

INDEX

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, 51*n*79, 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, 102*n*13, 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
challenges facing: capacity for reform, 53–56; conflicting goals and mandates, 31, 279–80; 40th anniversary, 24–25; organizational reform, 92–93, 120–21; overview, 4, 19–20; trans-boundary air pollution, 238–39
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
founding and goals, xv, 13*n*25, 24–25, 59, 91–97, 106–7, 154, 246, 277–79
identity: legal identity/authority, 31, 101–2, 118, 225–26, 269, 319; symbols of, 116, 330–31
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
- policy initiatives: air pollution control, 221–25; human rights, 215–17; inconsistencies in implementation, 142–43, 270; nuclear energy, 241–43, 253–56; pragmatic approach, 268; pro-democracy stance, 60–61; response to terrorist attacks, 87; role of scholarship on, 83–85; Tracks I, II and III, 13–15, 65–66
- 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, 123*n*31
 - concepts of good governance and the rule of law in, 269–70
 - criticisms of, 36*n*50, 146–47
 - dispute resolution mechanisms, 104, 126–28, 270–71, 327–28
 - drafting of, 34–36, 38–40, 102, 129; EPG recommendations, 37–39, 76–81; High-Level Task Force, 38, 79, 82; SAPA recommendations, 77–82
 - 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

- 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, 135*n*1
 - 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, 119*n*28
- 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, 94*n*4, 110, 110*n*24
 - 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, 93*n*3, 268, 288
- ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) (formerly ASC)
- dispute resolution function, 125
 - goals, 54, 92
 - history, founding, 94*n*4, 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, 97*n*10
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)
- in ASEAN Charter, 336
 - creation of, 22
 - membership, 96*n*9
 - 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, 95*n*6
 - SGs, 1993–present, 48–50, 92–93, 95, 95*n*7
- 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
 - early 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, 103*n*14
 - 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, 102*n*13
 - 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, 300*n*24
 - Bagehot, Walter, 290
 - Bakti, Ikrar Nusa, 85
 - Bali Concord II, 268, 277*n*37
 - 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, 103*n*14
 - Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 307
 - Brunei Darussalam
 - air pollution, 199
 - authoritarian rule in, 144, 280
 - demographics, 20

economy, 17
 free-port status, 112
 membership in ASEAN, 96*n*8
 ratification of ASEAN Charter, 35
 within Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 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, 10*n*17
 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, 4*n*3
 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, 184*n*80, 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, 123*n*31. *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
- Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, 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
- globalization/economic development and, 16–18, 69
- in Indonesia, 16, 230–31, 281–82
- liberal democracy, 9, 280
- in Myanmar (Burma), 32, 152–53, 155, 182–83
- national sovereignty, political stability *vs.*, 111, 143, 290, 305–10
- “new regionalism” and, 193
- NGOs, regional organizations and, 54–55
- noninterference principle/official regionalism and, 142
- in the Philippines, 282–83
- in post-Cold War politico-economic environment, 275
- security *vs.*, 51–53, 136, 271–72
- in Southeast Asia, 14–15, 21, 68–69, 142–49, 280–84
- sustainability of, 273
- in Thailand, 283
- “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, 10*n*16
- 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, 103*n*14
- doi moi* 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, 93*n*3
- East Timor, 48, 126. *See also* Timor-Leste
- economic policies, economic growth
 democracy and, 16–18, 280–81
 development gaps and, 99, 116, 120–21
 in Indonesia, 230–31
 market-state model, 273–74
 political stability and, 7, 71–72, 195, 284–88
 post-Cold War politico-economic context, 273, 289
 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 economy, globalization
 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, 212*n*58
 members, 102*n*13
 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
 early support for Myanmar government, 299*n*17
 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*n*35

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*n*14

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

Hanoi Plan of Action, 1998, 223*n*9, 268

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*n*14

Hong Kong, trade within East Asia, 15

Human Development Index (HDI), 16–17, 17*n*29

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, 8*n*9, 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, 4*n*3, 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, 4*n*3
 - 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 Commission on
 Intervention and State Sovereignty
 (ICISS), 2001, 41–42, 48, 307–8
- 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

- Kao Kim Hourn, 103*n*14
 Kasemsamosorn Kasemsri, M. R., 102*n*13
ketanahan nasional (“national resilience”) policy, Indonesia, 76
 Khamphan Simmalavong, 102*n*13
 Khamtay Siphandone, 285
 Khan, Ayub, 9
 Khin Nyunt, 161–63, 167, 300, 304, 304*n*38
 Kim Dae Jung, 68–69
 Koh, Tommy, 103*n*14
Konfrontasi campaign, Indonesia, 296, 297–98
 Korea, democratic traditions, 68–69
 Kouchner, Bernard, 40–41, 45
 Krasner, Stephen D., 308*n*53
 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
- L**
 languages, national, within ASEAN, 116
 Lao People’s Revolutionary Party (LPRP), 285
 Laos
 democracy in, 9
 inclusion in Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 international trade, 285
 per capita GDP, 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, 294*n*4
 liberal perspective
 on international relations, 242–45
 on post-Cold War politics, 284
 Lim Jock Seng, Pehin Dato, 102*n*13
 Lisbon Treaty (2007), 34–35, 36. *See* European Union
- M**
 Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 11, 35, 187, 216, 282–83
 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, 4*n*3
 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, 103*n*14, 104
- Maphilindo, 94*n*5, 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, 198*n*17
 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, 102*n*13, 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, 166*n*29; response to dissent, 11, 155–56, 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, 184*n*80, 287
 relations with India, 145, 182–84
 “roadmap,” 27
 within Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 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

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 Convention (NC), Myanmar, 2003–2007, 166–68, 181
- 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-EU Ministerial Meeting, Luxembourg, 1991, 298–99
- 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, 72*n*33, 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, 95*n*7, 102*n*13, 128, 304
- Operational Regional Haze Action Plan (ORHAP), 223–25
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 247–48
- Osman Patra, Pengiran Dato Paduka, 103*n*14
- P**
- Pakistan, democracy in, 9
- “Pancasila democracy,” Indonesia, 9, 69
- Parameswaran, Datuk N., 86*n*62
- Paris Peace Accords, 1991, 60
- parliamentary approach to decision-making, 120
- “participatory regionalism,” 51*n*79, 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, 103*n*14
- 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, 4*n*3
 - 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, 69*n*26
 - 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, 103*n*14
 - pragmatic political perspective, 289–92
 - Putin, Vladimir, 9, 10
- R**
- Rainsy, Sam, 285
 - Ramos, Fidel V., 102*n*13, 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, 223*n*9
 - regionalism
 - air pollution control efforts, 220–26, 237–38
 - ASEAN promotion and support for, 12–15, 59–60, 101–9, 116, 203–4, 270; impact on organization, 51–53, 93–94; as policy challenge, 53–56, 65–66, 108–11
 - community-building: consensus decision-making and, 294, 297; defining community, 13, 107–9, 244–46
 - defined, 12
 - democracy and, understudied, 14
 - democratic aspirations and, 51*n*79, 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,” 51*n*79
 - rationale for/importance, 97–109, 276–77
 - regionalization *vs.*, 12*n*23
 - 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

- 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
- 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
 - 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 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, 65*n*14
 - 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, 304*n*39
 - Shan National League for Democracy, Myanmar, 166
 - Siazon, Domingo, 300
 - Sihasak Phuangketkeow, 103*n*14
 - 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

- 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, 31*n*42, 185, 310
 security concerns/policies, 16, 21, 73–75
 within Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 standard of living, 99–100
 territorial disputes with neighbors, 124
See also Yeo, George
 Singh, Dato Ajit, 95, 95*n*7
 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, 4*n*3
 democracy *vs.* authoritarianism
 in, 8–12, 21, 60–61, 82, 280–84; Confucian concepts of governance, 276–77, 277*n*36; 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), 94*n*4
 Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ), 108
 Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), Kuala Lumpur, 86, 86*n*62
 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 106, 106*n*17, 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, 96*n*8
 standards of living, 99–100. *See also* economic policies

- State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), Myanmar, 155, 157*n*14, 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
- Straits 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, 277*n*36
- Sumatran earthquake and tsunami, 2004, 75
- summits, ASEAN
 commemorative summits, 125*n*34
 coordination and planning for, 117–19
 and the development of the ASEAN Community, 101–2
 history, 92, 93*n*3
 with non-ASEAN leaders, 93*n*3
- 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 Chalermphanupap, 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

- social safety net policies, 195
 within Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 territorial disputes with neighbors, 296
See also Surin Pitsuwan
- Thai Rak Thai party, 275, 283
- Thaksin Shinawatra, 11, 112, 209, 275, 283
- Thanat Khoman, 101*n*12
- Than Nyun, 102*n*13
- 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
 membership in ASEAN, 91
 political instability in, 7
 within Southeast Asia, 4*n*3
 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, 107*n*18, 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
- Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ Treaty), 1995, 241, 253
- 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
 Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, 125
 definition of “human security,” 63
 Development Programme (UNDP), 63, 96
 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 2001, 307–8
 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, 104*n*15
- 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, 4*n*3
 standard of living, 99, 100
 Vietnam Fatherland Front, 286
 Virtual Institute of Science and Technology, 121
 Vision 2020 statement, 1997, 109, 203, 268

W

Wahid, Abdurrahman, 22, 29
 Waltz, Kenneth N., 306*n*45
 Wanandi, Jusuf, 36*n*50, 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

