Index

A
“accountability trap” in Indonesia, 142
“adaptive expectations”, 172
agricultural co-operatives in Vietnam, 54
agricultural production, 12
Akashi, Yasushi, 106, 113
American Civil War, 1
American imperialism, 41
Amnesty International report, 31
ancien régime, 188, 208
antecedent conditions, 3, 5, 21
identifying, 6, 68
Vietnamese, 12
anti-French forces, 104
anti-Marcos struggle, 41
anti-Vietnamese policies, 16–17, 115
anti-Vietnamese sentiments, 108
Aquino, Benigno (Noynoy), 11
Aquino, Corazon, 11, 12, 26
campaign for presidency elections, 41
conciliatory approach, 31
economy and human rights, 30
land reform efforts, 31
policies, 35
post-authoritarian government of, 41
role and impact of, 37
Aquino, Ninoy, 39
armed forces in Cambodia, 108, 113
Arroyo, Gloria, 11
ASEAN. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
Asian financial crisis, 7, 18, 19, 123, 218
in Indonesia, 131
triggering mechanism of, 134
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 110
Aung San, Bogoyke, 71
authoritarian rule
in Indonesia, 123
military, 18
in Philippines, 33, 41, 43

B
BA. See Barisan Alternatif (BA)
Badawi, Abdullah, 187, 188, 203, 208
Barisan Alternatif (BA), 186, 187
Barisan Nasional (BN), 200, 206–7
election outcome, 189–93
in general election, 2008, 184, 187
Malay, Chinese and Indian vote for, 192
BCP. See Burma Communist Party (BCP)
BN. See Barisan Nasional (BN)
broader international recognition by
PRK/SOC, 116
BSPP. See Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)
Burma
for democracy, demonstrations in, 139
Index

historical legacy in, 15
pre-1988 upheaval, 69–70
Burma Communist Party (BCP), 13, 74
Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), 6, 13, 15, 68
exercising centralized authority, 72
GONGO, 74
Myanmar’s governing authority, 73
rule (1974–88), 74
Burmese independence movement, 71
by-elections in Malaysia, 21
after 8 March, 202–8
outcome of, 185–86

C
Cambodia
armed attacks against Vietnamese minority in, 114
armed forces in, 108, 113
Cham minority in, 108
conflict of, 104, 111, 115, 116
conjunctures of, 16–17, 103–6, 116, 117
demobilization and cantonment of military forces in, 114
developments in, 104, 108–9
domestic politics in, 8
domestic situation in, 105
DRV and NLF armed forces in, 108
election in, 16, 17
ethnic Vietnamese in, 107, 108
external actors roles and factors in, 116, 117
foreign military intervention in, 116
FUNCINPEC party in, 105
historical conjunctures of, 103–6, 117
increasing cost of living in, 114
international community in, 104
invasion and intervention in, 17
leaders and politicians, behaviour and policies of, 117
military conflict in, 114
military situation in, 110
Paris Agreements on, 106, 113, 115
Paris Conference on, 119n19
pattern of developments affecting, 115
peacekeeping operation in, 113, 116
political system of, 116
PRK/SOC in, 115
radical policies in, 105–6
Second Indochina conflict in, 116
Vietnamese invasion and occupation of, 220
Vietnamese military intervention against, 106
and Vietnam, relations between, 109, 118n14
withdrawal of UNTAC from, 106, 113
withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from, 104, 111
Cambodian communist movement, 104
Cambodian parties, 110–12
demobilization and cantonment process of armed forces of, 113
Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), 115
Cambodian politics, 114
critical conjunctures, 221
and foreign relations, 116
Cambodian refugees, 113
in Vietnam, 106
capitalism, Western-styled market-based, 59
ceasefire groups in Myanmar, 84
centralized fiscal policies, Indonesia’s, 130
Cham minority, 16, 108
Cham minority in Cambodia, 108
Chat Thai party, 158, 163, 167
China
conflict with, 57
economic model, 59–60
Myanmar’s economic and political relations with, 86
open-door policy, 60
voters for BN, 191, 192
voters for parliamentary seats, 198
Chinese household system, 55
Chinese invasion of Vietnam border region, 57
Chinh, Truong, 60, 65n12
Choonhavan, Chatichai, 153, 161–62
“Civil Islam” in Indonesia, 129
civil society agents (CSAs), 187
civil society organizations (CSOs) in Myanmar, 73–74, 82–83, 89
commodities prices in Vietnam, 56
commodity production, 12
communalism in Malaysia, 190
communism in Eastern Europe, 219
Communist Party of Burma (BCP). See Burma Communist Party (BCP)
Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK), 105, 116
Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), 31
Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), 60, 65n12
communist rebels, 31
community of Tatalon, 35–36
competitive multiparty electoral system, implementation of, 143
conflict, Cambodian. See Cambodia, conflict of conjunctures of Cambodia, 104
case studies, 10–22
classifying, 5
consideration in appraising, 8
creating path-dependent conditions, 5–6
definition of, 2
factors responsible for, 7
features, 3
formative level, 1
identifying, 4, 6
Philippine legacy of, 11
and related concepts, 3–8
theoretical considerations and concerns, 8–10
triggers for, 217–18
Constituent Assembly in Cambodia, 106
costitutionalism in Indonesia, 129
Constitution Drafting Assembly, 163
Constitution of Myanmar (2008), 68, 84
contingency
importance of, 3
presupposition, 4
structural impediments interfering with, 6
coordination effects, defined, 171–72
corruption
high levels of, 223
in Indonesia, 132
counter elites, emergence of, 81–82
CPK. See Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK)
CPP. See Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)
CPV. See Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV)
critical conjunctures, 3, 5, 7, 25
cross-ethnic polling, 221
cross-ethnic voting in Malaysia, 21, 185, 193
Klang valley’s pattern of, 209
in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor, 200–202
on March 8, 196–200
CSAs. See civil society agents (CSAs)
CSOs. See civil society organizations (CSOs)
Cyclone Nargis, 15, 83
D
DAP. See Democratic Action Party (DAP)
decentralization in Indonesia, 124, 134, 137–40, 142
de facto coup, 104
delegative democracies, 181n54
democracy in Indonesia, 140–42
democracy of Philippines, 27, 35, 37
after Marcos’ authoritarianism, 25
development and, 37
EDSA, restoration of, 35
elite, 33, 37
evolution of, 32
political infrastructures and, 29
quality of, 35
versions of, 41
democracy of Thailand, 152, 153, 156, 162, 175, 176, 223
“delegative”/“plebiscitarian”, 177
deterioration of, 175
development, 9
form of, 176
restoring, 153
vulnerability of, 176
Democratic Action Party (DAP), 196, 200, 201, 207
Democratic Kampuchea (DK), 105
democratic reforms in Indonesia, 142
Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 104
armed forces in Cambodia, 108
democratization, 25, 37
in Indonesia, 124, 134, 135–37
political iconography and
ideography of, 26
Democrat Party, 157, 158, 163
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD), 137
discipline flourishing economy, 71
DK. See Democratic Kampuchea (DK)
doi moi in Vietnam, 12–13, 60–62, 64, 220
domestic politics
calibration of, 8
pre-eminent role of military in, 221
DPRD. See Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD)
DRV. See Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)
DRV-NLF troops, 108
E
ecological inference, 212n24
economic classes in Indonesia, role of, 130
economic crisis
in Indonesia, 131, 132
in Thailand, 165, 166, 169, 169, 175, 176
economic displacement in Indonesia, 132
economic growth, 13, 57
in Indonesia, 130, 131
rate of Philippines, 30
in Thailand, 160
economic reform
in Indonesia, 130, 132
in Vietnam, 59, 61, 62
economic renovation policy, 8–9
economy revival in Indonesia, 124
EDSA People Power (1986), 10–11, 25
nuancing breaks and continuities, 35–42
post-authoritarian Philippines, 29–35
pre-eminent status of, 26
restoration of democracy in, 35
“true nature” of, 27
educational institutions of Indonesia, 128
88-Generation Students Group, 81
Election Commission
in Malaysia, 189, 196
in Thailand, 164
Index

electoral competition in Indonesia, 140
electoral politics in Philippines, 42
pre–martial law, 29
prominent feature of, 39
electoral rules in Thailand, 173
electoral system
  in Indonesia, 135
  in Thailand, 168
elite democracy, 33, 37
elite fragmentation in Indonesia, 133–34
“emancipation of mind”, 60, 63
End of an Illusion, The, 37
Endut, Abdul Wahid, 203
Enrile, Juan Ponce, 27–28
ethnic tensions in Thailand, 153
etnic Vietnamese
  in Cambodia, 107, 108
  exodus of, 114
  violence against, 107
ethnic voting patterns in 2008,
  Malaysia, 196–200, 221
evolutionary change, 7, 10
extra-judicial killings in Thailand, 175

F
FDI. See foreign direct investment (FDI)
federalism in Malaysia, 184
“fence-breaking” in Ho Chi Minh City, 55
Filipino oligarchy, 34
financial crisis
  Asian. See Asian financial crisis of Southeast Asia in 1997, 152
  Thailand, 154–55, 164
First Geneva Conference on Indochina, 104
food riots, 218
foreign debt
  for Indonesia, 132
  for Thailand, 164, 170
foreign direct investment (FDI), 131
foreign economic relations in
  Vietnam, 61
foreign military intervention in
  Cambodia, 116
foreign policy
  anti-Vietnamese, 115
debate, 63
gradual radicalization of, 115
towards Vietnam, 115
foreign relations, diversification of, 63
Formation of a People’s Consultative Committee, 77
foundational conjunctures, 2
Four Eights Movement, 15, 67, 77, 79, 81–82
  in Myanmar, 219
protest, 13
Freedom Constitution, 29
free market in Vietnam, 59
French colonial rule in Vietnam, 53
FUNCINPEC party in Cambodia, 105, 109

G
Gagasan Rakyat formation, 186
general election in Malaysia, March 2008, 184–86
by-elections after, 202–8
ethnic and cross-ethnic voting on, 196–202
as historical conjuncture, 186–88
outcome of, 189–93
results of, 190
two-party system, 184, 185, 193–96
generative cleavages, 7
Gerak formation, 186
global democratization, 33
Golongan Karya (GOLKAR), 18, 129, 134, 136, 141
government organized non-governmental organizations (GONGO), 74, 82
gradual radicalization of foreign policy, 115
gross domestic product, Thailand, 164

H
Habibie, B.J., 134
Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF), 188, 211n13

historical conjuncture
in Cambodia, 16–17, 103–6, 117
changing rules in, 134–35
EDSA People Power as, 38
in Indonesia, 18–19, 125–27
March 2008 as, 186–88
in Myanmar, 13–16
outcomes of, 143
in Philippines, 10–12
roots of, 127–28
in Thailand, 19–20
in Vietnam, 12–13

historical institutionalist approach, 2

critical junctures in, 3
institutional features/practices, 5
time associated with conjuncture, 4

historical legacy in Burma/Myanmar, 15

Honasan, Gregorio, 40

human rights in Philippines
abuses, 31
economy and, 30
violations, 31–32

I
Ibrahim, Anwar, 21, 185, 186, 193, 203, 204, 213n34, 214, 214n50

Indian voters
for BN, 191, 192
for parliamentary seats, 198

Indochina, First Geneva Conference on, 104

Indonesia
allocation of seats, 136

Asian financial crisis in, 131, 132
case in 1998, 222
centralized fiscal policies, mundane problems with, 130
characteristics about elections in, 140
collapse of New Order government in, 18–19
complexity of election laws in, 140
constitutionalism in, 129
“contingent” democrats, 130
corruption in, 132
critical junctures in, 124–27
decentralization in, 124, 134, 137–40
democracy in, 140–42
democratization in, 124, 134, 135–37
demographic shift in educational institutions of, 128
downfall of Soeharto regime in, 6
economic classes role in, 130
economic crisis in, 131, 132
economic displacement in, 132
economic reforms in, 130, 132
economy revival in, 124
election committee, 136
election laws, 135
electoral competition in, 140
electoral system in, 135
elite continuity and entrenchment in, 141–42
ethnic and religious conflict in, 123
foreign debt for, 132
fragmentation, 139
government policy, 133
historical conjunctures of, 124–27
increase in cost of basic foods in, 132
institutional reforms in, 134–35
liberal democratic institutions in, 129
long-term structural factors in, 143
manufacturing-led economic
growth in, 130
national budgeting process in, 130
oil-boom model in, 130
organizations in, 128
party system in, 135, 139
path-dependent methodology, 125
periods of critical historical
junctures, 126
policymakers in, 134
political change in, 131–34
political party reforms in, 136–37
political reform in, 129, 135
political regime, 126
political transition in, 124, 127, 131
post-crisis developments, 218
post-Soeharto era, transitional
politics in, 129, 131
pressures of middle-class mobility
in, 131
proportional electoral system, 136
“proto-opposition”, 128
“punctuated equilibriums”, 128
reformasi movement, 129, 131, 133
relationship between economic
development and political
change, 128
relationship between long-term
causes and short-term triggers,
127–28
revolutionary period, 127
riots in, 133
roots of political transition in, 128
scholars of institutional change in,
124
selection of Soeharto Cabinet in,
133
sheer growth of tertiary education
in, 128
Soeharto regime in, 126, 130, 218
structural changes in, 124
structural conditions for reform in,
131
structural economic reforms, 218
structural factors in, 143
territorial command structure in,
141
territorial resilience in, 139–40,
143
Indonesian Democratic Party, 129
Indonesian political system,
continuities in, 19
inherent sequencing, 4
institutional reforms in Indonesia,
134–35
inter-ethnic voting patterns, 21
internal military conflict in
Cambodia, 114
Internal Security Act (ISA), 186, 188
international capitalism, 164–65
international community, 154
in Cambodia, 104
in Myanmar, 67
international donor agencies, 218
international sanctions, debilitating
impact of, 16
ISA. See Internal Security Act (ISA)
Islamic Revolution, 11
Ismail, Razali, 203
isolationism, previous policy of, 16
Izzah, Nurul, 201

J
Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM1), 110
Jamaluddin, Nizar, 203–4
Java, 130
and Outer Islands, representation
between, 136
JIM1. See Jakarta Informal Meeting
(JIM1)
junta. See military junta
justification for decentralization laws,
K

kabupaten, 137
Kachin Independence Army (KIA), 15
Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), 13
Kadir, Zambry Abdul, 204, 205
Kampuchean National Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS), 106
Karen National Union (KNU), 13, 14
keterbukaan (openness) policy, 18
Khmer Issarak, 104
Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF), 17, 109
Khmer Republic, 105
Khmer Rouge. See Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK)
KIA. See Kachin Independence Army (KIA)
Kiet, Vo Van, 55
King Bhumibol’s Privy Council, 161
KIO. See Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)
Kittikachorn, Thanom, 156, 159
Klang valley’s pattern of cross-ethnic voting, 209
KNU. See Karen National Union (KNU)
KPNLF. See Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF)
Kraivichien, Tanin, 159
Kraprayoon, Suchinda, 19, 169
Kru Ze mosque, 153
Kuala Lumpur, cross-ethnic voting in, 200–202
kyat-based exchange regime, 87

L
Law 25 of 1999 on Inter-Government Financial Balance, 137, 138
Law 22 of 1999 on Regional Administrations, 137, 138
Leekpai, Chuan, 153, 163

legacies of 1988, Myanmar, 79–80
ceasefire groups, 84
counter elites, emergence of, 81–82
insurgency, 84
Myanmar’s foreign policy, 85–86
NGOs and CSOs, 82–83
state-society relationship, 83–84
Tatmadaw, 84–85
2008 Constitution, 80–81
liberal democratic institutions in Indonesia, 129
Linh, Nguyen Van, 60
Lo’ Lo’ Mohd Ghazali, 192
long-term structural factors in Indonesia, 143
Lwin, U Sein, 77

M
Magna Carta, 1
Malaysia, 219
by-elections in. See by-elections in Malaysia
communalsim in, 190
electoral politics in, 184, 185, 188
federalism in, 184
general election in. See general election in Malaysia, March 2008
new politics in, 185–88, 207, 209, 210, 211n20
political landscape in, 184
political recalibration in, 8
social movement in, 21
2008 national election in, 20–21
Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), 191
Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), 191, 204, 206
Malay voters
for BN, 192, 193
for parliamentary seats, 197
Manila, community of Tatalon in, 35–36
March 2008 general election in Malaysia. See general election in Malaysia, March 2008
Marcos, Ferdinand, 10
authoritarianism, 25, 41
declaration of martial law, 27
democratic revolution, 41
policy of using vigilantes, 31
repressive law, 37
market-oriented economic concept in Vietnam, 63
martial law, Philippines, 33
authoritarianism, 27
EDSA, 41
electoral politics, 29
Marcos’ declaration of, 27
Maung, Maung, 76–78
Maung, Saw, 79
MCA. See Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA)
MIC. See Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)
middle-class mobility in Indonesia, pressures of, 131
military conflict
in Cambodia, 114
military coup in Thailand, 19–20
military government, 13, 16
in Myanmar, 220, 221
restricted political associations, 82
military junta, 79, 82
minimum winning coalitions, 173
minority ethnic communities, 223
Mohamad, Mahathir, 186, 219
Muego, Benjamin, 29
multilateralization, policy of, 63
Muoi, Do, 62
Muslim separatists, 38
in Mindanao, 41
Myanmar
armed forces, 68, 73, 84–85
democracy, 223
democratic development, 9
foreign policy of, 70–71, 85–86
Four Eights Movement in, 219
historical conjuncture in, 13–16
legacy in, 15
military government in, 220, 221
Myanmar 1988 uprising, 67–68, 75–79
antecedents to, 70–71
asset stripping in, 88
ceasefire groups, 84
changes and continuities, 69–70, 89
commercial conglomerates, 97n77
CSOs, 73–74, 82–83
development policies, 87–88
economic and political relations with China and India, 86
emergence of counter elites, 81–82
externally oriented foreign policy, 85–86
failures of one-party state, 74–75
insurgency, 84
Kuomintang intrusion, 70–71
LDC status to, 94n36
legacies of 1988, 79–80
NGOs, 82–83
one party socialist state, structure of, 72
party, state and military in, 73
political system, evolutions of, 72
politics and political economy, 71
regional and sub-regional organizations, 86
socialist legacy, 71–72
state-society relationship, 83–84
2008 Constitution, 80–81

N
Nargis, Cyclone, 15, 83
National Administrative Reform Council, 159
national budgeting process in Indonesia, 130
National Convention (NC), 80
National Counter Corruption Commission, 152
National Defence and Security Council, 81
“National Democratic” (ND) revolution, 41
national election
in Cambodia, 16
in Malaysia, 20–21
National Front government, 184
National Government of Cambodia (NGC), 111, 112
National Human Rights Commission, 152
National League for Democracy (NLD), 9, 13, 14, 80, 87
National Liberation Front (NLF), 107
armed forces in Cambodia, 108
National Peace-Keeping Council (NPKC), 162
National Socialist Party, 156
National Solidarity Act, 74
NATO. See North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
natural channeling system, 178n12
Naypyitaw, 83
NC. See National Convention (NC)
Neelaphaijit, Somchai, 153
network monarchy, 153
New Aspiration Party, 163, 173–74
New Order in Indonesia, 18–19, 123, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 138, 141
New People’s Army (NPA), 41, 47n58
NGC. See National Government of Cambodia (NGC)
Ngoc, Kim, 55
NGOs. See non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
1999 general election, Malaysia, 187
1997 Asian crisis, 154, 170, 171
1997 Constitution of Thailand, 152, 163–64, 168, 169
1973 Constitution and the Batasang Pambansa, 29
NLD. See National League for Democracy (NLD)
NLF. See National Liberation Front (NLF)
Nol, Lon, 105
nomenklatura, 74–75
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 82–83, 114
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 110
NPA. See New People’s Army (NPA)
NPKC. See National Peace-Keeping Council (NPKC)
Nu, U, 78
Nyunt, Khin, 80

O
oil-boom model in Indonesia, 130
one party socialist state
failures of, 74–75
structure of, 72
“one-sided tilt” policy, 63
open-door policy, China’s, 60
opposition candidates in Malaysia, votes for, 191
Outer Islands in Indonesia, 130
representation between Java and, 136

P
PAD. See People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD)
Pakatan Rakyat, 184, 206
Palang Dharma, 165
Palang Prachachorn, 218
Paris Accord, 53
Paris Agreements on Cambodia, 106, 113, 115
Paris Conference in 1954, 53
Index

Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC), 111, 112, 119n19
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI), 129
Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), 192, 196, 200, 203, 205, 207, 209
party financing laws, 173
Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK), 16, 17, 57, 104, 105, 109, 112, 114
party system in Indonesia, 135, 139
PAS. See Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)
path-dependent conditions, 5–6, 220
path-dependent consequences, 217–18
PCC. See Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC)
PCHR. See Philippine Committee on Human Rights (PCHR)
PDI. See Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI)
PDK. See Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK)
peacekeeping operation
in Cambodia, 113, 116, 117
United Nations, 106, 113–17
People Power Party, 177
People’s Alliance by-elections, 185
seats won in 2008 general election, 184
People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD), 219
People’s Consultative Assembly, 133
People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), 109–10, 116
armed opposition against, 109
international recognition, 115
Perm Five of the Security Council, 111, 115
Pheu Thai Party, 177, 219
Philippine Committee on Human Rights (PCHR), 32
Philippine Military Academy, 31
Philippines
conjuncture in, 10–12
declining stability of, 37
democracy of. See democracy of Philippines
economic growth rate, 30
electoral politics in, 39
land reform efforts, 31
martial law in, 27
May 2010 presidential elections in, 26
oligarchy, 34, 38, 39
political discourse, 39
political history of, 25, 26, 29
political infrastructures in, 30
politics of. See politics of Philippines
power structure in, 33
pre–martial law electoral politics, 29
rebels in, 28
relations with U.S., 37
social inequity in, 43
Philippines: A Changeless Land (Timberman), 32
Philippines: Shattered Showcase of Democracy in Asia, The (Day), 32
Phnom Penh in 1975, fall of, 105–6, 108–9, 114, 115
policymakers
in Indonesia, 134
in Vietnam, 56–57
political assassinations in Thailand, 160
political change in Indonesia, 131–34
political culture, long-term changes in, 42
political economy conjuncture for, 5
in Thailand, 219
political iconography, 26, 27
political organization and socialization, 41
Sann, Son, 109
Sarawak state election, 206–8
Second Five-Year Plan, economic targets for, 54
Second Indochina conflict in Cambodia, 114, 116
Second Indochina War, 53
Security Council of the United Nations, Resolution 717, 106
Sein, Thein, 14, 98n90
Selangor, cross-ethnic voting in, 200–202
semi-structured party system, Thailand, 155–63, 168, 171
Sen, Hun, 104, 110
Seritham Party, 173–74
Shan State Army (SSA), 13–14
Shinawatra, Thaksin, 19–20, 151, 218
authoritarian, 175
corruption charges, 153
economic crisis, 165
elected dictatorship, 152, 153
forming predominant party, 174
illiberal policies, 154, 175
nationalist rhetoric of, 220
and Palang Dharma, 165
party and policies, 218
political career of, 165
re-entry of, 163–68
rise of, 155, 168, 169, 171, 176, 218
success in 2001 election, 170
and Thai Rak Thai party, 166–68, 174, 175
2011 polls, 219
in 2001 elections, 167
vulnerability of democracy, 176
Shinawatra, Yingluck, 177, 219
“shock therapy”, in Vietnam, 59
Sihanouk, Norodom, 16–18, 105–8, 114–17, 220, 221
Sixth Party Congress, 59, 61–63
Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee, 55
SLORC. See State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)
SNC. See Supreme National Council (SNC)
SOC. See State of Cambodia (SOC)
Social Action Party, 158
social inequity in Philippines, 43
socialism, 70, 71
socialist economic sector in Vietnam, 54
socialist era in Myanmar, 67, 88
socialization, political organization and, 41
social movement
formation of, 219
in Malaysia, 21
socio-economic crisis in Vietnam, 59
Soeharto regime in Indonesia, 126, 130, 218, 219
Songkram, Phibun, 155
Southeast Asia, 222
conjunctions in, 2
financial crisis of, 152
Soviet-type command economic policy, 54
SPDC. See State Peace and Development Council (SPDC)
Srimuang, Chamlong, 165
SSA. See Shan State Army (SSA)
stable democracy in Indonesia, 140–42
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 79, 88–89
State of Cambodia (SOC), 111, 112, 116
state-owned enterprises (SOEs), 57
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), 79, 88
state-society relations
cleavages in, 7
restructuring of, 12
structural changes, 8
study of, 5
strategic voting, 172
structural economic reforms in
Indonesia, 218
structural-functional changes, 8
student-led protest movement, 15
Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 129
Sundaravej, Samak, 218–19
Supreme National Council (SNC), 17, 111, 112
Suu Kyi, Aung San, 13–15, 77, 78, 81, 89, 98n90
systemic and sub-systemic shocks, 7

T
Tatalon, community of, 35–36
Tatmadaw, 68, 73, 84–85
territorial resilience in Indonesia, 139–40, 143
tertiary education in Indonesia, 128
Thailand
conjuncture in, 19–20, 218–19
currency exchange rates of, 164
democracy. See democracy of
Thailand
economic growth, 160
economic recovery plan, 164
economy, 165, 166
elections, 157–61, 167
ethnic tensions in, 153
financial collapse, 169
financial crisis, 154–55, 164
foreign debts, 170
foreign dominance in, 166
fragmented legislature, 169
gross domestic product, 164
national legislative elections in, 155
1997 Constitution, 152, 163–64, 168, 169
political assassinations in 1980s, 160
political competition, 163

political economy, 219
political parties, 154, 155
Political Parties Act, 156, 160
post-crisis developments, 218
pro-democracy parties, 162
regime change in, 8
rule of democratic governments, 159
“semi-structured” party system, 155–63, 168, 171
unstructured party system in, 218
wide-ranging impact on, 7
Thai party system, 168
aggregation of, 154, 71
fractionalization and instability of, 175
power and rapid transformation of, 168
predominant, 168
semi-structured, 155–63, 168, 171
streamlining of, 180n37
weakness of, 176, 177
Thai political system, 154, 158
Thai Rak Thai party, 19, 166, 168, 170, 218
brand of nationalism, 176
dissolution of, 177
dominance after 2001 elections, 169
electoral hegemony, 154–55
and policies, 218
Thaksin and, 166, 168, 174, 175
in 2001 elections, 167, 170, 171, 180n37
Third Five-Year Plan, 56, 57
Third Indochina Conflict, 116
“Three-Plan System”, 55–56
Tinsulanonda, Prem, 160, 169
Tony Pua, 207
transitional politics in post-Soeharto era, 129, 131
Trillanes, Antonio, 40
Tung, Dao Duy, 60
two-party system in Malaysia, 184, 185, 193–96

U
UDD. See United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD)
UMNO. See United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)
UNAMIC. See United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)

unification of Vietnam, 53
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 110, 112
Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA), 15
United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD), 219
United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 186, 201, 203, 205, 207–9
non-Malay partners, 196, 200
United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC), 106
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 118n13
United Nations peacekeeping operation, 106, 113–17
United Nations Security Council, 17
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 117, 120n31
from Cambodia, withdrawal of, 106, 113
United Thai People’s Party (UTPP), 156
United Wa Development Association (UWSA), 14
unstructured party system in Thailand, 218

UNTAC. See United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)
USDA. See Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA)
UTPP. See United Thai People’s Party (UTPP)
UWSA. See United Wa Development Association (UWSA)

V
VCP. See Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP)
Vietnam
agricultural co-operatives in, 54
border region, Chinese invasion of, 57
Cambodian refugees in, 106
counter-attack on Pol Pot’s invasion, 58
currency conversion in, 57
diversification of foreign economic relations, 61
doι moι, 60–62, 64
economic burdens in, 57
economic policy reforms in, 59, 61, 62
foreign policy towards, 115
foreign relationship of, 63
French colonial rule in, 53
government officials, corruption by, 58
gradual reforms in, 54
growth model for, 59
market-oriented economic concept in, 63
military intervention against Cambodia, 106
people, lack of consumer goods for, 58
policy of multilateralization, 63
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>political structure</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political system, changes in</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relations between Cambodia and</td>
<td>109, 118n14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social discontent</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socio-economic crisis in</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>society, changes in</td>
<td>62–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unification of</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war-torn, reconstruction of</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western-styled market-based capitalism model in</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese community</td>
<td>106–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>currency, conversion of</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discriminatory measures for protecting</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intervention</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invasion and occupation of Cambodia</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military intervention</td>
<td>106, 109–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minority in Cambodia</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renovation policy, introduction of</td>
<td>12–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>troops</td>
<td>57, 104, 106, 110, 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam War. See Second Indochina War</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violence</td>
<td>139, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Chinatown</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against ethnic Vietnamese</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high levels of</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violence in Thailand</td>
<td>153, 218, 221, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of War on Drugs</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War on Drugs</td>
<td>153, 175, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war-torn Vietnam, reconstruction of</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western-styled market-based capitalism</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wongsawat, Somchai</td>
<td>218–19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchaiyudh, Chavalit</td>
<td>154, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>