CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

Volume 13, Number 3

December 1991

Articles
Thailand and the Dynamics of Economic and Security Complex in Mainland Southeast Asia
Khatharya Um 245

Ending an Armed Struggle Without Surrender: The Demise of the Communist Party of Malaya (1979–89) and the Aftermath
Leonard C. Sebastian 271

The ASEAN Growth Triangle: The Convergence of National and Sub-National Interests
Pushpa Thambipillai 299

ASEAN: Where from or Where to?
Mark G. Rolls 315

Book Reviews
Unity and Diversity: Regional Economic Development in Indonesia Since 1970 edited by Hal Hill
Khong Cho Oon 333

Elpidio R. Sta Romana 336

The Kuomintang Movement in British Malaya 1912–1949 by C.F. Yong and R.B. McKenna
Manivannan 339

World Bibliographical Series, Vol. 93 edited by Sylvia C. Engelen Krause and Gerald H. Krausse
K.U. Menon 341

Grand Strategies in War and Peace edited by Paul Kennedy
William A. Comley 343
CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

REGIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Chai-Anan Samudavanija
Regional Strategic Studies Programme, ISEAS

Lau Teik Soon
Head, Department of Political Science
National University of Singapore

Carolina G. Hernandez
Department of Political Science
University of the Philippines
Manila

Mohd. Noordin Sopiee
Director-General
Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia
Kuala Lumpur

Kusuma Snitwongse
Chairman
Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS)
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok

Jusuf Wanandi
Chairman, Supervisory Board
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jakarta

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Han Sung-Joo
Asiatic Research Center
Korea University

Robert O’Neill
Oxford University

Masashi Nishihara
National Defense Academy
Japan

Peter Tarnoff
Council on Foreign Relations
New York

Wang Gungwu
University of Hong Kong
The editors invite submission of articles (up to 5,000 words, including footnotes) and commentaries on subjects within the field of politics, strategic and international affairs as they impinge on the Southeast Asian and Asia-Pacific geographical region. Manuscripts should be double-spaced with footnotes appended at the end and submitted in duplicate, together with an abstract of approximately 125 words. CSEA does not accept manuscripts that have already been published or are being considered for publication elsewhere. Address for submission of contributions:

The Editors
Contemporary Southeast Asia
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 0511
CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

FOUNDING BOARD MEMBERS

Jose V. Abueva
President
University of the Philippines

Khin Maung Kyi
Formerly National University of Singapore

Harsja W. Bachtiar
University of Indonesia

Alejandro Melchor
Formerly Asian Development Bank

Jimmy Chen
Industrial Electronics and Engineering, Singapore

Datuk B.A.R. Mokhzani
Innovest Berhad, Malaysia

Chiang Hai Ding
Singapore’s Ambassador to Egypt

Amphon Namatra
Assistant Secretary-General
Thai Red Cross Society

Datuk Mohd. Nor Ghani
Secretary-General
Ministry of Transport
Malaysia

Jakob Oetama
Kompas, Indonesia

Prasan Tangchai
Medical Council of Thailand

FOUNDING DONORS

S.G.V. Group, Philippines
Lee Foundation, Singapore
Kompas, Indonesia
National Trades Union Congress, Singapore
Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation, Singapore
Thai Wah Company Ltd., Thailand
Bank Bumiputra Malaysia Bhd., Malaysia
Singapore International Chamber of Commerce, Singapore
Applied Research Corporation, Singapore
San Miguel Corporation, Philippines
Paolo Memorial Hospital Co. Ltd., Thailand
Development Bank of the Philippines, Philippines
Bangkok Metropolitan Bank, Thailand
United Motor Works (Malaysia) Holdings Berhad
MYANMAR
Myanmar 1990: New Era or Old?
R. H. Taylor

PHILIPPINES
The Philippines 1990: Political Stalemate and Persisting Instability
Maxwell Lane

The Philippine Economy: 1992 and Beyond
Bernardo M. Villegas

SINGAPORE
Singapore 1990: Celebrating the End of an Era
Chua Beng Huat

Singapore's Internationalization Strategy for the 1990s
Wong Poh Kam and Ng Chee Yuen

THAILAND
Personality Politics in Thailand
Tan Lian Choo

The Environment and Popular Culture in Thailand in 1990
Ubonrat Siriyuwasaak

VIETNAM
Vietnam at the Crossroads in 1990
Tan Kee Wee

Published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore
Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Singapore 0511
1991 320 pp  ISSN 0377-5437
Soft cover: S$24/US$14  Hard cover: S$45/US$26

ORDERS
All customers outside Singapore and Malaysia must pay in U.S. dollars.
Postage charges per copy are S$4.00 within Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei;
and US$3.00 for all other countries. Bank drafts and cheques should be made
payable to "Institute of Southeast Asian Studies". Orders may be faxed to us
on 775 6259.
PACIFIC VIEWPOINT
Est. 1960

Editors
Roger Lawrence and Philip S. Morrison

Review Editor
Pauline Keating

Pacific Viewpoint publishes the research of geographers, historians, economists, sociologists and anthropologists concerned with the systematic, regional and theoretical aspects of economic growth and social change in developed and developing societies. As such Pacific Viewpoint publishes articles dealing with development issues in all continents but focuses particularly on Asia and the Pacific.

Pacific Viewpoint publishes twice annually. The May issue is devoted to papers submitted to the journal. These include main articles, notes, commentary and book reviews.

The October issue is usually devoted to special issues edited by a guest editor. A recent special issue was devoted to

Ethnic Nationalism
Editor Ronald J. May
Pacific Viewpoint October 1990 31(2)

and included the following main articles:

The Ethnic Factor in Politics and Ethnic Separatism in Southeast Asia
R.J. MAY

Ethnicity and Decentralisation in Melanesia: a review of the 1980s
PETER LARMOUR

Nationalism, Racism and the State: Class Rule and the Paradox of Race Relations in Fiji
WILLIAM SUTHERLAND

Malaysia: Communalism and the Political System
MICHAEL ONG

Other recent special issues have included South Asian Social Structures edited by Peter Webster and James Urry, Fiji Since the Coup edited by John Overton and Natural Resource Development in the Pacific Islands Region edited by R.T. Jackson. The 1991 October issue deals with New Zealand in the Eighties and is edited by Harvey Franklin and Richard Willis.

Annual Subscription Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscription Type</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand subscribers</td>
<td>NZ$26.00 per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian subscribers</td>
<td>NZ$38.00 per annum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscribers elsewhere</td>
<td>NZ$45.00 per annum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To order send cheque or money order payable to Pacific Viewpoint, Information and Publications, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand. See additions back.

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
IN ASSOCIATION WITH VICTORIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Contemporary Southeast Asia is a journal that specializes in the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. Although it was originally conceived as a more general journal of the social sciences in 1979, CSEA has come to focus more closely on the concerns of the Institute's Regional Strategic Studies Programme since 1987. Apart from serving as a reliable and up-to-date source of information on various events and trends in regional politics, international relations and security questions that affect Southeast Asia, CSEA also publishes the results of original research on these subjects by both scholars and other interested persons.

Contemporary Southeast Asia is published quarterly in June, September, December and March by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 1991 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
ISSN 0129-797X
MCI(P) 162/79/0

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of the Managing Editor.

The responsibility for facts and opinions presented in the contents of CSEA rests exclusively with the individual authors. Their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the Editorial Committee, the Regional Advisory Board, the International Corresponding Members, the sponsors of CSEA or ISEAS.

Annual Subscription Rates

Individu[als]: S$40 (Singapore)
               S$42 (Brunei/Malaysia)
               US$24 (All other countries)

Institutions: S$48 (Singapore)
               S$50 (Brunei/Malaysia)
               US$30 (All other countries)

These annual rates include postage and delivery by air. Back issues are available at S$12/US$7, plus postage and handling charges. Subscription orders and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Managing Editor
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 0511

Typeset by The Fototype Business. Printed by Loi Printing Pte Ltd.