Reproduced from Southeast Asia in a New Era: Ten Countries, One Region in ASEAN edited by Rodolfo C. Severino, Elspeth Thomson and Mark Hong (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at < http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sq >

## Southeast Asia New Era

The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization 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 the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

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.

# Southeast Asia New Era

Ten Countries, One Region in ASEAN

**EDITED BY** 

RODOLFO C. SEVERINO, ELSPETH THOMSON AND MARK HONG



Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore

First published in Singapore in 2010 by ISEAS Publishing Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang Singapore 119614

*E-mail*: publish@iseas.edu.sg *Website*: bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

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 prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2010 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publishers or their supporters.

#### ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Southeast Asia in a new era: ten countries, one region in ASEAN / edited by Rodolfo C. Severino, Elspeth Thomson and Mark Hong.

- 1. ASEAN.
- 2. Southeast Asia.
- I. Severino, Rodolfo C.
- II. Thomson, Elspeth
- III. Hong, Mark.

DS525 S72 2010

ISBN 978-981-230-957-0 (soft cover) ISBN 978-981-230-958-7 (PDF)

This book is meant for educational and learning purposes. The authors of the book have taken all reasonable care to ensure that the contents of the book do not violate any existing copyright or other intellectual property rights of any person in any manner whatsoever. In the event the authors have been unable to track any source and if any copyright has been inadvertently infringed, please notify the publisher in writing for corrective action.

Typeset by International Typesetters Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Seng Lee Press Pte Ltd

#### **Contents**

Foreword <i>Tan Tai</i> Y		vii
Preface K. <i>Kesava</i>	apany	ix
About the	e Contributors	xi
Acknowle	edgements	xix
	neast Asia: An Overview t Singh	1
	ei Darussalam pambipillai	25
3. Camb	bodia ong Peou	45
4. Indo	nesia edradjad Djiwandono and Leonard C. Sebastian	65
5. Laos Mart	in Stuart-Fox	95
6. Mala Johan	ysia n Saravanamuttu and Ooi Kee Beng	111
7. Myai	nmar Maung Maung Than and Kyaw Yin Hlaing	133
	Philippines M. Morada	159
9. Singa	pore Shai Leong	179

10.	Thailand Pavin Chachavalpongpun	199
11.	Vietnam Le Dang Doanh and Pham Hoang Ha	221
12.	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations Rodolfo C. Severino	241
13.	Afterword: Southeast Asia in a New Era  Mark Hong	267

#### **Foreword**

Unlike most of the existing publications on ASEAN, this volume focuses not on ASEAN as a regional entity but on the ten countries that compose the whole. It is this approach that makes this an interesting and useful volume, and which complements well the recently published *Know Your ASEAN* (ISEAS, 2007) as up-to-date, informative and accessible resource materials suitable for students and the general public. With ten in-depth studies of the states that make up ASEAN, this volume offers the reader a useful ground-level view of the different and distinct parts that constitute the region and the regional grouping.

The country studies deal with historical evolution, development strategies, political systems and national characteristics (accompanied by useful statistical data and chronologies) of the member states of ASEAN. They reveal the similarities of regional environment and experience, as well as the commonness of purpose and challenges, that underpin the desirability of and, indeed, the need for tighter and deeper regional co-operation. At the same time, specific national interests and varying domestic priorities of the different states are the very factors that often come in the way of collective regional objectives.

ASEAN has indeed come a long way since its establishment in 1967. At forty years, it is on the threshold of a new era. An ASEAN Charter has entered into effect, reflecting a greater sense of common purpose and belonging among its member states, and there is high expectation for Southeast Asia to collectively become an essential part of Asia's inevitable economic and political ascendancy this century. Has ASEAN consolidated and defined Southeast Asia as one unified region? The answer lies not in the rhetorical expression for "ASEAN-ness" based on an imagined identity but in the realities embedded in the individual countries that make up ASEAN. Different levels of economic development, pace of liberalization and the state of governance of its members are challenges to the forging of a truly cohesive and effective ASEAN community. The fulfilment of effective regionalism will depend ultimately on finding congruence and complementarities among a range of sometimes incompatible economic and political structures, interests and priorities. To understand ASEAN and how it functions, one needs, therefore, to know its constituent parts. Herein lies the value of this compilation. ISEAS must be congratulated for publishing in quick succession a number of useful and accessible volumes that will surely enhance knowledge of ASEAN and its composite parts and support that indispensable educational process that will contribute to greater understanding and awareness of what it means to be a citizen of ASEAN.

Professor Tan Tai Yong Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences National University of Singapore

#### **Preface**

This book arises out of the conjunction of several events and objectives. The events include the celebration of ASEAN's fortieth anniversary as well as ISEAS' own fortieth anniversary in 2008: what better way to commemorate these two significant anniversary years than a solid book on our region, published by ISEAS?

The aims of this book include our desire to contribute to ASEAN community building, as expressed in the declared objective to construct the three ASEAN communities — security, socio-cultural and economic — by 2015. Communities need to be founded on solid understanding, cooperation and trust between the peoples who comprise these communities. For that to happen, mutual knowledge and understanding have to exist and to grow. This book aims to enhance knowledge, especially amongst the youth, of the ten countries that make up ASEAN.

A second major aim, as stated by the Singapore Ministry of Education (MOE), is to teach our students about our neighbours. ISEAS has thus aimed at achieving this national objective through this book, which has benefited from tapping the expertise of ASEAN scholars and national perspectives in writing and producing an accessible and interesting book.

Southeast Asia is a vibrant, rich and fast-developing region that dominates vital international sea-lanes. There are many fascinating stories to be told about each of the ten ASEAN members. This book delivers these narratives in a readable discourse about the struggles for independence, development, peace and prosperity undergone by each country. We hope that the public and the students will enjoy and learn from this user-friendly book.

Finally, I wish to thank the three editors, Mark Hong, Visiting Research Fellow at ISEAS, Rodolfo C. Severino, Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre, ISEAS, and Dr Elspeth Thomson, Senior Fellow at the Energy Studies Institute and Visiting Research Fellow at ISEAS, for their hard work in editing this book, ably assisted by Miss Stasia Stanislava, ISEAS intern,

and Benjamin Tang, ESI energy economist, as well as all the paper writers and the ISEAS Publications Unit.

K. Kesavapany Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore

#### **About the Contributors**

Pavin CHACHAVALPONGPUN (pavin@iseas.edu.sg) is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. Prior to this, he served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand in many capacities, including most recently at the Royal Thai Embassy in Singapore. He received his Honours BA in International Relations from Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Political Science and his PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies, Department of Political Studies, University of London. He is the author of A Plastic Nation: The Curse of Thainess in Thai-Burmese Relations (2005), and contributor to a number of forthcoming books, including Conflict and Legitimacy Crisis in Thailand and Political Change, Democratic Transitions and Security in Southeast Asia, to be released by end 2009. Pavin is also the author of Reinventing Thailand: Thaksin Shinawatra and His Foreign Policy, to be published in late 2009 by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. He is a regular contributor to The Nation, Bangkok Post, Straits Times, South China Morning Post, OpinionAsia and The Irrawaddy, writing mostly on topics relating to Thai politics, nationalism and national identity, Thai foreign policy, and international relations in general.

J. Soedradjad DJIWANDONO (isjsdjiwandono@ntu.edu.sg) was Professor of International Economics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and member of the Pro-tem Advisory Board to the Provost of NTU. He is also Emeritus Professor of Economics at the University of Indonesia. He taught Economics at the Faculty of Economics, the University of Indonesia. He also had a long career, serving in different capacities in the Indonesian Government, including the Department of Finance and the Depart-ment of Trade and Industry, the National Planning Board (Bappenas) and the Office of the Minister Coordinator for Economics and Finance. He held cabinet posts: as Junior Minister for Trade and as Governor of Bank Indonesia, Indonesia's central bank. All were in the Soeharto government. He earned his BA from Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, his MSc from the University of Wisconsin, Madison and his MA in Political Economy and PhD in Economics from Boston University. His research interests include the monetary, banking and trade policies of Indonesia and ASEAN. His publications include several books: Mengelola Bank Indonesia Dalam Masa Krisis (2001),

Bergulat Dengan Krisis (2001), and Bank Indonesia and the Crisis: An Insider's View (2005). He was also editor and team leader of a six-volume book, Sejarah Bank Indonesia, 1945–2003 [History of Bank Indonesia], of which five were published in 2006 and 2007. He has contributed chapters in a number of books, as well as articles in journals and newspapers on monetary economics, international trade and development economics.

Khai Leong (KLHo@ntu.edu.sg) is Associate Professor, School of Humanities and Social Science, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. He has a PhD from Ohio State University. His current research interests include Singapore and Malaysia politics, China-ASEAN relations, corporate governance and administrative reforms. His publications include The Politics of Policy-making in Singapore (2000) (The new edition is published as Shared Responsibilities, Unshared Power: The Politics of Policy-making in Singapore, 2003); Performance and Crisis of Governance of Mahathir's Administration (co-editor, 2001); and China and Southeast Asia: Global Changes and Regional Challenges (coeditor, 2005). The latest works he has edited are Reforming Corporate Governance in Southeast Asia: Economics, Politics and Regulations (2005); Rethinking Administrative Reforms in Southeast Asia (2006); and Ensuring Interests: Dynamics of China-Taiwan Relations and Southeast Asia (co-editor) (2006).

Mark HONG (markhong@iseas.edu.sg) is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, and a Vice-Chairman of the International Committee of the Singapore Business Federation. He has a BA in Economics from Cambridge University and an MSc in International Relations from Georgetown University (Fulbright Scholarship). Hong joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1969. He served at the Singapore Embassy in Phnom Penh (1974 to 1975), at the Singapore Commission in Hong Kong (1975 to 1976), the Singapore Embassy in Paris (1982 to 1986) and the Singapore Permanent Mission to United Nations in New York (1988 to 1994). At the MFA headquarters, he served in various senior capacities. His last foreign posting was as Singapore Ambassador to Russia and Ukraine from November 1995 to March 2002. From 2002 to 2004, he was a visiting senior fellow in the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He has delivered over 200 conference papers and lectures to various international seminars and conferences and has edited four ISEAS books on energy issues, one on Southeast Asia and two on ASEAN-Russia relations.

LE Dang Doanh (ledangdoanh@gmail.com) is with the private, independent Institute for Development Studies in Hanoi. Before October 2007, he served as President of the Central Institute of Economic Management in Vietnam, Advisor to the Minister for Planning and Investment and Member of the Prime Minister's Research Commission. Prior to this, he was a Senior Economist in the General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh's Office of the Communist Party from 1988 to 1990. In 1967 he earned a degree with high distinction in Chemical Technology from the Technical University of Leuna-Merseburg in the German Democratic Republic. In 1984 he studied economics at the National Economy Academy in Moscow. From 1985 to1990 he was at the National Economic University and received his PhD in Economics in 1995. Le Dang Doanh has published extensively in Vietnamese and English on issues surrounding economic reform in Vietnam. He speaks German, English, French and Russian.

KYAW Yin Hlaing (yawyiyin@gmail.com) is Assistant Professor of Asian and International Studies at the City University of Hong Kong. He is currently conducting research on the "Political Economy of Rice in Burma" and on "Democracy, Social Movements and Dictatorship" in Myanmar. His area of specialization is mainland Southeast Asia. A native of Myanmar., he received a BA from the University of Mandalay and an MA and PhD from Cornell University. He is completing research for a book on Myanmar's post-socialist political economy.

Noel M. MORADA (nmorada@gmail.com) is Executive Director of the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, School of Political Science and International Studies, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia. He was formerly Professor of Political Science, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City. He was a Distinguished Visiting Professor, Southeast Asia Studies Program, at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC in the Spring of 2008. He was also Visiting Professor at the Asia Europe Institute, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, in March 2009 and handled a course on ASEAN political and economic policy agenda in the Institute's International Masters in ASEAN programme. Morada was Chair of the Department of Political Science (2003-07), College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines. His areas of specialization include Southeast Asian security, comparative politics of Southeast Asia, and ASEAN relations with China, Japan, and the United States. He is a member of the International Advisory Board of the Asia Pacific Centre for R2P (Responsibility to Protect) based in the University of Queensland in Australia.

He is also on the Editorial Board of the Global Responsibility to Protect, an international refereed journal. Morada's other publications include "The Philippines: State vs. The People?", in Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences, edited by Muthiah Alagappa (1998); "The Revitalized Philippine-US Security Alliance: Exploring Mutuality of Interests in the Fight Against International Terrorism", Southeast Asian Affairs 2003; "The Fight Against Terrorism in Southeast Asian After the Iraq War" (Panorama, 1/2003); and "After the Withdrawal from Iraq: Progress and Setbacks in Philippine-US Security relations", in Controlling Arms and Terror: After Bali and Iraq, edited by Marika Vicziany (2007).

OOI Kee Beng (keebeng@iseas.edu.sg) is a Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, where he coordinates the Malaysia Studies Programme. His PhD is in Sinology, from Stockholm University, where he lectured on Chinese Philosophy and Chinese History from 1995 to 2004. His books include Arrested Reform: The Undoing of Abdullah Badawi (2009); March 8: Eclipsing May 13 (2008, co-authored with Johan Saravanamuttu and Lee Hock Guan); Malaya's First Year at the United Nations (2008, co-compiled with Tawfik Ismail); Lost in Transition: Malaysia under Abdullah (2008); The Era of Transition: Malaysia after Mahathir (2006); Chinese Strategists: Beyond Sun Zi's Art of War (2006); The Reluctant Politician: Tun Dr Ismail and His Time (2006) and Continent, Coast and Ocean: Dynamics of Regionalism in Eastern Asia (2007, co-edited with Ding Choo Ming), Chinese Studies of the Malay World: A Comparative Approach (2003, co-edited with Ding Choo Ming), and HRD for Developing States and Companies (2005, co-edited with Abdul Ghani Metusin). His translations of Chinese classics into Swedish include Wei Liao Zis krigskonst (2001), Wu Zis krigskonst (2001) and Sunzis krigskonst (1997, with Bengt Pettersson). He writes regular commentaries on Malaysian politics and socioeconomics in regional newspapers.

PHAM Hoang Ha (hoangha@ciem.org.vn) has been a Researcher in the Department of Economic Management at the Central Institute for Economic Management, Hanoi, since 1993. He writes primarily on Vietnam's fiscal and monetary policies, financial institutions, business environment and competitiveness. He has done work-related stints in China, Australia, Sweden and the UK. He has a Bachelor of Economics from the National Economic University in Vietnam (1992), a Graduate Diploma in Development Economics from the Australian National University (1997) and an MSc in Economics from Birmingham University (2003).

Sorpong PEOU (s-peou@hoffman.cc.sophia.ac.jp) is Professor of International Security (Political Science) in the Graduate Program on Global Studies and the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Sophia University, Tokyo. He has a PhD from York University, Toronto. Born in Cambodia, he is a Canadian citizen and has been working overseas for the past 15 years. He was a Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) before taking up a teaching position at Sophia University in 1999. He has authored three books: International Democracy Assistance for Peacebuilding: Cambodia and Beyond (2007), Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Toward Democracy? (2001), Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War: From Battlefield to Ballot-box (1997), and Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific: Theory and Practice (forthcoming). The edited volume, Human Security in East Asia: Challenges for Collaborative Action (2008), has just been published. His main research interests are security studies and democracy studies. He is working on several other projects in the field of international security.

Johan SARAVANAMUTTU (johan@iseas.edu.sg) is a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. He was formerly professor of political science at Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang, where he served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences (1994–96) and as Dean of the Research Platform on Social Transformation (2003–06). In 1997, he was the Visiting Chair in ASEAN and International Studies at the University of Toronto. His published works include the first major study of Malaysia's foreign policy (1983), ASEAN regional non-governmental organizations (1986) and the nexus between industrialization and the institutionalization of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia (1991). More recent publications include New Politics in Malaysia (co-edited with Francis Loh, 2003) and Political Islam in Southeast Asia, Special Issue (Guest Editor), Global Change Peace and Security (vol. 16, no. 2, June 2004). He is currently writing a book on Malaysia's Foreign Policy: The First 50 Years.

Leonard C. SEBASTIAN (islcsebastian@ntu.edu.sg) is Associate Professor and Head, Undergraduate Studies and Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). He is a member of the Advisory Panel to the Singapore Government Parliamentary Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs (GPC-DFA). Sebastian joined RSIS (previously known as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies) as Senior Fellow in October 2000. From February 1995 to September 2000 he was a Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS). Prior to joining ISEAS,

he worked for the Current Affairs Division of the then Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (1988–89). Sebastian earned a BA in history from York University, in the process winning the Department of History's International Churchill Society Award. His MA (with distinction) in political science and graduate diploma in strategic studies are also from York. In 1992, he was awarded an ISEAS scholarship and completed a PhD in politics and international relations from the Australian National University, where he was affiliated with the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. He is the author of *Realpolitik Ideology: Indonesia's Use of Military Force* (2006). His refereed articles have been published in the *Journal of Strategic Studies, Cambridge Review of International Affairs* and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. His research interests include Indonesia's politics, political economy, regional autonomy, foreign policy and civil-military relations; regional security in Southeast Asia; and international relations theory.

Rodolfo C. SEVERINO (severino@iseas.edu.sg) is the head of the ASEAN Studies Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore and a frequent speaker at international conferences in Asia and Europe. Having been Secretary-General of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations from 1998 to 2002, he has completed a book, entitled Southeast Asia in Search of an ASEAN Community, published by ISEAS, on issues facing ASEAN, including the economic, security and other challenges confronting the region. He has also produced a book on ASEAN in ISEAS' Southeast Asia Background Series. His views on ASEAN and Southeast Asia have been published in ASEAN Today and Tomorrow, a compilation of his speeches and other statements. Severino has completed a book on the ASEAN Regional Forum, and is currently working on one on the Philippine national territory. He writes articles for journals and for the press. Before assuming the position of ASEAN Secretary-General, Severino was Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines. In the Philippine Foreign Service, Severino was Ambassador to Malaysia from 1989 to 1992. He twice served as ASEAN Senior Official for the Philippines. Severino has a BA in the humanities from the Ateneo de Manila University and an MA in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

Daljit SINGH (daljit@iseas.edu.sg) is a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. He read Philosophy and History at the then University of Malaya in Singapore, majoring in Philosophy, and then read Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford University. His career has spanned the public service in Singapore as well as the scholarly world at ISEAS. His research interests are Southeast Asian security and politics, including the policies and interests of the major powers

in this region. He has written book chapters and articles on these issues and contributed opinion pieces in the local and international press. He has been editing or co-editing the ISEAS annual publication *Southeast Asian Affairs* for most of the past decade and was also editor for a number of years of ISEAS' annual *Regional Outlook*. His most recent (edited) publications are *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2009 and *The Political and Security Dynamics of South and Southeast Asia*.

Martin STUART-FOX (m.stuartfox@uq.edu.au) is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Queensland. After an early career in journalism, mostly in Asia, he completed his MA and PhD in the theory and philosophy of history, before joining the staff of the university. He became interested in Laos after the Pathet Lao seized power in 1975. Stuart-Fox has written more than fifty articles and book chapters and six books on Laos, including Laos: Politics, Economics, and Society, History (1986), The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and Decline (c1998), Buddhist Kingdom, Marxist State: The Making of Modern Laos (1996), and Historical Dictionary of Laos (1992, now in its third edition). His best-known work on Laos, however, is his History of Laos (Cambrige University Press, 1997). He has also written A Short History of China and Southeast Asia: Tribute, Trade and Influence (2003). He is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

Pushpa THAMBIPILLAI (pushpa@fbeps.ubd.edu.bn) is teaching at the Department of Public Policy and Administration, University of Brunei Darussalam. She has a BSc and MSc from Universiti Sains Malaysia and an MA and PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawaii. Her teaching and research interests include international organizations, ASEAN, and the Asia Pacific. She has contributed articles on Brunei to Southeast Asian Affairs, Regional Outlook and Asia Pacific Security Outlook.

Elspeth THOMSON (esiebt@nus.edu.sg) is a Senior Fellow at the Energy Studies Institute (ESI), National University of Singapore. She received her PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her main research interests are Asian energy economics and security and Asian transport. She authored *The Chinese Coal Industry: An Economic History* (2003) and an edited volume, *China's Science & Technology Sector and the Forces of Globalisation* (2008). She has published articles concerning various aspects of Asia's energy sector in *The China Quarterly, Pacific and Asian Journal of Energy, Journal of Applied Statistics, China Review, East Asia: An International Quarterly*, and *Perspectives*. She has co-edited the East Asian Institute's internationally refereed journal, *China: An International Journal*,

since 2003. Through the 1990s she taught at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and Lingnan University in Hong Kong.

TIN Maung Maung Than (tin@iseas.edu.sg), a Myanmar national, is a Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore. After completing a Masters in nuclear physics at the Rangoon Arts and Science University and a graduate diploma in economic planning at the Rangoon Institute of Economics, he later obtained a PhD in politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. A member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London) and the Association for Asian Studies (USA), he is currently the Associate Editor of the ISEAS journal Contemporary Southeast Asia and the series editor of ISEAS Working Papers. Over two decades, he has contributed more than ninety articles in newsletters, newspapers, journals and edited volumes. He is the author of State Dominance in Myanmar: The Political Economy of Industrialization (2007) and "Mapping the Contours of Human Security Challenges in Myanmar", in Myanmar: State, Society and Ethnicity, edited by N. Ganesan and Kyaw Yin Hlaing (2007). His research interests include political economy of development, democratization and civil-military relations in developing countries, human security, nuclear proliferation, Myanmar politics and economics.

### Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the following for granting us permission to reproduce the photographs listed below:

Cover and p. 267: Laos performers dance during the closing ceremony of the Southeast-Asian (SEA) Games in Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand, 15 December 2007. REUTERS/Chaiwat Subprasom.

- p. 1: A man looks at a screen outside a United Overseas Bank (UOB) branch in Singapore's financial district, 31 October 2008. REUTERS/Vivek Prakash.
- p. 25: Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien Mosque in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, 3 May 2007. REUTERS/Bazuki Muhammad.
- p. 45: Angkor Wat, parts of which are being restored in Siem Reap, Cambodia, 9 December 2007. REUTERS/Emma Goh.
- p. 65: Selamat Datang Monument in JI. MH Thamrin in Jakarta, Indonesia, 27 December 2008. TEMPO/Zulkarnain.
- p. 70: May 1973 Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew scattering flowers on the graves of the two Indonesian marines hanged in October 1968 for exploding a bomb in 1965. United Press International.
- p. 72: A statue of the Buddha in the compound of Borobudur temple in Central Java, Indonesia, 3 June 2004. REUTERS/Dwi Oblo.
- p. 95: That Luang tower, Laos' national Buddhist shrine, in Vientiane, 24 July 2005. REUTERS/Chaiwat Subprasom.
- p. 111: Malaysia's landmark Petronas Twin Towers and Kuala Lumpur Tower are seen in the capital Kuala Lumpur, 24 December 2003. REUTERS/Bazuki Muhammad.
- p. 133: Buddhist monks walk around the compound of the Shwedagon pagoda in Yangon, Myanmar, 5 January 2002. REUTERS/Sukree Sukplang.
- p. 159: The monument to national hero Jose Rizal, located in Luneta Park in the centre of Manila, Philippines. Two soldiers stand guard in front of the monument. Photo by Aidan O'Rourke <www.aidan.co.uk>.
- p. 179: The Esplanade and the uncompleted Marina Bay Sands casino resort in Singapore, 31 December 2008. REUTERS/Tim Chong.

- p. 195: Evening sets over Singapore's Chinatown district, 18 November 2008. REUTERS/Dennis Owen.
- p. 199: A bridge crossing Bangkok's Chao Phraya river in the western suburb of the Thai capital, 28 June 2006. REUTERS/Sukree Sukplang.
- p. 221: Pagoda in centre of Ho Hoan Kiem Lake, Vietnam. Hanoi Lonely Planet Images (Rights-managed).
- p. 241: A delegate reading documents in front of flags of ASEAN member countries in Singapore, 23 July 2008. REUTERS/Romeo Gacad.