

2019 – 2020 CATALOGUE

Economics • Politics • Social Issues

Bringing Southeast Asia to the World



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- 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 Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre (NSC), 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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Journals

Journal of Southeast Asian Economies

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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:

- Shujiro Urata
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- Lucía Morales and Bernadette Andreosso-O'Callaghan
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- Fok Kuk Fai, Cheng Ming Yu and Tan Hoi Piew
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- Iwan J. Azis ASEAN Economic Integration: Quo Vadis?
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- Peter Warr and Archanun Kohpaiboon Explaining Thailand's Automotive Manufacturing Success

Annual Subscription Rates

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Asia/Australia/NZ/Japan	US\$76	US\$140
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Journals

Contemporary Southeast Asia

Editorial Committee Chairperson: *Choi Shing Kwok* Editor: *Ian Storey* Associate Editor: *Le Hong Hiep* Editorial Committee: *Malcolm Cook, Mustafa Izzuddin, Le Hong Hiep*.

Editorial Committee: Malcolm Cook, Mustafa Izzuddin, 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 0.906 in Social Sciences Citation Index 2017 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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- Iris Chen Xuechen
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Singapore/Malaysia/Brunei	S\$87	S\$137
Asia/Australia/NZ/Japan	US\$59	US\$92
Europe/N&S America/Africa/ME	US\$71	US\$113

.lournals

SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia

Editorial Committee Chairperson: Choi Shing Kwok Managing Editor: Su-Ann Oh Book Review Editor: Beniamin Loh Production Editor: Stephen Logan Editorial Assistants: Gerard Wong and Arielene Wee Editors: Terence Chong. Magnus Fiskesiö. Hui Yew-Foong. Michael Montesano, Ooi Kee Beng, Thomas B, Pepinsky



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:

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- Rommel A. Curaming From Bitter Memories to Heritage-Making? The Jabidah Massacre and the Mindanao Garden of Peace
- Martin Großheim Đội mói in the Classroom? The Portraval of National and World History in Vietnamese Textbooks
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Annual Subscription Rates

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Singapore/Malaysia/Brunei	S\$80	S\$142
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Europe/N&S America/Africa/ME	US\$90	US\$167

Southeast Asian Affairs

Southeast Asian Affairs 2019

Daljit Singh, editor Senior Research Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malcolm Cook, editor Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

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Southeast Asia between the Great Powers by Leszek Buszynski

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Vietnam and Mekong cooperation mechanisms by Carl Thayer



Southeast Asian Affairs

Turning Points and Transitions: Selections from new Southeast Asian Affairs 1974–2018

Daljit Singh, editor

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

Malcolm Cook, editor

Senior Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

"For the last fifty years, ISEAS has been the "go to" place for students and scholars from all over the world seeking to develop a deeper knowledge of Southeast Asia. Since it first appeared in 1974, *Southeast Asian Affairs* has provided thoughtful and timely analysis of critical developments in the region annually. This carefully chosen collection of some of these essays authored over the years brilliantly maps out the contours of change and transformation that have shaped Southeast Asia's recent history, and captures the dynamism of this fascinating region."



Joseph Chinyong Liow, Dean, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences and Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University

"At a time when Southeast Asia is under-going rapid changes, this compilation of essays is a must-read for all those who seek to understand ASEAN and its member states. Southeast Asia is more than ASEAN and as an inter-state organization that works by consensus, ASEAN can do no more than what its members allow it to do."

Bilahari Kausikan, Chairman Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore and former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

"For the last fifty years, ISEAS has been the 'go to' place for students and scholars from all over the world seeking to develop a deeper knowledge of Southeast Asia. Since it first appeared in 1974, Southeast Asian Affairs has provided thoughtful and timely analysis of critical developments in the region annually. This carefully chosen collection of some of these essays authored over the years brilliantly maps out the contours of change and transformation that have shaped Southeast Asia's recent history, and captures the dynamism of this fascinating region."

> Joseph Chinyong Liow, Dean, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences and Dean, S.Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University,

2018 : 788 pp : BM571 ISBN 978-981-4843-07-2 (HC) \$\$89.90/U\$\$69.90 ISBN 978-981-4843-08-9 (EBK) \$\$72.00/U\$\$56.00

Economics

The Philippine Economy: No Longer the East Asian Exception?

Ramon L. Clarete, editor

Professor and former Dean, University of the Philippines School of Economics in Diliman, Quezon City.

Emmanuel F. Esguerra, editor

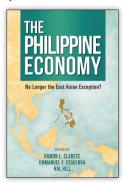
Professor of Economics, University of the Philippines School of Economics (UPSE).

Hal Hill, editor

H.W. Arndt Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian Economies, Australian National University.

In this volume, a leading group of scholars pose the question, has the Philippine economy rejoined the dynamic East Asian mainstream and, if

new



forthcoming

so, what set of policies and priorities are required to maintain the strong economic momentum of recent years? Successive chapters address issues related to growth and poverty, infrastructure and urbanization, education, health, the environment, energy, development finance, and governance and institutions. The book appeals to those in the broader development community with an interest in the analytical and policy challenges that democratic, middle-income countries face as they struggle to lift their citizens out of poverty and to achieve broad-based and environmentally sustainable growth.

2018 : 439 pp : PIC256 ISBN 978-981-4786-50-8 (SC) **\$\$49.90/U\$\$39.90** ISBN 978-981-4786-62-1 (EBK) **\$\$40.00/U\$\$32.00**

SMEs and Economic Integration in Southeast Asia

Cassey Lee, editor Senior Fellow, 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 in Southeast Asian countries. Though numerous in numbers compared to large firms, SMEs experience many disadvantages in participating in regional economic integration. This volume seeks to examine the challenges faced by SMEs in Southeast Asia in participating in the regional and global economy. It incorporates eight country studies based on primary data and four additional studies focusing on multinational enterprises (MNEs) operating in the region.

2019 : 610 pp : PIC263 ISBN 978-981-4818-78-0 (SC) ISBN 978-981-4818-79-7 (EBK) (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia)

Economics

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.

By any indicator, Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation on earth, is a development success story. Yet 20 years after a deep economic and political crisis, it is still in some respects an economy in transition. The country recovered from the 1997–98 crisis and navigated the path



from authoritarian to democratic rule surprisingly quickly and smoothly. It survived the 2008–09 global financial crisis and the end of the China-driven commodity super boom in 2014 with little difficulty. It is now embarking on its fifth round of credible national elections in the democratic era. It can reasonably expect to graduate to the upper middle-income ranks within a decade. But, as the 26 contributors to this comprehensive and compelling volume document, Indonesia also faces many daunting challenges — how to achieve faster economic growth along with more attention to environment sustainability, how to achieve more equitable development outcomes, how to develop and nurture stronger institutional foundations, and much else.

"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

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

Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi

Le Hong Hiep, editor

Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Anton Tsvetov, editor

An expert at the Foreign Policy and Security Division of the Center for Strategic Research (CSR), a Moscow-based think-tank.

This edited volume aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the multiple aspects and transformations of Vietnam's foreign policy over the past thirty years. The book is divided into three sections. The first covers the broader framework of Vietnam's foreign policymaking and the historical evolution of Vietnam's diplomacy under *Doi Moi*. The second examines Vietnam's bilateral relationships with its major partners, namely the United States, China, Japan, India, Russia, its smaller neighbours

(Cambodia and Laos), and ASEAN. Finally, the book looks into two major issues in Vietnam's current foreign policy: the management of the South China Sea disputes and the international economic integration process.

2018 : 294 pp : PIC260 ISBN 978-981-4818-14-8 (SC) **\$\$39.90/U\$\$29.90** ISBN 978-981-4818-15-5 (EBK) **\$\$32.00/U\$\$24.00**

Aspirations with Limitations: Indonesia's Foreign new Affairs under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

Ulla Fionna, editor

Visiting Fellow, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (2013–2018)

Siwage Dharma Negara, editor

Fellow & Assistant Coordinator, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

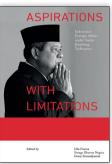
Deasy Simandjuntak, editor

Visiting Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

As the first directly elected Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) served at a crucial juncture in Indonesia's history.

Succeeding the three short presidencies of BJ Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri, his presidency had a lot to prove. While critical assessment of SBY's domestic policies have been undertaken, less attention has been paid to his foreign policy. This volume seeks to fill this gap by examining key foreign policy issues during SBY's tenure, including bilateral relations, Indonesia's involvement in international organizations, and pivotal issues such as international labour and terrorism. The book provides an assessment of the direction of his foreign policy and management style, paying particular attention to his concerns over Indonesia's right to lead.

2018 : 272 pp : PIC258 ISBN 978-981-4786-70-6 (SC) \$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4786-97-3 (EBK) \$\$29.00/U\$\$24.00





8

Myanmar Transformed? People, Places and Politics

Justine Chambers, editor

Associate Director, Myanmar Research Centre and a doctoral candidate, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University.

Gerard McCarthy, editor

Associate Director, Myanmar Research Centre and a doctoral candidate, Coral Bell School of Asia and Pacific Affairs, Australian National University.

Nicholas Farrelly, editor

Associate Dean, College of Asia and the Pacific and was previously Director, Myanmar Research Centre, Australian National University.

Chit Win, editor

PhD, Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University.

The triumph of Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy at the 2015 election was supposed to mark the consolidation of a reformist trajectory for Myanmar society. What has followed has not proved so straightforward. This book takes stock of the mutations, continuities and fractures at the heart of today's political and economic transformations

2018 : 333 pp : PIC262 ISBN 978-981-4818-53-7 (SC) S\$39.90/US\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-54-4 (HC) S\$49.90/US\$39.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-55-1 (EBK) S\$32.00/US\$24.00

ROK and ASEAN: Partners for Achieving Peace and Co-prosperity in East Asia

Moon Jae-in

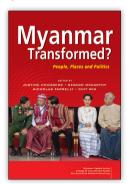
President of the Republic of Korea.

The Singapore Lecture is designed to provide an opportunity for distinguished statesmen and leaders of thought and knowledge to reach a wider audience in Singapore. The presence of such eminent personalities allows Singaporeans, especially younger executives and decision-makers in both the public and private sectors, the benefit of exposure to leading world figures who address topics of international and regional interest.

The 42nd Singapore Lecture was delivered by His Excellency Moon Jae-in, President of the Republic of Korea, on 13 July 2018 under the

distinguished Chairmanship of Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister and Coordinating Minister for National Security, Singapore.

2018 : 36 pp : PIC264 ISBN 978-981-4818-94-0 (SC) **\$\$19.90/U\$\$16.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-95-7 (EBK) \$\$16.00/U\$\$14.00**



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The 42nd Singapore Lecture Moon Jae-in





9

Democratic Transition in Myanmar: Challenges and the Way Forward

Aung San Suu Kyi

State Counsellor of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.

The Singapore Lecture is designed to provide an opportunity for distinguished statesmen and leaders of thought and knowledge to reach a wider audience in Singapore. The presence of such eminent personalities allows Singaporeans, especially younger executives and decision-makers in both the public and private sectors, the benefit of exposure to leading world figures who address topics of international and regional interest.

The 43rd Singapore Lecture was delivered by Her Excellency Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, State Counsellor of the Republic of the Union of

Myanmar, on 21 August 2018 under the distinguished Chairmanship of Mr Teo Chee Hean, Deputy Prime Minister and Coordinating Minister for National Security. Singapore.

2018 : 28 pp : PIC265 ISBN 978-981-4818-96-4 (SC) **\$\$19.90/U\$\$16.90** ISBN 978-981-4818-97-1 (EBK) **\$\$16.00/U\$\$14.00**

Special Relationship in the Malay World: Indonesia and Malaysia

Ho Ying Chan

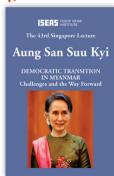
Assistant Professor, Faculty of Creative Industries, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR), Malaysia.

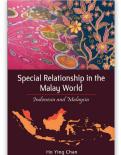
"Ho Ying Chan provides an expert analysis of Malaysia–Indonesia relations. He demystifies the concept of a 'special relationship', rescuing it from woolly, sentimental rhetoric that often emanates from political figures and popular commentators. His well-informed study shows how a state's will to survive in the amoral world of international relations drives its conduct even in circumstances of common identities and common strategic interests with other states. He evaluates comparative evidence to

shed light on how a special relationship leads to the emergence of a pluralistic security community. This is a conclusion of insight and value, not only to the field of Southeast Asian Studies, but also to the wider community of International Relations scholars."

Professor Clinton Fernandes, University of New South Wales, Australia

2018 : 432 pp : BM559 ISBN 978-981-4818-17-9 (SC) \$\$39.90/U\$\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-19-3 (EBK) \$\$32.00/U\$\$24.00







Dalley and the Malayan Security Service, 1945–48: MI5 vs. MSS

Leon Comber

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

This book fills an important gap in the history and intelligence canvas of Singapore and Malaya immediately after the surrender of the Japanese in August 1945. It deals with the establishment of the domestic intelligence service known as the Malayan Security Service (MSS), which was pan-Malayan covering both Singapore and Malaya, and the colourful and controversial career of Lieutenant Colonel John Dalley, the Commander of Dalforce in the WWII battle for Singapore and the post-war Director of MSS. It also documents the little-known rivalry between MI5 in London and MSS in Singapore, which led to the demise of the MSS and Dalley's retirement.

2018 : 157 pp : BM565 ISBN 978-981-4818-73-5 (SC) **\$\$24.90/U\$\$22.90** ISBN 978-981-4818-74-2 (EBK) **\$\$20.00/U\$\$19.00**

Catharsis: A Second Chance for Democracy in Malaysia

Ooi Kee Beng

Executive Director, Penang Institute.

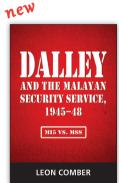
Malaysia pulled itself back from the brink on 9 May 2018. That day the majority of its voting population decided to topple the Barisan Nasional government that had been in power for over 60 years and that had come to be seen as corrupt beyond redemption, and incompetent to boot.

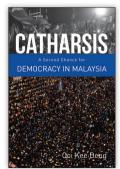
Lined up against the unpopular administration of Najib Razak was a coalition led by former strongman Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, who at the age of 92 had decided to return to Malaysian politics to stop the rot which many believed had begun during his earlier period in power, in 1981–2003. As the oldest prime minister in world history, he is now setting

about creating structure that he believes will lead to a Malaysia that will achieve the Vision 2020 that he first propounded in 1991. This vision dovetails with the ideals of the highly influential Reformasi Movement which was ignited by the sacking of his deputy, Anwar Ibrahim, in 1998.

This compilation of insightful analyses is Ooi Kee Beng's seventh, and discusses key events from the last five years leading up to 9 May 2018 and beyond. These seven books together cover the strange period we may come to know as the Inter-Mahathir Era, and the present volume discusses some of the challenges facing the new government, and the Malaysian population in general, now that the Barisan Nasional has imploded.

2018 : 223 pp : BM569 ISBN 978-981-4818-91-9 (SC) **\$\$25.90/U\$\$19.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-92-6 (EBK) \$\$21.00/U\$\$16.00** (*ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute / Strategic Information & Research Development Centre / Penang Institute*)





Indonesia in the New World: Globalisation, Nationalism and Sovereignty

Arianto A. Patunru, editor

Fellow, Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, and Policy Engagement Coordinator, Indonesia Project, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra.

Mari Pangestu, editor

Professor of International Economics, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

M. Chatib Basri, editor

Senior Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Globalisation is more complex than ever. The effects of the global financial

crisis and increased inequality have spurred anti-globalisation sentiment in many countries and encouraged the adoption of populist and inward-looking policies. This has led to some surprising results: Duterte, Brexit and Trump, to name a few. In Indonesia, the disappointment with globalisation has led to rising protectionism, a rejection of foreign interference in the name of nationalism, and economic policies dominated by calls for self-sufficiency. Meanwhile, human trafficking and the abuse of migrant workers show the dark side of globalisation.

 2018 : 336 pp : BM560

 ISBN 978-981-4818-22-3 (SC)

 ISBN 978-981-4818-28-5 (HC)

 S\$45.90/U\$\$38.90

 ISBN 978-981-4818-23-0 (EBK)

 S\$29.00/U\$\$24.00

The Post-Colonial Security Dilemma: Timor-Leste and the International Community

Rebecca Strating

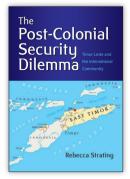
Lecturer in Politics, Department of Politics and Philosophy, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

This book examines the development of Timor-Leste's foreign policy since achieving political independence in 2002. It considers the influence of Timor-Leste's historical experiences with foreign intervention on how the small, new state has pursued security. The book argues that efforts to secure the Timorese state have been motivated by a desire to reduce foreign intervention and dependence upon other actors within the international community. The book examines Timor-Leste's key bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relations, its engagement with the

global normative order, and its place within the changing Asia-Pacific region.

new





After the Coup: The National Council for Peace and Order Era and the Future of Thailand

Michael J Montesano, editor

Coordinator, Thailand Studies Programme, and Co-Coordinator, Myanmar Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Terence Chong, editor

Deputy Director and Head, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Mark Heng Shu Xun, editor

Formerly Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

After the Coup brings together the work of a group of leading Thai intellectuals of several generations to equip readers to anticipate and understand the developments that lie ahead for Thailand. Contributors

offer findings and perspectives both on the disorienting period following the Thai coup of May 2014 and on fundamental challenges to the country and its institutions. Chapters address regionalism and decentralization, the monarchy and the military, the media, demography and the economy, the long-running violence in Southern Thailand, and a number of surprising social and political trends certain to shape the future of Thailand. The volume will serve as a valuable resource for all those concerned with that future.

2019 : 402 pp : BM573 ISBN 978-981-4818-98-8 (SC) **\$\$45.90/U\$\$38.90** ISBN 978-981-4843-05-8 (EBK) **\$\$37.00/U\$\$32.00**

Pursuing Open and Integrated Development for Shared Prosperity

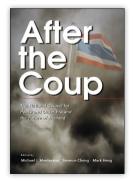
Li Keqiang

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

The Singapore Lecture is designed to provide an opportunity for distinguished statesmen and leaders of thought and knowledge to reach a wider audience in Singapore. The presence of such eminent personalities allows Singaporeans, especially younger executives and decision-makers in both the public and private sectors, the benefit of exposure to leading world figures who address topics of international and regional interest.

The 44th Singapore Lecture was delivered by His Excellency Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on 13 November 2018 under the distinguished Chairmanship of Mr Teo









Continuity & Changes after Indonesia's Reforms: Contributions to an Ongoing Assessment



Senior Visiting Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute.

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- 11. Youth 'Alienation' and New Radical Politics by Yatun Sastramidjaja

2019 : PIC267 ISBN 978-981-4843-22-5 (SC) ISBN 978-981-4843-23-2 (EBK)

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.

forthcoming

forthcoming

Björn Dressel, editor

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

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

Nanyang: Essays on Heritage

Wang Gungwu

Chairman, East Asian Institute; University Professor, National University of Singapore; and Emeritus Professor of the Australian National University.

This volume is a book of reflections and encounters about the region that the Chinese knew as Nanyang. The essays in it look back at the years of uncertainty after the end of World War II and explore the period largely through images of mixed heritages in Malaysia and Singapore. They also look at the trends towards social and political divisiveness following the years of decolonization in Southeast Asia. Never far in the background is the struggle to build new nations during four decades of an ideological Cold War and the Chinese determination to move from near-collapse in the 1940s and out of the traumatic changes of the Maoist revolution to become the powerhouse that it now is.

Tradition and Islamic Learning: Singapore Students in the Al-Azhar University

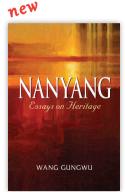
Norshahril Saat

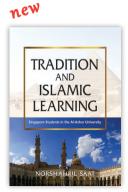
Fellow, Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS) Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

The Al-Azhar University remains the top destination for Southeast Asian students pursuing an Islamic studies degree. The university, built in the last millennium, has been able to withstand competition from modern universities across the globe and continues to produce influential Islamic studies graduates. What are the motivations of students pursuing a degree at Al-Azhar? What are the challenges they face? Are they certain of their future and career opportunities upon their return to Singapore? This book combines both qualitative and quantitative analysis of former

and current students at the Al-Azhar University. It not only hopes to develop more critical analysis of returning Al-Azhar graduates but also attempts to understand the deeper connections between Muslims in Southeast Asia, particularly Singapore, and the Middle East.







Pentecostal Megachurches in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Class, Consumption and the Nation

Terence Chong, editor

Deputy Director, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Head, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS.

Charismatic pastors, fast-paced worship sessions, inspirational but shallow theology, and large congregations — these are just some of the associated traits of Pentecostal megachurches. But what lies beneath the veneer of glitz? What are their congregations like? How did they grow so quickly? How have they managed to negotiate local and transnational challenges? This book seeks to understand the growth and popularity of independent Pentecostal megachurches in Southeast Asia. Using an ethnographic approach, the chapters examine Pentecostal

megachurches in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore. Each chapter dwells on the development of the megachurch set against the specific background of the country's politics and history.

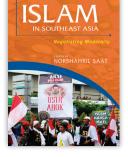
2018 : 243 pp : PIC257 ISBN 978-981-4786-88-1 (SC) \$\$35.90/US\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4786-89-8 (EBK) \$\$29.00/US\$24.00

Islam in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Modernity

Norshahril Saat, editor

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

"Islam in the Malay world of Southeast Asia or Islam Nusantara, as it has come to be known, had for a long time been seen as representing the more spiritual and Sufi dimension of Islam, thereby striking a balance between the exoteric and the esoteric. This image of 'the smiling face of Islam' has been disturbed during the last decades with increasing calls for the implementation of Shari'ah, conceived of in a narrow manner, intolerant discourse against non-Muslim communities, and hate speech against minority Muslims such as the Shi'ites. There has also been what some have referred to as the Salafization of Sunni Muslims in the region. The chapters of this volume are written by scholars and activists from the region who are very perceptive

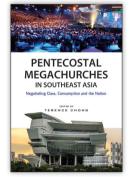


of such trends in Malay world Islam and promise to improve our understanding of developments that are sometimes difficult to grapple with."

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Professor Syed Farid Alatas, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

2018 : 252 pp : PIC259 ISBN 978-981-4786-99-7 (SC) \$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-00-1 (EBK) \$\$29.00/U\$\$24.00



new

The Lisu: Far from the Ruler

Michele Zack

An award-winning writer, journalist, and historian whose work has been twice recognized by the American Society of State and Local History.

This first-ever book about the Lisu brings their ironic worldview to life through vivid, often amusing accounts of individuals, communities, regions, and practices. One of the smallest and last groups of stateless people, and the most egalitarian of all Southeast Asian highland minorities, the Lisu have not only survived extremes at the crossroads of civil wars, the drug trade, and state-sponsored oppression but adapted to modern politics and technology without losing their identity.

The Lisu: Far from the Ruler weaves a lively narrative that condenses humanity's transition from border-free tribal groupings into today's nationstates and global market economy. Journalist and historian Michele Zack

first encountered the Lisu in the 1980s and conducted research and fieldwork among them in the 1990s. In 2014 she again travelled extensively in tribal areas of Thailand, Myanmar, and China, documenting the transformative changes of globalization. Some Lisu have adopted successful new urban occupations in business and politics, while most continue to live as agriculturists "far from the ruler."

2018 : 349 pp : BM564 ISBN 978-981-4818-58-2 (SC) **\$\$35.90/U\$\$28.90**

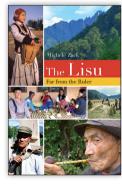
The Other Ladies of Myanmar

Jennifer Rigby

An award-winning British journalist who lived and worked in Yangon, Myanmar in 2015 and 2016. She specializes in women's rights, social affairs and people stories.

In Myanmar, Aung San Suu Kyi is often not called by her name. Instead, she is just "The Lady", an honorific nickname that signifies her place in the collective imagination of her country. And from global human rights icon to Myanmar's de facto leader, she is certainly a towering figure. But The Lady's reputation has only tarnished in recent years in the face of the persecution of her country's Rohingya minority. In this new book, we present some of Myanmar's other ladies: women from across the social spectrum who are changing their country, and its perceptions of gender, from the ground up. From the artist who defied the junta to hand out

sanitary towels at her exhibition, to the Muslim campaigner who has already spent a quarter of her life in prison; from the feminist Buddhist nun to the pop star who gets called a whore for performing; these are the voices of *The Other Ladies of Myanmar*.



new



"We Love Mr King": Malay Muslims of Southern Thailand in the Wake of the Unrest

Anusorn Unno

Dean and Associate Professor in Anthropology, Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat Univerity, Thailand.

This book is an ethnography of the Malay Muslims of Guba, a pseudonymous village in Thailand's Deep South, in the wake of the unrest that was primarily reinvigorated in 2004. It argues that the unrest is the effect of the way in which different forms of sovereignty converge around the residents of this region and the residents at the same time have cultivated themselves and obtained and enacted agency through the sovereigns. Rather than asking why the violence is increasing and who is behind it, like most scholarly works on the topic, it examines how different forms of

sovereignty — ranging from the Thai state and the monarchy to Islamic religious movements, the insurgents and local strongmen — impose subjectivities on the residents. The phrase "We Love Mr King" or *rao rak nay luang* inscribed on the decorated, footed tray is one example of how the residents crafted themselves as royal subjects and enacted agency through the sovereign monarch.

2019 : 258 pp : BM558 ISBN 978-981-4818-11-7 (SC) **\$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90** ISBN **978-981-4818-12-4 (EBK) \$\$29.00/U\$\$24.00**

The Elderly Must Endure: Ageing in the Minangkabau Community in Modern Indonesia

Rebecca Fanany

Lecturer, School of Health, Medical and Applied Sciences, Central Queensland University in Melbourne, Australia.

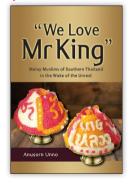
Ismet Fanany

Professor of Language and Society, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University in Melbourne.

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has experienced decades of rapid social change that have affected every area of life and have reached even the most remote parts of the country. The impact on the experience of the population has been equally significant, especially for those individuals who are over the age of 60 today and have lived through much of this period. This book concerns older members of the

Minangkabau ethnic group, one of Indonesia's many local cultures. The Minangkabau have an ancient matrilineal social structure that is embodied in their local law and customs (*adat*) and that, in the view of many Minangkabau, is under increasing pressure in the modern context.

2019 : 309 pp : BM563 ISBN 978-981-4818-46-9 (SC) **\$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90** ISBN **978-981-4818-47-6 (EBK) \$\$29.00/U\$\$24.00**







new

The State, Ulama and Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia

Norshahril Saat

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

In response to the Islamic resurgence of the 1970s and beyond, the Suharto (1966–1998) and Mahathir (1981–2003) governments undertook massive Islamisation programmes in Indonesia and Malaysia respectively. This included co-opting influential religious scholars into state-sponsored institutions. In 1975, Suharto formed the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI); while in the 1980s, Mahathir upgraded the Malaysian National Fatwa Council (JKFMKI), JAKIM (Department of Islamic Development Malaysia) and IKIM (Malaysian Institute for Islamic Understanding). The 'official' ulamas — the religious scholars who

participated in these institutions — were expected to support the states' ideologies in exchange for reward and recognition. *The State, Ulama and Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia* examines the extent to which official ulamas in contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia capitalised on their co-optation to 'capture' the states.

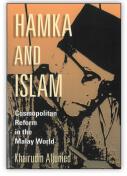
2018 : 254 pp : BM566 ISBN 978-981-4818-83-4 (SC) **\$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90**

Hamka and Islam: Cosmopolitan Reform in the Malay World

Khairudin Aljunied

Associate Professor, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore.

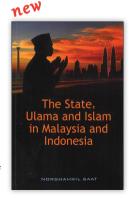
Since the early twentieth century, Muslim reformers have been campaigning for a total transformation of the ways in which Islam is imagined in the Malay world. One of the most influential is the author Haji Abdul Malik bin Abdul Karim Amrullah, commonly known as Hamka. In *Hamka and Islam*, Khairudin Aljunied employs the term "cosmopolitan reform" to describe Hamka's attempt to harmonize the many streams of Islamic and Western thought while posing solutions to the various challenges facing Muslims. Among the major themes Aljunied explores are reason and revelation, moderation and extremism, social justice, the



new

state of women in society, and Sufism in the modern age, as well as the importance of history in reforming the minds of modern Muslims. Aljunied argues that Hamka demonstrated intellectual openness and inclusiveness toward a whole range of thoughts and philosophies to develop his own vocabulary of reform, attesting to Hamka's unique ability to function as a conduit for competing Islamic and secular groups.

2018 : 139 pp : BM567 ISBN 978-981-4818-84-1 (SC) **\$\$29.90/US\$16.90**



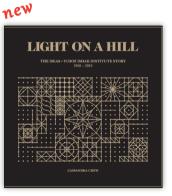
Light on a Hill: The ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute Story 1968-2018

Cassandra Chew

Ex-civil servant, Centre for Strategic Futures in Strategy Group, Prime Minister's Office; ex-journalist, The Straits Times.

This book commemorates ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute's achievements over the past 50 years. It illustrates the Institute's many changes and phases of development, under the illustrious leadership and staff at every level – board of trustees, directors, researchers and support staff.

The title of the book is derived from a quote by Prof Hal Hill, H W Arndt Professor Emeritus of Southeast Asian Economies at the Australian National University and former



ISEAS International Advisory Panel member. In an article on the Institute for a 2015 publication, he described ISEAS as a "light on a hill", saying: "I look forward to many more decades of ISEAS as a vital and uniquely important regional and global public good. There is still nothing else like it in the world, and the mission statement is as relevant today as it was at the time of its founding."

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2018 : 287 pp : BM570 ISBN 978-981-4843-04-1 (HC) **\$\$49.90/U\$\$39.90**

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new

ISEAS at 50: Understanding Southeast Asia Past and Present

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong

Prime Minister of Singapore.

Professor Wang Gungwu

National University of Singapore (NUS) University Professor; Emeritus Professor of Australian National University (ANU); Chairman of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute Board since 2002.

Professor Leonard Y. Andaya

Yusof Ishak Professor, Social Sciences, National University of Singapore; Professor of Southeast Asian History, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

2018 marks the 50th anniversary of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, as it was then called, was established

in 1968 by then Deputy Prime Minister Dr Goh Keng Swee in order to enable the newly independent city-state better understand the region and its complexities.

This book presents three public lectures given to commemorate the Institute's Golden Anniversary. Collectively, these three public lectures exhort ISEAS to continuously reflect on its research agenda, the region, as well as the contemporary landscape and challenges it has to operate in.

2018 : 84 pp : PIC266 ISBN 978-981-4818-99-5 (HC) **\$\$25.90/U\$\$22.90** ISBN **978-981-4843-00-3 (EBK) \$\$21.00/U\$\$19.00**

The Future of Philippine Agriculture under a Changing Climate: Policies, Investments and Scenarios

Mark W. Rosegrant, editor

Research Fellow Emeritus in the Director General's Office; former Director of the Environment and Production Technology Division, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) Washington, D.C.

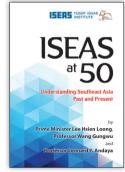
Mercedita A. Sombilla, editor

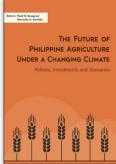
Assistant Secretary, Regional Development Office, National Economic and Development Authority, Manila.

The Philippine economy has grown rapidly since 2010, but despite this growth, poverty and inequality remain high. Two-thirds of the poor live in rural areas, and the weak performance of the agriculture sector has contributed

to the slow improvement in livelihoods. The challenge for agriculture will further increase, with climate change posing a growing threat to the sector. But agricultural transformation to spur sustained growth and reduce poverty is still possible under climate change with aggressive institutional reforms and implementation of the right mix of policies and programmes.

2019 : 590 pp : PIC261 ISBN 978-981-4818-35-3 (SC) \$\$55.90/U\$\$45.90 ISBN 978-981-4818-36-0 (EBK) \$\$44.00/U\$\$36.00 (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute/NEDA/CCAFS/PIM)







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

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- 20. Counter-Narratives: Myanmar's Digital Media Activists by Sarah Oh
- Epilogue: Media Studies in Myanmar where do we go from here? *by Lisa Brooten, Jane Madlyn McElhone and Gayathry Venkiteswaran*

2019 : BM572 ISBN 978-981-4843-09-6 (SC) ISBN **978-981-4843-10-2 (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).

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Logistics Development in ASEAN: Complex Challenges Ahead

Tham Siew Yean Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Sanchita Basu Das

Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (2005-2018).

Growing urbanization, increasing trade and investment due to integration, and emerging new business models like e-commerce are accelerating the demand for efficient logistics in each ASEAN country.

The logistics sector is inherently complex due to its scope, ranging from physical infrastructure covering four modes of transport, customs,

and services. Each of these sub-sectors is regulated by different government agencies, leading to complex challenges in each country's logistics sector.

Policymaking has a tendency to be done piecemeal rather than integratively, while a more or less fragmented governance structure impedes implementation. ASEAN liberalization commitments focusses on raising the cap on foreign equity, while regulatory reform remains untouched. Also, flexibility offered in these commitments allows for non-compliance.

2018 : 36 pp : TRS1/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-07-0 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia in Johor: New Party, Big Responsibility

Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Chief Executive, Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Malaysia.

Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM) was officially launched on 14 January 2017, led by prominent personalities including former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, former Deputy Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin, and former Kedah Chief Minister Mukhriz Mahathir.

Upon establishment, the party immediately announced that they are aiming to win the southern state of Johor in the upcoming general election. Historically, UMNO splinter parties have never been able to threaten UMNO in this state. Since independence, Johor has always been seen as an UMNO bastion.

PPBM has moved quickly to establish themselves in all parliamentary and state constituencies in Johor, however, and it has been rather successful in attracting support from those aged below 35. Their key challenge remains the rural and female voters.

2018 : 52 pp : TRS2/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-09-4 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**





GE-14 in Johor: The Fall of the Fortress?

Francis E. Hutchinson

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

Johor is a key battleground in Malaysia's 14th General Elections. The state is economically vital to the country: it is the birthplace of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO); and it has a large number of parliamentary seats.

Johor-specific dynamics that have worked to the advantage of the ruling coalition include: UMNO's unique links with the state; the tight control over religion; and the phenomenal scale and success of the Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA) scheme.



Despite these advantages, support for the ruling coalition has been slipping across the state. Furthermore, the emergence of new parties such as Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM) will challenge Barisan Nasional's control over Johor's rural and Malay heartland.

The redelineation of parliamentary and state constituencies now underway is however likely to benefit BN, and recent survey data indicate that Johoreans are yet to be attracted to the reconfigured opposition coalition, Pakatan Harapan.

2018 : 42 pp : TRS3/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-20-9 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

EduCity, Johor: A Promising Project with Multiple Challenges to Overcome

Chang-Da Wan

Senior Lecturer, National Higher Education Institute, Universiti Sains Malaysia, and Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Education, Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan.

Benedict Weerasena

Economist, Bait Al-Amanah, Malaysia.

EduCity, built as an integrated learning hub, is a constituent part of Malaysia's general programme to enhance its reputation as a regional centre for higher education.

Located in Iskandar Malaysia, Johor, on a 305-acre catalyst development housing seven higher education institutions, EduCity aims to become a best-in-class higher education destination and at the same time provide talent to support economic activities in Iskandar Malaysia.

With over 3,500 students currently enrolled, EduCity is moving towards its goal of having 16,000 students by 2025. Its proximity to Singapore and Kuala Lumpur provides it with a large population of potential students, although attracting academic staff to work there remains a challenge

2018 : 21 pp : TRS4/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-29-2 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**



Accidental and Intentional Exporters: Comparing Indonesian and Malaysian MSMEs

Tham Siew Yean Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Tulus Tambunan

Professor, Economics and Director, Center for Industry, SME and Business Competition Studies, Trisakti University, Indonesia.

Regardless of the size of the domestic economy, there are ample reasons for firms to extend their markets beyond home shores. These include increasing sales, improving profits, diversifying risks, reaping economies of scale, matching the moves of competitors, enhancing competitiveness or accessing government incentives.



Both Indonesia and Malaysia seek to enhance the competitiveness of their micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) by including internationalization goals in their respective national development plans for these enterprises.

2018 : 34 pp : TRS5/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-31-5 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Reconciling Economic and Environmental Imperatives in Batam

Lee Poh Onn

Senior Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Batam's economic transformation has been accompanied by a marked degradation of its natural environment. Enforcement to protect the environment has often been inadequate on many fronts, exacerbated by population increases.

Though regulations exist for the provision of public amenities like wastewater and sewerage treatment, existing facilities are run-down and ill-equipped to cope with the present demands.



The capacity of reservoirs to meet the present demand for water is also strained because of the large population base, with illegal intrusion and squatters further threatening supplies.

Economic and environmental imperatives can be reconciled if more emphasis and resources are put into enforcing regulations and protecting the environment.

2018 : 40 pp : TRS6/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-33-9 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

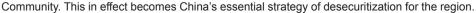
Chinese Capitalism and Economic Integration in Southeast Asia

Yos Santasombat

Professor of Anthropology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, and Senior Research Scholar, Thailand Research Fund.

China's rise exerts a powerful pull on ASEAN economies and constitutes an impetus for a resinicization of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia.

China has become a skilled practitioner of "commercial diplomacy", and as long as it continues to lead the way in regional integration, China's state-led capitalism will seek to integrate itself into the ASEAN Economic



With increasing trade and investment between China and ASEAN countries, the ethnic Chinese economic elites have managed to serve as "connectors and bridges" between the two sides, and benefited in the process from joint ventures and business investments. The impact of new Chinese Capitalism on SMEs, however, has not been equally positive.

2018 : 29 pp : TRS7/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-38-4 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

The Rise and Decline of Labour Militancy in Batam

Max Lane

Senior Visiting Fellow, Indonesia Studies Programme, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore and Visiting Lecturer, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Gajah Mada University.

Over the past two decades, trade union activity in Batam has been heavily influenced by regional demographics, employment conditions and the prevalent political scenario.

Following the end of the New Order in 1998, the single stateauthorized union was fragmented, giving rise to a number of new



enterprise unions. Batam's young and diverse immigrant population, with no pre-existing loyalties to particular trade unions, made it a hotspot for industrial relations activities.

Low and stagnant workers' wages throughout Indonesia and outbreak of social unrest resulted in the formation of three strong national-level unions: FSPMI, KSPSI and the KSBSI. By the mid-2000s, these unions were also active in Batam.

2018 : 26 pp : TRS8/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-43-8 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**



Malaysia's General Elections 2018: Understanding the Rural Vote

Serina Rahman

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

This study was carried out in Johor and Kedah through a combination of focus groups, formal and informal interviews and long-term ethnographic participant observation. Johor was selected for this study because it is the birthplace and long-time bastion of UMNO while Kedah was of interest because of the Mahathir family legacy in the state. The study shows that the rural vote is not homogeneous; views and perceptions that could lead to electoral action differ between regions, ages and genders.



Daily survival and rising costs of living are the key common issues that were raised across all regions. The importance of Malay rights and the priority of Islam are also important to the rural voter. Another common problem mentioned is that of the middleman who prevents allocated funds or financial assistance from reaching the average rural resident.

2018 : 37 pp : TRS9/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-49-0 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

GE14: Will Urban Malays Support Pakatan Harapan?

Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Chief Executive, Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS), Malaysia.

In Malaysia's last general election, urban voters tended to support the opposition coalition — 72 of the 97 urban parliamentary seats were in fact won by it. However, most of these seats have a mixed demography, with a high percentage of ethnic Chinese voters.



In the upcoming general election, Pakatan has a good chance of winning the federal government if Malay voters join their Chinese counterparts in supporting the opposition coalition. A subsequent so-called "Malay tsunami" could lead to a Pakatan victory.

This present study, which is based on a series of focus group discussions held in the Malaysian states of Kedah and Johor, finds that urban Malay voters are very unhappy with the economic condition of the country and are also worried about corruption.

But despite their grouses, they are still uncertain about supporting the opposition coalition due to the fear of losing the race-based privileges they enjoy as ethnic Malays.

2018 : 31 pp : TRS10/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-51-3 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Indonesia and China's Belt and Road Initiatives: Perspectives, Issues and Prospects

Siwage Dharma Negara

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

Leo Suryadinata

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

For Indonesia, which is keen to accelerate its infrastructure development, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is seen as an opportunity to tap into China's huge financial resources and technological capability.



There has however been no concrete BRI project agreed to between China and Indonesia so far. While China considers all projects, including infrastructure projects and economic interactions as part of BRI, Indonesia only considers those infrastructure projects initiated during the Xi Jinping period as BRI projects.

Indonesia has offered several broad areas for cooperation under the BRI framework and carefully selected project locations to minimize political risk for the Joko Widodo government. But no agreements have been signed yet as China requires detailed project proposals from Indonesia, which it has apparently not received.

What appears to hamper progress are four key issues: the perception of China's economic domination, the ethnic Chinese issue, the Natuna issue, and the mainland Chinese workers issue.

2018 : 41 pp : TRS11/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-59-9 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Living on the Edge: Being Malay (and Bugis) in the Riau Islands

Andrew M. Carruthers

Associate Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

In Indonesia's Riau Islands Province — a place envisioned as a distinctly "Malay Province" upon its legal formation in 2002 — ethnic Malays are the proud heirs and custodians of a rich legacy associated with a oncesprawling Malay empire that stretched across present-day transnational borders from Indonesia, to Singapore, to Malaysia.

Malays of Bugis descent have long played a disproportionately central role in the history (and the historiography or "history-telling") of



the region that now encompasses Indonesia's Riau Islands Province. While steadfastly "Malay", members of this community readily acknowledge that their ethnically Bugis roots maintain an enduring historical and ideological salience in their everyday lives.

However, transregional economic trends and rapid sociodemographic shift shaped by ongoing migration flows have led to feelings of "marginalization" (*peminggiran*) among the islands' Malay-Bugis community.

2018 : 54 pp : TRS12/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-61-2 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

The "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" and Implications for ASEAN

John Lee

Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. and United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney,

In recent times, the United States, Japan and Australia have all promoted extremely similar visions of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific as the central organizing concept to guide their efforts in the region. The concept is essentially a reaffirmation of the security and economic rules-based order which was cobbled together after the Second World War - especially as it relates to freedom of the regional and global commons such as



sea, air and cyberspace, and the way nations conduct economic relations.

Be that as it may, the Free and Open Indo-Pacific is an updated vision of collective action to defend, strengthen and advance that order. It signals a greater acceptance by the two regional allies of the U.S. of their security burden and takes into account the realities of China's rise and the relative decline in dominance of the U.S.

2018:34 pp:TRS13/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-63-6 (SC) S\$9.00/US\$7.00

Pancasila and the Challenge of Political Islam: Past and Present

Leo Survadinata

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

Islam has become an important symbol in post-Suharto Indonesia, and political figures or parties feel they cannot afford to be seen to be against the religion or be considered unfriendly to it.

Islamism emerges to challenge Pancasila (or cultural pluralism) again. Islamists already challenged Pancasila soon after Indonesian independence. But during that initial era under Sukarno, this challenge was already under control. Under Suharto, Pancasila as an ideology



was effectively used to govern Indonesia, and political Islam was suppressed. However, Suharto began to co-opt Islamic political leaders during the last decade of his rule.

Religious Islam grew significantly during the Suharto era and would gradually transform itself into political Islam after Suharto's fall. Nevertheless, the electoral strength of "Islamic political parties" remained relatively low.

2018 : 20 pp : TRS14/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-67-4 (SC) S\$9.00/US\$7.00

State Formation in Riau Islands Province

Mulya Amri

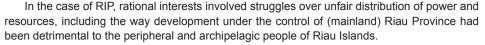
Research Fellow, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore.

Faizal Rianto

Lecturer, Raja Haji College of Social and Political Science.

The formation of the Riau Islands Province (RIP) in 2002 is argued to be part of a broader trend of *pemekaran* (blossoming) that saw the creation of seven new provinces and more than 100 new districts throughout Indonesia after the fall of the New Order.

This article argues that the main motivation for these subnational movements was a combination of rational interests and cultural sentiments.



2018 : 41 pp : TRS15/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-65-0 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Developing Eastern Johor: The Pengerang Integrated Petroleum Complex

Serina Rahman

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

The Pengerang Integrated Petroleum Complex (PIPC) is a huge development that has emerged on the east coast of Johor. Comprising Petronas' largest refinery facility and numerous ancillary and supporting industrial areas, it is pegged to diversify Malaysia's petrochemical industry and reap the benefits of the area's fortunate position on international maritime trade routes.



While initial responses to the PIPC development were of concern for Singapore's oil and gas business, the island-nation's long reputation and position in the industry means that the PIPC has some steep learning curves to traverse before coming on par with its southerly neighbour. However, the PIPC is likely to provide a solution to Singapore's limitations in terms of costly services and limited land space. It may also rejuvenate an industry now seen by some SMEs to be somewhat stagnant.

2018 : 48 pp : TRS16/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-69-8 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**



The Private Healthcare Sector in Johor: Trends and Prospects

Meghann Ormond

Associate Professor in Cultural Geography, Wageningen University, The Netherlands.

Lim Chee Han

Senior Analyst, Penang Institute, Malaysia.

The future of the private healthcare in Johor and in the Iskandar Malaysia (IM) special economic zone in particular is intimately tied to larger property developments and trends in the region, both because private healthcare developers are increasingly the same as property developers

and because IM's future population growth relies heavily on corporate settlement in IM and the jobs that such settlement generates. Volatility in corporate investment and settlement in IM may have significant consequences for the sector's development.

The Federal and Johor State Governments intend to turn IM into a world-class private healthcare destination for local residents and foreign visitors alike. A range of strategies and policies have been launched to develop IM's medical care, aged care, and lifestyle and well-being sectors.

It is essential to track the impact of federal and regional fiscal incentives for private healthcare development and monitor actual demand for private sector capacity in order to assess the value and utility of such incentives, especially given the potential for such incentives policies to promote the generation of excessive private sector hospital and clinical capacity if left unchecked.

2018 : 47 pp : TRS17/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-71-1 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

U.S. Relations with Southeast Asia in 2018: More Continuity Than Change

David Shambaugh

Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute (June-July 2018). Gaston Sigur Professor of Asian Studies, Political Science & International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

The United States maintains a comprehensive and robust presence throughout Southeast Asia that has grown dramatically since the 1980s. It includes the commercial, security, education and diplomatic, and other domains. America's strengths and contributions to the region lie

particularly in both hard and soft power, but the U.S. economic footprint is both broad and deep. However, this presence is not very well appreciated or reported by regional media — whereas China's presence and influence is pervasive. Most Southeast Asian governments are often reluctant to recognize or publicize the U.S. presence or contributions to regional security, stability, and growth.

2018 : 27 pp : TRS18/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-76-6 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**





Agriculture in Johor: What's Left?

Geoffrey Kevin Pakiam

Fellow, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Despite decades of industrialization, Johor remains an agricultural powerhouse.

The state is Peninsular Malaysia's largest contributor to agricultural gross domestic product, and its official agricultural productivity is Malaysia's third highest.

Johor's agricultural strengths lie primarily in product specialization, namely the farming of oil palms, various fruits and vegetables, poultry, pigs, cut flowers, and ornamental fish.

Johor's production clusters have taken decades, if not centuries, to build up their regional dominance. Urbanization, often blamed for diminishing agriculture's importance, has actually helped drive Johor's farm growth, even until the present day.

2018 : 46 pp : TRS19/18 ISBN 978-981-4818-81-0 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

Electoral Politics and the Malaysian Chinese Association in Johor

Lee Hock Guan

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

Nicholas Chan

Currently a PhD student, University of Cambridge and former Research Officer, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Like the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) was known for having its bastion in Johor, with the state containing the highest number of parliamentary seats contested and won by the party.

Two features of the MCA stand out: (1) its relative resilience in that its near elimination in other states since 2008 did not occur in Johor until the recent 14th General Elections, and (2) that most MCA presidents had some connections to Johor, either as having been born in Johor, contested in a Johor constituency, been chairman of the Johor state liaison committee, or a combination of three.

Although historical institutional linkages such as the New Villages and the Chinese guilds and associations (CGAs) gave the MCA a strong footing in Johor initially, changing political and socioeconomic circumstances gradually eroded the party's support among the Johorean Chinese.

As it began to lose appeal as an individual party, the MCA Johor had to depend on a strategy of mixed voter pooling so that the significant loss of support from the Chinese could be compensated for by the Malay electorate that was until recently highly supportive of the Barisan Nasional (BN).

2018 : 38 pp : TRS20/18 ISBN 978-981-4843-18-8 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**





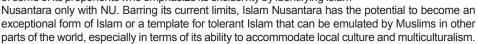
Islam Nusantara as a Promising Response to Religious Intolerance and Radicalism

Ahmad Najib Burhani

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

The Indonesian government has tried to defeat terrorist groups and uproot radicalism, both through military and cultural-ideological approaches. The recent attack at Mako Brimob Depok, West Java, and the bombing in Surabaya, East Java, however, have shown that radical Islam and terrorist groups are not defeated yet.

The introduction of Islam Nusantara is further hampered by the attitude of some of its proponents who emphasize its exclusivity by identifying Islam



2018 : 29 pp : TRS21/18 ISBN 978-981-4843-20-1 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**

The Perak Sultanate: Transitioning into the 21st Century

Barbara Watson Andaya

Professor of Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i, Manoa and former Visiting Senior Fellow, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Although Dr Mahathir Mohamad's earlier government (1981–2003) limited the powers and privileges of Malaysia's nine hereditary rulers, the political influence that they could exercise was still evident in the "Perak Crisis" of 2009, which also generated public debate about royal rights.

In recent years, public wariness in Malaysia about politicians has helped the rulers present themselves as alternative sources of authority.

"Monarchical activism" has been especially evident in the state of Perak, dating from 1984 when Sultan Azlan Muhibbuddin Shah, who was until then Malaysia's Lord President, was installed as the thirty-fourth ruler. In 2014, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sultan Nazrin Muizzuddin Shah.

Sultan Nazrin Shah has presented himself as a modern, educated and approachable ruler who consistently endorses the rule of law and is aware that public support for the monarch is highly dependent on meeting expectations in regard to ethical conduct and good governance.

This paper argues that although Sultan Azlan Shah and Sultan Nazrin Shah have embraced the idea of a "new" Malaysian monarchy that actively responds to changing political and social contexts, two issues with especial relevance to the situation today can be tracked through the history of Perak's royal line since its inception in the sixteenth century. The first, arguably now of lesser importance, concerns royal succession. The second issue, still highly important, involves the ruler's relationships with non-royal officials and with elected representatives and the public at large.

2018 : 47 pp : TRS22/18 ISBN 978-981-4843-34-8 (SC) **\$\$9.00/U\$\$7.00**





ASEAN Studies Centre



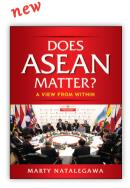
The ASEAN Studies Centre is devoted to research on issues that pertain to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an institution and a process. Through research, conferences, consultations, and publications, the Centre seeks to illuminate ways of promoting ASEAN's purposes of political 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.

Does ASEAN Matter? A View from Within

Marty Natalegawa

Former Foreign Minister of Indonesia and Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

Written by the highly regarded diplomat Marty Natalegawa, former ambassador and foreign minister of Indonesia, this book offers a unique insider-perspective on the present and future relevance of ASEAN. It is about ASEAN's quest for security and prosperity in a region marked by complex dynamics of power. Namely, the interplay of relations and interests among countries — large and small — which provide the settings within which ASEAN must deliver on its much-cited leadership and centrality in the region. The book seeks to answer the following questions: How can ASEAN build upon its past contributions to the



peace, security and prosperity of Southeast Asia, to the wider East Asia, the Asia-Pacific and the Indo-Pacific regions? More fundamentally and a sine qua non, how can ASEAN continue to ensure that peace, security and prosperity prevail in Southeast Asia? And, equally central, how can ASEAN become more relevant to the peoples of ASEAN, such that its contributions can be genuinely felt in making better the lives of its citizens?

Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre



The Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, pursues research on historical interactions among Asian societies and civilisations. It serves as a forum for comprehensive study of the ways in which Asian polities and societies have interacted over time through religious, cultural, and economic exchanges and diasporic networks. The Centre also offers innovative strategies for examining the manifestations of hybridity, convergence and mutual learning in a globalising Asia. It sees the following as it main aims:

- To develop the 'Nalanda idea' of building for contemporary Asia an appreciation of Asian achievements and mutual learning, as exemplified by the cosmopolitan Buddhist centre of learning in Nalanda, as well as the 'Sriwijaya idea' of Southeast Asia as a place of mediation and linkages among the great civilisations.
- 2. To encourage and develop skills needed to understand the civilisations of Asia and their interrelationships.
- 3. To build regional research capacities and infrastructure for the study of the historical interactions among the civilisations and societies of Asia.

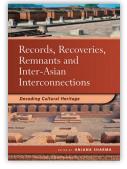
Records, Recoveries, Remnants and Inter-Asian Interconnections: Decoding Cultural Heritage

Anjana Sharma, editor

Associate Professor in the Department of English, and Founding Dean, Academic Planning, Nalanda University (2011–15).

Records, Recoveries, Remnants and Inter-Asian Interconnections: Decoding Cultural Heritage has its conceptual core the inter-regional networks of Nalanda Mahavihara and its unique place in the Asian imaginary. The revival of Nalanda university in 2010 as a symbol of a shared inter-Asian heritage is this collection's core narrative. The multidisciplinary essays interrogate ways in which ideas, objects, texts, and travellers have shaped — and in turn have been shaped by —





changing global politics and the historical imperative that underpins them.

The essays in this collection offer critical, scholarly, and nuanced views on the vexed questions of regional and inter-regional dynamics, of racial politics and their flattening hegemonic discourses in relation to the rich tangible and intangible heritage that defines an interconnected Asia.

2018 : 285 pp: NSC27 ISBN 978-981-4786-41-6 (SC) \$\$39.90/U\$\$29.90 ISBN 978-981-4786-42-3 (EBK) \$\$32.00/U\$\$24.00

Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre

Traces of the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Javanese and Malay Literature

Ding Choo Ming, editor

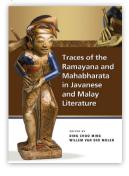
Professor Emeritus of Malay Literature, National University of Malaysia.

Willem van der Molen, editor

Senior Researcher, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden and Adjunct-Professor of Philology and Old Javanese, University of Indonesia.

Local renderings of the two Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata in Malay and Javanese literature have existed since around the ninth and tenth centuries. In the following centuries new versions were created alongside the old ones, and these opened up interesting new directions. They questioned the views of previous versions and laid different accents, in a continuous process of modernization and adaptation, successfully satisfying the curiosity of their audiences for more than a thousand years.





The present volume, going beyond identifying sources, analyses the socio-literary contexts and ideological foundations of seemingly similar contents and concepts in different periods; it examines the literary functions of borrowing and intertextual referencing, and calls upon the visual arts to illustrate the independent character of the epic tradition in Southeast Asia.

2018 : 229 pp : NSC28 ISBN 978-981-4786-57-7 (SC) **\$\$35.90/U\$\$29.90** ISBN 978-981-4786-58-4 (EBK) **\$\$29.00/U\$\$24.00**

Imagining Asia(s): Networks, Actors, Sites

Andrea Acri, editor

Maître de Conférences in Tantric Studies, École pratique des hautes études in Paris since Fall 2016.

Kashshaf Ghani, editor Assistant Professor, School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University.

Murari K. Jha, editor

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, History Department, National University of Singapore.

Sraman Mukherjee, editor

Assistant Professor, School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University (Rajgir, India).

As a continent lying to the east of Europe, Asia has been malleable to different spatial and temporal imaginations and politics. Recent scholarship has highlighted how the seemingly self-contained regional configurations of West and Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia, and East Asia carved by the Area Studies paradigm reflect changing (geo)political and economic interests than historical or cultural roots.

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*.

2019: NSC29 ISBN 978-981-4818-85-8 (SC) ISBN **978-981-4818-86-5 (EBK)**



Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre

Tanah Datar: Early Settlement Archaeology and History in the Highlands of Sumatra, Indonesia

forthcoming

Mai Lin Tioa-Bonatz. editor

Visiting Professor, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.

Contents

- 1. Research History, Methods, and Objectives
- 2. Early Histories: Historiography and Archaeological Surveys
- 3. Excavations
- 4. Material Culture Studies
- 5. Conclusion

Bibliography

2019: NSC31 ISBN 978-981-4843-01-0 (SC) **ISBN 978-981-4843-02-7 (EBK)**

APEC Study Centre



Singapore APEC Study Centre @ ISEAS

The Centre undertakes research, disseminates information, facilitates discussions on APECrelated 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) **\$\$49.90/U\$\$39.90** ISBN **978-981-4695-81-7 (EBK) \$\$40.00/U\$\$32.00**



Books Adopted as Texts

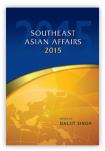


2016

Thammasat University, Thailand

Over the past two decades, ISEAS has compiled abridged articles that analyse key aspects of Southeast Asia's development and the ASEAN process. *The ASEAN Reader* was published in 1992 just as the Cold War ended, while *The Second ASEAN Reader* came in 2003 in the wake of the 1997 Asian crisis and the September 11 attacks in 2001.

2015 : 485 pp : BM522 ISBN 978-981-4620-61-1 (SC) \$\$55.90/U\$\$45.90 ISBN 978-981-4620-62-8 (EBK) \$\$45.00/U\$\$36.00

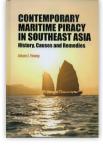


2016

National Defence University of Malaysia

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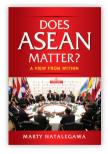
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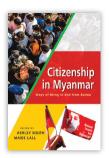
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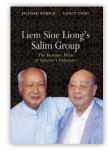


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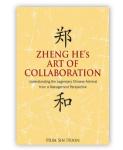
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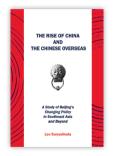
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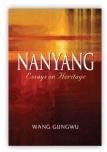
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