



Part 1

Introduction: Thailand's Outlook & Paradigm Shift Towards ASEAN Community 2015

The present impresses the future is a concept that many people in our society attempts to predict major future crisis to which each and every country is due to meet and face with various challenges that are both ongoing and complex and are becoming more and more intense. The major factors that arise from the crisis are interconnected among many networks, i.e. social, economic, political, environment, as well as science and technology. It is also referred to as the era of various forms of non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, human trafficking and natural disasters, etc. It is also next to impossible to predict the level of severity or consequences that will follow in the aftermath, such as the fatalities caused by 2011 Tsunami disaster in Japan followed by the earthquake disaster in Burma that caused great losses of lives and properties. The same tremor also caused damages in many buildings in the northern part of Thailand. One other example is the severe 2011 flood situation in Thailand. Furthermore, all countries in the globalization era is also experiencing global warming which leads to geo-meteorological changes that impact overall surrounding areas as a result of a shortage of housing, food, and water. The economy is further aggravated by uncontrollable diseases that spread across the global, regional and national levels.

This phenomenon could well be the result of a borderless globalization world. Therefore, it is vital that all nations truly understand and pay close attention to the inevitable global situation, because these issues do



have impacts on national security and the overall interests of each and every nation both directly and indirectly in the existing environment as well as in the coming future.

Nevertheless, Thailand and countries in Southeast Asia have given much consideration to this important global turning point which affects both in the midst of globalization transition context, and the multi-dimensional crisis that are influencing the attitudes and ways of life of the world population to quickly change and adapt. Thus impacting the social, political and economical development of countries in the region, including the availability of international relations that had previously been a main focus in the quest for political power to turn towards security cooperation and operational activities in order to maintain economic stability and competitiveness, exploitation of international trade, pursuit of resources, and renewable energy sources in the form of regionalism relationship, that relies on the commitment of geographical factors, historical, ethnical, religions and national interests as the basis for integration and multilateralism in order to determine the direction of the political equilibrium and security including the economic trade balance in accordance with increase in the bilateral and multilateral mechanisms in the attempt to achieve international cooperation by way of using Constructive Engagement as the catalyst to stimulate Thailand and Southeast Asian countries to resolve the turmoil that besets the inconveniences by means of mutual integration in a proactive approach with the aim to develop the country under the “ASEAN Community” umbrella together, and Thailand should have a clear direction towards a stable future.

Thus it is time for Thailand to consider the next steps very carefully in order to be in line with the founding of ASEAN Community, and at the same time take into account what is happening all around at global, regional, and national levels, and to reevaluate the country’s capability in becoming a



member of the ASEAN community. The Strategic Studies Center, NDSI aims to illustrate an overview of various scenarios from the global level, to regional level and for Thailand through national powers in political, economical, and socio-cultural dimensions as the surrounding environment and the various activities in the global community as well as in Thailand are all influenced in various ways. In addition, observers from many countries around the world are like an “Alarm System” that oversees and keep things in check to review whether each country has adequate capability to handle the situation that may occur, or not, including the ability to cope and to predict Thailand’s potentials, limitations, and obstacles, as well as to prepare and perform necessary country’s paradigm shift to be on track towards the ASEAN Community by the year 2015.

It is therefore necessary for the Strategic Studies Center, NDSI, in the capacity of the Think Tank of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, to perform its duties with appropriate Strategy that can cope with various forms of Security Threats effectively and efficiently despite the ever changing environment and new technological development that greatly affect every country around the world, and is destined to be an obstacle for the ASEAN Community gathering. The Strategic Studies Center considers it a top priority to try to immunize the expected changes for Thailand towards ASEAN Community. Hence the study on “Thailand’s Outlook & Paradigm Shift Towards ASEAN Community 2015” in the form of a working paper as the foundation for the Simulation Technique to predict the future Outlook in order to drive for clear operational result at all levels with the human resource at the center of the development and focusing on building the participation from all sectors of society in order to develop the nation towards a balance in all aspects in an integrated manner. This will develop Thailand to become a society that is safe and secure for the people in a good environment, supportive and caring



for each other, and be equipped with production systems that are environmental friendly, good food security and energy on an economic base that can compete in the global arena and at the same time be able to survive in the region and the global community with dignity in order to take full advantage of the ASEAN Community in developing countries. The impact towards the ASEAN Community will be reduced by understanding the necessary changes by collaborating to help each other to move forward on behalf of ASEAN. Therefore, it is necessary to have a reasonable preparation with adequate immunization under the conditions that lead to the quality of life, the economic and social progress in a balanced, stable and sustainable manner in line with the motto of the ASEAN Community; One Vision, One Identity, One Community.

This Thailand's Outlook was compiled by using the Simulation Technique for the purpose of reviewing the competency and suggestions for Thailand's preparedness towards ASEAN 2015. The objectives are as follows:

1. To investigate the security situation that may affect the efforts towards ASEAN 2015
2. To analyze and assess the ASEAN Community
3. To report the outcome from the Simulation Technique to predict the Outlook in order to review Thailand's competency and preparedness towards becoming a part of ASEAN Community 2015.

The scope of the study is divided into 4 dimensions as follows:

1. Content Dimension – this is the output from the analytical process of past data, domestic and international literature review, from brain storming, discussion, and critiques and comments from academic experts, and

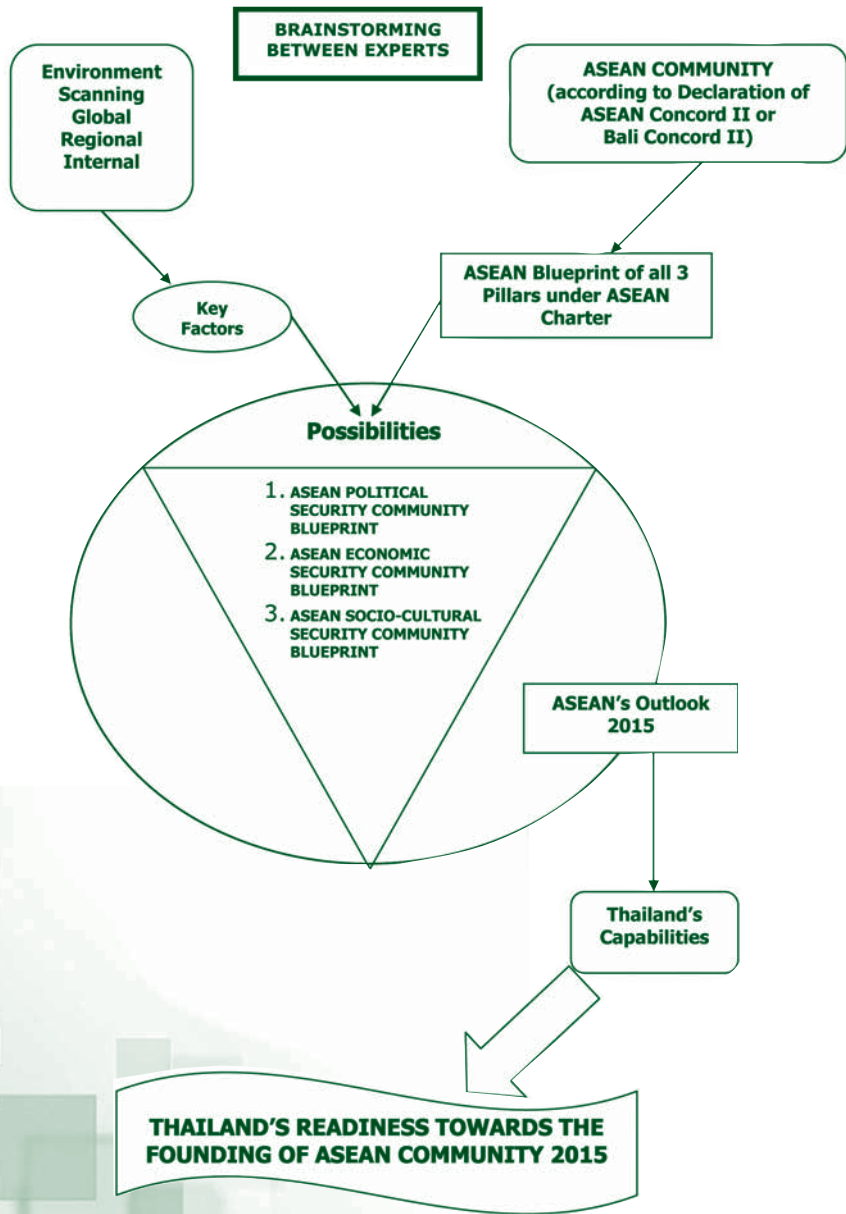
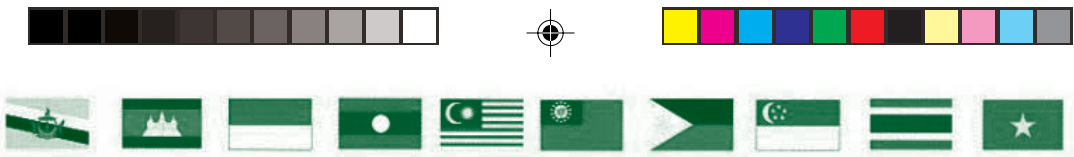


presented in the form of major outcome in 2 sections. The first section identifies past events at global level, regional level and national level from January 2011 to July 2011 through the national power in 6 dimensions namely Political, Social, Economic, Defence, Science and technology, and Environmental Resources. The second section deals with knowledge transfer of the three ASEAN core pillars.

2. Factors Dimension – this is one of the major driving forces by way of specifying the scope for evaluating the contents related to the environment under the national powers in six dimensions followed by the brainstorming session between experts to evaluate the environmental factors under the six national powers and make necessary changes as well as to reduce the key factors down to three namely Political and International Relations, Economics, and Socio-Cultural.

3. Unit Dimension – this is the study of the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, or the Bali Concord II which is the main objective towards the founding of ASEAN Community 2015 through the three pillars according to the ASEAN Blueprint namely (1) ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint (2) ASEAN Economic Security Community Blueprint (3) ASEAN Political Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint under the ASEAN Charter that is used as the standard in order to achieve the goal, objectives and structure of cooperation towards the founding of ASEAN Community as well as the potential, obstacles, competency and other preparations for Thailand towards the founding of ASEAN Community that will likely lead to the assessment of Thailand's Outlook of the Future Trends.

4. Time Dimension – the duration of this review was three months from June – August 2011.





The Simulation Technique used to consider the capabilities and Thailand's preparation towards the founding of ASEAN Community 2015

In conclusion, when the time comes for all ASEAN member countries to fully become part of the ASEAN Community in 2015, how the association affect Thailand, and where Thailand stands along the ASEAN Way will depend on the preparation of all sectors concerned in creating the awareness and educating the public to be conscious of the opportunities that will arise, and at the same time to prevent a negative impact in various sectors is undeniably a serious matter. Therefore, the Simulation Technique is an important tool to predict the Outlook to determine the overall capacity, and to make recommendations on the necessary preparations of Thailand on the path towards ASEAN 2015, starting with the Environmental Scanning from January 2554 until July 2554 at the global, regional and national levels together with the analysis of the implementation process of the ASEAN Community under the Declaration on the ASEAN Cooperation 2nd edition towards the founding of the ASEAN Community to use as the basis for the Simulation Technique to predict the Outlook towards the actual founding of ASEAN Community in 2015 under the ASEAN Charter, which will give an indication that can be used to determine Thailand's capability and readiness in towards the ASEAN Community in 2015.

As such, the authors sincerely hope that this "Thailand's Outlook & Paradigm Shift Towards ASEAN Community 2015" working paper will be used as the basis for the Simulation Technique in order to achieve Thailand's Outlook which will then lead to the determination of Thailand's capabilities, and suggestions for the necessary preparations for Thailand along the ASEAN Way in 2015 will be useful for academics, students and those who are interested.



The Working Paper on “Thailand’s Outlook & Paradigm Shift Towards ASEAN Community 2015” is organized into sections as follows:

- Part 1: Introduction : Thailand’s Outlook & Paradigm Shift Towards ASEAN Community 2015
- Part 2: Environmental Scanning
- Part 3: Working process along the ASEAN Way: From the Declaration on the ASEAN Cooperation 2nd edition towards the founding of the ASEAN Community
- Part 4: Light at the end of the tunnel: The coming future of the ASEAN Community through Simulation Technique to predict the Outlook which may affect the founding of ASEAN Community in 2015
- Part 5: Thailand’s Paradigm: on the way towards ASEAN Community 2015. The evaluation of Thailand’s capabilities and presentation of suggestions for the preparations towards ASEAN Community 2015





Part 2

Empirical Environment: The Simulation of ASEAN Community Prospects

The year 2011 saw several unrest in a variety of region all over the world, some very violent, some less so. The impact from these situations, however, are far-reaching due to globalization, affecting many countries in the region, including Thailand. This may also become a global problem which may also impact the workings toward the ASEAN community. The Strategic Studies Center deemed it necessary to conduct an empirical study of environmental scanning, focusing on national security at the global level, regional level, and in Thailand. The Environmental scanning was conducted during January to July 2011 as the basis for the simulation of the projection of future events that may affect ASEAN security. The simulation is sorted into several dimensions: political, economic and social.

POLITICAL DIMENSION

Several events in the world arena shows both cooperation and conflict so it is imperative that ASEAN members realize that peace, security and political stability are important basis for the development of countries in the region so the people of ASEAN can work together to overcome the non-traditional threats. With the current volatile political situation, ASEAN must face both opportunities and challenges such as situations bring about. Whether it be strengthening cooperation in politics and security of ASEAN or efficient handling of all threats, the integration of members in an ASEAN Community would be affected. So in part 2, “Empirical Environment: The Simulation of ASEAN community prospects”, environmental scanning was



undertaken in the political dimension that has the tendency to affect the integrity of ASEAN. Important events comprise:

1. The Jasmine Revolution in the Land of the Dragon

February 2011 – The Jasmine Revolution, a movement in the People’s Republic of China came about. It was a replica of the successful revolution in Tunisia that has ousted the long time dictator. Oppressed people could no longer stand the suppression and restricted freedom as well as the administrators’ corruption, leading to political change and victory for the people. The Chinese Jasmine Revolution resulted in the Chinese government blocking websites and several social networks such as Facebook and Twitter because several groups distributed calls for congregation of the masses to protest unemployment, food and housing shortage, as well calling for political reform by getting rid of dictatorship of the state and protest against media censorship. This caused President Hu Jin Tao to call an emergency administrative meeting to deal with the problem before it became a threat to national stability. He called for the necessity to expand and create innovations in society to stimulate and increase the means to make Chinese society more harmonious and reduce rifts. Success in many nations have caused turbulence at the leadership level. Effect of the tide of revolution will cause many dictators who have previously restricted the freedom of the nation and the people to think again about their regime and may lead to some changes in the government certain freedom and equality because no nation would likely tolerate suppression, restriction of movement and leadership corruption.

2. The Interests in the Overlapping Area (Thailand and Cambodia)

Thailand withdrew from the UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee Con-



vention during the 35th General Meeting, 19-29 June 2011 in Paris, France, over the inclusion of the management plan of Preah Vihear Temple as World Heritage Site in the agenda. Thailand has requested that the declaration from the site should only apply to the actual temple and ask Cambodia to send in a complete management plan in February 2010. The view from the Thai side, however, was that the request to be unnecessarily delayed and that the Committee has not considered the problem of border dispute, but placed emphasis only on archeological preservation. Thus the withdrawal from the World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage Committee, citing protection of the country's sovereignty which may eventually led to border dispute in the area because of overlapping Thai and Cambodian claim that has not been resolved.

On 18 July 2011, The International Court of Justice (ICJ) has ruled that both sides must withdraw troops from areas around the temple, creating a peaceful "demilitarized zone" in the 4.6 square kilometer to prevent loss of life and property by both the military and the people of both countries. Observers assigned by ASEAN must be allowed in the area and both sides must avoid action that may aggravate the problem. Thailand must also allow Cambodia access to bring food and water in to residents in the area. The ICJ also denied Thailand's request to withdraw Cambodia's petition from the system. An interesting issue are the advantages and disadvantages of each country from the ICJ ruling.

3. A step towards democracy; the Myanmar Way

In Early 2011, the foreign news that made headlines in all the newspaper was none other than Myanmar's first democratically-elected government in November of 2010. The Union Solidarity Development Party (USDP) was elected, an important step towards a parliamentary led government with a



President as the Head of State instead of a military junta as formerly. However, the government and western media do not believe that change will take place but the government will be but a puppet of the previous junta, with simply a change of military costume for civilian clothing. Later, the Myanmar government released Aung-San Su Yi to divert attention of the media. This act, however, is considered a small step towards democracy as the preferred system of government according to globalized trend.

The fact that the former junta may not willingly let go of all power is not unexpected. Even though western countries are not very much interested in political change within Myanmar but are interested in issues in terms of relationships between Asia-Pacific nations or between Myanmar and Thailand. Change within Myanmar may not instantly affect international relations but several countries, especially the US. including the European Union that have not changed their view towards Myanmar and still place importance on Aung San Suu Kyi, a symbol of the Myanmar's people's independence.

4. A Test of Political Will: The First lady Leader of Thailand

A great milestone for Thailand was achieved when a woman took up leadership of the country. After Thailand's latest election on 3 July 2011, Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra became Thailand's first female Prime Minister. If we overlook the political connotations, the move to take up leadership by a woman will definitely affect Thai women sector, especially in the business and organization. Thai women's ability in management have always been accepted. Thailand's first woman Prime Minister must work amidst political turmoil and face many challenges that will test her ability to ensure that she became Prime Minister not only because of former Prime Minister Thaksin or because of her femininity. She has to prove that she has knowledge and



ability. The choice of her first cabinet tests her leadership to select those with ability to join the team that will work with knowledge whether they will be movers and shakers who will be able to affect changes through government policy in solving basic problems of the society such as food prices and the nation's interest as a whole.

ECONOMIC DOMENSION

The human society is interdependent by nature and the limited resources will one day be inadequate for everyone's need. The human society thus needs a system to share the precious resources. At present, the economies are extremely competitive, leading to over-use of resources and global over-consumerism that is unsustainable. Fierce competition means the use of all means to win including money as exchange to buy out the group's interests for maximum profit. At times, this leads to war or unrest to gain the most benefit or resources. With the recent state of economic globalization and a borderless world, goods, money and service move freely across the borders, becoming free trade everywhere. Being borderless means that, the economy, the social and cultural factors that freely flow in causes factors that lead to change in many countries, whether for wealth or for poverty of the country. Therefore, a solution to the present economy that leads to economic integration inside and outside the framework of ASEAN to create new innovations can bring economic stability to the region and can expand to take on the competition in the global arena. Three main events were considered for the economic dimension environmental scanning as follows:

1. China: The New Economic and Military Superpower

The People's Republic of China has continued to its exponential growth in economy and military strength and is expected to become the next super-



power. The growth of its GDP is 10.3% in 2010. China progress in high technology is evident in many fields : recycled energy, high speed trains and supercomputers. At the same time, the Chinese military has modernized rapidly, accumulating the highest number of warships, stealth fighters and anti-satellite missiles. At the same time, China faces many internal problems – how to adjust economic growth so as to lessen environmental impact and other problems arising from unchecked rapid expansion. China still focuses on the development of its total national power, wealth and a strong military by reinforcing internal stability at the same time as strengthening its military and reforming economic infrastructure. Another area is proactive diplomacy to promote confidence building, a peaceful and prosperous environment within the region by putting emphasis on bilateral and multilateral cooperation partly to counter containment. China has also increased its cooperation with members of ASEAN in several dimensions such as APEC, ASEAN+3, GMS and has led the transformation of the “Shanghai Five” into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), comprising Russia and countries in the Central Asia.

At the same time the U.S., once widely accepted as the world wealthiest country in the world since WWII, after disclosure of the latest statistics, shocked the world by revealing that it has the highest debt in the world with debt ratio at 200% per GDP. However, the US is still secured as an economic superpower and was able to contain internal turmoil, even though the world has faced economic slump since the TOM YUM KUNG Crisis in Asia which was the largest market in the world which triggered financial collapses throughout the world.



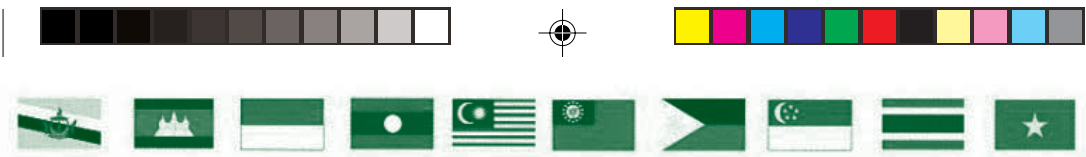
	2009	2010	2011	2012	(%GDP Growth)
Thailand	-2.2	7.9	4.2	5.0	
Indonesia	4.5	5.9	6.2	6.2	
Malaysia	-1.7	6.8	5.2	5.7	
Philippines	1.1	7.1	5.2	5.7	
China	9.1	10.1	9.1	9.5	
India	7.4	8.4	8.5	8.3	
US	-2.6	2.7	2.4	3.6	
Japan	-5.2	3.0	1.2	2.0	
EU	-4.0	1.6	1.4	1.9	
The World	-0.6	4.7	4.1	4.8	

From the above chart, it is seen clearly that China is fast becoming the economic giant in Asia. The most prominent step is its rapid economic expansion compared to the US. The People’s Republic of China has become the 2nd largest economy in the world after the U.S. and still climbing. If China could sustain such growth, its economy will be as large as the U.S. by 2055. In March 2011, China declared an increase of its defense budget in 2011 by 12.7% to 6.01000 million Yuan (91,000 million US dollar or 56,000 million pound). The budget is 5.30000 million yuan higher than last year and getting closer to the US budget. Thus China’s military capability is expected to soon match that of the U.S.

2. Maritime Resources in Asia: A Time Bomb Waiting to Explode

The dispute over rights of the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea during 2011 became the most critical issue of the South East Asian region.





In 2010, the U.S. raised this issue during the ASEAN Regional Forum in Vietnam. China did not like the American point of view and mobilized troops to conduct military exercise near the Spratly Island, evoking an immediate response. With cooperation from Vietnam, the U.S. sent ships and aircraft carrier to the port of Danang. The Republic of Vietnam also condemned China's deployment of ships into the Paracel Island, which Vietnam claimed as its own.

In the few months that followed new conflict arose: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Vietnam publicly condemn Chinese fishing boats and 2 warships for damaging cables of the Gas and Petroleum Survey ship belonging to Vietnam's Energy Company called Petro Vietnam. Thousands of Vietnamese marched in protest in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City to protest against this act. The Republic of Vietnam retaliated by conducting military exercise with live firing in waters off the coast of Vietnam. China counter the claim by declaring that the fishing boats were in the Spratly Islands which is in Chinese territorial waters and the crew simply acted in self-defense because Vietnamese warships and survey ships were chasing them. China went on to warn Vietnam that the Spratly Islands were under Chinese sovereignty and survey of any types of petroleum is illegal and thus considered an offense against China's sovereignty and must be stopped immediately. During February to May 2011, the Republic of Philippines also issued statement attacking China for destroying the peace and stability of the region by sending in warships to threaten various countries. The incident the Philippines was protesting was China warships shooting at fishing boats and threatening Philippines' petroleum survey ships. In the latest series of dispute, the government of the Philippines have declared a change of the name "South China Sea" to the "West Philippines Sea" under the claim that



Vietnam has already changed the name South China Sea to the “East Sea”.

Similar to China, Taiwan is another nation that laid over all claim of the Spratly Islands. The Taiwan’s Ministry of Defense has declared that it plans to deploy warships into the South China Sea and position tanks on the island that Taiwan is currently occupying and sending 130 troops on to the Taiping Island, the largest island in the South China Sea that Taiwan is holding.

3. The Sustainability of Thai Economy in the midst of Thai political crisis

Thai economy is a national power, a tool to protect national interests. Formerly based on agriculture, the livelihood of the people do not depend on many factors, simply a diversity of natural resources, a mild climate and a land relatively free of natural disasters. Most Thais thus live simple lives amidst changes in each era according to both political stability and unrest. In 2011, the economic system became unbalanced, particularly the infrastructure that could not support sustainable growth. Dependence on export-based economy and cheap labour make the country susceptible to external change while regulations for trade blocs will restrict ability to complete as well as degrade the quality of life. In the last quarter of 2010, the economy has slowed down both in demand and supply, especially in private consumption, export, industrial production and tourism.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

In the age of globalization, it seems as though various factors affecting the world has become one and the same, so that problems of one nation became a joint problem of the world and for the ASEAN region, whether it be social, economic or political problem. As a member of the world society, it is important that these problems are clearly understood so a joint solution can be found. At present, the trend of “social and cultural globalization”



causes integration of societies and culture conducive to rapid dissemination of values, norms and cultures. If these values are positive, it will create a strong sense of togetherness, but if these are negative, they may cause conflict between cultures. With technological progress, i.e. internet communications, satellite, cable television, norms and values from one culture are able to tear down many social and cultural walls, penetrating deep into the basic values and way of life of the original culture and affecting other dimensions of society. From environmental scanning at global level, regional level and in Thailand, seven (7) significant events are found as follows:

1. Thousands of East Africans migrate to find water after severe draught

Thousands of East Africans set out on foot on a long migration to find water after the area was hit by the most severe draught in several decades. The area where those affected by draught was gathering was the border of Kenya, near Ethiopia and Somalia. Most children are badly malnourished and had severe diarrhea; some had skin diseases** due to long term deprivation of food and water. Somalia is considered the country where the population is most undernourished, with places in the south having 50 percent of the population undernourished and a number actually die of hunger. This is due to the extensive drought to the northeast of the African continent which affected more than 11 million people. Charity and relief organization in Kenya had to provide emergency supply of food and water to the refugee camps in Kenya and to aid Somalis who crossed the border to find food in Kenya. Currently, there are more than 2.2 million refugees in Somalia who requires emergency relief.

2. Japan and Nuclear Electricity Plant

At present, many countries' unbalanced use of resources for economic



development had led to depletion of natural resources and destruction of natural environment which had in turn led to faster global warming. Due to the energy crisis, many countries have turned to nuclear power for energy. However, widespread use of nuclear technology became a base for the use of nuclear weapons. Earthquakes, however, have damaged nuclear power station sites with devastating result for humanity. Currently, large scale natural disasters have affected the earth's physical structure. On 11 March 2011, Japan was caught in an 8.9 Richter earthquake, the largest earthquake in the history of Japan. It was also the fourth most severe earthquake the world has ever seen, causing around 14,755 deaths, 5,290 casualties and still 10,706 were reported missing. More than 125,000 houses were destroyed. The earthquake and the tsunami that followed destroyed roads and rails, causing fires and dams to break. In several areas, there was no electricity and more than 1.5 million people were without water. Several power plants could not be used. To make matters worse, at least three nuclear power plants were damaged because of hydrogen gas leak in the outer building that houses the nuclear plant which caused the Japanese government to declare the state of emergency. The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant exploded 24 hours after the first earthquake, causing leakages of radioactive material, and the people living around Fukushima Daiichi District were ordered to evacuate for safety.

3. Technological Transfer in the Globalization Era

Coinciding with the end of the cold war, a new movement swept the world: that of information technology. During the war, information management was considered a top security and political factor even more important than the economy. However, when the cold war era ended, people, especially those in countries sharing borders, who had formerly shared culture,



national identities and language could communicate more easily through regular transport, satellite communication as well as joint investments. Current changes in technology also take place rapidly, becoming more and more advanced, with a tendency to spread and multiply all over the world. Humans usually group together for several activities leading to development of modern communication and finally becoming a social online groups. Various social groups in Thailand are HI-5, My Space, Facebook, Multiply, and Twitter, for example. In Thailand, cyber surfers, especially young workers are interested in “Facebook” to open up their social world. Not only do we meet people in our group but people all over the world. Sometimes, friends who have not met each other for 10-20 years meet up online through these social media programs, making the world much smaller to live in. Apart from social interaction, Twitter has also moved in marketing where many organizations and several world class retailers are using Twitter as advertising, expanding access to internet-user groups without cost. This provides a venue for consumers who are interested to look into the products and purchase online. With its ease of access, the wireless network is often used to link people and information from all over the world and became a stage for proponents to pitch ideas against each other or for activists outside the country to rally mass protests against dictatorship regime in country by VDO Link through broadband internets. It is more the norm now for reporters to upload digital video clips of events and news online into social network such as Blog Hi5 or IM (Instant Messaging) to communicate with internet-users through various social networks. Use of various websites can be a two edge sword, one brings a lot of benefits but on the other hand, cyber world can be deceptive because so many people also pose falsehood to create a “look good” image. We have to constantly remind ourselves that though there are



a level of built in technological safety, we have to be on our guard for criminals who are in waiting to take advantage of this loophole.

4. The Maelstrom of Thai Ideological Conflict

In the past, Thai society faced many conflicts but none as violent as the political clash that has prolonged and turned into a struggle between the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) or the yellow shirts and the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) or red shirts. No one knows how the conflict will end but numerous impact arose from the violence that still seems to be spreading. Media reports were manipulated and sent abroad, leading to strong differentiation of domestic opinions, some based on truth, some biased until Thai society became divided and fell into a deadlock of protest and fights both about issues of substance and nonsense. Both movements quote rampant corruption in the bureaucracy, lese majeste actions and various other incidents as reasons for their calling for democracy in their own way.

5. Thai Education Crisis

Studies undertaken by PISA (Program for International Students Assessment) found that 74% of Thai students cannot read Thai, incorrectly analyze meanings and cannot apply Thai language for use with other subjects. Test results of O-NET or Ordinary National Education Test for Prathom 6, Matayom 3 and 6 for the past 4 years (2005-2008) as measured by the National Institute of Educational Testing Services (NIETS) found that results for all grades are lowered. This finding echoes that of the Advanced National Educational Test, or A-NET of the Office of Higher Education Commission (OHEC) from entrance exams to various universities. The Office found that at the beginning of 2011, test scores average lower than scores obtained in 2010.



This includes the results from the follow-up of the declaration of the Education Reform Act of 1999, involving educational quality assessment of 17,562 schools all over the country or around 49.1% of the schools. Focus on learner-centered teaching is quality assessed as 39.2%; activities to promote thinking in the student, creative analysis, problem solving, critical thinking and decision making is assessed at 13.5% and the teacher can use evaluation results to adjust teaching for development only 21.6% of all schools. From quality assessment of the learner, it is found that exam results all lower across all groups especially the ability to analyze, synthesize, judge and innovate is quality assessed at only 11.1%, the ability to seek information and the love of learning and self-development is assessed at only 26.5% of all schools. These results reflect the failure of educational reform of the last ten years.

6. Human Rights

6.1 Terrorism

Conflict in various regions of the world can transform into terrorist threats related to violence and illegal acts affecting peace and security of the nation. A good example is the operation to assassinate Bin Laden which the U.S. declared as a victory in 2011. The US attack in Pakistan took place after intelligence report that Bin Laden was found hiding before the search and kill operation was approved. Bin Laden was on the most wanted list by the U.S. for allegedly being behind several attacks on the U.S., especially the tragedy Twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in 2001 with more than 3,000 dead.



6.2 Transborder Drug Problem

While several people are focusing on the Thai political conflict, another even more serious long-term problem in Thailand is “Drugs”. It is nationwide problem affecting all level of societies and communities in Thailand. Though several preventive and suppressive measures have been implemented, drugs cannot be eradicated. Because of the complexity of the drug ring, it has become more and more serious as Thailand seems to be the source, the market and the transit country. Main drugs found are opium, heroine, cannabis, and amphetamines. Being located in the golden triangle, Thailand became infamously known as the producer of opium, heroine and amphetamine, mostly located in the Golden Triangle. Cannabis is also found in Thailand, mostly coming from the northeast. At present, however, production of these drugs have much decreased to a controllable level. Production of amphetamines have moved to neighbouring countries. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s report named “Patterns and Trends of Amphetamine-Type Stimulants and Other Drugs in Asia and Pacific 2010 stated that people in East Asia and South east Asia have the highest statistics on ATS drug use in the world. Thailand has the highest number of drug seizures; the largest producer being Myanmar and then sent through various countries in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) with Thailand being the largest market, and transit point to world market. The drug problem also create epidemics from drug use; information from HIV with drug use indicate that more than 52% of HIV positive patients contracted it through drug injections.

7. Southern Thailand: The Crisis

Thailand was also adversely affected by the continuous unrest in the



three southern provinces, namely Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat. Such violence have created several economic and social problem leading to lack of confidence from the private sector in investment and business in the area. Civilians became unemployed and do not get enough pay for subsistence. The problem of school incendiary lead to lack of schooling and lack of books and educational materials for kids. Teachers fear coming to work in the area, leaving children uncertain about their educational future. A great social problem for those working in the south is safety because workers are afraid of traveling both near and far, especially for the rubber workers and many people lose their livelihood. Though they know that the government poured in help for the local people in form of various projects such as urgent hiring of workers and support for several vocational groups, etc. But these projects are not lasting or sustainable enough to drive the economy or strengthen it. If we then look back at the incidents in the three southern provinces such as Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat including parts of Songkhla and Satun between 2004 – 2011, or around 7 years, the incidents become increasingly violent and is still increasing, so it is difficult for anyone to understand. It is found, however, that in all incidents, the origin came from gunfire, assassination, setting fires to government offices and attacks on military and police. Shooting seems to be the most violent strategy, second most violent are hidden explosives and incendiary.

The province with the most number of incident is Narathiwat, then Yala and the least number took place in Pattani. A tendency is also for the violence to be spread in nearby areas, marking movements of violence from the past to the present.

From incidents listed above, it was found that the change and volatility of the world is on the increase when compared with past incidents whether it





be the natural disasters that occur more frequently, terrorists attack and other violent events, politically, economically and socially all over the world. Thailand itself, since 1997 underwent a lot of changes - economic crisis, political crisis, fluctuating economic growth, inflation, and higher unemployment. Other problems also occur such as drugs, which are widespread and is yet to be solved, political standoff that seems to drag on endlessly and hard to solve. Form internal and external problems during changes in government and incidents that people from all walks of life gives importance to and are interested in. We should know and understand that there must be adjustments and changes made and improvement undertaken in all sectors at the individual, group, organization, society and national levels. These will be the important driving factors affecting Thailand's security and stability in becoming part of the ASEAN community in 2015.

Thailand has placed paramount importance on building a strong foundation for the ASEAN community by putting the people's interests first and to build effectiveness of various mechanism by which ASEAN can timely solve problems related to the well-being of the people. Another objective for Thailand in building the ASEAN community is to become the main organization in coordinating cooperation efforts between ASEAN members, international organizations and the people in the region. Such role would also be important to help government efforts and build awareness of the ASEAN cooperation in politics, economics and socio-cultural dimensions as set out in the objectives of the ASEAN community in 2015. The people will understand the benefits ASEAN will have on their daily lives in the future.



Part 3

ASEAN Community Roadmap: From ‘Declaration of ASEAN Concord II’ to ‘ASEAN Community Blueprint’

The phenomenon of various elements informally linking together around the globe and greatly impacting the world in various aspects is known as the “world dynamics of globalization”. Such dynamics cause several countries, especially Thailand, to stumble over systems of leapfrog and unlimited developments. Thus it is important for Thailand to redefine its path and be ready to move forward at the same time as building its capacity to effectively handle development in the future with the compass pointing in the direction of the large open door of ASEAN under the framework set up by the members working together towards the same goal of the ASEAN Community in 2015. In fact, the ASEAN Community forms “one big family” of the ASEAN member countries, a strong family with good immunity, providing a safe environment for its members to live, work and trade with ease. Because all ASEAN members aspire towards the same goal, the leaders thus decided to establish the ASEAN community as great adjustment and a grand foundation for future development. As political economic and social conditions have changed, ASEAN had to face new challenges: epidemics, transnational crimes, natural disasters, and environmental problems such as global warming. Another risk that ASEAN faces is the difficulties to compete with other superpowers such as China and India that are experiencing exponential economic growth.

However, many nations support this regional integration to increase bargaining power and to augment competitive potential in the international



arena. While the problems which used to be localized have now become globalized, ASEAN members must be ready for the changes leading up to the establishment of the ASEAN Community to handle these rapid changes

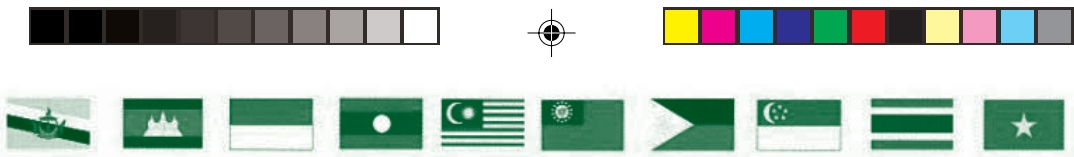
In Part 3, the ASEAN Community Roadmap and ASEAN Declaration of Concord II leading up to the ASEAN Community Blueprint will be considered together with the context that has been found with the process of environmental scanning. Part 2 looked at the “Empirical Environment: The Simulation of ASEAN community prospects” that will finally lead to the use of a simulation technique to predict an Outlook of the ASEAN Community under the ASEAN Charter, an important legal framework that laid a strong foundation for cooperation leading up to the ASEAN Community. It is also a important factor in the reformation of ASEAN in general in 2015 as expected by the members. The Simulation of the Outlook of ASEAN will be looked at in Part 4.

In this part, we will look at the process towards becoming the ASEAN Community under the 2nd ASEAN Declaration of Accord and the ASEAN community Blueprint is divided into three (3) sections as follows:

ASEAN : THE PAST

44 Years of ASEAN

Since its conception, ASEAN has grown in terms of members and closer cooperation among the member nations. Thailand, as one of the founding members of ASEAN plays an important role in initiating useful and effective political, economical and social policy or measures of benefit to the organization. Moreover, Thailand has also proposed the “ASEAN Vision 2020” that all members ratified. The document determines the direction and objectives of all activities of ASEAN with the Hanoi Plan of Action as the guideline.



Later, when the plan ended, the Vientiane Action Program-VAP, a 6 year plan (2004-2011), covering all political, economic and social activities.

ASEAN Rationale

ASEAN was established by the **ASEAN Declaration** or known as the Bangkok Declaration that was signed at Saranrom Palace on 8 August 1967 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 5 founding member nations namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. In the declaration and political situation of the members during 1967, it was considered that ASEAN must rely on cooperation and friendship in the region and avoid the focus on legal issues and duties according to international law. Throughout the past, leaders in the region have used ASEAN as an area for cooperation on the basis of voluntary cooperation and volunteering spirit of the members. Any action or activities would arise from discussion and consensus without referring to rights and duties and based on a policy of non-intervention, called “The ASEAN Way”. Such a policy has helped cooperation among the members to move along smoothly without violent conflict. Even though each member country has its own set of laws and differing political policies. Because ASEAN did not focus on the use of international law in its union, there was no move to draft an ASEAN Charter. Later on several more countries in the region joined making a total of 10 countries in the Southeast Asian region: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam with a purpose to promote cooperation and assistance in Economic, Socio-culture, Technology, Science and Management.

The members of the community pledged to settle their differences or disputes by peaceful means and recognized the fact that security of members are based on geographical location, sharing the same vision and



objectives, namely political development, a rule based community of shared values, prevention of conflict, and resolve of conflict as well as building peace after conflict based on a strong foundation of process, principles, agreement and the evolution of the structure of ASEAN as are apparent in these following documents:

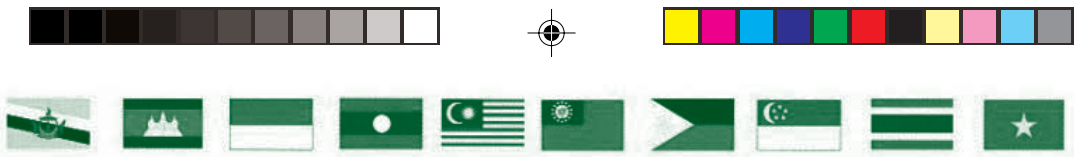
- ASEAN Declaration, Bangkok 8 August 1967
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration, Kuala Lumpur, 27 November 1971
- Declaration of ASEAN Concord I at Bali, 24 February 1976
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, at Bali 24 February 1976
- ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, Manila 22 July 1992
- Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Free Zone: SEANWFZ, 15 December 1997
- ASEAN Vision 2020, Kuala Lumpur, 15 December 1997
- Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, Bali 7 December 2003

ASEAN: THE PRESENT & THE FUTURE

ASEAN: THE PRESENT

The signing of the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II or Bali Concord II by ASEAN leaders announced the establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2020 to broaden its integration and overall cooperation. The ASEAN Community comprises three pillars:

1. ASEAN Political and Security Community-APSC
2. ASEAN Economic Community-AEC
3. ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community-ASCC



In December 1997 in a summit meeting in Kuala Lumpur, the leaders of ASEAN declared the “ASEAN Vision 2020” with the aim that by the year 2020, ASEAN’s activities will be even more closely intertwined. Later, in the 9th ASEAN Summit in October 2003, in Bali, the leaders of ASEAN signed a Declaration of ASEAN Concord II or Bali Concord II to move up the integration of the ASEAN members by 5 years – to become the ASEAN Community in 2015, using the ASEAN blueprint comprising 1. The ASEAN Political Community Blueprint 2. The ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint and 3. The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint, a guideline to determine activities and a timeframe to realize development potentials and shared visions of ASEAN members in 2015.

Objectives of the ASEAN Community

The objectives of ASEAN are to accelerate regional economic growth, social progress and cultural development, to promote collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interests in the economic, socio-cultural, technical, scientific and managerial support, to promote regional peace and stability, and to maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations. The ASEAN Emblem is the stalks of yellow padi on a red circle background. The red circle is drawn with a white and blue circumference. The ten padi stalks represent the ten ASEAN members; yellow symbolizes prosperity; red depicts courage and dynamism, white shows purity and blue represents peace and stability.

Basic Principles of Cooperation

The ASEAN member states have accepted the basis of mutual cooperation declared in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia or TAC the principles being :



- mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all nations;
- The right of every State to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion;
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another;
- Settlement of differences or disputes by peaceful means;
- Renunciation of the threat or use of force;
- Effective cooperation among themselves.

Structure and Policy Mechanism

ASEAN focuses on the resolutions obtained from top-level conferences officially called the ASEAN SUMMIT of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN, established for peace of the Southeast Asian region, leading up to political security, economic and socio-cultural advancement. Leaders of ASEAN member states will attend the Summit Meeting to discuss developments of ASEAN nations with head of government meetings, ministerial meetings and senior officials meeting. However, the Summit Meetings are the highest-level meetings to consolidate policy in general and is a venue for the ASEAN members to jointly declare their objectives and long term plan in form of “Action Plans”; Joint Declarations, Declaration, Agreement or Convention such as the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism, for example. Meetings at the level of ministerial and senior officials involve both discussions of general and specific policies.

Later in 2004, at the 10th ASEAN Summit Meeting in Vientiane, the leaders declared a Vientiane Action Program by supporting the drafting of the ASEAN Charter in readiness of the establishment of the ASEAN community in 2020. In December 2005, at the 11th ASEAN Summit Meeting in Bali, the head of states declared the main principles for the ASEAN Charter and





appointed the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) comprising prominent citizens in foreign affairs from the member countries to provide ASEAN leaders with preliminary suggestions and policy guidelines on drafting the charter. The EPG then held discussions with various sectors and presented their findings in “Report of the Eminent Persons Group on the ASEAN Charter” in December 2006. In January 2007, at the 12th Summit Meeting in Cebu, the ASEAN leaders acknowledged the EPG report and has appointed the High Level Task Force comprising of high level officials with expertise from member countries to draft the ASEAN Charter using the principles declared in Bali and Cebu. The task force were to take the suggestions and draft an ASEAN Charter to be considered in the 13th Summit Meeting in Singapore in November 2007. After which time the draft would be reviewed and commented on before the leaders sign it. The task force held 13 meetings during 2007. The Charter was signed between 2007 and 2008 by all 10 member countries who submitted their instruments of ratification between January - November 2008. The ASEAN Charter entered into force on 15 December 2008. A gathering of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers was held at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta to mark this very historic occasion for the 570 million people of ASEAN.

With the entry into force of the ASEAN Charter, ASEAN will henceforth operate under a new legal framework and establish a number of new organs to boost its community-building process.

In effect, the ASEAN Charter has become a legally binding agreement among the 10 ASEAN Member States.

Infrastructure of ASEAN Community

1. ASEAN Secretariat. The ASEAN Secretariat was established by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN during the First Summit Meeting of 1976 to



provide for more effective implementation of ASEAN projects and activities and for greater efficiency in the coordination of ASEAN organs with various committees and institutions and ASEAN member states. The ASEAN Secretariat is located in Jakarta, Indonesia. The Head of the Secretariat is the “Secretary-General” and 2 Deputy Secretary-Generals with a three year term.

2. The ASEAN National Secretariat is the agency or office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in each of the member nation, established to coordinate ASEAN activities. set up various activities/coordination in the country. In Thailand, the Department of ASEAN Affairs was tasked with the responsibilities of ASEAN activities.

In this respect, the highest ASEAN organ is the SUMMIT Meeting when the Head of States or Head of Government, with the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, and the ASEAN Economic Ministers’ Meeting as well as other side meeting at the Ministers level. Another set of meetings concern the senior officers or the permanent secretary level called the Senior Official’s Meeting or SOM that determines policy as well as helps accelerate implementation of the leaders and Ministers’ policies. The ASEAN Standing Committee or ASC comprises the Director-General of the ASEAN National Secretariat whose duties are to determine guidelines and accelerate the application of the implementation of the resolutions of the Summit Meeting and the Ministerial Meetings, approval of joint cooperation programs within ASEAN and between ASEAN and the dialogue partners as well as acknowledgement of the ASEAN Secretariat activities. ASEAN would decide various matters using consensus. Apart from this, there is the ASEAN Committee in Third Party Countries comprising the Ambassador of ASEAN member states in the 10 dialogue partners and other countries ASEAN deem necessary to set up a committee. The duties are to provide information and evaluate the



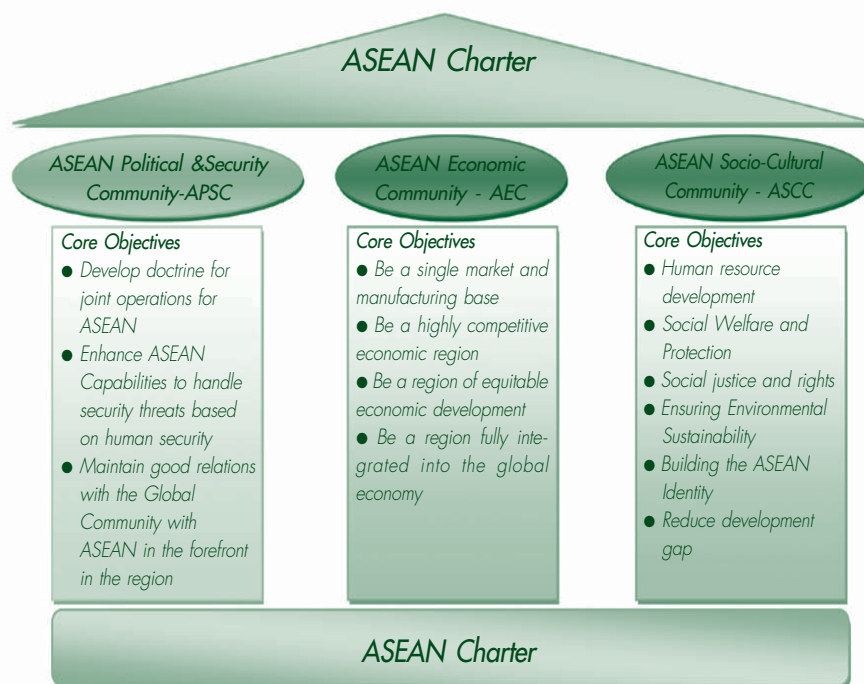
standpoint of the country in which the Committee is located. The ASEAN Secretariat located in Jakarta, Indonesia works as a hub to coordinate activities among members with the Secretary-General of ASEAN as the head of the office. The Secretary-General is nominated and appointed by member states (according to the English alphabetical order of the countries' name) with 2 Deputy Secretary-General, selected from ASEAN members according to the English alphabetical order and 2 from open selection. The ASEAN secretariat has specific offices that works on cooperation in politics, economics, socio-cultural dimensions, while the ASEAN National Secretariat of member states will work as the secretary of each nation in coordinating with domestic agencies for cooperation in various activities. Main policies of ASEAN come from the resolution or declaration at the Summit Meeting, Foreign Affairs Ministers' Meeting, Economic Ministers' Meeting and ASEAN related Ministers Meetings.

ASEAN Charter's Entry into Force

On 15 December 2008 ASEAN Foreign Ministers gathered at the office of the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta to mark the ASEAN Charter's entry into force. The ASEAN Charter is similar to the constitution that provides ASEAN with a legal framework and establishes several new organs to boost its community building process. The Charter means that all members of ASEAN will work under the same law, leading up to the establishment of a single market in the region. The ASEAN Charter comprises a preamble and 55 articles in 13 Chapters and is written to support integration into an ASEAN community in 2015 as agreed by ASEAN leaders. It also turns ASEAN into an efficient inter-governmental organization with the status of juristic person to bring the most benefit for the people. The ASEAN Charter specifies new advances of ASEAN – the ASEAN Anthem, the ASEAN Intergovernmental



Commission on Human Rights, ASEAN Dispute Settlement Mechanism, for example, and thus can be defined as a legal framework that will provide a strong foundation for ASEAN, leading eventually to the ASEAN Community. As a general reform of ASEAN, the Charter makes ASEAN a legal entity and the main constitution, providing a legal status and institutional framework for ASEAN and defines the principles, objectives and cooperation structure for member states to comply with the principles and shared values of the association. The framework is expected to reduce the discrepancy of practice of some members that do not follow former declarations and make ASEAN move forward faster than before, including to solve human rights problems in Myanmar, for example. Thus the ASEAN Charter sets down main principles, aims, objectives and cooperation structure step by step for member states to become a part of the ASEAN Community.





The working process towards ASEAN Community Roadmap from ‘Declaration of ASEAN Concord II’ to ‘ASEAN Community Blueprint’, the three pillars form important elements in the coming ASEAN Community in 2015 that can be used as a simulation technique for the Outlook of ASEAN which will be presented in Part 4 : The Road Ahead: A Foreseeable Future of ASEAN Community can be described as shown above.

ASEAN Political and Security Community – APSC

Worldwide political situations is fast-changing, bringing both opportunities and challenges that ASEAN must face – opportunities to strengthen ASEAN’s security or the new threats such as transnational crime or terrorism. The leaders of ASEAN envisages an “ASEAN Community” by the year 2015 with the ASEAN Political and Security Community or APSC as one of the main pillars. This pillar will ensure the peace and political security in the region, an important foundation for future development, with the objective to create shared values and norms in all aspects and promote integrated capacity for facing traditional and non-traditional threats in close collaboration with the world community. Based on political and security agreements, ASEAN will move ahead for a more structured community under various contexts such as the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Declaration and the Treaty on Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.

The objectives of the ASEAN Political and Security Community are to promote a cohesive, resilient and stable region for members to coexist peacefully with peaceful resolution of conflict. The ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint was then drawn up in accordance with political and security objectives of the Bali Concord II, focusing on 3 elements as follows:



1. Ruled-base community of shared values and norms, focusing on promotion of understanding and appreciation of political systems, culture and history of ASEAN Member States, supporting an integrated political development such as principles of democracy, promoting and protecting human rights, supporting participation of civil society, preventing corruption, strengthening laws and judicial systems and good governance.

1.1. Cooperation in political development such as

- Promote understanding and appreciation of political systems, culture and history of ASEAN Member States
- Lay the groundwork for an institutional framework to facilitate free flow of information for mutual support and assistance among ASEAN Member States
- Promote good governance
- Promotion and Protection of human rights
- Prevent and combat corruption

1.2 Rules-based Community of shared values and norms as well as promotion of regional best practices namely

- Adjust institutional framework according to the ASEAN Charter
- Promote cooperation under Treaty of Amity and Cooperation of Southeast Asian region

2. Promote a cohesive, peaceful, stable and resilient region with shared responsibility for comprehensive security in terms of traditional security, confidential-building measures and peaceful settlement of dispute to prevent war and for the ASEAN members to live together without conflict and expand cooperation against new security threats such as counter-terrorism, transnational crime comprising drug and human trafficking as well as preparation to prepare and manage human and natural disasters.





2.1 Conflict prevention and confidence building to reduce tension such as

- confidence-building measures through ASEAN security dialogue and Share information among ASEAN Member States on submissions to the UN Register of Conventional Arms
- promote greater transparency and understanding of defence policies through development of an ASEAN early warning system
- promote ASEAN defence and security cooperation through development of military cooperation programmes.

2.2 Conflict Resolution and Pacific Settlement of Disputes of peace and stability of the region as well as refrain from the use of force, for example

- Build upon existing modes of pacific settlement of disputes and consider
 - strengthening them with additional mechanisms as needed
 - Strengthen research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution
- Promote regional cooperation to maintain peace and stability

2.3 Post-Conflict Peace-building to lay the ground for reconciliation and all other necessary measures to prevent the affected areas from falling again to conflicts in the future eg. strengthening humanitarian assistance

2.4 Strengthen cooperation in addressing non-traditional security issues, particularly in combating transnational crimes and other transboundary challenges namely

- To promote combat of transnational crimes
- Ratify the Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters among ASEAN Member States and work towards elevating it to an



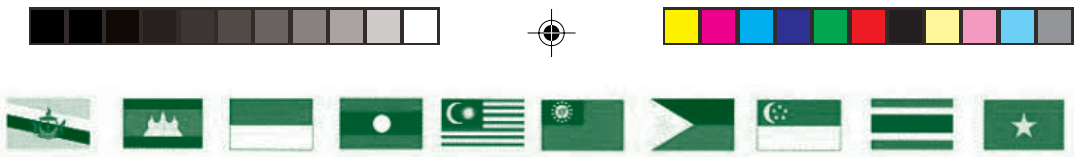
ASEAN treaty

- Strengthen criminal justice responses to trafficking in persons,
- Work towards a drug-free ASEAN by 2015
- Control the diffusion of computer crimes

2.5 Strengthen ASEAN Cooperation on disaster management and emergency response.

2.6 Effective and timely response to urgent issues or crisis situations affecting ASEAN.

3. A Dynamic and Outward-looking Region to strengthen ASEAN Centrality in regional cooperation within the context of ASEAN Plus Three with China, Japan and South Korea, the East Asia Summit and ASEAN Regional Forum and promote enhanced ties with External Parties such as the United Nations. Since the establishment of ASEAN, the members have worked towards a rules based community as well as a strengthened defense and security network to reduce possible conflict in the region and promote ASEAN's role as a dialogue partner on the global stage with world superpowers. The members have also created a mechanism whereby the ASEAN Summit will allow the leaders of member states to jointly discuss and resolve any problems that may arise. Each Summit receives a lot of attention worldwide; apart from being important to Thailand as a national and regional agenda, many European groups also see the grouping as important outside the framework of Asia and Europe. An eventful step outside this framework was achieved from the 14th ASEAN Summit hosted by Thailand. The economic crisis the world was facing has made a deep impact on economic system, employment and tourism and the world was watching what ASEAN would do. It was the first time in history that an Asian Global Dialogue was held



with the expectation that ASEAN would provide possible answers. Attendees were from the United Nations, International Monetary Funds, and World Trade Organization. It is a national agenda as well as an international one, closely watched not only by ASEAN and the Asian region but also by Europe. ASEM has placed a lot of importance on the ASEAN + 3 and ASEAN +6 with the following purposes:

- 3.1 Strengthen ASEAN Centrality in regional cooperation and community building
- 3.2 promote enhanced ties with External Parties
- 3.3 Strengthen Consultations and Cooperation on Multilateral Issues of Common Concern

In previous ASEAN Summits, a political and security cooperation framework in the Asia-Pacific region was discussed with 25 nations in the conference including the United States, Russia, China and the European Union to promote ASEAN as a trusting, stable, peaceful region with safety for lives and property. Members who attended the ASEAN Regional Forum ARF comprising Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Russian Federation, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor Leste, United States, and Vietnam. The main focus is on regional security in the Asia-Pacific including relations with super powers, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, counter-terrorism, and counter transnational crime, situation in the South China sea and the Korean Peninsula. ASEAN also has a framework for military cooperation or the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) to forge close ties among the defense organization of the members, especially



drug prevention, counter-transnational crime and counter-terrorism. In the latter, ASEAN has signed a ASEAN Convention on Counter-terrorism in 2006.

ASEAN Political-Security Community-AEC

With the downturn in the Global economy bringing in unbalanced development in socio-cultural sectors, negligence of good-governance and social injustice, it is important to prepare for the upcoming integration into the ASEAN Community. Every nation must have a mature leader with a deep sense of leadership that can lead the country toward socio-cultural as well as economic globalization to create a caring society by bridging the gap of awareness and the gap of knowledge. The 9th ASEAN Summit Meeting in Bali, Indonesia on the 7th October 2003 signed and ratified the ASEAN Concord II or the Bali Concord II that included the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Society or AEC as one of the three main pillars of the ASEAN Community by 2015.

The objective of the ASEAN Economic Community is the overall regional economic integration by 2015 through commitment of the members to follow the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint drawn up according to objectives of the Bali Concord II. AEC envisages the following key characteristics:

(1) a single market and production base with free flow of goods, free flow of services, free flow of investments, freer flow of capital and free flow of skilled labour.

(2) a highly competitive economic region, by issuing policies that will promote economic integration such as competitive policies, consumer protection, intellectual property rights, tax policies and basic infrastructure development (finance, transport, information technologies and energy).





(3) a region of equitable economic development with development of the SMEs and capacity building through various programs.

(4) a region fully integrated into the global economy focusing on providing ASEAN with clear directions when integrating with economies outside the region.

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community

With changing global security situation and the world moving from the Cold War Era into the Post Cold War Era, threats have also changed from one of traditional security into non-traditional ones that occur with disregard for national borders. These threats became personal, aimed at lives and property, and directly affect human security that cannot be protected by national forces. The situation has quickly deteriorated and became a social security problem, a radical change towards “non-traditional threats” which requires knowledgeable integration of human and technological resources for prevention and resolution. At the same time, international cooperation is of utmost importance to deal with situations such as the violently volatile economy, widespread terrorism, war in Iraq, the oil crisis, pandemics, natural disasters, as well as prolonged crisis in certain parts of the world that may affect food and water security. These world situations are complex, unexpected and difficult to resolve. To further compound the problem, many countries are now accelerating their economic development, depleting limited resources and destroying the environment, further contributing to world climate change and global warming. The current energy crisis also mean that many countries are now turning towards use of nuclear power, which may cause a return to nuclear weapons that has caused massive destruction of the world; a distinct example being the damage sustained to Japan’s nuclear power station due to earthquake and tsunami. A large scale



natural disaster that may affect the earth's physical structure is also not out of the question. Thus, cooperation in the third pillar comprise any activities not directly connected with political or economic security with the objective of developing and enhancing the living standard of the people in the region, promoting traditional and cultural identity as well as understanding among the people in the region. All this to attain one of the main objectives of ASEAN : betterment of the standard of living to that of developed countries.

The primary goal of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community –ASCC is to contribute to realizing an ASEAN Community that is people-centered and building a caring and sharing society which is inclusive and harmonious where the well-being, livelihood, and welfare of the peoples are enhanced, to promote sustainable use of resources and well as forging a common ASEAN identity. Towards this goal, an ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint was developed according to the objectives of the Socio-Cultural Community as stated in the Bali Concord II with developments in six following areas:

- ❖ Human Resource Development, focusing on ensuring the integration of education priorities into ASEAN's development agenda and creating a knowledge-based society, developing human resources, promoting decent work, and promoting information and communication technology (ICT). A Declaration on the elimination of violence against women was issued as well as a program on vocational training for women.

- ❖ Social Welfare and Protection, stresses poverty alleviation, building a social safety net, promoting food security and safety, improving capabilities to control communicable diseases, ensuring a drug-free ASEAN, building disaster-resilient nations, preparing for a society of the elderly, promoting capacity building so community and families can look after their own mem-





bers, eliminating human trafficking and promoting the role of civil societies.

- ❖ Social Justice and Rights focuses on safeguarding the interests and rights of people with disabilities, the handicapped, and migrant workers, promoting corporate social responsibility (CSR), providing capacity building training to local organization to assist in rural development and poverty alleviation, establishing housing for the poor and providing training for supplementary income.

- ❖ Ensuring Environmental Sustainability looks at dealing with the global environmental issues, managing and preventing transboundary environmental pollution such as haze pollution and hazardous waste, responding to climate change, harmonizing environmental policies and databases to facilitate operation of related institution and mechanism, and promoting natural resources management in the following main areas:

1. Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs)
2. Fire and Forest Fires as well as transboundary haze pollution
3. Sustainable use of coastal and marine environment
4. Sustainable Forest Management (SFM)
5. Sustainable management of natural resources and Biodiversity
6. Sustainable Fresh Water Resources which Thailand is the core leader
7. Sustainable development through environmental education and public participation
8. Environmentally sound technology (EST)
9. Quality living standards in the cities/urban areas

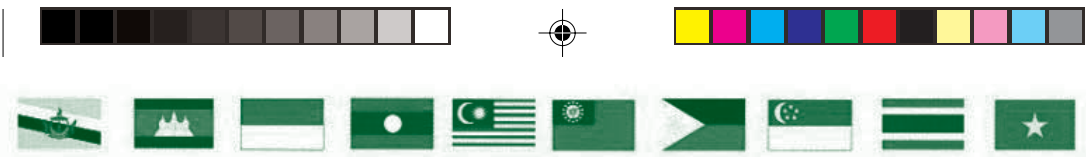
- ❖ Building the ASEAN Identity by emphasizing awareness and sense of community, preservation and promotion of ASEAN Cultural Heritage, promotion of cultural creativity and industry, for example.



❖ Narrowing the Development Gap so as to create equality among the community and ensure equitable treatment

After the establishment of the group, ASEAN's cooperation centered around politics before expanding to economics and socio-cultural elements. IN the past 10 years, closer ties have formed due to changing regional and world political and economic context, including Thailand. With the world becoming globalized and with rising powers of China and India and non-traditional threats such as pandemics, terrorism, human trafficking, climate change and natural disasters, ASEAN had to adjust its attitude and activities to be more efficient and stressing more people participation. Globally, more cooperation groups are forming in Europe, Latin America, South Asia and Africa. To ensure competitive potentials as negotiations, ASEAN need to solidify its foundation for the three pillars of ASEAN community, namely political security community, ASEAN Political and Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community and ASEAN Socio-cultural Community by 2015. Throughout the years, ASEAN has passed many milestones until its success was accepted worldwide whether it be in the political security, economics, or socio-cultural arena. Thailand has gained a lot of benefit from ASEAN cooperation in agreement ensuring a secured and peaceful region, with economic and cultural cooperation that has contributed a lot to the country's development.

To achieve ASEAN's objective of "One Vision, One Identity, One Community" as well as for all member states to become, in the future, a "One ASEAN Union" (following the footsteps of the European Union) is a common promise by all member states including Thailand based on shared values, visions, and standards evolving from Declaration of ASEAN Concord II at Bali on 7 October 2003 following the ASEAN Blueprint for the establish-



ment of the three main pillars, leading up to one ASEAN Community in 2015.

The Strategic Studies Center has thus taken the three Blueprints and the environment scanning achieved in 2011 along with analysis of backdated information, domestic and international articles and academic brainstorming and discussion sessions to produce projections of the future outlook, comprising of both problems and challenges that will affect Thailand's access into the ASEAN community. This global and ASEAN dynamism will continue on until 2015. The study takes place between June - September 2011. As each nation has strong and weak points, the obstacles and difficulties differ according to the infrastructure of each nation. The situation will be analyzed according to the three pillars of the ASEAN Community as stated in the ASEAN Blueprint to provide the overall global, regional and Thailand's environment through the three main national power dimensions: Political Dimension, Economic Dimension and Socio-Cultural Dimension, that will become apparent and develop into some impediments along Thailand's Road towards becoming part of the ASEAN Community as will be presented in the next chapter.





Part 4

The Road Ahead: A Foreseeable Future of ASEAN Community

“**O**utlook” is a systematic attempt to predict main stream of crisis or events that will coincide from various directions in the long term, in order to determine and provide the most benefit to the economy, the environment, the society and the nation. Outlook is not a forecast that is a hypothetical future but is based on systematic procedures and participation from stakeholders with deep understanding of both direct and indirect dynamics shaping the future. This outlook serves as an impetus for necessary action today that will lead to a better tomorrow. At present, Thailand should view Outlook as a measure to promote prosperity and better standards of living, as well as to instill a basic understanding that new technology can change the industry, economy, society as well as the environment in the next few decades. Development of these technologies requires scientific advancement but if basic trends can be identified, the government and other organizations can strategically allocate resources so that the technology can be efficiently and rapidly developed.

Environment scanning from January to July 2011 at the global, regional and down to Thailand level was explored in PART TWO – Empirical Environment: The Simulation of ASEAN Community Prospects. In PART THREE, we focused on the process leading up to the ASEAN Community under the Declaration of the ASEAN Concord II. PART FOUR, A Foreseeable Future of ASEAN is the simulation process of the findings in order to predict



an Outlook of ASEAN in 2015. The Outlook presented will also be achieved under the framework of the ASEAN Blueprint and the three pillars, focusing on possible events and impacts on the ASEAN Blueprint which will reflect the capability and readiness of the Kingdom of Thailand to become part of the ASEAN Community in 2015. This will be presented in PART FIVE, Thailand's paradigm: Outlook Towards the ASEAN Community 2015.

After the Cold War and globalization of the world, ASEAN had to adjust to maintain its status, its importance and its relations in the region. It is possible that ASEAN was established due to internal factors, that is, its inability to solve new problems and challenges as well as external factors - globalization that demands more cooperation and more competition among nations. Member states thus see the importance of closer cooperation to strengthen security and to create negotiating power for member states, through the principles stated in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II or Bali Concord whose objectives is to firmly establish the ASEAN Community in 2015 through the three main pillars set up according the ASEAN Blueprint.

1. The ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint (APSC) has three main purposes:

- ASEAN as a community of shared values and respect for diversity of ideas with people oriented policies and activities under the political and security pillar
- ASEAN with the capability to face traditional and non-traditional threats
- ASEAN with close and creative relations with the world community so that ASEAN would hold a leading role in the region and promote the stability and security of the region.



It is found that 5 events may affect the establishment of the ASEAN Community under the ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint

- 1.1 The People's Republic of China in the future
- 1.2 Cyber Warfare
- 1.3 Historical wounds
- 1.4 Schengen visa's hidden crimes
- 1.5 Myanmar's migrant labour force

The ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC)'s objectives are confidence building, stability promotion, and sustainable peace building in the region so that the peoples of ASEAN can live together in harmony, without fear of military or non-traditional threats both at the national and regional level and at the bilateral and multilateral level.

At present, the government and related organizations have limited resources, so any resources must be jointly utilized to efficiently solve the problems, according to the ASPC Blueprint, leading up to successful integration into the ASEAN community. We will now systematically look at various obstacles that can reduce or prevent such an integration as follows:

1.1 The People's Republic of China in the future

There is a trend that superpowers may engage more and more in the power struggles, especially between the old superpowers, the United States, and rising superpower, such as the Republic of China. The People's Republic of China wishes to become a superpower and the world leader, which is a direct challenge to the US's view of world order. At the same time, the US would like to maintain their #1 status in the world as long as possible. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 that ended the Cold War, the post-Cold War world was considered as the unipolar world with the US as the world's sole remaining superpower. Thus, if the world were a pyramid,



then the US would be the sole state with preeminence in every domain of power – economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, technological, and culture with the reach and capabilities to promote its interests in virtually every part of the world. The US also controls world stage at the level of international organizations such as the UN. Its military network also spans the world, especially the NATO alliance. However, it is clear that in the future, new potential powers are gradually emerging: The People’s Republic of China, India, Brazil and Russia. The People’s Republic of China is the strongest contender with a growing economy that is expected to soon become the largest in the world. As China’s influence spreads, the world will change from unipolar to multipolar system, and even to a strange hybrid of a uni-multipolar system with one superpower and several major powers and ASEAN will unavoidably feel the impact.

1.2 Cyber Warfare

War in the future that ASEAN will have to face will be of a different infrastructure than what we are familiar with. It will become internet warfare, with strategies to attack networks and information of opposing nations. Unconventional warfare may evolve into several forms – especially one of guerilla warfare and terrorist attacks. Recently, US authorities and Chinese human rights activists accused the People’s Republic of hacking into the Google e-mail accounts by US; an accusation China vehemently denied, saying that China also fell victim to hackers. Later, the US released more information about the nature of the attack in the cyber world, which is still under dispute, both on the anti-missile system and military space supremacy. China is sensitive about these issues and is formally applying stronger screening and authority to Cyber world by declaring a strategy to expand its capability



for internet security. This is because China sees itself as victimized and accused by opposing side, and thus must protect its national interest in the cyber world.

1.3 Historical wounds

The future of Thailand's relationship with its neighbour, Cambodia, is doubtful and may severely affect ASEAN's future. Border dispute is still a huge time bomb waiting to explode. There are also some disputes with Myanmar, Laos, and Malaysia. In the future, if these problems are not resolved, especially the mistrust, nationalistic movements and historical wounds, they can spin out of control. The roots for these troubles go very deep, therefore, neighbour dispute has become one of Thailand's priorities. It has been analyzed that there are three main causes of the dispute: unclear border lines and maps social direction and Thai official's characteristics. What we mean here by border dispute is the traditional meaning of conflict between states that may lead to military face-off affecting sovereignty and may eventually lead to crime and terrorism near the border.

1.4 Schengen visa's hidden crimes

Tourists visiting the ASEAN region would not be happy if they have to apply for a new visa every time they cross the border. ASEAN member states will have to remove unmatched immigration rules and regulations in order to expedite fast and efficient border crossing. In this case, important lessons can be learnt from the "Schengen Agreement" or the European Union's borderless area because in 2015 ASEAN will become a single community following in Europe's footsteps. This means free flow of trades and free flow of services across all ten ASEAN member states, to be fully implemented in 2015. Apart from creating a more economic competitive, there



will be more transborder crime, human trafficking as well as migrant worker problems that will unavoidably come with free flow of trade and free flow of service. If there are transborder crimes which come together with the Schengen visa system, it would be similar to a cancer that will spread throughout the body like the spread of a virus. In the same way, if the environment is susceptible, the virus will spread rapidly. In terms of government, it may be expected that the system of government may become weak and fail; democracy may be cut down and ineffective; the people would not have equal rights or freedom; property and personal security would decrease, dark or illegal influences may intervene and be beyond the reach of the law.

1.5 Myanmar's migrant workers

In the future, a dangerous issue will be the problem of terrorism in the region, especially military competition and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, specifically nuclear power. As time passes by Myanmar is still a problem without a solution for the ASEAN community and the western world, that is the US and EU who are both trading partners and investors of ASEAN. The western world is skeptical of Myanmar who does not obey the democratic rules and ignore the people's rights and freedom. In the near future, the world community may spearhead the drive to expel Myanmar from ASEAN as Myanmar's persistence to ignore world requests for basic people's right until it is sanctioned by the US, Canada and the EU. Japan has also revoked its aids. It is expected that the sanction will severely impact Myanmar's economy, directly crippling its clothing industry of which 70% is exported to the US. At least 300,000 workers will be affected, and the neighbour likely to be most affected is Thailand. Even without the sanctions, Thailand is affected through a flow of migrant workers; some are



political asylum from the fighting between the Myanmar government and ethnic minorities while some are illegal workers who flee domestic poverty to work in Thailand. This is a threat that Thailand and ASEAN will have to soon face.

2 The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint has four main purposes

- To become a single market and production base for free flow of goods, free flow of investments and free flow of skilled labour as well as promote priority integration sectors.
- To promote economic competitive capability of ASEAN and emphasize the policy of economic integration to create bargaining power with nations outside the region.
- To promote equitable development and reduce economic development gaps between new and old member states of ASEAN
- To integrate ASEAN into the Global economy, emphasizing a coherent and unified approach towards external economic relations

It is found that events that will possibly affect the integration of the ASEAN community under the AEC Blueprint are :

1. The Rise of Asia
2. 2BRICS VS G7
3. Trading Sea Lanes of ASEAN, the South China Sea
4. Brain Drain

The ASEAN Economic Community – AEC's main objective is to mobilize ASEAN economy with a single market and production base including free flow of trade, investment, skilled labour, and services. ASEAN as a group also increases bargaining power on world stage which will lead to better



living conditions of the people of ASEAN. The changes will take place according to the AEC Blueprint, leading to a fully integrated ASEAN community. Through systematic analysis, however, obstructions or problems standing in the way of ASEAN's success are seen as follows:

2.1 *The Rise of Asia*

The Rise of Asia, to many, means that the power base will be transferred from the West to the East and with the establishment of the ASEAN community in 2015, ASEAN will become the hub of the economic architecture and play a major role in the region, especially in ASEAN +3 which will become the East Asia Community in a larger framework of East Asia Summit or EAS. However, in the future, ASEAN will have to face other economic competitors, especially APEC and reigning superpower, the US, that now has a plan to set up an FTA called the Trans-Pacific Partnership or TPP to compete with ASEAN's FTA. New economic powers such as China, India and old economic power such as Japan will still be important competitors in the future. The region, therefore, will maintain a combined economy - a uni-multipolar world order with economic superpowers as key players. At the same time, the rise of ASEAN will also create a more multilateral aspect.

2.2 *BRICS vs G7*

World economy in the future is fast developing towards a multipolar system. In the past, the US and the west dominated the world economy but in the future, new economic power and grouping of poorer nations will clearly drive the economy into a multipolar system, affecting ASEAN both positively and negatively. It is not yet clear what the role of WTO will be in terms of the world trade in the coming future, but conflicts between devel-



oped and underdeveloped nations will become an important future change agent. There are now also questions about the security of world monetary system though it is still under control of the west. Now new powers and economic groupings of underdeveloped nations will increase its role, affecting the structure of world economy, with the west gradually decreasing in importance. New economic powers, namely, Asia and Latin America will become gradually influential, specifically BRICS, an acronym for countries that have joined hands for rapid economic development, namely, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. This signifies the movement of world economic power to developing countries away from groups such as G7, formed by developed industrialized countries such as the U.S., U.K., France, Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan in 1975 with the objectives of building economic prosperity of the world, protecting the environment, promoting free trade and cooperating with poorer countries as well as help solving security problems with emphasis on economic cooperation and world order such as developing international financial system, and global political problems, and providing economic assistance to the former Russian Federation and countered various terrorist activities. BRICS' economic development is so rapid that it is expected to eclipse the current world's wealthiest nations by 2050. At present, the five countries' total area is more than 1/4 of the world and comprises more than 40% of the world's population, with their total GDP of 18% of the world's. Together, BRICS' power equates that of the west. In the grand scheme of global economic change after the Hamburger crisis, G20 became an important mechanism to deal with global economy problems. It should be noted that half of the members of G20 are from developing country and 5 of those countries are from Asia.



2.3 Trading Routes in ASEAN Waters : The South China Sea

Since China has become industrialized, and became one of the most important economic influences worldwide, China turned to its maritime strategy as a main security policy. In the past decade, China has been expanding its maritime defence capabilities, in terms of submarine and fleet development and most importantly, development of its own aircraft carrier. Definitely, China's military power currently exceed all of the nations it is in dispute with in the South China Sea but it is always on guard and is ready to counter-infiltration from the US. In the Shangri-La Dialogue arranged in Singapore at the beginning of June 2011, though the US seemed to extend a friendlier hand, but, at the same time, the US was open in announcing its intention to continue to conduct military operations in the South China Sea to maintain security and freedom for parties wishing to survey and search for interests in international waters. China is probably not happy about this US policy. In the midst of the heated conflict in the South China Sea between China and countries in Southeast Asia, the US commenced SEACAT Training (Southeast Asian Cooperation and Training) with ASEAN countries, possibly sending the signal that the US is ready to intervene should China become a problem. Therefore, the trend for China policy in the next decade may not change except to expand its navy and to be hostile in the dispute in the South China Sea.

Another trend that needs to be watched is China's closer approach to ASEAN, because members of ASEAN are claimants states and stakeholders in the South China Sea that China will finally have to face. At the same time, ASEAN cannot maintain a close tie should China decide to use its strategy of "divide and rule" with some members. In this way, should a dispute arise with one of the members, other members might side with China or turn a



blind eye. What should be noted at the moment is China's huge investment in Cambodia through various infrastructure construction projects such as roads, bridges, electricity-generating plants and dockyard. The total amount of China's investment is almost half of all foreign investment in Cambodia. The aim is probably to overcome Vietnam's influence in Cambodia and win over Cambodia's trust. If this policy works, it will be a cross road that ASEAN members have to decide whether to choose short term national interests or long term regional interests. At present, the focus is on the establishment of the ASEAN Community in 2015 which is a long term goal that cannot yet be realized. However, the funding that China is offering is real and provides immediate gratification. This may affect the determination to establish ASEAN in 2015 as all members know that in order for a small nation to have a voice and protect its national interest, a grouping is needed to increase bargaining power as well as provide international status. It would not be good for the coalition if there is a "free rider" in ASEAN that will receive more personal benefit than other countries. IN the future, the situation may also affect the lines of communication between Thailand and ASEAN and will definitely affect maritime security of Thailand as well as ASEAN.

2.4 The Brain Drain

A free flow of skilled labour will strongly affect all members of ASEAN especially Thailand when it is expected that low level labour will flood Thailand in hope of receiving expensive minimum wage. The cream of skilled labour will in turn flow to Singapore and Malaysia for a more expensive salary especially those in the medical profession and engineering, possibly IT and financial people. Migrant workers will cause a blending of cultures and cause many social problems such as rights to own property that



may have to change accordingly. A worrying problem is that drug and human trafficking will also flow along with labour, as well as other nationalities may claim to be ASEAN members moving in for benefits that will be openly accessible. For Thailand, which is strategically the centre of the ASEAN hub, these are threats to the livelihood of Thais.

3 The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Blueprint has six main purposes

- Human Development
- Social Welfare and Protection
- Social Justice and Rights
- Environmental Sustainability
- ASEAN Identity
- Development Gap Reduction

It is found that situations that will affect ASEAN under the pillar of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint comprise three events:

- 3.1 Contention for Natural Resources
- 3.2 War of Civilizations
- 3.3 Thai Education on the path to ASEAN

The primary goal of the ASCC is to contribute to realizing an ASEAN Community that is people-centered and socially responsible with a view to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among the nations and peoples of ASEAN by forging a common identity and building a caring and sharing society which is inclusive and harmonious where the well-being, livelihood, and welfare of the peoples are enhanced. The ASCC Blueprint is the compass that leads all members towards a fully integrated ASEAN community. Through systematic analysis, however, obstructions or problems standing in the way of ASEAN's success are seen as follows:



3.1 Contention for natural resources

The conflict over the contention for natural resources such as energy, water and food may be the root cause for new dispute and warfare among nations. The water shortage crisis due to climate change seems a closer fate for humanity. West Africa and Central Africa are now facing severe draught with more than 39% of the population lacking in clean drinking water. Every 8 minutes, an African dies of thirst (27 million a year). It is possible that the number of people who died from lack of clean water is higher than those who died from violence. Furthermore, the lack of water from draught also highlighted the fact that the industry and agricultural sectors still release untreated water from their factories into water sources in East Asia and South Asia, resulting in low water quality everywhere. At the same time, it is forecasted that the demand for water for irrigation, energy production and industry will be much higher due to the increase in population from 6,600 million to 9,100 by 2050. Therefore, the amount of consumable water needed would increase to 64,000 million cubic meters/year, close to the capacity of all the dams and reservoir in Thailand (68,489 million cubic meters). At present, China, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Nepal, Uzbekistan, and Cambodia are now facing shortages of water for food and energy production, as well as problems of polluted water. If the situation continues, it is expected that ASEAN will require 40% more consumable water than it can produce which may lead to a “shortage of water” that may eventually create a war for consumable water in the future.

3.2 Clash of Civilizations

In the future, ASEAN members may face “Clash of Civilizations” in terms of differing cultures, lifestyles and ways of living which reflect the fact that



different world views are fighting to preserve their own way of life. The conflict from differing world views may severely affect world societies as well as nations in Southeast Asia that will have to eventually face the clash of civilizations in a world full of bias and mistrust. The most important clash seems to be between a changing “western civilization” and a civilization that is “non-western”, which is increasing in violence and is also taking place in Southeast Asia as well.

3.3 Thai Education on the path to ASEAN

Change is an ongoing process and cannot be separated into the past, the present or the future, but is all intertwined on a linear basis. The same applies to the trend of educational change that we expect will occur in the future as well. There may be the major trend on several issues that had occurred in the past and are still ongoing, or may simply occur in the future. Thailand may have to adjust its educational curriculum to conform to ASEAN requirements in the future to avoid problems. Another factor is English and neighbouring languages, important elements of the process of Thai education which has to develop appropriate coursework and be modernized in accordance with to the dynamism of the ASEAN Community.

It can be seen that ASEAN has cooperated with other regions of the world to balance the regional power. ASEAN is considered a region with a diversity of culture, similar to the southern part of Thailand which is home to many religions. It is a simulation of a globalized world that requires cultural blending. The integration of the ASEAN Community means an open market that trade can be achieved among the population of all 10 member states. The market share of each country would depend on the readiness of its basic infrastructures and human resources. Most importantly, the amount of



business would also depend on internal security and peace. If there are still internal strife between domestic groups, Thailand would have a hard battle to fight. In the future, the environment between nations would become even more complex and volatile and Thailand will have to do a lot of homework to analyze both positive and negative impacts and determine appropriate strategy to handle future environment that will undergo severe and rapid changes. It has to do this through data collection and analysis process as well as forecast trends that will impact Thailand both positively and negatively in its process of following the ASEAN Blueprint and the ASEAN Community. This will lead to projection of capacity and Thailand's readiness in its integration with the ASEAN community in the future as will be presented in the next part.





Part 5

Thailand's Paradigm : Outlook Towards ASEAN Community 2015

In a world of rapid globalization where domestic problems become international issues, various nations look towards regional integration to increase bargaining power and competitive capabilities, ASEAN must adapt to changing situations and appropriately handle these changes. In 2003, ASEAN leaders agreed that closer integration can be achieved by establishing the ASEAN Community and accelerate all processes involved to deal with these changes by 2015. Thailand as a member of ASEAN, must look ahead and determine appropriate strategies to deal with the changes, with ASEAN interests at the forefront. Members of ASEAN still differ in ideology, nationality, religion, society and political beliefs, therefore, border conflicts and mistrust still dominates. As each nation has a natural tendency to protect its own interests as well as increase its national benefits, cooperation is still slow.

Thus Thailand still faces many challenges in successfully becoming the “One Vision, One Identity, One Community” of the ASEAN Community by 2015, a great turning point for the way of life, society, economy and politics. Thus each sector will have to reevaluate its readiness or boost its capability to enable Thailand to push forward as part of the ASEAN community in 2015.

From Environmental scanning in “Part 2 – Empirical Environment: The Simulation of ASEAN Community”, at global, regional and national level, there are issues in the three main dimensions as follows:



Political Dimension

1. The Jasmine Revolution in the land of the Dragon
2. Clash of Interest in overlapping areas (Thailand and Cambodia)
3. A Step towards Democracy; the Myanmar Way
4. A Test of Political Will : the First Lady Leader of Thailand

Economic Dimension

1. China : the New Economic and Military Dragon
2. Maritime Resources in Asia : A bomb waiting to explode
3. The Sustainability of Thai Economy in the midst of Thai political, economical and military crisis

Social Dimension

1. Thousands of East Africans migrate to find water after severe draught
2. Japan and Nuclear Electricity Plant
3. The Transition of Information Technology in a globalized world
4. Maelstrom of Thai Ideological Conflict
5. The Education Crisis
6. The Transborder Drug Problem
7. South of Siam: The Crisis

The events are then analyzed and synthesized with findings under the Framework of ASEAN Community blueprint under the three pillars examined in “Part 3 ASEAN Community Roadmap : From ‘Declaration of ASEAN Concord II’ to ‘ASEAN Community Blueprint’” to simulate an “Outlook” as discussed in “Part 4 The Road Ahead : A Foreseeable Future of ASEAN Community” that can be used to consider the capability of Thailand, with the following issues:

1. A foreseeable future under the political-security pillar under the APSC Blueprint consisting of 5 events :



- 1.1 The People's Republic of China in the future
- 1.2 Cyber Warfare
- 1.3 Historical wounds
- 1.4 Schengen visa's hidden crime
- 1.5 Myanmar's migrant labour force

2. A foreseeable future under the economic pillar under the APSC Blueprint consisting of 4 events :

- 2.1 The Rise of Asia
- 2.2 BRICS VS G7
- 2.3 Trading Sea Lanes of ASEAN: The South China Sea
- 2.4 Brain Drain

3. A foreseeable future under the socio-cultural pillar under the APSC Blueprint consisting of 3 events :

- 3.1 Competition for Natural Resource
- 3.2 Civilization Wars
- 3.3 Thai Education on the path to ASEAN

Thailand's Capabilities

When one considers the capabilities of Thailand in the 3 dimensions - the political, the economic and the social dimension, there are several recommendations that Thailand must undertake to prepare itself in becoming part of the ASEAN Community in 2015 as follows:

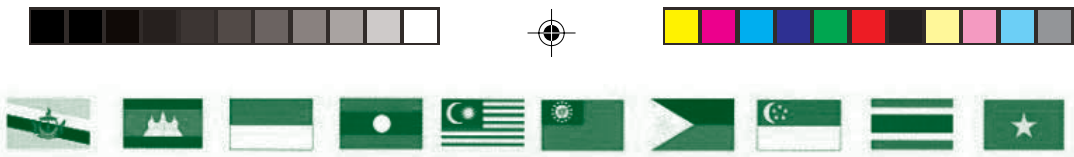
In discussing "Thailand's Reform for Integration into ASEAN", this is a web that ties Thailand and the region together. Thailand, however, is centrally located in Asia between China and India, new Superpowers of Asia. Thailand was also the instrumental core to the establishment of a group to be established as "the ASEAN Community" to expand its powers to the world.



Though ASEAN has not developed as fast as the European Community, it is not considered “underdeveloped” because there are still great potential for development and investments. An important strategy for Thailand is to adapt to both weak and strong points of ASEAN by assessing our capability to reduce “friction” in terms of infrastructure in the effort to be completely integrated into the ASEAN Community. From preliminary assessment of Thailand’s capability through statistics obtained from reliable sources in graph form, it is found that Thailand’s strengths and weaknesses are:

Political-Security Dimension

Two strengths and weaknesses are found. The first weakness comes from international incidents that negatively impact the image of the country as well as other dimensions. This is an important obstacle to the integration into the “ASEAN Community”. One such incident is the border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia that clearly demonstrates the government’s policy in national administration. It seems normal for all national leaders to fiercely protect their national interests but at the same time, administrators should remember the “Game Theory”, an economic principle that has never gone out of date. The situation when one clings tightly on to one’s interests and not relenting to the opposing side is most often the situation where both sides lose many benefits. If both sides are willing to negotiate and let go of some interests, both will reap more benefits. Time spent on the border conflicts should be turned into cooperation in the overlapping areas where joint ownership may become the case with transparent and accountable decision-making process. This principle should be used not only for the Thai-Cambodian border but for all other high conflict areas such as Cambodia-Vietnam or Singapore-Malaysia.



Positive issues are political situation where internal security became more secured. This can be seen from the confidence index on domestic security as follows:



If we look at political-security potential and capability, Thailand can easily compete with other countries in terms of industry, labour and resources and is more than ready for foreign investments. However, political instability in the past 5-6 years has caused Thailand not to be reconsidered for upgrading in the foreign investments confidence index. On the other hand, foreign observers have noted that Thailand's latest election seemed orderly, creating more confidence that the country will be ably administered and will become more stabilized. What will happen from now on is interesting to observe as currently in Thai politics, there seems to be clearly divided factions. If the new government can prove itself by providing clear administrative directions and not let politics interfere in running the country, the confidence rating will probably improve which will be good for the overall image of the country. The political security and stability of Thailand would thus depend upon the government under the first lady Prime Minister whose successful administration would increase the confidence index and strengthen Thailand's integration into the ASEAN Community.

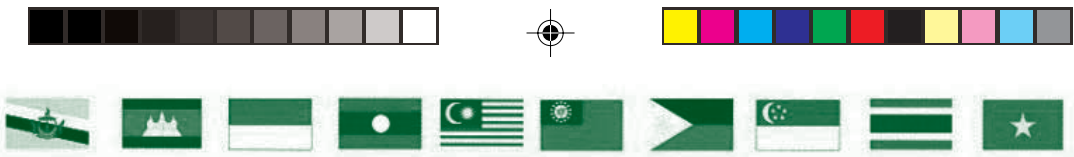


Economic Dimension

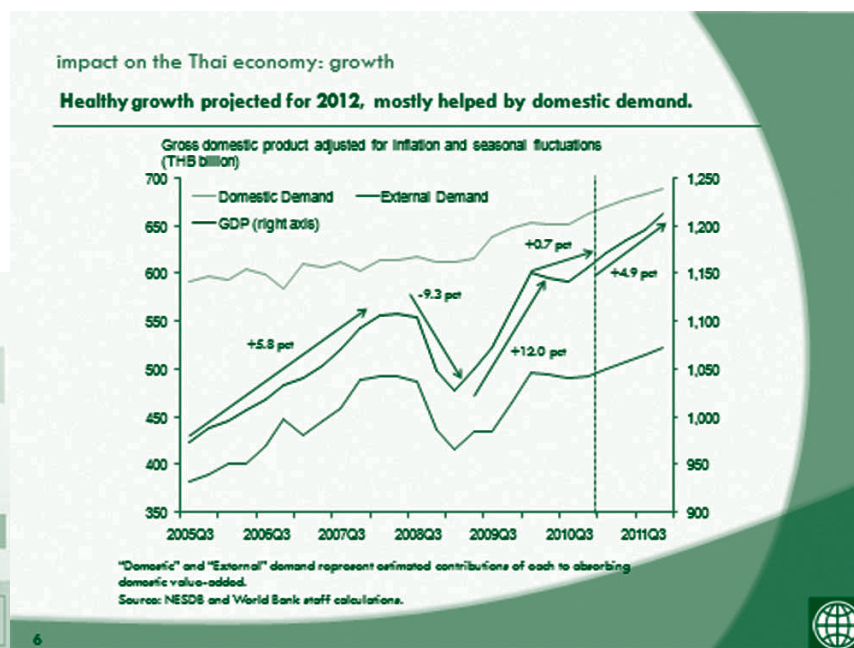
Since 1 July 2011, the World Bank wfh (?) has upgraded Thailand’s economic rating from a lower middle income economy to an upper middle income economy. National income per capita has doubled at \$US 4,210 per year (around 125,756 baht a year), so that Thailand is placed in the third group out of five groupings:

Groups Number of Country	GNI per capita (baht per year)	Examples
1, Low income economies 35 countries	29,989 or less (\$1005 or less)	Afghanistan, Myanmar, Nepal, Cambodia, North Korea, Republic of Tajikistan
2. Low-middle- income economies (56 countries)	30,019– 118,614 (\$1,006 - \$3,975)	Armenia, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Turkmenistan, Iraq, Mongolia, Georgia, Pakistan, Yemen, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam,
3. Upper-middle income economies (54 countries)	118,662-366,337 (\$3,976 - \$12,275)	Thailand, China, Iran, Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Turkey
4. High-income economies (70 countries)	366,316 (\$12,276 or more)	Singapore, Japan, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait
5. Members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), High Income OECD Members (31 countries)		USA, England.

Source : <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications/country-and-lending-groups>



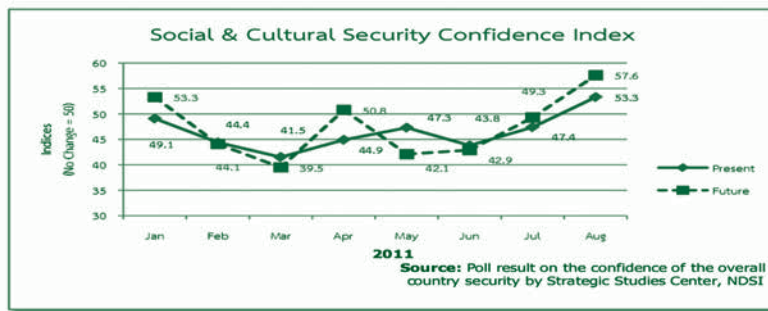
From the table above, it can be concluded that economically, Thailand has been accepted by international organisations as carefully managing its macroeconomics under a strong financial system, with low public debt and inflation rate that can continuously attract investors in the long term. At present, Thailand's strength in this dimension increases much faster than other dimensions because of fast growing population with rising domestic demands. Thailand's agricultural products are also in demand globally, such as rice and rubber, and is expected to attract even more investments. ASEAN's increasing competitive edge in the global market will also pave the way for a strong ASEAN Economic community. Thailand is also considered to have a much stronger potential than several other countries in ASEAN (see chart)



Source : World Bank Economic Prospects Group and staff calculations



From the graph, we can see that the trends were rising sharply which can probably be attributed to Thailand's continual emphasis on economic growth that will certainly support economic cooperation in the ASEAN region. The establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community will help increase trade and investment within and outside the region. Though various agreements will bring positive prospects, negative ones may also arise but the effect can be reduced by preparation of various sectors. Opportunities may be gained from removing obstacles to trade and investments and speculate only in the fields that Thailand is ready and have high capabilities.



The Socio-Cultural Dimension

Thai society is unstable, possibly because it is in a flux. The grouping of various nations for security reasons, especially because of rapid economic changes, has also affected other sectors such as education, public health, and politics. Rapid communication also contributes to increased cultural exchanges amongst nations.

Recommendations for Thailand's Preparation Towards Becoming a member of ASEAN Community 2015

From analysis of Thailand's capabilities, several recommendations can be made for Thailand's preparation to become part of the ASEAN Community in



2015 according to the three main pillars , following the blueprints of each pillar as follows:

1. APSC Blueprint – It was found that there are three issues as follows

1.1 The need to produce new international lawyers for ASEAN : ASEAN Community 2015, the Impact on development of Thai Laws

Article 190 creates direct difficulties for Thailand and ASEAN as Article 190 stipulates that any treaty providing for changes in Thai territory or extraterritorial areas over which Thailand has sovereign rights must be approved by the National Assembly. This is considered an important obstacle that prevents rapid advances between Thailand and ASEAN. Therefore, this article of law must be adjusted so as to facilitate the freedom of ASEAN as Thailand's objective is to become part of the ASEAN Community. Though the concept has been heatedly discussed for a long time, a major principle once the ASEAN Community is fully established is the freedom of movement which will affect the laws of the ASEAN member states including Thailand. However, Thailand, at present, does not have enough legal experts on international law. *To ensure readiness in becoming part of the community, Thailand must produce more legal experts in international law with basic knowledge of ASEAN to deal with any legal issues that may arise. "ASEAN is the main axis for change into the modern world"; therefore, competition is inevitable and will affect the laws of Thailand with various ASEAN agreements that will bind all 10 member states and more than 600 million population together. In this case, the law must be based on the ASEAN identity as all members differ in politics, economy, religion and socio-cultures.*

1.2 Development of the ASEAN Charter and Study of Thailand's gaps and disadvantages: the Schengen Visa System



The freedom of the ASEAN community starting in 2015 will inevitably result in increased economic competition which means that Thailand must prepare for the event accordingly. Free trade will also allow transnational companies to reap benefits from ASEAN, possibly even more than ASEAN companies, unavoidably impacting the small and medium-size enterprise (SMEs) . Free flow of service and trade will also bring with it transnational crime, human trafficking and migrant workers. *Therefore, all sectors must carefully study gaps and disadvantages that may occur in Thailand. The ASEAN Charter itself, however, should also be better developed. Though the Charter is now in force, there is no clear framework for implementation on several issues such as human rights, respect for sovereignty, dispute settlement etc. Several other issues still remain unclear in terms of ASEAN agreements such as border dispute, extradition of criminals, as well as details of any dispute settlement process and details on procedures according to the ASEAN Charter. There should also be clearer reference to economic requirements.*

1.3 Ethical Development on a Democratic Basis: the declining political leadership of Thailand

The political situation in Thailand is based on a secured culture but this culture is fast falling apart, especially when the political situation is unstable due to the quality of the politicians and the political parties. Core politicians currently in control of the political parties are of low quality and full of narrow self-interest. Therefore, the political situation in the next four years may have a strong impact on the integration of Thailand into the ASEAN Community. That is to say, Thai politics may still be focused on self-gratification across national and international economic systems, through repeated attempts to gain benefits from large business projects and concessions with the aim to spread profit among themselves and avoid conflict. *However,*



future Thai politics will then have to depend on the ability to create “new faces” who will channel the country back on the ethical track under the umbrella of democracy for the real benefit of the people rather than self-interests.

With obstacles and trends of outlook that will affect the capability of Thailand to follow the ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint in 2015, it is found that main issues are ones that directly affect the peace and security of the region. Thailand should, therefore, be fully prepared to increase cooperation in all sectors domestically and internationally. New points of view concerning competition and struggle for leadership should be cultivated for regional interests. On the other hand, such a framework for cooperation between ASEAN can form the strength for Thailand’s integration into the ASEAN Community as all members seek to achieve peace and security of the region for coexistence in harmony and peaceful settlement of disputes. Such action will increase Thailand’s capabilities in becoming part of the community.

2. With the ASEAN Economic Blueprint , three issues have been found as follows

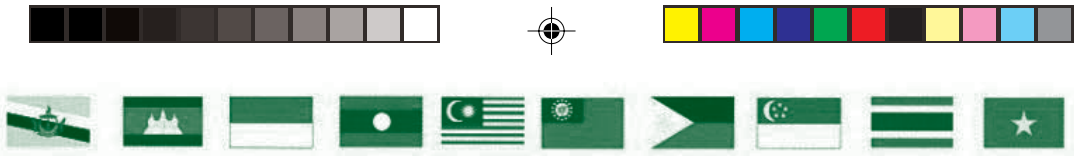
2.1 Preparation of professional Think-tanks : the Thai Educational Crisis on the Road to ASEAN

Thailand educational system has been radically changed, but we must be careful not to let this change drag the country down. Therefore, professional Think Tanks must be ready and must be as flexible as possible so that in the future, Thailand as part of the ASEAN Community, will be able to travel and expand its business more freely. Though such an opportunity is excellent, a negative impact is that labour competition will become fiercer when considering the basis of the various educational institutions. Therefore, Thailand



must develop its academic capacity before a free ASEAN Community takes over and strengthen its people in terms of academic competition so students can compete with labour from other member states. Furthermore, at the university level, more English classes must be made requisites so that Thai students can bring their English ability up to par with other countries and its native language because English is ASEAN's official language. English is used for coordination while local languages are used for communicating and facilitating the peoples and tourists of the member states. Thailand must also reconsider its sovereignty in terms of economics, and socio-cultural aspects which must be monitored at all times. Research shows that Thai people's awareness of the integration of the ASEAN Community is eighth in regional index, much lower than the Republic of Laos which is well-prepared and first amongst the members. Furthermore, it is found that understanding of English in Thailand is also lower than in Laos, therefore, Thailand must break free of its old viewpoints and turn to self-development, focusing on English- the official language of ASEAN. In sum,, all Thai personnel and students must increase their knowledge of English :not only to be able to communicate but to read, write and converse correctly and effectively.

*2.2 Stop brain Drain: Free Flow of labour and free flow of service
"Produce graduates that can compete in ASEAN": it should be noted that in the future, foreign engineers from the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Myanmar, and Cambodia will come to work in Thailand. This may no longer be employed because of this free flow of service. Therefore the Vocational Commission, and the Vocational Council should prepare for this impact as quickly as possible because international companies will accelerate such labour movement due to distinct needs and clear-cut requirement of specific*



capacities. Is it possible that the government is enforcing the minimum wage of 300 baht a day all over Thailand to induce people to remain in their local area and reduce movement to large cities like Bangkok and stop migration for work abroad? If other sectors can find good work at home, the rural areas will gradually be developed, at the same time better logistics systems must be prepared for support. The national and local government must have clear indications regarding zoning, whether industrial, agricultural, residential or tourism areas.

2.3 Reduce or Control conflict : Changing trading zones into war zones
 However, the most worrying situation at the moment is “Changing trading zones into war zones”. From predictions that China will replace the US as a superpower in 2016, one year after the establishment of the ASEAN Community, just imagine how economically powerful this region can be if peace and stability in the area can be maintained. Fighting between Thai and Cambodian soldiers may taint the image of ASEAN. Right now, this has not yet affected members’ confidence on the road to the ASEAN Community by 2015 but trading and investments have been affected in some areas due to the closure of Surin and Sri Saket border control points. This has not yet significantly affected Thai-Cambodian border trading as shown in the following table:

Thailand – Cambodia Border Tradings					
Items	2009	2010	2010	2011	Change (%)
			(Jan)	(Jan)	2011/2010(Jan)
Trading Value	45,373.60	55,411.00	4,426.60	5,266.20	19.00
Export	42,878.70	51,112.70	4,141.30	4,560.30	10.10
Import	2,494.90	4,298.30	285.30	705.90	147.40
Trading Balance	40,383.80	46,814.40	3,856.00	3,854.40	-0.04



From the table above, it can be seen that though border trading forms around 70% of total trade between Thailand and Cambodia, the main markets are clustered around Sra Kaew and Trad Provinces which are not in the dispute zone. What is more worrying is the current (fanatic) nationalism sweeping Cambodia which may affect conciliation and peaceful coexistence as members of the ASEAN Community. If Thailand decides to start rallying for nationalism, the situation would definitely worsen. Being an ASEAN Community entails being more than a strong nation state with nationalistic doctrine prevalent in the C18 to mid C19. As the world is now in the borderless C21st with free trade and economic groupings for development and joint benefits such as peace and security of the region, conflict between Thailand and Cambodia would present an important obstacle to the borderless concept. However, this dispute serves as a test to ensure that ASEAN will be the venue to help improve relations between member states. For Thailand, relations with neighbours are just one aspect of cooperation as the ASEAN stage is an important one, bringing in a lot of benefits, especially as Thailand was a founding member. Small countries on world stage have small voices, but if they group together and speak in the same voice, the voices would be loud enough to be heard because the markets would be much larger. At present, ASEAN is Thailand's most important trading partner. *What the two countries at a dispute could do now, is limit the conflict and use diplomatic means instead of military means. At the same time, Thailand must correctly assess the situation and refrain from following Cambodia's move to incite violence along the border so as to bring the level of conflict up to a bilateral one for the ASEAN Community or to the attention of the United Nations Security Council. If there are no armed conflicts along the border, ASEAN Community 2015 should still move ahead without obstacles,*



but if conflict arises, the ASEAN Economic Community surely will falter.

With obstacles and trends of outlook that will affect the capability of Thailand to follow the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint in 2015, it is found that the main issue directly affecting the economy of ASEAN is the quality of labour. Therefore, Thailand should be ready to improve the efficiency of its production as well as development of products and various technologies to increase the quantity and quality of the products in order to achieve ASEAN objectives. Thailand's capabilities are also reflected in the setting up of Free Trade Areas (FTAs) so that ASEAN would become a single market with reduced or zero tax for import among the members.

3. With the ASEAN Socio-cultural Blueprint, an issue is found as follows:

3.1 Cultural Exchange: A diversity of Culture that leads to conflict

As Thailand is a member of ASEAN, we should study other member's cultures, especially those different from us as it would be difficult to understand and hard to determine appropriate ways to deal with the people in a short time. There is already awareness of unbalanced development of the 3 main pillars, especially on the road to the ASEAN economic community that is focused on a single market and a single production based, a free flow of trade, services, investment and labour. Such changes would constitute important points that will strongly impact the livelihood of the people and the cultural identity of local communities due to transboundary production. Therefore, people of member states must adapt so that the communities can move forward together in the same direction, which will surely lead to changes and standardization of infrastructure and conditions because 365 days of ASEAN would consist of endlessly changing diversity. Therefore, it



is important for Thailand to review its procedure in coexisting with respect to each others' identity and cultural exchange for mutual benefits and prevention of conflict amongst the nations.

With obstacles and trends of outlook that will affect the capability of Thailand to follow the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community Blueprint in 2015, it is found that the main issue directly affecting the socio-cultural aspects of ASEAN is the diversity of ASEAN identity. The weakness of this pillar remains the vast differences of the member states in terms of political system, economic system, culture, religion and nationalities. Therefore, an ASEAN Community with a single identity should be created, emphasizing the feeling of togetherness, unity within diversity, and increased understanding between countries in terms of culture, history, religion and civilization. ASEAN cultural heritage should be promoted so that all people would know the unity of the history of the region, look for this identity towards the aim of building a people-centred ASEAN. All sectors must be encouraged to take part in the establishment of the ASEAN Community and to follow the policy of reducing conflict related to the nationalism in order to achieve the objectives of the ASEAN Community and to reflect Thailand's capability in promoting and cooperating with ASEAN in bringing about the regional development of the society and human resources to the level of developed nations.

Lastly, the Strategic Studies Center, NDSI, with the awareness of both the positive and the negative changes that will occur in the future in the movement of ASEAN to the global stage in 2015, would like to summarize issues that need to be prepared to ensure Thailand's success on the ASEAN stage that has been through systematic analysis in a table that follows:



Overall Summary of Thailand's Readiness Towards The Founding of ASEAN Community 2015

	Create understanding amongst the people of member states concerning the entry into ASEAN Community, so they all share the correct awareness.
	Instill common values and norms within ASEAN in various aspects such as non-use of force, peaceful settlement, and non-use of nuclear weapons to solve problems in order to ensure peace in the region.
	Capacity building for ASEAN to cope with traditional and non-traditional security threats based on human security, as well as to coordinate the establishment of central database for transnational crime to counter terrorism, drugs trading, illegal activities as well as transnational crime.
	Focus on building military cooperation network to build on trust and prevent violent dispute.
	Promote preparation for personnel in all sectors such as the use of English and local languages since English is the official language for ASEAN cooperation, and the local language is for communication purposes as well as facilitate the public and tourists of member states.
	Study the laws of each member states as they vary greatly for better cooperation and to prevent international conflict.
	Examine local culture of each member state particularly in countries that have different cultures to promote proper understanding and appropriate practices for the ASEAN people as a whole.





Overall, Thailand is the hub of connectivity of ASEAN, and will inevitably be impacted both positively and negatively. Therefore, development of infrastructure must be undertaken seriously in order to link ASEAN to Thailand in all aspects. This will lead to Thailand's mobilization in all dimensions and to accelerate problem solving both domestically and internationally. Thailand must stabilize its politics and develop its economy integrally to help rebuild images and trust which will continuously attract interests and confidence from friendly nations. It is possible that, in the future, Thailand as one of the ASEAN members can be a power broker in the region.





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