

"It is not unreasonable to expect that new Europe-style patterns of cooperation between old adversaries will find their echo in this part of the world".

Evans expanded on this idea at the August 1990 ASEAN Post Ministerial Conference (PMC). The initiative was referred to as "APSD" (Asia Pacific Security Dialogue) by its supporters but promptly dubbed "CSCA" (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia/Pacific) by its detractors, the latter far outnumbering the former, especially in Japan and the United States.

Tokyo disapproved of the entire CSCA approach, arguing that it granted the Soviet Union regional respectability without requiring it to reduce its forces in Asia Pacific, and that it ran the risk of providing the Soviets with greater leverage in advance of the planned visits to Japan by Shevardnadze and Gorbachev. Underlying the Japanese antipathy was the belief that the Soviet Union would seize on support for a regional security dialogue as an opportunity to multilateralize the unresolved USSR-Japan "Northern Territories" border dispute.

Washington's icy reception of CSCA was less nuanced and easier (for the Americans) to explain. At a time of decreasing Soviet influence in Asia Pacific, there was no reason to replace the successful model of USA-directed bilateral military alliances with some as yet to be determined multilateral forum where United States influence would necessarily be diluted. "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" became a favourite refrain of American policy makers.

The Australian response was to expand on their initiative (to differentiate it from CSCE) and to distance it from earlier Soviet proposals.<sup>13</sup> Australian regional security policy, as redefined in the wake of American and regional opposition, was explained by Prime Minister Hawke in a speech entitled "Australia's Security in Asia," given to the Asia-Australia Institute on 24 May 1991. Among Hawke's main points were:

- "Australia's security requires an active policy beyond the military and strategic areas. These include diplomacy, economic cooperation, development and disaster assistance, and exchanges of peoples and ideas."
- "Australians have traditionally feared Asia. The security they have sought has been security from Asia....Instead of seeking security from Asia, we should seek enhanced security through enmeshment in an Asian security system, as we have sought enhanced prosperity through enmeshment in Asia's economic system," and, perhaps most telling: