

Review of Denny Roy (ed.), *The New Security Agenda in the Asia-Pacific Region* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) in *Millennium*, Fall 1999.

Beverly Crawford
University of California, Berkeley

China's rapid rise to power, Indonesia's volatile political situation, India and Pakistan's shocking nuclear tests, opening the region to a deadly nuclear arms race, Japan's economic fragility, and the reverberations of the Asian currency crisis, all serve to remind us that the Cold War's demise did not end security threats in Asia. At the same time, however, the emergence and strengthening of regional institutions, such as ASEAN suggest the possibility that traditional national security measures and power politics can be transcended and that "regional" institutions can mediate and dampen local conflict. Regional approaches to security are potentially a radical departure from balance of power politics in that they are compatible with regional preferences and can reduce the influence of the former "superpowers" in regional security matters. Indeed, there may be reason to speculate that regionalism is on the rise and that a new security agenda has emerged in the Asia-Pacific. An examination of this region in particular, this volume suggests, with its spectacular economic growth and unconventional threats and conflicts may indicate that old ways of looking at security are now obsolete.

Is the post-Cold War security agenda in Asia really a "new" one? Have environmental and economic "security" replaced—or become as important as—traditional security concerns in the region? Has, as Steward Woodman suggests in his chapter, the "conflict envelope" been redesigned? Will the dramatic growth in regional economic interdependence socialize elites to more peaceful behavior and reduce the

potential for conflict? Or has a deadly competition for power and influence again reared its head in this volatile region? This volume debates these questions. Although the collection presents no conclusive thesis, it offers an overview of the post-Cold War security challenges and possible responses in the Asia-Pacific region. This book will be useful to both security specialists who wish to know more about the Asia-Pacific region and to area specialists looking for a conceptual overview of the security debates in the international relations literature.

Contributions to this volume are divided between those suggesting that the concept of security should be broadened, and those arguing that power politics continues to define threats, deter the unilateral use of force, and maintain regional security. Chapters by Robert O'Neill, John Chipman, Stewart Woodman, and Alan Dupont present conceptual overviews of new security agendas; Chipman provides an excellent discussion of the potential isolationist pitfalls and collective action problems of regionalism in the post-Cold War era. These chapters introduce the reader to the theoretical debates on security in the international relations literature. Security implications of economic and environmental issues are highlighted: Stuart Harris explores the impact of growing economic globalization on the Asia-Pacific region. He argues that despite the vulnerabilities that arise from growing interdependence, the regimes that have emerged to manage economic exchange, elite socialization that takes place in the exchange and management processes, and, potentially, the rise of market economies, all serve to dampen security threats. Philip Howard suggests a conceptual framework for exploring the link between resource scarcities and conflict, illustrating that framework with examples from the Philippines, Indonesia, and China. Chapters by Paul Dibb, Gerald

Segal, Aurelia George Mulgan, and J. Soedjati Djihadono turn the focus to concrete security issues in the region, highlighting Japan, China, and Southeast Asia. Paul Dibb's chapter, in particular, provides an informative overview of the dominant security issues in the region as a whole.

Although the volume provides a sensible division of labor between conceptual and empirical material, there is a disjuncture between the two. Those chapters arguing for a new security agenda are intentionally empirically thin; they are explicitly conceptual, and there is little evidence presented to support the view that conceptual change is necessary. The empirical chapters, on the other hand, suggest that traditional security issues should still dominate the agenda in the Asia-Pacific region, e.g. China's rapid and potentially destabilizing rise to power and its tensions with Japan, the fact that Asia accounts for more disputes than anywhere else in the world, the growth of a regional identity that potentially excludes the United States, future uncertainties in the US-Japan security partnership, and the rapid proliferation of weapons in the region. More disconcerting still, we learn that despite ASEAN's considerable strengths, there is a glaring absence of an institutionalized regional security community, such as NATO. Indeed this absence is felt all the more acutely in light of India's recent and unabashed nuclear tests and Pakistan's rapid response, escalating a dangerous nuclear arms race in the region.

The volume as a whole assumes a continuing trajectory of regional economic growth; the authors confine their debate to considerations of whether assumed growth will mute regional security concerns—as states seek prosperity over power, or whether the growth of particular states will upset power balances, or whether growing prosperity

is simply inconsequential in security terms. The essays do not consider the implications of potential economic collapse in the region. They thus provide little conceptual or empirical guidance for those wishing to better understand the potential security consequences of the Asian currency crisis, Japan's continuing economic fragility, and the impact of external economic sanctions on would-be nuclear powers.

Indeed, recent events in both military and economic affairs seem to support the "traditional" over the "new" security agenda in Asia. Jubilant populations celebrated nuclear tests in India and Pakistan in May, 1998, and India's military establishment argued that a nuclear India would be more secure in the face of China's transfer of nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan. Thumbing their noses at economic sanctions, both India and Pakistan seemed to prefer power and prestige to the welfare gains of interdependence. And the Asian financial crisis has only reinforced the view, virtually absent in this volume, that economic shocks in one country can easily spread and can have dire political and security effects throughout the region: Indonesia, after all, is the largest country in Southeast Asia, and its shipping lanes are vital to its neighbors and to Japan. And Japan's economic fragility can have political consequences, ranging from a growth in nationalism and militarism to a weakened Japan unable to confront a potentially aggressive China. Unfortunately, this volume does not provide a conceptual framework or draw on the literature that would enable us to better understand these issues.

Nonetheless, despite this conceptual gap, this volume will be a useful introduction to security issues in the region and particularly to the debates over regionalism in a post-Cold War Asia. Particularly in light of the deadly nuclear arms race on the Indian

subcontinent and the increasing salience of ethnic and sectarian conflict in the region as a whole, the appearance of this collection could not be more timely.

BEVERLY CRAWFORD

Beverly Crawford is the Associate Director of the University of California Center for German and European Studies and Senior Lecturer in Political Economy at the University of California at Berkeley