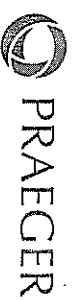


**PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE  
ASIA-PACIFIC**

**THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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## Introduction

The end of the Cold War saw a dramatic reduction in the likelihood of global nuclear war, but threats to peace and security at various levels became increasingly evident (Dewitt, Haglund, and Kirron 1993) and, for some, sources of security threat have since increased. Peace and Security Studies as an academic field is thus alive and well and still demands our attention; however, theorists continue to disagree on how to study security, and their struggles for theoretical hegemony have intensified.

This book is about peace and security in the Asia-Pacific: it critically reviews various perspectives on peace and security in the region and seeks to determine whether any of them has now emerged as the winner in the struggle for hegemony. If none has, it may be wise for us to aim at building innovative theories based on the strengths of existing theories. As shall be discussed in this introduction, the study of peace and security is not only about the actual use or threat of force and the prevention of war, but also about the causes, consequences, and control of insecurity said to be rooted in various sources of threat to humans, their values, their agencies, and their environment, as well as about possible cures. Security as a concept is essentially contested and has become increasingly contestable. This conceptual challenge has the advantage of opening space for debate, but this book will make the case that, in the end, theoretical eclecticism offers the most promising perspective for the emerging policy agenda of building a regional security community during the 21st century.

### SOME BACKGROUND IN PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES

The study of security covers strategic studies (Brodie 1949; Gray 1982), which can be traced back to Karl von Clausewitz of Prussia, Kautilya of ancient India, Thucydides of ancient Greece, and even Sun Tzu of ancient China. Strategic studies has been recognized as being broader than military science, but narrower than security studies, which covers "everything that bears on the safety of a polity" that is "potentially boundless" (Betts 1997: 9). Military science is primarily concerned with military statecraft and is more related to the conduct of war than its causes and consequences. As the study of "how technology, organization, and tactics combine to win battles," it has traditionally been an area in which military personnel specialize.

Strategic studies, which emerged out of debates over the definition of security, is the study of "how political ends and military means interact under social, economic, and other constraints" (ibid.: 9). Clausewitz, for instance, provided insight into the relation between war and politics, which dominated the security literature during the Cold War through its emphasis on military statecraft and the primacy of military security.

Force is central to strategic studies, which covers a variety of topics and concepts, including arms races, nuclear proliferation, defense, deterrence, arms control, and disarmament. Strategic studies "is concerned with the darker side of human nature, in that it examines the way in which military power is used by governments in pursuit of their interests" (Gannett 1975: 3). For Barry Bazan (1987), the two most crucial variables in strategic studies are political structure and military technology. International anarchy makes strategy relevant to the security affairs of sovereign states seen as primarily responsible for their own survival.

Strategic studies also deals with the question of how to prevent war. About 2,300 years before Clausewitz, Sun Tzu wrote *The Art of War*, in which he put down his thoughts regarding the avoidance of war through the gaining of strategic advantage. For him, war was the result of political failure (Sun 1988). Although he has often been regarded as a strategist who glorified warfare, Clausewitz insisted that war should be waged only when absolutely necessary and justifiable. The post-World War II American strategic thinker Bernard Brodie often regarded as the Clausewitz of his day, not only advised the military establishment on how to win wars, but also made the following famous statement in 1946: "Thus far the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them" (cited in Howard 1992: 110). The work of military strategists concerned with nuclear deterrence is thus often misleadingly labeled, mainly because it is not only about how to fight wars, but also about how to prevent them (Howard 1992).

Contemporary security studies, which covers strategic studies, also gives an intellectual debt to the study of international relations (IR).

According to Ken Booth (2005: 2), "[t]he study of security has always been a central concern in the academic discipline of international relations." Bill McSweeney (1999) also points out that security remains the central problem of IR. The history of IR can be traced through to the influential works of classical strategic thinkers, the 17th-century emergence of the Westphalian system, and, with increased intensity, World Wars I and II (Terriff *et al.* 1999: 11). According to Edward Kolodziej (2005: 48-76), Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, and Clausewitz laid the classical realist foundations of security studies. Niccolò Machiavelli was also an important early influence with his idea of a permanent and professional army (Gilbert 1986). Gwyn Prins (1998: 785-86) argues that "[t]he single pivot around which most debates in security studies have turned for a generation has been what Robert Keohane calls 'Classical Realism.'" A leading political realist, Kenneth Waltz (1988: 624-25), notes that "[r]ealist theory, old and new alike, draws attention to the crucial role of military technology and strategy among the forces that fix the fate of states and their systems." Another leading realist, Stephen Walt (1991: 212), writes: "The main focus of security studies is easy to identify. . . : it is the phenomenon of war. Security studies assumes that conflict between states is always a possibility and that the use of military force has far-reaching effects on states and societies." In his view, "security studies may be defined as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force" [italics original] and much of the literature fits "comfortably within the familiar realist paradigm." Steve Smith (2005: 31) also comments that neo-classical works "constitute a powerful reworking of realist security studies." Ken Booth (2005: 2, 3) further contends that "[t]he subject of security studies as it developed in the orthodox form during the Cold War was constructed in the image of political realism" and "out of political realism." Political realists do not necessarily glorify war: they, in fact, study war in order to help prevent it from breaking out.

All theoretical perspectives on security still agree that "the starting point for the field is *insecurity*" (Terriff *et al.* 1999: 11). Insecurity still means different things to different people, however. Realists define insecurity "primarily as being vulnerable to being seriously harmed by others' deliberate use of force" and security as "the nation's freedom from rule by 'others' who are not part of it" (Terriff *et al.* 1999: 39, 43). National security remains the primary goal of states operating under international anarchy, because security threats remain permanent in international politics (Keohane and Nye 1985: 238). Realists would agree with Kenneth Waltz (1959: 416) that "[s]tatesmen and military leaders are responsible for the security of their states," but not for humanity.

In recent decades, there has been a shift from the study of strategy to that of security (Keith and Williams 1997), as more and more scholars have sought to expand or broaden our understanding of insecurity by going beyond the intellectual boundaries found in realist security studies. Even

Stephen Walt (1991: 229) points out that the 1980s saw "a partial convergence between the sub-fields of security studies, peace research, and international political economy" and states that "the end of the Cold War will reinforce this trend by removing some of the substantive divisions between these fields." Walt seems to recognize a broader agenda for security studies that includes the role of domestic politics, peace research, the study of security regimes, the power of ideas, and the relationship between economics and security. Security theorists examine actors to determine not only how and why they use or threaten to use violence, but also how and why they choose strategies that transform hostility into cooperation, eschew force or violence, and offer peaceful solutions to their conflicts. Edward Kolodziej (2005: 25) wisely contends that "to limit our search [and research] to war and violence as a scholar or analyst is security-is-not-enough." He includes the following theoretical perspectives: realism, neo-realism, liberal institutionalism, economic liberalism, Marxism, behavioralism, and constructivism. More perspectives on peace and security can still be included.

Theoretical perspectives that fit nicely within liberal and socialist security studies include neo-liberal institutionalism, domestic politics, commercial liberalism, democratic liberalism, and socialism. Unlike political realism, which tends to assume that state leaders are sometimes capable of acting foolishly, these non-realist perspectives are rationalist in that they tend to treat political actors, or some of them, as perfectly rational or regard either liberal or socialist actors as capable of cooperative behavior. Some realists resist inclusion of rationalist perspectives such as neo-liberal institutionalism (Mearsheimer 1998), but as Joseph Grieco (1988: 486) puts it, "[t]he major challenge to realism has been . . . liberal institutionalism." A leading neo-liberal institutionalist, Robert Keohane (1993: 271) defends the point that "[i]nstitutionalist thinking has focused its critical fire on realism." He and Lisa Martin (1998: 389) further claim that "the logic of institutionalist theory is directly applicable to security problems as realists define them" and that their theory "will 'gradually invade' the study of security issues." Modern socialism, which stems from revolutionary thinkers and practitioners such as Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and Mao Zedong, poses a direct challenge to realism. It is an ideology predicting economic class interest-based warfare within and across national boundaries. Lenin's theory of imperialism sought to abolish capitalism and build a communist state in Russia after the 1917 revolution. Mao did the same in China, where he predicted the eventual arrival of an "eternal peace" among communist states.

With the Cold War over, peace studies as an academic field is also said to have become increasingly relevant in security studies. Pacifism or idealism remains a force to be contended with and has in fact reentered the field in the form of "neo-idealism" (Kegley 1988). Laurence Freedman (1998: 53) notes that the shift of targets from "strategic" to "security" studies

"reflected the revival of the idealist tradition and notions of multilateral cooperation, thereby serving to delegitimize force as a primary tool of statecraft." Peace research has been integrated into security studies (Hafendorn 1991; Terriff *et al.* 1999) and continues to provide an alternative approach to questions of war and peace. According to David Dunn (1999: 67, 68), "peace research exists as a legitimate approach to the study of war and peace in the 1980s." The UN Agenda for Peace (1992) (focusing on peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace-building, and preventive diplomacy) and subsequent academic works could be observed through the lens of Quincy Wright's 1942 peace program (Beck 1996). Some scholarly works on human security also fit nicely within peace studies.

The end of the Cold War also witnessed the development of other theoretical perspectives on security (critical of both realism and rationalism), which have since paid growing attention to the continuing power of historic, national, ethnic, and religious rivalries. The new security challenges have questioned whether the existing international institutions that have developed since the end of World War II (such as the United Nations) remain relevant (Dewitt, Haglund, and Kirton 1993). This development gave rise especially to constructivist security studies that includes knowledge-based perspectives, such as (neo-) functionalism, culturalism, social constructivism, post-Marxism, and postmodernism. The study of regional integration found in (neo-) functionalism "has always been a response to a security problem" (McSweeney 1999: 6) and regionalist perspectives have posed a direct challenge to realist security studies. Andrew Linklater (1998: 15) also notes the recent trend in security studies: "All such approaches—critical-theoretical, postmodern, feminist and liberal—have defined their identity through a series of challenges to realism."

Another theoretical challenger to realist and liberal as well as socialist security studies is known as feminist security studies, which can be regarded as part of critical security studies. According to Anne Tickner (1995: 190), a leading feminist, "women have seldom been recognized by the security literature, yet women have been writing about security since at least the beginning of the [20th] century." Feminists had long experienced difficulties getting accepted as part of security studies. In the late 1980s, however, various feminist perspectives on security began to draw attention from students in the field and "have proliferated in the post-Cold War era" (True 2001: 231). Valerie Hudson and Andrea M. den Boer (2005: 264) further contend that the relationship between national security and the status and situation of women remains under-examined and that "[w]omen's issues, so long ignored in security studies, could well become a central focus of security scholars in the twenty-first century."

Last, but not least, other scholars have in recent years broadened the concept of security to include a variety of nontraditional threats to survival. Threats, know no borders and cannot be effectively contained by military

means. Transnational organized crime (including *jihadi* terrorism, piracy, and illicit trafficking), economic and environmental security, transnational migration, demographic changes, and health pandemics—these are new items on the nontraditional security agenda. Some scholars have resisted attempts to broaden the concept of security to include non-military sources of insecurity (Walt 1991: 213). Some, for instance, argue that environmental degradation does not threaten security (Dendrey 1990: 463).

Whether one chooses to include or exclude nontraditional security issues is thus a matter of theoretical preference. The fact remains, however: nontraditional security as a new component of Security Studies has been established and has now become a growth industry. *Jihadi* terrorism as a form of transnational crime in particular has grabbed the attention of policymakers and scholars alike. According to Andrew Silke (2008: 28), “the five years since 9/11 have probably seen more books published on terrorism than appeared in the previous 50 years. Currently, one new book on terrorism is being published every six hours.”

Peace and Security Studies should always remain open to alternative theoretical perspectives critical of political realism. If this academic field was initially concerned with the question of war and political realism served as the intellectual pioneer, other theoretical approaches should be included as long as they directly challenge this dominant paradigm.

Our ultimate objective should not simply be to reject political realism, but to see if any of its challengers can do better. The big question is: has any perspective on peace and security now emerged as the hegemon in the recent struggle for theoretical hegemony in Peace and Security Studies? If none has, then it may be wise for us to aim at building innovative theories based on the strengths of existing theories. We now turn to the Asia-Pacific to see how and why it may help us answer the question.

## CONTEMPORARY PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES IN ASIA-PACIFIC

Peace and Security Studies has now become more region-specific. Based on Ken Booth's observation that the academic field “divorced from area studies is largely thinking in a void,” both Joseph Nye and Sean Lynn-Jones (1988: 23) wisely contend that “[s]cholars in the field should seek greater expertise in the politics of particular regions.” Since the end of the Cold War, attention has also shifted from Europe and America toward the Asia-Pacific. This book thus provides a critical review of the various theoretical perspectives on peace and security in the region with a view demonstrating that this field of study has become increasingly region-specific.

The Asia-Pacific refers to a group of states that has been variously referred to as Asia-Pacific, Pacific Rim, and Asia and the Pacific. The Asia-Pacific as the

regional focus of this study is broader than East Asia, which includes only the Asian states in Northeast and Southeast Asia. Northeast Asia includes China, Japan, North and South Korea, Taiwan, and Russia, while Southeast Asia includes Cambodia, Myanmar (Burma), Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste (formerly known as East Timor), and Vietnam. In addition to East Asia, the Asia-Pacific includes Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.

Recent trends appear to indicate that the Asia-Pacific will become the center of attention in the 21st century. First, the region is likely to become one of the most important in the world. Whether the 21st century remains “American” or becomes “Pacific” is a matter of debate, but we can still argue in defense of the broader “Asia-Pacific century.” The security role of the United States and the ascent of China to superpower status are likely to be a central focus of Peace and Security Studies. We cannot fully understand regional security by simply looking at what states do in Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, or East Asia as a whole. What happens in the region often depends on the activities of great powers inside and outside East Asia. The security literature pays close attention to relations among powerful states, especially China, Japan, Russia, and the United States; these states are also directly involved as members of a regional security regime, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). One may contend that the United States “is not an East Asian state” because “it is external to the region,” but the same argument concedes that security development in this region could not “go forward without U.S. participation” and that “many of the East Asian states trust the United States more than they trust each other” (Buzan and Weaver 2003: 176).

The Asia-Pacific has also become a place where “so many of the leading winds of global strategic change are concentrated, not the least of which being the evolving power relationship between the United States and China” (Ayson and Ball 2006: xxii), and has become more important in security terms since the end of the Cold War. The region also offers a hard case for critical security studies (Dalby 2007).

Second, the Asia-Pacific has also enriched the field of Peace and Security Studies. Before and during the Cold War, the global rivalry between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—rendered the (Euro-centric) Transatlantic the most important region in the world. Studies on East-Asian security at the time were empirically rich, but were not theoretically well informed. They lacked methodological sophistication, largely based on the “rational-actor” or ahistorical model that ignored organizational, psychological, and domestic factors. Much of what was written on Southeast Asia during the 1960s was also “permeated with implicit realist assumptions regarding the nature of the international system”; however, this work “seldom referred directly to the work of international relations theorists” (Huxley 1996: 231). But the main security events in the Asia-Pacific helped promote security studies and enrich the field. The Golden

Age of Security Studies emerged after the Korean War (1950-1953): the war "confirmed the militarization of the East-West conflict" and "strategy became big business" (Betts 1997: 13). The war also helped establish the new rules of the Cold War game (Jervis 1980). The U.S. war in Vietnam and U.S.-Soviet détente also called into question the utility of military force and emphasized the role of domestic politics and economic issues.

Third, the Asia-Pacific now enjoys a healthy growth of theoretical diversity. Muthiah Alagappa (1998a: 10-11) is correct when contending that "Asia can be said to be more broadly representative of the world than either North America or Western Europe" and that "[t]he study of Asian security can provide insights applicable to many other countries and regions." This book thus provides a critical review of the competing theoretical perspectives on peace and security in the Asia-Pacific based on the various intellectual traditions, defined as sets of theories evolving over long periods of time but still being subscribed to by scholars, thus reflecting both continuity and the possibility of revision and refinement.

At present, the Asia-Pacific still provides rich empirical ground for political realism. There has been no shortage of realist scholars painting a grim picture of the region: East Asia once proved to be a region where wars of conquest continued unabated, and the end of the Cold War has not silenced the political realists, either, especially those who still see *realpolitik* at work in the arms races within the region.

A growing number of security scholars have studied the Asia-Pacific and come away dissatisfied with traditional realist pessimism, however. During the first half of the 1990s, they took comfort from the "peace dividend" and the growth of regional institutions. Some of those with optimistic views advocate the concept of collective security and can be labeled as realist institutionalists because of their emphasis on the role of great powers in the maintenance of international peace and security. A number of scholars began to take interest in entertaining the possibility of a Concert of Asia (made up of four great powers, namely, China, Japan, Russia, and the United States); however, they still differed on how such a regional security arrangement would eventually be established. On the ideal end of collective security is the old vision for international peace and security, with the U.N. Security Council (still dominated by five permanent members) standing at the pinnacle of power bestowed with the privilege of ensuring collective action against any state aggression.

In recent decades, neo-liberal institutionalists, political domesticists, and commercial and democratic liberals have also been paying attention to the security challenges in the Asia-Pacific. Neo-liberal institutionalists paint a rosy picture of security relations among states that have both experienced growing economic interdependence and engaged in institution-building. Those who focus on domestic politics tend to argue that domestic politics remains the key to understanding security. Commercial liberals have reason

for optimism because of economic interdependence and liberalization among states. Based on the post-Cold War process of democratic development in East-Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia, democratic liberals still pin their hopes for peace and security on further democratization in China and Russia.

Socialist perspectives have experienced major setbacks, especially since the Soviet disintegration in the early 1990s, but some have not lost hope that they will someday see a world not afflicted by capitalist war. East Asia has the largest number of states in the world that officially cling to socialism: China, North Korea, Laos, and Vietnam. Maoist insurgencies still cause trouble in states such as India, the Philippines, and Thailand. In short, socialists do not see the "end of history" after the so-called triumph of liberal democracy and still regard capitalism as an economic system that exacerbates security problems.

Scholars from other theoretical traditions have also focused their attention on the problem of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific. Peace and people-centered, constructivist, and feminist perspectives have penetrated Peace and Security Studies.

In the Asia-Pacific, the number of scholars focusing on peace studies continues to expand. Although they have acknowledged that interstate war has been receding after the Cold War, they still consider armed conflicts among and within states worthy of their research agenda. They have also studied nonviolent methods for peace and security, such as international peacekeeping and peace-building (including international criminal justice, democratic institution building, and economic reconstruction). Peace teachings (both religious and secular) and the peace movements in the region also maintain a long tradition (Hunter 2006).

Other perspectives on peace and security have now made inroads into the Asia-Pacific. Within constructivist security studies, new perspectives have also emerged to challenge realism. Functionalism and its offspring (such as neo-functionalism and neo-neo-functionalism) have made a comeback. Policymakers and scholars alike have shown more interest in the process of regional integration through trade and institution building. Culturalists tend to place emphasis on cultural norms and values as the key independent variable explaining regional cooperation in East Asia. Social constructivists have given further attention to the process of socialization and the strategy of engagement. Some scholars, including those of Asian descent (to be discussed later), have questioned Euro-centric theories of security, especially rationalist ones. For instance, they ask us to add ideational variables based on Asia's diverse experiences, instead of European and American experiences (Alagappa 1998 a & b); to "rethink security" in East Asia (Suh *et al.* 2004); and to "reassess security cooperation" in the Asia-Pacific (Acharya and Goh 2007).

In the Asia-Pacific, feminists have now paid growing attention to the role of women in militaries and national politics, as well as in peace education

and other peace activities. They have studied the role of women in revolutions, such as those in China and Vietnam, the problem of militarization and prostitution in East Asia, the U.S. military bases located in military allies such as Japan and South Korea, and the protests staged by locals against the U.S. military presence in the region.

Nontraditional security studies has now received more attention in the Asia-Pacific, which continues to witness a growth of perspectives on various types of transnational organized crime, economic and environmental problems, population growth, transitional migration, and pandemics (Emmers, Caballero-Anthony, and Acharya 2006; Fan and Boutin 2001). Since September 11, 2001, as noted, the study of terrorism has been a growing industry. Scholars have also paid growing attention to other types of transnational crime (such as piracy and drug trafficking) and recognized economic and environmental problems as threats to security. States in East Asia gave birth to the formal concept of comprehensive security, which emphasizes economic and environmental security. Some scholars have now considered population and health issues to be sources of insecurity.

There exist a growing number of theoretical perspectives on security, although it must be pointed out that it is often difficult to label scholars in the field. Some consider themselves realists, but others question whether they are (Legro and Moravcsik 1999). Gideon Rose (1991), for instance, considers Fareed Zakaria a “neo-classical realist,” but Stephen Walt (1998: 37) calls him an “offensive realist.” Perhaps more than any other theory, postmodernism is quite complex and confusing to many scholars. Some proponents of the theory do not even make the term explicit.

Still, it may be wise to classify various theoretical traditions as follows: realist security studies, liberal and socialist security studies, peace and human security studies, constructivist security studies, feminist security studies, and nontraditional security studies. Together they fall under one broad umbrella: Peace and Security Studies.

Each theoretical perspective is judged on the basis of how well it can answer four basic questions: What is being secured? Different theoretical perspectives focus on different referent objects for security, including states, political regimes, societies, social groups, and individuals. What is being secured against? Sources of threat to security can be military, political, economic, social, or other. Who provides for security? Providers of security include states and international and non-governmental organizations. How is security provided and by what means?

This book rests on several standards of judgment. It evaluates how well security theorists answer the four questions about security. What states or non-state actors actually do (and why they do it and whether they succeed in their endeavors) matters more than what theorists think. Robert Cox (whose theory will be discussed later) may be right in stating that “[t]heory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose,” but a valid theory must not

only be based on normative commitment alone but also have explanatory and predictive power with strong empirical support. Still, this book does not aim to reject any theoretical perspective, but rather to identify the weaknesses in all theoretical perspectives so that their proponents might wish to lower their expectations and possibly modify and further perfect them. This book also seeks to determine whether any perspective has now emerged as the “hegemon” in the struggle for theoretical supremacy in Peace and Security Studies. If none has, then it may be wise for us to aim at building innovative theories based on the strengths of several existing theories. Any theory-building efforts must rest on the wisdom that no theory is either completely false or completely true and that each theory should always be subject to modification, revision, and refinement based on normative commitment as well as empirical observation. Most importantly, this book establishes another standard of judgment: a good or effective theory must also be to show how security can be provided in a more comprehensive sense—national, international, regime, societal, and human. Sources of threat to security are both military and nonmilitary, and non-military sources have multiplied. An effective theory is thus one that can help us overcome them in a systematic fashion.