INDEX

A
Abdul Haris Nasution, 346
Abdullah Badawi, 298
Abdurrahman Wahid, 144, 164
delegation of authority to Megawati,
166
installation of National Economic
Council, 165
Abu Sayyaf, 270
Acheson, Dean, 316
Act of Integration, 218
adult literacy, 51
Action Plan, 305
Ad-Hoc Interdepartmental Committee
on Indonesia, 317
Adam Malik, 335
Afghanistan, U.S. attack on, 270
Afro-Asian Conference, 316
Agency for International Development
(AID), 328, 345
Agency for Research and Application
of Technology (BPPT), Indonesia, 159
Agent Orange, 100
agriculture
gross domestic product, 9
percentage of GDP, 10
Agriculture Development Council
(ADC), 188
agricultural taxes, 123
agriculture, Philippines, 135
Air Asia, 10
Al-Jazeera, 12
Al-Qaeda, 271
Alagappa, Muthiah, 62
Albright, Madeline, 226, 228
Aldrich, George H., 224
Ali Sastroamidjojo, 316, 345
Ali Wardana, 15
All-Inclusive Intra-East Timor
Dialogue, 232
American Congress, 227
American Declaration of
Independence, 75
quoted by Ho Chih Minh, 73
American donor strategy, 238
disparate components, 217
inconsistency in, 227
American independence struggle, 74
American War, 73
Amir Machmud, 326
Annamite mountain chain, 84
Annan, Kofi, 222
annual ministerial meetings (AMMs),
289
anti-Chinese progroms, Indonesia, 140
Anwar Ibrahim, 269
APEC Summit, 269
Appeal for Freedom of Political
Association, 102

387
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Aquino, Benigno, 13, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60, 142, 144, 262</td>
<td>Aquino, Corazon (Cory), 60, 142, 144, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Aquino government, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI), 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Army of the Republic of Vietnam, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal, approval for U.S. troop aid, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ASEAN challenges faced by, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>cooperation with India, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>opposition to Vietnamese aggression, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>refugee crisis, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210–12</td>
<td>role in Japan’s relations with Southeast Asia, 210–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>strategic cooperation with China, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>support of anti-Vietnamese Khmer resistance, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>U.S. relations with, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>ASEAN Business and Investment Summit, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>ASEAN Dialogue Partners, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA), 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 289 U.S. support of, 266 U.S. hopes for, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>ASEAN Summit, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>ASEAN-China senior officials meetings (SOMs), 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>ASEAN-China Summit, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>ASEAN-Japanese cooperation, evolution of, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211, 292–93, 296 development, 208</td>
<td>ASEAN+3, 211, 292–93, 296 development, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>ASEAN-4, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Ashcroft, John, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Asia Foundation, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (APPC), 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Asia Society, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96, 228, 266</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 96, 228, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Bogor Declaration, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191, 293</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank (ADB), 191, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>funding from Japan, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 18, 57, 119, 121</td>
<td>Asian financial crisis, 13, 18, 57, 119, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>China’s promise not to devalue currency, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>effect on FDI flows, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>effect on Japanese banks, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>funded projects, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 47</td>
<td>impact of, 7, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151, 268</td>
<td>impact on Indonesia, 151, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>impact on Philippines, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267–69</td>
<td>lacklustre U.S. response, 267–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Indonesia, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Indonesia’s recovery, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Programs Department, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>triggering political crisis in Indonesia, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>trigger for democratization, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>vulnerability of Soeharto regime exposed, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Asian Monetary Fund (AMF), Japan’s proposal, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Asian Institute of Management (AIM), 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 41, 255, 337 creation, 3, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations-Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), 191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Association of Southeast Asian Nations Free Trade Area (AFTA), 162
Aung San Suu Kyi, 266
Australian-Indonesian Security Agreement, 303
authoritarian rule, 30
economic performance, link with, 56
gross domestic product per capita, 55
authoritarianism, 46
creeping, 38–44
Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, 125
avian flu, 250, 300

B
Bali, 97
Bali bombings, 271, 343
Bali Summit, 258
Bali-gate, 166
Balikatan, 270
Bambang Yudhoyono, 144
Bandung Spirit, 283
Bangkok
Ford Foundation office, 186
megacity, 10
Bangkok Declaration, 285
Bank Bali scandal, 164–65, 175
bank credits, expansion in Indonesia, 161
Bank Duta, 161
Bank Indonesia, 155–56
Governor, 68, 175
independence of, 172
Bank of Thailand, 142
banks, in Indonesia, 160
BAPPENAS, 169, 176
Barnett, Robert, 329
Basuki Rachmat, 326
becaks, 10
Belo, Carlos Filipe Ximenes, 219
Benny Murdani, 332, 336, 338, 342, 348
Benteng programme, 154
Berlin blockade (1948), 77
Betts, Richard, 18
bilateral free trade agreements, 207
bilateral relationships, importance of, 262
Binh Duong province, 101
Blair, Dennis, 227
Board of Investment (BOI), 142
boat people, 261
Boediono, 167
Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs, 171
Bresnan, John, 14–19
Asia Society, 17
Crisis in the Philippines, 17–18
Director of Pacific Basin Studies Programme, 17
Indonesia’s economic transformation, 151
recipient of Bintang Jasa Pratama, 19
recognition by Megawati Sukarnoputri, 19
retirement from Ford Foundation, 17
return to New York, 17
Senior Research Fellow, 17
Broderick, Edwin, 335
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 259
boat people, 87
bond issues, Japanese local-affiliate domestic currency, 210
Brown, Frederick Z., 19
Brunei, 30, 53, 303
economic prosperity, 8
exceeding Przeworski’s $6000 per capita threshold, 59
no officially reported poverty, 53
population, 5
resistance to human rights protection agreements, 41
resource depletion, 48
budget airlines, 10
Bunker, Ellsworth, 320
| Burhanuddin Abdullah, 168, 176 |
| Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet, Indonesia, 154 |
| Burma, Japanese occupation, 4 |
| Buru Island, 331 |
| Bush visit to Bangkok, 295 |
| visit to Hanoi, 102 |
| Bush administration, 249 |
| Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 176, 191 |
| Cepu, development of, 170 |
| Chambers, Michael, 21 |
| Chan Kwok Bun, 62 |
| Chandra Asri, 161 |
| China approach by Nixon, 257 |
| capital-intensive high-tech industries, 291 |
| containment policy, 274 |
| economic competition from, 145 |
| economic revolution, 90 |
| emergence as great power, 299 |
| emergence as regional and global power, 281 |
| establishment of relations with Southeast Asian countries, 287 |
| evolving relationship with Southeast Asia, 281–307 |
| focus on economic development, 286 |
| foreign direct investment, 290 |
| “good neighbour” policy, 281, 292–94 |
| growth of economy, 290 |
| ideological agenda, 282 |
| influence of, 21–22 |
| informal alliance with Thailand, 286 |
| Japanese investments in, 209 |
| Kilo-class submarines, 290 |
| Kissinger’s visit, 256 |
| managing the rise of, 290–91 |
| military budget, 290 |
| Ministry of Commerce, 293 |
| move towards capital intensive products, 299 |
| in need of resources for expanding economy, 300 |
| non-traditional security threats, 299 |
| peaceful coexistence with Malaya, 284 |
| pledging of funds for Thailand, 292 |
| promotion of “zone of peace”, 301 |

| C |
| Cable News Network (CNN), report of Thailand as a silent partner, 271 |
| cacique democracy, 130 |
| Cam Ranh Bay, 82 |
| Cambodia, 253, 287 |
| limited economic achievement, 47 population, 5 |
| rule by communist government, 72 |
| Third Indo-China War, 259–63 |
| UN peace operations, 72 |
| Vietnamese invasion, 260 |
| Cambodian crisis, solution to, 263 |
| CARE, 189 |
| Carter Administration, 258 |
| lower priority to Indonesia, 331 |
| Catholic Church |
| influence of, 127 |
| influence in Philippines, 122 |
| Catholic Relief Service (CRS), 332, 334–36 |
| Catholicism, spread of, 126 |
| cellphones, increase in sales of, 11 |
| Central Bank, 130 |
| Central Bank Law, Indonesia, 168 |
| Central Institute of Economic Management, 192 |
| Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 317 The World Factbook, 107 |
| Central Luzon, 35 |
| Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN), 88 |

14 LegacyIndex.indd 390
8/5/08 1:24:36 PM
reducing influence of U.S., 300
relations with Japan, 213
removal of great powers, 282
Sovremennyy-class guided missile
destroyers, 290
Spratlys, issue of, 289
strategic cooperation with ASEAN,
286, 288
support for Indonesia’s “crush
Malaysia” campaign, 284
trade deficit, 293
China challenge, 291
Chinese Cultural Revolution, 283
China-ASEAN free trade area, 299
Chinese retailers, Philippines, in, 128
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand,
12, 191
civil-military reform, 217
Indonesia, 237
civil societies, vibrancy of, 32
Clark Air Base, 252
Clark Field Air Base, 265
Clear, Annette, 21
Clinton administration, 229, 263
attitude towards multilateralism, 266
Clinton, Bill, 225
announcement of normalization of
relations with Vietnam, 267
stern warning to Habibie, 227
Club of Former Resistance Fighters, 89
Cold War
end of, 46, 302
Euro-centricity, 75
increasing authoritarian rule, 38
realpolitik, 75
Vietnam, 74–75
Coalition Government for Democratic
Kampuchea (CGDK), 260
Cobra Gold, military exercises, 261
Cohen, William, 226–28
Colombo Plan for Cooperative
Economic and Social
Development, 198
colonial disinterest, 34
Cold War system
maintenance of non-alignment, 255
zero sum, 251
Comintern, 76
communism
China opposing expansion of, 285
communist “dominoes”, 4
Communist Party Indonesia (PKI), 38,
285, 315
Communist Party of France, 75
Communist Party of the Philippines
(CPP), 117
Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), 283
communist regimes, disintegration of, 89
constitutional monarchy, 35
communists
Indonesia, 318
Philippines, 129
Consultative Group on Indonesia, 226,
329
Consumer Price Index (CPI), Vietnam,
93
counter-terrorism, 273
Council on Foreign Relations, 18
Council on Living Traditions in the
Philippines, 190
corruption, Estrada government, 119
cottage industries, 9
council for Mutual Economic
Assistance (COMECON), 87
Council for Security Cooperation in
the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), 289
council of Foreign Relations, 18
Council on Living Traditions in the
Philippines, 190
Convention Against Torture, 42–44
Convention Discrimination Against
Women, 42–44
Convention Protection Migrant
Workers, 42–44
Convention Rights of Child, 42–44
consumerism, rise in, 11
Council for Mutual Economic
Assistance (COMECON), 87
Convention Against Torture, 42–44
Convention Discrimination Against
Women, 42–44
Convention Protection Migrant
Workers, 42–44
Convention Rights of Child, 42–44
Covenant Economic, Social, Cultural Rights, 42–44
Crouch, Harold, 324
crude oil exports, Vietnam, 92
Cultural Revolution, 284
Cumming, Hugh, 316–17

D
Danang, 99
decision-making, gridlock in, 33
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, 294, 305
Declaration on the South China Sea, 289
decolonialization, 30, 34–38
Defence Department, 228
democracy, 30
effect of development on, 31
elections as main form of participation, 36
impact on, 32
introduction of, 36–37
positive impact on development, 33
record of, 29
threshold level of income, 31
democracy and development, 53–57
theoretical overview, 31–34
democratic governance, limited elite support for, 58
Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 79, 252
democratic transformation, inconsistencies in, 46
democratization, 29–66
disparate, see disparate democratization
Indonesia, 217
pattern of, 45
Deng Xiaoping, 90, 262, 302
development
effect on democracy, 31
success with diversity, 47–53
Derian, Pat, 331
Dick, Howard, 166
Diem
removal of, 80
struggle with deteriorating political situation, 81
Dien Bien Phu, 77
defeat of French, 35, 252
victory in, 13
Dili massacre, 219, 264
Dipa Nusantara Aidit, 346
disparate democratization, 30, 44–47
GDP per capita, 56
gross domestic product, 56
doi moi, 91, 95, 102–03, 262, 266
Vietnam, 20
Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti, 15, 167, 175
Duiker, William, 85
Dulles, Allen, 317
Dulles, John Foster, 317
Dutch corporations
nationalization, 154
operations in Indonesia, 153
Dutch donor strategy, 238
Dutch East Indies, 313
Dutch government, rule of Indonesia, 313
Dutch New Guinea, 316

E
early democracies, gross domestic growth during, 54
early harvest programme, 304
East Asia, economic integration of economies, 211
East Asia, regionalization of, 300
East Asia Security Initiative (EASI), 265
East Asian economic cooperation, 212
East Asian international system, 297
East Asian Summit, 274, 296
December (2005), 211
East Timor, 216–17, 332, 335
American reaction to conflict, 223
before 1999, 217
Dutch reaction to conflict, 235–38
Governor Araujo, 336
hope of international aid, 238
hope of political change, 238–40
Indonesian occupation, 218–21
Indonesian rule, 219
invasion by Indonesia, 223
invasion of, 235
Japanese reaction to conflict, 229–34
local militants, 219
as Portuguese colony, 218
removal of closed status, 219
special autonomy package, 220
support of United Nations, 221–23
U.N. sponsored referendum on, 269
East Timor Action Network (ETAN),
225
East Timor conflict, Fretilin resolution,
336
East Timor referendum, 220
Easter Offensive in Military Region I
(1972), 85
Eastern Europe, disintegration of
communist regimes, 89
economic competition, 145
economic crisis, discussion on, 61
economic development, 29–66
economic growth, 29
authoritarian rule, as, 30
economic integration, East Asian
economies, 211
economic performance, authoritarian
rule, link with, 56
Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Ford
Foundation assistance, 187
economic policy-making, Indonesia,
158
Economic Stabilization Council,
Indonesia, 157
economic technocrats, 16
Economic Urgency Plan, Indonesia,
154
educational achievements, 50–51
Eisenhower, Dwight, 82, 316
election, Philippines, 37
elections, 37–38
legitimizing power of, 130
Electricity Law, Indonesia, 176
elites
lack of support for democracy, 59
powerful, 144
elitist democracies, 34–38
Emil Salim, 16
engagement advocate, Bresnan, 14
Enrile, Juan Ponce, 117
Estrada, presidency, 57
Estrada administration, 119, 132
Estrada, Joseph, 119
ethnic diversity, management of, 13
ethnic identity, 58
Expanded International Military
Education and Training
(E-IMET), 225
export growth, Vietnam, 92
export subsidy programme, Indonesia,
160
Export-Import Bank of Japan, 197
export-oriented growth, adoption of,
34
exports, Philippines, 135
Exxon Mobil, dispute with Pertamina,
170

F
Fall, Bernard, 82
Falun Gong, 291
cancellation of conference in
Thailand, 298
family planning programmes,
Indonesia, 5
Fargo, Thomas (Admiral), 271
Federal Republic of Germany, 79
fertility rates, 6
Final Declaration of the Conference, 78
financial sector, liberalization of, 130
First Indo-China War, 77
First World governments, chanelling of assistance through NGOs, 189
Five Power Defence Agreement, 255
food production, rise in, 9
Ford, Edsel, 182
Ford Foundation, 15–16, 181–94
activities in northern Thailand, 189
Asia-Pacific Division, 17
assistance to central planning agencies, 187
establishment of faculties of economics, 187
establishment of, 182
evolution in programme priorities, 187–93
experience in Southeast Asia, 193–94
genesis of international engagement, 182–84
governance and civil society, 190
grants to HIV/AIDS prevention, 192
implementing new mission, 184–85
Jakarta office, 15
lessons learnt, 193–94
offer of assistance to Sukarno, 185
office in Jakarta, 185
offices in Southeast Asian region, 186
Official Development Assistance, 187
Overseas Development Programme, 184
ownership of non-voting stock in Ford Motor Company, 183
presence in Southeast Asia, 185–86
Programme for International Studies in Asia (PISA), 193
programmes, 183
representative and programme officers, 185
support for work on population and development, 190
work in relation to international affairs, 192
Ford Motor Company, 183
foreign direct investment (FDI)
China, 290
growth, 207
inflows into Southeast Asia, 121
Japanese, 196, 208
foreign policy dilemmas, 275
towards Southeast Asia, 252
fragile democracies, 38
France, defeat of, 77
Franklin, Benjamin, 74
free market, 95
Freedom House, 29
Freedom in the World Report, 61
Ratings, 45
French Communist Party, 76
Fretill resolution, East Timor, 336
Friend, Theodore, personal reflections of, 22
Fukuda Doctrine, 199
Fukuda, Takeo, 199
Fullbright Economics Training Programme, 192
Fullbright programme, 99
G
Gaddis, John Lewis, 254
Gadjah Mada University, 182
establishment of faculty of economics, 188
Gaither Committee Report, 183
Gaither Jr., H. Rowan, 183
Galbraith, Frank, 319
Gardner, Paul, 315
Gates, Bill, 98
GDP, see Gross Domestic Product
Geertz, Clifford, 16, 189
Index

Geithner, Peter, 20
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 207
Geneva Conference, 83, 283
Geneva Conference (1954), consequences, 77–83
Gilks, Anne, 302
Ginandjar Kartasasmita, 234
Coordinating Minister for the Economy (Indonesia), 164
glasnost, 89
global war on terror (GWOT), 249 driving imperative of U.S. foreign policy, 270
Golkar party, members implicated in scandal, 164
good government, not synonymous with democracy, 103
Gorbachev, 262
Gore, Al, 269
governance, effectiveness of, 32 governments, legitimization of, 37 GMS Program, 304
Greater Mekong Subregion, 182, 293, 304–05
Green, Marshall, 325, 330
Green Revolution, 16
green revolution technology, 87
Gross Domestic Product, 6, 134
  growth, 47
  per capita, 8
  share of agriculture, 9
  steady growth in 1960s, 54
gross national income (GNI), 47
Singapore, 207
gross national product, per capita
  (1950 to 2003), 49
Guam doctrine, 286, 302
Guided Democracy, 38, 54
Guided Economy, 155, 172
Gulf of Tonkin, 254
Gulf War, 118
Gus Dur, 164
Gusmao, Xanana, 226

H
Habibie, B.J., 159, 174, 233
  accountability report, 164
  East Timor referendum, 220
  lack of legitimacy, 163
  nomination as Vice President, 163
  permission from UN to hold referendum on East Timor, 269
  stern warning from Clinton, 227
  transitional government, 163
Hadi Soesastro, 20
Halim Air Base, 321
Hanoi
  fast growing city, 10
  Ford Foundation office, 186
Hatta, advocation of collectivism, 172
Henry Ford II, 183
Henry Luce Foundation, 182
Hill, Christopher, 272
Ho Chi Minh, 73, 79
  communist or nationalist, 76
  diplomatic relations with USSR, 252
  guerilla activities, 75
  inaugural address, 75
  public personality, 86
  struggle against French, 80
  Ho Chi Minh City, 101
  Political Academy, 192
  Thought, 96
  trails, 256
Hue, 78
Hoffman, Paul G., 183
Hoi Nam, 9
Honshu, 230
House International Relations Committee, 224
Howland, Richard, 321, 324
Hu Jintao, 296, 298
Huks, 126
  Central Luzon, 35
  defeat of, 129
human development index (HDI), 49
human rights
  instruments of, 42
  Netherlands’s agenda, 235
Human Rights Declaration (1948), 41
Human Rights Watch (HRW), 225
Huntington, Samuel
  second wave of democratization, 34
  third wave, 44
Hun Sen government, 262

I
Ibnu Sutowo, 157, 159
Iman Taufik, 233
import licensing scheme, Indonesia, 159
import tariffs, Indonesia, 160
import-substitution industrialization, 123
income distribution, nature of, 59
income inequality, 9, 52
incomes, distribution of, 58
independence, struggle for, 34
India, economic competition from, 145
Indo-China Federation, 287
Indo-China War, Second, 257
Indo-Chinese refugees, Indonesia, 337
Indo-China Communist Party, 76, 78
Indonesia, 41, 226
  1930 census, 313
  Act of Integration, 218
  Agency for Research and Application of Technology (BPPT), 159
  agreement with Portugal, 221
  amendment of Oil and Gas Law, 176
  anti-Chinese programs, 140
  Army Command School, 174
  Asian financial crisis, 220
  assistance from IMF, 152, 154
  assistance from IMF during Asian financial crisis, 268
  banks, 160
  BAPPENAS, 169
  Benteng programme, 154
  Broad Outline of State Policy, 169
cabinet of Burhanuddin Harahap, 154
capitalization of resources, 143
Central Bank Law, 168
centralized economic policy-making, 157
CGI Working Group on Investment, 168
colonisation under Dutch, 313
compatibility of Islam and democracy, 311
centrality of power, 40
conflict with Netherlands over West Irian, 154
Constitution, 172, 176
Constitutional Court, 176
Council for Economic and Financial Stabilization, 163
debt rescheduling, 327–28
democracy, 13
democratic transition, 53
democratization, 217
deregulation package, 160
direct presidential elections, 173
direction of economic transformation, 168–72
domestic support for civil-military reform, 237
East Timor referendum, 220
economic challenges, 20
economic issues, 338
economic policy-making, 158
economic transformation during New Order, 156–63
economic transformations, 151–76
Economic Urgency Plan, 154
economy, contraction of, 7
Eight-Year Comprehensive Development Plan, 155
end of New Order regime, 143
establishment of Revolutionary Fund, 156
expansion of bank credits, 161
export performance, 137
export subsidy programme, 160
family planning programmes, 5
fertility rates, 6
Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita V), 152
Five-Year Development Plans (Repelita), 169, 172
fighting Dutch aggression, 153
First Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita I), 152
foreign investments from Japan, 158
foreign policy, 311
free categorization, 29
GDP growth, 134
geographical size, 5
government’s White Paper on economic recovery, 167
Guided Democracy, 155–56
Guided Economy, 155
human rights, 331
IMF-organized financial package, 162
impact of Asian financial crisis, 162
import licensing scheme, 159
Indo-Chinese refugees, 337
instability and violence, 46
insufficiency of macroeconomic stability, 169
International Military Education and Training (IMET), 296
invasion of East Timor, 218, 223
land seizures, 318
large-scale nationalization, 156
largest Muslim democracy, 3
liberalism to socialism, 155–56
Megawati’s administration, 171
military dual functionalism, 139
mistreatment of East Timor, 239
Muslim political parties, 38
National Car Project, 162
National Economic Council, 165
Natsir Cabinet, 154
New Order, 152
New Order policies, 173
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 152
non-oil economy, 159
non-tariff barriers, 159
One-Third Formula, the, 329
overpopulation of Java, 154
parliamentary democracy, 153
Partai Demokrat, 169
people’s economy, 163
People’s National Assembly (MPR), 223
period after independence, 153
Pertamina, 157
PNI, 38
post-Soeharto challenges, 163–68
post-Soeharto reforms, 152
poverty, 138
pribumis, 40
profound changes in, 13
protection of newly-developed industries, 159
Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permasyarawatan Rakyat Sementara), 156
public primary education, 41
ranking democracy, 60
recovery from Asian financial crisis, 167
reduction of import tariffs, 160
reform fatigue, 161
relations with U.S., 311–48
removal of military officers, 226
removal of non-tariff barriers, 160
rent-seeking activities, 159
repayment of loans, 203
repressive Dutch rule, 313
request for United Nations arbitration, 251
rich body of scholarship on, 4
role of military, 33
shooting of students, 140
significant economic transformation, 152
Soeharto era, 139
state enterprises, 160
struggle for independence, 315
success story, 47
target of terrorists, 343
technocratic ministers, 142
unification of multiple exchange rate system, 157
use of oil revenues, 136
U.S. rice imports, 339
Warta Bakti, 322
winning war against colonial power, 13
World Bank, 166

Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency (IBRA), 165
Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN), 168, 233
Indonesian Consumers Association, 190
Indonesian Debt Restructuring Agency (INDRA), 165
Indonesian Environmental Forum, 190
Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association, 188
industrialization
focus on, 8
rapid migration of population, 10
industry, percentage of GDP, 10
Institute of International Relations, 193
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 191
Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), 191
Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), 236, 328
International Centre for Maize and Wheat Improvement (CYMMT), 188
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 334
International Conference on Kampuchea, 260
International Financial Operations (IFO), 203
International Force for East Timor (INTERFET), 223, 228, 269
international human rights instruments, 42–44
International Military Education and Training (IMET), 224, 296
International Monetary Fund (IMF) Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), 164
financial package to Indonesia, 162, 266
Indonesia, 152, 154
loan disbursement to Indonesia, 165
negotiations with Philippines, 117
International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), 188
Philippines, 16
international trade flows, 3
Internet
rising use of, 11
Vietnam, 96
investment flows, 12
Isihikawa, Shigeru, 198
Islam
presence of democracy, 311

J
Jackson, Andrew, 104
Jakarta, megacity, 10
Jakarta Initiative Task Force (JITF), 165
Jakarta Post, 239
Jakarta telegram, 333
Japan
bilateral ODA, 200
budget deficits, 212
bursting of economic bubble, 289
business relations with Southeast Asia, 204
concessionary yen loans, 200
DIET Members’ Forum on East Asia, 231
Diet’s role, 231
foreign direct investment, cumulative outflows of, 208
foreign direct investment in Southeast Asia, 199, 210
foreign direct investment to Southeast Asia, 196
foreign policy, formulation of, 231
investment in China, 209
investment in Indonesia, 158
major general trading companies, 198
Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 197, 206
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 197, 212
multinationals, 213
New Miyazawa Initiative, 199
ODA disbursements, 200
ODA disbursements to Southeast Asia, 201–02
Official Development Assistance, 195–214
ongoing focus of ODA in Southeast Asia, 211
Overseas Development Assistance Policy, 198
preferential loan aid, 203
proposal for Asian Monetary Fund, 268
reaction to conflict in East Timor, 229–34
relations with China, 213
role in international donor community, 234
Self-Defence Forces, 197
synergy between aid and economic interests, 212
trade with Southeast Asian countries, 205
trading companies, 209
White Paper on International Economy and Trade (2005), 206
Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), 197, 203
survey of overseas production activities of Japanese firms, 210
total cumulated loan commitments and outstanding balances, 204
Japan International Cooperation Agency, 197
Japan NGO Network on Indonesia (JANNI), 231
Japanese local-affiliate domestic currency bond issues, 210
Japan’s Official Development Assistance, White Paper (2003), 200
Japanese aid, 21
Japanese donor strategy, 230
Japanese NGO Centre for International Cooperation (JANIC), 231
Japanese occupation end of, 4
period after, 13
Japanese Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), 230
Java, overpopulation, 154
Javasche Bank, 155
Jefferson, Thomas, 104
Jemaah Islamiyah, 271
Jerry Falwell’s 700 Club, 12
Johnson, Lyndon, 82, 254
Johnson administration, 83
Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET), 224
Jones, David, 58
Jones, Howard, 321
  U.S. ambassador to Jakarta, 319
Jusuf Kalla, 171

K
Kahin, George, 315
Kasetsart University, 182
Kawai, Masahiro, 212
Kawakami, Takeo, 233
Kelantan, 59
Kennedy (President), authorization of
  additional combat advisors, 254
Kennedy administration, 82
Khmer People’s National Liberation
  Front (KPNLF), 260
Khmer Rouge, 39, 87–88
  defeat by Vietnamese, 72
  support from China, 259
King Bhumibol, 140
  reign, 141
Kissinger, 256, 258
Komura, 234
konfrontasi, 155
Korean boom, 154
Kratakau Steel, 158
Krushchev, 254
Kuala Lumpur, Ford Foundation office,
  186
Kwik Kian Ge, 165

L
labour law, Indonesia, 176
land distribution, Philippines, 135
land reform
  Philippines, 119
  Vietnam, 80
land seizures, Indonesia, 218
Laos, 287
  limited economic achievement, 47
  outbreak of civil war, 301
  population, 5
  trapped between Thai culture and
    political pressures, 72
Latin America, 30
Law on the Territorial Sea and
  Contiguous Zone, 289
Le Duan, 82, 88
Lee Hsien Loong, visit to Taiwan, 298
Lee Kuan Yew, 14, 33, 39, 60, 131
Lee Teng-hui, visit to U.S., 303
Lenin, Theses on the National and
  Colonial Question, 76
Lewy, Guenter, 85
liberalism, post-Cold War era, 263
life expectancy, 6
loans, concessionary, 200
Lombok, 9
Lon Nol’s (1970) coup, 283

M
McCloy, John J., 183–84
Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 120, 132,
  141
MacInyre, Andrew, 161
macroeconomic indicators, 47
  economic performance, 48
Madiun, 315
Mahathir Mohamad, 14, 39, 60, 300
  critical of Wall Street, 268
Mahidol University, 182
Mainichi Shimbun, 243
Malacca Straits, see Strait of Malacca
Malacca Straits Coordinated Patrol
  (MALSINDO), 272
Malaya
  communist insurgency, 77
  negotiated independence, 35
Malayan Communist Party (MCP),
  284
Malaysia, 303
  conservative political parties, 13
  destination of boat people, 261
  emergency rule, 38
  establishment of relations with
    China, 287
  inequality, 8
Index

Internal Security Act (ISA), 269
konfrontasi, 155
lack of political freedoms, 264
Malay empowerment, 41
multi-ethnic coalitions, 32
New Economic Policy, 40
Proton, 10
reduced poverty, 53
repayment of loans, 203
rise in GDP, 57
success story, 47
UMNO, 59

Manila
Ford Foundation office, 186
megacity, 10
social protests in, 46
Marcos, Ferdinand, 13, 39, 115
abandoned by U.S., 262
approach to economic development, 116
declaration of martial war, 140
re-election, 116
use of state funds, 40
Mari Pangestu, 176
maritime countries, 34
market, role of, 34
Marshall Plan, 251
martial law, 38
declaration by Marcos, 140
Marxism-Leninism, 91
Masters, Edward, 22, 311–48
arrival in Jakarta, 312
first posting to Jakarta, 318–27
National War College, 312
return to Indonesia, 330–42
return to Washington, 327–30
Mass Rapid Transit (MRT), Singapore, 48
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 188
Masserschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm, 174
Matsushita, 209
Mechai Viravaidya, 190
Megawati Sukarnoputri, 144, 164
Megawati’s administration, White Paper issued on resolving microeconomic problems, 171
Mekong Delta, 87
Mekong Region Development Programme, 211
merchandise exports, 136
Metro Manila, 125
MIAs
Americans, 258
resolution of issue, 266
micro-finance programmes, 16
middle class
aspirations, 144
importance of, 32, 54
lack of sharply defined, 58
rapid expansion, 58
role of, 57
military
dual function of, 139
importance of, 32
role in Thailand, 13
military disengagement, Southeast Asia, 256
Ministry of Agriculture, 16
Ministry of Finance, 142
minorities, relationship between, 13
Mischief Reef, 265, 289, 303
Miyazawa, 231
mobile phones, rise in sales of, 11
Mohammad Hatta, 153
Mohammad Jusuf, 326, 347
Mohammad Sadli, 16, 347
Mondale, Walter, 268, 332, 334
Moore, Barrington, 32
Morley, James, 18
Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), 145
Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), 118
Mount Pinatubo, 118
multi-ethnic coalitions, 32
multinationals, Japanese, 213
Murdani, 334
Murphy, Anne Marie, 21
Muslim insurgencies, Philippines, 116, 126
Muslim insurgency, Philippines, 129
Muslim Mindanao, 139
Muslims, Indonesia, in, 318
Mutual Security Act, 253
Mutual Security Agreement, 316
Myanmar
  Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL), 36
democracy in, 13
economic underperformance, 7
elections before military takeover, 38
impoveryment of, 41
limited economic achievements, 47
N
Nasution, 321
National Car Project, Indonesia, 162
National Democratic Front, 117
National Economic Development Agency (NEDA), Ford Foundation assistance, 187
National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), 142
  Ford Foundation assistance, 187
National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, 83
National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), 188
National Institute for Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS), 188
National League for Democracy (NLD), 266
National Liberation Front, 86
National Party of Indonesia (PNI), 36
National Planning Board (BAPPENAS), Ford Foundation assistance, 187
National Security Archives, 333–34
National Security Council, 251
National Sovereignty and Security in the Strait of Malacca, 278
National War College, 312
nationalism
  Indonesian attitudes towards, 275
  support of democracy, 37
  variation in, 63
Natsir Cabinet, 154
Natuna Island, 303
Naypyidaw, 12, 46
Ne Win, 40, 186
negotiated independence, 34
NEKOLIM, 316, 321
Netherlands
  human rights agenda, 235
  Human Rights and Foreign Policy memorandum, 236
  reaction to East Timor conflict, 235–38
New Economic Policy, Malaysia, 40
New Industrialized Economies, 209
New Order, 152
collapse of, 232
economic transformations, 156–63
economy, 173
to end of, 143
developmental success, 152
New Miyazawa Initiative, 199
New People’s Army (NPA), 117
Newsom, David, 331
Ngo Dinh Diem, 80, 254
Nguyen Dynasty, 78
Nguyen Minh Triet, 98, 101
Nguyen Tam Dung, 98
Nguyen Van Linh, 88–89
Nguyen Van Thieu, 84
Niblock, Tom, 338
Nishimoto, Shoji, 233
Nixon Doctrine, 256–57, 302
Nixon, Richard, 254, 286
  resignation of, 84
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobel Peace Prize, Ramos-Horta, Jose, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-alignment maintenance during Cold War, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukarno, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-tariff barriers, removal in Indonesia, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-tariff barriers, Indonesia, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nong Duc Manh, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea, invasion of South Korea, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Vietnam, 254, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numata, Sadaaki, 232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oak Mutiny, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obuchi, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil prices rise in, 118, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weakening, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oligarchs, Philippines, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one China policy, 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Society Institute, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Cold Storage, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orderly Departure Programme, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overpopulation, Java, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overseas contract workers (OCWs), Philippines, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), 195–214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evolution of, 198–200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major Japanese players, 197–98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective, 196–97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revised charter, 212–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third World governments, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Development Programme, Ford Foundation, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxfam, 189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Basin Studies Programme, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Agreements, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC), 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Peace Accords, 257, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Peace Agreements, 83, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party-switching, Philippines, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick, Hugh, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patrimonial nature of state, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patrimonial state, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical role of, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Corps, 99, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelita Air, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People Power, 58, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peace process, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Action Party (PAP), 38–39, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), special session, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Republic of China (PRC), 251, see also China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perestroika, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pertamina, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dispute with Exxon Mobil, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resources, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pham Hong Son, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan Chu Trinh, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phan Van Khai, 98, 100, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines, 20, 58, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986 presidential elections, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquino government, 118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
agriculture, 123, 134
agricultural taxes, 123
Bangko Sentral Pilipinas, 142
cacique characterisation, 130
capital flight from, 116
cause of poor performance, 126–30
Central Bank (Bangko Sentral Pilipinas), 119, 130
Chinese retailers, 128
Commission on Elections (COMELEC), 132
communism, growth of, 115
communist insurgency, 77, 118
Central Luzon, 35
consequences of poor performance, 124–26
damaged culture, 127
decline in tax collection and investment, 119
defeat of Huk, 129
education system, 124
effect of Asian financial crisis, 143
electoral violence, 140
erratic economic performance, 121–22
establishment of relations with China, 287
Estrada administration, 132
Estrada government, 119
export performance, 137
exports, 134
factionalism, 131
failure of democracy, 130
fertility rates, 6
foreign creditors, 117
GDP growth, 133–34
gross domestic savings, 123
gross national product (1980), 116
import substitution manufacturing, 116
influence of Catholic Church, 127
International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), 16
Japanese occupation, 4
legitimizing power of elections, 130
liberalization of financial sector, 130
management of political change, 139–41
Marcos’ use of state funds, 40
martial law, 38
mediocre economic performance, 113
member of SEATO, 275
missing foundation for growth and development, 122–24
Muslim insurgencies, 116, 126
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 128
Oakwood Mutiny, 120
oligarchs, 63
opening of regime, 57
overseas contract workers, 124
people power, 58, 117
population growth, 122, 124
poverty, 138
public debt, 119
rate of poverty reduction, 125
relations with U.S., 115
reliance on borrowing, 123
repayment of loans, 203
review of performance, 114–21
role of Catholic Church, 117, 122
selected indicators, 115
selling of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), 123
skewed land distribution, 126, 135
Spanish colonialism, 126
structural transformation, 125
terrorism in, 270
trade liberalization, 118
trade reforms (1980), 121–22
traditional landed elites, 128
troops to Iraq, 270
underperformance in comparative perspective, 113–47
unemployment, 124
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. colonialism, 126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. withdrawal from, 265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines Social Council (PSSC), 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh, fast growing city, 10 piracy, problem in Strait of Malacca, 271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNI, 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political changes, Southeast Asia, 216–43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political factors, development and democracy, 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political space, creation of, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope, Allen, 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population and Community Development Association (PDA), 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population growth, Philippines, 122–24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>populism, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal, agreement with Indonesia, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-Cold War era, liberalism, 263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-Soeharto challenges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people's economy, 163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pledge of assistance from IMF, 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social safety net programmes, 164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Session of MPR, 163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poverty, incidence figure for (2003), 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poverty incidence, 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methodologies for calculation, 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poverty levels, rise in, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajogo Pangestu, 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramoj, Kukrit, 257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preferential loan aid, Japan, 203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preferential trade agreements, 207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presidential elections, Indonesia, 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>premocracy, Thailand, 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private financial flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronk, Jan, 236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property rights, protection of, 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton, 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Development Programme, 339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara), Indonesia, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), 83, 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), 317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Przeworski, Adam, 31, 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public primary education, Indonesia, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q

Quigley, Craig, 229

R

Racial Discrimination Covenant, 42–44

Ramos, Fidel, 117–18, 121, 144

Ramos government, surplus budget, 123

Ramos-Horta, Jose, 219, 224

RAND Corporation, 184

Rangoon, Ford Foundation office, 186

re-education camps, 87

Reagan administration, 261

reform fatigue, Indonesia, 162

refugees, Vietnam, from, 261

regime change, 29–66

periods of change, 34–38

regional communist parties, 282

Republic of Vietnam (RVN), 78

rent-seeking activities, Indonesia, 159

repayment of loans, 203

resource depletion, effect on Brunei, 48

rights, prioritization, 40

Rice, Condoleezza, 274, 343

Rizal Ramli, 161, 166
Robinson, Mary, 222
Rockefeller Foundation, Education for Development Program, 182
Rodan, Garry, 58
Roosevelt, Franklin, 75, 250
Four Freedoms, 75, 184
Rostow, Walter, 31
Rumsfeld, Donald, 272
rural areas, cottage industries in, 9

S
Saigon, 74
Ford Foundation office, 186
Sainteny, Jean, 75
Santa Cruz, 219
Santa Cruz massacre, 230, 235, 238
Sarwo Edhy, 326, 347
Save the Children, 189
schools, gross enrolment ratio, 50–51
SEATO, members, 275
security approach, Indonesian military measures, 218
Semen Gresik, 170
Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 12, 250, 300
Shangri-La Dialogue, 272
Sharma, C.L., 49
Shelton, Henry H., 227–28
Shinawatra, Thaksin, 294
Siam Society, 190
Sihanouk, Norodom, 253, 283
non-alignment policy, 253
Singapore
conservative political parties, 13
economic prosperity, 8
exceeding Przeworski’s $6000 per capita threshold, 59
gross national income per person, 207
important city, 10
lack of defined middle class, 58
lack of political freedom, 264
least democratice, 30
level of economic development, 206
most developed, 30
newly industrialized countries, 47
referred to as Newly Industrialized Economy, 209
rise in GDP, 57
Operation Cold Storage, 38
role of Lee Kuan Yew, 32–33
Singapore Technologies Telemedia (ST Telecomedia), 170
Sino-Southeast Asian relations, changes in, 297–301
Sino-Soviet relations, normalization of, 288
Sino-Soviet rivalry, 284
Sino-Vietnamese relations, 302
Sino-Vietnamese summit, 273
Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, 153, 155
Sjahrir Sabirin, Governor of Bank Indonesia, 175
SkyTrain, Bangkok, 48
social inequality, 32
social structure, importance of, 32
Societe generale de Surveillance (SGS), Indonesian custom service, 160
Soedjatmoko, 17
Soeharto, 14–15, 38, 133, 323
aftermath, 217
assessment of era, 341–42
Bank Indonesia seen as funds provider, 176
chair of the Council for Economic and Financial Stabilization, 163
chair of Economic Stablization Council, 157
dealing with, 339–41
decline of, 152
direct involvement in business affairs, 161
emphasis on economic stabelization, 327
maintenance of pre-eminence, 141
New Order, 152
political economy of development, 17
power struggle with Sukarno, 325
power struggle with military, 219
resignation, 235, 237
sogo shosa, 198
South China Sea
China’s claims, 303
issues on, 289
South Korea, invasion by North Korea, 77
South Vietnamese, boat people, 87
South Vietnamese army, 257
Southeast Asia (1946) to (2006), 4–14
converging trajectories in democratic, 143–45
evolving relationship with China, 281–307
Ford Foundation’s presence in, 185
foreign direct investment in, 209
goals of independence, 251
hedging strategy, 295–97
international aid, 216–43
Japan as donor, 200
life expectancy, 6
military disengagement from, 256
new emphasis on maritime, 299
relationship with revolutionary China, 282–85
second front in war on terror, 269–72
Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization, Special Programme in Archaeology and Fine Arts, 190
Southeast Asian nations
achievements under-analysed, 3
economies, transformation of, 7
extensions of India and China, 3
strategy vis-à-vis China, 282
Southeast Asian societies, transformation, 5
Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), 252, 316
Soviet Union, 74, 80, 257
collapse of, 73, 289
Gorbachev, under, 89
restructuring under Perestroika, 89
Spanish colonialism, 126
special arrangements, theorists call for, 32
Spratly Islands, 289
China’s claims, 303
dispute, 294
Spratlys, see also Spratly Islands
Sri Mulyani Indrawati, 169, 176
Finance Minister, as, 171
Stalin, 80
Standard Chartered Bank, proposed acquisition of Bank Bali, 175
state enterprises, Indonesia, 160
state-owned enterprises, Philippines, 123
stock market, Vietnam, 92
Strait of Malacca, 294, 298
threats, 271
Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity, 293
struggle for independence, distinct forms, 34
Suara Timor, 226
Subandrio, 15, 319, 325, 345
Subardjo, 253
Subic Bay Naval Base, 252, 265
Sukarno, 321
downfall of, 324
failure as an administrator, 326
Ford Foundation offer of assistance, 185
Guided Democracy, 38, 155
Guided Economy, 172
militant anti-Westernism, 15
non-aligned position under, 35
opposition of U.S., 319
power struggle with Soeharto, 325
Sukiman government, 253
Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, 153
Super 301 trade law, 267
SUPERSEMAR, 326
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 153, 168, 343
visit to Saudi Arabia, 344

T
Tacitus, 85
Tagaki, Shinji, 212
Taiwan, 284
conflict over, 297
visit by Lee Hsien Loong, 298
Taiwan Strait, tensions in, 297
Taiwan Strait crisis, 289
Thammasat University, 182
Tanaka, Japanese Prime Minister, 158
tax collection, 123
technology flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 204
technology-driven programmes, criticism, 189
territorial markings, 5
Tet Mau Than offensive, 86
Tet Offensive, 84, 254
Thailand, 40, 46, 58, 142
advocate of ASEAN’s cooperation with India, 294
authority of Bank of Thailand, 142
bloody coup, 40
Board of Investment, see Board of Investment (BOI)
cancellation of conference by Falun Gong, 298
capitalization of resources, 143
Chulalongkorn University, 12
communist insurgency, 77
comparative advantage in agriculture, 135
constitutional monarchy, 35
deployment of troops to Iraq, 270
economic growth (1986 to 1990), 147
economy, contraction of, 7
establishment of relations with China, 287
expansion of democracy, 57
export performance, 137
GDP growth, 134
IMF support package, 274
inequality, 8
informal alliance with China, 286
Kasetsart University, 182
Mahidol University, 182
member of SEATO, 275
middle class, 140
military, 38
military exercises with U.S. armed forces, 261
parliamentary system, 36
poverty, 138
reduced poverty, 53
reform-mind monarchy, 133
reign of King Bhumibol, 141
reinvigoration of relations with U.S., 260
role in Chinese relations with Southeast Asia, 306
role of military, 13, 33
shift to export oriented industrialization, 136
success story, 47
Thammasat University, 182
U.S. refusal to contribute to bailout, 268
Thailand Association of Social Sciences (SSAT), 189
Thanin government, overthrow of, 190
The World Economy, historical statistics, 5
Index

Thieu, inability to lead in political reform, 86
Third Indo-China War, 259 end of, 263
third wave democracies, 46
threshold level of income, 31
Timberman, David G., 20
Timor L’este, 46
limited economic achievement, 47
profound change in, 13
Track Two dialogues, 191
trade flows, Japan and Southeast Asian countries, 205
trading companies
Japanese, 198, 209
Treaty of Amity and Concord (TAC), 258
Tran Xuan Bach, 90
Transition Indonesia project, 18
transportation, move up in technology ladder, 10
tavel industry, within Southeast Asian countries, 11
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, 97, 293, 296, 305
tsunami, 294
tutus, 10

U
UN Nu, 36
U Thant, 40
UN Commission on Human Rights, 225
UN High Commission for Human Rights, 222
UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 261, 338
Orderly Departure Programme, 261
UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 263
UN Trust Fund, 232
Underhill, Frank, 320
unemployment, Philippines, 124
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 252
United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 39, 59
United Nations
peace operations in Cambodia, 72
political consultation in East Timor, 217
support of East Timor, 221
United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), 222
United Nations General Assembly, condemnation of invasion of East Timor, 218
United Nations Development Programme, 66
United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 6
United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 222
United Nations Transitional Administration, 223
United States
access to Thai bases, 257
accounting American MIAs, 258
attack on Afghanistan, 270
Bureau of European Affairs, 77
Bush Administration, 249
Clinton Administration, 229
Congressional elections (1974), 84
Declaration of Independence, 316
Department of State’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 317
focus on democracy, 31
global war on terror (GWOT), 249
intervention in Southeast Asia, 254–56
lack of engagement, 293
military disengagement from Southeast Asia, 256
military exercises with Thailand, 261
news modes of engagement, 257–59
normalization of relations, 258
policy towards Southeast Asia, 21
predominance in Southeast Asia, 250–52
reaction to conflict in East Timor, 223–29
Reagan administration, 261
reinvigoration of relationship with Thailand, 260
relations with Indonesia, 311–48
relations with Southeast Asia, 249–78
relations with Vietnam, 97
strategic doctrine, 250
support of Vietnam’s independence, 75–77
war on terrorism, 295
withdrawal from Philippines, 265
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 225
funding of local civil society organizations, 226
mission director, 345
United States Security Strategy for the East Asia-Pacific Region, 263
United States-Indonesia Society, 344
University of California, 188
University of Indonesia, establishment of faculty of economics, 187
University of the Philippines, 182
urban areas, 10
U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 99
U.S. Department of Defence
East Asia Security Initiative (EASI), 265
U.S. East Asian Strategy Review, 265
U.S. Freedom of Information Act, 333
U.S. Navy vessels, port calls in Ho Chi Minh City, 99
U.S.-Indonesia relations, 314, 343
U.S.-Indonesia Society (USINDO), 17
U.S.-Southeast Asian relations, 250
U.S.-Vietnamese relations
failed normalization, 276
normalization, 98
U.S.-Vietnamese trade, surge, 273

V
Van, John Paul, 85
Vance, Cyrus, 17, 259
Versailles Conference (1919), 75
Vienna Summit, 254
Viet Cong, 81
infrastructure, 80
Viet Minh, 76, 282
guerillas, 80
Vietnam
Appeal for Freedom of Political Association, 102
bilateral trade agreement with U.S., 273
Bloc 8406, 102,
boat people, 261
Catholic elite, 81
Central Highlands, 96, 100
Cold War, and, 74–75
collateral damage, 74
communism redux, 100
Consumer Price Index (CPI), 93
Countries of Particular Concern, 99
crude oil exports, 92
demilitarized zone (DMZ), 79
democracy, 104
desperate situation after World War II, 73
doi moi, 20, 89
eyears of communist rule, 40
economic competition from, 145
export growth, 92
family planning programmes, 5
fertility rates, 6
Final Declaration of the Conference, 78
foreign direct investment, 92
foreign policy, 97–100
GDP per capita, 91
great power friends, manipulation by, 74
inclusion in ASEAN, 97
increasing diversity of groups, association, and organizations, 94
inflation, 92
Internet, 96
isolation from ASEAN neighbours, 88
land reform programme, 80
majority Buddhist population, 81
Ministry of Culture, 96
National Assembly, 94
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 95
normalization of relations with U.S., 98
officers’ participation in educational programmes abroad, 193
Orderly Departure Programme, 99
peaceful evolution, 91
peaceful evolution of political liberalization, 273
positive change, 93–97
POW/MIA issue, 108
Production Management Unit 18 Affair, 93
Protestantism, growth of, 109
re-education camps, 87
relations with U.S., 97
rich body of scholarship on, 4
rise of communo-capitalist class, 102
socialist market economy, 91
socialist transformation, 97
South China Sea issues, 97
stock market, 92
success of family-based businesses, 91
Tet offensive, 84
Thai Binh province, 103
transformations, 72–109
two Vietnamese, 79–83
U.S. reconciliation with, 258
U.S. withdrawal from, 256
unintended consequences, 74
winning war against colonial power, 13
withdrawal from Cambodia, 262
Vietnam Communist Party (VCP), 41
Vietnam Foreign Investment Agency, 92
Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey, 91
Vietnam Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR), 98
Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang (VNQDD), 79
Vietnam War, 4, 73, 186, 285
escalation of, 283
exit from, 286
resolving legacy issues, 266
Vietnam-U.S. relations, 99
Vietnamese American community, 99
Vietnamese Communist Party, 73, 76, 89
Congresses, 90
one party rule, 94
Politburo, 89–90
separation of Party bureaucracy, 95
Sixth National Congress, 88
Seventh National Congress (1991), 89
Tenth National Congress, 100–01
Vietnamese influence, China’s opposition, 287
Vietnamization, 256–57
violent conflicts, 34

W
Warta Bakti, 322
Washington Consensus, 263
Watergate scandal, 84
Weatherbee, Donald, 22
Weatherhead East Asian Institute of Columbia University, 17
Welsh, Bridget, 19
West Irian, Indonesia conflict with Netherlands, 154
Westmoreland, William, 83
Widjojo Nitisastro (Prof), 15, 157, 174–75
Williamsburg conferences, 17
Wiranto, 227–28
World Bank, 191, 266
  1993 report, 61
  funding from Japan, 200
  Indonesia, 166
  president of, 184
  release of press statement regarding East Timor, 228
Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey, 91

World Bank Report, *The East Asian Miracle*, 262
World Economic Forum, 294
World Trade Organization (WTO), 91, 207
World War II
  change in territorial markings, 5
  independence after, 37

Y
  Yayasan HAK, 226
  yen, volatility, 203

Z
  Zhou Enlai, 283–84, 296
  Zhou Xiaochuan, 298