Index

Titles of publications are in italics.

Abdullah Ahmad Badawi 104
Abney, John 30
Acharya, Amitav 69, 73–4, 76, 77, 79, 98, 114
administrative states 139–41, 209–10, 226
ADMM (ASEAN Defence Minister’s Meeting) 56–7
Ahmad, Zakaria Haji 81
al-Qaeda threat 171–2
Alagappa, Muthiah 73
Alatas, Ali 85
anti-globalization views 224
Anti-Secession Law, China 48–9
Antony, A.K. 59
Aquino, Benigno 149–50
ARF (Asian Regional Forum) 76–7, 110
Arroyo, Gloria 103–4, 149
ASC (ASEAN Security Community) 80, 99–101
Ascent of Money (Ferguson) 197
ASEAN 68–91, 98–124, 133–6, 205–7, 227
Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution 106
and Asian financial crisis 81–90, 133
Charter 80, 134–5, 146
and China 53, 74, 117, 156–7
see also ASEAN Plus Three
Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism 101
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea 109, 156
and democratization 146–57
and durable disorder 141–6
founding 71, 132, 144
meeting structure 77–8
and Myanmar 155–6
norms and processes 76–81, 132
and pollution 105–6
and regional security 98–124, 144–6
Report of the Eminent Person’s Group on the ASEAN Charter 134–5, 159
and security threats 99–106
and South China Sea dispute 106–13
trade 78, 82, 87–9, 206
Vision 2020 80, 99
ASEAN Defence Minister’s Meeting (ADMM) 56–7
ASEAN Free Trade Area 87
ASEAN Investment Area 87
ASEAN–ISIS 79–80, 119
ASEAN Plus Three (APT) 75, 85–6, 113–18, 183, 205
ASEAN Plus Three, Plus Three 121, 183
ASEAN Regional Forum 76, 99, 108, 109, 110
ASEAN Security Community (ASC) 80, 99–101
ASEAN Way 75, 76–81, 183
and Asian financial crisis 202–4
and China 184
Asia, definitions 2–3
Asia-Pacific Community 170
Asian financial crisis 81–90, 202–4
and ASEAN initiatives 133
causes 82–3
effects 157–9
Asian Regional Forum (ARF) 76–7, 110
ASL (Anti-Secession Law), China 48–9
Association of Southeast Asian Nations, see ASEAN
Aung San Suu Kyi 156

285
Australia 168–89
  foreign policy 174–81
  and rise of China 181–7
  security dilemmas 171–4
Aziz, Rafidah 121

Bali bombings 101
Bali Concord II 80, 99, 133, 159
Beijing, US embassy protests 21
Belgrade, Chinese embassy bombing 21–2
Betts, Richard 226
bilateral trade deals 88–9, 206
Blainey, Geoffrey 187
Blair, Dennis 110
Bobbitt, Philip 139–40
BRIC economies 206–7
Britain, debt 211
Brunei and South China Sea 107
Butler, Willem 213
Burma–Myanmar 152, 155–6
Bush, George H.W. 14, 15
Bush, George W. 25
Bush, George W. administration, Sino–US relations 22–6
Business Coalition for US–China Trade 17
Busse, Nika 73
Buszynski, Leszek 111

Cambodia 152–3
  and South China Sea Dispute 112
  capitalist democracy 199–200
CEBU Declaration on the Blueprint of an ASEAN Charter 134
Cerny, Philip 138, 209
Chan, Steve 5
Chen Shui-bian 24, 25, 48–9
China
  and ASEAN 53, 74, 117, 156–7
  see also ASEAN Plus Three
  economic impact on ASEAN region 86–7
  economy 182–3
  and Japan 24, 45–7, 54, 57, 185–6
  regional influence 117–8, 181–7, 211–12
  and South China Sea dispute 106–13
  and Thailand 48–50
trade 42, 88, 206
  and US 12–32, 211–12
China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) 26
Chinese embassy bombing 21–2
Christopher, Warren 19
Chung, Jae Ho 51
Chwee Kuiik Cheng 109
civilizational clash 200–202
classical realism 142, 226
Clinton, Hillary 30, 57
Clinton administration, US–China relations 16–22
CNOOC bid for Union Oil Company of California 26
Cohen, Leonard 199
collegial identity of ASEAN 144–5
conflict avoidance as ASEAN norm 76–7
Confucius 143, 198
consensus building as ASEAN norm 77
Cooper, Robert 173–4
Copenhagen Climate Talks 31
Corden, Max 212
Cotton, James 106
counter-terrorism cooperation 101–5
Cox Committee report 22
culture, political 146–7
currency issues, and Sino–US relations 27–8
current account surpluses, China 212–13
Daim Zainuddin 203
debt as cause of empire collapse 210–11
Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II) 80, 99, 133, 159
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea 109, 110, 156
Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism 101
Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century (Defence White Paper) 175, 188
Democracy and Complexity (Zolo) 209
democracy and security 136–7
Index

democratic norms versus economic realities 157–9
democratization paradox 147–51
Deng Xiaoping 14, 201
Deutsch, Karl 99
development scenarios 196–8
dialectic of development 198–202
Dickson, Bruce J. 18
double movement 197
Doyle, Michael 137
Dung, Nguyen Tan 58
durable disorder 139, 157
  and ASEAN norms 141–6
  and Australian security 173–4
EAEC (East Asian Economic Caucus) 85–6
Eagleburger, Lawrence 14–15
EAS (East Asian Summits) 53–4, 121, 180
East Asia, definition 2–3
East Asia Vision Group 85
East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) 85–6
East Asian Summits 53–4, 121, 180
economic development versus democratic norms 157–9
economic globalization, see globalization
economic instability 210–13
economic interdependence 42, 54, 225
economic issues and US–China relations 27–8
economy
  China 182–3
  Indonesia 148
elite opinions on China
  Japan 47
  South Korea 50–51
Eminent Person’s Group 134–5
Emmerson, Don 70, 112
empire failure 210–11
engagement orthodoxy, Australia 179–81
EP-3 Incident 22–3, 45
espionage 30
EU arms embargo on China 48
Evans, Gareth 186
exchange rate manipulation 212
Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) 29
False Dawn (Gray) 208
fear deflation 41–3
fear inflation 41, 43–4
fear of China’s rise 39–60
  Japan 45–7
  South Korea 50–52
  Taiwan 48–50
fear qualification 40, 44
Ferguson, Niall 197, 207, 210, 211
financial crises
  as cause of empire collapse 210–11
  see also Asian financial crisis; global financial crisis
Five Principle of Peaceful Co-existence 184
Fixing Global Finance (Wolf) 212
free trade agreements, see trade agreements
Fukuda, Takeo (Japanese Prime Minister) 116
Fukuyama, Francis 199, 200
Future Shock (Toffler) 205
Gates, Robert 30, 56, 57
Geithner, Timothy 27
global financial crisis 208
global meliorism 196–7
Global War on Terror (GWOT) 23
globalization
  and role of the state 209
  and security threats 172
views on 199–202, 224–5
Gray, John 208
Great Transformation, The (Polanyi) 213
Habermas, Jürgen 173
Habibie, B.J. 83
Hanoi Declaration 84
Hanoi Plan of Action 87, 133
He Yafei 29
Hegel, Freidrich 198
Heginbotham, Eric 45
Hernandez, Carolina 79
Howard, John 172–3, 177, 178, 180–81, 184
Hu Jintao 27, 30
Hu Yaobang 13
Hu Zhengyue 57
human rights–MFN linkage 17
Huntington, Samuel 200
Huntsman, Jon 53

identity
and attitude to China’s rise 42, 52–3
Australia 179–80
IMF (International Monetary Fund) 84
Indonesia
and Asian financial crisis 203
political regime 148–9
and terrorism 101, 103
Information Exchange and
Establishment of Communication
Procedures, Trilateral Agreement 102
intergovernmental cooperation as
ASEAN norm 77–8
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 84
International Relations theory and
ASEAN process 75
ISIS (Institutes of Strategic and
International Studies) 79–80, 119
Islamic Community (Jemaah
Islamiyah) 100–105, 149
Islamic movements 141–2
Indonesia 149
as security threat 100–105, 172–3
Jae Ho Chung 51

Japan
and ASEAN 116–17, 185–6
and ASEAN Plus Three 74–5
and China 26, 45–7, 54, 57, 185–6
public opinion on China 45, 46–7, 58
rare earths sourcing 58–9
regional status 117–18, 185–6
and South China Sea 112
Japan–Singapore Economic
Partnership Agreement 88
Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic
Community) 100–105, 149
Jiang Zemin 20, 23
Johnston, Alastair Iain 41, 43, 53, 75, 110
Joint Declaration for Cooperation to
Combat International Terrorism 101
Kamtay Siphandone 153
Kan, Naoto 58
Kang, David 5, 41–2, 50, 52
Katzenstein, Peter 69, 73, 79, 80, 98
Keating, Paul 176
Kelly, Paul 180–81
Kem Sokha 153
Kennedy, Paul 197
Khong, Yuen Foong 69
Khoo, How San 74
Kim Dae-jung 85
Kim, Samuel 110
Koh, Tommy 69
Koizumi, Junichiro 74, 85, 118, 120
Kratsner, Scott 54
Krugman, Paul 82
Kuala Lumpur Declaration 80, 133–4
Kwa Chong Guan 114
Lake, Anthony 17, 19
Lampton, David 24
Lao People’s Revolutionary Party
(LPRP) 153, 154
Laos 152, 153–4
Law of the Territorial Sea and
Contiguous Zones, China 108
Law, John 211
Lee Kuan Yew 83, 104
Lee Teng-hui 18, 22
Leifer, Michael 71, 72, 76, 144, 145
Li Zhaoxing 46
Liang Guanlie 56
Linz, Juan 199
Living with China (Tang) 44
LPRP (Lao People’s Revolutionary
Party) 153, 154
Lyon, Peter 144
Ma Ying-jeou 29, 59
Ma Zhaoxu 57, 58
Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria 103–4, 149
Machimura, Nobutaka 46
MacIntyre, Andrew 82
Maehara, Seiji 57, 58
Mahathir Mohamad 83, 85, 88, 104,
114, 145, 203, 204
Mahbubani, Kishore 77, 207, 197
Malaysia
and ASEAN Plus Three 118
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and Asian financial crisis</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protectionism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and South China Sea</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and war on terrorism</td>
<td>104–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manila Declaration</td>
<td>107, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manne, Robert</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDougall, Walter</td>
<td>196–7, 205, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mclver, R.M.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mead, Walter Russell</td>
<td>138, 176, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mearsheimer, John</td>
<td>5, 41, 43–4, 54–5, 197, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megawati Sukarnoputri</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mey Thai party</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFN (Most Favoured Nation) trade status, China</td>
<td>15–16, 16–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military issues and Sino–US relations</td>
<td>28–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millennial capital</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minc, Alain</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miracle Economies, The (World Bank)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi Scheme</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell, George</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLAA (Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement)</td>
<td>101, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Favoured Nation trade status, China</td>
<td>15–16, 16–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullen, Michael</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement (MLAA)</td>
<td>101, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>152, 155–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabers, Dirk</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naisbitt, John</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najib Razak</td>
<td>104–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan, Andrew</td>
<td>20–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nation-states and Australian security</td>
<td>173–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Security Strategy of the United States of America</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Unification Council (NUC), Taiwan</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neo-medievalism</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesadurai, Helen</td>
<td>72–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>networked market states</td>
<td>139–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East (Mahbubani)</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-confrontation as ASEAN norm</td>
<td>76–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>24, 28–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>response to China’s rise</td>
<td>39–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Japan; South Korea; Taiwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Neill, Jim</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, Barack</td>
<td>1, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama administration, Sino–US relations</td>
<td>27–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odgaard, Liselotte</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohmae, Ken</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-party states and democratic values</td>
<td>151–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opinion polls, see public opinion surveys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelosi, Nancy</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>democratization</td>
<td>149–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protectionism</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and South China Sea</td>
<td>107, 111, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and war on terrorism</td>
<td>103–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), Indonesia</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polanyi, Karl</td>
<td>197, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Community in the North Atlantic Area</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Area (Deutsch et al.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political culture, Southeast Asia</td>
<td>146–57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-party states</td>
<td>151–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pollution, ASEAN agreements</td>
<td>105–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-Cold War era</td>
<td>138–46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell, Colin</td>
<td>23, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Indonesia</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protectionism</td>
<td>87–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public opinion surveys on attitudes to China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>45, 46–7, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>50–52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>49–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualified fear</td>
<td>40, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutb, Sayyid</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainys, Sam</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajaratnam, R.J.</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

David Martin Jones, Nicholas Khoo and M. L.R. Smith - 9781781004623
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 01/27/2019 03:20:51AM via free access
rare earths sourcing, Japan 58–9
Ravenhill, John 88–9, 122
Rawls, John 132
realism 3, 142
Regional Action Plan on Transboundary Haze 105–6
regional balancing 4–5
Report of the Eminent Person’s Group on the ASEAN Charter 134–5, 159
reserve accumulation by China 212–13
Rice, Condoleezza 155
Rigger, Shelley 48
Ross, Robert 19
Rudd, Kevin 1, 31, 175, 181
Rumsfeld, Donald 23
Samuels, Richard 45
sanctions against China by US 14
Scowcroft, Brent 14–15
security
and ASEAN 98–124, 145
Australia 168–89
definition 2
and democracy 136–7
and Sino–US relations 28–30
South China Sea dispute 106–13
terrorism threats 100–105
Shambaugh, David 41, 42, 54, 55, 110
Shen, Minggao 213
Shutdown (Manne) 208
Simon, Sheldon 79
Singapore 140–41, 151–2, 198, 209
and ASEAN 69
and Asian financial crisis 203–4
bilateral trade deals 88–9
counter-terrorism 104
and South China Sea dispute 112
Singapore School 146–7
Singh, Daljit 79
Singh, Mannmoham 58
Smith, Anthony 69–70, 110
socialization thesis 43, 53
South China Sea dispute 106–13
South Korea
attitudes to China’s rise 50–52
relations with China 59
South Vietnam and South China Sea 107
Southeast Asia, see ASEAN;
individual countries
space programme, China 30
Special Providence (Mead) 176
Spratly Islands, see South China Sea dispute
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), Myanmar 155–6
Stepan, Alfred 199
Strahan, Lachlan 181
Strauss, Leo 142
Stuart-Fox, Martin 154
Stubbs, Richard 69
Studwell, Joe 89
Sun Tzu 185
Supachai Panitchpakdi 84
TAC, see Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
Taiwan
China’s attitude to 185
reactions to China’s rise 48–50
relations with China 54, 59
and Spratly Islands 107
and US–Chinese relations 18–20, 20–21, 24–6, 29–30
Taiwan Straits crisis 18–20
Tan See Seng 114
Tang Shing 44
Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zones, Law, China 108
terrorism threats 100–105
Thai Rak Thai party 150, 151
Thailand
and Asian financial crisis 203
political regime 150–51
and war on terrorism 103, 104
Thaksin Shinawatra 103, 150
Than Shwee 156
Thayer, Carl 112–13
Thein Sein 156
three No’s policy 20–21
Tiananmen Square protests 13–15
Toffler, Alvin 205
Track Two dialogues, ASEAN 79–80
trade
ASEAN states 82, 87–9, 206
China 42, 88, 206
Laos 153–4
protectionism 88–9
and Sino–US relations 22, 27–8
Vietnam 154
Index

trade agreements 78, 138, 206
AFTA 87
ASEAN–China 88, 156–7
Australia 177, 179

Tragedy of Great Power Politics, The
(Mearsheimer) 43
transboundary haze pollution 105–6
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
(TAC) 183–4
breached by Vietnam 72, 144
signed by Australia 177
signed by China 74, 109

Triet, Nguyen Minh 59
Trilateral Agreement on Information
Exchange and Establishment of
Communication Procedures 102
Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf 20

Union Oil Company of California 26
United Kingdom debt 211
United States
and Asian security issues 5–6, 57–8, 113–14
and Australian security 179
Bush, George W. administration
22–6
Clinton administration 16–22
consumer and East Asian economy 90
cooperation on anti-terrorism 101–2, 103, 104
debt 211
global role 196–7, 205, 211–12
Obama administration 1, 27–30
relations with China 12–32
and Vietnam 154
United States Security Strategy for the
East Asia-Pacific Region 20

USS Impeccable incident 29

Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) 101, 133
Vietnam 152, 154–5
and China 59
invasion of Cambodia 71–2, 144–5
and South China Sea 111, 112
Vision 2020 (ASEAN) 80, 99, 133
Voegelin, Eric 210

Wanandi, Jusuf 84, 85
Wang Jisi 54

Wealth of Nations, The (Smith) 199
Wen Ho Lee 21
Wen Jiabao 25, 27, 28, 31, 46
White, Hugh 176
Wolf, Frank R. 30
Wolf, Martin 197, 207, 212
World Trade Organization, China’s
entry 22
Wynne, Michael 26

Yang Jeichi 30, 57, 58
Yingluck Shinawatra 151
Yu Qingtai 31
Yu Shyikun 24
Yudhyono, Susilo Bambang 148

Zakaria, Fareed 197, 207
Zhu Rongji 21
Zoellick, Robert 24
Zolo, Danilo 209