Index

11 September attack on the US, 76, 211, 251
and domestic politics, 75–6
support for the US following, 214
and US foreign policy, 73–81

Abe, Prime Minister Shinzo, 155, 242
Abu Sayyaf Group, 214, 215, 216, 220, 226, 253
Abuza, Zachary, 212–13, 218
accountability, 123
Acharya, Amitav, 26, 189, 301–13
ASEAN, 42, 159
human security threats, 173
Acheson, Dean, 162
Adler, Emanuel, 144, 152
Afghanistan, 175, 221
al-Qaeda in, 221
Japan and, 175
and the US, 74, 75, 76, 77, 214, 216–17
Aggarwal, Vinod, 202
al-Ghozi, Fathur Rahman, 224
al-Qaeda, 22, 82, 146, 212, 222, 220
in Afghanistan, 221
agency in its relationship with other groups, 218, 222, 226
al-Qaeda-centric paradigm of terrorism
analysis, 215–16, 217, 219–20, 222, 226
emergence as a terrorist organisation in
its own right, 221
and Jemaah Islamiyah, 212, 222, 226
and militant Islamic groups, 219–20
organisational structure of, 217, 218, 219, 221
and regional terrorist groups, 218
and Southeast Asia, 215, 217–22
in the Sudan, 220–1
Alagappa, Muthiah, 5–6, 10, 14, 22, 43, 106–7
Alatas, Ali, 160
Albright, David, 230
Albright, Madeleine, 73
alliances, and trade, 203
analytical eclecticism, 8, 9, 47, 312
anarchy, 147, 152, 188
in East Asia, 162
and hegemony, 162
Annan, Kofi, 170
Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, 155
Arroyo, President Gloria, 131, 145
as-Salim, Sheikh, 225
ASEAN, 2, 80, 127, 159, 305
and the Asian financial crisis, 172
avian influenza taskforce, 292
balancing strategies, 10, 101
Chairman’s Statement, 184
Charter, 47, 159
and China, 17, 42, 62, 93, 145
consensus, 3, 8, 50, 128, 159
Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, 159
Declaration on HIV/AIDS, 183
Defence Ministers Meeting, 159
diplomatic activism, 112, 114
dispute settlement mechanisms, 159
Eminent Persons Group, 183
formation of, 56–7
functions of, 102, 127–8
human rights commission, 160
and human security, 183
Joint Declaration of ASEAN and China
on Cooperation in the Field of
Non-Traditional Security Issues, 182
Leaders’ meetings, 61
leadership, 160
liberal norms, 159
membership of, 306
and Myanmar, 165
non-democratic states in, 160
Power Grid, 259
and ReCAAP, 255
and the San Francisco system, 63
a security community, 144, 161
Socio-Cultural Community Plan of Action, 183
support for the US following the 11 September attack, 214
tension between democratic and non-democratic states, 160
and terrorism, 211
Treat of Amity and Cooperation, 105 and US, 128
Vientiane Action Programme 2003–10, 159
Vision 2020 programme, 172, 183
ASEAN+3, 10, 61, 64, 65, 118, 306
and China, 64, 197
and the East Asia Summit, 62, 64
and human security, 184
and maritime security, 250
ASEAN Regional Forum, 2, 46, 58, 64, 105, 118, 159, 306
and disease surveillance national pandemic preparedness, 291
and human security, 183
inclusiveness of, 27, 65
and maritime security, 249
membership of, 306
support for the US following the 11 September attack, 214
Asia
‘Asian’ order, 6
decision-making styles, 3
defence spending, 1
democratisation, 47
economic growth, 1, 45
economic priorities in, 25
and ideas and norms, 303
ideology in, 46
importance of, 44, 304
inclusiveness of, 305
interdependence with the US economy, 45
interpenetration of global and regional security in, 4, 119
lack of democratic community leadership, 159
non-interference in internal affairs, 44, 46
nuclear weapons in, 228–36
place in the global order, 36–8, 87
regional competition, 92–7
regional hierarchy, 31, 117, 304
regional institutions, 302
regionalism, 45, 101, 105–6
relationships among states in, 31
sovereignty, 46
stability, 112
type of security order in, 13
WMD-related developments, 22
Asia-Europe Meeting, 10, 27, 60
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, 45, 46, 64, 159, 305, 306
Action Plan on the Prevention and Response to Avian and Influenza Pandemics, 292
and Australia, 60
disease surveillance and control, 292
and East Asian regional frameworks, 311
energy security, 259
and human security, 184
inclusiveness of, 27, 65
Leaders’ meetings, 52, 54, 184
Secure Trade in the Asia-Pacific Region, 259
Sydney Declaration, 259, 266, 282
and the US, 60
Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, 25, 266, 274–7, 280, 283
benefits of, 282
and energy security, 277–82
and the Hansen alternative scenario, 281, 282
membership of, 274, 281
Asia-Pacific region, 4, 31
changes in economic relations in, 195
complexities in, 269–71
cooperative security institutions, 308
developing and developed countries in, 268, 271
economics–security nexus in, 188–96, 202
energy policy in, 282
energy resources, 277–80
energy security, 277–82
engagement with global security, 310
environmental issues, 266, 309
foreign economic policy goals, 206
and global environmental agreements, 268, 271
and great powers, 64–6
hydro-electric development, 279
ideas and norms, 306–8
institutions, 49–66, 182, 304–6
interdependence, 308, 312
and the Kyoto Protocol, 281
maritime strategies in, 250, 262
naval budgets in, 247, 249, 262
naval forces, 255–7, 262, 264
nuclear energy, 279–80
nuclear weapons, 309
354 Index

Asia-Pacific region (cont.)
oil consumption and production, 247, 257–8
power and, 303–4
preferential trade agreements, 200–1
regional autonomy, 306
regionalism, 27, 250
security community-building, 158–64
traditional poultry raising and handling practices in, 285
and transnational security threats, 27, 308–10
transportation infrastructure in, 248
Asian financial crisis, 16, 171–2, 175, 291
and grievances against the West, 60
long-term impacts of, 172
Asian Monetary Fund, 61
‘Asian values’ movement, 16, 26, 39, 59, 60, 170, 171
and economic development, 59
‘Asianism’, 62–3
asset specificity
Athukorala, Prema-chandra, 198
Australia, 305
and Afghanistan, 74
and APEC, 60
Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, 275
disease surveillance and containment, 294
and the East Asian Economic Group, 60 and Indonesia, 166
and Jemaah Islamiyah, 214
and the Kyoto Protocol, 275, 277
naval forces, 256
Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, 64
trade in waste for recycling, 272
Trilateral Security Dialogue, 64
and the US, 54, 110, 119
Australia–Japan–US Trilateral Security Dialogue, 64, 154, 158
authoritarian regimes, 19, 20, 122, 123, 126, 137
characteristics of, 126
and communal rivalries, 137
conflict among, 127
and corruption, 142
and democracy, 19
and developmental states, 136
and economic growth, 135
and equality, 135
and human rights, 139
and terrorism, separatism and insurgency, 132–3
Automatic Identification Systems for ships, 251
avian influenza, 285, 289; see also H5N1
APEC action plan on, 292
ASEAN taskforce on, 292
human-to-human transmission, 285
poultry raising and handling practices, 285
regional approach to, 292
security significance of, 285
axis of evil, 74
Ba, Alice, 94
Ba’asyir, Abu Bakar, 223, 224, 226
balance of power, 7, 15, 18, 71, 169
Bali bombings, 215, 223–5
Bali Concord II, 159
Ban Ki-moon, 271
Bandwagoning, 108, 115, 134, 144, 188
Bangladesh, 215
Barijan Nasional Pembebesan Patani, 217
Barisan Revolusi Nasional, 217
Barnett, Michael, 144
Basel Convention, 271, 274
ban on trade for recycling between developed and developing countries, 273, 283
and regulation of trade in waste, 271
Bateman, Sam, 23–4, 247–65, 309, 310
Baxter International, 295
Bergin, Peter, 218
Berlin, Donald, 250
bin Laden, Osama, 211, 215, 218, 222, 258
relocation to Afghanistan, 221
in the Sudan, 220–1
World Islamic Front, 220
Bochmer, Charles, 194
Bonn Convention on Migratory Species, 268
Borio, Luciana, 297
Bosnia, 69, 71
Braybrooke, David, 103
Brunei, 160
Burden Sharing Agreement, 275
Burke, Jason, 219–20, 221
Burma, 160, 164
Bush administration, 12
foreign policy and 11 September attack, 73, 74
and international security, 123
and Iraq, 77
National Security Statement, 21
National Security Strategy, 162
Index

and North Korea, 238, 239, 243
pro-Taiwanese stance, 89
promotion of democracy, 44
and risk, 17
Bush, President George H. W., 179
Bush, President George W., 157, 211
and APEC, 184
and UNCLOS, 260
Buzan, Barry, 37, 169
1+4 power configuration, 36
Japan and the US, 155
Regions and Powers, 10–11, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 301
security communities, 150, 154
security interdependence, 103
use of armed force, 287
Calder, Kent, 247
Cambodia, 160
disease surveillance and containment, 294
expenditure on health, 293
and the US, 129
Canada, 178, 180, 275
Carlson, Allen, 8–10
Case, William, 19, 122–43, 311
Cebu Declaration on East Asian Energy Security, 258
Chai-anan, Samadavanija, 134
Chalk, Peter, 288, 291–2
Chiang Mai Initiative, 46
China, 6
and the AAP, 283
accession to the World Trade Organization, 62, 69, 205
accommodation with the US, 91, 97, 108
aggressiveness of, 57
and ASEAN, 61, 145
bilateral alliances, 13
challenge to global order, 87–8
competition for maritime dominance, 250
competition with Japan
decision-making process, 199
dependence on energy from the Middle East, 252
diplomacy, 62, 93–4
disease surveillance and containment, 291
domestic challenges, 92
domestic coalitions, 199–200
and the East Asian regional supercomplex, 36
economic growth, 1, 16, 87, 103, 198, 309
energy resources, 96, 97, 278
energy security, 24, 98
engagement in the regional order, 58, 114, 118
exclusive economic zones, 256
expansionism, 163
exports, 53, 197, 199, 204
foreign investment in, 198, 201
foreign policy, 94
and global production networks, 203
hegemony, 45, 102, 163–4, 304
and human security, 182
impact on the regional–global security nexus, 86
and India, 64, 105, 117, 234
integration into the global economy, 21, 82, 85, 86, 196–9, 200
interdependencies, 85, 95
investment and aid in Africa, 118
and Iran, 97
and Japan, 79, 163
competition with, 62–3, 64
tensions between, 71, 81, 108, 128
legitimacy, 89, 98
and maritime security, 264
market economics in, 88
military modernisation, 92
minimum deterrent doctrine, 233
and multilateral institutions, 93
naval forces, 255, 262
‘New Security Concept’, 94
nuclear energy, 279
nuclear programme, 22, 233
objectives in Southeast Asia, 62
openness, 204, 206
principles of peaceful coexistence with India, 105
and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254
and ReCAAP, 255
regional and super-regional roles, 17–18, 36, 61, 93, 101
regional hierarchy, 107
resentment of US policies, 161
a responsible stakeholder, 13, 89
rise of, 85–98, 303, 304
role as an assembly plant, 196, 198
role of foreign trade in GDP, 198
sales of components to, 198
and sea lines of communication, 96, 97, 98
and the Six Party Talks on North Korea, 89, 239, 242
China (cont.)
socialisation of, 86, 118, 120
’soft power’, 17, 80
and South Korea, 164
superpower status, 92
Suzerainty system, 163
and Taiwan, 71, 72, 78, 91, 93, 164
and Tibet, 130
trade triangles and, 196
trade with the US, 206
Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Japan, 111
and UN peacekeeping operations, 92
and the US, 85–98, 120, 161, 203, 204
accommodation with the US, 91, 97, 108
challenges to the US, 88–92, 93, 98, 110, 118
competition with the US, 90, 91, 98, 229, 306
cooperation, 17, 54, 304
perceptions of the US, 10, 18, 95
and the San Francisco system, 62
share of the US market, 203
sharing of authority and responsibility with the US, 89
and the USSR, 111
and Vietnam, 112
Xinjiang province, 130
China–ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, 62
China–ASEAN Free Trade Area, 63
Chinese Communist Party, 88
Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), 270–1
Chongkitavorn, Kavi, 159
Chu Shulong, 182
Chu Shulong, 182
Civil Liberties, 122, 124
climate change, 24–5, 146, 266, 309
Clinton administration, 72, 243
coccoal, 277–80
coalitions of the willing, 16, 74, 78
cosmology, 255
Cold War, 109, 111
Collier, Kit, 213
Commission on Human Rights, 180
Commission on Human Security, 171, 175
communal rivalries, 137–9
community-building, 20
comparative advantage, 190, 272
competition, regional, 18
Computer Recyclers (Aust), 272
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia, 57
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 28, 57
Conflict, 127–9, 189; see also war avoidance of, 28
and interdependence, 191, 196, 308
and trade, 188, 190, 192, 206
resolution of, 150, 159
subnational, 130–4, 141
Confucian values, 170
consensus, 3
constitutive liberalisation, 307
constructivism, 3, 8, 86, 151, 311
radical, 153
social, 153, 155, 307
contingent globalism, 26, 311
contract manufacturers, 192
Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, 250, 259, 261, 264
Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, 78
cooperation, 18, 127–8, 304
and democracy, 149, 151
and health issues, 25, 284
and human security, 186, 187
institutionalisation of, 105, 200
and maritime security, 265
Copenhagen School, 3
corporate regulation, 135
corruption, 125, 126, 135, 142
Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, 249
counter-terrorism, 64
Dahl, Robert, 122
Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, 159
decolonisation, 105
deforestation, 271
democracy, 19, 44, 47, 75, 311
and authoritarianism, 19
characteristics of, 145
and civil liberties, 130–1
and classical security concerns, 126–34
and communal rivalries, 137–9
and competition between elites, 124
and competitive elections, 138–9
definition of, 122
and economic growth, 135–7
and economic interests, 145
and equality, 135–7
and human rights, 139–41
ideological factors, 165
Index

and non-traditional security issues, 134–41
and political stability, 125
power transition among, 152
and security, 19, 122–43
and social communities and class strata, 124
and terrorism, separatism and insurgency, 130–1, 133
transitions to, 125
democratic community leadership, 152, 159, 161, 164, 165, 312
democratic peace theory, 19, 122–3, 127, 145, 150, 196, 311
deterrence, 22, 232, 233
Deutsch, Karl, 148
diplomacy, 43, 52, 120, 246
disease surveillance and containment, 25, 290, 291, 294; see also pandemic influenza
dispute settlement, 150, 159, 200, 205
Dorussen, Han, 193
Duffield, John, 55
Dujana, Abu, 224
Dupont, Alan, 3, 14

East Asia
confrontations during the 1980s, 112
democracy in, 137, 142
determinants of the security order, 119
domestic coalitions, 207
economic growth, 137
energy dependence on the Middle East, 45
exclusive economic zones, 256
government holdings of US Treasury bills, 201
health resources in, 284, 289–90, 292–5, 297
hierarchy, 102, 106–15
hybrid regimes, 126
intra-regional trade, 196, 197
mercantilism, 204
and pandemic influenza, 284–90
regionalisation, 44
regionalism in, 44, 58–64, 198
signals intelligence operations in, 256
submarines in, 256
trade and investment flows, 61, 201
under-balancing against China and the US, 115
East Asia Community, 46
East Asia Economic Group, 306
East Asia Study Group, 184

East Asia Summit, 10, 64, 65, 118, 250, 305, 306
and China, 62, 64
inclusiveness of, 65
and Russia, 65
Second, 258
and the US, 65, 80
East Asia Vision Group, 184
East Asian Economic Caucus, 60
East Asian Economic Group, 59–60
East Asian regional frameworks, and APEC, 311
East Asian security order, 36, 115–19
East Timor, 178
economic development, 59, 135–7
economics–security nexus, 21, 188–202
and domestic coalitions, 199–200
foreign direct investment, 201
liberal approaches to, 189–95
monetary interdependence, 201–2
and preferential trade agreements, 200–1
realist approaches to, 195, 202–5
economy, global, 188
elections, 122, 123, 134; see also democracy
elite competition among, 124
policy-making, 172, 246
Enemark, Christian, 25, 284–90
energy demand and military spending, 250
energy resources, 24, 96, 277–80
energy security, 23–4, 96, 247, 266
and the APP, 277–82
and environmental issues, 310
and maritime security, 247, 249, 257–9, 263, 309
pipelines, 258, 259
and sea lines of communication, 96
and the straits in the Indian Ocean region, 247
environmental issues, 24–5, 40, 266, 268, 309
differences between Europe and Asia on, 271–4
division between ‘North’ and ‘South’ on, 268, 269
and energy security, 310
multilateral environmental agreements, 266
and non-governmental organisations, 268, 272
regional and global approaches, 267–9
and regional complexities in the Asia-Pacific, 269–71
sustainable development, 268
equality, 135–7, 150, 151, 162
Estrada, President Joseph, 125, 131
Europe
and Asia, 25
economic priorities in, 25
Marshall Plan, 55
and the US, 71
and the war on terrorism, 77–8
‘European Bubble’, 275
European Union, 67, 148, 267
decision-making in, 50
institutions, 55
and pandemic influenza, 294
a security community, 155
Evans, Gareth, 57
Evans, Paul, 170
exclusive economic zones, 256
Fealy, Greg, 22, 211–27, 310
fear, 20, 173, 287
freedom from fear, 20, 168, 180, 311
Finnemore, Martha, 151
Foot, Rosemary, 92
foreign direct investment, 194, 201, 204
foreign exchange markets, 194
freedom
from fear, 20, 168, 180, 311
from want, 20, 168, 180, 308, 311
of assembly, 122, 124, 130–1
of communication, 122, 124, 130–1
Friedberg, Aaron, 8, 86
Friends of Human Security Forum, 182
Frost, Ellen I., 39
Fukuda, Prime Minister Yasuo, 155, 178
Fukushima, Akiko, 20–1, 153, 167–76,
307
G7, 69
G8, 52, 54, 69, 179, 275
G8+5, 283
Gallucci, Robert, 243
Gartzke, Erik, 194
Gates, Robert, 80
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 83
Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, 253
Germany, 272, 275, 276
Gilpin, Robert, 152
global governance, and human security, 167–76
Global Maritime Partnership Initiative, 257, 261
Global Maritime Situational Awareness, 226
global order, Asian foundations of, 310–13
global–regional security nexus, 12–14,
27–8, 31–48, 103
actors in, 43
centre of gravity concept of, 38–47
impact of a global hegemon on, 41–2
mutuality of interaction, 43
and security in the Asia-Pacific, 302–10
globalisation, 10, 40, 174, 191
challenges of, 21
and interdependence, 206
and non-traditional security threats, 57
Goh, Evelyn, 18–19, 101–21, 303
Goh Chok Tong, 106
Goldsmith, Benjamin, 196
governance, global, 187
governments, accountability, 123, 124
great powers, 26, 34, 35, 53, 303
accommodation in the Asia-Pacific,
64–6
balancing strategies, 2
competition among, 82
exclusion from councils of, 53
interaction among, 40
Greater Mekong subregion, 259
Greenpeace, 269, 272
Gronvall, Gigi, 297
Group of Seven, 179, 196
Guam Doctrine, 110
Gulf Cooperation Council, 149
Gulf War, 1990–91, 72
Gunaratna, Rohan, 212–13, 215–16,
218
H5N1 virus, 285, 289
APEC action plan on, 292
ASEAN taskforce on, 292
human-to-human transmission, 285
poultry raising and handling practices,
285
regional approach to, 292
security significance of, 285
Haiti, 69
Hamashita, Takeshi, 163
Hambali, 212, 215, 223, 224
Hamilton-Hart, Natasha, 213
Hansen alternative scenarios, 281, 282
Hanson, Marianne, 22–3, 228–36, 310
hazardous waste, trade in, 24–5, 271–4
Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies, 255
health
international assistance on, 292–5, 297
regionalisation of, 291, 298
and security, 284–90
health systems, national, 288, 289–92
Index

Hee, President Park Chung, 136
hegemony, 18, 42, 101–21, 304
and anarchy, 162
and bandwagoning behaviour, 144
and hierarchy, 107
incomplete, 106
maritime, 247
and stability, 151
styles of, 7
Helsinki Commission, 267
Hemmer, Christopher, 162
hierarchical assurance; see hierarchical deference
hierarchical deference, 107, 115, 116, 117, 120
hierarchy, 5, 7, 18, 101–21, 304
and bandwagoning behaviour, 108, 115
conditions for, 107
consensual, 113
in East Asia, 106–15
and hegemony, 107
links between levels, 32
High technology Metal Recyclers Pty Ltd, 272
Hill, Christopher, 27, 244
Hizbut Tahrir, 212
Hon Hai Precision, 192
Horowitz, Donald, 138
Hughes, Christopher, 153
Human Development Report 1994, 168–9, 180, 181
human rights, 139–41, 160, 169, 180, 311
human security, 44, 47, 134, 170, 171, 307, 308, 311
in the Asia-Pacific context, 20–1, 44, 168–73
and classical security concerns, 169, 185
core aspects of, 168
future developments, 185–7
and global governance, 167–76
and institution-building, 179–85
integrated approach to, 180
scepticism about, 170, 307
Human Security Network, 178, 180–1
humanitarian intervention, 169, 170, 178, 181, 307
Hurrell, Andrew, 38
Husin, Dr Azhari, 213, 223, 224
Husna, Abu, 225
Hussein, Saddam, 77
hybrid regime, 129
hybrid regimes, 141, 142
Hyuan, President Roh Moo, 158
Ikenberry, G. John, 6–8, 13, 55, 151, 157
Imron, Ali, 223
India, 102, 305
and the APP, 283
and China, 64, 117, 234
and the East Asian regional supercomplex, 36
economic growth, 1, 87, 309
energy security, 24
Environment Ministry, 273
Guided Missile Development Programme, 231
and maritime security, 250, 264
missiles, 230, 231, 234
National Security Advisory Board, 235
naval forces, 255, 256, 262
‘no first use’ nuclear doctrine, 235
nuclear deal with the US, 231, 232, 236
nuclear energy, 279
nuclear programme, 22, 228, 230, 232, 233, 280
nuclear weapon delivery systems, 230, 231
and Pakistan, 230, 245
panic caused by plague in Surat, 288
principles of peaceful coexistence with China, 105
and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254
Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, 64
and ReCAAP, 255
a regional major power, 102
rise of, 303, 304
and Russia, 111, 112
and sea lines of communication, 96
trade in hazardous waste, 273
and the UN Security Council, 26
Union Carbide plant at Bhopal, 269–70
and the US, 155
Indian Non-Ferrous Metals Manufacturers’ Association, 273
Indo-Chinese states, 110
Indonesia, 135
and Australia, 166
corruption, 136
Darul Islam movement, 224, 226
democracy in, 125, 160, 161
disease surveillance and containment, 294
Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, 253
H5N1 virus samples, 295
human rights, 140, 141
human security, 172
Jemaah Islamiyah, 130; see also separate entry
Indonesia (cont.)

jihadists, 225

and the Malacca strait, 248

manipulation of attitudes and identities, 137, 138

maritime security, 248

militant groups, 225

New Order, 132, 136, 137

peace settlement in Aceh, 172

and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254, 255

public health infrastructure, 289

and ReCAAP, 255

and terrorism, 130, 132, 214

and the US, 55, 64, 114

vaccination, 292

influenza, pandemic; see pandemic influenza

institution-building, and human security, 179–85

institutional norms, 21

institutions, 7

access structure of, 53

in the Asia-Pacific, 49–66, 304–6

barriers to renovation in, 50–2

and bilateral summity, 54

Chinese involvement in, 85, 86

cooperative security institutions, 308

decision-making in, 49, 50

democratic, 159

formation of new organisations, 52

global, 207, 306

international, 49, 312

multilateral, 50, 83, 194–5, 305, 306

reform of, 50–1, 52

regional, 15, 45, 54, 195, 306

revitalisation of, 83

and security communities, 156

states and, 52–4

inter-regional states, 35

interdependence, 6, 120, 193–4, 205, 303, 308

in the Asian context, 45, 312

and conflict, 21, 191, 196, 199, 308

economic, 7, 189, 196, 206

and globalisation, 206

monetary, 201–2

security, 103

International Atomic Energy Agency, 238

international capital flows, 194

International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue, 259, 261

International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 259

International Crisis Group, 130, 217

International Health Regulations, 292, 293

International Maritime Organization, 251, 259, 261

International Monetary Fund, 61, 70, 83, 190, 289

international relations, economic interests and, 144

international relations theory, 3, 301, 311

and Asian security, 4–11

role of the state, 167

role of the individual, 167

see also constructivism, liberalism, realism

International Ship and Port Facility Security Code, 251, 259

International Tropical Timber Agreement, 268

International Whaling Commission, 268

intra-industry trade, 191–3, 205

Iokibe, Professor Makato, 175

Iran, 72, 74, 77

and China, 97

nuclear programme, 237, 310

Iraq

and Japan, 178

Japan and, 175

and Russia, 78

and the US, 74, 75, 77, 82

first Gulf War, 69

and weapons of mass destruction, 75, 77

Janjalani, Abdurajak Abubakar, 215

Japan, 6, 68, 305

and Afghanistan, 74, 127–8, 175, 178

and ASEAN, 61

'Asian values' movement, 59

broad view of human security, 173

and China, 17, 71

competition with, 62–3, 64

tensions between, 79, 128, 163

and the US, 81, 90, 108

commitment to overseas development assistance, 173, 175, 177, 178

developmental statism, 154

and East Timor, 178

economic growth, 136

energy conservation, 258

energy security, 252

foreign direct investment, 201

foreign policy, 156

Friends of Human Security Forum, 182

and human security, 173–6, 179, 182

and the Human Security Network, 181

and Indonesia, 178
Index

and the Kyoto Protocol, 275
and maritime security, 264
militarism, 157
modernisation, 157, 163
multilateralism, 153
national autonomy, 153
and NATO, 154
naval forces, 255, 262
a ‘normal’ country, 116, 155, 157
and North Korea, 242
nuclear energy, 280
peace-building work, 178
and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254
Quadriateral Security Dialogue, 64
and ReCAAP, 255
Red Army faction, 130
a regional major power, 36, 102
Revised Guidelines for Japan–US Defense Cooperation, 113
rise of, 303, 304
role of foreign trade in GDP, 198
Self-Defense Forces, 113
and South Korea, 160
Treaty of Peace and Friendship with China, 111
Trilateral Commission, 154
Trilateral Security Dialogue, 64
Trust Fund for Human Security, 174
UN-centred diplomacy, 173
and the UN Security Council, 26
and the US, 152
bilateral alliance, 41, 54, 81, 119, 146, 156
military dependence, 113, 157
security community with, 20, 153–8, 165
trade, 41, 203, 206
Japan–ASEAN Closer Economic Partnership, 63
Japan–US Joint Declaration on Security, 113
Jemaah Islamiyah, 22, 130, 132, 220
and al-Qaeda, 212, 216, 222, 223–5, 226
leadership group, 224, 225
and Malaysia, 133, 214
Mantiqi I, 223, 224, 226
and other terrorist groups, 27, 222
and Singapore, 133
‘The Tauhid Cell’, 225
and Thailand, 215
Job, Brian, 14–15, 31–48
Johnson, Chalmers, 136
Johnson, Lyndon B., 119
Johnston, Alastair Iain, 8, 86, 233
Joint Declaration of ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues, 182
Kang, David, 4, 7, 9, 116, 163
bandwagoning, 115, 188
hierarchical political relations in East Asia, 19, 107–9, 113
Katzenstein, Peter J., 8–10, 162, 301, 302
globalisation, 10
Kawaguchi, Foreign Minister Yoriko, 177
Kazakhstan, 64
Keating, Prime Minister Paul, 60
Kellow, Aynsley, 24–5, 266, 310
Kennedy, John F., 119
Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, 222
Kihl, Young Whan, 9
Kim Dae Jung, 244
Kim Jong Il, 239
Kirshner, Jonathan, 195, 202
Koizumi, Prime Minister Junichiro, 63, 157, 175–7
Korean peninsula, 109, 244, 264; see also North Korea, South Korea
Kosovo, 69, 71
Koumura, Foreign Minister Masahiko, 178
Kumpulan Mujahidin-Militen Malaysia, 216
Kupchan, Charles, 157
Kyoto Protocol, 25, 275–7
and the Asia-Pacific region, 281
and Australia, 275, 277
Eurocentrism of, 266, 276, 280
mechanisms of, 277
reliance on trading, 276
and the US, 275, 277
Kyrgyzstan, 64
Lake, David, 301
Lal, Deepak, 268
Laos, 160, 294
Laskar Jihad, 132, 216
law of the sea, customary, 248, 261, 263, 264
development of, 260, 261
leadership, 142
League of Nations, 109–12
Leifer, Michael, 306
levels of analysis of security, 14, 32, 33–8, 40–1, 42, 103, 302
systemic vs. global level, 40–1
Levine, Ruth,
Levy, Jack, 150
Index

Li, Quan, 194
liberal institutionalism, 3, 8
liberal peace argument, 196
liberalisation, 18, 19, 70, 75, 164
liberalism, 85–6, 145, 189–95, 311
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, 253
Lindblom, Charles, 103
localisation, constitutive, 307
Lowy Institute for International Policy, 286
Lyseen Declaration, 180
Mahathir, Prime Minister Mohammad, 26, 59, 60, 129, 133
Mahbubani, Kishore, 26
Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia, 216, 226
Major Economies Meeting, 283
Malacca strait, security of, 23, 248, 250, 258
Malaysia, 160
‘Asian values’ movement, 59
‘civilisational Islam’, 186
corruption, 136
disease containment, 292
elections, 138
exports to China, 198
hybrid regime, 129, 133–4, 139
Islam Hadhari, 186
and the Malacca strait, 248
Malaysian Militant Group, 134
and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 255
and ReCAAP, 255
and terrorism, 214
and the US, 114
Manglapus, Raul, 57
manufacturing, 192, 193, 199
March, James, 53
Marcos, President Ferdinand, 132
maritime security, 23–4, 247–65
agencies dealing with, 251
attacks on ferries, 253
changing concepts and developments in, 251–5
commitment to management of, 24
and energy security, 247, 263, 309
global ramifications, 262–3
importance of, 249–51
nationalistic approaches to, 259
‘new’ threats, 252–4
and oceanographic knowledge, 256
organisations dealing with, 250
regimes governing, 259–61, 262, 263, 264
regional concerns, 255–9, 263
SUA Convention, 261
maritime terrorism, 253, 254, 264
market economies, 135
Marpol (London) Convention, 267
Marshall Plan, 55
Martin Jones, David, 132
Mastanduno, Michael, 6–8, 13, 16–17, 67–84, 120, 303
Mearsheimer, John, 1–2, 85, 304
Mediterranean Action Plan, 267
mercantilism, 95, 96, 204
military spending and energy demand, 250
Millennium Report, 170, 179
minilateralism, 207, 274–7
Montreal Protocol, 267, 270
Morgan, Patrick, 301
Mori, Prime Minister Yoshiro, 175
Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 171, 132, 216
Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, 222
Mukhlis, 223, 224
multilateral environmental agreements, 266, 282
and consensus, 267–9
‘double standards’ in, effectiveness of, 267–9
multilateral fora, 49
multilateralism, 15, 83, 305, 307
in the Asia-Pacific, 49
and institutions, 52
multinational corporations, 104, 269
Myanmar, 46, 129, 136, 160, 164
and ASEAN, 165
and China, 161
National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 219, 220, 221
NATO, 55, 71, 74, 77
and Afghanistan, 74
in the Asia-Pacific, 2
and Japan, 154
membership, 71
a security community, 155
natural gas, 278; see also energy resources
Natural Resources Defense Council, 230
neo-conservatism, 12, 44
neo-liberalism, 135
neo-realism, 11, 37, 85, 103, 304
New Pattani United Liberation Organisation, 217
New Zealand, 54, 110, 305
Nile, 192
Nixon, Richard, 108, 110
non-governmental organisations, 104, 208
Index

Noordin Moh. Top, 213, 223, 226
norms, 21, 306–8
consensus on, 158
cultural specificity of, 53
democratic, 165, 312
global, 40, 267
liberal-democratic, 145, 148, 150, 159
Norris, Robert, 240
North Korea, 74
aggressiveness of, 57
Agreed Framework with the US, 238, 243
and China, 161
civilian nuclear programme, 238
export of missile materials, 240
and Japan, 242
missile tests, 22–3, 158, 161
nuclear crisis, 72, 238–44
impacts of, 241–4, 245
nuclear and missile capabilities, 240
nuclear programme, 23, 238, 242, 280
nuclear proliferation, 44, 309
nuclear weapons, 22–3, 79, 80, 237, 238, 244
sanctions against, 241
September 2005 Joint Agreement, 241
Six Party Talks, 44, 65, 79, 89, 228, 239, 241
and South Korea, 71, 229, 238
and the US, 110, 239, 241, 244
Northeast Asia
ergy security, 249, 252, 264
industrialisation, 201
sovereignty disputes in, 258
types of regimes in, 128–9
US military presence in, 165
Norway, 178, 180
nuclear deterrence, 27, 232
nuclear energy, 279–80
nuclear non-proliferation, 234–8, 241, 245, 246
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 51, 79, 228, 245
North Korea and, 238, 239
nuclear weapons, 23, 229–38, 242
demonstration effects, 236
deterrence strategy, 22
effects on global balances, 233–4
global norms about, 235
limited deterrence doctrine, 233
military defences, 234
modernisation of, 229–34, 235, 245
non-proliferation, 23, 234–8, 241, 245, 246
proliferation of, 228, 234–8, 244
tradition of non-use of, 235
Nye Initiative, 72
Obuchi, Prime Minister Keizo, 173–5
compassion, 173
‘human safety’, 174
Olsen, Johan, 53
order-building, 5, 7, 101–21
Organization of Islamic Conference, 211
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, 72
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 57
Oslo Commission, 267
Oxman, Bernard, 261
Pakistan, 111, 112
deterrent capability, 234
and India, 230, 245
long-range cruise missiles, 231, 234
missiles, 230, 231
‘no first use’ nuclear doctrine, 235
nuclear doctrine, 235
nuclear programme, 22, 280
nuclear weapons, 228, 230, 231, 232
political stability of, 245
pan-Arabism, 149
‘pan-Asian’ identity, 39, 44, 46
pandemic influenza, 25, 146, 284–90
APEC action plan on, 292
cooporation on, 293
damage control, 294
disease surveillance and containment, 294
economic disruption caused by, 286, 291
fear evoked by, 287
international assistance on, 292–5
and national health systems, 288
pharmaceutical companies and, 296, 297
risk reduction strategies, 293
and security, 283–8, 291
social distancing, 294
vaccination, 295–7, 298
virus samples and vaccines, 295
Paris Commission, 267
Pattani United Liberation Organisation, 217
pax Americana, 12
Pembela Islam, 132
Pempel, T. J., 3, 153
Peou, Sorpong, 19–20, 144–66, 312
Index

Persian Gulf region, 67, 70, 72–3, 76, 78
Gulf Cooperation Council, 149
pharmaceutical companies, 25, 296, 297
Philippines
Abu Sayyaf Group, 214, 253
Communist Party, 131
corruption, 135
democracy in, 125, 160
human rights, 140, 141
maritime security, 248
militant groups, 222
Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 131, 132
Muslim radicalism in, 213
New People's Army, 131, 132
public awareness of avian influenza, 292
terrorist groups, 132
and the US, 54, 63, 110, 114
piracy, 247, 250, 252, 264, 309, 310
and maritime terrorism, 253
number of attacks, 252
Plaza Accord, 196
Pollins, Brian, 308
ports, security of, 251, 252
postmodernism, 153
power, 85, 151
distribution of, 6, 189, 302, 303–4
power transitions, 152, 188
regional power relations, 6, 35
rising powers, 54
and wealth, 33
privatisation, 70
production, fragmentation of, 191, 205, 206
production networks, 189, 191–3, 196, 320
and China’s integration into the global economy, 196–9, 203
transnational, 191
Proliferation Security Initiative, 22, 250, 254–5, 260, 261, 264
membership of, 254–5
and the SUA Convention, 189
public health infrastructure, 289
Purwantoro, Dr Agus, 225
Putin, Vladimir, 78
Quadilateral Security Dialogue, 64
Rabasa, Angel, 212–13
radical Islamism, 22
Rahim, Lily, 132
Rajagopalan, Rajesh, 22–3, 228–36, 310
Ramzi Yousef, 222
Rapkin, David, 153
rationality, bounded, 103
Ravenhill, John, 21, 188–202, 308, 312
Reagan, President Ronald, 74
realism, 3, 85, 311
and China, 86
and conflict, 8, 152
democratic peace thesis, 150
democratic realist institutionalism, 146, 165, 166
and the economics–security nexus, 202–5
neo-classical, 144
neo-realism, 11
offensive realism, 1–2
and power transitions, 152, 188
and security communities, 144
recycling, bans on, 271–4
Reese, M. J., 151, 155, 157
regional competition, global elements of, 92–7
Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia, 250, 255
Information Sharing Centre, 255
regional–global security nexus, 4, 15, 33–8, 40, 103–6, 118, 167, 301
China and, 86
complexity of, 45
and East Asian security order, 115–19
and maritime security, 263
and pandemic influenza, 291, 298
top-down and bottom-up approaches to, 32
regional integration, economic, 21
Regional Maritime Security Initiative, 250
regional security complexes, 12, 26, 34, 36
Asia as a regional supercomplex, 36–8
‘centred’, 35
degree of global penetration, 2
great power regional security complexes, 35
hybrid levels of, 35
inter-regional level, 35
‘standard’, 35
supercomplexes, 35
theory of, 2
regional stability, 9
regional–systemic nexus, 37, 40
regionalisation, 39, 42
in East Asia, 44
of health, 291, 298
Index

regionalism, 32, 33–6, 38, 42, 250, 302, 312
agents of, 39
in Asia, 6, 10, 45, 101–6, 121
competitive, 50, 64
in East Asia, 44, 58–64
and the environment, 266
and regions, 38–9
top-down and bottom-up approaches to, 39, 47
regions, 38, 39, 42
resources, and military force, 21
responsibility to protect, 44, 170, 181–2, 307
Revised Guidelines for Japan–US Defense Cooperation, 113
Rice, Condoleezza, 78
Rio Convention on Biological Diversity, 268
Rodier, Guénaël, 293
rogue states, 73, 74
rule of law, 20, 125, 186
Rumsfeld, Donald, 77
Russia, 82, 102
and China, 64
and the East Asia Summit, 65
and India, 111, 112
integration into the Western system, 71
and Iran, 78
and the Kyoto Protocol, 276
and NATO, 71
naval forces, 255, 262
superpower status, 109
and the US, 68, 78, 112
and Vietnam, 111, 160
and the World Trade Organization, 276
Rwanda, 69
Sageman, Marc, 213, 221
Samudra, Imam, 223
San Francisco system of regional alliances, 15, 54–8, 65, 105, 305
and ASEAN, 63
and China, 62
effectiveness of, 55, 57
as a stabiliser of regional order, 55
SAR Convention, 259, 261
SARS crisis, 44, 171, 284, 287, 291
Saudi Arabia, 72, 222
Saunders, Phillip, 92
Sayyaf, Abdul Rasul, 220
Schelling, Thomas, 235
Schumpeter, Joseph, 123
sea lines of communication, 247, 248, 258
SEATO, 56, 110, 305
Secure Trade in the Asia-Pacific Region, 259
security
Asian definitions of regional security, 104–5
centre of gravity concept of, 15, 31, 32, 43–7
classical concerns, 20, 123, 185, 186
conceptions of, 122
cooperative, 307, 311
and democracy, 19, 122–6, 143
and economic development, 20
energy security, 23–4
global security, 11, 14, 40, 101, 103, 104
human security; see separate entry
and industrialisation, 136
levels of analysis, 14, 32, 33–8, 40–1, 42, 103, 302
maritime security, 23–4, 247–65
military security, 187, 287
non-traditional issues, 134–41, 182
normative outlooks on, 18–21
and pandemic influenza, 25, 285–8
policy agenda for, 26–8
of port facilities and ships in port, 251, 252
post-Cold War, 11
'soft power' components of, 17
structural outlooks on, 18–21
transnational, 40, 146, 284, 303, 308–10
transregional security politics, 26, 301–13
security actors, 42
security communities, 12, 311, 312
amalgamated, 147
in the Asia-Pacific, 158–64
balancing within, 158
building of, 19–20
characteristics of, 148
collective security, 147
concept of, 146–53
and cultural identity, 148, 149
democratic leadership in, 152, 157
in East Asia, 144–66
with a mixture of democratic and non-democratic states, 149, 150
with more than one great power, 151
multilateral, 146
pluralistic, 144, 147, 148
power-balancing within, 152
security cooperation, 105
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>security dilemmas in Asia, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>security politics, 3, 5, 301–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ambiguity in, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and global security issues and practices, 26–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclusiveness approach to, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and international systemic structures and events, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Segal, Gerald, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separatism, 130–4, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, 2, 64, 65, 78, 97, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shipping, security of, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simon, Sheldon, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore, 136, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Asian values’ movement, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>civil liberties, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elections, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exports to China, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>information-sharing on avian influenza, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and terrorism, 132, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the US, 55, 64, 114, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore strait, security of, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siswanto, Sri Pujimulyo, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Six Party Talks on North Korea, 44, 65, 79, 89, 228, 239, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smith, Mike, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>socialisation, 6, 155, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SOLAS, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solingen, Etel, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somalia, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South East Asian Iron and Steel Institute, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South Korea, 102, 110, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Afghanistan, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and ASEAN, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and avian influenza, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and China, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>corruption, 135, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defence White Papers, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dependence on energy from the Middle East, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>foreign direct investment, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>human rights, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Japan, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>military orientation, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and North Korea, 71, 229, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nuclear energy, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the Proliferation Security Initiative, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and ReCAAP, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the US, 55, 72, 116–17, 158, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cooperation in, 127–8, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>economic modernisation, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emergence of Islamic terrorism in, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ethnic and religious pluralism in, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and international terrorism, 22, 211–16, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maritime strategies in, 255, 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>militant groups, 216, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>types of regimes in, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, 56, 110, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sovereignty, 44, 122, 136, 167, 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and classical security concerns, 126–34, 141, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>China and, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and cross-national conflict, 127–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and maritime security, 24, 256, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over offshore islands, 247, 249, 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and security communities, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Spanish’ influenza, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squassoni, Sharon, 236, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Lanka, 178, 253, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>states, 40, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capacity to act on security concerns, 125, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capacity to project power, 34–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>developmental states, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goals of, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>great powers, 34, 35, 303, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hobbesian, 147, 149, 164, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>institutions and, 52–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inter-regional states, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intervention in economic relations, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kantian, 147–8, 153, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lockean, 147, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-democratic, 149, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regional powers, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rising powers, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sovereignty, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>superpowers, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>types of, 34–5, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unipolar system, 67, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Westphalian system, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>structuralism, 103, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUA Convention, 250, 259, 261, 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subsidiarity principle, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suh, J. J., 8–10, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suharto, President, 57, 132, 137, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sukarnoputri, President Megawati, 131, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sungkar, Abdullah, 216, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>superpowers, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sustainable development, 268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Taiwan, 110, 136, 264
and China, 71, 72, 78, 91, 93, 164
corruption, 135
human rights, 140
nuclear energy, 280
nuclear programme, 280
and the US, 55, 91, 118, 203
Tajikistan, 64
Tantima, Ampon, 269
Taylor, Brendan, 17–18, 85–98, 304
territoriality, 122, 126–34, 136
terrorism, 82, 130–4; see also 11 September
attack on the US and under names of individual groups
11 September attack on the US, 16
al-Qaeda-centric paradigm of, 215–16, 217, 219–20, 222, 226
approaches to
country studies expert analysis of, 217, 222
international terrorism expert analyses of, 215–16, 217, 218, 220, 222, 227, 310
regional security analyses of, 216, 217, 218, 220, 222, 227
and cross-national conflict, 127–9
definition of, 211–12, 216
importance of domestic factors, 213, 226
international, 211–27
linkages, 211–17, 227
maritime terrorism, 247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 264
and militaries, 131
problems of linkages, 212–17, 226
proscription of terrorist groups, 212
and Southeast Asia, 22, 64, 141
Thailand, 134
corruption, 135
democracy in, 125, 160
disease surveillance and containment, 292, 294
exports to China, 198
human rights, 140, 141
and human security, 172, 182
manipulation of attitudes and identities, 137
Pattani United Liberation Organisation, 131
public health infrastructure, 290
and terrorism, 131, 214, 226
and the US, 55, 63, 114, 129
Thaksin Shinawatra, Prime Minister, 125, 131, 140
Thayer, Carl, 22, 211–27, 310
Thompson, Mark, 125
Tibet, 130
trade, 61, 194, 308
agreements, preferential, 200–1
and alliances, 203
and conflict, 190, 192, 206
in hazardous waste, 24–5, 271–4
intra-industry, 191–3
and maritime security, 262
in metal scrap, 274
regulation, 135
Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline, 259
Treaty of Peace and Friendship between
China and Japan, 111
Trilateral Commission, 154
Trilateral Security Dialogue, 64, 65, 154, 158
trust, 53, 86, 148, 149, 150, 161, 166
tsunami of December 2004, 44, 171
ul Haq, Mahbub, 168
UNCLOS, 259–61, 263
complexity of, 260
limitations of, 259, 260
parties to, 261
Union Carbide plant at Bhopal, 269–70
unipolar system, 82
United Kingdom
greenhouse gas emissions, 275, 276
proscribed terrorist groups, 212
United Nations, 2, 40, 49, 83, 146
Commission on Human Rights, 180
definition of terrorism, 211–12
Development Programme, 168, 179
inspections, 72
Office for the Coordination of
Humanitarian Affairs, 182
reform of, 179
sanctions,
Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on
Threats, Challenges and Change, 179
Security Council, 2, 74, 104, 179, 212, 242
membership, 51, 53
World Summit on Social Development, 170, 179
Uno, Prime Minister Sosuke, 59
accommodation with China, 91, 97
and Afghanistan, 74, 75, 76, 77, 214, 216–17
Agreed Framework with North Korea, 238, 243
and APEC, 60
and ASEAN, 128
and Australia, 54, 110, 119
bilateral alliances, 15, 41, 46, 49, 305
and Bosnia, 69
Bush administration, 12
and Cambodia, 129
challenge to, 115
and China, 36, 72, 85–98, 118, 120
competition with China, 17, 90, 91, 94, 98, 229, 306
cooperation, 17, 54, 89, 304
perceptions of China, 18, 68, 83, 94, 95, 98
trade, 110, 204, 206
Coast Guard, 257
commitment to Asia, 113
democratic leadership, 165
Department of Homeland Security, 257, 261, 264
difference between Asian and Pacific alliances, 41, 55–6, 68
diplomacy, 79, 80–1
d and the ‘domino theory’, 119
d the East Asia Summit, 65
d and the East Asian Economic Group, 60
economic power, 67, 70, 88, 198, 202
energy supplies, 71, 72–3, 95
Europe, 55, 71
foreign policy, 16
foreign policy and 11 September attack, 73–6
foreign policy during the 1990s, 68–70
foreign policy in East Asia, 71–2
global actor and a regional actor, 105
global financial regime, 201
Global Maritime Partnership Initiative, 257, 261, 264
Global Maritime Situational Awareness, 261
global strategy, 8, 67–84
Guam Doctrine, 110
Gulf War of 1990–91, 72
and Haiti, 69
historical and cultural treatment of Asian societies, 162
from 1945 to 1970, 109–10
in East Asia, 102, 106–9, 115
hierarchy from 1990 onwards, 112–15
regional hierarchy, 106–15
international legitimacy of, 83
and Iran, 72
and Iraq, 69, 74, 75, 77
and Japan, 41, 81, 113, 156, 157, 206
bilateral alliance, 54, 72, 90, 119, 146
security community with, 20, 153–8, 165
and Kosovo, 69
and the Kyoto Protocol, 275, 277
liberal internationalism, 75
and maritime security, 24, 252, 254, 260, 264
Marshall Plan, 55
mercantilism, 95, 96
military bases in Asia, 114, 165
military resources, 67, 92
military strategy during the 1990s, 69
multilateralism, 27
and Myanmar, 129
National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 219, 220, 221
National Security Statement, 21, 162
naval forces, 255, 256, 257, 260
neo-conservatism, 12, 44
and New Zealand, 54, 110
and North Korea, 10, 89, 239, 241, 244
nuclear capability, 110, 233
Nye Initiative, 72
Operation Enduring Freedom, 214, 216–17
and pandemic influenza, 294
‘Partnership for Peace’, 71
pax Americana, 12
penetration and securitisation in Asia, 41
perception of China, 94
perception of the international environment, 73
and the Persian Gulf, 67, 70, 72–3, 76, 78, 110
and the Philippines, 54, 63, 114
political strategy during the 1990s, 69–70

Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>power of</td>
<td>10, 16–17, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proliferation Security Initiative</td>
<td>250, 254–5, 260, 261, 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protection of the homeland</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quadrilateral Security Dialogue</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Maritime Security Initiative</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regional priorities, 67–73, 76–81, 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and regional stability, 8, 17, 71, 76, 79–81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regionalism, 6, 36, 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the Republic of Korea, 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Guidelines for Japan–US Defense Cooperation</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role in Asia, 6, 7, 36, 108, 115, 303</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role in the Pacific, 55–6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Russia, 68, 78, 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Rwanda, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco system of regional alliances</td>
<td>15, 54–8, 65, 105, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Saudi Arabia, 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea power, 250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security community-building, 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security threats after 11 September 2001</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate Committee on Foreign Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing on the Law of the Sea Convention</td>
<td>193, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Singapore, 55, 64, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Somalia, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and South Korea, 10, 72, 110, 116–17, 158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the SUA Convention, 264</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superpower status, 18, 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Taiwan, 55, 118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Thailand, 55, 63, 114, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trade deficit, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury bills, 201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilateral Security Dialogue, 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and UNCLOS, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unilateralism, 18, 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the USSR, 110, 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Vietnam, 64, 77, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war on terror; see war on terrorism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and ‘world order’, 15, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR, 109, 111; see also Russia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the US, 110, 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan, 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valencia, Mark, 258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>values, political, 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

World Summit on Social Development, 170, 179, 181
World Trade Organization, 40, 83, 194, 205, 308
and China, 69
Dispute Settlement Mechanisms, 205
Russia and, 276

Yunlung, Zhang, 144
Zarkasih, 224, 225
Zhu Rongji, 63
Zoeckler, Robert, 13, 280
Zulkarnaen, 224