

The Rise of International Capital

Indonesian Conglomerates in ASEAN

Critical Studies of the Asia-Pacific

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Faris Al-Fadhat

The Rise of International Capital

Indonesian Conglomerates in ASEAN



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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIF ASEAN Banking Integration Framework

ACIA ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement

ADM Archer Daniels Midland Company AEC ASEAN Economic Community

AFAS ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services

AFTA ASEAN Free Trade Area AIA ASEAN Investment Area

AIC ASEAN Industrial Complementation
AIIB Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AIIV ASEAN Industrial Joint Ventures

APBN National budget (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara)

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

Apindo Indonesian Employers' Association (Asosiasi Pengusaha

Indonesia)

APRIL Asia Pacific Resources International Holdings

APSC ASEAN Political Security Community

ASC ASEAN Security Community

ASCC ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN-BAC ASEAN Business Advisory Council
ASEAN-BIS ASEAN Business and Investment Summit
ASEAN-CCI ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry

ASEAN-SAM ASEAN Single Aviation Market

ASW ASEAN Single Window

ATIGA ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement

BCA Bank Central Asia

BCIC Bumiputera Commercial and Industrial Community

xiv ABBREVIATIONS

BIAC Business and Industry Advisory Committee

BKPM Investment Coordinating Board (Badan Koordinasi

Penanaman Modal)

Bupati Regent or district chief CAPA Centre for Aviation

CEP Comprehensive Economic Partnership
CEPT Common Effective Preferential Tariff
CIS Commonwealth of Independent States
CLMV Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam

CPF Charoen Pokphand Foods

CPO Crude palm oil

CRG China Resource Group

CSCE Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSIS Centre for Strategic and International Studies
DNI Negative investment list (Daftar Negatif Investasi)

DPR House of Representatives or National Parliament (Dewan

Perwakilan Rakyat)

EAEC East Asia Economic Caucus

EAGCC Economic Agreement between the Gulf Cooperation Council

States

EC European Commission EC European Community

ECSC European Coal and Steel Community
EDB Economic and Development Board
EEC European Economic Community
EMU Economic and Monetary Union
EOI Export-oriented industrialization
EPU European Payments Union
ERT European Round Table

EU European Union

FDI Foreign direct investment FTA Free trade agreements

GAPKI Indonesian Palm Oil Association (Gabungan Pengusaha Kelapa

Sawit Indonesia)

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GCC Gulf Cooperation Council GDP Gross domestic product

Gerindra Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Indonesia

Rava)

GIC Government of Singapore Investment Corporation

GLC Government-linked company

Golkar Functional Groups Party (Partai Golongan Karya)

Hanura The People's Conscience Party (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat)

HICOM Heavy Industries Corporation of Malaysia

IBRA Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency (Badan Penyehatan

Perbankan Nasional)

IDR Indonesian rupiah

IMF International Monetary Fund

Inpres Presidential Instruction (Instruksi Presiden)

IPE International Political Economy

IR International Relations

ISI Import substitution industrialization Kadin Indonesian Chamber of Commerce

KEIN National Economic and Industrial Committee (Komite Ekonomi

dan Industri Nasional)

KEN National Economic Committee (Komite Ekonomi Nasional)

Keppres Presidential Decree (Keputusan Presiden)

Maybank Malayan Banking Berhad

MERCOSUR Southern Cone Common Market (Mercado Común del Sur)

MITI Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan

MNC Multinational corporation

MP3EI Masterplan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Economic

Development of Indonesia (Masterplan Percepatan dan

Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia)

MPIC Metro Pacific Investments Corporation
MTI Ministry of Trade and Industry, Malaysia
NAFTA North American Free Trade Agreement

Nasdem National Democrats (Partai Nasional Demokrat)

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NEP New Economic Policy

New Order The term Suharto coined for his government, from 1965 to

1998

NSW National Single Window OAU Organization of African Union

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OEEC Organization of European Economic Co-operation

OUE Overseas Union Enterprise

PAN National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional)

PAP People's Action Party

Perodua Perusahaan Otomobil Kedua Sendirian Berhad

PIS Priority integration sector

PKB National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*)
PKI Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*)

PLDT Philippine Long Distance Telephone

xvi ABBREVIATIONS

Proton Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional PTA Preferential trade agreement QAB Qualified ASEAN Bank

RCEP Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

RGE Royal Golden Eagle

SADC Southern African Development Community

SEOM Senior Economic Officials Meeting SME Small and medium-sized enterprise

TAC Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia

TPP Trans-Pacific Partnership
TRT Thai Rak Thai Party
UAE United Arab Emirates

UMNO United Malays National Organisation

UMW United Motor Works
UN United Nations

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UOB United Overseas Bank

USD US dollars

Wantimpres Presidential Advisory Council (Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden)

WGIC Working Group on Industrial Cooperation

WTO World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Regional economic cooperation has become a prominent feature of the global economic architecture in the post-Cold War era (e.g., Breslin and Higgott, 2000; Hettne, 2005; Wunderlich, 2007). Despite a major challenge to the European Union (EU) in 2016 through the unexpected Brexit vote, regional governance projects continue to proliferate in other regions. In Asia, the election of Donald Trump has seen the United States abandon the 12-member Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). However, alternative vehicles for regional economic cooperation are gaining steam in Asia, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)centered Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) trade agreement and China's 'Belt and Road' interconnectivity project (Wilson, 2015; Chacko and Javasuriya, 2017). These add the previous regional initiative by ASEAN in bringing its ten member countries into an integrated market through the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) agreement. While these may be regional projects, the underlying political support for such initiatives comes from the social and political coalitions at the national level.

This book is concerned with analyzing the social forces and political coalitions driving regional integration projects in Asia. It asks which social forces, within the domestic political economy of Asian states, are driving governments to seek regional arrangements for economic governance. In particular, the book asks how the emergence, reorganization, and expansion of capitalist class have conditioned political support for regional

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