Note: A list of acronyms can be found on pp. xv–xviii.

A
accountability, responsibility
national sovereignty and, 69–70, 308–10
noninterference vs., 121–26
for nontraditional security, debates about, 72
See also cooperation, inter-state;
national sovereignty
Aceh province, Indonesia, 282
Acharya, Amitav, 51n79, 64, 246, 302
administrative states, 289
African Union (AU), 18–19
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 260
air pollution
ASEAN policy initiatives, 220–25
efforts to address within Indonesia, 232–33
inter-state cooperation on, 220, 227, 229, 235–37
sources, 199, 219–20
See also ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution;
cooperation, inter-state
Alagappa, Muthiah, 8–9
Alatas, Ali, 102n13, 294, 300, 303.
All Burma Federation of Students
Unions, 167
Alliance of All Burma Buddhist
Monks, 169–70
al Qaeda, 276
Alternative ASEAN Network on
Burma (AltSEAN), 196, 299
Annan, Kofi, 301, 307
Anwar Ibrahim, 202–3, 303
Arab League, 18
Arab Maghreb Union, 19
Aradau, Claudia, 66
Arroyo, Gloria See Macapagal-
Arroyo, Gloria.
Asad, Suleiman, 251
ASEAN, 154
chairmanship: provisions in
Charter, 329–30; role and responsibilities, 31–32, 327, 329–30; rotation of, debates about, 32–33, 209, 211, 303–4
dispute-resolution function, 104, 124–26, 295–98, 327
effectiveness/relevance of:
achievements, xvi, 60–61, 91, 220–21; debates about, 3–4, 115–16, 293–94, 300–305; interrelations between security, democracy and regionalism, 51–53; limits to, relations to limited financial resources, 121; national sovereignty/noninterference principles and, 8, 40–50, 304; organizational issues, 30–32, 312–13; response to Cyclone Nargis, xv, xvi, 32, 51–52;
financial and institutional constraints, 121–22, 129–31
membership in: criteria for, 110, 185–86; expansion, 91, 279–
80; legitimacy conferred by, 23–24
organizational development, 278–79; administration, 329; international relations, 66–68, 86, 92, 96–97; ministerial meetings, 92–93, 117; official and ad-hoc bodies associated with, 94; original structure, 94; pressures for reform, 118–22; Secretariat and Secretary-General, 94–96; Singapore model in, 284; “soft institutionalization” approach, 87
as “union” vs. community, 104
See also ASEAN Charter; ASEAN Community; democracy; Myanmar; regionalism; security and specific nations
ASEAN Agreement on Information Exchange and Establishment of Communication Procedures, 2002, 204
ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution (the Haze Agreement), 2003, 212, 238–39
enforcement provisions, effectiveness, 228–29
history of, 220–21
legal authority, 225–26
principles, obligations and enforcement, 227–28
ratification, 226, 229–30, 233–34
ASEAN Air Force Chiefs Conference, 2006, 73
ASEAN Business Advisory Council (ABAC), 120
ASEAN Centre for Biodiversity (ACB), 121
ASEAN Centre for Disease Control (ACDC), 204
ASEAN Centre on Energy (ACE), 121
ASEAN Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ASEAN-CCI), 120
ASEAN Charter ambiguities in, 280
ASEAN-ISIS analyses, 83–85
concept of “common good” in, 123n31
concepts of good governance and the rule of law in, 269–70
criticisms of, 36n50, 146–47
dispute resolution mechanisms, 104, 126–28, 270–71, 327–28
goals, 25, 269–70
human rights provisions, 105, 211–14
impact on ASEAN as an organization, 25–26, 31–32, 118–22, 206
implementation challenges, 270
as international treaty, 101–2
mandate for use of English language, 116
mechanisms for financing ASEAN, 121
membership requirements, 110
national sovereignty principle, 79, 83
pro-democracy provisions, 61, 85, 136, 140–41, 186–87
ratification, 35–37, 82, 216, 269, 333
sustainability, antipollution provisions, 238–39
text: Accreditation of Non-ASEAN Member States
to ASEAN (Article 46), 333; Admission of New Members (Article 6), 319–20; Amendments (Article 48), 333; ASEAN Anthem (Article 40), 331; ASEAN Assets (Article 55), 334; ASEAN Committees in Third Countries and International Organisations (Article 43), 332; ASEAN Community Councils (Article 9), 321–22; ASEAN Coordinating Council (Article 8), 321; ASEAN Day (Article 39), 331; ASEAN Emblem (Annex 4), 339; ASEAN Emblem (Article 38), 331; ASEAN Flag (Annex 3), 339; ASEAN Flag (Article 37), 331; ASEAN Foundation (Article 15), 325; ASEAN Human Rights Body (Article 14), 325; ASEAN Identity (Article 35), 330; ASEAN Ministerial Bodies (Article 10), 322; ASEAN Motto (Article 36), 330; ASEAN National Secretariats (Article 13), 325; ASEAN Sectorial Ministerial Bodies (ANNEX 1), 336–38; ASEAN Summit (Article 7), 320–21; Budget, General Principles (Article 29), 329; Chairman of ASEAN (Article 31), 330; Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN (Article 12), 324; Compliance (Article 27), 328; Conduct of External Relations (Article 41), 331–32; Consultation and Consensus (Article 20), 327; Dialogue Coordinator (Article 42), 332; Diplomatic Protocol and Practices, 330; Entities Associated within ASEAN (Annex 2), 338–39; Entities Associated within ASEAN (Article 16), 325–26; Establishment of Dispute Resolution Mechanisms (Article 25), 327; General Principles (of dispute resolution) (Article 22), 327; Immunities and Privileges of ASEAN (Article 17), 326; Immunities and Privileges of the Secretary-General of ASEAN and Staff of the SEAN Secretariat (Article 18), 326; Implementation and Procedure (Article 21), 327; Immunities and Privileges of the Permanent Representatives and Officials on ASEAN Duties (Article 19), 326; Interpretation of the Charter (Article 51), 334; Legal Continuity (Article 52), 334; Legal Personality (Article 3), 319; Member States (Article 4), 319; Operational Budget and Finances of the ASEAN Secretariat (Article 30), 329; Original Text (Article 53), 334; Preamble, 315–16; Principles (Article 2), 318–19; Purposes (Article 1), 316–17; Registration of ASEAN Charter (Article 54), 334; Relations with United Nations System and Other International Organisations and Institutions (Article 45), 333; Review (Article 51), 334; Rights and Obligations (Article 5), 319; Secretary-General of ASEAN and ASEAN Secretariat (Article 11), 323–24; signatories, 335; Signature, Ratification, Depository and Entry Into Force (Article 47), 333; Status of External Parties (Article 44), 332; Terms of Reference and Rules of Procedure (Article 49), 334; United Nations Charter Provisions and other Relevant International Procedures (Article 28), 328; Unresolved
**Hard Choices: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia**

Disputes (Article 26), 328; Working Language (Article 34), 330

*See also* ASEAN

ASEAN Chiefs of Army Multilateral Meeting (ACAMM), Singapore, 2003, 87

ASEAN-China Center, ASEAN South Korean Center, 121

ASEAN-China Commemorative Summit, 2006, 125

ASEAN-China Free Trade Area, 96

ASEAN Civil Society Conferences (ACSCs), 212–13

ASEAN Community community-building challenges, xv–xvi establishment of, 104–5, 203 importance, 130–31 rationales for, 97–99 terms associated with, 135n1

*See also* ASEAN Economic Community (AEC); ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC); ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)

ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism, 2007, 86, 148–49

ASEAN Cooperation Fund for Disaster Assistance, 43

ASEAN Cooperation Plan on Transboundary Pollution, 1995, 222

ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Transboundary Pollution Control, 228–29

ASEAN Coordinating Council (ACC), 119, 119n28

ASEAN Declaration. *See* Bangkok Declaration, 1967

ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism, 2001, 87–88

ASEAN Declaration on the Conduct of the Parties in South China Sea, 2002, 287

ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, 1992, 125

ASEAN Defense Ministers Meetings (ADMMs) goals, 94n4, 110, 110n24 information sharing, 205 non-traditional security, 72–73

ASEAN Development Fund, 121, 268

ASEAN Dialog Partners, 96

ASEAN Director-General (ASEAN DG), 94

ASEAN Earthquakes Information Centre, 121

ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) bilateral free trade agreements and, 114–15 dispute resolution function, 126 history and goals, 15, 92, 97–98, 112–13, 119 organizational structure, 118, 336–37 regional integration, 113–14, 270

ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team, 44

ASEAN Forum on Migration, 2008, 106

ASEAN Foundation, 121, 325

ASEAN Four, 67

ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, 15

ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), 113, 130–31, 285

ASEAN Human Rights Body (Charter, Article 14), 325

ASEAN Emergency Rapid Assessment Team, 44

ASEAN Institute of Science and Technology, Pathumthani, 121

ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) ASEAN Charter inputs, 213 human rights forums, 210 intervention guidelines, 312 on Myanmar membership in ASEAN, 299 policy inputs, 120

ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) policy inputs, 83–85 security analyses, 65
ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), 103
ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMC), 2004, 180
ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organisation (AIPO), 210–11
ASEAN Investment Area, 1998, 268
ASEAN-Japan Centre, 121
ASEAN Ministerial Meetings (AMMs)
air pollution control efforts, 223
ASEAN Charter draft, 104–5
function, 94
human rights promotion, 105
ASEAN Ministers of Agriculture and Forestry (AMAF), 117
ASEAN Minus X formula, 30, 51, 127
ASEAN-Myanmar-UN Tripartite Core Group, 43, 45
ASEAN National Secretariats, 94, 325
ASEAN People’s Assembly (APA), 210–11, 257
ASEAN Plus One framework, 93, 118
ASEAN Plus Three (APT)
framework, 15, 93n3, 268, 288
ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) (formerly ASC)
dispute resolution function, 125
goals, 54, 92
history, founding, 94n4, 106–7, 137–39
information sharing efforts, 205
mandate and constraints, 73, 107–9, 142–49, 191–92, 204–6, 208
organizational structure, 118–19, 216, 336
Plan of Action, 111–12, 136, 139–40
renaming, 97n10
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)
in ASEAN Charter, 336
creation of, 22
membership, 96n9
1998 meeting, 64
ASEAN’s Common Effective Preferential Tariff Scheme, 285
ASEAN Secretariat, 94, 323–24
annual budget, 121
budget, 329
enhanced role and responsibilities under ASEAN Charter, 119
immunities and privileges, 326
measures to strengthen, 130
operating budget, 129
organizational development, 95–96
relations with non-Asian secretariats, 97
role in enforcement of the Haze Agreement, 228
ASEAN Secretary-General (SG)
challenges facing, xv
immunities and privileges, 326
Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM), 117
role and responsibilities, 27, 32, 48, 95, 119
selection process, 95, 323–24
SGs, 1976–1992, 95n6
SGs, 1993–present, 48–50, 92–93, 95, 95n7
See also Surin Pitsuwan
ASEAN Security Community (ASC).
See ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC)
ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting, 213
ASEAN Senior Officials on the Environment (ASOEN), 222
ASEAN Six, 66–67
ASEAN Social Charter, 213
ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC)
caring and sharing theme, 111, 115–16
Council for coordinating activities of, 118
importance of, xvi
ministerial bodies associated with in ASEAN Charter, 337–38
policy concerns, 115
rationale for/goals, 92
use of English as “official” language, implications, 116
ASEAN Specialized Meteorological Centre, 121
ASEAN Standing Committee, 27–28, 31, 94
ASEAN Strategic Plan of Action on the Environment, 1994, 222
ASEAN Trade Union Council, 213
ASEAN Treaty of Amity, 288
ASEAN Troika, 110–11, 203
ASEAN-United States Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, 2005, 114
ASEAN University Network Secretariat, 121
ASEAN Way, 23–24
definitions, 5, 293–94
eyear articulations, 107
evolution of, 34, 47, 50
reflections of, in Charter, 36–39, 56
See also consensus-based decision-making; national sovereignty; noninterference principle
ASEAN Working Group on Human Rights (AWGHR), 210
Asia-Africa Summit, 2005, 97
Asia Cooperation Dialog (ACD), 97
Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), 96, 178
Asian Development Bank (ADB), 223–25, 285
Asian financial crisis (AFC), 1997, 17–18, 37
air pollution and, 220
ASEAN responses to, 135, 191, 268
political impacts, 196–98, 275–76, 281–82
security issues, 63–64, 194, 195
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summits, 67, 196
Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), 59
Association of South East Asia (ASA), 278
Aung Bwa, 103n14
Aung San Suu Kyi
arrest and confinement, 155–56, 300–301
ASEAN’s prestige and, 28, 30, 215, 302
political goals and activities, 164–66
relations with Myanmar military junta, 27, 151–52, 157, 173–74
Aun Porn Moniroth, 102n13
Australia
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
in East Asia Summit group, 92
illegal immigration in, 72
authoritarian rule
accountability and, 69
in Brunei Darussalam, 144
in Cambodia, 144, 284–85
in China, 10
democracy vs. 8–12, 21, 60–61
economic development and, 284–88
European vs. Southeast Asian experience, 56
in Malaysia, 72, 143, 145
in Singapore, 16–17, 144
success of in post-Cold War economies, 274–75
in Vietnam, 144, 286–87
avian flu pandemic, 77, 88–89, 201–2
Aziz, Nazri Abdul, 303–4
B
Badawi, Abdullah, 300n24
Bagehot, Walter, 290
Bakti, Ikrar Nusa, 85
Bali Concord II, 268, 277n37
Bangkok Declaration, 1967, 59, 94, 269, 278, 296
Ban Ki-moon, 28, 178
Bay of Bengal cyclone, 2008, 7
bird flu. See avian flu pandemic
Blair, Tony, 273–74
Bounkeut Sangsomsak, 103n14
Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 307
Brunei Darussalam
air pollution, 199
authoritarian rule in, 144, 280
demographics, 20
cabinet, 17
free-port status, 112
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 99, 100
bureaucracy
ASEAN: energy bureaucracy, 121, 255; and organizational effectiveness, 88, 117, 129
in Indonesia, power of, 261, 282
Burma. See Myanmar (Burma)
Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP), 155, 159–60
Bush, George H. W., 67
Bush, George W.
democracy-by-invasion, 10, 10n17
Enterprise for ASEAN Initiative (EAI), 67
See also United States
Busse, Nicholas, 295
Buzan, Barry, 62–63
C
Caballero-Anthony, Mely, 4, 7, 13, 369
Cambodia
authoritarian rule in, 144, 284–85
invasion of, 6
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
regime accountability in, 70
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 99, 100
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
Cebu Declaration on the Blueprint of an ASEAN Charter, 2006, 77, 269, 271, 279
Centre for International and Strategic Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, 84
Cerny, Philip, 272–74
Chakri dynasty, Thailand, 280
Chandra, Alexander, 78
Charter, ASEAN. See ASEAN Charter
children, trafficking in, 200
children’s rights, ASEAN commitment to, 105, 146, 210
China
in ASEAN Plus One Framework, 93, 118
in ASEAN Plus Three Framework, 15, 92, 268
ASEAN trade agreements with, 288
authoritarian rule in, 10
coordinated security efforts with ASEAN, 86
in East Asia Summit group, 92
Hong Kong, trade within East Asia, 15
influence in Myanmar, 145
links with Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, 285
relations with Myanmar, 30, 173, 183–85, 184n80, 287
relations with Vietnam, 6, 71
standard of living, 100
support for the SEANWFZ, 108
territorial disputes with, 125
China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA), 66–67
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, Social Research Institute, 196
civil rights and liberties
in ASEAN Charter, debates about, 37, 77–83
democracy and, 10–11
NGOs and, 83–85
traditional vs. alternative in Southeast Asia, 19–20, 62–63, 82
See also democracy; human security; nontraditional security (NTS)
Cold War
founding of ASEAN and, 59–60
security and, 62
colonial rule, 59–60, 295
Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN (Charter, Article 12), 119–20, 324
Committee Representing People’s Parliament (CRPP), 157
common good, defined, 123n31. See also cooperation, inter-state
Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), 70, 286
Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement with China, 2002, 114
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 253–56
Confucian influence, 17, 277n36
consensus-based decision-making in ASEAN Charter, 85, 104
ASEAN’s effectiveness and, debates about, 38, 103, 110, 293–94
democracy and, 69, 69n26
national sovereignty and, 24, 270
solidarity vs. unanimity, 29, 33–34, 36, 47, 50
See also elections
constructive engagement, policy of, 111, 152, 304, 310–11
constructivist perspective on international relations, 246–47, 256, 265
on post-Cold War politics, democracy, 247
Control Fund (the Haze Agreement), 228–29
conventional international bodies (CIBs), 12–13
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979, 105
Cook, Robin, 178
cooperation, inter-state
air pollution control efforts, 227
anticorruption efforts, 11, 231
antiterrorism efforts, 147
economic development and, 290
nuclear energy policies, 257–61
responsibility for, disagreements about, 122–26
on security issues, 297
See also free trade agreements (FTAs), bilateral; regionalism
Copenhagen School security model, 65, 65n14
corruption
anticorruption efforts, 231
ASEAN members’ need to address, 19–20
democracy and, 144
following the Asian financial crisis, 281
in Indonesia, 233, 234, 281
in Myanmar, 167, 287
in the Philippines, 11, 250
Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats, 48
country, defined, 6
cronyism, nepotism, democratization and, 281
Cyclone Nargis, Myanmar, 2008
ASEAN response to, xv, xvi, 32, 51–52
Myanmar response to, 29, 40–51, 175
D
Darul Islam Nusantara, 276
Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (Daw Suu).
See Aung San Suu Kyi
decision-making. See consensus-based decision making
Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, 1967, 101
Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), 1976, 109, 114, 123, 138–39, 268, 277n37
Declaration on Environmental Sustainability, 2007, 238–39
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, 2002, 125
de Cuellar, Javier Perez, 307
deforestation and burning practices, air pollution and, 219–20, 230–31, 233
democracy, xvi
accountability, responsibility and, 69–70
Asian vs. Western concepts of, 69n26
constructivist perspective, 247
definitions and subtypes of, 8–9
democratic peace theory, 56, 267, 271–72, 276
“disciplined democracy,” 153, 156, 176, 188
discussions about, within
ASEAN: in ASEAN Security Community Plan of Action, 139–40; backlash against U.S. government policies, 145; and fears of outside intervention, 207; new openness about, xvi; during planning and implementation of ASEAN Charter, 80, 84–85, 136, 140–41, 186–87, 269–70; policy initiatives, 207; rhetoric vs. action on, 68–69, 141; summary, 19–20; Vientiane Action Program (VAP), 209
electoral democracy, 9
national sovereignty, political stability vs., 111, 143, 290, 305–10
“new regionalism” and, 193 NGOs, regional organizations and, 54–55
“third wave,” 9, 11
See also regionalism
democracy-by-invasion, 10
democratic peace theory, 56, 267, 271–72, 276
demo-skepticism, 9–10
Depayin incident (Myanmar), 2003, 165
deputy secretaries-general (DSGs), 119
Deutsch, Karl W., 60
Diamond, Larry, 9–10, 10n16
Directorate of the Defense Service Intelligence, Myanmar, 161–62
disease, epidemics
public health infrastructure and, 89
security threats from, 7, 77
dispute resolution
within ASEAN (see also ASEAN; ASEAN Charter)
international law and courts for, 124, 296
Djani, Dian Triansyah, 85, 103n14
do i mo i policy, Vietnam, 75–76
domestic politics, dominance over international relations, 245
Donnelly, Jack, 310
Dosch, Jörn, 4, 7, 13, 15, 21, 23, 370
durable disorder” (Minc), 272, 273–76, 288

E
East Asia, regional trade, 15. See also Southeast Asia
East Asia Summit (EAS)
2007 meeting in Singapore, 33, 154
membership and history, 93, 93n3
East Timor, 48, 126. See also Timor-Leste
regional trade, 15, 290
security and: ASEAN-China
relations, 66–67; ASEAN-
U.S. relations, 67–68;
interdependence, 15–16;
Singapore example, 74–75;
Vietnam example, 75–76
trade-promoting organizations, 121
See also Asian financial crisis
(AFC), 1997; global political
Economic Research Institute for
ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), 121
ElBaradei, Mohamed, 249, 250
elections
in Borneo, Indonesian acceptance
of, 296
for decision-making within
ASEAN, 104
in Indonesia, 197–98, 281
in Malaysia, 198
to reinforce elites, 281
role in liberal democracy, 9–10
11th ASEAN Summit, Kuala
Lumpur, 2005, 101–2
commitment to ASEAN Charter,
140, 269
debates about Myanmar during, 209
Eminent Persons Group (EPG)
establishment and mandate, 102,
140, 212, 212n58
members, 102n13
promotion of human rights by,
213–14
recommendations, 76–81, 186–87
2006 report, 37–40, 269–71
Emmerson, Donald K., 245, 370–71
energy issues. See natural gas; nuclear
energy
English language, use of within
ASEAN, 116, 330
Enhanced Dispute Settlement
Mechanism (DSM), 126
Enterprise for ASEAN Initiative
(EAI), 67–68
Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, 67
environmental degradation, 6–7, 77
European Union (EU)
ASEAN Charter compared with
EU Constitution and Lisbon
Treaty, 34–36, 128
criticism of ASEAN for Myanmar
policy, 299
eyear support for Myanmar
government, 299n17
EU-ASEAN ministerial meetings,
2000, 2005, 178
European Constitution, 34
operating budget, 129
response to Myanmar’s military
junta, 28, 152
resumption of talks with ASEAN,
301
sanctions against Myanmar,
impact of, 182–83
security, democracy and
regionalism in, 18, 25–26
Evans, Gareth, 42, 63

F
Failed States Index (Fund for Peace, 
Foreign Policy), 7
financial crisis, 1997. See Asian
financial crisis (AFC), 1997
financing of ASEAN
equality among member states,
121
possible reforms, 129
provisions in Charter, 329
1st ASEAN Summit, Bali, 1976, 94, 
101
floods and droughts, as threats to
security, 7
foreign minister business meetings
during Charter-drafting period,
103–4
following signing of the Charter,
119
goals of, 92–93
meetings of during Charter-
drafting period, 104
36th ASEAN Foreign Ministers
Meeting, Phnom Penh, 2003, 
302–3
38th ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting, Vientiane, 2005, 304
Forum for East Asia and Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC), 96–97
“four-eights” group, Myanmar, 167–69
4th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on the Environment (AMME), 1990, 221–22
Framework Agreement on ASEAN-China Comprehensive Economic Cooperation, 2002, 66–67
freedom, ZOPFAN definition, 22
Freedom House classifications of democracies, 9, 10–11, 21, 197, 258
Free Papua Organization (Organisasi Papua Merdeka), 200–201
free trade agreements (FTAs) between ASEAN members, 285 bilateral, 67–68, 114–15, 191 interregional, 114 as security tool, 74–75
Friedman, Edward, 69
Fuzi Haji Abdul Razak, Tan Sri Ahma, 103
Fukuyama, Francis, 265

G
Gambari, Ibrahim, 28, 30, 33, 154, 178, 215
Ghazali Shafie, 295–98
global political economy, globalization “new regionalism,” 192 non-traditional security threats, 62–6, 67–683 political stability and, 289 post-Cold War politico-economic structures, 275 See also economic policies, economic development GONGOs (governmental nongovernmental organizations), 169–70
government(s) defined, 6 diversity of, 20 See accountability, responsibility; democracy; national sovereignty
gross domestic product (GDP), per capita
ASEAN members vs. other countries, 97–98 inter-regional differences, 20 gross domestic product (GDP), Southeast Asia, 284
Gulf Cooperation Council, 19

H
Haacke, Jürgen, 246–47
Habibie, B. J., 22, 29
harmony. See consensus-based decision-making
Hasan, Bob, 234 “the haze,” the Haze Agreement. See air pollution; ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution
Haze Technical Task Force (HTTF), 222–23, 224
Hernandez, Carolina, 311, 313
Herzog, Chaim, 297
Higgott, Richard, 67–68
High Council, 124
High-Level Task Force (HLTF) drafting of ASEAN Charter, 38, 79, 82, 104, 140 establishment of, 102–3 members, 103
Hong Kong, trade within East Asia, 15
Human Development Index (HDI), 16–17, 17
humanitarian aid, xvi–xvii
human rights in the ASEAN Charter: ASEAN-ISIS inputs regarding, 84–85; concepts related to, 140–41, 211–14; debates about, 104–5, 269
in ASEAN policy initiatives, 136, 139–40, 207, 210 intervention on behalf of, debates about, 126–27, 302, 309
national sovereignty vs., 305–10, 307–8
rhetoric vs. action on, 85–86
as security issue, 192–93
See also human security; nontraditional security
human security
in ASEAN Charter, 37, 56, 76–81
ASEAN policy, 19–20, 37, 53–56, 63–64, 120, 208
evolution and support for concept of, 61, 194–96
human-centered security systems, 196–97
as individual security, 5, 19, 63
intervention on behalf of, debates about, 27
social safety net policies, 195–96
United Nations definition, 63
See also human rights; nontraditional security
Hun Sen, 285–86
I
idealist political perspective, 276, 290
identity, ASEAN. See ASEAN: identity
immigration, illegal, 7, 72
immunities and privileges in ASEAN Charter, 326
India
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
in ASEAN Plus One Framework, 93, 118
in East Asia Summit group, 92
role/investment in Myanmar, 145, 184
Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, 2004, 6–7, 37
“individual security” concept, 8n9, 62–63
Indonesia
air pollution: deforestation and burning practices, 219–21;
failure to ratify the Haze Agreement, 229–30, 233–34;
foreign investment associated with, 224–25; internal efforts
to curb, 232–33; long-term problems, 230; transboundary efforts to limit, 226–27
cooperative security proposals, 137–38
democracy in, 16, 21, 54, 138, 143–44, 207; challenges associated with, 281–82;
cultural responses, 280–81;
“Pancasila democracy,” 69;
reformist pressures in, 70, 84–85; subtypes and definitions, 9
demographics, 20
economy, 16, 197
government/state structure, 6
influence of: within ASEAN, 40, 94; within Southeast Asia, 4n3, 85, 111–12
invasion/occupation of East Timor, 6, 19, 48. See also Timor-Leste
“national resilience” policy, 76
nuclear energy policies, 248, 249;
protests against, 258–61
oil and natural gas exports, 247–48
peacekeeping force proposal, 73–74, 206
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35–36
regional security strategies, 21–22, 73, 86
relations with Myanmar, 181, 296, 302–3
relations with Singapore, 22
social safety net policies, 195
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 100
Sumatran earthquake and tsunami, 2004, 75
territorial disputes with neighbors, 124, 296
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
Indonesian Academy of Sciences, 259
Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI), 231–32, 258
infectious disease, as security threat, 201–2
information sharing, regional, 205–7.
See also cooperation, inter-state; regionalism; security
Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), 115
Institute for Global Peace, Jakarta, 78
Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, 84
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, 77, 213
Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Hanoi, 71
interference, outside
degrees of, continuum showing, 309
legitimate, debates about, 308–9
national sovereignty vs., 306
See also intervention;
noninterference principle
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 249–50, 253, 259–61
International Court of Justice (ICJ), the Hague, 124
“internationalizing coalitions,” 246
international law. See law, international
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 197
International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 200
international relations
in ASEAN Charter, provisions related to, 330, 331–33
ASEAN participation in, 96; territorial disputes, 296
constructivist perspective, 246–47, 256, 265
dominance of domestic politics over, debates about, 244–45
economic partnerships, 268–69
“internationalist model,” 310
liberal interpretation, 242, 244
nuclear weapons agreements, 108
realist perspective, 89, 242–44, 246–47, 256, 265
theoretical paradigms, impact on policy decisions, 66, 242–47
See also free trade agreements (FTAs), bilateral; law, international
Internet, impact on political reform, 172–74
intervention
by ASEAN: in Myanmar, debates about, 29; noninterference principle and, 136, 308–9, 313
foreign: fears of, policy impacts, 143; role of ASEAN in preventing, n20, 23, 108–9
guidelines for, 311–12
intra-regional, ASEAN commitment to preventing, 23
See also national sovereignty; noninterference principle
Iran, 259–61
Iraq, 10
Islam, impact on Southeast Asian politics, 276, 282
J
Jackson, Robert, 306, 308
Japan
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
ASEAN Plus One Framework, 93, 118
ASEAN Plus Three Framework, 15, 92, 268
relations with Indonesia, 248–49
standard of living, 100
trade within East Asia, 15
Jayakumar, S., 102n13
Jemaah Islamiyah, 276, 282
Jiang Zemin, 125
Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM), 117
Joint Ministerial Meeting (JMM), 117
Jones, David Martin, 4, 7, 15, 371–72
K
Kaban, M. S., 231
Kalla, Jusuf, 281
Kant, Immanuel, 265
Hard Choices: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

Kao Kim Hourn, 103n14
Kasemsamosorn Kasemsri, M. R., 102n13
ketanahan nasional (“national resilience”) policy, Indonesia, 76
Khamphan Simmalavong, 102n13
Khamtay Siphandone, 285
Khan, Ayub, 9
Khin Nyunt, 161–63, 167, 300, 304, 304n38
Kim Dae Jung, 68–69
Koh, Tommy, 103n14
Konfrontasi campaign, Indonesia, 296, 297–98
Korea, democratic traditions, 68–69
Kouchner, Bernard, 40–41, 45
Krasner, Stephen D., 308n53
Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the Establishment of the ASEAN Charter, 2005, 76–77
Kuhonta, Erik Martinez, 4, 7, 15, 41, 372
Kyaw Thu, 43
Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 4, 7, 15, 30, 187–89, 371

languages, national, within ASEAN, 116
Lao People’s Revolutionary Party (LPRP), 285
Laos
democracy in, 9
inclusion in Southeast Asia, 4n3
international trade, 285
per capita GPD, 20
political stability/authoritarianism in, 84, 285–86
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
standard of living, 99, 100
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
law, international
ASEAN court of justice proposal, 126
commitment to, in ASEAN Charter, 269–71, 328
importance of adherence to, 267
incorporation of into the Haze Agreement, 226–27
role in solving territorial disputes, 125
The Law of Peoples (Rawls), 265–67, 290
Law on the Governance of Aceh, 2006, 282
Lee Hsien Loong, 154, 172–74
Lee Kuan Yew, 68, 176
legal identity/authority. See ASEAN: identity
Leifer, Michael, 21, 74, 278–79
liberal democracy. See democracy “liberal/illiberal peace” hypothesis, 5, 16, 67–68, 294n4
liberal perspective on international relations, 242–45
on post-Cold War politics, 284
Lim Jock Seng, Pehin Dato, 102n13

M
Mahathir, Mohamad, 68–69, 176, 178, 198, 276, 279, 299, 302–3
Malaysia
air pollution control policies, 199, 231
cultural relativism in, 68–69
democratic pressures in, 11, 280–81, 296
economy, 16, 198
migrant workers, 199
nuclear energy policies, 241, 251
post-Cold War politico-economic environment, 275
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
regional security strategies, 21, 86, 297
relations with Indonesia, 16
relations with Myanmar, 303–4
relations with Singapore, 16, 21, 297
separatist movements in, 276
social safety net policies, 195
“soft” authoritarian rule in, 72, 143, 145
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 100
territorial disputes with neighbors, 124, 296
2008 elections, 53
Malley, Michael S., 4, 7, 15, 372
managerial model of political economy, 275
Manalo, Rosario, 103n14, 104
Maphilindo, 94n5, 278
Marcos, Ferdinand, 94, 250, 297
maritime abuses, security threats from, 7
market-state model of political economy, 274
Maung Aye, 162–63, 167
Mbeki, Thabo, 55
Mead, Walter Russell, 273
Middle East, security, democracy and regionalism in, 18–19
migrant workers
impact of Asian financial crisis on, 198n17
rights of, ASEAN commitments to, 106, 210
as security threat, 199–200
Minc, Alain, 272, 273–74
Min Ko Naing, 167–68, 188. See also
Myanmar (Burma)
monks, protests by in Myanmar, 169–72, 214–15
Mugabe, Robert, 55
Mukhtar, Muhammed Ali, 251
Musa Hitam, Tun, 102n13, 104
Myanmar (Burma)
in ASEAN: criticisms of, by member states, 303; debates about membership, 152–53, 162, 175–77, 298–302; denial of chairmanship: debates about, 32–33, 209, 211, 303–4; efforts to expel, 153; ratification of ASEAN Charter, 82
ASEAN response to, 3–5, 26–34, 154–55, 185–86, 216;
complexity of, 186; concessions and sanctions, 180–83; criticisms of, 3–4, 14; efforts to promote political reform, 304; impact on organization, 26–30, 29, 154–55; Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus, 179–80; “national reconciliation” vs. call for “regime change,” 153; policy approaches, debates about, 187–89, 309–10; upholding of national sovereignty principle, 143, 178–79
democracy, democratic pressures in, 214–15; “disciplined democracy,” 156; pro-democracy movements, reform efforts, 61, 157, 84, 164–68, 166n29; response to dissent, 11, 153–56, 160–61, 169–75; subtypes and definitions, 9
economy, 287–88
elections, 1990, 155, 159–60
human rights promotion efforts, 196
military rule in, 143; consolidation of power, 155–56; criticisms of, 152; internal conflicts among, 167; leadership, 159–63; political instability, 7, 26, 214–15
nuclear energy policies, 241, 251–53
refugees from, 199–200
relations with China, 30, 145, 173, 182–85, 184n80, 287
relations with India, 145, 182–84 “roadmap,” 27
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 99, 100
State Peace and Development Council, 151
United Nations efforts in, 177–78
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
See also Aung San Suu Kyi;
Cyclone Nargis; State Law and Order Restoration Council
Hard Choices: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia

N

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), 258
Najib Tun Razak, Mohd, 73
Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore, 65
Nargis. See Cyclone Nargis, Myanmar, 2008
Nathan, K. S., 75
National Assembly, Vietnam, 70–71
National Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, 75–76
National Front (NF), Malaysia, 53
nationalism, 16

democracy, political reform and, 221, 230, 234–35
impact on foreign relations, 22, 143
inter-regional cooperation and, 237

National League for Democracy (NLD), Myanmar (Burma), 27, 61, 155, 157, 164–66, 172–74, 300–301. See also Aung San Suu Kyi

national sovereignty
in the ASEAN Charter, 79, 83, 144
ASEAN Economic Community and, 112
ASEAN organizational commitment to, 61–62, 296; impact on effectiveness, 88–90, 294; member equality, 111; relations with Myanmar, 29, 298–302

ASEAN Political-Security Community and, 108–9
consensus-based decision making and, 24, 270
democracy/human rights and, 305–10
“just” regimes, 266
negative sovereignty, 306
normative vs. pragmatic perspectives, 310–11
as paradigm: within ASEAN, 61–62; within Southeast Asia, 110, 209

realist perspective, 267
regionalism and, 126–28
state responsibility and inter-state cooperation, 122–26, 227–29, 235, 308–10
threats to, as focus of Cold War security efforts, 62
United Nations debate on, 270
See also ASEAN Way; noninterference principle

National Unity Party (NUP), Burma, 155, 159–60
natural disasters
coordinated responses to, 73
Cyclone Nargis, 2008, 7, 29, 32, 40–52, 175
Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, 2004, 6–7, 37, 75
security threats from, 6–7

natural gas
in Indonesia, 247–48
in Myanmar, 185, 287
security issues, 51
“neo-medieval” political structures (Cerny), 272–73

Netto, Anil, 77–78
Ne Win, 155, 158, 159–60, 163
New Order regime, Indonesia, 85, 221, 280–81

New Zealand
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
in East Asia Summit group, 92

Nguyen, Manh Cam, 102n13

Nguyen, Trung Thanh, 103n14

9/11 terrorist attacks, New York City, 2001, 110–11


9th ASEAN Summit, Bali, 2003, 102
commitment to building ASEAN Security Community, 138
Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, 109

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
input into ASEAN Charter, 76–77, 82–83
political reform efforts, 83–85
role in regionalism, 12–13
noninterference principle
balancing with interdependence, 147
changing interpretations, 202–3, 302–3
as core principle, 23–24, 122, 209, 296
democratization and, 142
and response to events in
Myanmar, 26–30, 33, 294, 298–302
See also ASEAN: effectiveness/
relevance; national sovereignty
nontraditional security (NTS)
growing importance of, xv–xvi, 19–20, 61, 77, 193–94, 202–3
human-centered approaches, 75, 194–97
intra-regional cooperation and, 72–73, 72n33, 80, 192, 207–8
security threats: human trafficking, prostitution, 200; illegal immigration, 72; infectious diseases, 201–2; migrant workers, political refugees, 199–200; pollution, 199; small arms and light weapons (SALW) trafficking, 200–201; terrorism, insurgency, 86; transnational crimes, cybercrime, 85–86, 147, 200
“soft institutionalization” approach, 88–90
See also human security; nuclear energy
Norodom Sihamoni, 285
North Korea, relations with
Myanmar, 251–52
nuclear energy
appeal of, 241, 247–53
regional cooperation/regulation:
Indonesia example, 257–62; factors preventing, 243–47, 253–56
security issues, 241–42
“Nuclear Energy Safety Subsector Network,” 255
nuclear weapons agreements, 108
Nyan Win, 44, 46
O
Obuchi, Keizo, 63
oil exports, 247–48
Ong Keng Yong, 25, 48, 88–90, 95, 95n7, 102n13, 128, 304
Operational Regional Haze Action Plan (ORHAP), 223–25
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 247–48
Osman Patra, Pengiran Dato Paduka, 103n14
P
Pakistan, democracy in, 9
“Pancasila democracy,” Indonesia, 9, 69
Parameswaran, Datuk N., 86n62
Paris Peace Accords, 1991, 60
parliamentary approach to decision-making, 120
“participatory regionalism,” 51n79, 52
peacekeeping, regional, 121, 206
Pedra Blanca and Pulau Batu Puteh, territorial dispute over, 124
People’s Action Party (PAP), Singapore, 280–81
People’s Representative Council (DPR), Indonesia, 35–36
People’s Republic of China (PRC). See China
Pevehouse, Jon, 54–55
Pham Quang Vinh, 103n14
Pham The Duyet, 286
the Philippines
corruption in, 11
democracy/pluralism in, 143, 145, 281, 282–83
the Haze Agreement, 229–30
nuclear energy policies, 241, 250–51
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
reformist pressures in, 70, 84–85
religious tensions in, 282–83
social safety net policies, 195
within in Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 100
territorial disputes with neighbors, 296
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
Pimentel, Aquilino, 299
pluralism, majority rule
Islamist and separatist pressures, 276, 282–83
integrating with non-liberal traditions, 280–84
as Western concept, 69, 69n26
political development goals, 10–11, 53, 139–40. See also ASEAN
Politico-Security Community
pollution, threats from, 6, 199, 219.
See also air pollution
populations, diversity of, 20
post-Cold War politico-economic environment
global political economy, globalization, 273, 275, 289
intervention vs. noninterference, 308–9
in Malaysia, 275
political stability/authoritarianism, 274–75, 305–10
in Thailand, 275
theoretical perspectives, 247, 267, 272–75, 276, 284
See also economic policies; nontraditional security; security
Pradap Pibulsonggram, 103n14
pragmatic political perspective, 289–92
Putin, Vladimir, 9, 10

R
Rainsy, Sam, 285
Ramos, Fidel V., 102n13, 104
RAND Corporation data on terrorism, 87
Rawls, John, 265–67, 275, 291
Razali Ismail, 177–78, 301
realist perspective
on international relations, 89, 242–47, 256, 265
on post-Cold War politics, 267, 272–74, 276
refugees, security threats from, 199
regional associations. See conventional international bodies (CIBs)
Regional Haze Action Plan (RHAP), 1997, 204, 223–24, 223n9
regionalism
air pollution control efforts, 220–26, 237–38
community-building: consensus decision-making and, 294, 297; defining community, 13, 107–9, 244–46
defined, 12
democracy and, understudied, 14
democratic aspirations and, 51n79, 142;
demographic diversity and, 21
domestic/national vs. regional interests, 122–28
economic policies, 71–72, 268, 285; market-state model, 274
energy policies, 241–42, 253–62
European Union (EU), 18
official vs. unofficial, 12–14
“participatory regionalism,” 51n79
rationale for/importance, 97–109, 276–77
regionalization vs., 12n23
response to threats, 73, 86;
diversity of concepts about, 21–22; information-sharing, 72; nontraditional security issues, 207–11; peacekeeping forces, 73–74
security and, understudied, 14
security policies: coordinated
Index

in Southeast Asia, 11–12, 34;
regional organizations, 54–55;
state-based pragmatism and, 279
See also ASEAN Community
The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
(United Nations), 41, 45–46, 48, 51, 307–8
Rice, Condoleezza, 304
Rio Declaration on Environment and
Development, 1102, 227
Roadmap for Monetary and Finance
Integration, 2003, 113
Rosberg, Carl, 306, 308
Russia
democracy in, 9–10
nuclear energy development
support, 241
relations with Myanmar, 184–85, 252–53
relations with Vietnam, 249–50
democracy, regionalism and, 51–53, 271–72
Failed States Index, 7
insecurity in Southeast Asia, 6–7, 19
inter-state disputes, 19–20, 32–33, 136
investments in, 274
post-Cold War War security
community, 279
regional approaches: diversity of
goals and strategies, 21–23, 56, 73–74; domestic focus vs.,
244–45; intervention fears and,
207; “new regionalism” and,
192; policy discussions on,
64–66
securitization concept, 32–33, 56,
65n14
state vs. human, 8
strategic outlooks in Southeast
Asia, 21–22
substitute agendas for, 66–68, 75
threats to, overview, 6–7
traditional concepts of, 62
See also human security;
“individual security” concept,
nontraditional security (NTS)
Senior Economic Officials Meetings
(SOEMs), 117
Senior Officials Meetings (SOMs),
117, 208
Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
(SARS) epidemic, 37, 77, 201
Severino, Rodolfo C., Jr., 77, 95,
180–81, 304n39
Shan National League for
Democracy, Myanmar, 166
Siazon, Domingo, 300
Sihasak Phuangketkeow, 103n14
Singapore
air pollution control policies, 231
authoritarian rule in, 16–17, 144
counter-terrorism activities, 86
criticisms of, within ASEAN, 29
cultural relativism in, 68–69,
280–81
economy, 16, 20
free-port status, 112

S
Sabah, territorial disputes over,
296–97
“saffron revolution,” Myanmar,
29–30, 305
sanctions
debates about, 309–10
effective, criteria for, 312
against Indonesia, 225–26
against Myanmar, 182–83
Saw Maung, 159–60
2nd ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
(AMM), Jakarta, 1968, 296
2nd Informal ASEAN Summit,
Malaysia, 1997, 125
Second Joint Statement on East Asia
Cooperation, 2007, 93
Secretariat, ASEAN. See ASEAN
Secretariat; ASEAN Secretary-
General (SG)
security
China-Southeast Asia relations,
67–68
definitions of, 5–6, 8, 60–66, 74
domestic priorities, dominance of,
23, 107–9, 145
humanitarian aid to, 75
as model administrative state, 289
nuclear energy policies, 255
post-Cold War politico-economic environment, 275
ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
relations with Indonesia, 16, 22
relations with Malaysia, 16, 21, 22, 297
relations with Myanmar, 31n42, 185, 310
security concerns/policies, 16, 21, 73–75
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 99–100
territorial disputes with neighbors, 124
See also Yeo, George
Singh, Dato Ajit, 95, 95n7
Sipadan and Ligitan islands, dispute over, 124
slash-and-burn agriculture, air pollution from, 199, 219–20, 227
small arms and light weapons (SALW), trafficking in, 200–201
society, defined, 6
Society of Peoples (Rawls), 266–67, 270
“soft institutionalization” approach, 87
Solidarity for Asian People’s Advocacy (SAPA), 213
formation, 77
lobbying effort by, 82
recommendations on political and human security, 77–81
response to ratification of the ASEAN Charter, 82–83
Solingen, Etel, 245–46
Sonthi Boonyaratglin, 283
South China Sea territorial disputes, 125
Southeast Asia
administrative states, components, 289
air pollution in, 234–37
cross-border conflicts, 6
definitions of, 4n3
democracy vs. authoritarianism in, 8–12, 21, 60–61, 82, 280–84; Confucian concepts of governance, 276–77, 277n36; nonliberal political culture, 276–77, 280
diversity of, 16, 20–21, 24, 34, 109–10, 289
domestic priorities, 244–46
economic growth, 12–20, 244–46, 284–88
energy issues, nuclear energy, 241–42
military authority, 72
276; durable disorder, 288–89
public health problems, 201–2
relevance of, 18–22
as trade bloc, 15–16
See also nationalism; national sovereignty and specific nations
Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), 94n4
Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ), 108
Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), Kuala Lumpur, 86, 86n62
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 106, 106n17, 276–78
Southern African Development Community (SADC), 55
South Korea
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
in ASEAN Plus One Framework, 93, 118
in ASEAN Plus Three Framework, 15, 92, 268
in East Asia Summit group, 92
relations with Indonesia, 248–49
trade within East Asia, 15
sovereignty. See national sovereignty
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 65
Sri Lanka, 96n8
standards of living, 99–100. See also economic policies
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), Myanmar, 155, 157n14, 159–61, 163
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), Myanmar, 163, 287

state(s)
defined, 6
democratization of, and effectiveness, 8
heterogeneity of, pros and cons, 271–72
security of, vs. human security, 8
state failure, 7, 305
See also democracy; national sovereignty

Stockholm Declaration on Human Environment, 1972, 227
Stothard, Debbie, 299
Strait(s) of Malacca, regional counter-terrorism efforts, 86
Strauss, Leo, 276
Sudarsono, Jowono, 73
Suharto (Soeharto), 94, 106
apologies for air pollution, 220, 222, 234
demonstrations against, 197
New Order regime, 85, 221, 280–81
“Pancasila democracy,” 9, 69
seizure/occupation of East Timor, 6, 19
visit to Malaysia, 296
See also Indonesia
Sukarno, 9, 16, 106
Sukma, Rizal, 4, 54, 85, 208, 231–32, 373
Sultanate, concept of, 277n36
Sumatran earthquake and tsunami, 2004, 75
summits, ASEAN
commemorative summits, 125n34
coordination and planning for, 117–19
and the development of the ASEAN Community, 101–2
history, 92, 93n3
with non-ASEAN leaders, 93n3
Surakiart Sathiarthai, 303
Surin Pitsuwan, 43–46, 47–50, 110, 194–95, 202–3, 300, 373
as ASEAN Secretary-General, 48–50, 95–96
challenges facing, xv–xvii
Suu Kyi, Aung San, Daw Suu. See Aung San Suu Kyi (Daw Suu)
Swan Arshin, Myanmar, 169

T
Taiwan, trade within East Asia, 15
Tan, Alan, 226
Tan, Tony, 73
Task Force on Social Safety Nets, 196
Tay, Simon SC, 4, 7, 311, 373–74
10th ASEAN Summit, Vientiane, 2004, 139. See also Vientiane Action Program (VAP)
Termsak Chalermpalanupap, 4, 24–25, 369–70
terrorism, insurgency
coordinated responses to, 73
incidence of, RAND Corporation data, 87
regional security approaches, 85–86, 205–6
as security threat, 7
Thailand
coup in, ASEAN response, 112
democracy/pluralism in, 11, 84, 209, 280–81, 283
“flexible engagement” proposal, 203, 207, 300, 311
government vs. state in, 6
international relations, 285–86
military vs. civilian rule in, 53, 143
nontraditional security (NTS) threats, 200–201
nuclear energy policies, 241, 250
post-Cold War politico-economic structures, 198, 275
regime accountability in, 70
relations with Malaysia, 297
relations with Myanmar, 32, 185, 199–200
religious tensions in, 281

389
social safety net policies, 195
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
territorial disputes with neighbors, 296
See also Surin Pitsuwan
Thai Rak Thai party, 275, 283
Thaksin Shinawatra, 11, 112, 209, 275, 283
Thanat Khoman, 101n12
Than Nyun, 102n13
Than Shwe, 9, 27, 151, 162–63
and ASEAN membership, 176
EU and UN relations with, 301
See also Aung San Suu Kyi; Myanmar (Burma)
Thein Sein, 154
“third wave” of political reform, 9–11
13th ASEAN Summit, Singapore, 2007, 124, 215, 238–39
30th ASEAN Ministers Meeting (AMM), Kuala Lumpur, 1997, 298
31st ASEAN Ministers Meeting (AMM), Manila, 1998, 300
31st ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference (PMC), Manila, 1998, 194–95
32nd ASEAN Ministers Meeting (AMM), Singapore, 1999, 300
Thura Shwe Mann, 167
Timor-Leste. See also East Timor.
ASEAN response to aid requests from, 122
member in ASEAN, 91
political instability in, 7
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 100
vulnerability to “state failure,” 7
See also East Timor
trade agreements. See free trade agreements (FTAs), bilateral; international relations
transformative isolation policy, 152
transnational crimes, cybercrime
regional security approaches, 85–86, 147
as security threat, 200
as threats to security, 7
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC)
establishment (1976) and functions, 101, 107, 142, 269, 278, 296
High Council, 124
2001 expansion of, 107n18, 204
Treaty of Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, 2007, 148–49
Treaty of Rome, 1957, 266
Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), 249
12th ASEAN Summit, Cebu, 2006, 102, 106, 213
U
Union of International Organizations, 12
Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), 165–66
United Malays National Organization (UMNO), 280
United Nations
definition of “human security,” 63
Development Programme (UNDP), 63, 96
provisions related to, in ASEAN Charter, 328, 333
role in Cambodia, 285
role in Myanmar, 28–30, 173–74, 177–78, 301
Security Council, 181–82, 260
sovereignty vs. democracy/human rights debates, 305–7
UN Charter, Article 33, 104, 104n15
United States
ASEAN free trade agreement with, 114
backlash against, in Southeast Asia, 145, 182–83, 252, 304
relations with Singapore, 75
relations with Vietnam, 71, 286
relations with Myanmar, 45, 152
standard of living, 100
U.S.-ASEAN Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism, 2002, 88
U Nu, 175

V
Vientiane Action Program (VAP), 102, 139, 204, 207, 209–10, 268
Vietnam
authoritarian rule in, 144, 286–87
democracy/pluralism in, 84
international relations, 71, 286
membership in ASEAN, 19
nuclear energy policy, 249–50
political change in, 70–71
post-Cold War politico-economic environment, 75–76
relations with Cambodia, 6, 60
within Southeast Asia, 4n3
standard of living, 99, 100
Vietnam Fatherland Front, 286
Virtual Institute of Science and Technology, 121

W
Wahid, Abdurrahman, 22, 29
Waltz, Kenneth N., 306n45
Wanandi, Jusuf, 36n50, 299
Wirajuda, Hassan, 210
women’s’ rights
  ASEAN commitment to, 105
  as security issue, 200
Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, 120
World Bank, 195
World Conference on Human Rights, 1993, 64
World Food Program, 45

Y
Yearbook of International Organizations, 12–13
Yeo, George, 28–31, 34, 44–45, 305
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 200–21, 230–32, 234–35, 281–82. See also Indonesia

Z
Zhou Enlai, 288
Zimbabwe, 55
Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 1971, 22–23, 107–8, 296