CONTemporary SOUTHEAST ASIA
A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

Volume 27, Number 1 April 2005

Articles
The Five Power Defence Arrangements: Southeast Asia’s Damon Bristow 1 Unknown Regional Security Organization
Unrest in South Thailand: Contours, Causes, and Aurel Croissant 21 Consequences Since 2001
The Politics of Locality and Temporality in the 2004 Vemi Balasubramaniam 44 Malaysian Parliamentary Elections
The 2004 Ba’ Kelalan By-election in Sarawak, Veeray Singh 64 East Malaysia: The Lun Bawang Factor and Whither Representative Democracy in Malaysia
The 2004 Philippine Elections: Political Change in an John L Linantud 80 Illiberal Democracy
Multilateralism in China’s ASEAN Policy: Its Evolution, Kuik Cheng-Chwee 102 Characteristics, and Aspiration
The Relevance of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) for Dominik Heller 123 Regional Security in the Asia-Pacific

Book Reviews
Terrorism and Violence in Southeast Asia: Transnational Challenges to States and Regional Stability Sidney Jones 146 Edited by Paul J Smith
Making Democracy: Leadership, Class, Gender, and Surin Maisrikrod 149 Political Participation in Thailand
By James Ockey
West Papua and Indonesia Since Suharto: Independence, Bilveer Singh 151 Autonomy or Chaos?
By Peter King
China: Is Rapid Growth Sustainable? Srikanth Kondapalli 154 Edited by Ross Garnaut and Ligang Song
Strategic Asia 2004–05: Confronting Terrorism Lam Peng Er 157 in the Pursuit of Power
Edited by Ashley J Tellis and Michael Wills
CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA
INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

James Cotton
Professor and Head
School of Politics
UNSW College
Australian Defence Force Academy
Canberra

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

Han Sung-Joo
President, Korean Association
of Southeast Asian Studies
Department of Political Science
Korea University, Seoul

Masashi Nishihara
Professor, Department of
Social Science
National Defense Academy
Yokosuka, Japan

Harry Harding
Professor and Dean
Elliott School of
International Affairs
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

Michael D. Swaine
Co-Director, China Program
Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
Washington, D.C.

Carolina G. Hernandez
President, Institute for
Strategic and Development
Studies, Inc.
Manila

Wang Gungwu
Professor and Director
East Asian Institute
National University of Singapore

Yuan Ming
Professor and Director
Institute of International
Relations, Peking University
Beijing
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairperson
K. Kesavapany

Editor
K. S. Nathan

Associate Editors
Tin Maung Maung Than
Ho Khai Leong

Production Editor
Dayaneetha De Silva

The editors invite submission of manuscripts (between 6,000–8,000 words, including endnotes) on subjects within the field of politics and strategic and international affairs as they impinge on the Southeast Asian and wider Asia-Pacific geographical region. Manuscripts should be double-spaced and submitted in duplicate, together with an abstract of approximately 125 words, and should be accompanied by a computer diskette. Citations should be made in the author-date style, with full references, and endnotes where appropriate. CSEA does not accept manuscripts that have already been published or are being considered for publication elsewhere. Manuscripts will be refereed by external readers.

Address for submission of manuscripts:

The Editor
Contemporary Southeast Asia
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119614
MICHAEL LEIFER
Memorial Prize
for the best article published in
• ASEAN Economic Bulletin
• Contemporary Southeast Asia
• Sojourn: Social Issues in Southeast Asia

The Michael Leifer Memorial Prize is awarded by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in memory of the late Michael Leifer (1933–2001), Professor Emeritus in International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the founding Director of the School’s Asia Research Centre.

Professor Leifer has rightly been described as the doyen of Southeast Asian Studies. He wrote and edited over 20 books and published over 150 scholarly articles on the international relations and domestic politics of Southeast Asia. His analysis of contemporary regional developments reached a worldwide audience through his regular broadcasts over the BBC. At the LSE he nurtured a generation of Southeast Asianists from all over the world, most significantly from Southeast Asia itself. Many of them became prominent in academe, think-tanks, media and government. His encyclopaedic knowledge of the region was masterfully displayed in his Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia, which has gone through three editions. During one of his sojourns at ISEAS he brought his editorial skills to bear on the speedy publication of David Marshall’s Letters from Mao’s China. Professor Leifer’s last book, Singapore’s Foreign Policy: Coping with Vulnerabilities, remains an unrivalled study on Singapore, the place that was his first steppingstone in a lifetime of academic journeying into Southeast Asian Studies.

Professor Leifer first visited Singapore in 1963 as a young lecturer from the University of Adelaide. During a professional life spanning nearly 40 years he paid numerous visits to Singapore where his considered views and analysis were much sought after by academics, the media and policy-makers alike. Appointed Senior Professorial Fellow at ISEAS between 1995 and 1997, he made many valuable contributions to the work of the Institute. He also served on the international advisory committee for Contemporary Southeast Asia, a major journal of ISEAS.

In recognition of Professor Leifer’s valuable contributions to scholarship in Southeast Asian Studies and the unceasing encouragement he gave to aspiring young scholars in the field, ISEAS is instituting the Michael Leifer Memorial Prize. An award of $3,000 will be given biennially for the best article published in one of ISEAS’ three journals namely, the ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Contemporary Southeast Asia and Sojourn: Social Issues in Southeast Asia. A Prize Committee, made up of the editors of the three journals, eminent scholar, and the Director of ISEAS, will be tasked with selecting the article on the basis of its analytical rigour, conceptual clarity and soundness, and general contribution to Southeast Asian scholarship.

The first prize will be awarded in 2005 based on articles published in 2003 and 2004.
Contemporary Southeast Asia is an internationally refereed journal that specializes in the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. 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.

© 2005 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
ISSN 0129-797X

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 International Advisory Committee, or the sponsors of CSEA, or ISEAS.

Annual Subscription Rates for 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individuals (Print &amp; electronic)</th>
<th>Institutions (Print &amp; electronic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia/Japan/Aust/N.Z.</td>
<td>US$42</td>
<td>US$66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe/North America/Africa/Mid. East</td>
<td>US$51</td>
<td>US$80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore/Malaysia/Brunei</td>
<td>S$66</td>
<td>S$102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These annual rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air. CSEA is published three times a year, in April, August and December. Subscription orders and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Managing Editor
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119614
Tel: 68702483, 68702474 Fax: 67756259
E-mail: pubsunit@iseas.edu.sg

Electronic Access

The contents page and abstracts of articles are available on-line at the ISEAS Publications Unit website. Access is by user ID and password for individual subscribers. Institutional subscribers are bound by terms and conditions. Electronic Document Delivery service is also available to non-subscribers at S$10.90/US$6.40 per article. For more information, access http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

Back Issues

Electronic version: All back issues since 1979 are now available in digital form. Single articles, single issues, or complete volumes may be purchased by writing to publish@iseas.edu.sg.

Print version: Complete sets of back issues may be obtained from Schmidt Periodicals GmbH, Orsteil Dettendorf, D-83075 Bad Feilnbach, Germany (Tel: 8064-221, Fax: 8064-557).

Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA) is indexed in the International Bibliography of Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of Book Reviews; Sage Public Administration Abstracts; Historical Abstracts (ABC-CLIO); PAIS International: Contents Pages on Asia (INSEAD); World Affairs Online; International Political Science Abstracts; Ingenta; EBSCO Publishing; Sociological Abstracts; ProQuest Information and Learning; Gale Group; and ISI Emerging Markets.

Printed in Singapore by Seng Lee Press
Typeset in Singapore by Superskill Graphics Pte Ltd