

2020 – 2021 CATALOGUE

Economics • Politics • Social Issues

Bringing Southeast Asia to the World



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- Printed books are in soft cover edition only, unless otherwise stated.
 - All ISEAS books and journals are available as e-books, and also as individual e-chapters and articles.

The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC), and the Singapore APEC Study Centre.

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

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The *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies (JSEAE)* is a peer-reviewed multi-disciplinary journal focusing on economic issues in Southeast Asia.

JSEAE features articles based on original research, research notes, review articles and book reviews, and welcomes submissions of conceptual, theoretical and empirical articles preferably with substantive policy discussions. Original research articles and research notes can be country studies or cross-country comparative studies.

For quantitative-oriented articles, authors should strive to ensure that their work is accessible to non-specialists. Submitted manuscripts undergo a rigorous peer-review process—two reviewers for original research articles and one reviewer for research notes.

JSEAE is included in the prestigious Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) and SCOPUS. *JSEAE* is published three times a year in April, August and December.

The journal was published as the *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* between 1984 and 2012.

The annual subscription rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air.

Some recent articles:

- *Cheong Kee Cheok and Yong Chen Chen*
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- *Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeuddin*
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Annual Subscription Rates

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Editorial Committee: *Malcolm Cook, Le Hong Hiep, Daljit Singh, Ian Storey, Leo Suryadinata, Tang Siew Mun*

Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA) is an internationally refereed journal on the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. Serving as a reliable and up-to-date source of information on events and trends in international relations and security affecting Southeast Asia, *CSEA* publishes the results of original research.

- *CSEA* is included in the prestigious Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and SCOPUS.
- Attained Impact factor of 1.020 in Social Sciences Citation Index 2018 and ranked 18th by Google Scholar Metrics 2018 in the Asian Studies and History category.
- *CSEA* is published three times a year in April, August and December.
- The annual subscription rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air.

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Roundtable: Thailand's Amazing 24 March 2019 Elections
- *Hoang Thi Ha*
Understanding China's Proposal for an ASEAN-China Community of Common Destiny and ASEAN's Ambivalent Response
- *Eve Warburton and Edward Aspinall*
Explaining Indonesia's Democratic Regression: Structure, Agency and Popular Opinion
- *Kei Koga*
Japan's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" Strategy: Tokyo's Tactical Hedging and the Implications for ASEAN
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Annual Subscription Rates

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SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia

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SOJOURN is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of social and cultural issues in Southeast Asia. It publishes empirical and theoretical research articles with a view to promoting and disseminating scholarship in and on the region. Areas of special concern include ethnicity, religion, tourism, urbanization, migration, popular culture, social and cultural change, and development. Fields most often represented in the journal are anthropology, sociology, and history.

SOJOURN is indexed in SCOPUS.

SOJOURN is published three times a year—in March, July, and November. The annual subscription rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air.

SOJOURN is on the list of the 100+ most important periodicals in Asian studies selected by the Association for Asian Studies for priority indexing.

Some recent articles:

- *Justine Chambers and Nick Cheesman*
Coming to Terms with Moral Authorities in Myanmar
- *Gerard McCarthy*
Democratic Deservingness and Self-Reliance in Contemporary Myanmar
- *Sverre Molland*
What Happened to Sex Trafficking? The New Moral Panic of Men, Boys and Fish in the Mekong Region
- *Yenny Namy, Yudhi Andoni, Herwandi Herwandi and Annie Pohlman*
Between Sakit and Schizophrenia in West Sumatra, Indonesia
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Asia/Australia/NZ/Japan	US\$66	US\$122
Europe/N&S America/Africa/ME	US\$90	US\$167



Southeast Asian Affairs 2020

Malcolm Cook, editor

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Daljit Singh, editor

Senior Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

"Southeast Asian Affairs is the only one of its kind: a comprehensive annual review devoted to the international relations, politics, and economies of the region and its nation-states. The collected volumes of *Southeast Asian Affairs* have become a compendium documenting the dynamic evolution of regional and national developments in Southeast Asia from the end of the 'second' Vietnam War to the alarms and struggles of today. Over the years, the editors have drawn on the talents and expertise not only of ISEAS' own professional research staff and visiting fellows, but have also reached out to tap leading scholars and analysts elsewhere in Southeast and East Asia, Australia and New Zealand, North America, and Europe. A full list of contributors over forty years reads like a kind of who's who in Southeast Asian Studies.

"Southeast Asian Affairs, first published in 1974, continues today to be required reading for not only scholars but the general public interested in in-depth analysis of critical cultural, economic and political issues in Southeast Asia. In this annual review of the region, renowned academics provide comprehensive and stimulating commentary that furthers understanding of not only the region's dynamism but also of its tensions and conflicts. It is a must read."

*Suchit Bunbongkarn
Emeritus Professor
Chulalongkorn University*

"Now in its forty-seventh edition, *Southeast Asian Affairs* offers an indispensable guide to this fascinating region. Lively, analytical, authoritative, and accessible, there is nothing comparable in quality or range to this series. It is a must read for academics, government officials, the business community, the media, and anybody with an interest in contemporary Southeast Asia. Drawing on its unparalleled network of researchers and commentators, ISEAS is to be congratulated for producing this major contribution to our understanding of this diverse and fast-changing region, to a consistently high standard and in a timely manner."

*Hal Hill,
H.W. Arndt Professor of Southeast Asian Economies,
Australian National University*

Regardless of specific events and outcomes in political, economic, and social developments in Southeast Asia's future, we can expect future editions of *Southeast Asian Affairs* to continue to provide the expert analysis that has marked the publication since its founding. It has become an important contributor to the knowledge base of contemporary Southeast Asia."

*Donald E. Weatherbee,
Russell Distinguished Professor Emeritus,
University of South Carolina*

2020 : SEAA20

ISBN 978-981-4881-30-2 (HC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$42.90**

ISBN 978-981-4881-31-9 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$35.00**

SMEs and Economic Integration in Southeast Asia

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Economic Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Dionisius Narjoko, editor

Senior Economist, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia.

Sothea Oum, editor

Research Fellow, Asia Growth Research Centre, University of Adelaide.

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) account for about 97–99 per cent of total enterprises and 60–80 per cent of total employment in ASEAN countries. The participation of SMEs is thus crucial for achieving greater regional economic integration amongst ASEAN countries. SMEs are, however, often constrained by many disadvantages that limit their abilities to become importers and exporters. This is well documented in the research literature on trade and firm size. This volume contains selected ASEAN country studies on the participation of SMEs in regional economic integration based on primary microdata. This is supplemented by empirical studies on the role played by East Asian multinational enterprises in the region

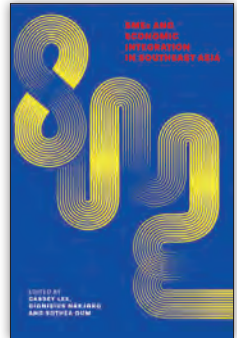
2019 : 635 pp : PIC263

ISBN 978-981-4818-78-0 (SC) **S\$45.90 (S\$49.11)/US\$38.90**

ISBN 978-981-4818-79-7 (EBK) **S\$37.00 (S\$39.59)/US\$31.00**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia)

new



From Free Port to Modern Economy: Economic Development and Social Change in Penang, 1969 to 1990

Chet Singh, editor

Special Adviser to the Chief Minister of Penang.

Rajah Rasiah, editor

Distinguished Professor of International Development at the Asia Europe Institute, University of Malaya.

Wong Yee Tuan, editor

Fellow & Head of History and Heritage Programme, Penang Institute.

The 1950s saw Lim Chong Eu taking an increasingly central role in Malayan politics, moving from the preparation for independence to him losing political influence. The following decade saw him trying to revive his political fortunes, and finally succeeding at the ballot box in 1969. Becoming the Chief Minister of Penang State provided him the platform from which he would excel as nation builder. This book tells the story of how the declining fortunes of Penang were turned around into the industrialized society that it is today.

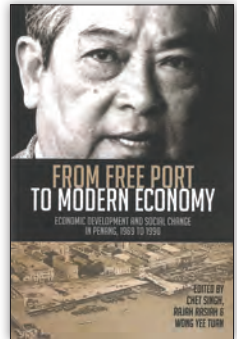
2019 : 274 pp : BM587

ISBN 978-981-4843-96-6 (SC) **S\$25.90 (S\$27.71)/US\$19.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-97-3 (EBK) **S\$21.00 (S\$22.47)/US\$16.00**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Penang Institute)

new



The Indonesian Economy in Transition: Policy Challenges in the Jokowi Era and Beyond

Hal Hill, editor

HW Arndt Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian Economies, Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Siwage Dharma Negara, editor

Senior Fellow, Regional Economic Studies Programme and Co-coordinator of the Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

“This is a timely and much-needed book. There are very few recent books on Indonesia with such a comprehensive analysis of not just mainstream economic policies, but also most importantly the key issues of human capital, inequality, social welfare, labour, food security and natural resource management. This book will not only be crucial for policy discourse but for all stakeholders who care about Indonesia making the transition not only to a high-income economy, but an inclusive one.”

Mari Pangestu,

Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia

new



2019 : 452 pp : BM574

ISBN 978-981-4843-06-5 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-10-2 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

Johor: Abode of Development

Francis E. Hutchinson, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Serina Rahman, editor

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

In 1990, the Malaysian state of Johor—along with Singapore and the Indonesian island of Batam—launched the Growth Triangle to attract foreign direct investment. For Johor, this drive was very successful, transforming its economy and driving up income levels. Today, Johor is one of Malaysia’s “developed” states, housing large clusters of electrical and electronics, food processing, and furniture producing firms.

While welcome, this structural transformation has also entailed important challenges and strategic choices. After three decades, Johor’s manufacture-for-export model is under question, as it faces increasing competition and flat-lining technological capabilities. In response, the state has sought to diversify its economy through strategic investments in new, mostly service-based activities. Yet, Johor retains pockets of excellence in traditional sectors that also require support and policy attention.

2020 : PIC277

ISBN 978-981-4881-27-2 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-28-9 (EBK)

forthcoming

forthcoming

The World in 2035: Twelve Shaping Forces

Joergen Oerstroem Moeller

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, Adjunct Professor, Singapore Management University and Copenhagen Business School, and Senior Fellow, MFA Diplomatic Academy, Singapore.

Contents

Prelude: Is Civilization Heading towards a Collapse?

1. The Cocktail of Capitalism, Technology and Globalization Turns Toxic
2. Democracy
3. The Nation-State
4. Significance of Global Financial Crisis
5. Global Economics Horizon 2035
6. Globalization to Regionalization
7. The Power Game in Asia
8. Conclusion

2020 : BM586

ISBN 978-981-4881-22-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-23-4 (EBK)

The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership: Implications for Southeast Asia

forthcoming

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Economic Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Prithish Bhattacharya

Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Contents

1. Introduction by Cassey Lee and Prithish Bhattacharya
2. The Economics of the CPTPP and RCEP: Asia Pacific Trade Agreements Without the United States by Peter A. Petri, Michael G. Plummer, Shujiro Urata and Fan Zhai
3. The TPP and CPTPP: Truths about Power Politics by Malcolm Cook
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5. Intellectual Property in the CTPP and Access to Medicines: A Thai Perspective by Jakkrit Kuanpoth
6. New Rules for SOEs in the CPTPP by Wan Khatina Nawawi
7. Impact of the CPTPP on Japanese Manufacturing Affiliates in ASEAN by Kazunobu Hayakawa and Kohei Shiino
8. Reassessing Malaysia's Export Opportunities in the TPP and CPTPP by Tham Siew Yean and Andrew Kam
9. Impact of the CPTPP on Vietnam by Phan Duc Hieu
10. Should Thailand Join the CPTPP? by Archanun Kohpaiboon
11. Indonesia, the TPP and CPTPP: Hold Our Breath by Kiki Verico

2020 : PIC274

ISBN 978-981-4818-87-2 (SC)

The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute Concerning Sovereignty over Sipadan and Ligitan Islands: Historical Antecedents and the International Court of Justice Judgment

D.S. Ranjit Singh

Affiliated to the College of Law, Government and International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Sintok, Kedah.

In 2002, ASEAN made history when two of its founder members—Indonesia and Malaysia—amicably settled a dispute over the ownership of the two Bornean islands of Sipadan and Ligitan by accepting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which ruled in favour of Malaysia. The case at once assumed great significance as a beacon of hope for the region which is plagued by numerous disruptive territorial disputes.

As both the historical evidence and legal milieu are vital considerations for the ICJ to award sovereignty, this book covers in detail the historical roots of the issue as well as the law dimension pertaining to the process of legal proceedings and the ICJ deliberations. The work concludes by offering a set of guidelines on cardinal principles of international law for successfully supporting a claim to disputed territories. These may be usefully utilized by interested parties.

2020 : 244 pp : BM581

ISBN 978-981-4843-64-5 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-65-2 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**

new



The Defeat of Barisan Nasional: Missed Signs or Late Surge?

Francis E. Hutchinson, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Lee Hwok Aun, editor

Senior Fellow and Co-Coordinator, Malaysia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The results of Malaysia's 14th General Elections of May 2018 were unexpected and transformative. Against conventional wisdom, the newly reconfigured opposition grouping Pakatan Harapan (PH) decisively defeated the incumbent Barisan Nasional (BN), ending six decades of uninterrupted dominant one-party rule.

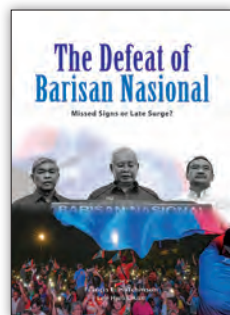
In order to understand the elections and their implications, this edited volume brings together contributions from ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute researchers and a group of selected collaborators to examine the elections from three angles: campaign dynamics; important trends among major interest groups; and local-level dynamics and developments in key states. This analytical work is complemented by personal narratives from a selection of GE-14 participants.

2019 : 509 pp : PIC271

ISBN 978-981-4843-89-8 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-90-4 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

new



Secrets and Power in Myanmar: Intelligence and the Fall of General Khin Nyunt

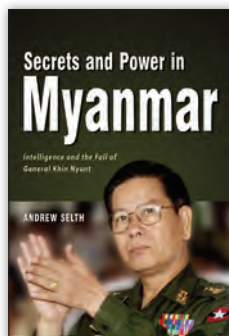
Andrew Selth

Adjunct Professor, Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

"No external observer knows more about Myanmar's security and intelligence apparatus than Andrew Selth. In this book he presents an account of the structure and functions of Myanmar's deep state, along with a tale of personal ambition, rivalry and ruthless power politics worthy of John Le Carre. A thoroughly educative, entertaining and intriguing read."

*Professor Michael Wesley,
Dean, College of Asia and the Pacific,
The Australian National University*

new



2019 : 248 pp : BM585

ISBN 978-981-4843-77-5 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-79-9 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$21.00**

Myanmar's Political Transition and Lost Opportunities (2010–2016)

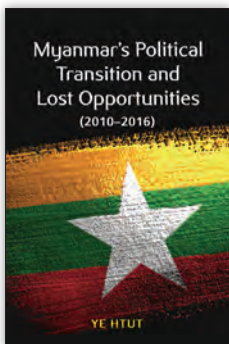
Ye Htut

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (2016–19). During the Thein Sein administration of Myanmar, he served as Presidential Spokesperson (2013–16) and Minister of Information (2014–16).

This book is about the politics of Myanmar under the reformist president Thein Sein. After taking office in March 2011, Thein Sein initiated the bloodless Myanmar Spring. He was able to transform Myanmar into a more transparent and dynamic society, bring Aung San Suu Kyi and other opposition activists into the political process, initiate a peace process with the ethnic armed organizations, reintegrate Myanmar into the international community after five decades of isolation, and, most importantly, for the first time since the country regained independence in 1948, he was able to enact the peaceful transfer of power from one elected government to another.

This book examines the reasons behind the lost opportunities in the transition to democracy. It draws on the author's experiences as a member of Thein Sein's cabinet as well as on extensive interviews with other cabinet members and politicians involved in the crucial events that took place between 2010 and 2016. The book is a must-read for anyone interested in this critical period of change for Myanmar.

new



2019 : 260 pp : BM579

ISBN 978-981-4843-57-7 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-58-4 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**

Continuity and Change after Indonesia's Reforms: new Contributions to an Ongoing Assessment

Max Lane, editor

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

"This book addresses one of the most crucial questions in Southeast Asia: did the election in Indonesia in 2014 of a seemingly populist-oriented president alter the hegemony of the political and economic elites? Was it the end of the paradox that the basic social contradictions in the country's substantial capitalist development were not reflected in organized politics by any independent representation of subordinated groups, in spite of democratization? Beyond simplified frameworks, grounded scholars have now come together to discuss whether and how a new Indonesian politics has evolved in a number of crucial fields. Their critical insights are a valuable contribution to the study of this question."

Professor Olle Törnquist, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo



2019 : 274 pp : PIC267

ISBN 978-981-4843-22-5 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-23-2 (EBK) **S\$26.00 (S\$27.82)/US\$24.00**

From Aquino II to Duterte (2010–18): Change, Continuity – and Rupture

Imelda Deinla, editor

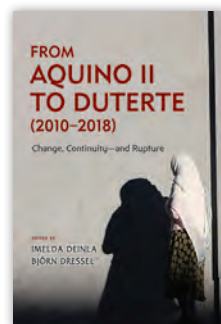
Research Fellow, School of Regulation and Global Governance, Australian National University (ANU); and Director, ANU Philippines Project.

Björn Dressel, editor

Associate Professor, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University.

This volume focuses on four critical areas—politics and governance; economic governance; Mindanao peace process; and international relations—to illustrate continuities or discontinuities in policies and governance of institutions to explain the dynamics of change in the Philippines. It pays particular attention to the crucial period between Aquino II and the early years of Duterte. The reason is that Aquino II represents an important period for rebuilding and consolidating institutions of governance and accountability after two previous tumultuous administrations. Yet Aquino II also demonstrates the inherent flaws of Philippine democracy and unravels the contradictory forces vying for state power that sets the scene for Duterte's rise. Reflecting on the crucial transition period between the two presidencies, while also providing a much-needed update on the most noteworthy policy changes since Duterte's inauguration, the book fills an important scholarly gap in understanding Asia's oldest and most puzzling democracy.

new



2019 : 324 pp : PIC269

ISBN 978-981-4843-28-7 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-29-4 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.03)/US\$24.00**

Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia, and the Cold War

Taomo Zhou

Assistant Professor, School of Humanities, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Migration in the Time of Revolution examines how two of the world's most populous countries interacted between 1945 and 1967, when the concept of citizenship was contested, political loyalty was in question, identity was fluid, and the boundaries of political mobilization were blurred. Taomo Zhou asks probing questions about this important period in the histories of the People's Republic of China and Indonesia. What was it like to be youths in search of an ancestral homeland they had never set foot in, or economic refugees whose expertise in private business became undesirable in their new home in the socialist state? What ideological beliefs or practical calculations motivated individuals to commit to one nationality while forsaking another?

This book bridges the fields of diplomatic history and migration studies by reconstructing the Cold War in Asia as social processes from the ground up.

2019 : 302 pp : BM577

ISBN 978-981-4843-33-1 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Cornell University Press)

new



An Introduction to the Politics of the Indonesian Union Movement

Maxwell Lane

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

"In this most significant contemporary study of Indonesian trade unions and the broader working class, Max Lane provides a concise and informed examination of the practical and ideological challenges of incipient labour organizations engaged in political and popular struggles in an underdeveloped nation. This detailed and highly informative book evokes similar historical and comparative struggles of exploited workers worldwide and is indispensable for students of labour movements in the Global South."

*Immanuel Ness, Professor of Political Science,
City University of New York*

2019 : 160 pp : BM575

ISBN 978-981-4843-30-0 (SC) **S\$22.90 (S\$24.50)/US\$19.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-31-7 (EBK) **S\$18.00(S\$19.26)/US\$16.00**

new



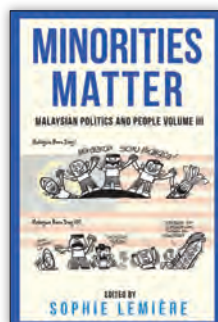
Minorities Matter: Malaysian Politics and People Volume III

Sophie Lemi re, editor

Political Anthropologist, Ash Center for Democracy, Harvard University.

Bringing together a group of both international and Malaysian scholars, *Minorities Matter: Malaysian Politics and People Volume III* is the third instalment in the 'Malaysian Politics and People' series, a series which has tracked Malaysian politics and society from the outcome of GE12 to the present day. Published in the aftermath of the fall of the BN government, *Minorities Matter* looks at the contemporary situation of Malaysian politics and society with a particular focus on those who are often left out of the national narrative, minorities, to understand the ways in which minority groups, from women to East Malaysians, the Orang Asli, refugees and more, have contributed towards, and been affected by, political change in Malaysia. With a particular focus on the problem of political culture, *Minorities Matter* highlights both the political and social changes, as well as continuities, witnessed since the 14th General Election, highlighting, through the lens of minority groups, the contemporary contestations which now dominate Malaysian politics.

new



2019 : 182 pp : BM584

ISBN 978-981-4843-76-8 (SC) **S\$25.90 (S\$27.71)/US\$19.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-94-2 (EBK) **S\$21.00 (S\$22.47)/US\$16.00**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Strategic Information and Research Development Centre)

Speaking Out in Vietnam: Public Political Criticism in a Communist-Party Ruled Nation

Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet

Emeritus Professor, Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University and an affiliate graduate faculty member, University of Hawaii.

Since 1990 public political criticism has evolved into a prominent feature of Vietnam's political landscape. So argues Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet in his analysis of Communist Party–ruled Vietnam. *Speaking Out in Vietnam* assesses the rise and diversity of these public displays of disagreement, showing that they have morphed from family whispers to large-scale use of electronic media.

Speaking Out in Vietnam shows that, although we may think that the party-state represses public criticism, in fact Vietnamese authorities often tolerate and respond positively to such public and open protests.

new



2019 : 224 pp : BM583

ISBN 978-981-4843-84-3 (SC) **S\$32.90 (S\$35.20)/US\$29.90**

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Cornell University Press)

Region, Nation and Homeland: Valorization and Adaptation in the Moro and Cordillera Resistance Discourses

Miriam C. Ferrer

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines.

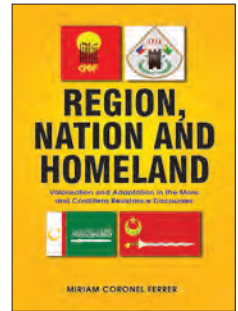
Movements tell stories of oppression and liberation. They critique the over relations that exist. They offer alternative visions of the homeland they hope to build. This volume looks at the Moro and Cordillera movements as told in their own words. Within and among these movement organizations in the Philippines, their constructed identities and claims for demanding the right to self-determination differed and evolved over time. The author shows the significant intertextuality in the discourse of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which broke away from the Moro National Liberation Front. She traces the drift to heightened ethnonationalism in the case of the Cordillera Peoples' Liberation Army when it split from the national democratic Cordillera People's Democratic Front. She reflects on where these mobilizations are now, and the strands of discourses that have remained salient in current times.

2019 : 242 pp : BM582

ISBN 978-981-4843-71-3 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$24.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-72-0 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$23.68)/US\$20.00**

new



Young Soeharto: The Making of a Soldier, 1921–1945

David Jenkins

Graduated in Law (1965) and Arts (1967) from Melbourne University, was a foreign correspondent in Southeast Asia for many years. He was a co-winner of a Walkley Award, Australia's most prestigious journalism prize, for his contribution to the Herald's coverage from East Timor during the violent 1999 referendum on independence.

When a reluctant President Sukarno gave Lt Gen Soeharto full executive authority in March 1966, Indonesia was a broken-back state, fractured along class, religious and ethnic lines. The economy was in disarray, wrecked by war, rebellion, agitational politics and mismanagement. Inflation was running at over 600 per cent. Soeharto took a nation in chaos, the largest in Southeast Asia, and transformed it into one of the "Asian miracle" economies—only to leave it back on the brink of ruin when he was forced from office thirty-two years later.

Drawing on an astonishing range of interviews with leading Indonesian generals, former Imperial Japanese Army officers and men who served in the Dutch colonial army, as well as years of patient research in Dutch, Japanese, British, Indonesian and US archives, David Jenkins brings vividly to life the story of how a socially reticent but exceptionally determined young man from rural Java began his rise to power, an ascent which would be capped by thirty years (1968–98) as President of Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation on earth.

2020 : BM588

ISBN 978-981-4881-00-5 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-01-2 (EBK)

forthcoming

Living with Myanmar

Justine Chambers, editor

Associate Director, ANU Myanmar Research Centre, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Charlotte Galloway, editor

Director, ANU Myanmar Research Centre, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Jonathan Liljeblad, editor

Senior Lecturer, College of Law, Australian National University, Canberra.

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6. People Power or Political Pressure? Drivers of Representative Performance in Southern Sub-National Parliaments *by Nyein Thiri Swe and Zaw Min Oo*

Part VI: Economic Life

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15. Informal Strategies of Yangonites Living with Myanmar: Everyday Uncertainty and Access to Property *by Elizabeth Rhoads and Gillian Cornish*
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19. Social Media's Impact on Myanmar's Muslims *by Soe Yar Zar and John Henderson*

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20. Epilogue *by Jonathan Liljeblad*

2020 : PIC273

ISBN 978-981-4881-04-3 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-07-4 (HC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-05-0 (EBK)

forthcoming

A View from the Highlands: Archaeology and Settlement History of West Sumatra, Indonesia

Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz, editor

Curator, Golden Lotus Foundation Singapore.

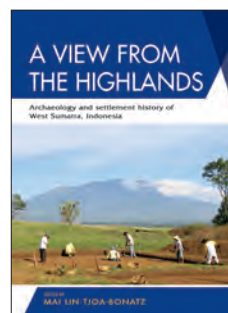
This book analyses the rise of the settlement system in the heartland of the Minangkabau region in the highlands of West Sumatra, Indonesia. It explores the regional settlement pattern arising from Adityavarman's highland interregnum (c. 1347–75), and provides the first attempt to place the archaeological remains and the landscape of Tanah Datar, a fertile plain in the highlands of West Sumatra, in a cultural historic synthesis. The core of this research consisted of excavations at Bukit Gombak and Bukit Kincir. Bukit Gombak was a central place in Adityavarman's kingdom, and provides evidence of the organization and material development of this political entity. Surveys uncovered other settlements that could be examined in relation to each other and to sites from earlier and later periods, and used to sketch out the settlement history of Tanah Datar from prehistoric times to the colonial period. The book consists of detailed studies of metal, ceramics and glass finds by laboratory-based specialists as well as careful descriptions of stone, clay and other finds.

2020 : 234 pp : NSC31

ISBN 978-981-4843-01-0 (SC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$39.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-02-7 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$32.00**

new



Appropriating Kartini: Colonial, National and Transnational Memories of an Indonesian Icon

Paul Bijl, editor

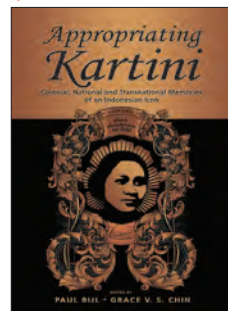
Assistant Professor, Comparative Literature, Utrecht University, the Netherlands.

Grace V.S. Chin, editor

Senior Lecturer, English Language and Literature Studies, Universiti Sains Malaysia.

"An icon of colonial Indonesia and a postcolonial intellectual avant la lettre, Kartini straddles the subtle terrain between feminism, politics and memory. This beautifully crafted volume goes beyond the analysis of Kartini's contested legacy as a national figure. It instead engages in an original way with Kartini as a highly remediated transnational celebrity, who has become a 'floating signifier'. This volume's timely contribution is to reposition Kartini's life, legacy and afterlife within the intersectional dynamics of gender, race, class, religion and sexuality that so shaped the origin, interpretation and impact of the 'Javanese princess' across time and space."

new



*Professor Dr Sandra Ponzanesi
Professor of Gender and Postcolonial Studies,
Utrecht University, The Netherlands, and
author of The Postcolonial Cultural Industry:
Icons, Markets, Mythologies*

2020 : 208 pp : PIC272

ISBN 978-981-4843-91-1 (SC) **S\$29.90 (S\$31.99)/US\$25.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-92-8 (EBK) **S\$24.00 (S\$25.68)/US\$21.00**

Imagining Asia(s): Networks, Actors, Sites

Andrea Acri, editor

Maître de conférences (Assistant Professor) in Tantric Studies, École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University, Paris) since 2016.

Kashshaf Ghani, editor

Assistant Professor, School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University, India.

Murari K. Jha, editor

Visiting Fellow, Weatherhead Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University (2018–19).

Sraman Mukherjee, editor

Assistant Professor, Department of Visual Arts, Ashoka University, India.

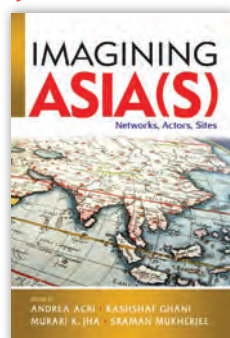
This volume advances the question as to what Asia is, and as to whether there existed one or many Asia(s). It seeks to explore Asian societies as interconnected formations through trajectories/networks of circulation of people, ideas, and objects in the *longue durée*. Moving beyond the divides of Area Studies scholarship and the arbitrary borders set by late colonial empires and the rise of post-colonial nation-states, this volume maps critically the configuration of contact zones in which mobile bodies, minds, and cultures interact to foster new images, identities, and imaginations of Asia.

2019 : 438 pp : NSC29

ISBN 978-981-4818-85-8 (SC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$42.90**

ISBN 978-981-4818-86-5 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$34.00**

new



Alternative Voices in Muslim Southeast Asia: Discourses and Struggles

Azhar Ibrahim, editor

Lecturer and Deputy Head, Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore.

Norshahril Saat, editor

Fellow, Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS) Programme and Co-coordinator, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

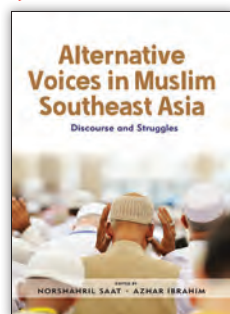
According to some observers, Southeast Asian Islam is undergoing a conservative turn. This means voices championing humanist, progressive and moderate ideas are located in the fringes of society. Is this assessment accurate for a region that used to be known as promoting the “smiling face of Islam”? *Alternative Voices in Muslim Southeast Asia* examines the challenges facing progressive voices in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore today. It examines their discourse, which delves into how multiculturalism and secularism are the way forward for diverse societies in these three countries. Moreover, it analyses the avenues utilized by these voices in voicing their views, amidst the dominance of state and quasi-state religious officials who seek to restrict and discipline them. Contributors to this volume include scholars, activists and observers, some of whom are victims of repression and discrimination.

2019 : 232 pp : PIC276

ISBN 978-981-4843-80-5 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-81-2 (EBK) **S\$29.00 (S\$31.99)/US\$24.00**

new



Myanmar Media in Transition: Legacies, Challenges and Change

Lisa Brooten, editor

Associate Professor, Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Jane Madlyn McElhone, editor

Member, International Media Development Advisors

Gayathry Venkiteswaran, editor

Assistant Professor, University of Nottingham, Malaysia

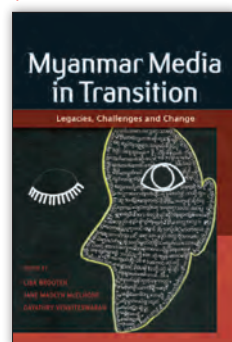
Myanmar Media in Transition: Legacies, Challenges and Change is the first volume to overview the country's contemporary media landscape, providing a critical assessment of the sector during the complex and controversial political transition. Moving beyond the focus on journalism and freedom of the press that characterizes many media-focused volumes, *Myanmar Media in Transition* also explores developments in fiction, filmmaking, social movement media and social media. Documenting changes from both academic and practitioner perspectives, the twenty-one chapters reinforce the volume's theoretical arguments by providing on-the-ground, factual and experiential data intended to open useful dialogue between key stakeholders in the media, government and civil society sectors. Providing an overview of media studies in the country, *Myanmar Media in Transition* addresses current challenges, such as the use of social media in spreading hate speech and the shifting boundaries of free expression, by placing them within Myanmar's broader historic social, political and economic context.

2019 : 407 pp : BM572

ISBN 978-981-4843-09-6 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-40-9 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

new



Contentious Belonging: The Place of Minorities in Indonesia

Greg Fealy, editor

Associate Professor, Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Ronit Ricci, editor

Sternberg-Tamir Chair, Comparative Cultures and Associate Professor, Departments of Asian Studies and Religion, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

This book explores the complex historical and contemporary dimensions of Indonesia's religious, ethnic, LGBT and disability minorities from a range of perspectives, including historical, legal, political, cultural, discursive and social. It addresses fundamental questions about Indonesia's tolerance and acceptance of difference, and examines the extent to which diversity is embraced or suppressed.

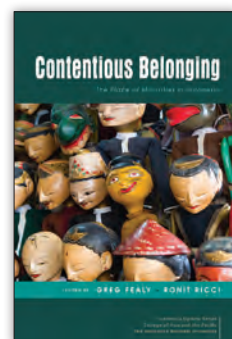
2019 : 282 pp : BM578

ISBN 978-981-4843-46-1 (SC) **S\$35.90 (S\$38.41)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-49-2 (HC) **S\$45.90 (S\$49.11)/US\$38.90**

ISBN 978-981-4843-47-8 (EBK) **S\$30.00 (S\$32.10)/US\$24.00**

new



Marrying Young in Indonesia: Voices, Laws and Practices

Mies Grijns, editor

Doctoral candidate, Van Vollenhoven Institute (Leiden Law School).

Hoko Horii, editor

Doctoral candidate, Van Vollenhoven Institute (Leiden Law School).

Sulistiyowati Irianto, editor

Professor and Head, Department of the Study of Law, Society and Development, Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia.

Pinky Saptandari, editor

Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Airlangga University.

“Stop Child Marriage” has been a growing movement in Indonesia since the early 2010s. Women’s rights and child rights are at the centre of this movement. This book is the outcome of a recent research project into child marriage across Indonesia. It offers a new perspective on the topic by presenting everyday practices rather than focusing on stereotypical and sensational cases. In-depth research enables micro-level analysis of the socio-economic contexts that affect child marriage practices in different regions. It reveals how local actors such as regional bureaucrats, judges, religious leaders, parents and young people themselves play dynamic roles in changing or sustaining the practice. This collection of interdisciplinary research provides an excellent background for debate and discourse on child marriage at the national and international level.

2020 : 336 pp : BM591

ISBN 978-981-4881-25-8 (SC)

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Obor)

forthcoming

Cultural Renewal in Cambodia: Academic Activism in the Neoliberal Era

Philippe Peycam

Director, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden.

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2020 : IU39

ISBN 978-981-4459-94-5 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4459-95-2 (EBK)

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Brill)

forthcoming

Heritage as Aid and Diplomacy in Asia

Shu-Li Wang, editor

Assistant Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

Philippe Peycam, editor

Director, International Institute for Asian Studies.

Hui Yew-Foong, editor

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Hong Kong Shue Yan University and Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

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2020 : PIC275

ISBN 978-981-4881-15-9 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-16-6 (EBK)

(ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / IIAS / Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica)

Navigating Differences: Integration in Singapore

Terence Chong, editor

Deputy Director, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, and Senior Fellow, Regional Social & Cultural Studies Programme.

forthcoming

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14. Ageing Societies, Age-Inclusive Spaces and Community Bonding by Kalyani K. Mehta

2020 : BM592

ISBN 978-981-4881-26-5 (SC)

Islam and Religious Expression in Malaysia

Azizuddin Mohd Sani

Professor of Politics and International Relations from School of International Studies (SoIS), Universiti Utara Malaysia.

forthcoming

“Prof. Azizuddin makes an eloquent case for robust freedom of expression that is consistent with Malaysian conditions. This is a most welcome and important book that could and should have a major impact. It is a timely and thoughtful examination of the complex and serious issue of Islam vis-à-vis religious expression in Malaysia. It also illustrates the transition from the restrictive-stability approach of the past Barisan Nasional administration to an open-freedom approach of the current Pakatan Harapan administration.”

*Dato’ Saifuddin Abdullah
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia*

2020 : BM593

ISBN 978-981-4881-35-7 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-36-4 (EBK)



Trends in Southeast Asia

The economic, political, strategic and cultural dynamism in Southeast Asia has gained added relevance in recent years with the spectacular rise of giant economies in East and South Asia. This has drawn greater attention to the region and to the enhanced role it now plays in international relations and global economics.

The sustained effort made by Southeast Asian nations since 1967 towards a peaceful and gradual integration of their economies has had indubitable success, and perhaps as a consequence of this, most of these countries are undergoing deep political and social changes domestically and are constructing innovative solutions to meet new international challenges. Big Power tensions continue to be played out in the neighbourhood despite the tradition of neutrality exercised by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The **Trends in Southeast Asia** series acts as a platform for serious analyses by authors who are experts in their fields. It is aimed at encouraging policymakers, scholars and interested readers to contemplate the diversity and dynamism of this exciting region.

The **Trends in Southeast Asia** series serves as in-depth analysis of contemporary geopolitical and socio-economic forces in the region. The series is written for policymakers, diplomats, scholars and students of the region with emphasis on empirical and observable trends, and less on theory-building or historical accounts of events.

The aim of Trends is to offer concrete accounts of the dynamism in the region as transnational processes impact local communities, national governments as well as bilateral and foreign relations. Subjects that are of interest to the series are national elections; economic patterns and growth; demographic changes and their social implications; migratory patterns; religious and ethnic trends; bilateral relations and geopolitics in the region in relation to the larger powers of Japan, China and the US.

ISSN 0219-3213

Emerging Political Configurations in the Run-up to the 2020 Myanmar Elections

Aung Aung

Visiting Fellow, Myanmar Studies Programme of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

While facing international pressures relating to Rakhine State, and under tense civil–military relations, political parties are preparing for the 2020 Myanmar general elections.

The National League for Democracy (NLD), the ruling party, is taking a more democratic platform focusing on the creation of a democratic federal union, while the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) adopts a more nationalist approach, emphasizing the prevention of foreign interference regarding Rakhine State.

Taking lessons from the 2015 Myanmar general elections, and in order to effectively contend with the NLD and the USDP, the ethnic political parties are at the same time merging into single parties and new political parties are now also being registered at the Union Election Commission.

The current situation indicates more uncertainty in politics and economic downturns, and many indicators suggest that the NLD is now in a defensive position.

2019 : 46 pp : TRS1/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-36-2 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Vietnam's Industrialization Ambitions: The Case of Vingroup and the Automotive Industry

Le Hong Hiep

Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Vietnam has officially admitted its failure to achieve industrialized economy status by 2020. This failure is partly due to its inability to grow a strong local manufacturing base and develop key strategic industries.

The participation of Vingroup, the country's largest private conglomerate, in the automotive industry has sparked new hopes for Vietnam's industrialization drive. The company, through its subsidiary Vinfast, aims to become a leading automaker in Southeast Asia with an annual capacity of 500,000 units and a localization ratio of 60 per cent by 2025.

Challenges that Vinfast faces include its unproven track record in the industry; the limited size of the national car market; the lack of infrastructure to support car usage in Vietnam; the intense competition from foreign brands; and its initial reliance on imported technologies and know-hows.

However, Vinfast enjoys certain advantages in the domestic market, including the large potential of the Vietnamese automotive market; its freedom as a new automaker to define its business strategies without having to deal with legacy issues; Vingroup's sound business and financial performance and its ecosystem; strong support from the Vietnamese government; and nationalist sentiments that will encourage certain Vietnamese customers to choose its products.

2019 : 19 pp : TRS2/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-41-6 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Exploring the Trade Potential of the DFTZ for Malaysian SMEs

Tham Siew Yeap

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Andrew Kam Jia Yi

Associate Professor, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Malaysia established the Digital Free Trade Zone (DFTZ) to facilitate the development of e-commerce and the country's small and medium enterprises' (SMEs') exports. The data revealed thus far indicates an increasing number of SMEs coming on board the DFTZ e-commerce platforms.

The publicly disclosed data focus on the value of exports achieved but do not show whether these are from new or existing exporters or whether they are re-exports. They also do not highlight Malaysia's imports through the zone.

The overall trend signals that Malaysia is losing its bilateral revealed comparative advantage in exports to China, as well as an increasing use of imports for exporting to China.

While the DFTZ facilitates both exports and imports, differing standards and customs processes in different export destinations, including China, will require Malaysian SMEs to know and understand the standards and customs processes governing imports in each export destination involved.

2019 : 23 pp : TRS3/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-43-0 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Indo-Pacific and Its Strategic Challenges: An Australian Perspective

Peter Varghese

Chancellor, University of Queensland, Australia.

The shift in the framework of Australia's strategic thinking from the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific reflects the primary focus on the maritime environment in the coming decades and the expectation that over time India will become more embedded in the strategic dynamics of the Asia-Pacific.

India is in the midst of a major geopolitical repositioning, as it pursues a hard-headed national interests-based policy and builds stronger strategic ties with a wide range of countries including the United States and its allies in the region.

The region is entering a potentially dangerous phase in U.S.–China relations. China's rise needs to be managed not frustrated; balanced not contained. Constructing that balance and anchoring China in a new multi-polar strategic equilibrium in the Indo-Pacific is the big challenge of our time.

More and more individual Southeast Asian countries are being pulled into China's orbit: not with enthusiasm or conviction but because they see that the economic cost of opposing China's agenda is too high. The United States is so far doing little to change this.

2019 : 13 pp : TRS4/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-50-8 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



From Declaration to Code: Continuity and Change in China's Engagement with ASEAN on the South China Sea

Hoang Thi Ha

Lead Researcher II (Political-Security Affairs), ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

China's engagement with ASEAN over the South China Sea, from the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea to the ongoing negotiations on the Code of Conduct (COC), exhibits a dynamic continuum with two constants:

1. Dismissal of any legally binding instrument that would constrain China's freedom of action; and
2. Persistent territorialization of the SCS despite Beijing's simultaneous diplomatic engagement with ASEAN.

The continuity is juxtaposed with elements of change in China's engagement with ASEAN, as afforded by the former's growing power and influence. This metamorphosis is manifested in China's efforts to undermine ASEAN unity, robustly assert its claims in the SCS, and use economic statecraft towards ASEAN member states in return for their acquiescence.

2019 : 37 pp : TRS5/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-53-9 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Military Capitalism in Myanmar: Examining the Origins, Continuities and Evolution of “Khaki Capital”

Gerard McCarthy

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Military enterprises, ostensibly set up to feed and supply soldiers, were some of the earliest and largest Burmese commercial conglomerates, established in the 1950s. Union Myanmar Economic Holdings Limited (UMEHL) and Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC) are two profit-seeking military enterprises established by the military after the dissolution of the Burma Socialist Programme Party in 1988, which remain central players in Myanmar's post-2011 economy.

Military conglomerates are a major source of off-budget revenue for the military and a main employer of retired soldiers. Yet few veterans receive more than a small piece of the profits from UMEHL. The vast bulk of formal dividends instead disproportionately benefit higher ranking officers and institutions within the Tatmadaw.

2019 : 39 pp : TRS6/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-55-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Whither Myanmar's Garment Sector?

Nick J. Freeman

An independent development consultant and an Associate Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The EU has threatened to suspend Generalized Scheme of Preferences (GSP) status for Myanmar, under which the country's exports can enter Europe without any tariffs or quotas. The official reason cited by the EU is a growing concern over human rights violations and issues around labour rights in Myanmar.

If this threat were to be carried out, the business sector that will be most affected is Myanmar's burgeoning garment sector, which employs around 700,000 people, most of whom are women.

The principal worry in Myanmar is that if EU buyers and brands have to start paying tariffs to import Myanmar-made garments, then they will opt to shift their sourcing to other countries. Without GSP, Myanmar's garment exports may no longer be price competitive.

As one of the few manufacturing sectors in Myanmar to employ semi-skilled women, many of whom migrated from poor rural areas, the garment sector has come to play an important socioeconomic role in the country.

2019 : 18 pp : TRS7/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-62-1 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Politics of Thai Buddhism under the NCPO Junta

Katewadee Kulabkaew

Visiting Fellow, Thailand Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The past two decades have been a time of turmoil in Thailand's religious affairs. Disputes, debates and controversies concerning the administration of Buddhism, Thailand's national religion by tradition, have erupted more and more frequently.

This chronic and unresolvable conflict originates from Thai Buddhists' inability to achieve a broad consensus on religious reform.

Under the governance of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) junta that came to power in 2014, the fierce struggle concerning Buddhist reform seemed to subside.

Upholding and protecting Buddhism might be a duty of traditional Thai rulers who desire for a source of political legitimacy, but the NCPO's decisive actions concerning Buddhist institutional reform were not merely reflected respect for this tradition, but were closely intertwined with the dynamic of contending forces in Thailand's long-troubled religious politics.

Conflicts between the influential religious nationalists and the Thai Sangha convinced the military government of the need to act, for the sake of national security and political stability.

2019 : 18 pp : TRS8/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-73-7 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



The Significance of Everyday Access to Justice in Myanmar's Transition to Democracy

Helene Maria Kyed

Senior Researcher, Danish Institute for International Studies.

Ardeh Maung Thawngmung

Chair and Professor, Political Science Department, University of Massachusetts.

Legal pluralism in Myanmar is a reality that is not sufficiently recognized.

A lack of recognition of and clear mandates for the informal justice providers, along with the absence of coordination between these providers and the judiciary, present critical challenges to local dispute resolution and informal legal systems.

This results in a high level of unpredictability and insecurity concerning the justice outcomes and in the underreporting of cases. The lack of jurisdictional clarity represents an even greater challenge in areas of mixed control and where numerous armed actors are present.

Discussion of reform of the justice sector in Myanmar and debates surrounding peace negotiations and the role of the ethnic armed groups in service provision are separated. This situation reinforces the divide between ceasefire areas and the rest of the country and raises concern that the improvement of justice systems will leave conflict-affected populations behind.

2019 : 22 pp : TRS9/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-85-0 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Interreligious Conflict and the Politics of Interfaith Dialogue in Myanmar

Nyi Nyi Kyaw

Visiting Fellow, Myanmar Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Amidst successive episodes of interreligious violence in Myanmar between 2012 and 2014, interfaith dialogue emerged as a crucial conflict resolution and prevention mechanism.

The 2011–16 Union Solidarity and Development Party administration often indirectly promoted the use of interfaith dialogue to defuse interreligious tensions and conflicts, though its political will was questionable. Various governmental, intergovernmental, and non-governmental actors have engaged in interfaith dialogue, peace, and harmony initiatives in the past seven years.

The present National League for Democracy administration has more actively sought to engage in intrafaith promotion of Buddhism and in interfaith peace and harmony initiatives. Intergovernmental, international and local interfaith actors also work in the interfaith dialogue field, but their impact is relatively weak because the government remains the most important actor in Myanmar in transition.

2019 : 29 pp : TRS10/19

ISBN 978-981-4843-87-4 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Between Social Services and Tolerance: Explaining Religious Dynamics in Muhammadiyah

Ahmad Najib Burhani

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He is the Deputy Director, Department of Publication and Information (MPI), Central Board of Muhammadiyah.

Muhammadiyah, together with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), are seen as the two pillars of moderate Islam in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is currently often perceived to be the more conservative of the two and to have more affinity with Islamist groups.

On political issues, for instance, it is steered by Islamist imagery. On cultural issues, Muhammadiyah is often guided by old enmity towards what is called the TBC (*takhayul, bid'ah dan churafat*; delusions, religious innovation without precedence in the Prophetic traditions and the Qur'an, and superstitions or irrational belief). This position has placed Muhammadiyah in an uneasy relationship with both local cultures and traditionalist Islam.

Three issues that were raised in 2017—the banning of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the recurrent controversy on the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), and the ruling of the Constitutional Court on *Penghayat Kepercayaan*—are issues where Muhammadiyah has been easily drawn towards Islamist and conservative tendencies.

2019 : 23 pp : TRS11/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-11-1 (SC) **\$S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy Outlook

David Arase

Resident Professor of International Politics, the John Hopkins University–Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, Nanjing, China. He was Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore from 1 July to 8 August 2019.

The United States launched a new Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy in late 2017 after reluctantly concluding that its patient effort to engage and socialize China to the rules-based order since 1972 had failed. China's behaviour since 2009 convinced the United States that China is a revisionist power seeking to impose an authoritarian model of governance in Asia which, if successful, would end the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific as well as endanger US security and vital trade interests.

The new US FOIP strategy initiative seeks to engage like-minded nations in economic, security (both traditional and non-traditional), and political governance partnerships to construct a collaborative and scalable network of relations that will be able to respond flexibly to meet a wide range of stakeholder needs and regional contingencies across the Indo-Pacific region.

2019 : 27 pp : TRS12/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-13-5 (SC) **\$S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



Quality, Equity, Autonomy: Malaysia's Education Reforms Examined

Lee Hwok Aun

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The Pakatan Harapan (PH) government promised education reforms before getting elected in 2018, and presently grapples with the complexities of making good on those pledges while seeking to negotiate continuity and change with regard to the previous administration's Malaysian Education Blueprint launched in 2013.

This article situates the education reforms in the context of Malaysia's highly centralized administration, embedded practices and policy initiatives of recent years. Discussion focuses on three areas—quality, equity, autonomy—where PH has more distinctly differentiated itself from its predecessor.

On the quality of national schools, efforts to alleviate teachers' bureaucratic workload and enhance the schooling experience mark a positive start. However, transforming mindsets and practices will require more systemic changes, critical self-reflection, and sustained efforts on difficult matters, particularly in basic schooling and technical and vocational programmes.

2019 : 36 pp : TRS13/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-17-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



China's Evolving Policy towards the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia (1949–2018)

Wu Xiao An

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore from 23 August 2018 to 22 November 2018. He is Professor of History, Peking University and Director, Peking University's Center for the Study of Chinese Overseas.

The Chinese diaspora, consisting of both Chinese living overseas who are citizens of China (*huaqiao*), and people of Chinese descent who are citizens of foreign countries (*huaren*), have significantly shaped the making of modern China.

China's policy towards its diaspora is primarily governed by its national interests and foreign policy imperatives. However, the Chinese government has been careful to ensure that the *huaqiao* and the *huaren* fall into different policy domains: Chinese citizens living overseas are subject to China's domestic policies, while Chinese descendants who are citizens of other countries come under China's foreign affairs. Nevertheless, from the beginning, the latter continue to be regarded as kinsfolk distinct from other foreign nationals.

2019 : 25 pp : TRS14/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-19-7 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



How Will Shifts in American Foreign Policy Affect Southeast Asia?

Daljit Singh

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

A new phase in US foreign policy, in which China is viewed as a major threat to American economic and security interests, has begun under the Trump administration.

The strong anti-China sentiment is accompanied by efforts to “decouple” from China. If carried too far, they will alienate allies and friends whose cooperation the US will need in order to compete with China.

In the broader American foreign policy community, there is an intense ongoing debate on how strong the push-back against China should be. Both moderates and hawks agree on the need for a “tougher” approach but differ on the degree and method of toughness. No coherent strategy has been possible partly because President Trump’s thinking does not always accord with that of his own administration and partly because it is still too early in the day to come out with well-thought-out policies to support such a major change in foreign policy direction.

The ongoing adjustments to global policy and strategy will therefore continue as the security focus shifts to the Indo-Pacific region. The “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” concept provides some signs of the broad direction policy may take but its vital economic dimension is still missing.

2019 : 38 pp : TRS15/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-33-3 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**



E-commerce for Malaysian SMEs in Selected Services: Barriers and Benefits

Tham Siew Yean

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Andrew Kam Jia Yi

Senior Fellow, Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Findings from a recent survey done to identify the barriers and benefits of e-commerce for Malaysian SMEs in the retail and food and beverage services indicate that both e-commerce adopters and non-adopters are similar in that they perceive the CEO or decision-maker to be the most important factor in the adoption of e-commerce.

The relative importance of the other three main factors (namely, organizational, technological and environmental) differ for adopters and non-adopters. Likewise, there are also differences in response based on firm size.

Based on the survey findings, Malaysia needs to shift from one-size-fits-all strategies to a more nuanced policy response that addresses the differences in perceived barriers of adopters and non-adopters and which is also cognizant of firm size.

2019 : 40 pp : TRS16/19

ISBN 978-981-4881-38-8 (SC) **S\$9.00 (S\$9.63)/US\$7.00**





The ASEAN Studies Centre is devoted to research on issues that pertain to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an institution and a process. Through research, conferences, consultations, and publications, the Centre seeks to illuminate ways of promoting ASEAN's purposes of political solidarity, economic integration and regional cooperation, and finding pragmatic solutions to the challenges on the path to achieving this. The Centre conducts studies and provides inputs and ideas to ASEAN member states and the ASEAN Secretariat on issues and events that call for collective ASEAN actions and responses, especially those pertinent to building the ASEAN Community.

E-Commerce, Competition & ASEAN Economic Integration

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Economic Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Eileen Lee, editor

Staff member, Policy and Markets Division, Competition and Consumer Commission of Singapore (CCCS), 2016–2018.

The e-commerce market has grown rapidly within the ASEAN region in recent years. This trend is expected to continue in the future given the region's large population base, rising middle-class and improvements in connectivity. This edited volume examines the current state of e-commerce in ASEAN countries. It highlights some of the key domestic and cross-border challenges faced by ASEAN member states in developing e-commerce. These challenges include the regulatory and legal environment in which e-commerce firms operate across ASEAN, and the supporting infrastructure in ASEAN member states.

"A comprehensive snapshot of the latest emerging regulatory, policy and consumer issues. It's essential reading for anyone working in this field. E-commerce is fundamentally altering the way in which businesses are being conducted, both within and between ASEAN countries. More than just an alternate distribution channel, online trading offers new opportunities and challenges for consumers, businesses, regulators and policymakers. How do markets operate in the new paradigm? How should regulators and governments ensure that dynamic competitive economies evolve, instead of descending into anti-competitive structures? And how are markets evolving in different parts of Southeast Asia? All of these issues—and much more—are discussed in here. The editors are to be congratulated for assembling a range of insightful perspectives from across ASEAN. These are issues that will affect the region for many years to come. The lessons here are timely and timeless."

*Michael Schaper Ph.D., Deputy Chairman,
Australian Competition and Consumer Commission, 2008–18*



2020 : 308 pp : PIC270

ISBN 978-981-4762-16-8 (SC) **S\$39.90 (S\$42.69)/US\$29.90**

ISBN 978-981-4762-17-5 (EBK) **S\$32.00 (S\$34.24)/US\$24.00**

Non-Traditional Security Issues in ASEAN: Agendas for Action

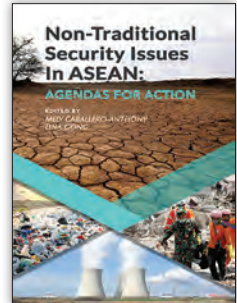
forthcoming

Mely Caballero-Anthony, editor

Professor of International Relations and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Lina Gong, editor

Research Fellow, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.



Non-traditional Security Issues in ASEAN provides a systemic evaluation on the governance of the most pressing challenges in the region. The authors analyse the ways in which particular issues are addressed at national and regional levels and by different stakeholders. In spite of the differences among various non-traditional security issues, the analysis of the chapters converge on three core themes for enhancing governance, which include engagement of multiple actors, effective enforcement of national and regional laws and regulations, and better coordination between different actors. As such, *Non-traditional Security Issues in ASEAN* contributes to policymaking by highlighting the key agendas that call for actions and adds nuances to scholarly discussion on governance by bringing in a non-traditional security perspective.

2020 : BM589

ISBN 978-981-4881-08-1 (SC)

ISBN 978-981-4881-09-8 (EBK)



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Study Centre
@ ISEAS**

The Centre undertakes research, disseminates information, facilitates discussions on APEC-related issues, and promotes linkages with other APEC Study Centres. The Centre also liaises with the APEC Secretariat, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and other organizations working on APEC. The Centre analyses developments in the APEC process and its main areas of interest include: international economics; production networks; trade arrangements; connectivity; regionalism; and Southeast Asian economies. Besides regular publications, the Centre manages seminars and symposia on issues related to APEC.

The Centre is part of a consortium of around a hundred APEC Study Centres based in academic and research institutions in the 21 member economies of APEC. The consortium's major activity is an annual conference held in the APEC host economy for the year. The first APEC Study Centre Consortium (ASCC) Conference was held in Manila in 1996. In July 2009, the Singapore APEC Study Centre hosted the ASCC Conference as part of APEC Singapore 2009.

Competition Law, Regulation and SMEs in the Asia-Pacific: Understanding the Small Business Perspective

Michael T. Schaper, editor

Deputy Chariman, Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC).

Cassey Lee, editor

Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

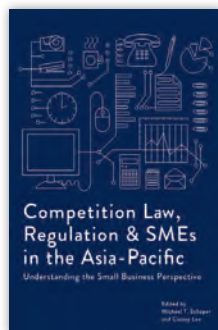
This book seeks to rectify the relative neglect in research and policy discussions on the role of the SME sector in competition policy and law. Drawing on contributions from a wide range of competition regulators, lawyers, academics, consultants and advisers to the SME sector, it addresses such important issues as: perceptions and views of small businesses about competition law; regulator engagement and education of the SME sector; the link between competition law and economic growth; franchising, SMEs and competition law; issues in enforcing competition law against SMEs; the role of Chinese family firms; trade, professional and industry associations; country case studies from Vietnam, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, South Korea, Hong Kong SAR, Japan and the Pacific Islands.

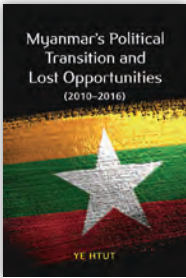
"This book is an important step in remedying the gaps in our knowledge and policy of this important area." — Dr Alan Bollard, Executive Director, APEC Secretariat

2016 : 395 pp : PIC243

ISBN 978-981-4695-80-0 (SC) **S\$49.90 (S\$53.39)/US\$39.90**

ISBN 978-981-4695-81-7 (EBK) **S\$40.00 (S\$42.80)/US\$32.00**

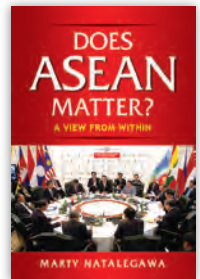




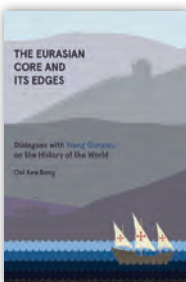
"This book by Ye Htut is a rare, first-hand account of one of the most critical eras in recent Myanmar history: the Thein Sein period, 2011–16. The author refers to it as a time of genuine transition but also missed opportunities. The book provides a unique and in-depth perspective by a well-placed participant of Myanmar's transition to civilian rule. Once part of the military establishment, Ye Htut became the civilian minister of information during Thein Sein's tenure. The book is balanced and fair with the kind of detail only someone in the position Ye Htut had could have provided. It is a "must read" for any serious observer of Myanmar's recent history, especially the inner dynamics of its politics, much of which—for better or for worse—remains personal and local, and in some cases, traditional."

**Michael Aung-Thwin, Professor of Asian Studies
University of Hawai'i at Manoa**

"Dr Marty Natalegawa's book on ASEAN provides an inside view of ASEAN's evolution over the years from an Indonesian perspective. That perspective is a critical one because without Indonesia's leadership from the inception, there would have been no ASEAN, certainly not the one that we have today. As the largest country in Southeast Asia, with an economy that may well become the world's 4th largest by 2050, Indonesia has always been the anchor of ASEAN. Dr Natalegawa, as one of ASEAN's most able diplomats, asks 'Does ASEAN matter?' His book explains why this is a rhetorical question."



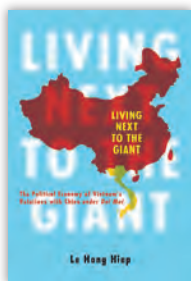
**George Yeo, Chairman and Executive Director
of Kerry Logistics Network;
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Singapore, July 2018**



"Eminent academic Wang Gungwu, whose long years of learning, particularly on China, is the subject of Ooi Kee Beng's book, is able to connect even the most disparate dots to form a very sharp big picture of how civilisations developed and why East and West find it hard to see eye to eye. He does so by unleashing a series of insights into why and how geography and humanity's deepest-seated needs and wants shaped the world as we know it. He then pulls all these insights together to show how cogent and cohesive his view of the world is. All this adds up to a book whose scope of ambition, elegant articulation and self-deprecating delivery is a class act. He expresses his thoughts so simply and precisely that even a teenager with the loosest grasp of history will be able to follow his compelling arguments. In fact, I would recommend that this primer on world

history be on the required reading list for students of the General Paper or its equivalent. In shedding light on China, a land power, and the West, made up mostly of sea powers, Wang gives readers the key to unlock the seemingly inscrutable Chinese psyche. In doing so, he consistently casts China as a benign giant which is riling its neighbours with its action in the South China Sea in its bid to boost its naval chops. Wang and Ooi are careful to show how the twists and turns of various countries' histories are relevant to everyone's lives today. For example, in only 250 years, the United States has built up so much naval power that it controls most of the world's coasts. So every time China tries to 'get its foot in' sea-wise, Wang says, it gets 'scolded' by the West."

**Cheong Suk-Wai, Straits Times, Singapore
2 May 2015**



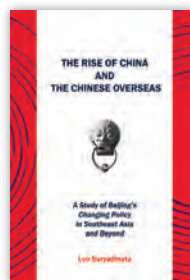
"In this thought-provoking volume, Le Hong Hiep provides a comprehensive and in-depth investigation on the dynamics of Vietnam's relations with China from a Vietnamese perspective.

This volume is a good contribution to the understanding of Asian politics in general and Vietnam's China policy in particular. ... there have been prior works on the dynamics of Vietnam-China relations conducted by Western scholars. This is, however, one of the few endeavors by Vietnamese scholars to provide an in-depth analysis of the bilateral relations from the Vietnamese perspective. ... Le Hong Hiep analyzes in a coherent manner how the interplay of the three factors (geographical proximity, power asymmetry, and domestic developments) has shaped the course of Vietnam's relations with China under Doi Moi.

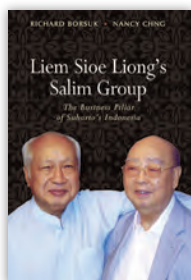
Overall, this is a well-thought out and well-written piece of work which adds new substance to the existing body of knowledge about Vietnam's relations with China in history as well as in the current period. This work deserves much praise and can hopefully serve as a role model for other Vietnamese scholars in conducting similar rigorous research."

Thuy T. Do, *Asian Politics & Policy*, Vol. 9 Issue 4, 2017

"Dr Leo Suryadinata has been tracking Beijing's shifts in policy towards non-mainland Chinese since the 1970s, so he has the long view on the subject. Better yet, he is adept in Chinese, Bahasa Indonesia and English, the three languages which enable him to note and decode the nuances and niceties of political shadow play between China and its neighbours. His book is required reading if one wants to grasp these fraught ties firmly."

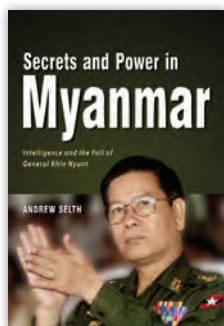


**Cheong Suk-Wai, *Straits Times*,
Lifestyle Section,
"China Blowing Hot and Cold",
28 March 2017**

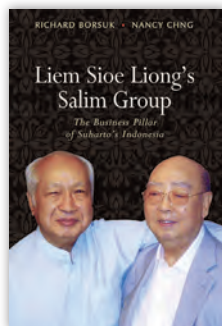


"This book is the best business history of a company or business group in Indonesia of the modern era. The product of eight years of meticulous research and writing, the story is told over 500 pages. This should not deter readers as the authors write in a non-academic style with the skill and verve of the veteran reporters that they are. Yet it is not just a business history. The authors have weaved several narratives into a coherent whole—a history of Indonesia through the life span of Liem Sioe Liong. This is the first major biography written of one of a small cohort of Chinese-Indonesian entrepreneurs who became economically powerful through the patronage system of Suharto's New Order period. Well documented and thoroughly researched, one hopes it will be a model for future biographies to be written of both Chinese-Indonesian and *pribumi*, or indigenous, Indonesian entrepreneurs. In the recounting of the narratives, the authors have done well to bring the history and the people involved to life. This is no small thing considering that common perspectives of those people, including Suharto and Liem, tend toward the stereotypical."

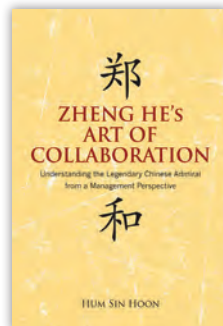
Jakarta Globe, Indonesia



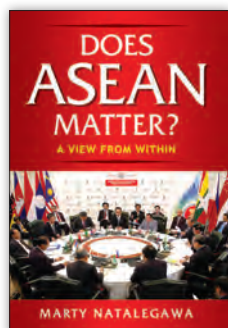
2019 : 248 pp : BM585
ISBN 978-981-4843-77-5 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-79-9 (EBK)



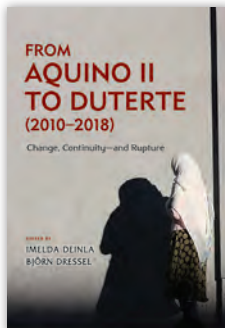
2014 : 574 pp : BM480
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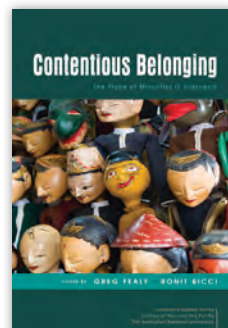
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ISBN 978-981-4379-67-0 (EBK)



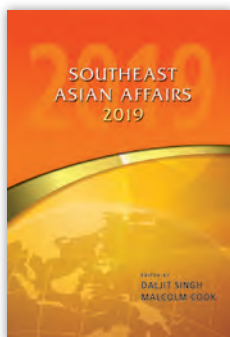
2018 : 258 pp : BM556
ISBN 978-981-4786-74-4 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-47-8675-1 (EBK)



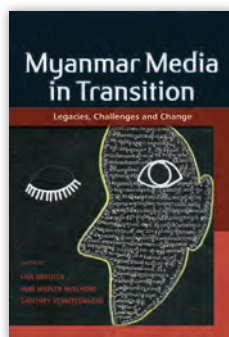
2019 : 324 pp : PIC269
ISBN 978-981-4843-28-7 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-29-4 (EBK)



2019 : 282 pp : BM578
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2019 : 407 pp : BM572
ISBN 978-981-4843-09-6 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-40-9 (EBK)



2019 : 452 pp : BM574
ISBN 978-981-4843-06-5 (SC)
ISBN 978-981-4843-10-2 (EBK)

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