
Index

- Abdurrahman Wahid (“Gus Dur”) 68, 69,
73, 74
- Abolition 2000 215
- Abu Sayyaf Group (Mindanao) 136
- Ador, G. 147
- Afghanistan 136, 151
- Afghanistan invasion (1979) 131, 312
- Aga Khan, S. 149
- Agency for the Coordination of Support
for the Development of National
Stability (Indonesia) 68
- Agenda for Peace* (UN) 162
- Agreed Framework (1994) 222
- Aguayo, S. 145
- Agum Gumelar 74
- Airzal Effendi 222
- Akbar Tanjung 67, 72, 74
- Albania 142, 144
- Alternative ASEAN Network 59
- Alternative Asia-Europe Meeting 59
- Amnesty International 18, 43
- anti-interventionist approach 60
- ANZUS alliances 270
- APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic
Cooperation) 235, 245–246, 257,
263, 285, 295, 321
- ARF *see* ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)
- Arief Rachman Hakim 63
- arms control *see* nuclear security
- Article 1A(2) [Convention Relating to the
Status of Refugees] 143
- Article 33.1 [Convention Relating to the
Status of Refugees] 145
- Asal Bukan Mega strategy (Indonesia)
73–74
- ASEAN (Association of South East Asian
Nations)
- ARF creation by 235, 257
- collective security difficulties by 23–24,
275
- contribution to economic growth by 246
- environmental cooperation by 171
- fiscal and monetary policy disputes within
263–264
- human security role by 250–251
- leading role in region-wide institutions by
235
- memorandum signing with US by 270
- non-interference policy of 59–60, 107
- NWFZ legacy taken up by 222
- prospective security agenda and 319
- regional conflict management role kept
from 236
- as regional cooperation mechanism 295
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
significance to 126

- ASEAN Institutes of Strategic
International Studies 171
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) 6, 7, 8, 9
accomplishments of 278
ASEAN role in creation of 235, 257
Concept Paper of 270–271
downside of 258–260, 265
environmental security agenda of 171
formal and informal mechanisms used by
285
human security monitoring by 299
Ottawa Process recommendations by
92
potential of 237
preventive diplomacy of 298, 301n.18
as regional architecture pillar 321
relationship between CSCAP and 283
stated aims of 297
Track I framework used by 236
Western trade and multilateral security
approaches by 118
- “ASEAN way” 126, 259
- ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) 260
- Asia-Europe Meetings (ASEM) 235, 237
- An Asia-Pacific Annual or Biennial Leaders
Meeting* proposal 321
- Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
(APEC) 235, 245–246, 257, 263, 295,
321
- Asia-Pacific region
creating *Pacific house* out of 321–322
divisions of power politics in 55–56
economic security history of 242–244
environmental scarcity of 168–172
examining regional security in 235–237
examining state security in 233–235
failed states and human security in 5
global military spending by 45n.15
Human Development Report of 1996 on
115–116
human rights concept by West vs.
103–106
human rights cooperation in 106–107
human security agenda of 26–27
IMF crisis of 42
impact of environmental scarcity in 7
impact of opposition movements in
21–22
insecurity spreading across 49–50
legacy of pre-existing insecurities in
50–51
levels of analysis problem in 2
maritime security in 177–191
nuclear weapons concern for 209–226
Ottawa Process and 21, 91–92, 252
potential importance of human security
in 4
regional security pressures for 260–262
security cooperation in 269–273, 272*t*
security dilemma in context of 317–318
security dilemma implications for
305–323
strategic environment of 276–277
US military withdrawal from 274
see also East Asia region; South-East
Asian region
- Asian Development Bank poll (1996)
132–133
- Asian economic miracle
Asian values as contributing to 99, 109
cultural approach to 114–116
see also economic development
- Asian economic model 99–100
see also Asian values
- Asian financial crisis
Asian values and 100
CSCAP working group study of 283
democratization and 117–120
governmental policy responses to 52–53,
244–246
history of 242–244
human rights relevance to 109
human security and
environmental degradation and 293
intra-state ethnic conflict/involuntary
migration and 291–292
political and socio-economic
insecurity 290–291
threat to Asian values and 293–294
South Korean response to 42
- Asian Monetary Fund proposal 262
- Asian Network for Free Election 59
- Asian stock market collapse 244*f*
- Asian values
Asian financial crisis as threat to
293–294
cultural explanation of 110–113
debate over 101–103, 107
development and limitations of 101–103
as economic success element 99, 109
genetic explanation of 111–112
human security agenda and 26–27

- Asian values (cont.)
 human security interrelation with debate over 6–7
 Indonesia's adherence to 74–75
Asian views 102
atavistic forms of identity 128–130
atmospheric pollution 170
Australia
 Chemical Weapons Convention and 88–89
 increasing Asian involvement by 263
 interest in disarmament by 86–88
 middle power diplomacy used by 82–86
 recasting of security approach by 79–82
 refugee policy by 152
 Track II activities by 237
Australia's Regional Security (1989 ministerial statement) 79, 80
Axworthy, L. 2, 19, 78, 81, 90, 158
Ayoub, M. 168

Bakorstanas (Indonesia) 68
Baldwin, D. 233
Banda Aceh rally of 1999 (Indonesia) 75
Bangkok Declaration on Human Rights (1993) 101, 222
Bank Bali scandal (Indonesia) 73
Banser NU (Indonesia) 71
barangay (Philippines) 110
Bassiouni, C. 132
Bateman, S. 181
Baumol, W. 201
Becker, G. 196
Bergin, A. 7
Bhakti, I. N. 6
“Big Three” 82
bilateral partnerships 281
“black dollar” organizations 134
Blair, T. 198
Blatz, W. E. 17
Booth, K. 16, 120, 158
Bosnia 272, 311
“Bottom-Up Review” (US, 1994) 274
Boutros-Ghali, B. 172
British Broadcasting Corporation 131
Brock, L. 163, 168
Brown, S. 1
Brundtland Commission 164, 166
Brzezinski, Z. 103, 111
Buddhism 112–113
Bull, H. 87

Butler, L. 217
Buzan, B. 230, 307, 309, 314

Cable Network News 131
Cain, M. T. 196
Cambodia 81, 136, 246, 259
Camilleri, J. 9, 10
Canada
 collective security principles of 81
 interest in disarmament by 86–88
 middle power diplomacy used by 82–86
 on NATO nuclear strategy 211
 Ottawa Process organized by 21, 89–92, 252
Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons 8, 216–218, 220
capitalism property rights of 202
Carr, E. H. 24
Carter, J. 103
Caucus on Human Security proposal 230
Caucus on Social Safety-Nets 230
Cawang incident (Indonesia) 71
CBMs (confidence-building measures) 298–299
chaebol (South Korea) 245
Chalk, P. 7, 315
Chan, J. 103, 104–105, 106
Chart Thai Party (Thailand) 133
chemical weapons attacks 88–89
Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) 88–89
Chen, L. 57, 58
children
 deformities of Hiroshima/Nagasaki 211
 Human Development Report of 1996 on 116
 lack of market opportunity and having 196
China
 economic security under Maoist 194
 encouraging international role by 251–252
 flood disaster of 1998 in 241
 land reform in Communist 202
 naval capability expanded by 182
 nuclear weapon testing by 215, 238
 property rights in feudal 201
 reaction to security cooperation by 272
 as regional security factor 261
 resistance to arms control by 220

- Spratly Islands dispute and 179–180, 183, 200
 trade dispute between US and 200
 Chinese township and village enterprises (TVEs) 201
 Christopher, W. 278
 clash of civilizations thesis 1
 classical social democrats 197
 Clinton, B. 270, 274, 281, 319
 Cold War
 ANZUS alliances of 270
 disarmament as legacy of 86–92
 environmental legacy of 167–168
 failure to anticipate 18–19
 human security movement roots in 17–19
 middle power concept during 83
 national security agenda during 192
 regional politics during 37
 security agenda replacing issues of 25–26
 traditional security paradigm during 16
 USSR collapse and end of 268–269
 see also post-Cold War security
 collective identity 308–309
 collective security approach
 in the Asia-Pacific region 269–273, 272*t*
 Canadian support of 81
 future of regional security and 261–262
 linkage of 23–24
 origins of 269–270
 symbiosis of Track I and II experiences in 273–274
 see also cooperative security approach
 comfort women (World War II) 248
 Commission on Global Governance 158
 Common Security Forum (1994) 57
 Comprehensive Plan of Action programme 151–152
 comprehensive security 39
 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996) 220
 Concept Paper (ARF) 270–271
 concerted bilateralism 291
 Conference on Disarmament (CD) [United Nations] 87, 218
 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) 273
 confidence-building measures (CBMs) 298–299
 conflict prevention linkage 22
 Confucianism 26, 102, 103, 105–106, 112
 see also Asian values
 Congleton, R. D. 204
 Congress of Vienna (1815) 42
 constructivist theorists 36, 111
 Convention of Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) [UN] 90
 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees 143, 144, 145, 152
 Cooper, A. 83, 85, 86
Cooperating for Peace (Evans) 80
 Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere 18
 cooperative security approach
 adopted by Canada and Australia 78
 in the Asia-Pacific region 274–276
 code of conduct in 284–285
 described 80–81
 dilemmas of 280–282
 in the East Asia region 269–273
 formal/informal practice of 277–280
 non-exclusion ideal of 284
 preventive diplomacy and 298, 301*n*.18
 strategic environment and 276–277
 see also collective security approach;
 regional cooperation
 Cooperative Threat Reduction (US and USSR) 225*n*.14
 Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security (Indonesia) 70
 core value approach 233
 Council for Enforcement of Security and Law (Indonesia) 67, 68
 Council for Security Cooperation 29
 creative destruction 196
The Crisis of Global Capitalism (Soros) 119
 CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific) 236, 272, 273, 278, 282–284, 285, 317–318, 321
 CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe) 273
 cultural approach
 to Asian values 110–113
 described 108*n*.5
 to the East Asian miracle 114–116
 to human rights 113–114
 see also Asian values
 Dauvergne, P. 242
 de Sherbinin, A. 193
 Declaration of Human Rights (1948) 43
 Decree No. 8/MPR/1998 (Indonesia) 69
 Decree No. 191/1998 (Indonesia) 67, 69

- Daioyutai (or Senkaku) Islands 38, 180
- democracy
- Asian miracle and crisis role of 117–120
 - Asian model vs. 99–100, 105
 - Asian values debate over 102–103
 - economic and human security in 203–204
 - evidenced in Asian culture 112–113
 - as state and human security reconciliation 247–248
- democratic peace thesis 16
- democratization
- acceptance of human security and 109–110
 - Asian financial crisis and 117–120
 - critics of 113–114
 - development of Asian-Pacific 56
 - human rights enforcement and 41
 - as refugee solution 152–154
- desecuritization 51–52
- desertification 160
- see also* environmental security
- Deudney, D. 168
- development theory 234
- Dharma Raja* 113
- Digha Nikkaya* 112
- disarmament
- Asian dimension of 91–92
 - Canadian Ottawa Process on 21, 89–92, 252
 - human security and new 86–92
- dollarization of globe 128
- Dornbusch, R. 203
- “dragons” 99, 114
- Dresden bombings 214
- drug trafficking 186, 292–293
- drug-induced corruption 133
- Dupont 169
- Dwi Fungs* (Indonesia) 69
- East Asia region
- building of regional security order in 285–287
 - cooperative security approaches in 269–273
 - dilemmas of cooperative security in 280–282
 - growing sense of community in 285
 - strategic environment 276–277
 - see also* Asia-Pacific region; South-East Asian region
- East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) 264
- East Asian miracle *see* Asian economic miracle
- East Asian Regional Forum (EARF) 265
- East Timor crisis
- ASEAN intervention in 23–24
 - convergence of interests during 3
 - human rights violations during 77n.14
 - humanitarian intervention in 18, 151
 - referendum proceeding 72–73
 - see also* Indonesia
- economic conservatives 197
- economic development
- Asian values and 101–103
 - grey area phenomena and 132–137
 - link between human security and 115–116
 - parallel underground economy to 133
 - SLOC security issues and 181–184
 - see also* Asian economic miracle; Asian financial crisis
- economic refugees 144
- see also* refugees
- economic security
- democracy and human and 203–204
 - described 193–194, 230, 242
 - human security and individual 194–199
 - human security and state 199–200
 - international financial management and 246–247
 - overview of Asian-Pacific 242–244
- The Economist* 243
- education investment 202–203
- education/literacy rates 115–116
- Edwards, S. 203
- EEZ (exclusive economic zone) boundaries 177, 185
- Elliott, L. 7, 308
- Emerson, Sir H. 148
- entrepreneurship 201
- Environmental Modification Convention (1977) 164
- environmental pollution 133, 140n.38, 162, 170, 242
- environmental security
- as accommodation or subversion 161–168
 - Asian financial crisis and 293
 - concerns of 157
 - described 231

- human security and 158–161, 240–242
- nuclear accidents and 175n.74
- nuclear weapons and 213–214
- Pacific Asian scarcity and 168–172
- possible strategies for 172
- war/military impact on 163–168, 176n.75
- epistemic community 295–296
- Estrada, J. 53
- ethnic conflict 291–292
- ethnicity resurgence 128–130, 135–136
- ethno-nationalism 234–235
- ethno-religious communal conflict 128–129, 134–135
- European Convention on Human Rights (1950) 43, 249
- European Recovery Programme 149
- European Union (EU) 247
- Evans, G. 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87
- Evatt, H. V. 82
- Evian Conference (1938) 148
- exclusive economic zone (EEZ) boundaries 177, 185
- exclusively defensive defence commitment (Japan) 284–285
- Falk, R. 172
- Federation of American Scientists 216
- Feisal Tanjung, General (Indonesia) 67, 70
- Feldstein, M. 195
- fertility/economic insecurity model 196
- “Fifth Force” (Indonesia) 70, 71
- financial crisis *see* Asian financial crisis
- FKPPI (Indonesia) 70, 71
- “flexible engagement” policy 282
- “force modernization” 263
- Foreign Affairs and International Trade Department (Ottawa Process) 21, 92, 252
- Foreign Affairs* (Lee interview) 102
- former Yugoslavia operations 81
- The Forum (Tokyo Forum) 8, 218–221, 226n.29
- four dragons 99, 114
- Four Party Talks (Geneva) 279, 280, 281, 283
- France
 - nuclear weapon testing by 215, 238
 - resistance to arms control by 220
- Freddy Numbery 74
- Furkon* (Indonesia) 71
- Galbraith, J. K. 118
- Genocide Convention 43, 164
- Gleick, P. H. 168
- global dollarization 128
- Global Environment Facility 167
- Global Environmental Outlook* (UNEP) 160
- global governance *see* governance
- global military intervention 311–312
- global military order 311
- Global Policy Forum (GPF) 18
- globalist approach 36–37
- globalist school of thought 19
- globalization
 - described 256
 - GAP and 131–132
 - increased demand for world security and 300
 - relationship of regional order and 288n.16
 - as threat to state economic control 246–247
- Golden Triangle 133, 134
- Golkar party (Indonesia) 70, 71, 72, 73
- good governance 230
- “good international citizenship” issues 86, 94n.25, 218, 225n.23
- Goodman, S. 165
- governance
 - Asian financial crisis and 52–53, 244–246
 - human security and global 299–300
 - humane 21
 - principle of good 230
- Grant, B. 84, 85, 87
- Great Britain
 - “New Labour” ideology of 198
 - resistance to arms control by 220
- grey area phenomena (GAP)
 - defining 127–128
 - dollarization of the globe and 128
 - globalization and 131–132
 - as human security problem 7, 315
 - proliferation of weaponry and 130–131
 - resurgence of atavistic identities and 128–130
 - in South-East Asia 132–137
 - strategies to deal with 137–138
 - see also* post-Cold War security
- Gulbenkian Commission 51
- Gulf War 272

- Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) 68, 69, 73, 74
- Habibie, B. J. 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73
- Habibie government (Indonesia) 67, 69–70
- Hague peace conferences (1899, 1907) 42
- Hanson, M. 7, 8
- Hanson, P. 152
- Hartling, P. 149
- Hathaway, J. 152
- Hawke-Keating Labor governments (Australia) 198
- haze incidents 170
- hegemonic defection 85
- Henry L. Stimson Center 216
- Herring, E. 16
- Herz, J. 213
- Higgott, R. 83, 85, 86
- High Commission for Refugees from Germany 148
- Hindus of Kashmir 234
- Hiroshima 57, 211, 214, 226n.28
- Hiroshima Peace Institute 219
- Hitan, M. 317
- Hocké, J.-P. 149
- Holden-Rhodes, J. 127
- Holdren, J. 168
- Hong Kong
- authoritarian rule in 204
 - as economic dragon 99, 114
 - economic intervention in own market by 255n.40
 - as economic tiger 132
- Horta, J. R. 103
- Hoshino, T. 8, 317
- “hub and spokes” mechanism 270
- human capital investment 202–203
- Human Development Report* of 1994 (UNDP) 13, 18, 120, 157–158
- Human Development Report* of 1996 (UNDP) 115
- human emancipation 120–121
- human realist approach 41
- human rights
- Asian values debate and 101–103
 - Asian vs. Western conception of 103–106
 - cultural approach to 113–114
 - de democratization and enforcement of 41
 - East Timor crisis violations of 77n.14
 - growing international concern for 42–43
 - as human security core 290
 - international duty to pursue 55
 - national security and 247–249
 - NGO role in 29, 43
 - regional cooperation to elevate 106–107
 - relevance to Asian financial crisis of 109
 - shared understanding of 101
 - trade sanctions policy and 104
- human security
- alternatives for institutionalizing 8
 - ASEAN Regional Forum and 256–266
 - changing security paradigm and 1–2, 14, 16–17
 - Cold War roots of 17–18
 - combined with post-Cold War security 9–10
 - comparison of traditional and 20r
 - complex challenges of 3–4
 - conceptualizing strategies for 57, 58–59
 - debate between traditional and 13–14, 109–110
 - described 2, 13, 93n.1, 157–158, 231–232, 268–269, 308
 - distinguishing features of 18–22
 - divisions of power politics and 55–56
 - economic growth linkage to 115–116
 - economic security vs. 193–199
 - environmental security and 158–161, 240–242
 - human emancipation and 120–121
 - human rights as core of 290
 - human-centered development and 29n.1
 - humanitarian emergencies as 40
 - interrelation with Asian values debate 6–7
 - link between peace-building and 81–82
 - linkages between traditional and 22–24
 - market institutional security and 200–203
 - national security vs. 192–193, 229–230, 231
 - nuclear weapons used for 7–8, 209–226, 237–240
 - policy suggestions for 42–44
 - potential importance in Asia-Pacific of 4
 - questions on control/target audience of 4–5
 - ramifications of corporate failure to 117–120
 - redefined in context of post-Cold War 38–42
 - refugees and issues of 146
 - regional cooperation and 289–301

- relationship between other security issues and 7–8
- structural concerns regarding 5–6
- Track II status report on informal 267–288
- two major tasks of cooperative 100–101
- human security agenda
 - Asian dimension of 26–27
 - building institutional framework for 286–287
 - concerns regarding 24–26
 - national security vs. 192–193
 - new disarmament and 86–92
- Human Security and Global Governance (Toda Institute) 23
- human security regimes
 - described 253n.4
 - for economic security 242–244
 - for environmental security 240–242
 - governance and 244–246
 - for human rights 247–249
 - intensional-extensional debate on 232–233
 - for international financial management 246–247
 - for nuclear security 237–240
 - realism and 249–253
 - for regional security 235–237
 - review of terms used in 230–232
 - for state security 233–235
- human smuggling 292
- human-centered development 29n.1
- humane governance 21
- humanitarian emergencies
 - defining 40
 - interventions during 18
 - relating human security to 40
- humanitarian security factors 210–212
- Huntington, S. 15, 23, 110, 203, 276
- Hyun, I.-T. 6, 308
- Ibrahim, A. 265
- ICJ (International Court of Justice) 212
- identity politics 234–235
- IMF crisis 42
 - see also* Asian financial crisis
- IMF (International Monetary Fund)
 - anti-interventionist's position on 60
 - Asian condemnation of packages from 2–3
 - on East Asian economy of 1997 243
 - growing compliance with 115
 - response to Russian (1998) by 246
- IMF Stabilization Fund 247
- IMO (International Maritime Organization) 184
- income levels 116
- income redistribution 202–203
- India
 - human security threats in 232
 - nuclear weapon testing by 215, 219, 221, 238
- individual
 - Confucian ideas on 105–106
 - Western inviolability of 111
- individual security theory 17
- Indonesia
 - adherence to Asian values by 74–75
 - agreement to combat piracy by 188
 - civilian militias of 70–71
 - collective welfare ethos of 62
 - economic crisis impact on 118
 - as economic tiger 99, 114, 132
 - emerging political factions in 72
 - factors in political reform of 63
 - fall of Suharto government in 3, 6, 53, 63
 - flexible labour market of 244
 - loss of East Timor by 72–73
 - middle-class support of reform in 65
 - military *Dwi Fungsi* role in 69
 - new leadership development in 66–69
 - piracy in territorial waters of 133–134
 - presidential election (1999) of 72–74
 - regional concerns with instability of 23
 - response to financial crisis by 245
 - riots of 1999 in 291–292
 - secessionist challenges confronting 75–76
 - threats to human security in 65–66
 - transitional socio-political issues of 69–72
 - Trisakti martyrs (1998) of 63–65
 - see also* East Timor crisis
- Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) 70, 71
- Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) 72, 73
- insecurity
 - actual/potential sources of 320
 - Asian financial crisis impact on 290–291
 - collective identity impact on 308–309
 - grey area phenomena (GAP) and 7, 315
 - model of fertility/economic 196

- insecurity (cont.)
 - nuclear 215–216
 - political and socio-economic 290–291
 - psycho-social 208
 - relationship of military conflict to 314–315
 - in South-East Asian region 54
 - spreading across Asia-Pacific region 49–50
 - states as cause of national 53–55
 - see also* security
- institutionalizing human security
 - using the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) for 256–262, 297–299
 - building framework for 286–287
 - challenges for US leadership 294–295
 - coalition-building for 296–297
 - epistemic community for 295–296
 - implications of wider security agenda for 313–317
 - harmonizing decision-making processes as 317
 - managing conflict as 316
 - setting norms as 316
 - new regionalism using EARF for 262–266
 - prospective security agenda and requirements for 318–320
 - regimes used for 229–232, 253n.4
 - economic security 242–244
 - environmental security 240–242
 - governance and 244–246
 - human rights 247–249
 - intensional-extensional debate on 232–233
 - international financial
 - management 246–247
 - nuclear security 237–240
 - realism and 249–253
 - regional security 235–237
 - state security 233–235
 - regional cooperation and, recognition of need for 289–290
 - using Track II informal approach for CSCAP as 282–284
 - in East Asia 277–280
 - increasing role of 287
 - symbiosis of Track I and 273–274
 - intensional-extensional debate 232–233
- Inter-American System of Human Rights 43
- Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR) 148
- International Campaign to Ban Landmines 90
- International Committee of the Red Cross 90, 92
- International Court of Justice (ICJ) 212
- International Criminal Court 43
- international financial management 246–247
 - see also* economic security
- International Labour Organization 42, 243
- international law
 - maritime security and 178–179, 185–186
 - principles of humanitarian 211
 - regarding nuclear weapons 212
 - widening gap regarding 1–2
- international narcotic trade 186
- International Network of Political Leaders Promoting Democracy (Myanmar) 59
- International Organization for Migration 149
- international organized crime 292–293
- international society
 - globalist on emerging 19
 - links between arms control and 226n.30
 - security dilemma implications for 310–313
 - tremendous ethnic diversity in 54
- international system
 - collective response to refugees by 147–152
 - global dollarization and 128
 - globalization of 131–132
 - theoretical perspectives on security in 34–38
- internationalisation of conflict 311
- intra-state ethnic conflict 291–292
- Iraq 272, 311
- Iraqi chemical attacks 88, 89
- Irian Jaya secessionist movement 75
- IRO (International Refugee Organization) 149
- Islamic extremism 134–136
- island disputes 38, 179–181, 200
- Jakarta secessionist movement 75
- Japan
 - alliance between US and 279
 - changing regional security role and 262

- Defence Agency of 182
 economic management style in 198–199, 207n.23
 exclusively defensive defence
 commitment by 284–285
 National defence Programme Outline of 190n.11
 shadow ecology concept of 242
 Tokyo Forum sponsored by 218–221
 Japan Institute of International Affairs 219
 “Japan passing” episode 281
 Jeshurun, C. 8
 Joint Declaration on a Non-Nuclear Korean Peninsula (1991) 223
juje (self-reliance) ideology [North Korea] 280
 Justice and Unity Party (Myanmar) 133
- Kashmiri Muslims 234
 Kausikan, Bilahari 106
 Keating, Prime Minister 217
keiretsu business groups (Japan) 199
 Khan, M. A. 110
 Kim Dae Jung 102, 105, 117, 223
 Kim Jong-pil 222
 Kim, S.-H. 8, 9
 Kim, W. 6, 308
konfrontasi of 1963–66 (Indonesia) 70
Kopkamtib (Indonesia) 68
 Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) 240, 281, 285
 Korean unification 239
 see also North Korea; South Korea
 Kosovar refugees
 Convention definition and 144
 spectacle of 142
 Kosovo war (1999) 18, 250, 306, 311
 Krause, K. 25
 Krugman, P. 114, 115, 243
 Kuala Lumpur summit (1997) 60
 Kurdish separatists 88, 89
- landmines treaty (Ottawa Process) of 1997 21, 89–91, 252
 Lange, D. 221, 222
 Laos 264
 Latter, R. 125
 law *see* international law
 Law of the Sea Convention 7
 League of Nations 147, 148
 League of Nations Covenant 22, 249
- Lee Kuan Yew 101–102, 104, 107, 110–111
 levels of analysis problem 2
 liberal approach 35, 200, 305–306
 Liew, L. 7, 307
 life expectancy 115
 Limongi, F. 204
 Lindt, A. 149
 Lipschutz, R. 168
 Lipset, S. M. 112
 literacy rates 115–116
 Lomé Convention 22
 LOS Convention
 doubts regarding 188–189
 as security mechanism 178
 SLOCs security and 183–184, 186
 Lupsha, P. 127
- Macclesfield Bank dispute 179
 McDonald, J. G. 148
 Macedonia 142, 144
 McKean, R. 198
 MacLean, G. 19, 20
 McNamara, R. 217
 McSweeney, B. 308
 Magna Carta 22
 Mahathir, Prime Minister 102, 107, 117
Mahjimmma Nikkaya 112
 Malaysia
 agreement to combat piracy by 188
 as economic tiger 114, 132
 ethnic or religious identities in 54
 impact of EEZ on navy of 185
 islands occupied by 180
 “push-off” policy of 151
 rationale for US forces in 265
 security dilemma of 317
 Maley, W. 7, 8, 316
 Marcos, F. 110, 113
 marginal value approach 233
 marine resource conflicts 184–185
 maritime boundary disputes 181, 190n.6
 maritime security
 building solid maritime regime for 178
 disputes relating to 177–178
 international law of the sea and 178–179
 major Asian-Pacific issues of 179–186
 island disputes as 38, 179–181, 200
 law and order at sea as 178–179, 185–186
 maritime boundaries as 181, 190n.5
 resource conflicts as 184–185

- maritime security (cont.)
 - SLOC security as 179, 181–184
 - measures to enhance 186–188
 - piracy as 133–134, 184, 185, 188
- market economy equity issue 41–42
- market fundamentalism 119–120
- market institutional security 200–203
- Mathews, J. 167
- May Revolution (Indonesia) 64–65
- Megawati Soekarnoputri 73, 74
- Meng-tzu 102, 105
- Menwa* (Indonesia) 70
- Metz, S. 131
- mid-level principles 104–105
- middle power diplomacy model
 - activist dimension of 84
 - applied to Ottawa Process 21, 90–91, 252
 - Australian application of 6, 78–79, 82–83
 - Canadian application of 78–79, 82–83
 - cooperative security approach and 80–81
 - entrepreneurial dimension of 85–86
 - exploring application of 78–79
 - internationalist dimension of 83–84
- military security 230
 - see also* war
- Milosevic, Slobodan 114, 142
- multilateral arrangements 312–313
- Minben Zhengchi* philosophy 102
- Mindanao (Philippines) 135, 136
- Minority Group 43
- misery index 118
- Mohamad, M. bin 264
- Montenegro 142, 144
- moral hazard 197, 206n.19
- Morgenthau, H. 275
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Mindanao) 136
- Morris, M. 166
- MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*) [Indonesia] 64, 65, 71, 72
- multilateralism 316
- Mutually Assured Destruction dogma 130
- Myanmar 53, 59, 246, 249, 263, 264
- Myers, N. 157, 162
- Nagasaki 211, 214, 226n.28
- Nansen, F. 147
- Nansen International Office for Refugees 148
- “Nansen Passport” 147–148
- nation-state
 - civic vs. ethno-nationalism concept of 139n.21
 - collective identity of 308–309
 - state aspiration to status of 55
 - see also* states
- National Awakening Party (PKB) [Indonesia] 72
- National Mandate Party (PAN) [Indonesia] 72
- National Resilience Institute (Indonesia) 68
- national security
 - fallacy of primacy of 249–250
 - human rights and 247–249
 - human security issues vs. 192–193
 - shift to human security from 229–230, 231
 - studies prior to 1991 on 15
- National Security Strategy (US) 162–163
- nationalism 234–235
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)
 - enlargement question of 309, 311
 - insecurity concerns of 315
 - nuclear strategy used by 211, 224n.5
 - Strategic Concept of 163
 - US national interest supported by 250
- Nayyar, D. 116
- Nef, J. 25
- Nehru, J. 110
- neo-Darwinian view 194–195
- neo-realism approach 34–35, 305–306
- neoliberal institutionalist approach 35, 198, 305–306
- “New Labour” ideology (Great Britain) 198
- “New Pacific Community” (Clinton administration) 274
- New Zealand 221–222, 237, 263
- newly industrializing economies (NIEs) 114
- Niche Diplomacy* (Cooper) 83
- Non-Aligned Movement (1960s) 265
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
 - activity with United Nations by 21
 - global social movements fostered by 19, 23
 - growing importance of 91
 - human rights role by 43, 249
 - human security promotion by 5, 18, 59, 60

- influence on Ottawa Process by 21, 90, 252
nuclear weapons control by 216
Tokyo Forum supported by 219–220
non-refoulement obligation 145
North Atlantic Treaty Organization 25
North, D. C. 199
North Korea
juche (self-reliance) ideology 280
military threat by 277
nuclear testing by 221, 222, 240, 277
see also South Korea
North Pacific Working Group 282
North-East Asia island disputes 180
North-East Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone 223
“Northern Territory” dispute 38
Nossal, K. 83, 85, 86
NPT Review and Extension Conference (1995) 91, 230
Nu, U 110
nuclear accidents 175n.74
Nuclear Free Zone Bill (1985) 222
nuclear insecurity 215–216
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 87, 215, 238, 239
nuclear security
human security linkage with 7–8, 209–216, 237–240
citizen-state relations and 212–213
environmental implications of 213–214
humanitarian factors of 210–212
non-traditional approaches to 216–221
Canberra Commission as 8, 216–218, 220
Tokyo Forum as 218–221
terrorism and 214–215
nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZs) 238–240
Obuchi, K. 3, 219
Ogata, S. 149
Olsen, M. 201
ontological security 308
“Open the Social Science” (Gulbenkian Commission) 51
open-minded realist approach 41
orthodox human security theory 17
OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) 289–290
Oslo-Ottawa axis 10n.3
Ottawa Process (1997) 21, 89–92, 252
Oxfam 18
Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) 273
Pacific house 321–322
Paik, J. H. 7
Pakistani nuclear weapon testing 215, 219, 221, 238
Palestinian refugees 149
Pam Swakarasa (Indonesia) 71, 72
Pancasila (Indonesia) 63
Parcel Islands dispute 179
Park Chung-Hee 222
Peace Conference at Versailles (1919) 42
Peace Movement Aotearoa 222
peace-building 81–82, 267–268
Pearson, L. B. 83
PECC (Pacific Economic Cooperation Council) 273
Pemuda Pancasila (Indonesia) 70, 71
Pemuda Pancasila (Indonesia) 70, 71
People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR) 64, 65, 71, 72
Philippines
human rights intervention proposed by 249
human rights/cultural imperatives under Marcos in 113
islands occupied by 180
piracy 133–134, 184, 185, 188
see also maritime security
PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) 70, 71
pluralistic reality 255n.48
political divisions of power 55–56
political insecurity 290–291
political security 230
pollution 133, 140n.38, 162, 170, 242
see also environmental security
population rates 116
Porter, G. 158
post-Cold War security
ANZUS alliances role in 270
Australian ministerial statement on 79, 80
Bush administration adjustment to 274
changing nature of 25–26, 124–126, 192, 264–266
combined with human security 9–10
comprehensive security concept of 39
ethno-religious forces and 128–130

- post-Cold War security (cont.)
 global military intervention and 311–312
 hegemonic competition predictions on
 15–16
 impact of globalization to 36–37
 international economy and agenda of 52
 proliferation of weaponry and 130–131
 redefining human security in context of
 38–42
 renewal of middle power concept in 83
 shift from Westphalian order and 33, 37
 see also Cold War; grey area phenomena
 (GAP)
- Post-Ministerial Conferences (PMC) 258,
 273
- poverty rates 116
- preventive diplomacy 298, 301n.18
- Pricewaterhouse Coopers 259–260
- prime value approach 233
- Principle 24 & 25 (Rio Summit) 161
- Prins, G. 159
- private property rights 201–202, 203
- production alliance 319
- productive entrepreneurship 201
- property rights 201–202, 203
- Protocol 1 (Geneva Conventions) 164
- Protocol II (CCW) 90
- Provisional Intergovernmental Committee
 for the Movement of Migrants from
 Europe 149
- Provisional People's Consultative Assembly
 (Indonesia) 67
- Przeworski, A. 204
- psycho-social security 308
- Pugwash 215
- Pye, L. 112
- Qian Quichen 278
- quality of life approach 308
- Rahman, Abdul 110
- Rais, A. 72
- rape 229, 248, 291
- rational actor model 252
- Reagan, R. 195
- realist approach 34, 305–306
- realpolitik* 125
- refugee resettlement programme 151–152
- refugees
 collective response to 147–152
 defining 143–145
- democratization as solution to 152–154
- rationales for concern about 145–147
- spectacle of Kosovar 142
- three types of responses to 150–151
- regional cooperation
 challenges for US leadership in 294–295
 coalition-building for 296–297
 epistemic community for 295–296
 growing recognition for 289–290
 impact of Asian financial crisis on
 290–294
 preventive 297–299, 301n.18
 see also cooperative security approach
- Regional Declaration of Principles*
 proposal 321
- Regional Forum of the Association of
 South East Asian Nations (ARF) 6
- regional security
 ARF future and rearrangement of
 260–262
 human security regime for 235–237
 new regionalism approach to 262–266
 relationship between global order and
 288n.16
- Regional Seminar for Asian Military and
 Strategic Studies Experts 92
- Relocating Middle Powers* (Cooper,
 Higgott, and Nossal) 83
- Report* (Canberra Commission) 217–218,
 225n.22
- Rio Declaration (1992) 159, 160, 161
- Roosevelt, F. 148
- Rothschild, E. 57
- Rubkun Negara* national philosophy 110
- Rudini, Minister (Indonesia) 70
- Ruggie, J. G. 85
- SAARC (South Asian Association for
 Regional Cooperation) 235
- Saint-Paul, G. 202, 203
- Santoso, A. 112
- Schlesinger, A., Jr. 121
- Schnyder, F. 149
- Schotter, A. 198
- Schumpeter, J. 195–196, 199
- Scientists Against Nuclear Arms 222
- SDF (Self-Defense Forces) 261
- sea lines of communication (SLOCs)
 security 179, 181–184
- SEANFZ (Southeast Asian Nuclear Free
 Zone) 222

- SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) 250
- securitization 314
- security
- changing nature of post-Cold War 25–26, 124–126, 264–266
 - controversies over meaning of 13
 - debate between traditional and human 13–14
 - environmental 157–176, 213–214, 231, 240–242
 - examining regional 235–237
 - examining state 233–235
 - human security and changing paradigm of 1–2, 14, 16–17
 - intensional-extensional debate on 232–233
 - linkages between human and traditional 22–24
 - maritime 177–191
 - military 230
 - ongoing crisis of collective 23–24
 - peace as enhancing prerequisite to 267–268
 - political 230
 - prime vs. core vs. marginal value approach to 233
 - psycho-social or ontological 308
 - regional 235–237, 260–266
 - relationships of survival to 307–308
 - research literature on nature of 93n.3
 - societal 18, 230–231
 - theoretical perspectives on 34–38, 305–306
 - traditional approach to 15–17
 - see also* insecurity
- security cooperation *see* cooperative security approach
- security dilemma
- Asia-Pacific context of 317–318
 - of cooperative approach 280–282
 - internationalization of 310–313
 - prospective agenda and institutional requirements for solving 318–320
 - reconceptualizing security and implications of 306–313
 - wider security agenda and 313–317
- security paradigm
- Asianizing the 58–60
 - conceptualizing human security strategies in 57, 58–59
 - reconceptualization of post-Cold War 33, 51–53
 - redefining 53–55
- security studies reevaluation 33
- Self-Defence Forces (SDF) 261
- Sen, A. K. 203
- Senkaku (or Daioyutai) Islands 38, 180
- Shacknove, A. 145
- shadow ecology (Japan) 242
- Sihanouk, King (Cambodia) 121
- Singapore
- agreement to combat piracy by 188
 - authoritarian rule in 204
 - as economic dragon 114
 - as economic tiger 132
- Sinhalese 234
- Siripreechapong, T. 133
- SLOCs (sea lines of communication)
- security 179, 181–184
- societal security 18, 230–231
- socio-economic insecurity 290–291
- Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono 74
- Somalia mission failure 81
- Soros, G. 119, 120
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) 235
- South China Sea disputes 179–180, 275
- South Korea
- Asian financial crisis and *chaebols* of 245
 - development of naval forces by 182–183
 - as economic dragon 99, 114
 - reinforcing human and national security in 40
 - response to financial crisis by 42
 - “Sunshine Policy” by 223
 - unification with North Korea 239
 - see also* North Korea
- South Pacific Commission 82
- South Pacific Forum (Rarotonga, 1985) 221
- South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ) Treaty 221–222
- South-East Asian region
- geopolitical landscape of 125–126
 - grey area phenomena in 132–137
 - national insecurity in 54
 - primordial identity throughout 134–136
 - see also* Asia-Pacific region; East Asia region
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) 250
- Soviet Union *see* USSR

- “spinfizz” (SPNFZ) 221–222
- Spratly Islands dispute 179–180, 183, 200
- START I Treaty 220
- State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) 53
- State of the World Forum* 216
- Statement by International Civilian Leaders* (1998) 215–216
- Statement on Nuclear Weapons by International Generals and Admirals* (1996) 215
- states
- as cause of national insecurity 53–55
 - as center of traditional security 109
 - collective identity of 308–309
 - Confucian ideas on individual and 105–106
 - examining security of 233–235
 - globalization threat to economic control by 246–247
 - human security and economic security of 199–200
 - human security on threats from within 20
 - need for cooperation between 50–51
 - nuclear security and relations of citizen to 212–213
 - opposition movements in Asian 21–22
 - rational actor model on 252
 - reconceptualizing security role by 306–310
 - refugees and non-refoulement obligation of 145
 - theoretical perspectives on security of 34–38
 - see also* nation-state
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 88–89
- Stoltenberg, P. 149
- strategic culture literature 24–25
- strategic partnerships 271, 279
- structural violence 17, 19–20
- Sucharitanarugse, W. 6
- Sudarsono, J. 71
- Suharto government
- fall of 3, 6, 53, 63
 - “Guided Democracy” of 62
 - human rights and cultural imperatives by 113
 - impact of Trisakti martyrs on 63–65
 - leadership vacuum following fall of 66–69
 - see also* Indonesia
- Suhrke, A. 145
- “Sunshine Policy” (South Korea) 223
- “Supreme Truth” religious sect (Japan) 89
- Surjadi Sudirdja 74
- survival 307–308
- Taiwan
- authoritarian rule in 204
 - development of naval forces by 182–183
 - as economic dragon 99, 114
 - islands occupied by 180
 - land reform in 1950s 202
- Tamils 234
- terrorism
- chemical weapons used in 89
 - nuclear security and 214–215
- Thai-Burmese relations 60
- Thailand
- Asian financial crisis and 243, 245
 - domestic state intervention proposals by 59, 60
 - as economic tiger 114, 132
 - human rights intervention proposed by 249
 - refugee populations in 151
- Thakur, R. 8, 100, 192, 308, 310
- Thatcher, M. 195, 205
- third wave literature 24–25
- “tigers” 114, 132
- Toda Institute 23
- Tok-to (or Takeshima) dispute 38, 180
- Tokyo bombings 214
- Tokyo Forum on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament 8, 218–221, 226n.29
- Tokyo subway sarin gas attack (1995) 89
- Tonghak 105
- Tow, W. 5, 314
- Track I (formal/governmental) dialogues 8, 236, 237, 269, 273–274, 282, 283, 322
- Track II (informal/non-governmental) dialogues 7, 8, 171, 236–237, 269, 273–274, 278, 283, 287, 322
- trade sanctions 104
- traditional security
- approach of 15–17
 - comparison of human and 20r
 - debate between human and 13–14, 109–110
 - linkages between human and 22–24

- reasons to revise 18
- state as center of 109
- transnational crime 292–293
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (1976) 126
- Treaty of Westphalia 22
- trilateral relations 281, 282
- Trisakti martyrs (Indonesia) 63–65
- Trood, R. 5, 314
- Try Sutrisno, Vice President (Indonesia) 70
- Tumen River Development project 281
- TVEs (Chinese township and village enterprises) 201
- UN Charter
 - Article 51 of 270
 - Article 52 of 269
 - Chapter VII of 272
 - Chapter VIII of 269
- UN Convention of Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) 90
- UN Environmental Council 241
- UN Security Council 18, 312
- UNCED (Rio Summit) 159, 160, 161
- UNDP *Human Development Report* of 1994 13, 18, 120, 157–158
- UNDP *Human Development Report* of 1996 115
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) 115, 121, 167, 281, 308
- UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) 160, 161
- Ungerer, C. 6
- UNHCR 149–150, 151
- Uniform Interpretation of the Rules of International Law Governing Innocent Passage (US and USSR) 189
- United Development Party (PPP) [Indonesia] 72
- United Kingdom 198, 220
- United Nations
 - Conference on Disarmament (CD) of 87, 218
 - cooperation with NGOs 18, 21
 - dependence upon members by 28
 - global military intervention role by 311–312
 - human rights role of 43
 - human security failures by 6
 - international security recast by 24
 - multilateral arrangements role by 312–313
 - United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (LOS Convention) 178, 183–184, 186, 188–189
 - United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 115, 121, 167, 281, 308
 - United Nations Transitional Authority 136
 - United States
 - alliance between Japan and 279
 - arms control efforts by 220
 - attempts to strengthen ties in North-East Asia 270
 - challenges to nuclear policy of 216–217
 - Cold War “war by proxy” by 130, 140n.25
 - environmental security programme in 165
 - global military intervention controlled by 312
 - insecurity concerns of 315
 - institutionalizing human security challenges for 294–295
 - joint maritime security statement of USSR and 189
 - memorandum signing with ASEAN by 270
 - military withdrawal from Asia-Pacific region by 274
 - objections to UNRRA by 148–149
 - required shift in attitudes by 319
 - strategic partnerships of 271, 279
 - trade dispute between China and 200
 - unemployment in 205n.3
- United States Mission 40
- “The United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region” (1995) 274
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights 22
- unproductive entrepreneurship 201
- UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) 148
- urbanization trends 116
- USSR
 - Afghanistan invasion (1979) by 131
 - arms control efforts by 220
 - Cold War “war by proxy” by 130–131, 140n.25
 - economic security under 194
 - end of Cold War and collapse of 268–269

- USSR (cont.)
 joint maritime security statement of US and 189
 objections to IRO by 149
- Vagg, J. 134
- van Heuven Goedhart, G. 149
- Verdier, T. 202, 203
- Versailles Peace Conference (1919) 42
- Vervoor, A. 169
- Viet Nam 164, 180, 264, 311
- Vijjians* 112
- Villacorta, W. V. 7
- vulnerability reduction linkage 22–23
- Waever, O. 309
- Walawa* (Indonesia) 70
- Wallerstein, E. 51
- Walt, S. 15
- Waltz, K. 34
- Wanandi, J. 269
- war
 environmental damage during 163–164
 insecurities relationship to 314–315
 as pursuit of security interest 268
war by proxy 130–131, 140n.25
- Warsaw Pact 221
- water pollution 133, 140n.38, 162, 242
 see also environmental security
- weapon proliferation 130–131
- weapon smuggling 136
- Weber, S. 130
- Wei Jingsheng 103
- Wendt, A. 36, 309
- Western culture
 Asian human rights concept vs. 103–106
 dollarization of the globe and 128
 on inviolability of individual 111
- Westphalian international order 33, 37, 251
- Williams, M. C. 25
- Winnefeld, J. 166
- “winner’s curse” 195, 206n.11
- Wiranto, General (Indonesia) 64, 73, 74
- women
 Human Development Report of 1996 on 116
 rape of 229, 248, 291
 W.W. II comfort 248
- Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom 222
- Wongwan, Narong 133
- Woolsey, J. 125
- World Commission on Environment and Development 162
- World Court Project 224n.9
- World Health Organization 170
- world system theory 17, 19
- Worldwatch Institute 43, 167, 241
- Yu, H.-S. 6, 321
- Yugoslav Federation 143, 144
- Zakaria, F. 112
- zero-sum game 37
- Zimbabwe 204
- Zolberg, A. R. 145