CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Globalisation in international trade has resulted in delivering commodities, capital and labour markets across national boundaries. In global scale, the activity of states or entities in exchanging their goods and services to attain primary or secondary needs in the contemplation to achieve the absence of products in their homeland and generate wealth is the forerunner of the presence of trade.

Jackson and Sorensen (2007) illustrated that the world of today is the world of political economy. Both states and non-states actors politically involved in each of every kind of economic activities in the market through regulatory frameworks, taxation and subsidies in order to expand the market or maintain its sphere of influence. China's ambitious project to revitalise the silk road in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Japan's involvement in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the U.S.' involvement in maintaining global oil production in the Middle East, as well as Australia's engagement in Southeast Asia through free trade area are among the example form of international political economy.

In the modern era, the Post-World War II remarks the improvement of international trade relations among countries under the Bretton Woods system to manage global monetary policies, namely World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Trade Organization (ITO). The introduction of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947 (now: World Trade Organization), effectively reduced tariffs drastically and other trade barriers which in those days there were still unfair competitions and protective tariffs applied by many countries (Igwe, 2018).

For the time being, governments, investors and companies are complementarily interconnected and integrated into a global value chain in commercial affairs that able to access economic welfare expanding to the rest of the world based on competitiveness that is facilitated by the advancement of technology, viz. Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) system to reduce cost and time (Savrul & Incekara, 2015). Moreover, global trade captured the interests of many actors as it contributed to \$34 trillion both in export and import in 2017 (Amadeo, 2019).

The Heritage Foundation released its annual report on Index of Economic Freedom that proved that countries that support liberalisation or welcome trade and investment are more affluent than those which limited the fundamental principles of individuals economic freedom, e.g. own property, produce and movement of goods or as some classical economist assumed as "the freer the market, the freer the people" (Miller, Kim, Roberts, Tyrrell, & Whiting, 2018).

Australia stands firmly that global trade is the crux of its survival. It is eminently vital that the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) which responsible in managing foreign relations and trade policies desires to have further Free Trade Agreements (FTA) with its economic partners. The deadlock of the Doha Round negotiations between developed countries and developing countries that failed to address the agriculture sector and other comprehensive sectors that associated as WTO-plus elements has engendered proliferation of new-age FTAs and RTAs globally. The Australian government actively pursuing bilateral and regional trade agreement with its partners aims to achieve economic opportunities for its citizens and encompass the WTO-plus elements of cooperation (Dean, 2018). Therefore, the DFAT places confidence in FTA as it will foster freer trade and investment flows (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.).

Nonetheless, to conduct trade between countries is perplexing, both in terms of economic and non-economic matters like political motives. There are three categories of trade agreements based on the scope of participants, namely unilateral, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. Jonah Goldberg, a senior editor at National Review, argues that "an ideal free-trade treaty would be one sentence long... (and should not be) an overly complex piece of machinery" (Levy, 2015). Trade agreement took years and lots of roundtable discussions to constitute a document consisting of various of elaborated chapters as well as technical matters such as protective tariffs, quotas, and other trade barriers to protect domestic workers and companies from the lack competitiveness. Thus, the eagerness of a state to trade with other countries or to enter into more comprehensive trade agreements influenced by the delinquency and cost-benefit analysis.

Predominantly, free trade agreements able to advance the state's economies, in particular, economic growth, complementary of diverse resources and comparative advantage — where each state specialises in the production of products or services that have high productivity and efficiency to export outweighing the deprivations — by heightening trade cooperation. Nevertheless, on the other side, a free trade agreement is not always beneficial as it wished. State's interventionist trade policy, oligopolistic competition, and noncompetitive domestic markets may impair the survival of the local producers and consumers' satisfaction (Krugman, 1987).

In conjunction to Australia's capability in projecting its power in global scale, Anthony Bergin, a senior fellow at Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) asserted that Australia is a powerhouse player in the Southern Hemisphere who could claim themselves as a "Hemispheric Power" due to its pivotal powers in carving the contours of geopolitics in the region by virtue of their strategic location that stretches from the Indian Ocean passing through Southeast Asia until South

Pacific Ocean, economic potential, military and cultural powers (Bergin, 2019).

From another perspective, Gareth Evans who was the Foreign Minister during 1988-1996 under the Hawke-Keating leadership, self-proclaimed that Australia is a middle power country in the global affair that possessed the capacity to influence others on a particular course of actions, chiefly via multilateral approaches. In a further profound explanation, in approaching inter-state relations, Nossal in Charting the Post-Cold War Order (1993) argued that middle powers generally would go for multilateralism over bilateralism as it is more effective and adequate to promote global norms effectively multilateral institutional negotiation within the Australia's contribution as a middle power country has been proven in international agenda-setting that occurred the past, e.g. act as a bridge between Asian countries and Western (Non-Asian) countries that followed by the establishment of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Ungerer, 2007).

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) of Australia under Turnbull's administration, released its newest Foreign Policy White Paper in 2017. It is a framework to understand Australia's engagement in relations with other actors, either state and non-state actors to pursue its desires. Trade is the backbone of the economic well-being of Australia that involved around 20% of the occupation of trade-related. Preserving and promoting the open market or called as economic liberalisation in the international arena rather than going back to protectionism as well as domestic economic reform is essential to enhance the level of competitiveness that can reposition Australia to a better place in the 21st century. The document also stresses the importance to assure Australian business interests abroad. Thus, trade and investment underpin Australia's economic interest in DFAT domestic and foreign operations overseas (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2017).

In the past, during 1967-1972, the Liberal Party and its coalition (centre-right political party) led the majority in parliament preserve a high level of protectionism of the domestic market against the foreign products entering Australia by lending subsidies to rural manufacturers. Nevertheless, as the Australia Labor Party (centre-left) in the power of the government, in 1972, Prime Minister Whitlam implemented a wide range of vigorous economic reform, particularly by revamp trade industries-related that suit to the regional environment of Asia-Pacific. Thereafter in 1974, the warm welcomes of the bilateral relations shed some light as Australia's position advanced into ASEAN's first Dialogue Partner. Then in 2010, under Rudd government, the ties in the trade sector intensified as the multilateral trade agreement with Southeast Asian countries called ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AAZFTA) officially signed by all stakeholders. Heretofore, bounteous range of development and integration of economic relations with ASEAN both in terms of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and regional trade ASEAN member states, escalates the status of the connections to a Strategic Partnership in 2014 (Wood & He, 2014).

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) established on August 8, 1967, amidst unstable condition of Indochina and post-confrontation period with the signing of Bangkok Declaration by the five founding fathers namely Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore. ASEAN as a growing "little giant" power in the world also the hub of international trading, is an arena between major economic countries (G20 countries), namely U.S., China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and the E.U. as a bloc in collecting reap much profit as possible. ASEAN's positive trend of possessing average 5.4 per cent of growth rates compared to 3.4 per cent global average since 1980 is achievable a result of its open-door approach, low operating costs, its production capacity as well as stable political environment expected to sustain the identical pattern will undergo in the future. Thus, businesses are interested in investing their capitals through FDI

and strengthen their trade relations both in terms of volume and value (Lee E., 2015).

In its development, members of the Association has benefitted the Intra-ASEAN trade and investment originated by the positive result of low trade restriction in AFTA, so that during 2007-2015 ASEAN had recorded progressive trend of economic growth averaging 5.1% per year. Not to mention, with the convenience of trading inside the region, trade value among members amounted at US\$543.7 billion or 24% of total ASEAN's trade activities as well as luring US\$119.9 billion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of inward direct investment to ASEAN in 2015 (Ministry of International Trade and Industry, 2015).

present, corresponding ASEAN Secretariat's on ASEAN external trade statistics publication partner/region in 2015, ASEAN has metamorphosed into a crucial global player and successfully transformed into an attractive business and trade hub in the world by tariffs reduction to 0-5% align with Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) Scheme. The dynamics of relations with other countries, to date, five FTAs have been into force, and some FTAs are still in progress to be signed and ratified. Although Australia is ASEAN's first Dialogue Partner, in reality, its bilateral or regional economic interaction to form a free trade agreement with ASEAN is less urgent compared to China which in fact in 2005 has designed and ratified the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) (ASEAN, 2016).

ASEAN's intimacy with its peers which is progressively harmonious in the trade sector, without a doubt generates insecurity for the Australian economy as well as Australian businesses. Consequently, On February 21, 2005, in the same year with ACFTA ratification, Howard's administration officially launched negotiation to establish the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area, which later came into force on the first day of 2010 by the signing of Australia, Brunei, Malaysia, Myanmar, New Zealand,

Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, and later followed by the rest of the bloc in 2011 and 2012. AANZFTA is an attempt to align Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement (ANZCERTA or CER Agreement) with ASEAN Free Trade Area which can contribute to prosperity to Australia, New Zealand and ten member-states of ASEAN to enhance trade and become more connected.

The feasibility study of the FTA began in 2000 as reported in The Angkor Agenda by High-Level Task Force that AFTA-CER FTA "is not only feasible but also advisable" to sustain the same rate of progress of international development. The Centre for International Economics also ascertained by that time, Australia is determined to receive an additional US\$19.1 billion (39.7% shares) of the total US\$48.1 billion of GDP of the proposed trade treaty (Mugliston, 2009).

AANZFTA trilateral region is the home of 663 million population and approximately US\$4 trillion estimated GDP combined by 2014, which also one of the fastest-growing markets in the world that has an abundance of economic potentials, for instance, generating higher incomes and employment (AANZFTA, 2016). The signing of this agreement will affect the financial situation inside the Southeast Asia region up to the Australasia region in Oceania by virtue of this agreement is a contract between the fifteenth country (Australia), fifty-fifth country (New Zealand) and all ten ASEAN members in total accounted as the ninth country that has the largest economy in the world based on the World Bank GDP report by the year of the entry into force the agreement in 2010. Inside the ASEAN body, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore ranked 4th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, respectively, in term of the most significant economic power in Asia (World Bank, 2011).

Through liberalisation of trade and investment, this FTA will be very beneficial for investors, exporters, consumers and assure the surveillance of trade and investment. For Australia, it will warrant markets from unwanted higher risks of

tariffs escalation and other trade barriers amid the uncertainty of the world economy post-2009 global financial crisis. This FTA consists of eighteen chapters and four annexes which aim to enhance investment opportunities progressively and liberalise trade in goods and services under the cooperative framework to achieve productive economic region (Caruso, 2010).

This regional economic integration sketchily will advantage in five sectors of international trade, inter alia eradication of minimum 90% of all tariffs lines under the definite timelines; facilitation to ease the movement of products via a more modern and flexible rule of origin, simplified customs procedures, and more transparent mechanisms; barriers in trade in service sectors will undergo removal of restriction in conjunction with greater access to the market; facilitation to freedom of movement of business to take part in trade and investment activities; and series of protections of covered investment via investor-state dispute settlement mechanism (AANZFTA, 2009).

As reported by Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia in Business Envoy June 2018 edition, Australia able to receive AUD 44,860 million of two-way bilateral relations by exporting their services, minerals, agriculture and other sectors which Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia are the top three market destination. In the field of imports, Australia highly demanding on Elaborately Transform Manufactures (ETM) goods from ASEAN countries which accounted for around 42% and services for a quarter of the total imports (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018).

Australia and ASEAN celebrated its 52nd anniversary in 2018. The ASEAN region has a humongous of economic potentials that is worth for \$105 billion two-way trade transaction which employed exceeding 12,000 businesses, outpassing Australia's second and third-largest trading partner, i.e. Japan and the U.S. or equivalent to Australia's largest trading bloc and second-largest trading partner. Furthermore,

other interests outside the economic domain such as maritime security, human rights, terrorism, as well as transnational organised crimes also categorised as a form of anxiety concerning the government and its citizens.

Still in the same year, the Canberra government held the ASEAN-Australia Special Summit (AASS) in 2018 as the continuation of the first biennial leaders' summit held in Vietnam in 2016. This summit was attended not only by the government of each ASEAN member states but also by business leaders, as well as more than 120 Australian Small-Medium Enterprises (SMEs) attended this event. The summit spearheaded its top priority of foreign policy in deepening their engagement in many relevant assets as well as to shape a secure and prosperous region.

The summit resulted in a positive-sum situation to either both Australia and ASEAN, including ASEAN member states leaders. One of the examples is that both parties agree to continue to operate and implement the Plan of Action of the ASEAN-Australia Strategic Partnership (2015-2019). On that account, the presence of ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) will irrefutably advance the ASEAN Community Vision 2025, esp. ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) to be a dynamic, competitive, integrated, and peoplecentred region. Despite the abundance of economic opportunities that AANZFTA can deliver, bearing in mind that the other five countries also possessed trade pacts with ASEAN and more in the upcoming years ahead.

In achieving those ambitious dreams, Southeast Asia has to experience a shred of bitter evidence that this region turned out to be contending arena in international politics of influence and a strategic competition rivalry between the U.S., an undisputed global superpower country and China, an emerging superpower country. A survey released by ASEAN Studies Centre at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak titled "State of Southeast Asia: 2019" has indicated that China exerts the most prominent actor in the region not only in the economic sector but also

politically and strategic influence (Mun, et al., 2019). China's direct involvement in the region evidently shows its hegemonic status through the Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) in financing regional connectivity projects/initiatives and offering uncomplicated loans. Besides, China's "Asian Engagement" has clearly intensified as according to AidData report that the Beijing administration has attempted its interests through various tools of public diplomacy to make more friends and wins people's heart, especially within its neighbourhood (East Asia and the Pacific) to ease their policies penetrates to other countries by improving or repolishing their image (Tiezzi, 2018).

China's recent assertive yet so aggressive action slowly entered into political means, particularly in South China Sea's territorial waters self-proclaimed over the nide-dash line that entangled half of ASEAN members has grasped global attention particularly to the United States (U.S.), Australia, Japan and India or known as "the Quad" as forecasted it will injure each of these states' shared values and national interests, notably in economic interests. The communal values of the Quad on "free and open Indo-Pacific" and aim via containment strategy to prevent and delimit China's further spread of politicaleconomic sphere of influence (Saha, 2018). In this matter, ASEAN needs to find the equilibrium through its long tradition that put forward internal consensus and external centrality in addressing the current and future challenges by learning the chronicle of the event during the cold war that divided the region. More importantly, now more than ever, Australia's contribution in modern times through its regional engagement as a middle power also needed to resolve the issue before it worsens and undermines its interests.

B. Research Question

Based on the background of the research stated above, the investigation of this thesis addressed the primary issue to expound "Why did Australia initiate the establishment of ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) as an approach to promote its political-economic interests in Southeast Asia during 2010-2018?"

C. Theoretical Framework

1. National Interest

National interest is one of the essential concepts in international relations to understand, describe as well as to expound the behaviour of a state (Mas'oed, 1990). The role of a state as an actor in international relations has a crucial role in regulating every aspect of human life through politics, economics, social, defence, and so forth. The state has its function to enforce order, strive for the welfare and prosperity of its people, carry out the security, and uphold justice (Budiardjo, 2008). In the direction to maximise the merits and minimise the shortfalls of every possible policy, states are encouraged to formulate a "rational foreign policy" to produce an excellent foreign policy (Morgenthau, 1948). Therefore, the welfare of individuals in society reflects how the policies issued by the government.

Adam Smith construed national interests as the collective augmentation of individuals' interests in the community in natural conditions of producing non-conscious thinking. Edward Hallet Carr, an English international relations theorist, added that Smith's perspective on national interests coincides based from the highest individual's interests and community's interests known as the harmony of interests (Burchill, 2005).

In more narrow and concise definition, Donald Edwin Nuechterlein, a retired American diplomat who specialises in Southeast Asia and also a professor in international relations in Federal Executive Institute, further defined national interests as a state's sense of demand in interaction toward another state that covers its external environment (Nuechterlein, 1979). He classified national interests into four basic concepts known as the primary demand of a state, namely:

- 1) Defense Interest: The government's interest in protecting its citizens and the political system from the threat of other countries through either both physical and non-physical threats.
- 2) Economic Interest: The interest of a state to aggrandise its economic prosperity in relations with other countries.
- 3) World Order Interest: The state's interest in maintaining the international political and economic system that advances the country through the ease of its operation outside of its territory.
- 4) Ideological Interest: The interest in conserving or protecting its set of ideas and values embraced by the citizen of a state.

Based on the concept of national interest stated by Nuechterlein above, the economic and world order interests are the researcher's attention in expounding the reasons of Australia in initiating ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA). In economic interests, the intriguing of abundant opportunities for many Australians, esp. businesses, workers and investors through the trade agreement. While in the world order interest, Australia desires to maintain or expand its market, increase the revenue or to increase its market share at the same time. Furthermore, Australia is craving to uphold economic liberalism principles, precisely in ensuring sustainability and certainty for its businesses or companies to export their products from any protectionist policies such as uncompetitive competitions, trade barriers or even trade discrimination that violate the Most-Favoured-Nation (MFN) treatment principle as agreed under the World Trade Organization agreements.

2. Economic Liberalism

International political economy (IPE) discipline views politics and economy are two integral aspects that influence one-another instead as a two separate realm as the notion of "political" is as significant as the term "economy" in the interplay of state and market. The eminence of this concept in international relations is noteworthy in administering the national economy wisely and as a guide to be a wealthy nation, as Mill argued (Gilpin, 2001).

Economic Liberalism is a section of branches of ideas under the umbrella of Liberalism, notably in international political economy that emerged in countering the mercantilism and feudalism practices during the medieval period. It endorsed the fundamental principle of international economic cooperation as a zero-sum and also self-help doctrine (Griffiths & O'Callaghan, 2002). The ideas produced by two early British economists, namely Adam Smith and David Ricardo is a starting point and an introduction to the currently existing international economic cooperation.

Similar to the general assumption of liberalism that believes human or state cooperation able to create order and peace, economic liberalist thinker like Sir Norman Angell in his book "The Great Illusion" affirm that trade alongside finance, industry, and communications have capabilities in peacefully unifying the world and hence the anachronism of nationalism and war will only bring devastation alternately to the gain to all participants (Angell, 1933). In other words, as Smith further argues, protectionist trade policies are the cause of conflict, whereas liberal trade policies promote friendly bond human relations and as pacifying force in global politics (Burchill, 2005).

Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, in his book "The Wealth of Nations" (1776) reemphasise that trade prompts mutual prosperity for all recipients by repealing trade restriction in furtherance of higher profitability and opportunities based on the fundamental assumption on altruistic human's behaviour that people are self-interested by guaranteeing better their conditions for themselves, but naturally like to help others. Smith illustrated the advantages provided by international trade as follow (Smith, 1976):

"If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general industry of the country... will not thereby be diminished, no more than the above-mentioned artificers; but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage. It is certainly not employed to the greatest advantage, when it is thus directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make."

He further argues that the government does not need to interfere in regulating policies and regulations, e.g. export and import products and quotas. By renouncing them freely as they desire based on their self-interests, prosperity will come by itself in its right direction. Verily, there are "crony capitalists" parties, specifically manufacturers and merchants who want to have more significant revenue by utilising the government to produce anti-competitive and protectionist policies for their own interests (Ebeling, 2016).

Moreover, as written in "On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation" authored by David Ricardo in 1817 through the practice of comparative advantage, states will have better trade deals and choices by dint of lower opportunity cost as states have its specialisation on goods. Free trade inadvertently fosters states in specialisation and increase its competitiveness, productivity, and efficiency (Burchill, 2005). Ricardo carved out the idea of comparative advantage by portraying the world's economy consists of England and Portugal with cloth and wine as the available goods in production, then asserted that (Ricardo, 1951):

"England may be so circumstanced, that to produce the cloth may require labour of 100 men for one year, and if she attempted to make wine, it might require the labour of 120 men for the same time. England would therefore find it her interest to import wine, and to purchase it by the exportation of cloth. To produce the wine in Portugal might require only the labour of 80 men for one year, and to produce the cloth in the same country might require the labour of 90 men for the same time. It would therefore be advantageous for her to export wine in exchange for cloth."

D. Research Argument

By utilising the economic liberalism perspective, this research depicted the principle of mutual benefits benefitting ASEAN member states, Australia and New Zealand where no one will be hugely disadvantaged under the free trade agreement. Moreover, the economic cooperation among the parties will significantly soar and easily penetrated without obstacles as a result of the elimination or deduction of governments' protectionist policies, i.e. tariff and non-trade barriers. In further extent, the specialisation of each parties' productions within the comparative advantage principle will engender higher productivity and efficiency in trading at a lower opportunity cost.

This research argues that, with the concept of national interest that manifested by the domestic's collective interests, it supports Australia's economic and world interests in delivering economic prosperity for its citizens in virtue of the comprehensive regional free trade agreement, expanding its business market overseas as well as enhancing its market share altogether. Furthermore, it will able to strengthen Australia's operational activities in foreign policy, commercial diplomacy or values to sustain in the region.

E. Research Methodology

The researcher used a qualitative analysis method supported by both primary and secondary sources. The data sources to complete in this thesis were obtained from journals, books, news, articles, an interview with Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, official government reports, especially Australia's Foreign Policy White Paper and National Interest Analysis

released by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), and other relevant credible writings.

F. Scope of Research

This research focuses on Australia's behaviour and approaches toward Southeast Asia in analysing the intriguing factors of the political-economic interests supplemented with the data presented and related foundings. To clarify the main discussion and avoid distorted or extensive information, the researcher intends to narrow the analysis through the participating actors and time interval. The actors discussed inside of this research are all the signatories of AANZFTA, namely the ten ASEAN member states and Australia, except for New Zealand. Timor-Leste, the only Southeast Asian countries that is a non-member of ASEAN or a participant of AANZFTA, also not the subject of discussion in this thesis. The time interval of this research is nine years, starting after the FTA came into force from 2010 to 2018 to obtain the most up-to-date regional development, trade data and Australia's foreign policy.

G. Systematic Writing

The structure of this thesis discusses Australia's political-economic interests in Southeast Asia through the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) during 2010-2018 as arranged as follows:

 $\begin{array}{c} \textbf{Chapter I} \text{ is an introduction that discusses the} \\ \text{background of the issue, research question, theoretical} \\ \text{framework, research argument, research methodology, scoper} \\ \text{of research and systematic writing.} \end{array}$

In **Chapter II**, the chapter explains the history and the dynamics of Australia's foreign relations ASEAN. This chapter explores the development of Australia's strategic interests on the significance of ASEAN and the non-zero sum cooperation in the economic and security cooperation as well as regional development, mirroring symbiotic relations of one another.

Chapter III discusses the contents and background of the establishment of the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area (AANZFTA) from the ASEAN, Australia and New Zealand's perspectives as well as the impact to the development of the two-way trade. This chapter further analyses and examines Australia's political-economic interest during nine years since the implementation in 2010 until 2018.

The last chapter, **Chapter IV**, summarises and provides conclusions of the research as a form of reinforcement of the results of the study.