.⁸⁸² However, due to internal disagreement, such a decision was postponed until the 41st Council of Ministers, which planned to be convened in 1985.⁸⁸³

Third, Nigeria proposed the establishment of a more specific commission, an OAU Boundaries Commission in February 1981 in order to contain the member states’ border conflicts by depoliticizing all the border problems in Africa resulting from the uncertain nature of the Africa’s land and maritime boundaries.⁸⁸⁴ Nigeria argued that the function of the commission

⁸⁷⁹ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the OAU Defence Force,” CM/Res.815 (XXXV), Council of Ministers, Thirty-fifth Ordinary Session, 18-28 June 1980, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

⁸⁸⁰ “In Brief: General; Conclusions of OAU Defence Commission meeting,” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, April 7, 1981.

⁸⁸¹ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Proposal for the Establishment of an OAU Political Security Council,” CM/Res.789 (XXXV), Council of Ministers, Thirty-fifth Ordinary Session, 18-28 June 1980, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

⁸⁸² OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Establishment of the OAU Defence Force,” CM/Res.867 (XXXVII), Council of Ministers, Thirty-seventh Ordinary Session, 15-25 June 1981, Nairobi, Kenya; OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Rapporteur,” DEF/RAPT/RPT (IX), Defence Commission, Ninth Ordinary Session, 27-30 May 1986, Zimbabwe, Harare, p. 5.

⁸⁸³ The Committee included Nigeria, Mali, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Angola, and Cameroon. OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Proposed Establishment of A Political Security Council,” CM/Res.860 (XXXVII), Council of Ministers, Thirty-Seventh Ordinary Session, 15-25 June 1981, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁸⁸⁴ AU Secretariat, “Summary Note on the African Union Border Programme and Its Implementation Modalities,” BP/EXP/2 (II) Rev.1, Conference of African Ministries in Charge of Border Issues, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 4-7 June 2007, pp. 2-3.

would include “assist[ing] Member States in resolving border disputes.”⁸⁸⁵ In June 1981, the Council of Ministers recommended the establishment of an ad hoc Ministerial Committee for further study along with Sierra Leone’s proposal of the establishment of a Political Security Council.⁸⁸⁶

Thus, the 1981 Council’s decision created a committee to comprehensively discuss the potential enhancement of OAU’s security functions, and this committee, the Ad Hoc Ministerial Committee of Twelve, was convened twice in April 1984 and February 1985. The first meeting was attended by Algeria, Cameroon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, and the participants asked the OAU General Secretariat in collaboration with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) to prepare for a preliminary study on the legal, political, military and financial implications of the establishment of a Political Security Council.⁸⁸⁷ Subsequently, the Secretariat undertook a study with UNITAR in September 1984, and the Committee was reconvened in February 1985. The main point of the discussion was the type of OAU’s security function that would be required to “deal urgently with crisis situations in African, those that are likely to threaten peace and security and the stability of the continent” and to “take prompt and effective measures for the maintenance of and prevent the escalation of conflicts, be they political or military.”⁸⁸⁸ Thus, this committee considered the

⁸⁸⁵ OAU Secretariat, “Establishment of an OAU Boundaries Commission (Proposed by the Federal Republic of Nigeria),” CM/1119 (XXXVII) Add.1., Council of Ministers, Thirty-Seventh Ordinary Session, 15-21 June 1981, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁸⁸⁶ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Proposed Establishment of an OAU Boundaries Commission,” CM/Res.870 (XXXVII), Council of Ministers, Thirty-seventh Ordinary Session, 15-14 June 1981, Nairobi, Kenya; AU Secretariat, “Summary Note on the African Union Border Programme and Its Implementation Modalities,” BP/EXP/2 (II) Rev.1 (2007), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁸⁷ Angola and Lesotho were absent. Ghana, Libya, Mozambique and Rwanda attended as observers. OAU Secretariat, “Annex IV: Report of the First Meeting of the Ad Hoc Ministerial Committee of Twelve” and “Annex V: Address by H.E. Dr. Peter U. Onu, Secretary-General a.i. of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at the Opening of the Meeting of the Ad Hoc Ministerial Committee Established by Resolution CM/Res.860 (XXXVII) on the Proposed Establishment of a Political Security Council,” in OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Second Meeting of the OAU Ad Hoc Ministerial Committee of Twelve,” CM/1271 (XLI), Council of Ministers, Forty-first Ordinary Session, 25 February – 5 March 1985, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

possibility of establishing a mechanism of peaceful settlement of disputes, collective security, peacekeeping operations, and collective self-defense.

Nevertheless, these discussions were, at best, inconclusive. The mechanism of peaceful settlement of disputes was not different from the existing body, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration under Article XIX of the OAU Charter, which was never operational; reactivation of this commission would suffice. The collective security system had legal problems. Since OAU was not entrusted to override the member states' decisions to defy a peaceful settlement of disputes, the charter revision would be required for such enforcement power. The function of peacekeeping operations had potential to be adopted, although this depended on its definition: whether it should be an ad-hoc function to supplement the peace-making function or a more robust peacekeeping function, including enforcement action and collective self-defense. However, as the Chadian experiences indicated, OAU had a financial problem in executing such operations, and it would be necessary for OAU to rely on the United Nations for financial assistance. Furthermore, if it pursued a collective enforcement mechanism, it could only be activated under the authority of the UN Security Council. Finally, the collective defense function, although OAU member states could utilize this function to repel the aggressor or mercenaries against the African states, had political problems, since multilateral treaties to could back up such a system did not exist.

With these problems, despite Sierra Leone's insistence, most of the committee members, including the chairperson from Lesotho, stated that the establishment of a Political Security Council was "inopportune even unrealistic" because of the proliferation of institutions, which would never be functional, such as the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.⁸⁸⁹ Consequently, it concluded that it was "necessary to recommend that the Council of Ministers

⁸⁸⁹ OAU Secretariat, "Annex I: Implications of the Proposal to Establish an OAU Political Security Council," in OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Second Meeting of the OAU Ad Hoc Ministerial Committee of Twelve," CM/1271 (XLI), Council of Ministers, Forty-first Ordinary Session, 25 February – 5 March 1985, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

terminate the mandate of the Committee” until the advent of new circumstances. The idea was indefinitely postponed, and the Council of Ministers in 1985 decided to halt further discussions and seek for other appropriate means to manage the regional security situation as it was “premature and inopportune to establish a Political Security Council in the present political and economic situation,”⁸⁹⁰ which virtually abolished all the ideas of “Defence Force,” “Political Security Council,” and “Boundaries Commission.” Accordingly, despite the OAU’s efforts to strengthen its security function and the creation of ad hoc peacekeeping forces in Chad, OAU failed to institutionalize any security function, and none of the ideas produced by the INEs in the late 1970s and early 1980s were officially adopted.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that no institutional transformation occurred in OAU at all. Peacekeeping operations as means to external and internal security management gained more currency with not only the OAU Defence Committee but also with the Council of Ministers, and they began to consider that its standing and ad hoc mediation committees were not the only tool for internal security management. Thus, the ideas provided by institutional entrepreneurs capped the reemergence of the Council’s security conceptual demarcation, external security management through the defense force and internal security management through the Mediation Committee. In other words, its institutional security preference (ISP) changed between pre- and post-OAU peacekeeping missions in Chad without establishing a peacekeeping function.

This is well-illustrated when the ninth meeting of the Defence Commission was held in 1986.⁸⁹¹ The Defence Commission began to consider a peacekeeping function of the expected OAU Defence Organ for the settlement of the disputes among member states. When one delegation attempted to push the idea to first establish the peacekeeping function before creating the OAU Defence Organ considering OAU’s lack of financial resources, many opposed to the

⁸⁹⁰ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Proposed Establishment of an OAU Political Security Council,” CM/Res.958 (XLI), Council of Ministers, Fourth-first Ordinary Session, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 25 February-4 March 1985.

⁸⁹¹ OAU Secretariat, “Report of the OAU Defence Commission,” CM/1387 (XLIV), Council of Ministers, Forty-Fourth Ordinary Session, 21-25 July 1986, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

idea because peacekeeping was “one of the objectives of the Defence Organ.”⁸⁹² While the establishment of the Defence Organ was too ambitious to be realized, the Defence Commission had already considered a peacekeeping function to be an indispensable part of its envisaged security function.

In addition, the Council of Ministers also began to consider the establishment of the Defence Organ more positively than before. In 1986, after the Defence Commission endorsed the report of the “Seminar on Peace-Keeping Operations,” which provided lessons from the OAU’s peacekeeping experiences in Chad, it used the report for justification to create the OAU Defence Organ.⁸⁹³ Subsequently, the Council of Ministers adopted the draft resolution by reiterating the need to establish an African Defence Organ and for further study for financial, logistical, and other related matters, and it did not oppose the peacekeeping function.⁸⁹⁴

Furthermore, what had not changed was OAU’s strict adherence of principle of non-interference. In fact, all the ideas provided by three INEs were based on interstate relations, and no OAU organs considered creation of a mechanism to resolve intra-state conflicts. This was also illustrated by the fact that OAU did not consider providing another peacekeeping mission in Chad after the reduction of French and Libyan political and military involvement in the Chadian civil war. In this sense, normatively, a peacekeeping function began to be regarded to enhance the principle of non-interference from external and intra-member state intervention. Thus, in a normative way, OAU undertook institutional consolidation by providing ad hoc peacekeeping operations in Chad.

⁸⁹² OAU Secretariat, DEF/RAPT/RPT (IX), p. 7.

⁸⁹³ The attendee of the seminar included Dr. J. Jonah, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Field Operations and External Support Activities; Mr. Dawit Gebre-Egziabher, Special Representative of the OAU Secretary General in Chad; General (Rtd) G.O. Ejiga, Force Commander of the Pan-African Force in Chad; and Brigadier S.G. Macharia, Commander of the Military Observer group in Chad. Participants discussed the theoretical and practical aspects of peace-keeping operations. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸⁹⁴ OAU Secretariat, “Draft Resolution on the Defence Commission,” CM/Res.1073 (XLIV), Council of Ministers, Forty-Fourth Ordinary Session, 21-26 July 1986, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

II. OAU/ AU in 1989-2002: Institutional Development from OAU to AU

1. Development of Central Organ and African Union

From 1989 to 2002, there were two phases in which OAU undertook two fundamental structural transformations in the security field: one was the creation of the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Management and Resolution in 1993, and the other was the establishment of the African Union in 2002.

In the first phase from 1989 to 1993, OAU gradually undertook institutional transformation, which did not fundamentally change the organizational *raison d'être* but added a new security mechanism. According to the 1993 Cairo Declaration, OAU had determined to establish the Central Organ in order to promote a “speedy and peaceful” resolution to all conflicts in Africa that deteriorated the socio-economic foundations imperative for development.⁸⁹⁵ However, keeping the core OAU principles and objectives, which included sovereign equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, states’ inalienable right to independent existence, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the inviolability of borders inherited from colonialism, limited OAU authority to quell the conflicts in Africa. Instead, the Central Organ focused on strengthening the conflict prevention mechanism as its “primary objective” since OAU considered it the most efficient method to manage conflicts rather than resorting to the “complex and resource-demanding” peace operations.⁸⁹⁶ In this sense, OAU re-institutionalized prior ad hoc meetings for conflict prevention and strengthened its function of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking by restructuring the mechanism which had been once aimed at these goals, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

In order to strengthen its security function while maintaining the OAU’s fundamental principles, the Central Organ aimed at the creation of two mechanisms. First, it created a division of labor with the United Nations in terms of peacekeeping. Although OAU lacked its own

⁸⁹⁵ OAU Secretariat, AHG/Decl.3 (XXIX) Rev.1.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

military and financial capabilities to execute peacekeeping, as evinced by its first intervention in Chad during the period of 1980-1982, it recognized the necessity of peacekeeping in certain circumstances. Striking the balance over this dilemma, OAU decided to rely on the United Nations for peacekeeping. This is illustrated by the Cairo Declaration, which stipulated, “in the event that conflicts degenerate to the extent of requiring collective international intervention and policing, the assistance or where appropriate the services of the United Nations will be sought under the general terms of its Charter.”⁸⁹⁷ Second, OAU decided to strengthen security linkages with the United Nations and sub-regional organizations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).⁸⁹⁸ In order to effectively implement functions of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, it was necessary to establish early warning systems. Yet, as OAU did not have the functional capabilities to monitor the situation on the entire African continent, the Central Organ aimed at coordinating its activities with other regional and sub-regional organizations “with respect to conflicts which may arise in the different sub-regions of the Continent.”⁸⁹⁹ In this sense, OAU formally added a new security function of a non-traditional quasi-collective security system to resolve conflicts within the African continent in this first phase.

In the second phase from 1994 to 2002, OAU undertook a drastic institutional transformation to replace itself with the African Union (AU). The most salient functional difference in the security field between OAU and AU is its institutional norm, namely the non-intervention principle. Admittedly, similar to the way in which the OAU strictly adhered with the non-intervention principle, the AU Constitutive Act also stipulates “Non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another” in its Article 4(g).⁹⁰⁰ However, in the Constitutive

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ Article 4. African Union, *Constitutive Act of the African Union*.

Act, state sovereignty has become more conditional under two circumstances: first, according to Article 4(h), AU has the right “to intervene in a member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crime against humanity”; and second, according to Article 4(j), AU member states have the right “to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security.”⁹⁰¹ Despite severe limitations on its institutional military and financial capabilities, this change relaxed OAU’s political constraints on settling international disputes, resulting in the reality that AU action does not necessarily exclude the use of force.

To this end, the Peace and Security Council was established in 2004. Although OAU decided that the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution would be incorporated into AU, the Constitutive Act did not stipulate institutionalization of such a security council. In July 2002, when the first ordinary session of the Assembly was held, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, which was modeled on the UN Security Council, was issued.⁹⁰² According to this protocol, the Peace and Security Council has fifteen members without veto power, and its function extends beyond the OAU Central Organ’s to include “peace support operations and intervention, pursuant to article 4(h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act” and “peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.” To execute these functions, the protocol included the establishment of an African Standby Force.⁹⁰³ Due to the controversial nature of security issues, it took more than a year for the protocol to be entered into force, which was finally accomplished on December 26, 2003, and the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Executive Council in 2004 elected fifteen members and formally established the Peace and Security Council. Thus, a new institutional norm, conditional intervention, was embedded into a new organization; OAU

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

⁹⁰² AU Secretariat, “Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.” the 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union, Durban, 9, July 2002.

⁹⁰³ See “Article 13: African Standby Force” of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. Ibid.

transformed into AU, which possesses the security function of a full-fledged non-traditional collective security system, at least politically.

In this sense, OAU undertook two institutional transformations in the period between 1989 and 2002. Both institutional transformations were directed toward internal security management to establish non-traditional collective security. Nevertheless, the fundamental difference between institutional transformation in the first and second phase is that the second-phase transformation replaced the existing institutional norm and established a new institution, AU, by displacing OAU.

Given this, why and how did OAU institutional transformation occur? Why was OAU unable to create AU in the first phase? What made it possible for OAU to displace itself with AU in the second phase, and how did this occur? In this section, by testing my three hypotheses in the first and second phases, I will analyze the formation of the OAU's Central Organ and the establishment of AU respectively. I will divide the period into two phases: 1989-1993 (Phase I) and 1994-2002 (Phase II) to trace the process of creating both institutions.

1. Phase I: OAU in 1989-1993—The Central Organ

(1) Triggers: The Great Power Retrenchment and Emerging Internal Conflicts in Africa

In the late 1980s, the regional balance of power on the African continent began to shift due to US-Soviet rapprochement. The Soviet Union, following the Perestroika movement led by Mikhail Gorbachev, had already publicized its pursuit of the world stability and its focus on domestic reforms. Gorbachev argued that Soviet “international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve [the Soviet Union],” and that this was why the Soviet Union needed “lasting peace, predictability and constructiveness in international relations.”⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰⁴ Philip Taubman, “Gorbachev Avows A Need for Peace to Pursue Domestic Reform,” *The New York Times*, February 17, 1987.

Although the Soviet Union had long supported rebels in the Southern African region and such support did not recede immediately after Gorbachev,⁹⁰⁵ this shift in Soviet global policy did have consequences on African politics. As the United States responded to the Soviet changes, the dynamics of the regional balance of power in Africa also shifted. This is well illustrated by Angola's civil war. While both the United States and the Soviet Union, along with Cuba, were involved in the civil war, all the powers announced their support for the agreement on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia in June 1988 during the Moscow summit. Undertaking consultations with the Soviet Union, the United States began to promote the agreement among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa to realize the Protocol of Brazzaville, which aimed at the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola. On December 22, 1988, these mediating efforts, sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, produced an Angola-Cuba-South Africa accord, which aimed at the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola by July 1991 as well as South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. As the superpower rivalry on the African continent dissipated and their support for domestic combatants in Africa receded, the nature of regional conflicts began to change. Building on this success, the United States and the Soviet Union declared to further cooperate in tackling African problems, including on issues of UN peacemaking and peacekeeping, conflict mediation, democratization, and social stability and economic development, through the US-Soviet Joint Statement in 1991.⁹⁰⁶

To be sure, this does not mean that a total shift of the regional balance of power in Africa was occurring. There was still political and strategic continuity existing on the African continent. Most notably, South Africa, which was governed by a white minority despite its more reconciliatory approach toward the black majority, continued to hold on to the apartheid system. Also, both the United States and the Soviet Union did not make political and military

⁹⁰⁵ For example, see Kurt Campbell, "Southern Africa in Soviet Foreign Policy," *Adelphi Papers*, Vol. 227 (Winter 1987/1988).

⁹⁰⁶ US Department of State, "US-Soviet Joint Statement, May 31, 1991," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 23, June 10, 1991, p. 409.

commitments in Africa to the extent they did in Europe and Asia, and it can be argued that strategic changes caused by the United States and the Soviet Union had not resolved the fundamental problems of Africa, which were rooted in religious and ethnic tensions, weak governance, and economic backwardness.

Furthermore, this strategic change also meant that their commitments to the African continent further weakened. For example, even though the Liberian civil war broke out in 1989, the United Nations could not initially take action in the conflict, and even when the conflict deteriorated after the assassination of the Liberian President Samuel Doe in September 1990, the United Nations concentrated on the Gulf Crisis caused by the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait. Given this UN inaction, the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS) took the initiative to quell the conflict by forming the Economic Community Military Observation Group (ECOMOG). In fact, it was only in 1993 that the United Nations created the United Nations Observer Missions in Liberia (UNOMIL).

While changes in the regional balance of power in Africa were clearly ongoing, the external powers' commitment to maintain the relative stability on the African continent was ambivalent. While the Soviet Union significantly reduced its political and military support to African states after 1989, the United States pursued political and economic objectives in Africa, namely democratization, human rights protection, and economic development, rather than a military commitment. Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, argued in 1990 that the United States would encourage democratization in Africa, as democracy was a "system of great adaptability,"⁹⁰⁷ and that USAID's program would be guided by the "principles of support

⁹⁰⁷ According to another US official, democracies do not fight with each other, conducive to capitalism, and possess political flexibility, stability, and legitimacy, in accommodating class and ethnic diversity, which can quell conflicts in the long term. See John Stremlau, "The New Global System and Its Implications for Peace and Security in Africa," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 35, September 2, 1991, pp. 657-660.

for free-markets,” “broad-based economic growth,” and “support for democracy.”⁹⁰⁸ This policy shift indicated that the United States would no longer support African dictatorship or authoritarianism to counter Soviet influence, which was illustrated by the US policy change in Zaire. The United States mentioned in 1991 that although President Mobutu Sese Seko maintained political stability in Zaire from the 1960s, it would not support Mobutu any more due to his poor human rights record and rather foster free and fair elections to undertake the transition to democracy.⁹⁰⁹

Moreover, the basic US strategy in Africa in the early 1990s was more economic and political rather than military. Though the United States indicated its concern over regional peace in Africa, which might hinder Africa’s potential development deriving from “the world supply of raw materials and minerals” and “enormous human potential,” the 1990 National Security Strategy aimed at fostering democratization and economic liberalization processes tied to its development assistance.⁹¹⁰ Also, rather than focusing on military intervention, the United States promoted political negotiation in conflicts, as well as maintaining its opposition to South African Apartheid.⁹¹¹ When conflicts erupted, the United States assumed that United Nations peacekeeping would deal with them with the help of the international community, including the United States, and security assistance would be the mean to reduce a direct US role in regional stability.⁹¹² John Bolton, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, frankly argued that the United States would fully support the position that regional organizations needed to take greater responsibilities for resolving regional problems.⁹¹³

⁹⁰⁸ Herman Cohen, “Democratic Change in Africa,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 1, No. 12, November 19, 1990, p. 272.

⁹⁰⁹ Herman Cohen, “US Policy and the Crisis in Zaire,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 2, No. 45, November 11, 1991, pp. 828 - 829.

⁹¹⁰ The report explicitly says, “In a new era, nurturing democracy and stability remains a basic goal, but one now freed from its traditional Cold War context. Foreign assistance is an indispensable means toward this end.” White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States*, (March 1990), p. 18.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹¹³ John Bolton, “UN Peace-keeping Efforts to Promote Security and Stability,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 3, No. 13 (March 30, 1992), pp. 244-246.

In fact, while the United States made political mediating efforts in Namibia, Angola, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Mozambique from 1990 to 1992, it resisted immediate intervention in African conflicts, such as Liberia, which faced an intensive civil from September 1990; Chad, in which rebels defeated and overthrew Hissene Habre in November 1990; and Somalia, where rebels overthrew Siad Barre in January 1991.⁹¹⁴ This principle remained consistent even in 1993, when the US Department of State clearly said:

Conflict resolution and peaceful change in Africa are primary US goals...[and] The United States actively supports the nascent efforts of Africans to take the lead in resolving conflicts and peace-keeping efforts in the region. However, it also is willing to play the role of catalyst, technical adviser, and honest broker to resolve conflicts.⁹¹⁵

Admittedly, the United States did not exclude military intervention under “rare and compelling circumstances,” which required US presence.⁹¹⁶ This included the US involvement in the Somalia conflict under the aegis of the US-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) from March 1993, whose mission was to secure the environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid in Somalia. Nevertheless, by avoiding deep involvement in African conflicts, the United States aimed at strengthening OAU and expanding its mandate to hold regular peace-keeping operations and conflict-mediation services.⁹¹⁷ For example, its initial objective of transitioning from UNITAF to the United Nations Operations in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) by reducing US unilateral commitment illustrates this point.

In this sense, the United States attempted to politically and economically engage Africa through the United Nations in order to promote capacity-building for states as well as regional organizations. At the same time, the United States acknowledged that UN multilateral peace-

⁹¹⁴ See Michael Clough, *Free At Last? U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War*, (New York: the Council on Foreign Relations, 1992), pp. 12-13.

⁹¹⁵ US Department of State, “Fact Sheet: US Policy for a New Era in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 18, 1993, p. 35.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36; Herman Cohen, “Peace-keeping and Conflict Resolution in Africa,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 16, April 19, 1993, p. 272.

⁹¹⁷ US Department of State, “Fact Sheet,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, January 18, 1993, p. 36.

keeping and peace enforcement in African conflicts would be necessary and that this would be the means to fill the power vacuum created by the end of the Cold War. Madeline Albright, US Ambassador to the United Nations, argued that without UN peacekeeping operations, “the resultant power vacuums invited intervention by neighbors or would-be regional powers,” which would further destabilize the region.⁹¹⁸ Thus, during this period, the United States sought for striking a balance between its restraints on military commitment and the use of UN and regional peace-keeping.

Other extra-continental powers in Africa, the United Kingdom and France, slightly altered their policies toward Africa in the post-Cold War era. The United Kingdom took a similar approach to the United States. It emphasized its role in fostering political and economic reform, promoting democratization and a market economy, in Africa by using multilateral mechanisms, such as the European Union and the World Bank.⁹¹⁹ The United Kingdom was also cautious regarding military intervention in African conflicts although it provided some troops to African conflicts within multilateral forces, including the UNITAF operation. However, having already gradually reduced its military and political commitment to Africa since the decolonization process in Africa,⁹²⁰ the UK policy changes toward Africa had limited impact on a new African environment in the early 1990s.

On the other hand, France, which had generally maintained high levels of political, military, economic and social commitment to Africa relative to other great powers, sustained this commitment during the 1989-1993 period in the post-Cold War era.⁹²¹ For example, French military intervention in African states from 1989 to 1993, even though their degree varied,

⁹¹⁸ Madeleine Albright, “Myths of Peace-keeping,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 19, June 28, 1993, p. 466.

⁹¹⁹ Gordon Cumming, “UK African Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: From *Realpolitik* to *Moralpolitik*?” *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2004), p. 111.

⁹²⁰ Alain Rouvez, *Disconsolate Empires: French, British and Belgian Military Involvement in Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Maryland: University Press of America, 1994), p. 278.

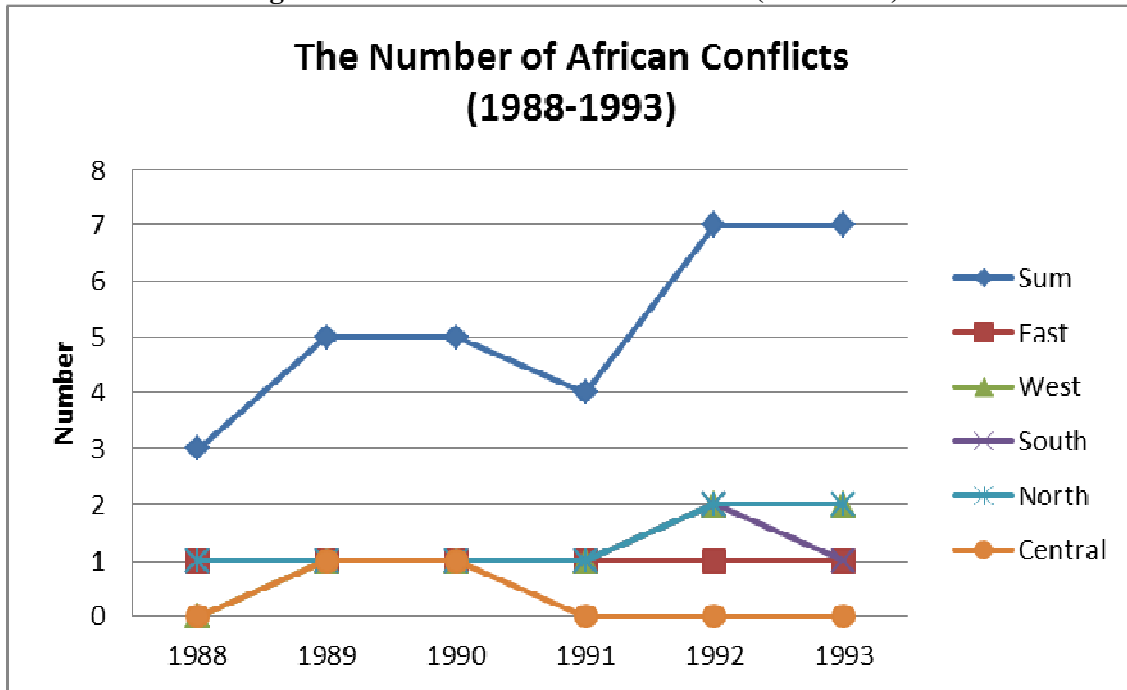
⁹²¹ For example, see Tony Chafer, “French African Policy: Towards Change,” *African Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 362 (January 1992), pp. 37-51.

numbered seven, including Comoros in 1989; Gabon in 1990; Rwanda from 1990 to 1993; Benin, Djibouti, and Zaire in 1991; and Sierra Leone in 1992. Also, by 1995, France maintained military agreements with 23 African states and deployed its forces in six states.⁹²² Yet, these interventions and military presence were essentially limited to Francophone states in Africa, and France had neither had the capabilities nor the willingness to cover the entire African continent.

In sum, while strategic factors facing the United Kingdom and France remained constant, the quality of US engagement in Africa changed and the Soviet Union retrenched from the continent, which created a regional power vacuum and changed the strategic landscape. As certain African states that had lost their backing from either the United States or the Soviet Union also lost their capabilities and the political legitimacy to govern their own states, this power vacuum and the democratic transition within African states deteriorated political instability at the continental level. Consequently, the number of internal conflicts increased during the 1989-1993 period, shown in Figure 6.1. There were two types of conflicts in Africa: one was a continued conflict from the Cold War era, and the other was a new internal conflict. The former includes Mozambique, Sudan, and Somalia. The latter includes Liberia, Chad, Sierra Leone, Algeria, Angola, and Burundi.

⁹²² Those 23 states included Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Conakry, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo and Zaire. Also, France deployed its troops in Cameroon (10 troops), Djibouti (3,500 troops), Gabon (610 troops), Cote d'Ivoire (580 troops), the Central African Republic (1,500 troops), and Senegal (1,300 troops) and also had 850 troops in Chad under the terms of a temporary bilateral military assistance agreement. There are some annual variations for these figures: the 1994 White paper had 8,600 personnel in 1994; Figaro had 8,200 for 1996 ("Afrique, la France ne baisse pas la garde," 20 March 1996); and Dumoulin had 8,400 for 1997 (Dumoulin, *La France Militaire*, pp. 113-114), in Shaun Gregory, "The French Military in Africa: Past and Present," *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 396 (2000), p. 438.

Figure 6.1: Number of African Conflicts (1988-1993)



* “Conflict” is defined as more than 1,000 deaths.

** Conflicts occurred in 14 states between 1988 and 2001: Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia in East Africa; Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone in West Africa; Mozambique and Angola in Southern Africa; Sudan and Algeria in North Africa; Chad, Congo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Central Africa.

Source: Meredith Reid Sarkees and Frank Wayman, *Resort to War: 1816 – 2007*, CQ Press, 2010.

In order to fill the power vacuum that affected the internal political dynamics of African states, the United Nations undertook 10 peacekeeping operations in several African conflicts from 1989 to 1993, including: the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I); the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG); the UN Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II); the UN Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I); the UN Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea (UNOVER); the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ); the UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II); the UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR); the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL); and the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). In fact, the United Nations became more active in playing a role in managing international security issues. This is well illustrated by the report, “An Agenda for Peace,” that the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, provided to the UN Security Council in 1992, which

considered an option for peace enforcement, including intervention to internal affairs without consent from concerned parties.⁹²³

Admittedly, these operations were not necessarily successful and produced mixed results. For example, while UNTAG was successful in helping to make Namibia independent, UNOMIL was established a full three years after the Liberian conflicts erupted. Nevertheless, during this period, the United Nations played a role in raising the expectations of the international community that the organization could quell conflicts or at least create temporal peace in each state. In this sense, the high expectations for UN role in conflict resolution on the African continent emerged, although the continent experienced a period of instability from 1989 and 1993.

(2) Uncertainty: OAU's Security Utility for African Internal Conflict

The OAU's institutional expectations for its OAU security utility from 1989 to 1993 remained largely uncertain. It is true that OAU perceived the changing the international environment as early as 1988, when the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution in which the international change was seen positively; the organization considered that the relaxation of tensions due to the superpower détente would "be extended to the international scene."⁹²⁴ However, this did not propel any OAU action to adapt to the changing environment. Rather, OAU called on the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to monitor and assess the international developments.⁹²⁵ While OAU considered prevention of external intervention into member states

⁹²³ According to the report, "Peace-keeping" encompasses "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, *hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned*, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace" [emphasis added]. See UN General Assembly and Security Council, "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping— Report of the Secretary General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992," A/47/277-S/24111, June 17, 1992.

⁹²⁴ OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Current International Development," CM/Res.1158 (XLVIII), Council of Ministers, Forty-Eight Ordinary Session, 19-23 May 1988, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹²⁵ The OAU resolution stated, "Calls upon the Non-Aligned Movement to monitor carefully the aforementioned developments and recommends that the Non-Aligned Movement start a process of reassessment of the international situation and the impact of these developments on the Third World Countries as well as on their just causes." Ibid.

as one of the fundamental organizational objectives, the member states themselves did not prioritize such a goal.

This is because OAU still considered political cooperation to gain independence for all African states as the most fundamental organizational objective. The OAU's prominent agenda from 1989 to 1993 had been the Southern African conflicts and Apartheid policy in South Africa except for some issues of functional cooperation among African states from 1989 to 1993.⁹²⁶ In this sense, OAU's security utility had been to form a coalition in order for African states to gain independence. Since the superpower détente reduced external involvement in African states and support for governments and rebels in the Southern African states, OAU's security utility could be seen as positive in the context of a changing international environment.

Yet, this positive expectation increasingly shifted to uncertainty from 1989. OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim, argued in 1990 by presenting his recommendations:

...I must admit that, given the fluidity of the international situation and the rapidly with which the political landscape is changing, it has not been possible to predict world direction with absolute certainty. The views and recommendations I put forward in my report should, therefore, be viewed against the background of the present uncertain political environment.⁹²⁷

He rationalized this uncertainty by arguing that the disappearance of the East-West rivalry made it impossible for African states to sustain a political option to ally with the Soviet Union and the Eastern blocs, which was exemplified by the improvement of the Eastern European states' relations with South Africa despite its maintenance of Apartheid after the US-Soviet détente.⁹²⁸

These perceptions extended to both security and economic fields in Africa. In the security field, while conflicts in the Southern African states, including Namibia and Angola, began to

⁹²⁶ The political and security agenda constantly discussed in both the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of States during this period was essentially South Africa and the Southern African conflicts. *See* the Council of Ministers Resolutions from CM/Res.1206 to CM/Res.1425, and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government Resolution from AHG/Res.179 to AHG/Res.227.

⁹²⁷ OAU Secretariat, "CM/1592 (LII); OAU Secretariat, "Introductory Note of the Secretary-General," CM/1591 (LII) Part I, Fifty-Second Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, 3 July 1990, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, pp. 10-11.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

recede due to the US-Soviet détente, there arose other internal conflicts in Africa, most prominently the Liberia civil war. Since the international community and the United Nations did not immediately respond to this internal conflict, it was unclear which actors had the political will and capabilities to quell such an internal conflict. In the economic field, having already suffered from external debt crises, the negative prospect of the Uruguay Round created concerns among OAU member states that a failed round would likely affect African state stability.⁹²⁹ To prevent this, OAU began to consider the establishment of the African Economic Community in 1990,⁹³⁰ although the probability of realizing such a community in the short-term was extremely low. Therefore, due to the emergence of new security and economic concerns caused by changes in the regional balance of power in Africa, OAU member states began to consider enhancing their security utility.

OAU member states perceived these new threats, and the Assembly decided to issue the “Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes” in 1990.⁹³¹ At this time, OAU considered that its fundamental objective, to free the African continent from external rule, was being achieved given the fact that Namibia became independent in March 1990 and South African President de Klerk took a more conciliatory attitude towards his internal policies toward the black majority. While OAU considered this as a positive trend, it also laid out two new main concerns on the African continent: the potential political and economic marginalization of Africa and African security instability. First, OAU considered that the changes in the international security environment would possibly lead to the African continent

⁹²⁹ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Uruguay Round Negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),” CM/Res.1191 (XLIX), Forty-ninth Ordinary Session of Council of Minister, 20-25 February 1989, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹³⁰ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Establishment of the African Economic Community,” CM/Res.1251 (LI), Council of Ministers, Fifty-first Ordinary Session, 19-24 February 1990, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹³¹ OAU Secretariat, “Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes,” AHG/Decl.1 (XXVI) Rev.1 (1990).

facing “the real threat of marginalization” in both political and economic terms. According to the declaration, the disappearance of the East-West rivalry, Eastern European democratization, and the increasing trend of regional economic blocs became the center of world attention, and the African continent would possibly be excluded from this changing landscape. OAU made an effort from 1980 to strengthen the economic capabilities of African states by concluding the “Lagos Plan of Actions” in 1980 and “Africa’s Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-1990” in 1985 to bolster economic development, yet neither had yet to achieve any significant progress. Thus, the Assembly decided to promote economic integration and establish an African Economic Community. Second, and more importantly, OAU admitted that without security and stability on the African continent, it would be difficult for Africa to achieve such economic development. The declaration stipulated that “the possibilities of achieving the objectives [OAU] set will be constrained as long as an atmosphere of lasting peace and stability does not prevail in Africa” and that it determined to “work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of all the conflicts” in Africa.⁹³²

This declaration was the watershed event of the organizational development of OAU. Admittedly, this declaration itself did not produce any effective resolution mechanism to deal with the emerging security environment in Africa. Even though conflicts that emerged on the African continent since 1989 were caused mainly by internal political struggles, which might require outside intervention to secure stability, leaders had no intention to amend the organizational principle of non-intervention. While member states agreed to strengthen OAU for furthering economic development, the declaration argued that they rededicate themselves to “the principles and objectives enshrined in the [OAU] Charter.”⁹³³ Nonetheless, it was issued by the highest organizational authority, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, and that

⁹³² See Paragraph 11. Ibid.

⁹³³ See Paragraph 12. Ibid.

security and stability were the pivotal factors to achieve economic development in African states, and OAU's security function needed to be strengthened.

In the meantime, OAU member states became more uncertain about the organizational utility of their own security due to their political dilemma. On the one hand, from the perspective of OAU member states, most African states were not full-fledged nation-states due to the political divisions caused by ethnicity and religions, and were rather "territorial" states created by European rule in the 19th Century.⁹³⁴ In this sense, there was a fear among member states that once OAU abrogated a non-interference principle, these essentially fragile states would likely to become failing states through interventions. Furthermore, as OAU member states noted that South Africa had yet to achieve its independence, it was necessary to maintain the original organizational principle of seeking independence from external rule. On the other hand, states may often require outside intervention to lead internal conflicts to peaceful settlement. Therefore, facing this dilemma, OAU needed to strike a fine balance to devise its new security function to settle internal conflicts without violating its non-interference principle, which made member states' expectations for its utility uncertain.

In 1992, when the number of internal conflicts in Africa increased and the spillover effects of such conflicts to neighboring states heightened, as illustrated by the Liberian civil war's effects on Sierra Leone, OAU's political dilemma over its non-intervention principle became acute. However, since OAU did not formally have a mechanism to deal with internal conflicts except for the defunct Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, OAU's security utility became more and more uncertain for member states. Consequently, the Assembly decided to establish a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution.⁹³⁵ Following the same logic used by the 1990 Assembly declaration, it decided to create a security function that

⁹³⁴ For the discussion of the nature of African states, see Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁹³⁵ OAU Secretariat, "Decision on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution," AHG/Dec.1 (XXVIII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session, 29 June- 1 July 1992, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

could manage African internal conflicts without amending the principles and objectives of the OAU Charter. The Assembly asked the OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim, to conduct an in-depth study to establish the mechanism.

As a result, in 1993, the Assembly adopted the Cairo Declaration as well as the declaration on the establishment of Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution. In the Cairo Declaration, acknowledging that the positive aspects of the end of the Cold War did not sufficiently enable the African continent to resolve its fundamental problems, such as security and economic development, the Assembly reaffirmed that security and stability “ha[d] always been [OAU’s] priority concern at the national, regional and continental levels for the achievement of development and integration in the socio-economic and cultural fields...” while stating that a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution must become effective “within the framework of the OAU and in consonance with the principles and objectives of its Charter.”⁹³⁶

With this principle, the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution was established.⁹³⁷ Holding organizational principles, particularly “the sovereign equality of Member States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States, their inalienable right to independent existence, the peaceful settlement of disputes as well as the inviolability of borders inherited from colonialism” prominent and stating that its functionality that was based on “the consent and the cooperation of the parties to a conflict,” the agreement laid the normative ceiling not to go beyond the authority given to the organization. Instead, the mechanism focused on “the anticipation and prevention of conflicts,” but it could also undertake peace-making and peace-building functions, including civilian and military observations of “limited scope and duration.”

⁹³⁶ See Para 8, and Para 14. OAU Secretariat, “1993 Cairo Declaration on the occasion of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the OAU,” AHG/Decl.1 (XXIX), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session, 28 – 30 June 1993, Cairo, Egypt.

⁹³⁷ Sudan and Eritrea made reservations on this declaration due to their domestic conflicts. OAU Secretariat, AHG/Decl.3 (XXIX) Rev.1.

The objectives of these functions were to facilitate prompt and decisive institutional action and to prevent the intensification of conflicts that would require resource-costly peacekeeping operations. To this end, the mechanism aimed at creating an effective early warning system by enhancing the linkage with international and sub-regional organizations, such as ECOWAS and SADC. In the case that peacekeeping operations were required to manage conflicts, OAU would call for assistance from the United Nations. As such, OAU created a division of labor with other international and sub-regional organizations to conduct peace operations comprehensively. Since OAU put political constraints on expanding its security function by not altering its fundamental principles, OAU sought to not become a self-contained organization dealing with African conflicts, and to ensure this excluded the function of peace enforcement.

To be sure, OAU had authorized several peacekeeping missions to monitor cease-fires before the establishment of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management, and resolution. For example, in 1990, OAU decided to send a peacekeeping mission to Rwanda; established the Military Observer Team (MOT) consisting of Burundi, Uganda and Zaire contingents, in 1991; created the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG), consisting of 40 military observers from Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe; and enlarged NMOG into NMOG II to have 240 observers from Congo, Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia.⁹³⁸ These peacekeeping missions, all in Rwanda, were the first of their kind since the OAU's intervention in Chad from 1981 to 1982, and were all decided on ad hoc basis. Since ad hoc peacekeeping operations conducted by OAU had been extremely rare in its institutional history, and since OAU neither aimed at creating comprehensive conflict resolution system on the African continent nor had any institutionalized decision-making procedures for providing peacekeeping operations, the establishment of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management, and resolution to comprehensively manage conflicts

⁹³⁸ Eric Berman and Katie Sams, "The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations," in Jane Boulden, ed., *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 39-40.

systematically differs and needs to be seen separately from previous OAU's peacekeeping experiences.

In sum, OAU had faced two kinds of political and security concerns during the period of 1989-1993: the traditional political concern to liberate all the African states, aiming at ending the apartheid system of South Africa, and managing proliferation of newly emerging conflicts on the African continent from 1990 onwards. As the fundamental objective to liberate South Africa was being achieved as illustrated by the new reconciliatory policy of South African President de Klerk, OAU needed to find another institutional *raison d'être*. In this context, the member states increasingly became uncertain about OAU's security utility in the context of the positive trend toward complete African liberation and proliferation of internal conflicts, and OAU began to consider institutionalizing a new security function to manage newly emerging conflicts although it could not go beyond the principles given by its founding fathers.

(3) ISP: Reconsidering Non-Interference on Internal Conflicts

Since its inception in 1963, OAU's primary institutional objective had been decolonization on the African continent, which ensured political independence from extra-continental states, although there were also other institutional objectives, such as promoting cooperation among member states in the political, security, and economic fields. This fundamental objective had been generally recognized, yet preferences began to shift in the early 1990s. After considering the changes in the international environment, the OAU's secretary general, Salim Mohamed Salim argued in 1990:

The Organization of African Unity was established to deal with among other things the question of decolonization: to coordinate the struggle for the liberation and independence of the African States. Today a lot has been achieved. While the classical decolonization process is gradually

coming to an end, the OAU is today faced with serious challenges in the economic and other fields.⁹³⁹

In this sense, the OAU's fundamental *raison d'être* stemmed from its security preference to deal with political independence through the decolonization process, which became the reference point to evaluate the political security utility of the organization. As the number of internal conflicts increased in the post-Cold War era, it became difficult for OAU to only focus on the decolonization process to maintain its *raison d'être*, although OAU still needed to deal with South Africa's Apartheid system.

Facing this window of opportunity to change the OAU's ISP in the context of the changing strategic landscape in Africa, several ideas were presented to strengthen the organization's security function. For example, the idea of the establishment of the OAU Defence Organ was discussed as it had been considered several times in the past; the OAU Defence Commission recommended in 1989 that OAU establish an African Defence Organ, which had been agreed in principle by the Council of Ministers,⁹⁴⁰ although this proposal never materialized due to a lack of financial resources and the logistics of deployment.⁹⁴¹ The Council of Ministers endorsed further studies on its modalities and budgetary implications and planned to discuss the issue during the 1991 session of the council, yet the council did not touch on this idea and it was never discussed again. In this context, two main INEs emerged: Secretary General, and the OAU-UN Joint Commissions.

First, OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim took the initiative to promote institutional reforms in the context of changes in the international environment caused by the US-Soviet détente of the late 1980s. He submitted his report, "Report of the Secretary-General on the

⁹³⁹ OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Secretary-General on the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World and Their Implications for Africa: Proposals for an African Response," CM/1592 (LII), Council of Ministers, Fifty-second Ordinary Session, 3-7 July 1990, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, p. 10.

⁹⁴⁰ OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on the Deliberations of the Tenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Defence Commission," CM/Res.1216 (L), Council of Minister, Fiftieth Ordinary Session, 17-22 July 1989, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹⁴¹ "In Brief General; OAU ministers 'lukewarm' on defence force proposal," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 24, 1989.

Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World and Their Implications for Africa: Proposals for an African Response” with an “Introductory Note of the Secretary-General.”⁹⁴² The report comprehensively overviewed the security, political, economic, and social implications of changing international environment. While the report talked of the new political trend in the international environment, including the shifting geo-political balance of forces and emerging economic blocs, would likely marginalize Africa, it also discussed existing conflicts in Africa, ranging from the independence struggle in South Africa to internal conflicts in Liberia, Comoros, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique and Angola, to border disputes between Chad and Libya, Senegal and Mauritania, and Senegal and Guinea Bissau.

Among these issues, Salim emphasized two security implications. The first implication dealt with political continuity in Africa. Africa still needed to focus on the decolonization process because South Africa continued to be ruled by a white minority, despite changes in the international environment.⁹⁴³ In order to tackle this continuity, he argued that Africa had a responsibility for garnering every resource to maintain international consensus and comprehensive pressure against Apartheid to liberate South Africa. The second implication derived from the proliferation of new internal conflicts. He discussed the significant implications of internal conflicts, which had the potential to spillover instability to surrounding states. Indeed, Salim argued, “For the stability of our continent is one indivisible whole. Lack of stability in one country on the continent has serious implications to the stability of the continent as a whole. The repercussions of conflict in one country are felt beyond its borders.”⁹⁴⁴ In order to manage such conflicts, Salim further asserts:

It is for this reason that Africa and, indeed, the OAU can not [sic] afford to remain indifferent to these conflicts. Increasingly, it is becoming evident that we need a mechanism which can enable us express positively our concern and preoccupation with internal conflicts and to place

⁹⁴² OAU Secretariat, CM/1592 (LII); OAU Secretariat, CM/1591 (LII) Part I.

⁹⁴³ OAU Secretariat, CM/1592 (LII), p. 4.

⁹⁴⁴ OAU Secretariat, CM/1591 (LII), pp. 7-8.

that mechanism at the service of the affected countries. The idea is to be able, within an acceptable framework, to provide alternatives to conflicts. The OAU should be able to promote peaceful settlement of disputes and not to remain distant or appear to be indifferent.⁹⁴⁵

While admitting that OAU had been relatively successful in consolidating the decolonization process since its inception, Salim argued that the organization faced difficulty in conflict resolution among and within member states. OAU's conflict resolution organ, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, was never functional, and instead, OAU utilized ad hoc committees to resolve conflicts. Furthermore, OAU did not have a mechanism to manage internal conflicts due to the lack of a legal mechanism.⁹⁴⁶ To this end, Salim argued that it was more imperative than ever before for OAU to assume an active role in "conflict prevention, management and resolution" within the OAU framework and provided four recommendations to enhance its security function:

- 1) Member States should recommit themselves to the principles of the OAU Charter especially those which require all OAU Member States to settle disputes between them by negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration.
- 2) While the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States should continue to be observed, it should, however, not be construed to mean or used to justify indifference on the part of the OAU. African solutions to African problems must be given a new momentum in African politics and international relations.
- 3) The institutionalisation of confidence building measures between and among Member States must be seen as a major element in the process of settlement of disputes.
- 4) To make more use of the permanent institutions established within the Organization for purposes of settlement of disputes. In this respect, the Commission for Medication, Conciliation and Arbitration should be reactivated. Furthermore, Member States may deem it appropriate to make fuller use of the good offices of the Secretary General.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹⁴⁶ OAU Secretariat, CM/1592 (LII), p. 5.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

These recommendations were mostly based on inter-state conflict, and only the second proposal dealt with intra-state disputes. However, the proposal did not propose any concrete recommendations. Salim stated that African states should not be indifferent to internal conflicts, yet OAU should maintain its principle of non-interference. Accordingly, Salim's proposal did not further progress OAU's political and functional capability. Although Salim comprehensively reviewed potential threats that OAU member states would likely face and he considered enhancement of its security function to manage internal conflicts in Africa, he neither conceptualized nor reprioritized OAU's security agendas.

Second, the OAU-UN joint commission attempted to comprehensively alter the OAU's fundamental principles by producing the Kampala Document in May 1991. The Kampala Document, which was created by OAU and UN Economic Commission for Africa, produced new "security" concepts for Africa and reprioritized its security agendas, and recommended the establishment of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA), which aimed at comprehensively tackling African problems.⁹⁴⁸ In the CSSDCA, there were four compartments or "calabashes": security, stability, development, and cooperation.⁹⁴⁹ According to the document, the security, stability, and development of African states were closely interlinked, yet security is "the first pillar of the CSSDCA process" as erosion of security of African states would induce instability on the continent as a whole due to its interconnectedness with other two compartments, which thus necessitated African states to undertake collective actions to manage their security.

The document defined the concept of security as not only traditional military considerations but also non-traditional security issues, including "economic, political, social dimensions of individual, family, and community, local and national life." To ensure the security

⁹⁴⁸ OAU and UN Economic Commission for Africa, *The Kampala Document: Towards a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa*, (19-22 May 1991), Africa Leadership Forum, accessed June 6, 2012, <http://www.africaleadership.org/rc/the%20kampala%20document.pdf>.

⁹⁴⁹ The word, "calabashes," was used in the report as an African symbol, meaning "compartments."

concept, the Kampala document proposed six detailed conflict management mechanisms for OAU: revitalization of the operational effectiveness of the OAU Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration; instituting a continental peacekeeping mechanism; promotion of the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs); conclusion of non-aggression pacts; lowering of military expenditures; and the establishment of Africa's Elders Council for Peace. Among them, the proposal of an African peacekeeping mechanism was stipulated in detail. Recognizing that internal conflicts had the potential to spill over to other states, which would destabilize the African security as a whole, the document asserted that the African peacekeeping mechanism should be "an important instrument for preservation of peace."

In fact, these recommendations and concepts were the culmination of OAU discussions from the mid-1980s. After facing financial and logistic difficulties in establishing the OAU Defence Force in the early 1980s, the organization attempted to find another way to ensure African security through OAU rather than pursuing the continental defense force idea. As a result, in the context of rising suspicions of South Africa's intention to possess nuclear weapons in 1984, the Assembly issued the Resolution on Disarmament, Denuclearization, Security and Development in Africa. OAU was concerned about an arms race in terms of not only security but also development, as arms spending would take away resources from economic and social development.⁹⁵⁰ This led OAU to create a conference on regional security, disarmament and development in Africa in collaboration with the United Nations, including the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). In 1985, the regional conference was held in Lome, Togo, which produced the "Lome Declaration and Programme of Action." The declaration stipulated that peace and security was the "highest priority objective of independent African States and the foundation of socio-economic development," and the concept of security needed to "go beyond military security and the prevention of armed conflicts to encompass a sustained commitment by

⁹⁵⁰ OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Disarmament, Denuclearization, Security and Development in Africa," AHG/Res.126 (XX), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Twentieth Ordinary Session, 12-15 November 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

states of the region to African, national, bilateral and multilateral programmes of socio-economic development, justice, equity and human dignity,”⁹⁵¹ a definition which resonates with the conceptual framework for the Kampala Document. Accordingly, the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament for Africa was established in 1986 to further study the methods for achieving the objectives envisioned by the Lome Declaration.⁹⁵² In 1987, the Ad-hoc Committee of Fourteen was created to examine the declaration, but the priorities of security, disarmament, and development were changed into security, development and disarmament.⁹⁵³

However, like Salim’s report, the Kampala Document did not attempt to modify the fundamental principle of non-interference. It gave due recognition to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, although it encouraged African states to cooperate in ensuring African security at all levels, including in cases of civil strife, repression, and violation of basic human rights.

These two documents, which basically called for the reform of OAU security functions in order to manage conflicts in Africa, were provided for discussion at the Ministerial and Summit levels. However, the Kampala Document was only noted in the Council of Ministers meeting in June 1991, and it was not adopted as a resolution. Similarly, the 1992 OAU summit did not adopt any resolution on the Kampala Document, and the document was virtually killed for the moment. On the other hand, the Assembly had earlier taken up the OAU Secretary General’s report. Indeed, this report became the fundamental conceptual framework to deal with the political and socio-economic situations that Africa faced in the post-Cold War period, and resulted in the 1990

⁹⁵¹ OAU Secretariat, “The Regional Conference on Security, Disarmament and Development in Africa: Lome Declaration and Programme of Action,” CM/1390 (XLIV) Annex I, Council of Ministers, Forty-fourth Ordinary Session, 21-25 July 1986, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹⁵² OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Implementation of Resolution AHG/Res. 138 (XXI) on the Setting Up of the African Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa,” AHG/Res.154 (XXII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Twenty-second Ordinary Session, 28-30 July 1986, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹⁵³ Fourteen states were Angola, Egypt, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda, the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, Senegal, Togo and Zambia. OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee of Fourteen on the Lome Declaration and Programme of Action,” CM/1432 (XLVI) Rev.1, Council Of Ministers, Forty-sixth Ordinary Session, 20-25 July 1987, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Assembly's "Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World." Since this document became the very basis of the 1992 Decision on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, which created such a mechanism in 1993, the Secretary General's report had a political impact on the OAU's institutional transformation.

In sum, OAU's fundamental principle, non-interference, persisted due to the fact that the decolonization process was not completed, even though in a new strategic environment, the organization's preference to deal with internal conflicts in Africa gained more importance for member states' security. In this context, since the OAU Secretary General's report presented a more minimalist strategy than the Kampala Document in terms of peace operations, and since the role of the United Nations in international peace operations had expanded since the end of the Cold War, OAU could develop the idea to institutionalize peace-making and peace-building without setting up its own continental force, and instead basically relying on the United Nations. Thus, OAU from the period of 1989-1993 strove for an optimal balance in dealing with two fundamental security problems, decolonization and internal conflicts, by undergoing institutional layering.

2. Phase II: OAU in 1993-2002—The African Union

(1) Triggers: US and French Disengagement, UN Retrenchment, and Internal Conflicts

The regional balance of power in Africa faced another change from late 1993 onwards. Previously, the international community and the United Nations proactively engaged in Africa by undertaking peace operations. However, the Somalia and Rwanda crises forced the major external powers in Africa, namely the United States and France, to reconsider their peacekeeping policies and take more cautious steps to become involved in African conflicts. In addition to this relative retrenchment of major powers in Africa, which also held two permanent seats on the UN Security Council, the United Nations also faced more difficulties in executing peace operations on the

continent, as proliferation of UN peacekeeping missions imposed financial and logistical burdens. This reduction of UN peacekeeping exercises further expanded the power vacuum created by the end of the Cold War and led to a proliferation of conflicts in Africa. Thus, there are two major factors that contributed to the change in the regional balance of power in Africa: shifts in US and French military commitment to the continent; and changes in UN peacekeeping policy.

The United States and France first began to reconsider their military commitment to Africa after the Somalia crisis in 1993 and the Rwanda crisis in 1994. The critical watershed moment for US policy change in its peace operations came on October 3-4, 1993, when the United States faced the loss of 18 US Army Rangers during their mission in Somalia, and the United States began to seriously consider reduction of its military involvement in peace operations in Africa. Prior to this date, although there was political pressure from the US Congress to alter the course of action regarding US policy, the Clinton Administration sought to play a more active role in humanitarian intervention. For example, at the policy level, the Administration attempted to play a wider role in UN peacekeeping operations, and it drafted the PRD (Presidential Review Directive) 13, which was said to set criteria to enable US troops to participate in UN peace operations under the condition that the United Nations would improve its peacekeeping capabilities.⁹⁵⁴ On the ground, the United States became deeply involved in Somalia's civil war through UNITAF and UNOSOM II after the June 5 attacks on UN peacekeepers by utilizing its Quick Reaction Force (QRF) under US command and sought the arrest General Mohammed Farah Aideed for criminal acts.⁹⁵⁵

However, on October 7, 1993, after the killing of US troops, President Clinton made a speech regarding preparations for withdrawal from Somalia. Clinton argued that although it would be necessary to send additional 1,700 troops and 104 armored vehicles to Somalia

⁹⁵⁴ Jeffrey Smith and Julia Preston, "U.S. Plans Wider Role in U.N. Peace Keeping; Administration Drafting New Criteria," *The Washington Post*, June 18, 1993, p. A1.

⁹⁵⁵ William Clinton, "Letter to Congressional Leaders on Somalia," July 1, 1993, accessed November 21, 2011, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=46785#axzz1gesqRmst>.

temporarily, the US objective was solely to protect US troops.⁹⁵⁶ In this speech, Clinton justified its course of action as the United States sought in peace operations in Somalia to create a secure environment for people in Somalia to foster democratization and establishment of their government, yet he implicitly indicated that the United States would not become involved deeply in internal conflicts. With Congressional and public opposition to US participation in peace operation, the United States began to reassess its intervention principles. Consequently, in Somalia, the United States began to focus on the political process to pursue stability by seeking a cease-fire agreement with the help of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Djibouti, and OAU, rather than taking further military actions.⁹⁵⁷ Furthermore, as US Secretary of State William Christopher indicated, the United States began to further call for burden-sharing with neighboring states and OAU to play a more active role in stabilizing Somalia.⁹⁵⁸ The United States aimed to push the QRF, which was drawn into Somali conflicts, to return to its original mission, and decided the QRF would not participate in day-to-day operations but rather would undertake air strikes and temporary ground incursions solely to protect its troops.⁹⁵⁹

After that point, the United States took a more cautious approach to peace operations. On October 20, 1993, Madeleine Albright argued that the United Nations, whose peacekeeping operations increased seven-fold in troops and ten-fold in cost from 1988 to 1993, would be unlikely to sustain its activities, and that multilateral peacekeeping was neither a “guarantor of [US] own vital interest, nor should it lessen [US] resolve to maintain vigorous regional alliances and a strong national defense.”⁹⁶⁰ As US expectations for multilateral peacekeeping decreased, US involvement in peacekeeping in Africa also lessened. This is well illustrated by the US

⁹⁵⁶ William Clinton, “Address on Somalia (October 7, 1993),” accessed November 21, 2011, <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/4566>.

⁹⁵⁷ Warren Christopher, Leslie Aspin, and David Jeremiah, “Achieving a Political Settlement in Somalia,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 42 October 18, 1993, p. 715.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 716.

⁹⁶⁰ Madeleine Albright, “Building a Consensus on International Peace-keeping,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 46, November 15, 1993, pp. 790-791.

reaction to the Rwanda Genocide of April 1994, which occurred after the plane crash that killed both Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira on April 6, 1994.

George Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, stated that the US main goals for the Rwanda crisis were financial assistance and political condemnation against the killing in Rwanda and did not include providing peacekeepers.⁹⁶¹ As the situation in Rwanda deteriorated and the Arusha Peace Accords became untenable, the United States supported immediate withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and the UN Security Council supported this US position.⁹⁶² Although the UN Security Council decided to expand UNAMIR's mandate to increase its force level up to 5,500 troops in May, these were provided only for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations.⁹⁶³ Furthermore, Clinton issued Presidential Directive Decision-25 (PDD-25) in May, clearly stating "Peace operations are not and cannot be the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy," although they might be a useful tool for advancing US interests.⁹⁶⁴

Admittedly, the United States rhetorically advocated its strong commitment to Africa. Soon after the Rwanda crisis, the Clinton administration argued in June 1994 that in the post-Cold War and post-apartheid world, the United States needed a "new American policy based on the

⁹⁶¹ These 5 goals were 1) Stop the killings; 2) Achieve a durable cease-fire; 3) Return the parties to the negotiating table; 4) Contain the conflict; and 5) Address humanitarian relief needs. George Moose, "Crisis in Rwanda," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 5, No. 21, May 23, 1994, p. 341.

⁹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 342; UN Security Council, "Annex: Letter dated 15 December 1999 from the members of the Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda addressed to the Secretary General," in UN Security Council, "Letter Dated 15 December 1999 From the Secretary-General Addressed to the President of the Security Council," S/1999/1257, December 16, 1999, pp. 20-22.

⁹⁶³ UN Security Council, "Resolution 918 (1994): Adopted by the Security Council at its 3377th meeting, on 17 May 1994," S/RES/918 (1994), May 17, 1994.

⁹⁶⁴ Secretary of State Warren Christopher carefully reiterated this in 1995 when the administration faced the National Security Revitalization Act (H.R.7), which advocated to "deduct our voluntary contributions in support of international peace and law from our peace-keeping assessments." White House, "For Immediate Release—Statement by the Press Secretary: President Clinton Signs New Peacekeeping Policy," May 5, 1999, accessed June 5, 2012, <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd25.htm>; White House, *Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-25: U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*, May 3, 1994; Warren Christopher, "American Leadership and Effective UN Peace-keeping," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 6, No. 5, January 30, 1995, p. 59; US Department of State. "Focus on the United Nations: UN Peacekeeping Operations," *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 6, No. 18, May 1, 1995, p. 377.

idea that [the US] should help the nations of Africa identify and solve problems before they erupt. Reacting is not enough: we must examine these underlying problems”⁹⁶⁵ and that the United States aimed “[t]o support African efforts to establish democratic institutions in governments; [t]o help bring an end to the many conflicts and crises on the continent; and [t]o encourage sustainable economic growth.”⁹⁶⁶ The United States also recognized that internal conflicts have potential to spread to neighboring states, and later become international issues.⁹⁶⁷ However, US methods to contain these internal conflicts became less and less focused on military means, and more on diplomatic efforts, economic assistance, capacity-building, and use of the United Nations and regional organizations, as well as combinations of these various elements. In particular, the United States encouraged OAU to play a security role in dealing with internal conflicts.⁹⁶⁸ Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State, traveled to Africa in November 1994 to consult with African leaders and organizations regarding capacity building for conflict resolution, conflict prevention and peace-keeping as well as assistance for democratization.⁹⁶⁹

In 1996, the United States set four basic goals pertaining to Africa, which included promoting peace, strengthening democracy, preventing conflicts and alleviating crises,⁹⁷⁰ yet these were based solely on diplomatic, political, and economic means. Even when conflicts in the Great Lakes region intensified, the United States avoided direct involvement and took a new initiative in 1996 to enhance African capability for peacekeeping and conflict resolution through

⁹⁶⁵ William Clinton, Albert Gore, Warren Christopher, Anthony Lake, Brian Atwood, and George Moose, “Building a Better Future in Africa,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 5, No. 27, June 4, 1994, p. 446.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁹⁶⁷ Strobe Talbott and George Moose, “The Increasing Role of Regional Organizations in Africa,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 5, No. 45, November 7, 1994, p. 737.

⁹⁶⁸ Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State, stated, “Here in Africa, the international community, in general, and our government, in particular, looks to the OAU to develop its capacity for conflict-resolution and peace-keeping on this continue.... It is our hope that by the end of the decade, the OAU will have the capability to mount significant peace-keeping operations—under the UN Charter.” *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁹ George Moose, “Opening statement at a press briefing, Washington, DC, October 31, 1994,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 5, No. 45, November 7, 1994, pp. 739-740.

⁹⁷⁰ Nancy Soderberg, “U.S. Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 7, No. 30, July 22, 1996, p. 374.

the creation of an African Crisis Response Force (ACRF).⁹⁷¹ This trend continued throughout the 1990s,⁹⁷² and thus, the United States shifted policy from 1993 to enhance capacity-building programs for conflict management in Africa rather than increase military commitment, though it still continued to advocate democratization and human rights.

The other regional power, France, although maintaining its political and military influence over Francophone states in Africa after the end of the Cold War, also began to shift its policy toward Africa, especially after the Rwanda crisis in April 1994. When the humanitarian crisis occurred in April 1994, France quickly carried out *Operation Amaryllis* by sending 500 troops mainly in order to rescue its nationals and key Rwandan government officials.⁹⁷³ At this point, France was still eager to intervene if genocide continued. Alain Juppe, the French Foreign Minister, stated in June that France would intervene to protect threatened groups “[i]f massacres continue[d] and if the ceasefire [was] not respected.”⁹⁷⁴ In addition, while the United Nations decided on the immediate withdrawal of UNAMIR in April and later issued UN Security Council Resolutions 925 and 929 for humanitarian intervention, France undertook *Operation Turquoise* in June 1994. This mission used 2,550 troops from France and 450 troops mainly from Francophone states, including Chad, Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, and Niger, and the operation was executed until August 1994.⁹⁷⁵ This operation gained strong backing from such great powers as

⁹⁷¹ Warren Christopher, “Africa at a Crossroads: American Interests and American Engagement,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 7, No. 42, October 14, 1996, p. 507; Warren Christopher, “The U.S. and Africa: Working Together to Meet Global Challenges,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 7, No. 42, October 14, 1996, p. 509.

⁹⁷² Even when conflicts erupted in Africa, the United States consistently avoided its direct military involvement, and instead, it provided political supports for democratization and economic assistance. See David Scheffer, “Responding to Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity: April 22, 1998,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 9, No. 4, May 1998, p. 20; Susan Rice, “U.S. Interests in Africa: Today’s Perspective—October 1, 1998,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 9, No. 10, November 1998, p. 19; Madeleine Albright, “A Blueprint for U.S.-Africa Relations In the 21st Century,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 10, No. 3, April 1999, p. 11

⁹⁷³ J.A.C. Lewis, “New mission for France as it re-enters Rwandan conflict,” *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, Vol. 22, No.1 (1994), p. 19; Gregory, p. 440.

⁹⁷⁴ “France and Allies Ready to Send Troops into Rwanda,” *The Guardian*, June 16, 1994.

⁹⁷⁵ Lewis, p. 19; Gregory, p. 440.

the United States,⁹⁷⁶ yet was not as effective as expected and allowed the genocide in Rwanda to continue.

With its on-going changes in force structure,⁹⁷⁷ France began to consider policy change toward Africa, especially during the period between 1994 and 1997. On the one hand, France continued interventions in countries such as Comoros in 1995, the Central African Republic in 1996, and the Congo from 1997. On the other hand, France sought reduction of its involvement in African conflicts. President Francois Mitterrand proposed the creation in 1994 of an inter-African peacekeeping force to intervene in Rwandan-style crises with the logistic helps of outside states, although such a proposal was not supported by African states.⁹⁷⁸ In addition, Prime Ministers Edouard Balladur and Alain Juppe attempted to alter traditional French involvement in African affairs, and even President Jacques Chirac, despite his assertion to keep the French “special relationship” with its former colonies, first advocated French closure of unilateral interventions.⁹⁷⁹ Admittedly, such a policy change was not realized immediately as indicated by Chirac’s trip to France’s former colonies in Africa, including Morocco, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and Gabon, in 1995. Nevertheless, there was several incidents that accelerated France to review its policy in Africa: the March 1997 death of Jacques Foccart in March 1997, a chief adviser for African affairs to de Gaulle and Chirac and who advocated maintenance of French strong commitment to Africa; the fall of President Mobutu Sese Seko, whom France had long supported, in Zaire in May 1997 and the US major role in the Zairian political transition; and the French election in June 1997, in which Lionel Jospin from the French Socialist Party assumed presidency.

In fact, President Jospin announced a significant reduction of French troop presence in Africa in July 1997, including a near complete withdrawal from the Central African Republic and

⁹⁷⁶ Madeleine Albright, “The Tragedy in Rwanda: International Cooperation To Find a Solution,” *US Department of State Dispatch*, Vol. 5, No. 26, June 27, 1994, p. 438.

⁹⁷⁷ For details, *See* *Ministere de la Defense, 1994 White Paper on Defense* (Paris: *Ministere de la Defense, Service d'Information et de Relations publiques des Armees*, 1994).

⁹⁷⁸ “African peacekeeping force ‘has moved nearer,’” *Financial Times*, November 10, 1994.

⁹⁷⁹ “Why were they there?” *The Economist*, No. 7999, January 11, 1997, p. 54.

an overall reduction of up to forty percent in troop levels.⁹⁸⁰ France possessed approximately 8,000 troops, which included 3,250 in Djibouti, 1,600 in the Central African Republic, 1,300 in Senegal, 830 in Chad, 600 in Gabon, and 520 in Cote d'Ivoire,⁹⁸¹ but this total number decreased to approximately 5,500 in 1997.⁹⁸² In 1998, France also abolished the cooperation ministry, which had long managed relations with its former colonies.⁹⁸³ With these changes, France constructed the principle of multilateralism in Africa. As the United States began to construct the African Crisis Response Force in 1996 rather than enhancing its own military commitment, France focused on capacity building in African states to manage its peacekeeping operations by establishing the Reinforcement of African Peace-keeping Capacities (RECAMP) in 1997.⁹⁸⁴ In this sense, France reduced its military commitment, if not political engagement, to Africa.

The major powers' retrenchment from Africa during the 1990s is also reflected by the amount of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Africa provided by the United States and France (*Figure 2*). Although the United States and France rhetorically showed their political and economic commitments to Africa throughout the 1990s, the US ODA began to decrease from 1992 until 1996 and then leveled off until 2001. French ODA started to decrease from 1994 until 2001. Accordingly, major powers' retrenchment relative to previous levels of commitment to Africa was evident in the 1990s.

⁹⁸⁰ "France set to lower its guard in Africa," *Financial Times*, July 31, 1997, p. 2.

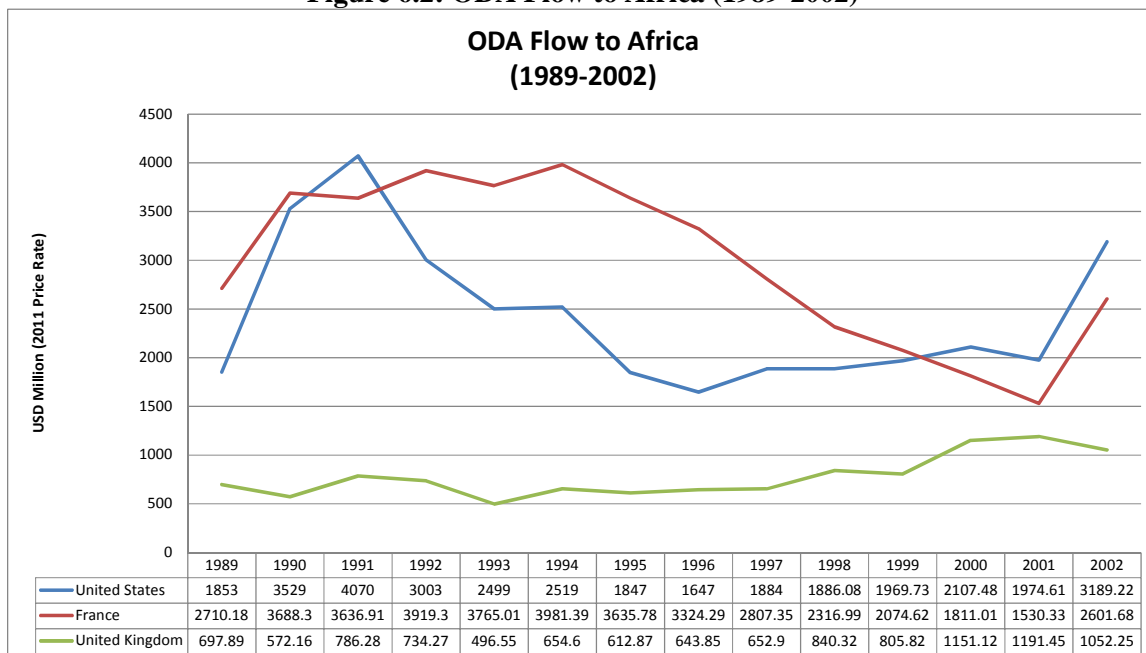
⁹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸² Gregory, p. 441.

⁹⁸³ "Rethinking the colonies: France breaks its paternalist ties to Africa," *The Guardian*, February 5, 1998, p. 13.

⁹⁸⁴ United Nations, "Reinforcement of African Peace-Keeping Capacities (RECAMP)," accessed June 5, 2012, http://www.un.int/france/frame_anglais/france_and_un/france_and_peacekeeping/recamp_eng.htm.

Figure 6.2: ODA Flow to Africa (1989-2002)



Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), “Query Wizard for International Development Statistics,” accessed December 16, 2011, <http://stats.oecd.org/qwids/>.

Second, the United Nations also began to alter its overall peacekeeping commitment to the world and attempted to strengthen its institutional coordination with other regional organizations. With the three year experience of peacekeeping operations around the world that the United Nations conducted after producing the Secretary-General’s report, “An Agenda for Peace,” in 1992, the United Nations came to a tentative conclusion in 1995 that the peacekeeping operations faced political, military, and financial difficulties and its current commitments would not be sustainable. While “An Agenda for Peace” envisaged that the United Nations would take enforcement actions in order to respond to international crises,⁹⁸⁵ the organization experienced great difficulties in dealing with such crises as the Rwanda and Serbia conflicts.

Acknowledging the increased complexities of peace operations as a tool to deal with internal conflicts within states, the Secretary-General’s report in 1995, “Supplement to an Agenda

⁹⁸⁵ The report said, “Peace-keeping is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, *hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned*, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well” [*Emphasis added*]. See UN General Assembly and Security Council, “An Agenda for Peace,” para. 20.

for Peace,” indicated that the difficulties in dealing with proliferation of its peacekeeping missions, providing adequate rapid responses to crises, and executing enforcement actions would likely put the United Nations in danger of losing its institutional credibility and legitimacy.⁹⁸⁶ For UN enforcement action, Secretary General Boutros-Ghali admitted that “neither the Security Council nor the Secretary-General at present has the capacity to deploy, direct, command and control operations for [enforcement action], except perhaps on a very limited scale.”⁹⁸⁷ To overcome these difficulties and build rapid response capabilities, Secretary Boutros-Ghali with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations devised such units as a special planning team to develop the United Nations Standby Arrangement System (UNSAS) in 1993, which would include African units, and a working group for UN rapid deployment force in 1995, which later created the Stand-by High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG).⁹⁸⁸ However, these initiatives did not in practice materialize during the 1990s.

In the meantime, given UN institutional weaknesses to rapidly deploy troops on the ground, the United Nations attempted to strengthen peacekeeping capabilities with regional organizations. For the African conflicts, the Secretary-General asserted in 1995, regarding UN policy on peacekeeping in Africa,⁹⁸⁹ that as “[r]egional or subregional organizations sometimes have a comparative advantage in taking a lead role in the prevention and settlement of conflicts and to assist the United Nations in containing [conflicts],” OAU needed to develop its capabilities

⁹⁸⁶ UN General Assembly and Security Council, “Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization—Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations,” A/50/60-S/1995/1, January 3, 1995, para. 80.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 77.

⁹⁸⁸ “Standby Arrangement System: enhancing rapid deployment capacity,” *UN Chronicle*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Spring 1997), p. 13; Peacekeeping Best Practices Units, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations, *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: United Nations, 2003).

⁹⁸⁹ The Security Council asked the Secretary General in February 1995 to report the methods to enhance cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. Also, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations asked the Secretary General in June 1995 to assess UN capability to respond to crises in Africa in collaboration with OAU. See UN Security Council, “Statement by the President of the Security Council,” S/PRST/1995/9, February 22, 1995, p. 4; UN General Assembly, “Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Aspects,” Report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, A/50/230, June 22, 1995, para. 91.

for peacekeeping.⁹⁹⁰ This report recognized that the OAU's mechanism for conflict prevention, management, and resolution mainly aimed at conflict prevention and peace-making rather than peacekeeping operations, regarding which the organization depended on the UN Security Council due to the OAU's own lack of logistical and financial resources. Nevertheless, it argued, "...regional efforts as foreseen under Chapter VIII of the [UN] Charter, can assist in enhancing the capacity of the international community to address conflicts in Africa," and with the logistic and financial assistance of the United Nations, OAU and sub-regional organizations should increase regional preparedness for peacekeeping.⁹⁹¹

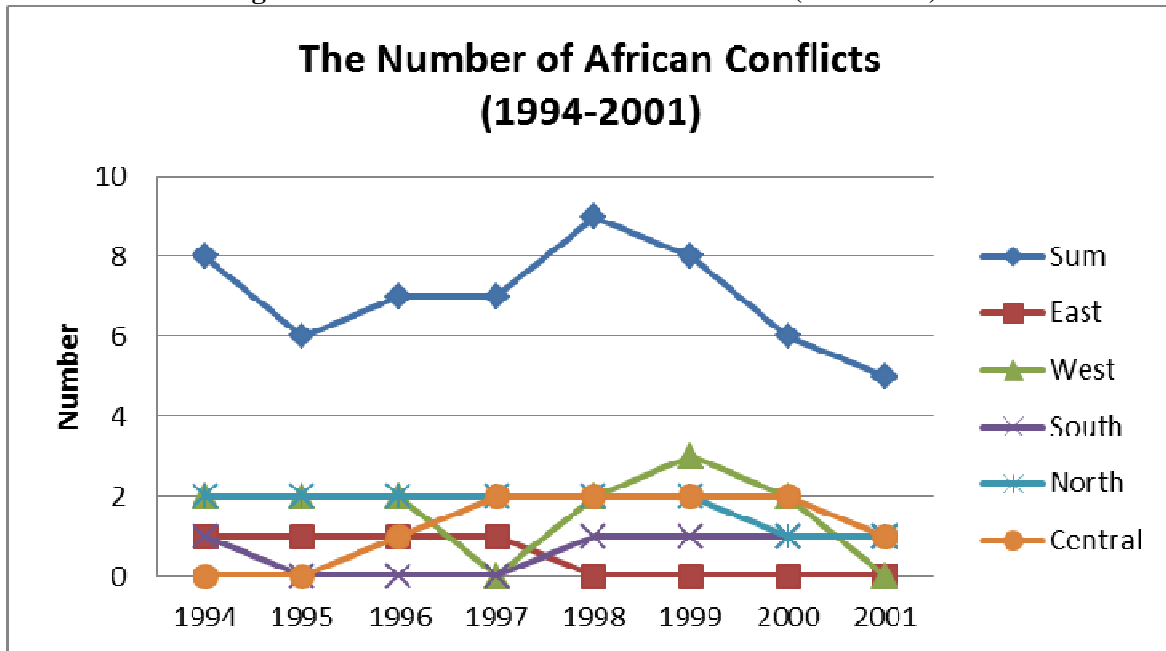
Accordingly, the United Nations, and the two regional great powers of the United States and France, begin to take a more cautious approach to internal conflicts in Africa. Although they demonstrated institutional support for traditional peacekeeping as well as conflict prevention and peace-making in Africa with the collaboration of OAU and sub-regional organizations, it became more evident that the UN's current capabilities could not manage conflicts in Africa alone; such engagement required rapid responses as well as greater financial resources.

In this context, a power vacuum was created by the relative retrenchment of the United States, France and the United Nations. Since OAU, which created the Central Organ as its mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution in 1993, depended on the UN Security Council led by the major powers for peacekeeping and peace enforcement, its institutional capacity could not formally manage conflicts erupting on the African continent that required peace enforcement. Without any security mechanism that could fill the power vacuum, the regional balance of power in Africa became more fluid. Despite international diplomatic efforts to alleviate conflicts, Africa experienced a high number of regional conflicts throughout late 1990s.

⁹⁹⁰ UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization—Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peace-keeping Operations in All Their Aspects: Report of the Secretary General," A/50/711-S/1995/911, November 1, 1995, para. 4.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 17 and 37.

Figure 6.3: The Number of African Conflicts (1994-2001)



*"Conflict" is defined as more than 1,000 deaths.

** Conflicts occurred in 14 states between 1988 and 2001: Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia in East Africa; Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone in West Africa; Mozambique and Angola in Southern Africa; Sudan and Algeria in North Africa; Chad, Congo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Central Africa.

Source: Meredith Reid Sarkees and Frank Wayman, *Resort to War: 1816 – 2007*, CQ Press, 2010.

These increased number of conflicts, without an international enforcement mechanism, also illustrated further dangers in African stability, from the perspective of not only internal conflict that may cause state collapse but also spill-over effects. Although such a spill-over effect was relatively well contained in West Africa by the ECOWAS intervention through the establishment of ECOMOG, the chain-reaction spill-over effects caused by Burundi in 1993, Rwanda in 1994 and the Zairian crisis in 1996 posed serious risks for the entire African continent. The simultaneous civil ethnic wars between Hutu and Tutsi groups in Burundi after the 1993 Burundian coup, which killed President Melchior Ndadaye, and in Rwanda after the 1994 plane clash that led the Rwandan Genocide, both produced a number of refugees which had the potential to destabilize the Great Lake region. While the situation was still fluid and the ethnic tensions in Burundi heightened in 1996, the political tension between Zaire and Rwanda also rose

due to the ethnic tensions between Hutu and Tutsi forces in the Kivu mountain area of eastern Zaire. As an increase in Hutu population in this area was caused by massive Hutu refugee flow into eastern Zaire after the Rwandan genocide, the Hutu extremists who were protected in the refugee camps reorganized the groups in both Rwanda and Zaire, which drew both states involved into international ethnic conflicts.⁹⁹² Despite OAU's subsequent efforts for mediation, the conflicts intensified. Moreover, the 1997 Zairian coup which renamed the country's name to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and overthrew and replaced President Mobutu Sese Seko with Laurent-Desire Kabila further complicated the conflicts. At least nine African states became involved in this war, including Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, which supported the Kabila-led new government by sending troops, and Rwanda and Uganda, which supported rebel groups.⁹⁹³ In this sense, internal conflicts had international implications, especially in Africa where the state borders demarcated by the European during the colonial era in the late 19th century were inherited without consideration of ethnic groupings on the ground.

In sum, although the major powers, the United States and France, became involved in conflicts in Africa in the end of the Cold War unilaterally and multilaterally, these active postures began to change due to the Somalia and Rwanda crises in late 1993 and 1994 respectively. With these major powers' retrenchment, the United Nations, which actively provided peace operations around the world, also faced difficulties in executing peace operations because of its financial and political constraints, and began to reconsider its peacekeeping policy, resulting in the production of the Secretary-General's report, "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace." Consequently, peacekeeping operations, which were perceived at the end of the Cold War as an alternative tool to prevent conflicts and fill the power vacuum created by the end of superpowers' involvement in Africa, needed to be overhauled. In order to better prevent conflicts from erupting in Africa, major powers, such as the United States and France, as well as the United Nations and OAU,

⁹⁹² "The Conflict in Zaire," *The Irish Times*, October 25, 1996.

⁹⁹³ "Africa-at-Large; 'Africa's First World War'," *Africa News*, February 28, 1999.

attempted to actively undertake preventive diplomacy and peace-making; however, these efforts did not necessarily produce peace and stability as the number of conflicts in Africa increased and spill-over effects were witnessed. These changes in the African balance of power, eroded by negative chain reactions of collapsing states in Africa, became a trigger for OAU to reconsider its security role.

(2) Negative Expectations: Struggling from Institutional Normative Constraints

From 1994, OAU's expectations for its institutional utility in responding to changes in the balance of power shifted from a mixed one—positive and negative—to unequivocally negative. The most important factor for such a development was the April 1995 South African election result. The elections helped to achieve the OAU's fundamental objective, complete decolonization. Since its inception, OAU had put its institutional emphasis on this goal, and after Namibia's independence in March 1990, only apartheid South Africa did not have OAU membership. Despite the positive trend of South Africa's domestic reforms, put in place by de Klerk, OAU put more political pressures and concern on South African situation. For example, in February 1994, the OAU Council of Ministers stated that while welcoming the "first ever democratic and non-racial elections to be held on 27 April, 1994," which would be monitored by the Independent Electoral Commission, it was concerned about the situation in South Africa due to continued violence in the Petria/Witwatersrand/Vaal and Natal KwaZulu regions and argued that the South African government "ha[d] the primary responsibility of ending violence and restoring order."⁹⁹⁴

OAU's efforts to establish a democratic South Africa also increased during this period. OAU decided to send a monitoring team to South Africa in 1992 to foster the negotiation process

⁹⁹⁴ OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on South Africa," CM/Res.1485 (LIX), Council of Ministers, Fifty-ninth Ordinary Session, 31 January-4 February 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

to achieve “a new non-racial, democratic and united South Africa,”⁹⁹⁵ and after the decision by the South African government to hold an non-racial election, OAU decided to “request[s] all OAU Member States to send at least two observers...to reinforce the OAU Observer Mission in monitoring the electoral process” and to ensure a free and fair electoral process.⁹⁹⁶

These institutional efforts bore fruit after the South African election was successfully conducted. In June 1994, the OAU Council of Ministers noted that the Independent Electoral Commission and the International Observer Missions certified the election result as free and fair, and OAU finally included South Africa as a member of the organization.⁹⁹⁷ Subsequently, the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Governments issued the resolution to dissolve its long-standing Liberation Committee by stating “with satisfaction the good work done by the Committee throughout the years in implementing our decisions, assisting and expediting the process of decolonization and the elimination of apartheid”; recognizing that “the mandate given to the Liberation Committee in 1963 has been satisfactorily accomplished.”⁹⁹⁸ Secretary General Salim made an introductory remark on the OAU’s utility for the decolonization process at the Council of Ministers meeting in June 1994:

To the Organization of African Unity, which had not only supported the struggle against Apartheid but also associated itself with the process of transition, the inauguration was a crowning moment. Through the OAU Observer Mission in South Africa, we were able in a practical way, to render support to the process of change, and demonstrate continuing solidarity with the people of that country.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁵ OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government made decisions at its Eighth Session held in Arusha, Tanzania on April 28, 1992 to send a monitoring team. OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on South Africa,” CM/Res.1385 (LVI) Rev. 1, Council of Ministers, Fifty-sixth Ordinary Session, 22-28 June 1992, Dakar, Senegal.

⁹⁹⁶ OAU Secretariat, CM/Res.1485 (LIX).

⁹⁹⁷ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on South Africa,” CM/Res.1515 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia.

⁹⁹⁸ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Dissolution of the OAU Liberation Committee,” AHG/Res.228 (XXX), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirtieth Ordinary Session, 13-15 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia.

⁹⁹⁹ OAU Secretariat, “Introductory Note by the Secretary-General,” CM/1825, Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia, p. 4.

All the positive remarks illustrated the OAU's utility for African states. Nevertheless, the complete liberation of South Africa meant loss of one of OAU's fundamental institutional objective, and it could no longer justify its institutional utility by solely advocating the decolonization process.

As the African security environment changed rapidly after the end of the Cold War and internal conflicts proliferated, OAU faced an institutional difficulty to manage these changes. Admittedly, as described above, OAU undertook institutional layering in order to deal with internal conflicts during the period of 1989-1993. Nevertheless, this transformation occurred on the basis of the assumption that OAU could rely on the United Nations for peacekeeping and peace enforcement. As the major powers' retrenchment began and the United Nations was overburdened by the proliferation of peacekeeping missions, OAU's initial scheme for its security management in Africa through inter-organizational cooperation began to erode. This was well illustrated when the United Nations and major powers did not take action and withdrew substantial numbers of UNAMIR troops from Rwanda in April 1994.¹⁰⁰⁰ Although OAU made efforts to pursue political engagement to prevent conflicts from erupting in Rwanda from 1991 onwards, these efforts could not prevent the deterioration of the situation. Under this circumstance, Secretary General Salim stated that "The tragedy of Rwanda and the apparent inability of the world community to act timely and decisively, has taught Africa in part that we should not continue to live under the illusion that the world will always be there for us."¹⁰⁰¹ He

¹⁰⁰⁰ The OAU's concerns regarding the international community's "indifference" toward Africa lasted during the 1990s. For example, the Council of Ministers was concerned about withdrawal of the UNOSOM II in March 1995 despite the fact that the internal stability was not ensured. In 1997, the Central Organ also emphasized that the international community was unable to "manage international peace and security in general and in Africa in particular." Partly, this is reflected by the international community's inability to provide UN peace operations in DRC despite African appeals, including President Omar Bong, Chairman of the International Mediation Committee and OAU. *See* OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on Somalia," CM/Res.1558 (LXI), Council of Ministers, Sixty-first Ordinary Session, 23-27 January 1995, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Secretary General on the Second Meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Member States of the Central Organ," Central Organ/MEC/MIN/7 (VII), Seventh Ordinary Session of the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution at Ministerial Level, 20-21 November 1997, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰¹ OAU Secretariat, CM/1825, p. 12.

also argued that it was necessary for OAU to enhance its own “mechanism and means of responding effectively” to crises, and the next potential conflict zone, Burundi, needed to be managed.¹⁰⁰² At this time, OAU had already recognized the danger that internal conflicts posed on the security of surrounding states, including by creating a huge flow of refugees and displaced persons. These concerns were clearly stipulated by Council of Ministers’ resolutions on Somalia, Burundi, Southern Africa, and Liberia in February and June 1994.¹⁰⁰³ Therefore, OAU began to see its security utility negatively in 1994 due to its inability to deal with the conflicts.

This negative perception of member states on the OAU’s utility for African security created its institutional momentum to enhance the organization’s security capabilities. However, OAU did not undertake such transformation rapidly, and from 1994 to 1999, the organization took only deeply cautious steps toward such institutional transformation. In July 1994, the Assembly adopted the “Declaration on a code of conduct for inter-African relations,” yet this declaration did not change OAU’s security function. In fact, it focused on inter-state relations and followed the 1993 Cairo Declaration by emphasizing “effective measures aimed at preempting situations of emerging conflicts through political means, including regional initiatives and to seize the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism,” although recognizing

¹⁰⁰² Ibid., p. 12 and p. 15.

¹⁰⁰³ OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Somalia,” CM/Res.1486 (LIX), Council of Ministers, Fifty-ninth Ordinary Session, 31 January-4 February 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Burundi,” CM/Res.1487 (LIX), Council of Ministers, Fifty-ninth Ordinary Session, 31 January-4 February 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Liberia,” CM/Res.1488 (LIX), Council of Ministers, Fifty-ninth Ordinary Session, 31 January-4 February 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Frontline and Other Neighbouring States.” CM/Res.1493 (LIX), Council of Ministers, Fifty-ninth Ordinary Session, 31 January-4 February 1994, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Somalia,” CM/Res.1516 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Situation in Angola,” CM/Res.1519 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Burundi,” CM/Res.1524 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on the Mozambique Peace Process,” CM/Res.1528 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia; OAU Secretariat, “Resolution on Liberia,” CM/Res.1518 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia.

the changing nature of African internal conflicts and prioritizing peace and stability.¹⁰⁰⁴ Having perceived the danger of proliferation of conflicts in Africa, including in Somalia, Burundi, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in 1995, the Council of Ministers requested the Secretary General to convene a meeting of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of Central Organ's member states to discuss technical issues for OAU peacekeeping. The first meeting was held in June 1996, and the meeting argued that while the UN Security Council had the primary responsibility for peace keeping and international security, OAU deployed and would deploy its limited peacekeeping and observation missions under "some exceptional circumstances," and it recommended to the Council that OAU peacekeeping operations should be institutionalized.¹⁰⁰⁵

However, the Council of Minister's response to the recommendations was slow in arriving. In 1996, the Council issued CM/Res. 1658 (LXIV) and stated that as the issues are "complex," there should be further analysis on OAU peacekeeping by convening another meeting of Chiefs of Staff of Central Organ's member states.¹⁰⁰⁶ Moven Enock Mahachi, Minister of Defence of Zimbabwe and representative of the OAU Chairman, also regretted in 1997 that the progress had been slow since the first meeting of Chiefs of Defence Staff was held.¹⁰⁰⁷ On the other hand, the Assembly attempted to go beyond OAU's existing security mechanism. The Yaounde Declaration in July 1996 illustrated OAU member states' concern about the security environment in Africa. The declaration stated that Africa was "the most vulnerable as far as peace, security and stability are concerned" in the world, as the continent has "the record of inter-state wars and conflicts which produce influx of refugees and displaced persons, and result in economic devastation, enormous loss in human life and a drain on its meager resources." In this

¹⁰⁰⁴ OAU Secretariat, "Declaration on A Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations," AHG/Decl.2 (XXX), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirtieth Ordinary Session, 13-15 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁰⁵ OAU Secretariat, Central Organ/MEC/MIN/7 (VII), pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁰⁶ OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on the First Meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of Member States of the Central Organ," CM/Res.1658 (LXIV), Council of Ministers, Six-fourth Ordinary Session, 1-5 July 1996, Younde, Cameroon.

¹⁰⁰⁷ OAU Secretariat, "Report of the Second Meeting of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Management and Resolution," OAU/CHST/CO/RPT (II), Second Meeting of Chiefs of Defence Staff, 24-25 October 1997, Harare, Zimbabwe, p. 2.

understanding, the Assembly called for not only enhancement of the existing security mechanism, such as early warning system in Africa, preventive diplomacy, financial capacity, and coordination with the United Nations and sub-regional organizations, but also institutionalization of the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution as “one of [the] Permanent organs” of OAU.¹⁰⁰⁸

In October 1997, in light of the negative security circumstances in Africa, especially in the Great Lakes region, the second meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Central Organ’s member states was convened. The meeting attempted to push the idea of enhancement of OAU’s “peace support operations” by examining related agendas, including “the concept of Peace Support Operations; the applicable procedures and the adequate structures for conducting Peace Support Operations; the need for standard and adopted training in the field of Peace Support Operations; command and control exercise for OAU Peace Support Operations at various levels, including Central Organ, Secretary General, Special Representative, and Force Commander; command and control exercise for Joint OAU/UN or OAU/Sub-Regional Organization operations; the planning and structure of communications of Peace Support Operations; and capacity building of Africa and the OAU General Secretariat in the field of Peace Support Operations; logistic support and financing of OAU Peace Support Operations.”¹⁰⁰⁹ However, despite OAU’s willingness to increase its capacity for peacekeeping operations, it was still constrained by the previous agreements, and the Central Organ’s concept of peace support operations had not been developed from the Cairo Declaration.¹⁰¹⁰ Although the concept was built on that of the previous meeting held by the working group of OAU Military Experts, which clearly stated that OAU should focus

¹⁰⁰⁸ OAU Secretariat, “Yaounde Declaration (Africa: Preparing for the 21st Century),” AHG/Decl.3(XXXII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-Second Ordinary Session, 8-10 July 1996, Yaounde, Cameroon.

¹⁰⁰⁹ OAU Secretariat, Central Organ/MEC/MIN/7 (VII), p. 4.

¹⁰¹⁰ The report said, “All Peace Support Operations in Africa should be conducted in a manner consistent with both the UN and the OAU Charters and the Cairo Declaration. This will enable the OAU to mobilise for action and to acquire UN support for the initiative.” *See* OAU Secretariat, Central Organ/MEC/MIN/7 (VII), p. 10.

on “Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Building and Peacekeeping” and that it should not include enforcement,¹⁰¹¹ it became unclear to what extent OAU could conduct a regional peacekeeping operations by itself. Rather, the working group came to emphasize the inter-organizational procedures among the United Nations, OAU, and sub-regional organizations, and there was no detailed proposed OAU action in the case that the United Nations became unresponsive to the crisis.¹⁰¹² Consequently, despite member states’ general desires, there was not much institutional progress to enhance OAU security utility. In 1998, the Assembly adopted the Ouagadougou Declaration which reemphasized the negative security situation in Africa, yet it only reiterated recommendation to strengthen the Central Organ in terms of coordination with the United Nations and sub-regional organizations.¹⁰¹³

OAU’s institutional dilemma over enhancement of its security mechanism in 1999 was assuaged when the Assembly adopted the “Sirte Declaration.” The Declaration, which was concluded in the fourth extraordinary meeting of the Assembly, stipulated that in order to strengthen its organizational effectiveness to meet new political, economic and social challenges, departing from the sole focus on political independence, OAU needed to revitalize the unity of African states and “eliminate the scourge of conflicts, which constitutes a major impediment to the implementation of our development and integration agenda.”¹⁰¹⁴ As such, OAU decided to establish an African Union. In other words, the declaration advocated that in order to meet the challenges, OAU needed to comprehensively overhaul its institutional structure in the social, political and economic fields.

¹⁰¹¹ OAU Secretariat, “Report of the Meeting of the Working Group of OAU Military Experts,” OAU/MRT/Exp/Rpt. (II) Rev. 1, Meeting of the Working Group of OAU Military Experts, 20-23 October 1997, Harare, Zimbabwe, p. 6 and p. 21.

¹⁰¹² The report said that “[i]f the UN is unresponsive, the OAU must take preliminary action whilst continuing its efforts to elicit a positive response from the world body.” OAU Secretariat, Organ/MEC/MIN/7 (VII), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰¹³ OAU Secretariat, “Ouagadougou Declaration,” AHG/Decl.1(XXXIV), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-Second Ordinary Session, 8-10 June 1998, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

¹⁰¹⁴ OAU Secretariat, “Sirte Declaration,” AHG/Decl. (IV) Rev. 1, Fourth Extraordinary Session of Assembly of Heads of State and Government, 8-9 September, 1999, Sirte, Libya.

The significance of this declaration came in the fact that OAU member states recognized that the organization, which had successful experience to help states gain political independence, could not meet the new challenges they faced in the 1990s, and created a political leeway to deconstruct OAU's normative constraints on its activities, such as its principle of non-interference. Admittedly, the Sirte Declaration still emphasized the objectives of the OAU Charter; however, its emphases were essentially to foster unity and cooperation among the member states, which did not necessarily mean to strictly follow OAU principles. The Assembly mandated the Council of Ministers to draft the constitutive legal text, and in July 2000, the council created the draft constitutive act,¹⁰¹⁵ which relaxed OAU's strict non-interference principle. After the Assembly adopted this legal document, it formally displaced OAU with AU.

In sum, OAU undertook institutional displacement from 1994 to 1999. Throughout this period, OAU perceived negative expectations for member states' security utility in the context of proliferation of internal conflicts in Africa and reduction of international commitment throughout this period. After South Africa successfully held a non-racial election in 1994, OAU could no longer rely on its fundamental objective of political independence from external states for its institutional *raison d'être*. In order to manage Africa's new security environment, OAU had undertaken institutional layering to manage internal conflicts in Africa by establishing a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, which depended on other organizations, especially the United Nations, for conducting peacekeeping and peace enforcement. This created an institutional vulnerability, and when the United Nations and major powers shifted its African policy from 1994 on, this mechanism had difficulties in managing proliferating conflicts in Africa. This is well illustrated by the OAU's declarations and resolutions throughout this period, which indicates increasing negative perceptions for OAU's capability to deal with new security challenges that the African continent faced. The Central Organ attempted to break

¹⁰¹⁵ OAU Secretariat, "Draft Constitutive Act of the African Union," AHG/219 (XXXVI), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-sixth Ordinary Session/ Fourth Ordinary Session of the AEC, 10-12 July 2000, Lome, Togo.

through this weakness to institutionalize peacekeeping operations from 1995 to 1997, yet the political constraint that posed by the 1993 Cairo Declaration limited the organ's ability to provide security proposals. In this setting, the 1999 Sirte Declaration provided an opportunity for OAU to relax the organization's political constraints by displacing it with a new organization, AU. Therefore, the OAU's constant negative perceptions on its security utility for member states fostered institutional displacement of OAU to create a new non-traditional collective security arrangement.

(3) ISP: Creating "Conditional" Intervention

The period of 1994-2002 challenged the OAU's fundamental institutional objective to attain political independence from external actors. While OAU began to strengthen its security mechanism to deal with Africa's growing internal conflicts, its ISP had been previously embedded as political independence. Accordingly, South Africa's transition to non-racial democracy in 1994 and the dissolution of the OAU's liberation committee forced the organization to shift its ISP. Although the conflict management mechanism that OAU created in 1993 became its foremost preference, this mechanism, which was ultimately based on inter-organizational cooperation with the United Nations and sub-regional organizations, had difficulty functioning in terms of executing peacekeeping operations, largely due to policy shifts towards Africa by major powers and the United Nations in 1993 and 1994. Thus, given OAU's new means to address the regional balance of power, which was the inter-organizational cooperation to manage African security through the Central Organ, the United Nations, and sub-regional organizations, OAU's security utility began to be increasingly perceived as negative by member states.

In this context, major powers, namely the United States and France, attempted to find a way to buttress OAU's institutional capabilities to manage internal conflicts on its own. The United States proposed the establishment of a 10,000-troop African Rapid Reaction Force (ARRF). In 1996, Warren Christopher, the US Secretary of State, traveled to Mali, Ethiopia,

Tanzania, South Africa, and Angola to push this idea forward by showing US willingness to provide \$25-40 million of financial assistance as well as training support.¹⁰¹⁶ This idea had been considered since the 1993 Somalia crisis, and according to Assistant Secretary of State George Moose, the ARRF would avoid any peace enforcement mission and aim at “strictly humanitarian mission” under the UN Security Council’s authorization in order to avoid Rwanda-like crises, which Burundi faced at the time.¹⁰¹⁷

However, though generally supported, this idea produced mixed reactions from African states. On the one hand, some states approved such a proposal and began to hold joint training with the US military. With French troop withdrawal at the time, African states, such as Mali, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, and Senegal, accepted the proposal by 1997.¹⁰¹⁸ On the other hand, some states were concerned about “ownership” of such a force. South Africa’s President Nelson Mandela stated in response to this proposal that “Africa would like to feel they are handling things themselves...rather than acting in response to suggestions that come from outside the continent.”¹⁰¹⁹ Furthermore, Libya’s Qadhafi also rejected the idea of the establishment of an African force under foreign order by stating, “The idea put forward by the USA is good. Our main concern is that the force should be controlled by the Organization of African Unity not otherwise.”¹⁰²⁰ Secretary General Salim concurred and stated the possibility that the African Crisis Response Force (ACRF) would become “a source of problems in the future.”¹⁰²¹

Consequently, rather than creating a continental force in Africa, the United States began to focus more on capacity-building of individual forces in African states through the African

¹⁰¹⁶ “US proposes peace force for Africa,” *Financial Times*, October 11, 1996.

¹⁰¹⁷ “United States and Africa; The Clinton Administration and the African Crisis Response Force,” *Africa News*, March 24, 1997.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid.; “A Recipe for Peace: US Know-How, Local Troops,” *Christian Science Monitor*, August 26, 1997; “Africa-at-Large; Clinton on National Security Strategy for the Next Century,” *Africa News*, January 11, 2000.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Financial Times*, October 11, 1996.

¹⁰²⁰ “Libya: Libya Supports Creation of African Intervention Force,” *Africa News*, February 6, 1997; “United States and Africa: Kadhafi Urges Rejection of U.S. Force Proposal,” *Africa News*, February 27, 1997.

¹⁰²¹ *Africa News*, March 24, 1997.

Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which emphasized the coordination among the United Nations and OAU, especially the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the OAU Crisis Management Center.¹⁰²² This proposal also began to converge with the French initiative of RECAMP and UK cooperation in May 1997. This “Tripartite Cooperation” aimed at not establishing a joint force but allocating rapid reaction units to quickly respond to crises under UN authorization with OAU approval.¹⁰²³ Initially, there was opposition from several African states, including Nigeria, South Africa, and Libya, as there was a possibility that the three Western states would selectively choose African states for training, which could divide African unity.¹⁰²⁴ Accordingly, these Western initiatives did not structurally change the OAU’s security function.

Thus, the OAU’s sensitivity to external intrusion and its principle of non-interference led the organization to reject outside ideas, and instead, there were several proposals from inside OAU that altered its preferences, and three main INEs emerged in the mid-1990s: the OAU’s Central Organ, Nigeria’s Obasanjo and Libya’s Qadhafi.

First, the Central Organ attempted to institutionalize OAU’s peacekeeping function. After the organ reached the conclusion that the existing Charter and the Cairo Declaration did not prohibit setting up OAU’s peacekeeping operations, several African states and Secretary General Salim, having advocated enhancement of OAU’s security function since 1994, also backed up the Central Organ’s idea. Secretary General Salim stated that Africa needed “invest in peace as a priority...[to create] propitious conditions for socio-economic development and progress,”¹⁰²⁵ Assuring that it would not aim to establish a Pan-African Force,¹⁰²⁶ which had been also

¹⁰²² For example, see “United States and Africa; Africans Spell Peacekeepers ‘A-C-R-I,’” *Africa News*, April 13, 1998; “Africa-at-Large; Holbrooke Says Africa Will Be UN Priority in January,” *Africa News*, December 7, 1999.

¹⁰²³ “U.S., Britain and France propose African peace force project,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, June 9, 1997.

¹⁰²⁴ “Africa-at-Large; Nigeria Leads African Opposition To Western Peace Force Plan,” *Africa News*, March 2, 1998.

¹⁰²⁵ “Africa-at-Large; Salim Calls For Recommitment To Pan-Africanism,” *Africa News*, May 24, 1999.

¹⁰²⁶ When there was an idea to establish a contingency force, Sam Ibok, acting director of the OAU Political Department, stated, “*We are not coming up with a Pan-African force*, but we want an establishment that will have a standardized training of peacekeeping forces in the different countries.”

envisaged by the OAU Defence Committee for a long time, the Council of Ministers recommended a region-based standby force, composed of sub-regional brigades like ECOMOG.¹⁰²⁷ African regional powers, such as Nigeria and South Africa, were also willing to provide their forces for peace operations if requested by the UN or OAU.¹⁰²⁸ Nonetheless, neither the Council of Ministers nor the Assembly could further endorse such a proposal as the idea still lacked detail on operationalization.

Second, Nigeria's Obasanjo pushed to reorganize the concept of security by resurrecting the 1993 Kampala Document. In the 1999 OAU Assembly, Obasanjo proposed to launch CSSDCA to deal with security issues on the African continent, which could not be undertaken in 1991. Proposing the year 2000 as "the Year of Peace, Security and Solidarity in Africa,"¹⁰²⁹ Nigeria reemphasized the linkage between security, development and cooperation, and pushed OAU in the 1999 Algiers Declaration to decide on convening an African Ministerial Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in the Continent.¹⁰³⁰ After the first CSSDCA was held in Abuja in May 2000, the Council of Ministers encouraged further coordination, and the Assembly endorsed the documents produced in the first meeting in 2000.¹⁰³¹ Also, this process compelled two African states, South Africa and Senegal, to create their own comprehensive plan for the African security. While Senegal proposed the "OMEGA Plan"

"Africa-at-Large; Africa's Military chiefs Seek Enhancement of Peacekeeping Mission," *Africa News*, October 20, 1997.

¹⁰²⁷ "Africa-at-Large; OAU Wants Subregional Brigades For African Force," *Africa News*, March 9, 1998.

¹⁰²⁸ "New defence minister on peacekeeping operations, funding, other issues," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 26, 1999; Barbara Crossette, "Nigerian Leader Seeks Peacemaking Role," *The New York Times*, September 5, 2000, p. A12.

¹⁰²⁹ OAU Secretariat, "Declaration of the Year 2000 as the Year of Peace, Security and Solidarity in Africa," AHG/Decl.2 (XXXV), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-fifth Ordinary Session, 12-14 July 1999, Algiers, Algeria.

¹⁰³⁰ OAU Secretariat, AHG/Decl. (IV) Rev.1 (1999).

¹⁰³¹ OAU Secretariat, "Decision on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA)—CM/2163 (LXXII)," CM/Dec.520 (LXXII) Rev.1, Council of Ministers, Seventy-second Ordinary Session/Seventh Ordinary Session of the AEC, 6-8 July 2000, Lome, Togo; OAU Secretariat, "Lome Declaration," AHG/Decl.2 (XXXVI), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-sixth Ordinary Session/Fourth Ordinary Session of the AEC, 10-12 July 2000, Lome Togo; OAU Secretariat, "CSSDCA Solemn Declaration," AHG/Decl.4 (XXXVI), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-sixth Ordinary Session/Fourth Ordinary Session of the AEC, 10-12 July 2000, Lome Togo.

specifically focusing on development,¹⁰³² South Africa created “the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme” (MAP), which conceptualized security in Africa. According to the MAP, in order to prevent the collapse of African states, the states should ensure security, a concept which should now include such issues as the right to development, eradication of poverty, democracy, and state legitimacy. To this end, MAP asserted that Africa needed “constant vigilance, consolidation and the strengthening of capacity,” and the first step would be “to raise and maintain the commitment to political processes that sustain equitable and effective governance,” and in the regions of armed conflicts, the priority would be to “achieve peace.”¹⁰³³ In short, MAP recognized that security, economic, and social factors were intertwined in pursuit of African stability and prosperity, and containment of conflicts was the most fundamental factor.

In July 2001 these two documents were integrated into a single document, “the New African Initiative” (NAI), which attempted to institutionalize the conference and created the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD).¹⁰³⁴ NAI was issued at the 2001 Assembly as NEPAD’s conceptual framework. While NEPAD focused on development issues in Africa, NAI also promoted the idea to ensure security in Africa by the enhancement of four functions of OAU and sub-regional organizations: prevention, management, and resolution of conflict; peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement; post-conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction; and combating the illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines.¹⁰³⁵ As such, NAI’s idea explicitly included peacekeeping as well as peace enforcement and attempted to further strengthen the OAU’s security functions. In this sense, from

¹⁰³² Republic of Senegal, *One People—One Goal—One Faith: OMEGA Plan for Africa*, prepared by Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal.

¹⁰³³ The Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), Draft 3a, paras. 50, 52, 57, 59, 61, and 64, accessed June 5, 2012, http://www.uneca.org/docs/Conference_Reports_and_Other_Documents/nepad/map.pdf.

¹⁰³⁴ OAU Secretariat, “Declaration on the New Common Initiative (MAP and OMEGA),” AHG/Decl.1 (XXXVII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-seventh Ordinary Session/Fifth Ordinary Session of the AEC, 9-11 July 2001, Lusaka, Zambia..

¹⁰³⁵ UN Economic Commission for Africa, “The New African Initiative: A Merger of the Millennium African Renaissance Partnership Programme (MAP) and the OMEGA Plan,” accessed June 5, 2012, http://www.uneca.org/docs/Conference_Reports_and_Other_Documents/nepad/NAI.pdf.

the comprehensive security concepts that CSSDCA promoted, security functions that Africa envisaged were clearly detailed by NAI, and finally included peacekeeping and peace enforcement.

Third, Libya's Qadhafi proposed the establishment of the United States of Africa in 1998 instead of concentrating on the enhancement of the OAU's peacekeeping function. Although Qadhafi's geo-political focus was more on Arab states, Arab leaders tended to politically isolate Libya by not lifting sanctions that the United Nations had imposed since the early 1990s, in reaction to Libya's failure to hand over two individuals suspected of involvement in the bombing of a Pan Am jet above the Scottish town, Lockerbie, in 1988. As African leaders evinced a more benevolent attitude toward Libya at that time by deciding not to comply with sanctions, as shown in the OAU Assembly's decision 127 in 1998,¹⁰³⁶ Libya's focus shifted from the Arab world to Africa. Qadhafi stated that "nothing will ever link me to Arabs,"¹⁰³⁷ and accused Arab states of following the United States and implicitly rejecting the pan-Arab ideal.¹⁰³⁸

Thus, Libya actively pursued diplomatic engagements with African states. Having formally requested the amendment of the OAU Charter in September 1988 to establish the United States of Africa, Libya approached African states from early 1999 onwards to propose the idea of

¹⁰³⁶ The Council's resolution, referring to UN Security Council Resolution 748 (1992), which imposed sanctions against Libya under Chapter VII, fostered the international community to reconsider the UN decision. In 1998, the Council recommended to adopt in the favor of the resolution submitted by Libya, "Elimination of the Unjust Economic Measures as an instrument of Economic and Political Coercion" in the Assembly, and the Assembly decided "not to comply any longer with Security Council Resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) on Sanctions..." See OAU Secretariat, "Resolution on the Crisis between the Great Jamahiriya and the USA, UK and France," CM/Res.1525 (LX), Council of Ministers, Sixtieth Ordinary Session, 6-11 June 1994, Tunis, Tunisia; OAU Secretariat, "Elimination of Unjust and Unilateral Economic Measures Against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya—Doc. CM/2070 (LXVIII)," CM/DEC.416 (LXVIII), Sixty-eight Ordinary Session, Third Ordinary Session of the African Economic Community, 4-7 June 1998, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso; OAU Secretariat, "The Crisis Between the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the United States of America and the United Kingdom," AHG/Dec.127 (XXXIV), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-fourth Ordinary Session/ Second Ordinary Session of the African Economic Community, 8-10 June 1998, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

¹⁰³⁷ "Libya; Kadhafi Attacks Arabs Again," *Africa News*, November 12, 1998; Scott Peterson, "Col. Qaddafi seeks to lead new club-Africa," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 10, 1999, p. 1.

¹⁰³⁸ David Sharrock, "Gadafy emerges older and wiser; Thirty years ago this week, he took power in Libya and became the world's public enemy number one. Now he wants to return to the fold," *The Guardian*, September 4, 1999, p. 16.

the establishment of the new union.¹⁰³⁹ The principle of this proposal was well received by African states, and many were willing to discuss the Charter revision and possibility of an African integration.¹⁰⁴⁰ By proposing to hold the extraordinary meeting among OAU Heads of State and Government, Libya created an opportunity for OAU member states to consider refurbishment of the organization, resulting in the decision that the organization would hold an extraordinary meeting in Sirte, Libya in September 1999.

However, this proposal was not necessarily supported by all the member states. This is because many saw the idea as partly based on Libya's political desire to counter Western states' interests, namely the United States and European Union. In fact, in March 1998, Qadhafi made a speech, stating:

I have presented a proposal for Africa to revise the OAU Charter...in order to develop the great work of the OAU and make it a real African unity. If this latter does not become like the United States of America, as advocated by Nkrumah, it should be like the European Union. It should be at least like the EU. Africa must be at least like Europe. If we fail to unite our continent, that will mean the end, it will mean colonization as a united Europe or a united America will colonize you. We will be a paradise for them and a mine for their interests. We do not accept this at all. We would rather die than accept that.¹⁰⁴¹

Several states, such as Nigeria, were concerned about Libya's anti-Western posture. This was illustrated when Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo met Qadhafi and produced a joint

¹⁰³⁹ Libya started its diplomatic engagement from February 1999, when Qadhafi met Namibian President Sam Nujoma to propose his idea of a united Africa and review the OAU Charter. "Qadhafi, OAU secretary-general discuss 'regrettable events' in Africa," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, February 13, 1999.

¹⁰⁴⁰ These states include Namibia, South Africa, Burundi, the Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Tanzania with the OAU Secretary General, Salim. See "Libya, Namibia Issue Joint Statement at End of President Nujoma's Visit," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, February 28, 1999; "Libyan, South African officials hold talks on African issues," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, May 25, 1999; "Libya: Burundi President Reaffirms Commitment to Peace in DRCONGO," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, June 8, 1999; "Qadhafi, Congolese president discuss Great Lakes issue in Pretoria," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 18, 1999; "Libya, Sudan issue communiqué following Qadhafi-Bashir talks," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, June 22, 1999; "Libya: OAU Secretary-General Praises Qadhafi's Peace Initiatives in Africa," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, June 22, 1999; "Joint Statement Issued at the end of Tanzanian President's Visit to Libya," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, July 21, 1999.

¹⁰⁴¹ "Qadhafi calls for US companies to be expelled from Africa," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, March 16, 1999.

statement that did not contain any mention about the revision of the OAU Charter, which Qadhafi always attempted to include whenever he issued a joint statement with African states.¹⁰⁴² Even after the 2001 Constitutive Act was signed, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda were cautious about the establishment of the African Union given Qadhafi's political intension.¹⁰⁴³ Partly for this reason, Qadhafi emphasized that his idea was based on the Abuja Agreement, which aimed at creating the African Economic Community proposed by Nigeria in 1990, as well as other African cooperative mechanisms. He argued that if these political and economic frameworks could be well arranged, they would automatically lead to the establishment of a United States of Africa.¹⁰⁴⁴ Particularly emphasizing that the idea was nothing new and a common aspiration of all the African states, Libya pushed its proposal to create a new integrative body in Africa. In this context, rather than focusing on enhancing the security function of OAU, OAU member states decided to comprehensively restructure the organization and create a new body, the African Union in 1999 by the Sirte Declaration, although the original idea of establishing the United States of Africa was watered down. In July 2000, the Draft Constitutive Act, which modified the non-interference principle, was adopted, which opened the possibility for an African continental organization to further enhance its security functions.¹⁰⁴⁵

Of these three initiatives, Qadhafi's proposal had the most impact on institutional transformation since it widened the window of opportunity to reconstruct OAU by revision of the Charter, which enabled African members to install new institutional norms, such as democracy and human rights, and to reconsider traditional institutional norms, including non-interference.

Admittedly, creation of the Constitutive Act was not a straightforward process. Said Djinnit, the

¹⁰⁴² Qadhafi maintained its anti-Western posture even in 2001. "Joint Statement issued at end of Nigerian President's visit to Libya," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, August 13, 1999; "Libya: Al-Qadhafi says Africa must wage battle for unification," *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, March 1, 2001.

¹⁰⁴³ *BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, March 1, 2001.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Qadhafi stated, "The information is there, but needs to be arranged and a tool to arrange it needs to be created (...) The vision I am telling you about is a vision which, if approved, would lead to all the other developments and satisfy the aspirations of all Africans, those who are enthusiastic and those who have reservations, and others." "Qadhafi tells OAU foreign minister of 'United States of Africa' vision," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, September 9, 1999.

¹⁰⁴⁵ OAU Secretariat, AHG/219 (XXXVI).

OAU Assistant Secretary General, stated that while OAU member states recognized that the process to establish the African Union needed to be as rapid as possible in order to maintain its momentum and make it irreversible, the AU's right to intervene in member states, showing its political willingness to establish a principle of "non-indifference," was a compromised product.¹⁰⁴⁶ However, while the Central Organ's initiative did not materialize by itself, the idea for peacekeeping was resurrected. Likewise, although Obasanjo's initiatives to establish CSSDCA and reconstruct the concept of security for Africa did not go beyond OAU's principle of non-interference, NAI promoted African states to consider even peace enforcement after the 2000 Constitutive Act. Thus, without Qadhafi's proposal, it would have been difficult for OAU to undertake institutional displacement and alter its non-interference principle.

In 2001, OAU decided to incorporate the Central Organ into the AU mechanism under the condition that the Secretary General would review "the structure, procedures and working methods...including the possibility of changing its name."¹⁰⁴⁷ In July 2002, the "Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union," which institutionalized an African Standby Force to ensure AU's institutional capability for intervention, was adopted by the AU Assembly,¹⁰⁴⁸ and subsequently it went into force in December 2003 after the required majority of states ratified the protocol.

In sum, OAU's principle of non-interference put political constraints on the institution to enhance its security function, including peacekeeping and peace enforcement, and before the Constitutive Act, the political dilemma between necessity of intervention and protection of the principle within OAU had been illustrated in several documents, including the Central Organ's

¹⁰⁴⁶ UN Economic Commission for Africa, "Pan Africa: Building an Effective African Union," *Africa News*, March 7, 2002.

¹⁰⁴⁷ OAU Secretariat, "Decision on the Implementation of the Sirte Summit Decision on the African Union," AHG/Dec.1 (XXXVII), Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Thirty-seventh Ordinary Session/Fifth Ordinary Session of the AEC, 9-11 July 2001, Lusaka, Zambia.

¹⁰⁴⁸ AU Secretariat, "Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union"; AU Secretariat, "Decision on the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union—Doc. AHG/234 (XXXVIII)," ASS/AU/Dec. 2 (I), Assembly of the African Union, First Ordinary Session, 9-10 July 2002, Durban, South Africa.

proposal and MAP. Although OAU faced the prospect of becoming more irrelevant in terms of security management due to proliferation of conflicts, the organization could not break the traditional principle of non-interference. Moreover, there had been always constraints on financial and logistical capabilities for peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations. However, after the Constitutive Act was signed, which partially but not completely altered OAU's institutional principles, the African Union quickly institutionalized its security function by creating such mechanisms as the African Standby Force and the Peace and Security Council despite the fact that its financial and logistical capabilities remained the same. Therefore, the main game changer was Qadhafi's proposal to replace OAU with another continental organization, which promoted the institutional displacement of OAU.

III. Within-Case Analysis—OAU/AU

This chapter overviewed the OAU/AU's institutional transformation from 1979 to 1982 and 1990 to 2002. The period of 1979-1982 did not provide any institutional transformation in terms of security function, yet it saw institutional normative consolidation and layering as OAU did not produce any resolutions, protocols, or decisions to create new security functions. As Figure 6.4 illustrates, OAU's institutional transformation during this period was aberrant from other cases.

During the 1970s, the African continent faced rapid changes in the regional balance of power due to Portuguese retrenchment and emergence of newly independent states in Southern Africa. This power vacuum created by these events invited intervention by external powers, such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba, and OAU's institutional attention predominantly focused on these areas in order to ensure the independence of those newly independent states. On the other hand, there was also a perceived change in the regional balance of power in Central Africa, particularly with respect to Chad. Chad had been experiencing a prolonged internal conflict, and several Chadian factions, including FROLINAT, were supported

by external states, including Libya and France. In this setting, the internal power balance within Chad began to shift in 1979. France, facing its presidential election, began to reconsider its policy toward Africa, and its future political and military commitment became uncertain. Although it had supported a federal government in Chad, France increasingly sought a political solution to resolve this internal conflict. Perceiving a strategic opportunity, Libya, which had a border dispute with Chad, began to intensify its support for Chadian rebels, and it attempted to increase its political influence over the state. The Libyan-Chadian joint announcement of a merger in 1981 is a case in point. Also, Nigeria, a neighboring regional power which was concerned about external interference in internal affairs, especially from extra-continental powers, considered that the Chadian internal conflicts would possibly shift the regional balance of power in Central Africa, which would also affect West African security.

While OAU at this point remained silent regarding the potential change in regional strategic balance, Nigeria began to broker the Chadian internal conflicts by holding a series of negotiations. Nigeria attempted to manage the conflict by creating GUNT and providing its own neutral peacekeeping forces to Chad, yet these peacekeeping forces were not seen as neutral and conflict ensued. Facing a deteriorating situation, the cease-fire agreement Lagos II, concluded in August 1979, asked OAU to provide peacekeeping forces to monitor compliance and forced French troops in Chad to leave. This agreement was seen positively from the OAU's standpoint. Although the mandates of OAU peacekeeping forces were vague, this agreement was also useful in achieving the OAU's institutional objectives, particularly the principle of non-interference and the decolonization process as French political influence in Chad would decrease. Moreover, when Libya attempted to utilize this situation in 1980 and 1981 to control Chadian politics by diplomatically and militarily assisting GUNT in the context of French withdrawal, OAU saw its peacekeeping forces in Chad positively as a principle of non-interference was adhered to. Therefore, OAU member states' expectations for OAU's security utility were generally positive.

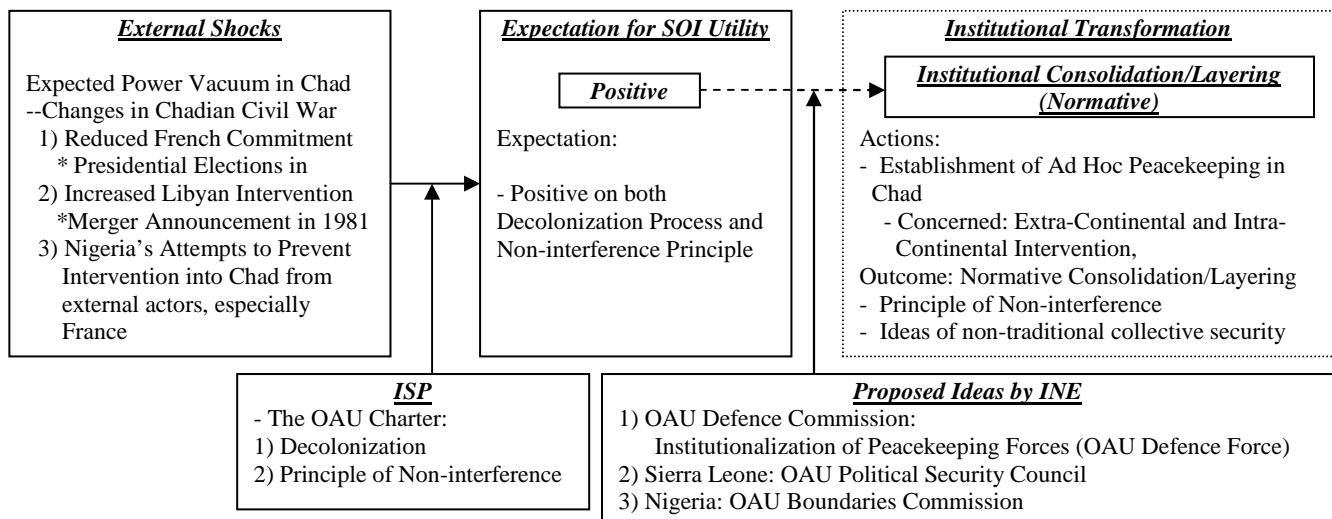
In this context, three INEs emerged: the OAU Defence Commission, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. Most notably, the OAU Defence Commission attempted to establish OAU security functions by pushing the idea to create a OAU Defence Force. Since previous OAU peacekeeping missions had been on an ad hoc basis, the new approach attempted to institutionalize such forces in order to ensure African security not only through peace operations but also containment of external aggression and intra-member state conflicts. In this sense, the plan envisaged three security functions: non-traditional collective security, traditional collective security, and collective self-defense. However, at the same time, the actual operation of OAU peacekeeping forces faced financial and logistical difficulties. For example, although the first OAU peacekeeping forces in 1980 were supposed to be comprised of contingents from Benin, Congo, and Guinea, only Congo provided troops while the others failed to send troops due to financial and logistical problems. In December 1981, the second time OAU peacekeeping forces were deployed, the mission, lacking financial and material support, could not effectively monitor the cease-fire agreement and eventually withdrew. In this sense, it became apparent that OAU peacekeepers would likely be ineffective even if they were deployed, and the institution could not consolidate its peacekeeping function or establish an effective OAU Defence Force.

The institutional transformation that OAU experienced during this period did not occur functionally, but normative changes in OAU were observed. With the financial difficulties of the 1980s, after the Chadian peacekeeping mission, OAU attempted to find other methods to establish certain security mechanisms, such as the creation of the Defence Organ, to deal with African conflicts, an idea which had not been discussed since the 1960s when Nkrumah advocated the establishment of an Inter-African Defence Force. Therefore, OAU undertook institutional layering in a normative way.

At the same time, these ideas were fundamentally focused on inter-state relations and did not address internal conflicts. Despite the fact that there were no institutional decisions to establish security-related organs, the experiences of its first peacekeeping missions shaped

OAU's ISP to indeed create security mechanisms, including a peacekeeping function, that could deal with inter-state conflicts while strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference, and thus it undertook institutional normative consolidation. Admittedly, these were not formal institutional decisions or declarations, and its transformation was largely ambiguous, and it could not refer to them as a reference point to evaluate its institutional utility in the context of changes in the strategic landscape. However, the Chadian experiences basically encouraged OAU to discuss potential functional transformations, and thus OAU undertook normative changes, which were similar to institutional consolidation and layering.

Figure 6.4: OAU Peacekeeping—OAU's Institutional Consolidation from 1979 to 1982



The second OAU cases examined its institutional transformation from 1990 to 2002, the processes that culminated in the creation of the AU. In this period, two institutional transformations took place: Institutional layering from 1990 to 1993, and institutional displacement from 1993 to 2002.

Figure 6.4 shows the sequence of the OAU's institutional layering from 1990 to 1993, leading to the establishment of the Central Organ for Conflict Management and Resolution. The trigger for the institutional transformation began with the US-Soviet rapprochement near the end of the Cold War. This led to the withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban troops from Angola and the

peace process in Namibia, leading to Namibia's independence. However, as the extra-continental powers began to withdraw troops from the African continent, internal conflicts intensified and increased in number. While these powers attempted to mediate these conflicts through diplomatic means, they also took cautious steps to avoid military intervention as their vital interests were not involved in Africa. This power vacuum created by military retrenchment of extra-continental powers became a source of intensification of internal conflicts, and the international community began to employ United Nations peacekeeping forces to resolve these conflicts. As a result, the number of UN peacekeeping operations exponentially increased, and though they were not always effective, they were seen as one of the only realistic conflict-resolution options that the international community had.

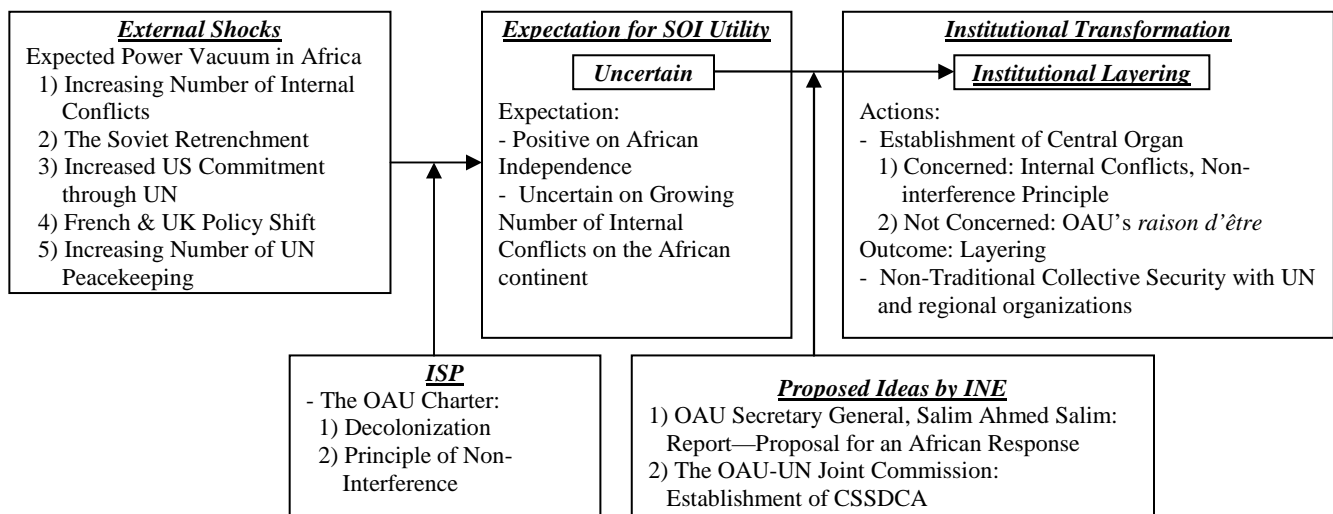
In this context, OAU member states were uncertain about the OAU's institutional utility for two reasons. On the one hand, they regarded the institution as a valid organ to promote independence on the African continent. One of the OAU's fundamental objectives was to promote decolonization, and OAU recognized that South Africa was still effectively struggling for independence due to its Apartheid policy and governance by a minority. Thus, although the political trend for African independence gained momentum at the end of the Cold War, OAU still needed to focus on this political objective. On the other hand, OAU still did not possess its own conflict resolution mechanism. Given changes in the strategic landscape on the African continent after the Cold War, OAU member states needed to have their own conflict-resolution mechanism, in case other institutions, such as the United Nations and African regional organizations, could not undertake action to resolve internal conflicts. However, the principle of non-interference prohibited OAU from taking enforcement action to resolve such internal conflicts

Since OAU's ISP was founded on the OAU Charter, with particular emphasis on African independence and the principle of non-interference, OAU faced the political challenge of transforming itself into an institution that could deal with internal conflicts with some enforcement capability. In facing this political dilemma, two INEs, the OAU Secretary General

Salim and the OAU-UN Joint Commission, provided the idea to strengthen inter-organizational linkages with the United Nations and regional organizations. More specifically, whereas the OAU Secretary General provided a conceptual framework to resolve internal conflicts in Africa in his report, “Proposals for an African Response,” the OAU-UN Joint Commission proposed establishment of CSSDCA through the Kampala agreement. Neither, however, proposed restructuring OAU’s principle of non-interference, and they assumed that only the United Nations had authority to intervene in internal conflicts. Instead, these proposals suggested that OAU assume a role of peace-making and peace-building, while the UN Security Council had authority for undertaking peace enforcement. As a result, OAU created the Central Organ, whose role was to coordinate with the United Nations and regional organizations to deal with internal conflicts in Africa.

In this sense, OAU undertook institutional layering to assume non-traditional collective security mechanisms from its prior emphasis prevention of extra-continental powers’ intervention in African affairs, though a division of labor with other organizations was necessary to make such a system operational.

Figure 6.5: Central Organ—OAU’s Institutional Layering from 1990 to 1993



In the second phase from 1993 to 2002, OAU undertook institutional displacement to change itself into a new continental organization, AU. Through this institutional displacement created by its Constitutive Act, AU reinterpreted its long-held principle of non-interference and allowed the institution to undertake conditional intervention in member states' internal conflicts. In addition, AU set up the Peace and Security Council and its standby force to ensure its enforcement capabilities. As shown in Figure 6.5, this transformational process began from the changes in the regional balance of power in Africa in late 1993.

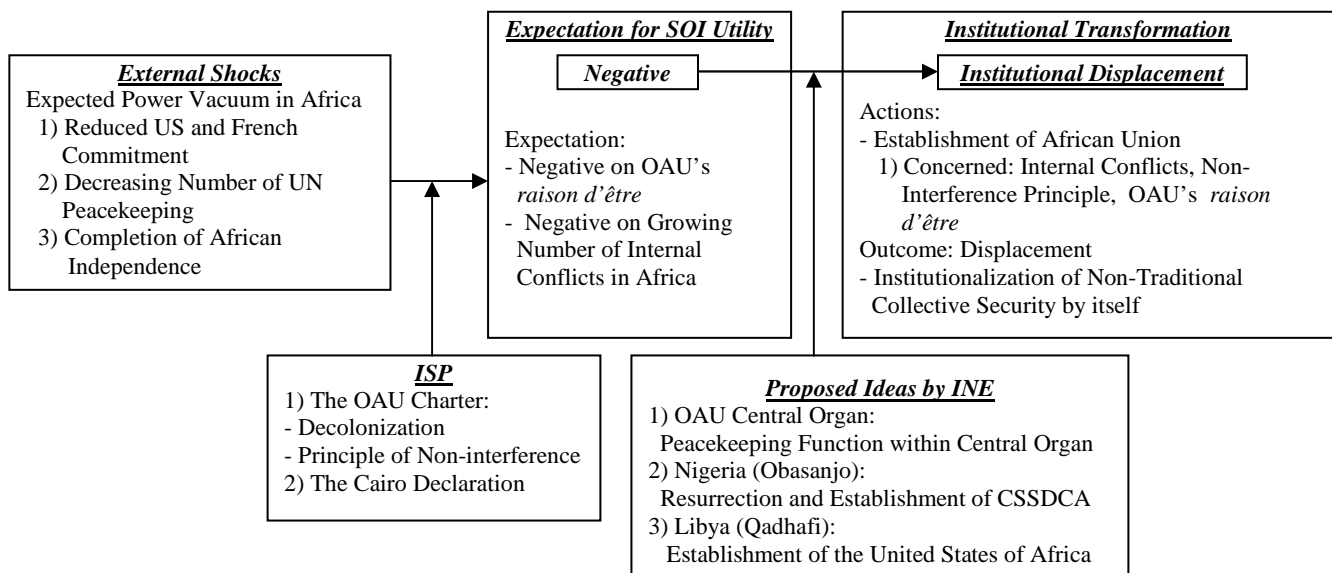
The strategic landscape in Africa shifted after 1993 due to three main factors. First, two important great powers, the United States and France, began to reduce their commitment beginning in 1993. After the United States lost US troops in Somalia in that year, it began to reconsider and reduce its military commitment to resolve internal conflicts in Africa, while France gradually reduced its military presence starting in the mid-1990s. Second, the United Nations also faced political, military, and financial difficulties in providing peacekeeping forces. As the number of peacekeeping missions increased, UN capabilities to deal with internal conflicts in the world became overtaxed. As a result, as opposed to the objective envisioned by the UN Secretary General's report, "An Agenda for Peace," the United Nations began to hesitate to send UN peacekeeping forces and reduce the number of missions. Third, the number of conflicts in Africa remained high until 1998. Given these factors, the power vacuum created by internal conflicts in Africa could not be filled or neutralized by external actors, and African security further deteriorated following 1993.

In the meantime, OAU began to lose its *raison d'être*. Its ISP was predominantly to foster the decolonization process in Africa and strictly adhere to a principle of non-interference, especially from external actors, for that purpose. However, South Africa abolished its Apartheid policy and gained its independence in 1994, resulting in the completion of African independence. Following this, the political and security problems in Africa began to be more focused on the issue of managing internal conflict. Previously, OAU created its Central Organ to serve such an

objective, yet this mechanism was embedded with other international organizations, especially the United Nations. When the United Nations was unreliable, it became difficult to make the system operational. In this sense, OAU member states began to see the utility of the organization negatively.

In this context, three international norm entrepreneurs emerged. The OAU Central Organ proposed institutionalization of the peacekeeping function on the basis of sub-regional standby forces, though this idea was never endorsed at the summit or ministerial level. Nigeria’s President Obasanjo resurrected the idea of CSSDCA, an idea that was once killed in 1993, by arguing that African security needed to include not only military but also socio-economic development. This did not result in any security mechanism within OAU, yet it created a new concept of security to deal with African stability, resulting in the establishment of NEPAD. Most importantly, Libya’s Qadhafi proposed establishment of the United States of Africa in order to politically counterbalance the West and undertook active diplomacy to gain support for this idea. Although such an idea was not enacted, this gave OAU momentum to restructure the institution, leading to the establishment of AU.

Figure 6.6: African Union—OAU’s Institutional Displacement from 1993 to 2002



These two OAU/AU cases show that changes in the regional balance of power, the member states' expectations for the OAU's institutional utility on the basis of its ISP, and INEs all played important roles in institutional transformation, as the three hypotheses of this dissertation suggested. Particularly, the OAU's ISP, a principle of non-interference, had been the most resilient institutional reference point. During the 1979-1982 Chadian internal conflict, the principle was often referred to and became a basis for assessing the strategic landscape in Central Africa, and even after the end of the Cold War, OAU strictly adhered to the principle even though the number of internal conflicts in Africa began to increase rapidly. The reason that the principle was not discarded until OAU was replaced with AU was because the other objective, decolonization, existed as a valid institutional objective until 1994, when South Africa ended Apartheid. However, when decolonization was achieved, it became more difficult to sustain such a principle in the context of increasing and intensifying internal conflicts. In this sense, the path-dependent effect of OAU's ISP is observed in these two cases.

Nevertheless, the case of OAU during the period of 1979-1982 shows the limitation of these hypotheses for explaining institutional transformation. In fact, in this period the OAU's institutional transformation was much weaker than other cases. A change in the regional balance of power was observed. The member states' expectations were relatively positive for its peacekeeping role. Several INEs emerged and proposed establishment of more rigid political and military foundations for the OAU's security function. However, OAU could not issue any resolutions or decisions to institutionalize such a security function in this period. The fundamental reason for this phenomenon was that OAU lacked financial and material capabilities to execute its mandate. It could not provide effective peacekeeping forces to resolve the Chadian internal conflict, although it created a political condition wherein foreign troops from France and Libya needed to leave Chad.

Moreover, the OAU peacekeeping mission was a byproduct of the 1979 Lagos Agreement, a region-led negotiation. In fact, OAU did not play a major role in resolving the

Chadian conflicts, and the institutional discussions on Chad were extremely limited at the summit and ministerial levels. The major brokers were essentially Nigeria, France, and Libya, and OAU merely decided whether it would endorse agreements facilitated by these powers. In this sense, it can be argued that OAU did not feel compelled to politically undertake institutional transformation. Admittedly, the OAU peacekeeping missions shaped the power balance in Central Africa; however, the balance was shaped not by the peacekeeping missions *per se*, but the whole negotiations procedure, part of which included the peacekeeping missions.

With these two difficulties that OAU faced, OAU undertook normative consolidation and layering, wherein the organization attempted to further ensure a principle of non-interference and began to seriously discuss its security role and potential establishment of security mechanisms, and these influenced OAU's ISP, albeit in a weak form. Therefore, this case illustrates that the three hypotheses have limitations in explaining the degree of institutional transformation.

CHAPTER VII: ANALYSIS—CROSS-COMPARISON OF ASEAN, ECOWAS, AND OAU/AU

With the case studies of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU conducted above, this chapter analyses the validity of the three hypotheses of institutional transformation introduced in Chapter III and discusses the findings and implications for SOIs' institutional transformation for regional security. The types of institutional transformation of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU are summarized in Table 7.1. This table identifies changes in the types of SOIs in each institution from pre-shock (before changes in intra-regional/regional balance of power) to post-shock (after changes in intra-regional/regional balance of power), their institutional security focus (internal or external security management, or both), and types of transformation (consolidation, layering, and displacement). Although the degree of institutional transformation varies, each case shows the changes which occurred within each SOI, and thereby affected each institution's characteristics.

Table 7.2 illustrates outcome of the test. It shows the results of process-tracing for each SOI's institutional transformation. With this table, the first hypothesis, "*If member states of a security-oriented institution (SOI) expect that the regional/intra-regional balance of power will change, then the institution is more likely to undergo institutional transformation in order to ensure member states' security;*" showed the general validity of the importance of external shocks. In each case, the power vacuums, which were created by great powers' intrusions or retrenchment, increases or decreases in regional great powers' rivalries, or state collapse or near-collapse due to civil wars, became the foremost security concern for each region because they expected that such changes would be a source for destabilization of regional security. Accordingly, SOIs attempted to neutralize the power vacuum by such means as collective military action, political actions, and institution-building. As the punctuated equilibrium model suggested, such external shocks created conditions for institutional transformation. Thus, changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power preceded each SOI's institutional transformation.

In most cases, it could not be distinguished whether *actual* or *expected* changes triggered such transformation; however, ECOWAS's transformation from 1976 to 1981, a relatively stable period of West African security, illustrated that member states' expected changes influenced institutional decisions to assume some security functions. Also, the various periods of each case's institutional transformation suggests that it was not a change in global balance of power, but in intra-regional/regional balance of power that became a trigger for the transformation. Of course, this does not mean that the global balance of power did not have any effect. In fact, all the cases show that SOIs changed near or at the end of the Cold War. During the 1990s, ASEAN created ARF and ASEAN+3; ECOWAS established ECOMOG in order to deal with the Liberian conflicts; and OAU created the Central Organ and transformed itself into AU. These correlated with the political and military retrenchment of the Great Powers after the collapse of the bi-polar international system led by the United States and the Soviet Union, and regional security was susceptible to such global strategic changes.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that institutional transformation of SOIs entirely depends on the global balance of power. Cases during the Cold War illustrate the various time periods of such transformation. For example, it was not the United States that influenced ASEAN's decision to issue TAC and the Bali Concord I in 1976, but rather the more important factor was the Sino-Soviet rivalry. US and French relative political retrenchment in the context of increasing Soviet political influence in Africa became a security concern for the ECOWAS member states in the late 1970s. Moreover, it was essentially regional/intra-regional balance of power that influenced the member states of SOIs, as the member states' debates essentially rested on the impact of global change in their own region. In this sense, while changes in the global balance of power indirectly influenced the member states' expectations, they were not a direct trigger for institutional transformation of SOIs. The SOI's geographic scope matters, and these tests show the validity of the first hypothesis.

In these cases, expected changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power were most likely a necessary condition for each type of institutional transformation: institutional consolidation, layering, and displacement. Although the types of transformation vary and changes in the regional security landscape themselves do not guide the direction of such transformation, changes in the regional balance triggered institutional transformation.

The second hypothesis, *“The member states expectations for the SOI’s utility in the context of the expected changes is likely to lead to a specific type of institutional transformation. Positive expectations are likely to lead to institutional consolidation; uncertain expectations are likely to lead to institutional layering; and negative expectations are likely to lead to institutional displacement,”* showed mixed results according to the cases examined. On the one hand, this hypothesis holds its validity in eight out of eleven specific cases, and the member states’ expectations for SOI’s utility in the context of the regional strategic balance generally lead to specific types of institutional transformation. The positive expectations for an SOI’s utility, which is the case for ASEAN from 1968 to 1971, produced institutional consolidation. ASEAN at this period sharpened its vague framework of the 1967 Bangkok Declaration in order to more effectively ensure that member states’ security would not become entrapped by Great Power intrusion or rivalry.

When member states of an SOI perceive uncertainty about institutional utility, then the institution add a new security function to the existing one, referred to as institutional layering. This is the cases of ASEAN during the periods 1989-1994 and 1989-1997, ECOWAS during the periods 1976-1978 and 1978-1981, and OAU in the period of 1990-1993. During such periods, SOIs produced declarations, treaties, and new affiliated institutions. In addition, when SOIs’ utility was perceived negatively, the member states undertook institutional displacement, which is illustrated by the cases of ECOWAS from 1994 and 1999 and OAU/AU from 1993 to 2002. In these cases, in order to manage internal conflicts in their regions of interest, Africa and West Africa, both OAU and ECOWAS significantly modified their principle of non-interference and

set conditions for intervention, so that they could assume, at least politically, a more effective non-traditional collective security mechanism. In this sense, the member states' expectations are likely to be linked to the types of institutional transformation, as this hypothesis predicted.

On the other hand, there are three outliers: ASEAN from 1972 to 1976; ECOWAS from 1989 to 1993; and OAU from 1979 to 1981. First, ASEAN member states positively considered ASEAN's utility in the context of US withdrawal from Vietnam in the early 1970s. Although this created a power vacuum in Indochina, ASEAN had the potential to neutralize it if it could successfully include Vietnam in ASEAN and persuade other regional powers, the Soviet Union and China. However, after the intensification of Sino-Soviet rivalry over the Indochinese region, such objectives became unattainable and ASEAN altered its policy to first focus on cooperation among ASEAN states rather than all the Southeast Asian states. In this sense, positive aspects of ASEAN's institutional utility in Southeast Asia quickly shifted from the entire Southeast Asian region to only the ASEAN region. Thus, this case showed that while positive expectations directed institutional consolidation, the course of institutional consolidation was redirected to a different geographical scope, which was not predicted by the hypothesis.

Second, as ECOWAS from 1989 to 1993 shows, during a certain period of time, several member states undertook a *fait accompli* strategy to assume an ad hoc security function. Considering the deterioration of the Liberian civil war without any military support from the international community, including the United States and the United Nations, the ECOWAS mediation committee, which consisted of the Gambia, Ghana, Togo, Mali, and Nigeria along with Guinea and Sierra Leone, held an emergency meeting in August and decided to establish ECOMOG in Liberia to quell the conflict. However, since it did not have any authorization from the Authority constituted by all the ECOWAS member states, its legitimacy was in question, and from August 1990 to November 1990 there was no institutional consensus regarding the establishment and existence of ECOMOG. It was only in November 1990, when the

extraordinary ECOWAS Summit authorized the intervention in Liberia that such peacekeeping functions in ECOWAS became institutionalized.

To be sure, such a *fait accompli* decision was not sustainable over the long term. Some of the ECOWAS member states, including those which supported the establishment of ECOMOG at an early stage, such as Togo, also began to question the legitimacy of ECOMOG and called for the extraordinary summit. As Nigerian contingents dominated the ECOMOG forces in Liberia and gained more control over them, it created a situation in which Nigeria could utilize the regional forces to pursue its political interests in West Africa without considering other member states' intentions. Regardless of whether Nigeria would act arbitrarily without consultation, if their demands for the summit were ignored, ECOWAS would likely face a clear division over the Liberian conflicts. This would also reduce the credibility of ECOMOG as well as the legitimacy and effectiveness of ECOWAS to deal with the Liberian conflict, all of which resulted in the holding of the emergency summit in November 1990. Nevertheless, it was apparent that if all the ECOWAS member states used a formal decision-making process through the ECOWAS summit from the beginning, the establishment of ECOMOG would not be possible due to strong opposition coming from the Francophone states, particularly Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire. Because the ECOMOG mediation committee created ECOMOG and used a *fait accompli* strategy, it became possible for ECOWAS to create a peacekeeping function. In this sense, it was not a formal decision-making procedure, but the *fait accompli* strategy that created ECOMOG and shaped the general direction of ECOWAS institutional transformation.

Third, OAU from 1979 to 1981 could temporarily provide a peacekeeping force in Chad, but it never institutionalized this force mainly due to lack of financial and material resources. Since African states lacked resources and international institutions, especially the United Nations, did not provide any support except for UN Security Council Resolution 504 in 1982, the OAU's peacekeeping operations were largely ineffective in resolving the Chadian internal conflict and only evinced operational problems. As a result, OAU did not issue any statement or declaration to

undertake institutional transformation, and instead, the ad hoc peacekeeping missions influenced the institutional discourse regarding security functions. Another important point of this case is the fact that OAU peacekeeping operations served OAU's objectives of decolonization and non-interference by removing French and Libyan troops from Chad and made the Chadian conflict purely internal. This unintended consequence might have provided less incentive for OAU to functionally institutionalize the peacekeeping function. Thus, this hypothesis is not able to specify the degree of institutional transformation.

Although cases like these three outliers may occur infrequently, they illustrate that institutional transformation is not necessarily a linear process. The types of institutional transformation can be altered by different factors, such as a sudden change in interpretation of institutional objectives, a *fait accompli* strategy, and lack of resources. Therefore, the type of SOI institutional transformation is not always determined only on the basis of aggregated institutional expectations.

The third hypothesis, "*If an SOI faces a change in the regional/intra-regional balance of power, member states refer to its institutional security preference to assess institutional security utility, and institutional norm entrepreneurs in SOIs emerge to introduce new ideas for transformation,*" holds valid in all the cases. When the member states of SOIs perceive changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power, they attempt to assess potential impacts on their security caused by such changes, as well as the utility of SOIs. To this end, the member states employ the Institutional Security Preference (ISP) of SOIs. ISPs are largely influenced by past decisions and discussions, and become the reference point to assess their institutional utility in the context of changes in the regional strategic balance. Several norms and rules of these SOIs, including the principle of non-interference and the norm of not concluding defense pacts, narrowed and determined the potential direction of institutional transformation.

Each SOI's decision-making processes are, therefore, path dependent. In ASEAN from 1968 to 1976, the member states relied on norms and rules, namely a non-interference principle

and norms of not formulating a defense pact and regional autonomy, which were created by past decisions, such as the 1967 Bangkok Declaration, the 1971 Declaration of ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I in 1976. From 1988 to 1994, ASEAN referred again to its preference for these same norms and rules when considering the establishment of Asia's multilateral security institution, ARF, as well as East Asia's economic institution, ASEAN+3. ECOWAS followed the same pattern. From 1976 to 1981, it at first referred to the 1975 ECOWAS Treaty, which solely aimed at fostering socio-economic cooperation among the member states, and in order to embrace security issues in the region, it created security-related rules and norms with PNA in 1978, which focused on internal security management, and PMAD in 1981, which included both internal and external security management. In the period 1989-1999, ECOWAS referred to these protocols, especially the conditional intervention principle in the internal affairs of the member states, to assess its utility in the context of the changing regional security situation. OAU from 1979 to 1982 also referred to its institutional principles created by the OAU Charter, namely decolonization and a principle of non-interference, and it referred to the same principles from 1990 to 1993, when OAU created the Central Organ. During the period 1993-2002, the basic reference point of OAU had been its principle of non-interference and the roles of the Central Organ. Accordingly, past decisions and discussions shape the direction of institutional transformation by narrowing an SOI's choices.

Yet this does not necessarily mean that the direction of an SOI's institutional transformation is inherently path dependent and deterministic, is the direction always linear, nor narrowing choices over time. Institutional Norm Entrepreneurs (INEs) could influence the direction or transformation and sometimes modify or break free from such path dependence with the help of external shocks. Changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power open a window of opportunity for INEs to promote their ideas and embed them into the institution, and all the cases illustrated that during changes in the regional strategic landscape, several INEs emerged and proposed ideas to guide a new or specific direction of institutional transformation.

For ASEAN in the period of 1968-1976, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and the Senior Official Committee provided a new idea for institutional consolidation. From 1988 to 1997, ASEAN-ISIS, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines gave ideas to deal with a new strategic situation by institutional layering. Among the ECOWAS member states, Nigeria, Togo, and Senegal directed ECOWAS's institutional layering in the period of 1976-1981, while the ECOWAS Executive Secretary, the Committee of Eminent Persons, and Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Affairs and Security, provided ideas for ECOWAS to deal with internal conflicts during the 1990s. Also, in OAU, the OAU Defence Commission, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria proposed the establishment of a security mechanism to manage internal conflicts of the member states from 1978 to 1981. Likewise, the OAU Secretary General, the OAU-UN Joint Commission, OAU Central Organ, Nigeria and Libya proposed new political and security mechanisms during the 1990s. Admittedly, not all the ideas provided by INEs are incorporated into the institution as a new ISP. These new ideas compete with each other, and they are discussed among the SOI member states. Then, members ultimately select, modify, or combine several ideas together. However, these ideas become important in shaping the direction of institutional transformation.

The role of INEs became particularly crucial for institutional displacement because INEs do not always provide completely elaborated new ideas which break free from institutional path dependence. For example, when OAU faced a new strategic situation in Africa during the 1990s due to increasing number of internal conflicts, the OAU Secretary General and the OAU-UN Joint Commission provided new concepts of security for Africa. However, their proposals were based on its existing IPE, a principle of non-interference, and they did not give OAU options for an enforcement action through its peacekeeping forces in managing internal conflicts. On the other hand, when SOIs face difficulty in managing a new regional security situation due to an existing ISP and little political, economic, and military supports, INEs can provide a breakthrough idea to undertake an SOI's institutional displacement. An example of this is ECOWAS

during the period 1994-1999. Although ECOWAS already possessed provisions of conditional intervention in internal affairs under PMAD, it faced difficulty in creating a legal basis for ECOMOG in Liberia. This is because applying the PMAD provisions was tantamount to publicly condemning some member states if they were supporting subversion in other member states, which would lead to erosion of institutional solidarity in ECOWAS. Thus, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Internal Affairs and Security provided a more workable protocol, the Protocol relating to MCPMRPS, by further relaxing such conditions in creating the framework of this mechanism. Additionally, in the OAU/AU case, OAU faced difficulty in dealing with a plethora of internal conflicts due to the limited legal, military, and financial capabilities of the Central Organ and little support from the international community, including the United Nations. In this context, Libya's 1999 proposal to establish the United States of Africa created a political condition in which OAU could substantially reformulate its ISP in order to abolish its strict adherence to a principle of non-interference and at least legally legitimize its intervention in internal affairs. If these INEs did not emerge, it would be possible that SOIs would become dysfunctional and lean towards institutional collapse. In this sense, INEs play an imperative role in reformulating SOIs' ISP and transforming institutions.

In cross-comparison analysis of the cases of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU, therefore, the first and third hypotheses hold valid. The expected changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power became a trigger for SOIs' institutional transformation. Basically, in order to adjust to changes in the strategic environment and prevent destabilization of regional security, SOIs sought the best possible way to neutralize such changes by transforming themselves. Also, this expected change fosters reevaluation of SOIs' security utility as well as the emergence of INEs. While previous decisions and discussions create ISPs for the member states to assess a new regional security environment, INEs provide new ideas to maintain or increase SOIs' institutional utility for the member states' security. These patterns were seen in the all the cases studied.

On the other hand, the results of the second hypothesis hold a certain validity, but there were several aberrations. Unlike the assumption of the second hypothesis that the member states expectations can converge over time, at least among the majority of the member states, their expectations for an SOI's utility actually differ most of the time, and sometimes never converge. Even with these diverging expectations, some institutional action can be taken as in the case of ECOWAS from 1990 to 1993, because an institutional decision is not necessarily made through a formal decision-making procedure. Moreover, the expectations themselves do not always determine the degree of institutional transformation as the case of OAU from 1978 to 1981 showed. Nevertheless, as the cases of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU suggested, the three hypotheses to address why and how SOIs transform may help understand the general pattern of institutional transformation.

Beyond testing these three hypotheses, these case studies provide five other findings to further hone the hypotheses. First, SOIs are likely to undertake a drastic institutional transformation under the condition that there is little support for regional security from external actors. A principle of non-interference is a case in point. Among all the SOIs examined, while ASEAN has yet to undertake institutional displacement to relax its adherence to a principle of non-interference, ECOWAS and OAU/AU relaxed that principle during the late 1990s. The difference between them was essentially the Great Powers' commitment to the region. Although the United States and other Great Powers relatively reduced their political, economic, and military commitments at the end of the Cold War, this reduction was more substantial in Africa than in East Asia. East Asia faced Great Power retrenchment in the post-Cold War era, yet the Great Powers' economic, political, and military commitments, especially those of the United States, Japan, and China, were relatively stable in comparison with those in West Africa and Africa as a whole. West Africa was largely neglected after the Liberian civil war in 1990, whereas Africa as a whole had less support from the international community to deal with the increasing number of internal conflicts since the mid-1990s. Facing these power shifts, both

Table 7.1: Changes in Types of Institutional Transformation of SOIs

SOI	Periods	Phases	Pre-Shock	Post-Shock	Internal/External Security Management	Types of Transformation
			Types of SOI	Types of SOI		
ASEAN	1968-1976	I. 1968-1971	Conflict Containment/Political Alignment (Bangkok Declaration)	Conflict Containment/Political Alignment (ZOPFAN)	Internal/External Security Management	Institutional Consolidation
		II. 1971-1976	Conflict Containment/Political Alignment (ZOPFAN)	Exclusive Cooperative Security/Political Alignment (TAC, Bali Concord I)	Internal/External Security Management	Institutional Consolidation
	1989-1997	I. 1989-1994	Political Alignment (TAC, Bali Concord I)	Inclusive Cooperative Security (ARF)	External Security Management	Institutional Layering
		II. 1989-1997	Political Alignment (TAC, Bali Concord I)	Inclusive Cooperative Security (ASEAN+3)	External Security Management	Institutional Layering
ECOWAS	1976-1981	I. 1976-1978	Conflict Containment (ECOWAS Treaty)	Exclusive Cooperative Security (PNA)	Internal Security Management	Institutional Layering
		II. 1978-1981	Exclusive Cooperative Security (PNA)	Collective Self-Defense/ Collective Security/ Non-Traditional Collective Security (PMAD)	Internal/External Security Management	Institutional Layering
	1990-1999	I. 1990-1993	Non-Traditional Collective Security (PMAD-based)	Non-Traditional Collective Security (Ad Hoc)	Internal Security Management	Institutional Consolidation
		II. 1994-1999	Non-Traditional Collective Security (Ad Hoc)	Non-Traditional Collective Security (Standing)	Internal Security Management	Institutional Displacement
OAU/AU	1978-1982		Exclusive Cooperative Security (OAU Charter)	Exclusive Cooperative Security/ Non-traditional Collective Security (Ad Hoc)	External Security Management	Institutional Consolidation/Layering (Normative)
	1989-2002	I. 1989-1993	Exclusive Cooperative Security (OAU Charter)	Non-Traditional Collective Security (with other IGOs)	Internal Security Management	Institutional Layering
		II. 1994-2002	Non-Traditional Collective Security (with other IGOs)	Non-Traditional Collective Security (African Union)	Internal Security Management	Institutional Displacement

Table 7.2: Outcome of the Testing Three Hypotheses

		ASEAN				ECOWAS				OAU/AU		
		1968-1976		1988-1997		1976-1981		1989-1999		1979-1982	1990-2002	
		1968-1971: ZOPFAN	1972-1976: TAC and Bali Concord I	1988-1994: ARF	1988-1997: ASEAN+3	1976-1978: PNA	1978-1981: PMAD	1989-1993: Political Principles, The Revised Treaty	1994-1999: MCPM RPS	1979-1982: Peacekeeping in Chad	1990-1993: Central Organ	1993-2002: African Union
First Hypothesis: Intra-Regional/Regional Balance of Power		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Expected	Expected	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Second Hypothesis: Member States Expectations for Institutional Utility		Positive	Quasi-Positive	Uncertain	Uncertain	Uncertain	Uncertain	Positive/Negative	Negative	Positive	Uncertain	Negative
Third Hypothesis	Institutional Security Preference	The Bangkok Declaration 1) Non-interference from External Actors 2) Southeast Asian Regional Autonomy	ZOPFAN 1) Non-interference from External Actors 2) ASEAN Regional Autonomy 3) No Defense Pact	1) ZOPFAN, TAC, Bali Concord I 2) No Defense Pact	1) ZOPFAN 2) TAC, Bali Concord I	ECOWAS Treaty	PNA (Internal Security Management)	1) PNA 2) PMAD (Non-interference in Purely Internal Conflict)	1) PNA 2) PMAD 3) The Revised Treaty	OAU Charter 1) Decolonization 2) Principle of Non-interference	OAU Charter 1) Decolonization 2) Principle of Non-interference	OAU Charter 1) Decolonization 2) Principle of Non-interference 3) Central Organ
	Institutional Nominees	1) Indonesia 2) Malaysia	1) Senior Official Committee 2) Indonesia 3) Singapore 4) The Philippines	ASEAN-ES	1) Malaysia 2) Singapore 3) The Philippines	Nigeria and Togo	1) Togo 2) Senegal	1) ECOWAS Executive Secretary 2) The Committee of Eminent Persons	Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Internal Affairs and Security	1) OAU Defense Commission 2) Sierra Leone 3) Nigeria	1) OAU Secretary General 2) The OAU-UN Joint Commission	1) OAU Central Organ 2) Nigeria 3) Libya
Types of Institutional Transformation		Institutional Consolidation	Institutional Consolidation	Institutional Layering	Institutional Layering	Institutional Layering	Institutional Layering	Institutional Consolidation	Institutional Displacement	Institutional Consolidation/Layering (Nominate)	Institutional Layering	Institutional Displacement

ECOWAS and OAU/AU undertook institutional displacement to relax the principle of non-interference to deal with internal conflicts on their own, mainly for two reasons. First, since they perceived that there was less chance for external states, especially Great Powers, to intrude and dilute regional autonomy at that point, they could relax the non-interference principle. Second, since there were no external actors to deal with internal conflicts, the member states of ECOWAS and OAU/AU had to inevitably manage them in order to prevent further security destabilization. Therefore, a certain type of structural shift in regional security might guide a certain type of institutional transformation.

Second, SOIs need to have economic and material resources to implement their traditional/non-traditional collective security mechanisms. This is well illustrated by the cases of ECOWAS from 1976 to 1981 and OAU from 1978 to 1982. On paper, ECOWAS assumed collective self-defense, traditional collective security, and non-traditional collective security through the 1981 PMAD. However, due to lack of military and financial resources, these security systems were not institutionalized or invoked until 1990. In fact, PNA was often referred to by the ECOWAS member states during the 1980s because it only required the member states' political declaration. On the other hand, PMAD required material support, and the member states neither touched upon PMAD nor intended to institutionalize it. Also, as described above, OAU from 1978 to 1982 could not institutionalize its peacekeeping function mainly due to lack of resources, which led its peacekeeping mission to fail in stabilizing the Chadian conflict. To be sure, ECOWAS and OAU/AU still lacked material resources during the 1990s when they relaxed the principle of non-interference. Thus, material resources *per se* would not likely be a sole determinant of institutional transformation. However, the depth of institutional transformation would depend on the member states' material resources.

Third, structural changes create a window of opportunity for INEs to increase the impacts of their ideas for institutional transformation, but the duration of a window of opportunity varies, depending on the fluidity of the intra-regional/regional balance of power. ASEAN from 1968 to 1976 and ECOWAS from 1989 to 1999 illustrate this point well. ASEAN faced a fluidity in the regional balance of power due to such factors as UK and US retrenchment, Sino-US rapprochement, and Sino-Soviet rivalry, and the member states constantly threw in new ideas to direct ASEAN's institutional transformation. As a result, such a window opened for almost eight years. Likewise, ECOWAS from 1989 to 1999 showed that the seven-year-long civil war in Liberia as well as civil wars in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau created a fluid strategic landscape, and the window was open for approximately ten years. On the other hand, in the case of OAU from 1978 to 1982, the duration of the window of opportunity was relatively short. Due to the completion of French and Libyan troop withdrawals from Chad, the regional balance recovered relative stability, and the Chadian internal conflicts began to reach equilibrium. In this sense, a window of opportunity would correlate with the fluidity of the intra-regional/regional balance of power.

Fourth, INEs have three characteristics. First, they do not necessarily come from the largest state among an SOI's member. In ASEAN, Malaysia was active in providing new ideas for ASEAN's institutional transformation. In ECOWAS, Togo also contributed its ideas to ECOWAS in terms of assuming security functions. In OAU, Sierra Leone attempted to establish the Political Security Council in the 1970s. Second, INEs are not necessarily state actors, and they may be individuals and groups. For example, while the Committee of Eminent Persons played a crucial role in creating the 1993 ECOWAS Revised Treaty, the OAU Secretary General provided his report to draw the member states' attention to the strengthening security functions within OAU. Third, INEs are likely to be internal actors. Though this does not mean that ideas from external actors do not have any influence, SOIs are less likely to accept such ideas from outside due to their desire for

autonomy. In the cases of both ASEAN during the 1990s in creating ARF and OAU/AU during the 1990s in creating the African Standing Force, external actors, such as the United States, Japan, Australia, the United Kingdom, and France, provided new ideas for institutional transformation of ASEAN and OAU. However, they were rejected by the member states, even though the ideas coming up from the member states were similar to those from external actors. Thus, it becomes important for external actors to persuade the member states and let them modify the ideas in their own way.

Fifth, SOIs' initial objectives influence their institutional development. In order to prevent external intervention into their regions, ASEAN and OAU fundamental norms rested on their principles of non-interference. Although OAU altered this principle to a stance of conditional non-interference when it was replaced with AU, the structural pressures coming from intensification of internal conflicts in Africa during the 1990s forced OAU to reconsider the principle, and it took more than ten years to modify it. ASEAN, which had not faced the same level of structural pressure in East Asia, still maintains the principle even after the Cold War. On the other hand, ECOWAS did not have any security provisions at its inception, and this gave ECOWAS more flexibility in adopting new security provisions. At the initial stage of institutional formulation, it adopted more flexible security-related protocols, PNA and PMAD, which provided for a basis of the conditional non-interference principle because there was no security-related norm to which ECOWAS could refer. Consequently, in 1990, ECOWAS could invoke PMAD in order to establish ECOMOG, even though its decision-making process did not follow the formal process. In other words, the more ambiguous the initial institutional objectives are, the more flexible the institution could become in adopting security-related norms and rules. On the contrary, the more specific and fixed SOIs' initial objectives become, the stronger path-dependent effect they are likely to have.

Additionally, it is more likely that the initial stage of SOIs provides the member states more room to shape the institutional format. For example, ASEAN's norm of not forming a defense pact, which was created soon after its inception, still continues. Using PNA and PMAD, ECOWAS created the political condition, under which the ECOWAS member states could discuss security issues in meetings at the summit and ministerial level. On the other hand, once such norms ossified in the institution, it became more difficult for the member states to quickly overturn them even with an external shock. Several external shocks experienced by OAU required the member states to replace old norms from 1990 to 2002. In this sense, decisions and discussions at the initial stage are relatively more important for determining the future direction of institutional development.

Given these five findings, future research could ask more specific questions regarding institutional transformation. These questions include: which types of strategic structure, namely great power commitments or no great power commitments, determine the degree of the SOIs' institutional transformation; under what condition do material resources of SOIs influence the degree of institutional transformation; which structural changes, changes in intra-regional or regional balance of power, are more likely to determine the duration of the window of opportunity for INEs to provide new ideas; how frequently is a *fait accompli* strategy employed to influence the direction of institutional transformation; and to what extent and how do external actors' ideas influence INEs' ideas. Also, while the benefit of ambiguous institutional objectives at its early stage provides an opportunity for INEs to have more options to shape the direction of institutional development, such ambiguity also poses risks of institutional collapse because its institutional utility would be also ambiguous. The collapse of the Asia-Pacific Council (ASPAC) in 1975, which could not construct institutional utility for member states, is one example of this, and future research could explore this phenomenon for the betterment of understanding institutional transformation, particularly institutional displacement. Although these questions are beyond the

scope of this dissertation, they are the questions that could sharpen future research on institutional transformation.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION—ACADEMIC AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Why and how do Security-Oriented Institutions (SOIs) undertake institutional transformation? This dissertation asserts that expected changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power are the trigger for SOIs' institutional transformation, yet this structural factor is not a sufficient, but a necessary condition for institutional consolidation, layering, and displacement. In order to satisfactorily explain the variance of institutional transformation that each SOI undertakes, it is necessary to examine the member states' expectation for SOIs' security utility, their institutional security preference (ISP), and institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs). The three types of member states' expectations for utility, positive, uncertain, and negative, determine the types of institutional transformation. Also, these expectations are shaped by the ISP, which becomes a reference point to assess institutional utility. This ISP can be also modified and replaced by the ideas proposed by the INEs when SOIs face structural change.

By modifying the theoretical frameworks of the punctuated equilibrium model and historical institutionalism and employing a structure-agent interaction approach, thus, three hypotheses are constructed to explain the causes and processes of institutional transformation: the member states' expected changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power trigger such transformation; the member states' expectations for the institutional utility in changing the intra-regional/regional strategic landscape determine the types of institutional transformation, which are institutional consolidation, institutional layering, and institutional displacement; the ISP shapes member states' expectations, and INEs provide ideas to determine the specific direction of institutional transformation. To test these three hypotheses, the cases of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU in six periods were examined: ASEAN from 1968 to 1976 and from 1988 to 1997;

ECOWAS from 1976 to 1981 and from 1989 to 1999; and OAU/AU from 1978 to 1982 and from 1990 to 2002.

Within-case and cross comparison analyses indicated that the three hypotheses hold general validity in explaining SOIs' institutional transformation. In most of the cases, institutional transformation was preceded by expected changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power. The member states' expectations for SOIs' utility basically determines the type of institutional transformation. Such expectations are shaped by the ISP, which is created by past institutional decisions and discussions, and when facing the changes in the security environment, INEs emerge and attempt to reformulate the ISP by providing new ideas. Thus, changes in the international structure causes punctuation on the institutional equilibrium, and the agent-level perspectives, decisions, and discussions determine the direction of such institutional transformation. In order to explain the causes and processes of institutional transformation of SOIs, thus, both structural and agent level analysis becomes necessary.

This study makes three main academic contributions. First, the study showed that SOIs' institutional transformation matter in shaping their regional security. Certainly, great power politics matter in shaping world politics, while SOIs' roles in world politics are significantly limited. This is because they do not have political and military power projection capabilities. However, they have an important role to play in regional politics. As the cases of ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU illustrate, these SOIs attempted to maintain regional stability by transforming themselves to retain security functions. ASEAN expanded its geographic scope from the ASEAN region to the Southeast Asian region to East Asia, and it has functioned as an inclusive cooperative security mechanism while maintaining political alignment vis-à-vis outside ASEAN states and exclusive cooperative security to maintain stability in Southeast Asia. ECOWAS and AU began to play a role in regional conflict prevention and management through non-traditional collective security mechanism.

Although they are not always effective in resolving conflicts, they are also successful in managing regional security as illustrated by the facts that ASEAN maintained Southeast Asian peace for over five decades; ECOWAS contained and managed internal conflicts in West Africa, including Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea Bissau; and AU played a mediating and peacekeeping role in such regional conflict areas as Sudan. In this sense, it is important to understand why and how these institutions undertook institutional transformation to assume such roles in regional security. Accepting the assumption that the institutional functions are given ultimately limits explanatory power, as such an assumption cannot help explain changes.

Second, this study sheds light on the importance of classification of security institutions. Security institutions are generally classified into categories of cooperative security, collective security, and collective self-defense. However, these concepts are inherently abstract, and even though scholars often utilize them, they are not mutually exclusive, as this study clarified. One case in point is ECOWAS in 1981, which assumed characteristics of cooperative security, collective security, and collective self-defense under PMAD. The significance of this classification is that, even if several functions are largely ineffective, these functions become a factor in determining the direction of institutional transformation. For ECOMOG, no matter how fraudulent its legal basis was, the ECOWAS mediation committee first referred to PMAD to establish ECOMOG in August 1990 because ECOWAS could attain a non-traditional collective security mechanism through PMAD. If PMAD were not to exist, it would have become extremely difficult for ECOWAS to establish ECOMOG. Although a coalition-of-the-willing type of peacekeeping operation would be possible, it would also likely have created a clear political division in West Africa and weaken ECOWAS. As this example shows, the seemingly ineffective part of the security function in SOIs has a political impact on their institutional development in the long term. Therefore, in order to

understand institutional transformation of SOIs, it is necessary to comprehensively grasp the characteristics of each SOI.

Third, the study showed that the mainstream IR theories cannot fully explain SOIs' institutional transformation. Too often, they assume international institutions as given and consider them that they are basically constant over time. However, SOIs' functions and utilities evolve over time, and the nature of these institutions becomes qualitatively different. ASEAN in 1967 became different from ASEAN in 1997 as it decided to explicitly include political and security functions; ECOWAS in 1975 is different from ECOWAS in 1999 because it assumed a function of a non-traditional collective security; and OAU in 1981 differs from OAU in 1993 and AU in 2002, as it gradually founded a rigid type of a non-traditional collective security mechanism. In this sense, we cannot simply assume that the same institutions are always comparable.

Of course, institutions hold certain characteristics of continuity. As neo-realists argue, common interests are an important factor, and institutions need to have them in order to bind the member states together. As institutionalists suggest, reduction of transaction costs is an important factor to explain institutional persistence. Social constructivists articulate that constitutive norms and rules become a factor to strengthen institutional continuity. However, because of their focus on continuity, these theories do not explain why and how some institutions evolve and transform over time, while others are not. Unlike the mainstream IR theories, this study help explain these questions since it focused on both continuity and change of institutions.

From a policy perspective, this study helps policy-makers better formulate their policy toward SOIs. In fact, SOIs' institutional transformation was influenced by the member states' policies, and SOIs have been an increasingly important factor in shaping a regional security outlook. ASEAN is now leading East Asia's multilateral institutions, which include ARF, ASEAN+3, East Asia Summit (EAS), and ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meetings (ADMM) plus, and the great

powers have been interested in participating in these institutions. ECOWAS has played an imperative role in stabilizing West African security as a non-traditional collective security mechanism. OAU transformed into AU and began to manage internal conflicts in African states. All these examples indicate that effective policies made SOIs assume an important security role in each region.

In this context, for the policy-makers of each SOI's member states, this study illustrates the role of INEs and the period of time when their ideas becomes more influential to transform the SOI. Since the period of changes in the regional/intra-regional balance of power opens a window of opportunity for the SOI to accept new ideas, it becomes a crucial period for the policy-makers to invest resources to put forward their proposals, if any. At the same time, not all the ideas can be accepted by the SOI. Its past decisions and discussions narrows the possibility of institutional transformation, and unless there are larger changes in the intra-regional/regional balance of power that opens a window of opportunity for a longer time, it becomes difficult to drastically alter the existing form of the SOI. Admittedly, even if new ideas are put on the table, they would likely be modified and compromised through internal discussions, and it is rare for the SOI to accept proposals without any modification. However, the core of the proposals is likely to remain if they incorporate several norms and rules that past decisions and discussions contain. Thus, learning the SOI's institutional history becomes imperative to effectively promote desired institutional transformation.

Generally, INEs need to be internal actors. As the study shows, internal actors are unlikely to accept norms and rules coming from outsiders who have potentially encroached regional autonomy. For example, when the United States, France and the United Kingdom proposed establishment of the African Crisis Response Force, the proposal was categorically refused by several OAU member states, since political control over the force would partially belong to external

states. Yet, this does not mean that INEs play no role in influencing SOIs' institutional transformation. External actors can propose their ideas through discussions with SOI member states and encourage the member states to internalize them. As the processes of ARF establishment indicates, Japan promoted its proposal for establishing a security dialogue forum in the Asia-Pacific region by emphasizing ASEAN centrality in ASEAN ministerial meetings. After its proposal, ASEAN-ISIS created a strategic concept of ASEAN centrality, and eventually the ASEAN Summit decided to create ARF, following Japan's proposal. In this sense, external actors can influence SOI's decisions that have an impact on the direction of its institutional transformation. Yet again, new ideas from external actors become more acceptable for SOI's member states when there are changes in the strategic landscape, and this period is the time when external actors invest political and diplomatic resources.

One example in which this theoretical model can be applied is the current status of the East Asia Summit (EAS). EAS is a relatively new institution, which was created in 2005 by ASEAN, and its membership includes all the ASEAN member states and other regional states, including Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, and South Korea. By including these states, ASEAN attempted to create an inclusive cooperative security in East Asia broader than ASEAN+3, and thus it can be characterized as an SOI. It is founded on a norm of ASEAN centrality, and ASEAN holds authority to set its agendas. However, its institutional objectives have remained vague. This is because, while the original idea of EAS was proposed in 2002 by the East Asian Study Group, which was based on the ASEAN+3 framework, ASEAN decided to create EAS in parallel with ASEAN+3 before setting its agenda. Consequently, it has become difficult to set a fixed agenda, and its agenda has been adrift for several years despite the existence of regular agenda, the so-called "five priority areas," which are finance, education, energy, disaster management and avian flu prevention.

Applying the outcomes of this study, however, EAS could evolve into a new security institution in East Asia due to three reasons. First, East Asia in 2012 faces a change in the regional balance of power, namely the rise of China, the relative decline of Japan, and uncertainty about US strategic commitment. This potential change in the regional strategic landscape gives EAS an opportunity to transform itself. Currently, such a trend can be seen as EAS has included the United States and Russia in its membership. Second, several member states, such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, and the United States, perceived uncertainty about China's future course of action due to its increasing assertiveness. Yet, the current EAS does not have any security-related decisions to manage it. In other words, while EAS itself may serve as a useful tool to foster cooperation in such fields as economics and environment, it does not have an inter-state security function. Therefore, there is a relatively high probability that EAS could undertake institutional layering. Third, there are emerging INEs, such as the United States and Japan. While the United States proposed EAS to become a regional strategic forum, Japan fostered a creation of a maritime strategic forum in EAS. However, EAS is essentially based on ASEAN centrality, and it is necessary for non-ASEAN member states to provide ideas and internalize them within ASEAN. In this sense, it is an appropriate time for both the ASEAN and non-ASEAN member states to invest their political and diplomatic resources into EAS.

Some qualifications need to be made for the potential institutional transformation of EAS. First, EAS would likely focus on internal security management rather than external. This is because a change in the regional balance of power in East Asia revolves around the rise of China, which is a member of EAS. Second, the institutional layering could evolve into a political collective security, but would not likely be non-traditional collective security or traditional collective security. As ECOWAS and OAU cases showed, one condition that needs to be met for such transformation is reduction of great powers' commitments to regional security. Considering that East Asia still has

relatively high level of great powers' commitment, particularly that of the United States, EAS would likely remain a diplomatic forum rather than a military-oriented one. Third, given ASEAN's and China's strong preference on the principle of non-interference, setting some condition on the principle becomes a key for EAS' institutional transformation. Fourth, the course of institutional transformation would change if there is an external shock that causes another change in the regional balance of power. Yet, as this simple sketch for the application of the theoretical model of institutional transformation of SOIs to potential EAS transformation indicates, the model helps policy-makers in both SOIs member states and non-member states formulate their policies toward their SOIs.

Having said this, there are also two main limitations of this study. First, the generalizability of this theoretical framework is qualified because its geographical scope is limited to East Asia and Africa. The cases examined in this dissertation were ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU, which are located in East Asia and Africa. It can be argued that ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU are representative institutions in these areas because ASEAN is the main driver of East Asian multilateralism, ECOWAS has become a model for other African sub-regional institutions, and AU is the sole continental institution in Africa; however, the cases did not cover SOIs in other regions. The League of Arab States and Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG or GCC) in the Middle East and Mercosur in Latin America can also be qualified as SOIs. Consequently, the generalizability of this theoretical model is contingent. In order to enhance this theoretical model, more cases in other regions need to be examined.

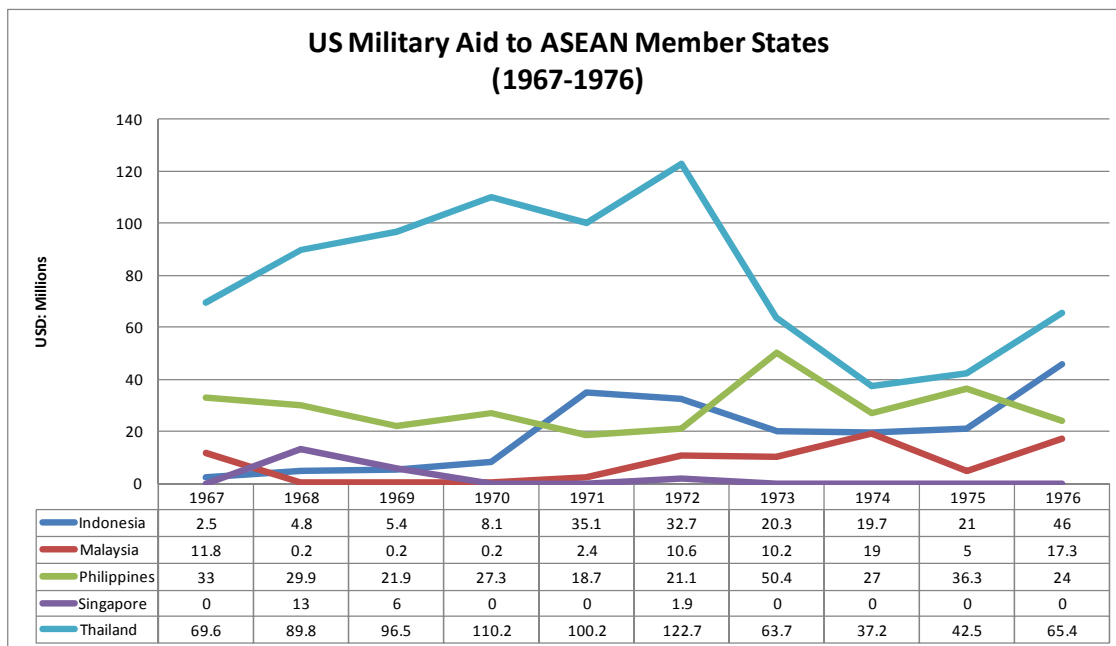
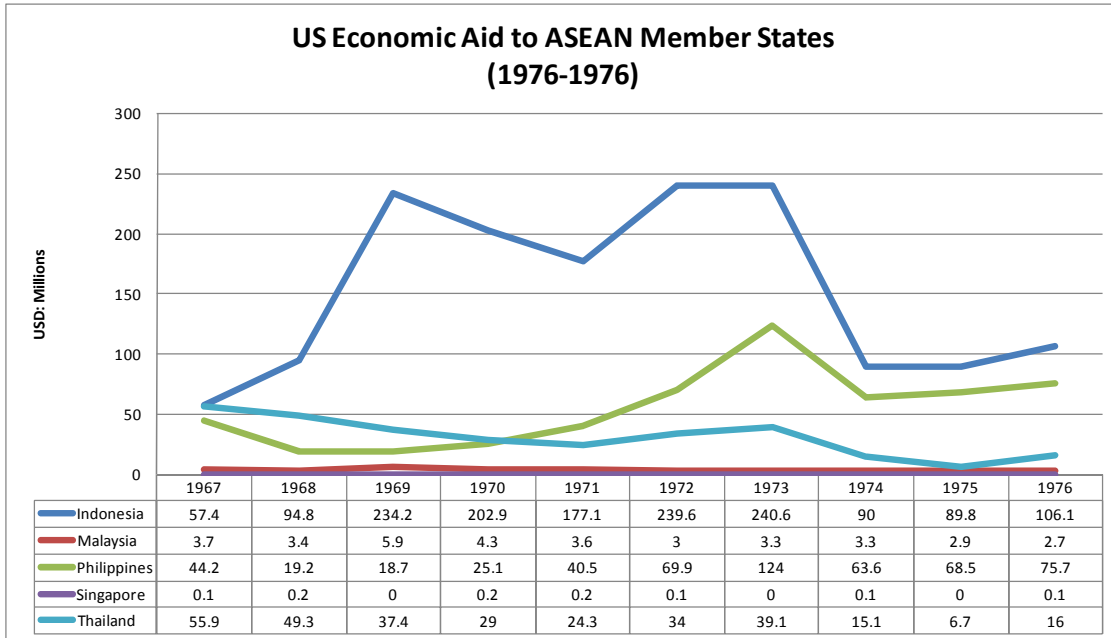
Second, this theoretical model does not explain questions regarding the degree of institutional transformation. As Chapter VII discussed, such questions include under what conditions SOIs undertake a high or low degree of institutional transformation; what structural factors and to what extent such factors are important in fostering institutional transformation; and to

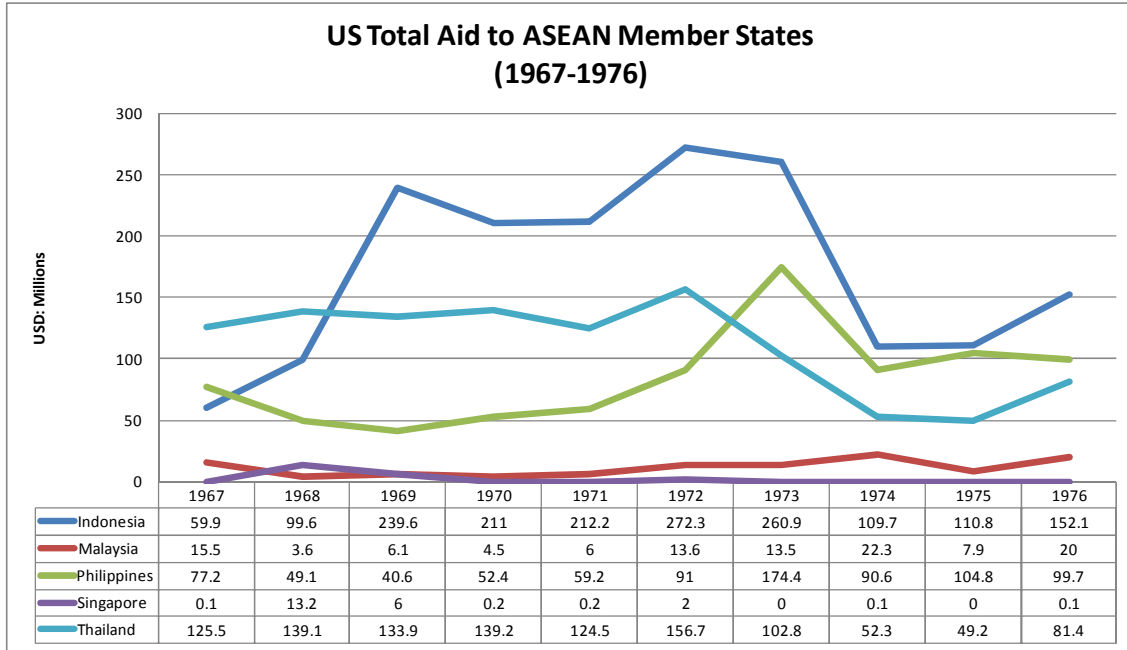
what extent INEs could increase the possibility to drastically change existing institutions. In order to enhance the explanatory power of this model over institutional transformation, more specification will be necessary to hone the three hypotheses analyzed in this dissertation. Accordingly, this study obviously has limitations, and these become future research questions regarding institutional transformation.

Institutional transformation is an interesting phenomenon in international life. Policy-makers often dismiss international institutions in the security field as they consider them ineffective entities; however, contradictorily, they also decide to invest states' financial, diplomatic and political resources into those institutions. Perhaps they implicitly believe that international institutions can become a more effective entity. Also, academics in the security field within the IR discipline often ignore international institutions that do not have great powers' involvement because they have less political and security influence in the world; nevertheless, when these seemingly ineffective institutions begin to shape the regional strategic landscape, academics tend to study them as if their functional capabilities were in existence for a long time. Consequently, the questions regarding why and how institutional transformation occur have been left out for both policy-makers and academics in the IR field.

Regional institutions matter in shaping the regional security order, and they change over time. SOIs are one type of those international institutions, and they play a role in shaping the regional strategic landscape. Moreover, institutional transformation would potentially enhance SOI effectiveness. Through a systematic study regarding institutional transformation of SOIs, namely ASEAN, ECOWAS, and OAU/AU, this dissertation explored the causes and processes of institutional transformation and provided a first step to better understanding institutional change in the international setting.

APPENDIX I: US AID TO ASEAN MEMBER STATES (1967-1976)





US Total Aid to ASEAN										
	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Total	278.2	304.6	426.2	407.3	402.1	535.6	551.6	275	272.7	353.3

Source: The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), *U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants and Assistance from International Organization, Obligations and Loan Authorizations*, (Washington: Office of Planning and Budgeting, Bureau for Program Policy and Coordination, Agency for International Development). (From 1968 to 1977)

APPENDIX II: A SET OF FOURTEEN GUIDELINES

A set of fourteen Guidelines:

Constituting a code of conduct governing relations among states within and outside the Zone.

1. Observance of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation of the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 and the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 1971.
2. Mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations within and without the Zone.
3. The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion.
4. Non-interference in the internal affairs of Zone states.
5. Refraining from inviting or giving consent to intervention by external powers in the domestic or regional affairs of the Zone states.
6. Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
7. Renunciation of the threat or use of force in the conduct of internal relations.
8. Refraining from the use of armed forces for any purpose in the conduct of international relations except for individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Charter of the United Nations.
9. Abstention from involvement in any conflicts of powers outside the Zone or from entering into any agreements which would be inconsistent with the objective of the Zone.
10. The absence of foreign military bases on the territories of Zone States.
11. Prohibition of the use, storage, passage, or testing of nuclear weapons and their components within the Zone.
12. The right to trade freely with any country or international agency irrespective of difference in socio-political system.
13. The right to receive aid freely for the purpose of strengthening national resilience except when the aid is subject to conditions inconsistent with the objectives of the Zone.
14. Effective regional cooperation among Zonal states.

(Cited at "Appendix A. Guidelines that would constitute a Code of Conduct Covering Relations Among States within the Zone and with States Outside the Zone," in Phan Wannamethee, "Southeast Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality: A Reappraisal," Paper presented ASEAN Experts Group Meeting on Zone of Peace, Freedom, & Neutrality (ZOPFAN), organized by Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 5-6 January 1991.)

APPENDIX III: MEASURES IN THE EVENT OF VIOLATION

In case of violation from within the Zone

- (a) Immediate consultation among the Zone States.
- (b) Negotiations, bilaterally or collectively.
- (c) Pacific settlement of disputes in accordance with effective procedures to be drawn up by the Zone states.
- (d) Any other measures consistent with the UN Charter.

In case of violation from without the Zone

- (a) Immediate consultation among the Zone States.
- (b) Negotiations, bilaterally or collectively.
- (c) Pacific settlement of disputes in accordance with existing and other procedures as may be drawn up between Zone States and outside powers.
- (d) Appeal by Zone States to the United Nations with a view to securing a restraint on a country or countries committing a violation.
- (e) Any other measures consistent with the UN Charter including collective measures as may be agreed upon by the Zone States.

(Cited from "Appendix C. Measures to be taken in the event of violation of the Zone," in Phan Wannamethee, "Southeast Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality: A Reappraisal," Paper presented ASEAN Experts Group Meeting on Zone of Peace, Freedom, & Neutrality (ZOPFAN), organized by Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 5-6 January 1991.)

APPENDIX IV: MANIFESTATION OF RECOGNITION AND RESPECT OF THE ZONE

The recognition of any respect for the Zone may be mentioned in any number of ways, both explicitly and implicitly.

Explicitly, it may be manifested in the form of:

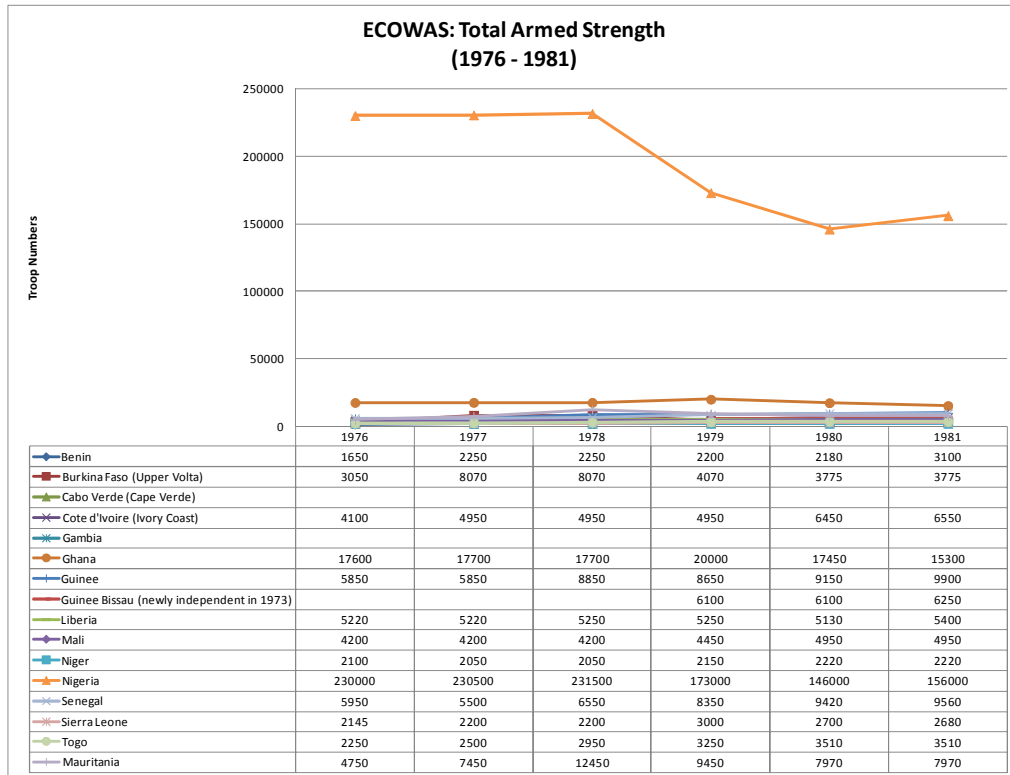
- i. a treaty or arrangement between the recognizing states and one or all of the Zone states, extending recognition to the area as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and neutrality;
- ii. a unilateral declaration of the recognizing State of its recognition of and respect for the independence territorial integrity and neutrality of the Zone states;
- iii. declaration of support for the Zone in the United Nations or any other international fora;
- iv. an affirmative reply to a written request by the Zone states for recognition of and respect for the Zone.

Implicit recognition and respect for the area as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality will be manifested through continuing conduct by states outside the Zone along the following guidelines;

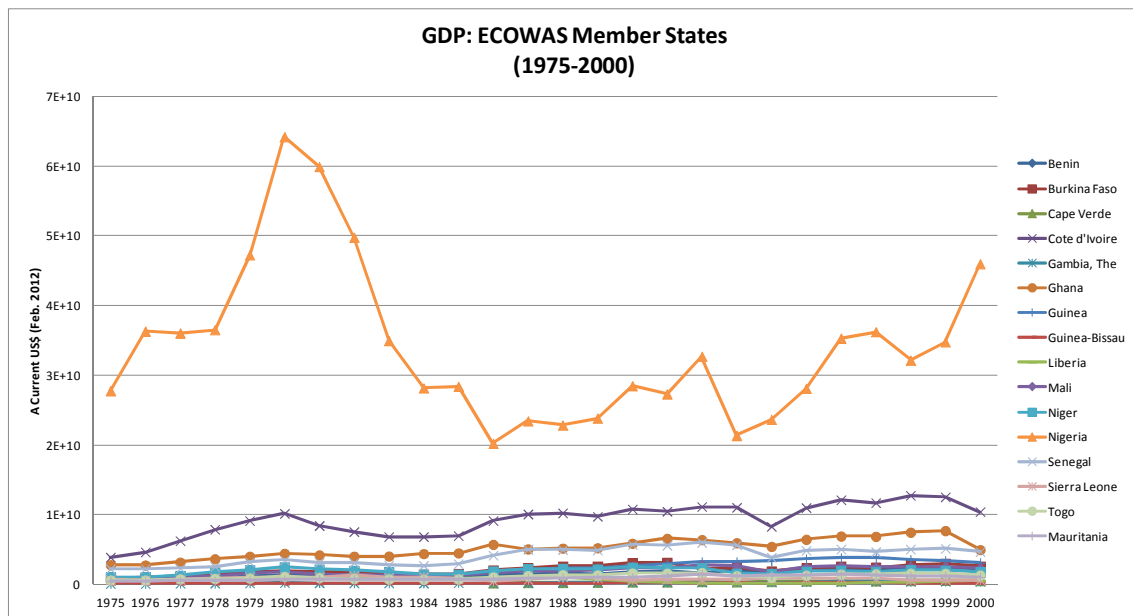
- a. Respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the Zone states;
- b. Respect the right of Zone states to lead their national existence free from external interference, subversion, or coercion;
- c. Abstain from intervention in the domestic or regional affairs of the Zone states;
- d. Settle their differences or disputes with Zone states by peaceful means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
- e. Abstain from seeking any agreement with Zone states which would be inconsistent with the objectives of the Zone;
- f. Refrain from enabling any new military pacts or bases in the Zone and to gradually remove those that are in existence;
- g. Refrain from the use, storage, passage or tooting of nuclear weapons and their components within the Zone;
- h. Respect the right of Zone states to trade freely with any country or international agency;
- i. Respect the right of Zone states to receive aid freely for the purpose of strengthening national resilience;
- j. Refrain from attaching conditions inconsistent with the objectives of the Zone to any assistance, which may extend to the Zone states.

(Cited from "Appendix B. Manifestation of Recognition and Respect of Zone," in Phan Wannamethee, "Southeast Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality: A Reappraisal," Paper presented ASEAN Experts Group Meeting on Zone of Peace, Freedom, & Neutrality (ZOPFAN), organized by Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 5-6 January 1991.)

APPENDIX V: ECOWAS' MEMBER STATES' MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTHS



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance: 1980-1981*, (London: IISS Publications, 1980); IISS, *The Military Balance: 1981-1982*, (London: IISS Publications, 1981).



Source: The World Bank, "GDP (current US\$): 1975-2000," accessed February 12, 2012, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD>.

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