

delineates women's movements in Malaysia into two categories: mainstream women's groups, and "marginal" groups. Interestingly, according to Maznah, it is the latter that have played a more significant role in advancing women's issues and interests in the political sphere. This is because mainstream groups are often "entrenched in formal politics" and tend to view their role as one that complements the ruling structures rather than one that challenges them.

Individually, the essays provide rich background information. They are also theoretically informed and well written. As a collection, this volume is successful in its explicit aim of demonstrating that "the Malaysian political system in the 1990s was undergoing important changes". More significantly, these essays enrich our understanding of Malaysian politics by explaining the ways in which these changes did not result in the political system as a whole becoming more liberal democratic. This volume makes a contribution to the scholarship on democracy in Malaysia by offering a sophisticated set of essays that are geared towards advanced students of Malaysian politics and of Southeast Asia in general.

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***East Asia Imperilled: Transnational Challenges to Security.* By Alan Dupont.** Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 335pp.

One of the by-products of the global "war on terror" following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States has been a renewed interest in transnational security threats, including terrorism, transnational crime, transboundary pollution, human smuggling, and disease. Alan Dupont has written a cogent and useful book detailing why these threats are growing in the Asia-Pacific region and, more importantly, why policy-makers should take them seriously.

Once viewed as the "stepchild" of security studies, transnational security issues are emerging as critical challenges to states in the Asia-Pacific region. Moreover, these "complex, inter-connected and multi-dimensional" threats, as Dupont describes them, cannot be analysed or understood with the traditional tools of realism, which places the state as the most important actor in international affairs. Dupont asserts that

“the focus of realists on conflict between states blinds them to the destabilizing effects of transnational phenomena on the internal stability of states”.

Dupont is not an anti-realist however. As a former diplomat and intelligence officer, he clearly understands and acknowledges the relevance and intellectual utility of the realist paradigm as a deciphering tool for analysing relations between states. However, he argues that the rise of non-state actors — and various other non-state phenomena — requires an expansion of the traditional agenda of realism. He describes this as “extended security”, which would encompass a wider view of security that includes the individual — together with the state — as a key referent.

In his Introduction and Chapter 1, Dupont provides some useful theoretical tools to lay the groundwork for subsequent discussions. The theme of “interconnectedness” dominates much of his discussions. For instance, regarding environmental threats, Dupont concedes that environmental problems have existed throughout history. “However, it is the scale, gravity and interconnectedness of today’s environmental ills that accounts for their new-found policy salience.”

Similarly, organized crime is certainly not new. Dupont argues, however, that “the unprecedented power and influence exercised by modern organized criminal groups and the internationalization of their networks are compelling a major reassessment of the links between crime and security”. Consequently, transnational crime deserves to be treated as a security problem, and not merely a law enforcement challenge.

In the initial chapter, Dupont makes a very interesting and relevant observation about the linkage between transnational phenomena and weak states. It is often weak states which are most vulnerable to transnational threats, just as it is weak states which are often the source of transnational threats. Take illegal migration, for example. Dupont argues that, paradoxically, “weak states are frequently more capable of mounting an effective defence against military attack than they are of coping with the security consequences of large-scale migration from neighbouring states”.

Following the Introduction and Chapter 1, the book subdivides into three major sections: environmental scarcity, unregulated population movements, and transnational crime and AIDS. Section 1 catalogues a series of demographic, environmental, and resource challenges facing the Asia-Pacific region. Although some of these issues are not necessarily transnational, Dupont seems to suggest that they can facilitate other transnational phenomena. For instance, rising

urbanization in China is helping to generate a criminal culture that could strengthen Chinese organized crime.

Another challenge highlighted in Section 1 involves demographic change. Dupont notes that Asia hosts a number of states with burgeoning populations, such as China and Indonesia, that are geographically situated next to states with the opposite problem: declining and “greying” populations. In theory, this could lead to a convenient marriage in which labour surplus countries could “export” people to countries with labour/population shortages. However, this involves sensitive questions of immigration which most Asian states have failed to effectively come to terms with.

The remainder of the section lists a depressingly abundant catalogue of ills facing the Asia-Pacific region, including deforestation, climate change, unprecedented (and worsening) environmental pollution, energy shortages, food shortages, and water conflicts. On deforestation, Dupont offers the following fact: Cambodia’s forest cover has declined from 73 per cent to 58 per cent, and the trend continues. Indonesia’s forests are also declining at the rate of 1.5 million hectares per year. Regarding the environment, Dupont reports that the Asian Development Bank labels Asia “the world’s most polluted and environmentally degraded region”.

Section 2 addresses illegal migration and what is described as “unregulated population movements” (UPMs). One of Dupont’s best descriptions of the sensitive problem of UPMs is actually provided in the introductory section. He argues that it is not the poorest countries that generate refugees or migrants, but rather the middle range countries because “their upwardly mobile citizens...are motivated to seek out greener pastures”.

Dupont notes that one reason migration has attained security status is that many states fear its ability to alter the ethnic or racial balance of their particular societies. Perhaps this explains why some countries use migration as a political weapon to pressure neighbouring states. He reports that Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad “argued at the height of the Asian economic crisis that developing nations should swamp Europe and the United States with illegal migrants” if they insisted on “recolonizing the South using globalization”.

Rising migration pressures in the Asia-Pacific region are generating another illicit by-product: a vibrant human smuggling trade. Syndicates from China earn tens of thousands of dollars bringing Chinese to prosperous Western countries and Japan. Another type of human smuggling involves child and sex trafficking. Dupont reports one shocking statistic that up to 60,000 young women, mainly from Myanmar, were smuggled into Thailand between 1991 and 1997 to

work in the sex trade. The author points out that another source of migration in the future will likely be environmental refugees, which once again highlights the “interconnectedness” of migration and transnational environmental degradation.

The third section of the book addresses transnational crime and the AIDS epidemic. First, Dupont provides a post-Cold War overview of the rise of transnational crime around the globe. He asserts that transnational criminal activities have become so serious as to threaten the state itself. Once considered a law enforcement matter, transnational crime has “graduated” in international security relevance. Dupont suggests that one crime in particular, narcotics trafficking, is undermining Asia’s social fabric. The author highlights Asia’s transition from a major producer of heroin, to a major consumer region. “Until the late 1980s, virtually all of the heroin from the Golden Triangle went to the United States or other non-Asian markets, but today much of it is destined for East Asia.”

Dupont argues that the “spread and internationalization of transnational crime” threatens to undermine the development of vibrant civil societies in East Asia. Such crime also threatens the “performance legitimacy” of many of the region’s authoritarian regimes. Moreover, it does not help that ASEAN and its member-states adhere to a strict non-interference policy with regard to international relations. The author provocatively argues that it is the Asian countries’ excessive clinging to sovereignty that has allowed transnational crime groups to flourish and prosper. The “non-interference” norm has given criminal organizations a major boost and has undermined efforts at co-operation.

The second major subject covered in this section is the AIDS epidemic. The Asia-Pacific region is considered the next epicentre for the disease. The following statistics are offered to support that contention: “Around 4 million East Asians were HIV-positive at the end of 2000 and as many as 20 million may be infected by 2010.” The author argues that the link between HIV and sex has caused squeamish Asian leaders to ignore, deny, or avoid discussing sexual matters openly and this, in turn, has helped to facilitate the spread of the disease.

Despite the book’s exhaustive list of transnational phenomena, the author barely touches upon one topic of current concern: terrorism. Perhaps this reflects the fact that the book was most likely completed prior to 11 September 2001. However, the growing linkage between criminal groups and terrorist groups in the Asia-Pacific region would suggest that the topic be addressed at least in the crime section. In many respects this omission may simply reflect the general view of the region prior to 11 September, which held that the Asia-Pacific region

was somehow “exempt” from the global terrorism scourge, a notion that recent evidence has disproved.

Overall, this book is a masterful and comprehensive treatment of a subject that has emerged as a critical security challenge for Asia-Pacific countries. It is a must-read for any serious scholar on the subject. The clear and lucid writing reflects the author’s background in journalism, and the extensive documentation provides a treasure trove for anyone with an inclination for additional research into this emerging and exciting area of security studies. This book would be valuable for both practitioners and scholars alike.

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***India’s Emerging Nuclear Posture: Between Recessed Deterrent and Ready Arsenal.* By Ashley J. Tellis. Santa Monica, Calif., USA: Rand, 2001. 885pp.**

This book describes in a very comprehensive and substantial way India’s emerging nuclear posture in the context of a broader assessment of its strategic interests, institutional structures, and security goals. The Pakistani and Chinese nuclear programmes and capabilities are also addressed, but more with the purpose of illuminating India’s strategic choices and future directions. The book consists of an introduction (Chapter One), four chapters and a conclusion (Chapter Six). Chapter Two surveys the strategic factors conditioning India’s choices with respect to its future nuclear posture. Chapter Three analyses both the extent of the shift in India’s nuclear posture after the May 1998 tests and the implications of what the search for a “minimum credible deterrent” could entail in the years to come. Chapter Four explicates India’s evolving nuclear doctrine and the force posture that is likely to be created. Chapter Five assesses the adequacy of the evolving Indian deterrent in terms of the criteria offered by various nuclear deterrence theories. Finally, the conclusion surveys briefly India’s security competition with Pakistan and China, the nuclear proliferation regime, and the ongoing dialogue in India–U.S. relations.

The author examines the evolution of India’s official attitude towards nuclear weapons and explains the lack of movement in the