ASEAN Resistance to Sovereignty Violation

Southgate, Laura

Published by Bristol University Press

Southgate, Laura.
ASEAN Resistance to Sovereignty Violation: Interests, Balancing and the Role of the Vanguard State.

Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/79536.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/79536
Index

A

Aceh 45, 129
Acharya, Amitav 3–4, 5–6, 58, 103, 150, 194, 214, 215, 226–7
actor, ASEAN as 16–17, 102, 224
AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area) 55
Alatas, Ali 48, 124, 125, 133, 135
alliances 2, 15, 71, 72, 77, 78, 102, 219, 222
Aneja, Urvashi 6
Annan, Kofi 136
APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) 125, 130, 135, 140, 142, 181, 188, 189
Apodeti (Timorese Popular Democratic Association) 28, 29, 31, 46, 47
Aquino III, Benigno 176, 178, 180, 181
arbitration tribunals 176–7
ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) xiv, 6, 172, 194, 195, 215, 227
Armacost, Michael 51
arms supplies
   East Timor invasion 30, 32–3
to Indonesia 50–1, 121, 141
to the Philippines 185
to Thailand 92, 95
to Vietnam 181
ASA (Association of Southeast Asia) x, xii
ASEAN Summits 181–2, 184, 186, 189
ASEAN Way xiii, xv, 58, 151
ASEAN–China Free Trade Area 170
Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor 125
Asian financial crisis (1997) xv, 117, 118, 126–9, 130, 148–9, 153, 220, 222
Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute 189
Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET) 124
Australia
   air bases 92
   and ASEAN 152
   East Timor humanitarian crisis 117, 120, 140–5, 147, 220, 222
   East Timor invasion 25, 26, 30, 33, 46, 57, 224
   and Indonesia 38–44, 52–4, 57, 118–19, 122–3, 126, 131–4, 138, 141, 144, 147–9, 220
   seabed border agreements 31, 39
   South China Sea Dispute 190, 193
autonomy
   constructivist theory xvii, 1, 2, 6, 103, 194, 214, 215
   East Timor humanitarian crisis 117, 118, 131, 132–6, 149–50
   and power 16
   realist theory xvii, 7, 194–5, 215–18, 221
   South China Sea Dispute 163
   and sovereignty 19
   Third Indochina War 102–3, 105
   vanguard state theory 222–3

B

Ba, Alice 4, 58, 103, 150, 193, 194, 214
Baba, Ghafar 78
Baja Jr, Lauro 168
BAKIN Badan Koordinasi Intelijensi Negara (State Intelligence Coordinating Body) 33
Balakrishnan, Vivian 190
balance of power politics 6–7, 15, 105, 167, 180, 192, 222, 223
Bali Summit (1976) 55
Balibó Declaration 47–8
Bangkok Declaration (1967) xiii, xv
Barry, Robert 121, 147
Beeson, Mark 192
Bellamy, Alex J. 226–7
Belo, Carlos Felipe Ximenes 120, 124, 129
Betts, Alexander 4–5, 6
ASEAN RESISTANCE TO SOVEREIGNTY VIOLATION

Bian Kie, Lim 43, 54
bilateral agreements 15, 122, 169, 180, 184, 188
Blair, Dennis 140
Boren, David 121
boycotts 55, 141, 223–4
British colonialism xii
Brown, Harold 75, 88
Brunei xi, 46, 55, 60, 163, 193
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 75, 93

C
Cambodia
Cambodia conflict (Third Indochina War) 2, 71–116, 214–15, 216, 219, 222, 224
and China 77, 84, 98, 174, 184
communism 27, 73
critical theoretical scholarship 219
and Indonesia 98–100, 135
joining ASEAN xi, xiv, 225
South China Sea Dispute 174, 184
and Thailand 3, 82–3
and Vietnam 73–4, 84–5, 86–7
Capie, David 227
capitalist social order 105, 106
Carter, Ashton 179
Carter, Jimmy 51–2, 71, 87–8, 93, 95
case study methodology 17–20, 213
Cayetano, Alan Peter 187
Charunphan Isarangkun Na Ayuthaya 77
Chatchai Chunawan 77, 78, 79
China
alliances with 2
and ASEAN xiv, 2, 81–3, 90–1, 94, 170, 194, 215, 217, 220
and Cambodia 77, 84, 98, 174, 184
Cold War xii
East Timor 30, 45, 50
as extra-regional power 6–7
and Indonesia 37, 81–2, 128
and the Khmer Rouge 84
and the Philippines 81, 167–8, 173, 176–92, 223
South China Sea Dispute 163–211
and the Soviet Union 75, 80, 81, 87, 100–1
and Thailand 71, 81, 82, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 99, 217
Third Indochina War 7, 71, 103–4, 216, 219, 222
and the UN 96
and the US 75, 81, 166, 171–2, 175, 178–9, 188–9, 192, 193, 216, 224
US-Indonesian Consultative Commission 37
and Vietnam 7, 72–5, 79, 81, 87–91, 93, 95, 99, 101, 170–1, 178–9, 181, 186–8, 190–1, 217, 223
China–Vietnamese Border War of 1979 72
civil war 31–3, 43, 86
Clinton, Bill 121, 122, 131, 140, 142, 224
Clinton, Hillary 172
coalitions of the willing 142
code of conduct 168–70, 189–90
coercive power dynamics 2, 15–16, 118, 147–8, 152, 170–1, 188, 190, 223–4
cohesion norms xx, 17, 44–7, 214–15
East Timor humanitarian crisis 118, 134–5, 151
East Timor invasion 44–7
South China Sea Dispute 164, 178
Third Indochina War 90–1, 102–6
Cold War
and ASEAN’s origins xi–xiv
Australia 38
East Timor 25–70
Indonesia 27–31
colonial era xii
Comecon 85
common threat consensus 76, 224
Commonwealth 46
communism
Cambodia 83–4
East Timor invasion 27, 32, 34, 35, 59–60
fears over expansion of xii, 29–30, 59–60
Indonesia 81
Vietnam 29–30, 73, 85
Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) 83
Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) 85
conflict avoidance 7, 104, 216
consensus-based decision making xiii, xv, 2, 7, 9, 16, 77, 103–4, 151, 164, 216
constructive realism 11
constructivist scholarship xvii, 1–6, 11, 214–15
East Timor humanitarian crisis 150
East Timor invasion 58
South China Sea Dispute 193–4
Third Indochina War 103
containment policies 2, 82, 85
cooperative norms 2, 9, 13–14
Cotton, James 30
counterinsurgency 51, 52, 92
covariation 18
Crawford, Timothy 13, 15, 102, 221
critical theoretical scholarship xvii, 8–10, 59, 105–6, 152–3, 218–20

D
Dai Bingguo 172
De Castro, Cruz 173, 183, 191–2
de Venecia, Jose 125
Declaration of the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) 169–70, 174, 191
Declaration of the Formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) 98
decolonization 25, 28–9, 35, 49, 59, 218
Democratic Kampuchea 74, 82, 86, 87, 96
Deng Xiaoping 71, 75, 81, 82, 85, 87–8, 93, 94, 95, 96
Dibb, Paul 133
Dili coup, East Timor 32–3, 41, 123
Dim Syamsudin 128
diplomacy
large power diplomacy 5, 95, 96–101
South China Sea Dispute 173, 176, 180, 194
Third Indochina War 79, 82, 85, 89
disinformation 32
do Amaral, Xavier 50
domino effect 34, 79, 93, 95, 128
Downer, Alexander 132, 133, 134, 142
Drummond, Catherine 227
Dunn, James 42, 48
Dutch colonialism xii
Duterte, Rodrigo 182–4, 185–6, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192

E
East Asia Summit (EAS) 170, 188, 189
East Timor
constructivist scholarship 58, 150
invasion 2, 25–70, 214, 216, 218
realist theory 59, 151–2
selection as a case study 18, 19
vanguard state theory 221–2
economic aid
to Cambodia 84, 184
to Indonesia 34–5, 142, 149, 220
as strategy by external powers 224
to Vietnam 85, 101
Elman, Colin 11
empirical evidence base 18
European Union 125–6, 141
Evans, Gareth 122
expansionist aims
China 81, 164, 166, 171, 174, 176, 188, 189, 191
Indonesia 30–1, 57, 60, 216, 218
Soviet Union 34, 72, 75, 76, 80, 84
Vietnam xiv, 78, 83, 84, 93, 105–6, 222

F
FALINTIL (National Liberation Armed Forces of East Timor) 33, 48, 119, 138
Federation of Malaysia xii
Five-Power Agreement 46
food shortages 127–8
forced resettlements 45, 84
Ford, Gerald 34, 37–8, 50–1, 219
Foreign Ministers (ASEAN) 89, 97, 98, 145, 169, 184, 186, 190
Fraser, Don 51
Fraser, Malcolm 42–4, 52, 54
Freedom of Navigation (FON) operations 179
free-trade agreements 128, 170, 175, 188
French colonialism xii
FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) 28–34, 41, 45, 47–50, 52–3, 56, 60, 119, 216
Frey, Frederick 17
FUNSK (Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation) 86, 87

G
Gerard, Kelly 8
Glas, Arie 2–3
Goh Chok Tong 135, 143
Gorbachev, Mikhail 100
Grieco, Joseph 10, 11
Gruber, Lloyd 3
GRUNK (Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea) 74
guerrilla warfare 48, 52, 81, 93
Gupta, Sourabh 189

H
Haacke, Jürgen 4, 58, 104, 150–1, 193, 194, 214
Habib, Philip 36, 45, 51, 76
Habibie, Bacharuddin Jusuf 129, 130–1, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141–2, 144, 145, 147
habits of peace 2–3
Handel, Michael 13
Hayton, Bill 166, 186
hegemonic power 31, 72, 75, 81, 102
Heng Samrin 86, 87, 96, 97
Heydarian, Richard Javad 192
history of ASEAN xi–xx, 44
Hong Kong 130
Howard, John 131, 133–4, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144
Howard Doctrine 143, 144
Hua, Huang 75, 93, 95
human rights
Cambodia 96
conference 124
contraventions in East Timor 48, 52
East Timor 118, 120, 121, 131
and the future of ASEAN 225–8
Philippines 183
humanitarian crisis, East Timor
117–62
humanitarian principles, shift towards 225–8
Hun Sen 184

I
identity, and the making of security communities 3–4
India 193, 195, 225
Indo-Pacific Business Forum 188
Indonesia
and ASEAN 16, 123–6, 134–5
and Australia 38–44, 52–4, 57, 118–19, 122–3, 126, 131–4, 138, 141, 144, 147–9, 220
British colonialism xii
and Cambodia 98–100, 135
and China 37, 81–2, 128
Cold War 27–31
communism 81
Dutch colonialism xii
East Timor humanitarian crisis 117–62, 222
East Timor invasion 7, 25–70, 216, 218, 221–2
expansionist aims 30–1, 57, 60, 216, 218
integration into the region xiv
and INTERFET 144–5
joining ASEAN xi
and Malaysia xiii, 44, 46, 58–9, 125
post-Cold War 119–21
readying for war 92
and Singapore xiii, 55, 135
small annexations 45

and Thailand xiii, 95, 124–5
as vanguard state 25–6, 33–44, 57, 117–18, 148, 221–2, 223, 224
and Vietnam 76–7, 78, 90, 98
Indo–Pacific Business Forum 188
informal alliances 71, 72, 78, 219, 222
informal decision-making xiii, 2
institutionalization processes 5
institutions
ASEAN institutional cohesion 44–7, 134–5
as venues for cooperation 2
Westphalian model of sovereignty 12, 16, 225, 227–8
intelligence gathering 15, 32, 138
interest convergence
East Timor humanitarian crisis 118, 121–6
East Timor invasion 26, 57, 60
as independent variable 11–15
partial interest convergence xx, 13–14, 19, 164, 174–82, 192
South China Sea Dispute 164–5, 166–74, 191–3
Third Indochina War 71, 102
and vanguard state theory 221–3, 224
INTERFET (International Force for East Timor) 142–3, 144–5, 146–8, 150–1, 152, 220, 222
International Conference on Kampuchea 96–7
international law 49, 57, 179, 181
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 127, 128, 130, 132, 142, 220
International Relations 8, 213
International Stabilisation Forces (ISF) 146
intra-ASEAN power dynamics 16, 76–9, 90–2, 191

J
Jakarta Informal Meetings (JIM) 99–100
Japan xii, 78, 130, 144, 175, 190, 193, 195, 225
Job, Brian L. 6
Joint Communiqués 56, 57, 77, 145, 174, 184, 194, 216
Joint Marine Seismic Undertaking (JMSU) 170, 173
Joint Vision Statements 180–1
Jones, David M 6–7, 13, 58, 59, 104–5, 151–2, 194–5, 216, 217
Jones, Lee 8, 9, 10, 59–60, 105, 152–3, 218–20
INDEX

journalists  119, 120
Juddery, Bruce   41

K
Kaplan, Robert D   166, 189
Keating, Paul   122
Khieu Samphan   97, 98, 99
Khmer Rouge   27, 71, 74, 83, 84–5, 86, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 222
Khoo, Nicholas   2, 194
Khukrit Pramot   79
Kiernan, Ben   30, 48
Kingsbury, Damien   120
Kissinger, Henry   34, 36, 37, 45, 50–1, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82
Koh, Tommy   188–9
Konfrontasi   xiii, 44
Kopsak Chutikul   135
KPNLF (Khmer People’s National Liberation Front)   97, 99
Krasner, Stephen   12, 16, 147–8
Kriangsak Chamanan   85, 91, 93
Kuala Lumpur Declaration   80
Kuantan principle   98–9

L
Lao People’s Democratic Republic   100
Laos
and China   77
communism   27, 73
joining ASEAN   xi, xiv, 225
and Vietnam   73
Larson, Charles   168
Le Hai Binh   177
Le Thi Thu Hang   187
Lee Hsien Loong   182, 189
Lee Kuan Yew   xi, 46, 56, 78, 79, 81, 82, 143
Leekpai, Chuan   125
Leifer, Michael   xiv, 6, 7, 13, 28, 58, 59, 104–5, 151, 167, 194–5, 215–16, 217, 219
liberation movements   86
Lim Bian Kie   43, 54
Lim King Siang   144
localized sovereignty   227
Lon Nol, General   73–4

M
Macau   30
Mahathir, Prime Minister   143–4, 145, 227
Malaya   xii
Malaysia
Asian financial crisis (1997)   130
and Brunei   46
and China   81, 92, 168
East Timor humanitarian crisis   143–4, 145
East Timor invasion   45–7, 56, 60
formation of Federation   xii
and Indonesia   xiii, 44, 46, 58–9, 125
joining ASEAN   xi
readying for war  92
South China Sea Dispute   163, 165, 169, 193
and the Soviet Union   80
and Thailand   95
Third Indochina War   89
and the US   76
and Vietnam   76, 78, 99
Malik, Adam   28, 33, 36, 47, 53, 76
Manglapus, Raul   124
Mann, Michael   16
Mansfield, Edward D.   3
Marcos, President   79
massacres   48, 84, 119–20, 136
materialist state theory   8
Mattis, Jim   185, 187
McCredie, John   30, 39
Mearsheimer, John   4, 13
Mekong hydroelectric scheme   79
Merom, Gil   10, 11
military aid
in Cambodia   84, 98
East Timor invasion   34–5, 36, 37, 50–1, 52
to Indonesia   121, 122–3
to the Philippines   193
to Thailand   92, 94–5
to Vietnam   71, 73, 84, 85, 101
Vietnam War   76
see also arms supplies
military bases   39, 76, 79, 180, 186
military coups
Cambodia   73–4, 86
East Timor   32, 41
Indonesia   27
militia violence   137–9, 143
Mill, John Stuart   226
Ministerial Meetings   56–7, 77, 89, 173–4, 216
Mischief Reef   163, 166, 174
Moerdani, General   30, 43
Mondale, Walter   52, 94, 95
Morgenthau, Hans   12–13
Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)   45
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick   50
multilateral initiatives   170, 175, 178, 184, 188–9, 193, 194, 215
multinational companies   170–1
multinational forces   139–40, 142, 145
Murdani, General   36

267
ASEAN RESISTANCE TO SOVEREIGNTY VIOLATION

Murtopo, General Ali 32, 41, 54
Myanmar xi, xiv, 225

N
Narine, Shaun xii
National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia 97, 99
neorealism 4, 8, 10, 11
neo-Weberian views of the state 8
New Zealand 25, 78
Newsom, US Ambassador 36, 51
Ngo Xuan Lich 187
NGOs (non-governmental organisations) 125
Ninth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Manila (1976) 56, 57
Nixon, Richard 38, 75
non-interference principle critical theoretical scholarship 8, 152–3
East Timor humanitarian crisis 150, 215
East Timor invasion 58, 214 and humanitarian principles 226 realist theory 151
South China Sea Dispute 195–6 and sovereignty xvi, 2, 3, 16, 227 technology of power mechanisms 218
Third Indochina War 102–6 non-statist approaches xvii, 218, 220 norms, as independent variables 3–6, 58, 214
North Korea 188
Norway 86, 124

O
Oakley, Robert 52
Obama, Barack 164, 171–2, 175, 178, 180–2, 185, 187
Oh Ei Sun 189
oil/gas reserves 31, 39, 46, 57, 120, 165–6, 170, 186, 187
Operasi Komodo 32
Orchard, Phil 4–5

P
Pacific War xii
Panetta, Leon 175
Panggabean, General Maraden 78
Paracel Islands 163, 165, 171, 185–6
Paris Peace negotiations 76
partial interest convergence xx, 13–14, 19, 164, 174–82, 192
Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO) 45
Pathet Lao 27
peacekeeping 97, 117, 118, 137, 139, 140, 141–2, 146–8, 149
Peacock, Andrew 42–3, 53–4
Pell, Clai borne 121
People’s Liberation Army (PLA) 88, 93
Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) 176–7, 183–4
Pham Van Dong 79, 87
Phan Hien 79–80
Phay Siphan 184
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quang, President</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramos, Fidel</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramos-Horta, José</td>
<td>31, 49, 120, 124, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razak, Tun</td>
<td>46, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realist theory</td>
<td>xvii, xviii, 3, 6–7, 9, 10–11, 12, 15, 213, 215–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Timor humanitarian crisis</td>
<td>151–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Timor invasion</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South China Sea Dispute</td>
<td>194–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Indochina War</td>
<td>102, 104–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refugees</td>
<td>79, 91, 92, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regional autonomy, norm of</td>
<td>xvii, 2, 6, 19, 103, 105, 149, 150, 194, 195, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘regional solutions for regional problems’</td>
<td>6, 100, 150, 194–5, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative power</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility to protect (R2P)</td>
<td>xx, 225–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retrenchment policies</td>
<td>xiii, 26, 58, 75, 76, 81, 83, 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reyes, Angelo</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rithauddeen, Tengku Ahmad</td>
<td>89–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rüland, Jürgen</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>182, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Soviet Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabah</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Cruz massacre</td>
<td>120, 123, 129, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawak</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sary, Ieng</td>
<td>82, 86, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough Shoal</td>
<td>173, 174, 176, 177, 179, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schlesinger, James</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schweller, Randall</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seabed border agreements</td>
<td>31, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEANET (Southeast Asian Human Rights Network)</td>
<td>124–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEANWFZ (Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secessionism</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary interests</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security concerns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about China</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after invasion of Cambodia</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical theoretical scholarship</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in East Timor</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as reason for establishment of ASEAN</td>
<td>xiii, xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Indochina War</td>
<td>106, 214–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security-maximizing behaviour</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See Seng Tan</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-defence</td>
<td>50, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-determination</td>
<td>26, 35, 40, 41, 49, 53, 122, 132, 134, 144, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-help principle</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severino Jr, Rodolfo</td>
<td>134, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheridan, Greg</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shesterinina, Anastasia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihanouk, Prince</td>
<td>74, 83, 97, 98, 99, 100–100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silent partner approaches</td>
<td>35–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Cambodia</td>
<td>96, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and China</td>
<td>81, 91, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and East Timor</td>
<td>46, 54–6, 143, 145, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the Federation of Malaysia</td>
<td>xii, xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Indonesia</td>
<td>55, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joining ASEAN xi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South China Sea Dispute</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the Soviet Union</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the US</td>
<td>76, 175, 188–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Vietnam</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino-Vietnamese border war</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Michael LR</td>
<td>6–7, 13, 58, 59, 104–5, 151–2, 216, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyser, WR</td>
<td>35–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social conflict theory</td>
<td>8, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social forces</td>
<td>xvii, 1, 8–10, 11, 195, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social order</td>
<td>8, 59, 105, 106, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socialization effects</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son Sann</td>
<td>97, 98, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South China Sea Dispute</td>
<td>163–211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constructivist scholarship</td>
<td>193–4, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical theoretical scholarship</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realist theory</td>
<td>194–5, 217–18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selection as a case study</td>
<td>18, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanguard state theory</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia Command (SEAC)</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sovereignty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in ASEAN Treaty</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and power</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as technology of power</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as vital interest</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westphalian model of</td>
<td>12, 16, 225, 227–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Pacific Fleet</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Cambodia</td>
<td>74–81, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and China</td>
<td>75, 80, 81, 87, 100–100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ASEAN RESISTANCE TO SOVEREIGNTY VIOLATION

Cold War  xii
collective security ideas  80
East Timor  30, 45
expansionist aims  34, 72
and Malaysia  80
and the Philippines  80
and Singapore  81
Third Indochina War  71, 103–4, 105–6
and the US  80
US-Indonesian Consultative Commission  37
and Vietnam  71, 73, 74–5, 85, 90, 99, 100–1, 219
special relationships  73
Spratly Islands  165, 167–8, 171, 177, 186, 194
Stahl, Max  120
state, role in the international system  9
state interest  13
state of emergency  119
states
critical theoretical scholarship  8
power  16
state-centric realist paradigm  12
as unified, rational actors  12
vanguard state theory  xviii–xix, 10–16, 213, 218, 221–8
Stinchcombe, Arthur  18
Storey, Ian  190, 193
strategic shields  38
student-led demonstrations  128, 129, 171
Suharto, General  xiii, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37–8, 41, 43, 44, 47, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 99, 100, 117, 119, 121, 127, 128, 130, 131, 151, 152, 218, 219, 220, 222
Suratman, T ono  138
Supreme National Council  101
Survival, as basic state interest  13, 15, 221

T
Taiwan  163, 165, 167
Tan, See Seng  226
Tan Boon Seng  55
Tang Siew Mun  178
technology of power mechanisms  8, 218
territorialization  10
Thailand
and Cambodia  3, 82–3
and China  71, 81, 82, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 99, 217
colonial era  xii
and East Timor  145
independence movements  45
and Indonesia  xiii, 95, 124–5
joining ASEAN  xi
and Malaysia  95
neutrality  91
and the Soviet Union  80
Third Indochina War  7, 71, 89, 219, 222
and the US  71, 95, 175
as vanguard state  72, 89–95, 101–2, 104, 217, 222, 223
and Vietnam  71, 77–8, 79, 91, 93, 94, 95, 98–9
Vietnam War  76
Thayer, Carlyle  174
Third Indochina War  71–116, 214–15
constructivist scholarship  103
critical theoretical scholarship  219
realist theory  7, 102, 104–6, 216
selection as a case study  18, 19
vanguard state theory  222, 224
threat perceptions  15
Timor Gap  31, 39, 57, 120, 147
Timor-Leste  146
Tjan, Harry  43
TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership)  175, 188
Treaties of Friendship  73, 85, 87
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC, 1976)  xvi
Trump, Donald  185, 186, 187–9, 191, 192
Truong Tan Seng  180
Truong Trieu Duong  181

United Kingdom  xii, 25, 86, 141
UN (United Nations)
Cambodia  97–8
Charter  xiii, xvi
Credentials Committee  96
diplomacy  89, 96
East Timor  47, 49–50, 117, 136–7
General Assembly  89–90, 98, 136, 226
General Assembly Resolution 35/6  96, 97
General Assembly Resolution 3485  25, 49, 52–3, 54–5
International Conferences  94, 96
INDEX

peacekeeping  97, 117, 118, 142, 146–8, 149
Secretary General  91, 136, 139, 141, 142, 145
Security Council Resolution 384  49, 56
Security Council Resolution 1264  142
Special Representatives  50
Third Indochina War  72
UNAMET (United Nations Mission in East Timor)  137, 139–42, 147
UNCLOS (Convention on the Law of the Sea)  165, 176
UNMISET (UN Mission of Support in East Timor)  146
UNTAET (United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor)  146
United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)  125
US (United States)
and ASEAN  152, 174–82, 190, 224
Asian financial crisis (1997)  126
and Cambodia  74, 86, 87–8, 93–4
and China  75, 81, 166, 171–2, 175, 178–9, 188–9, 192, 193, 216, 224
Cold War  xii
East Timor humanitarian crisis  117, 137, 139–42, 147, 220, 222
East Timor invasion  25, 26, 50–1, 57, 58, 59, 216, 219
free and open Indo-Pacific strategy  188–9
and Malaysia  76
pivot to Asia  164, 165, 175–6
realist theory  6–7
and Singapore  76, 175, 188–9
South China Sea Dispute  163–4, 166, 167, 168, 174–91, 192, 195, 215
and the Soviet Union  80
and Thailand  71, 95, 175
Third Indochina War  71
and Vietnam  45, 74–5, 174, 175–6, 178, 180–1, 192, 195, 218, 223
US Interagency Intelligence Memorandum  84
US-Indonesian Consultative Commission  37

V
Van Evera, Stephen  18
Vance, Cyrus  52, 75
vanguard state theory  xviii–xix, 10–16, 213, 218, 221–8
variables, continuous  13
variables, dependent and independent  11–12
Vietnam
and Cambodia  73–4, 84–5, 86–7
and China  7, 72–5, 79, 81, 87–91, 93, 95, 99, 101, 170–1, 178–9, 181, 186–8, 190–1, 217, 223
Cold War  xii
communism  27, 45, 73
diplomatic relations with ASEAN
states  79
French colonialism  xii
and India  193
and Indonesia  76–7, 78, 90, 99
intra-ASEAN power dynamics  16
joining ASEAN  xi, xiv, 225
and Malaysia  76, 78, 99
and Philippines  77, 79, 90, 181
and Singapore  76
South China Sea Dispute  163–211
and the Soviet Union  71, 73, 74–5, 85, 90, 99, 100–1, 219
Third Indochina War  71–116, 219
and the US  45, 74–5, 174, 175–6, 178, 180–1, 192, 195, 218, 223
as vanguard state  164, 181, 191–3, 223, 224
Vietnam War  74, 75–7, 85
vital interests  13, 15, 31, 102, 221
voice opportunities thesis  10, 11

W
Walt, Stephen  102
Waltz, Kenneth  4, 13
watershed treaty  123, 141
Weatherbee, Donald  xv
West New Guinea  31
West Papua  45, 129
West Timor  28, 33, 40
Westphalian model of sovereignty  12, 16, 225, 227–8
White, Hugh  132, 141, 142–3
Whitehouse, Charles  82
Whitlam, Gough  29, 39–42, 46, 53
Willesee, Don  39
Winspeare Guicciardi, Vittorio  50, 53
Wiranto, General  128, 135, 140, 142
Wolff, Lester  51–2
ASEAN RESISTANCE TO SOVEREIGNTY VIOLATION

Woolcott, Richard  38, 41, 122, 123, 133
World Bank  127, 140, 142
World Trade Organisation  130

X
Xi Jinping  163, 187, 189
Xiu Dong Jia  171

Y
Yang Jiechi  172
Yasay Jr, Perfecto  183
Yeo, George  172
Yothin Mattayomnan  125

Z
ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality)  80, 83, 90, 92, 99, 169