Reproduced from The 3rd ASEAN Reader, compiled by Ooi Kee Beng, Sanchita Basu Das, Terence Chong, Malcolm Cook, Cassey Lee and Michael Yeo (Singapore: ISEAS—Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015). 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 ISEAS—Yusof Ishak Institute. Individual articles are available at <<u>http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg</u>>

The Contributors

AHMAD FUZI BIN ABDUL RAZAK is the former Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia. He currently serves on the boards of several private and public organizations.

NARONGCHAI AKRASANEE is the Minister of Energy for the Kingdom of Thailand. A renowned economist, he held various senior government positions in Thailand, including: Minister of Commerce and Director of the National Economic and Social Development Board.

JOSE T. ALMONTE is the former National Security Advisor and Director-General of the National Security Council in the Philippines. He retired from the Armed Forces of the Philippines with the rank of Major General.

JULIO AMADOR is Deputy Director-General of the Philippines' Foreign Service Institute. His research interests include: ASEAN; East Asian integration; the Philippines' foreign and economic policy; security analysis; Southeast Asia's security and politics.

DAVID ARASE is Professor of International Politics at the John Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies in Nanjing, China. He is also a Research Associate at the Pacific Basin Institute at Pomona College in Claremont, CA where he previously taught in the Politics Department for twenty-two years.

ASEAN SECRETARIAT is the official administrative body of ASEAN, and is based in Jakarta. Established on 24 February 1976, its basic mandate is to provide for greater efficiency in the coordination of ASEAN organs and for more effective implementation of ASEAN projects and activities.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK INSTITUTE is the think-tank of the Asian Development Bank that focuses on identifying development strategies for the Asia-Pacific. Established in 1997 in Tokyo, its work covers applied research; capacity building and training; and outreach and knowledge management.

MARUJA M.B. ASIS is Director of Research at the Scalabrini Migration Center. She is also Co-Editor of the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.

PREMA-CHANDRA ATHUKORALA is Professor of Economics at the Australian National University, and fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. He has served as a consultant to the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and several United Nations agencies at various times. His research interests include: development macroeconomics; and trade and development.

MYRNAAUSTRIA is Professor at the School of Economics, De La Salle University. Her research interests include: ASEAN economic integration; development economics; macroeconomics; and trade and investment.

SANCHITA BASU DAS is a Fellow and Lead Researcher for Economic Affairs (ASEAN Studies Centre) at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. She is also the Coordinator of the Singapore APEC Study Centre and Co-Editor of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*. Her research interests include: international trade; regional economic integration; and Southeast Asian economies.

GRAZIANO BATTISTELLA is Director of the Scalabrini Migration Center, and the founder and Co-Editor of the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*. He is also a Scalabrinian missionary.

MARK BEESON is Professor of International Politics at the University of Western Australia. The author of more than 150 journal articles and book chapters, his work is centred on the politics, economics and security of the broadly conceived Asia-Pacific region.

NICK BISLEY is Professor of International Relations and Head of the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Legal Studies at La Trobe University. His research and teaching expertise is in the international relations of the Asia-Pacific, globalization, and the diplomacy of great powers.

ERNEST Z. BOWER is Senior Adviser and Sumitro Chair for Southeast Asian Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. A leading expert on Southeast Asia, he is also President and Chief Executive Officer of BowerGroupAsia, a business advisory firm he created and built.

MARCO BÜNTE is Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations at the School of Arts & Sciences, Monash University, Malaysia, and Co-Editor of the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. His research interests include: democracy promotion; human rights; transnational movements; and non-traditional security issues.

MELY CABALLERO-ANTHONY is Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She does research in conflict prevention and management; ASEAN politics; and regionalism and regional security in the Asia-Pacific.

WILLIAM CASE is Professor at the Department of Asian and International Studies and former Director of the Southeast Asia Research Centre at City University of Hong Kong. His research interests include comparative politics and the politics of Southeast Asia. **AKKHARAPHOL CHABCHITRCHAIDOL** is Senior Economist at ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, Singapore.

TERMSAK CHALERMPALANUPAP is Visiting Research Fellow and Lead Researcher for Political and Security Affairs (ASEAN Studies Centre) at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. His research interests include: ASEAN's political and security affairs; and ASEAN's external relations.

CHIA SIOW YUE is Senior Research Fellow at the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, and former Director of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Her research interests include: foreign direct investment; trade policy; and regional economic integration.

SUTHIPHAND CHIRATHIVAT is Professor at the Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University. He also holds several positions in the boards of academic organizations.

JA IAN CHONG is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore. His research interests include: international and domestic political institutions; international relations and politics of the Asia-Pacific; major power rivalry; and U.S.-China relations.

TERENCE CHONG is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional Socio-Cultural Studies programme at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. His research interests include: Christianity in Southeast Asia; Chinese immigration in CLMV countries; and cultural globalization in the region.

AEKAPOL CHONGVILAIVAN is Economist (Young Professional) at the Asian Development Bank and Associate Editor of *The Singapore Economic Review*. His research interests include: development economics; economies in the Asia-Pacific; and international economics.

CHIEN-PENG CHUNG is Professor of Politics at the Department of Political Science, Lingman University. His research interests include: Asian foreign and security relations; the politics and history of China; and the dynamics of political change in Asia.

GERARD CLARKE is Associate Professor in Politics and International Development at the Department of Political and Cultural Studies, Swansea University. His research interests include: global civil society organizations; human rights in Southeast Asia; and international development.

MALCOLM COOK is Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. He is also Nonresident Fellow at the Lowy Institute and Adjunct Professor at Flinders University. His research interests include: the Philippines; major power interests in Southeast Asia; and Asia-Pacific regional organizations.

IAN COXHEAD is Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Wisconsin-Madison. His research interests include: the problems of globalization; and growth and development in Asian economies, especially Southeast Asia.

JOSE RIZAL DAMURI is Head of the Economics Department at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta.

DONALDK. EMMERSON is Director of the Southeast Asia Program at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Centre, Stanford University. A renowned expert on Southeast Asia, he also serves on the editorial boards of *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (Singapore), the *Journal of Democracy* (Washington, D.C.), and the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* (Hamburg).

SIMON FEENY is Associate Professor at the School of Economics, Finance and Marketing, RMIT University. His research interests include: economic shocks; development economics; poverty and well-being; and Pacific and Melanesian countries.

YOSHIFUMI FUKUNAGA is Senior Policy Coordinator at the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia. His research interests include: ASEAN economic integration; competition policy in ASEAN; and free trade agreements in East Asia.

DANIEL GOH is Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore. His research interests include: race and ethnic relations; multiculturalism; sociology and anthropology of the state; and urban studies.

EVELYN GOH is Shedden Professor of Strategic Policy Studies at the Australian National University. Her research interests include: East Asian security and international relations; strategic policy studies; and U.S.-China relations and diplomatic history.

EUAN GRAHAM is Director of the International Security Program at the Lowy Institute. His research interests include: maritime disputes in the East and South China Seas; nuclear proliferation; the US rebalance to Asia; and defence diplomacy.

CAROLINA GUINA is Research Advisor at the Graduate School of Business, Ateneo de Manila University.

ALLAN GYNGELL is Visiting Fellow at the National Security College, and Adjunct Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University. He has a wide background in international policymaking and analysis, and has held various government positions in Australia.

MOHAMED JAWHAR HASSAN is Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia. He held various senior government positions in Malaysia, and currently holds positions in the boards of several public organizations.

DENIS HEW is Director of the Policy Support Unit at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Secretariat. He has written extensively on regional economic cooperation and integration, especially in ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific region.

MURRAY HIEBERT is Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of the Sumitro Chair for Southeast Asia Studies at the Centre for Strategic and International Affairs, Washington, D.C. He was previously Senior Director for Southeast Asia at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. **HAL HILL** is H.W. Arndt Professor of Southeast Asian Economies in the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School, College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University. The author/editor of 18 books and about 150 journal articles and book chapters, his research interests are on various aspects of the economies of Southeast Asia.

CAROLINE HUGHES is Professor of Conflict Resolution and Peace, and Academic Director of the Bradford Rotary Centre for International Studies at the University of Bradford. Her research interests include: peacebuilding; Southeast Asia; and the politics of aid and development.

HUI YEW-FOONG is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Indonesia Studies Programme at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. He is also Research Associate Professor at Hong Kong Shue Yan University. His research interests include: Chinese translocalism; regionalism in Indonesia; and religion and social differentiation.

SASI IAMSIRAROJ is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in International Development at Deakin University. His research interests include: foreign direct investments; international development; international trade; and meta-analysis.

IKUMO ISONO is Research Fellow in the Economic Geography Studies Group and Interdisciplinary Studies Center at the Institute of Developing Economies–Japan External Trade Organization, Tokyo.

SUPUNNAVADEE JITDUMRONG is Global Markets Analyst at Nomura Securities. She recently graduated from Colby College with a Bachelor of Arts in Economics and Mathematics, and East Asian Studies.

GAVIN JONES is the former Director of the J.Y. Pillay Comparative Asia Research Centre, National University of Singapore. Before his retirement, he followed an academic career closely linked with consultancy assignments in the areas of population and development, educational planning and urban planning.

DOUGLAS ANTON KAMMEN is Associate Professor in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. His research focuses on historical and political change in Timor-Leste and political violence in Indonesia.

BILAHARI KAUSIKAN is Ambassador-at-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Singapore, and Senior Fellow at the School of Social Science, Singapore Management University. He has held various positions in the Ministry and abroad, including Permanent Secretary of MFA and Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York.

TSUYOSHI KAWASAKI is Associate Professor with the Departments of Political Science and Humanities at Simon Fraser University. His research interests include: Japanese diplomatic history and international relations theory; grand strategy; and the international relations of the Asia-Pacific region.

JONATHAN KOH is Director of the Solutions & Consulting team at CrimsonLogic Pte. Ltd., where he provides domain expertise on trade-related solutions.

ARCHANUN KOHPAIBOON is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Economics at Thammasat University. He specializes in microeconomics, mathematical economics, and international economics.

HERMAN JOSEPH S. KRAFT is Executive Director of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, and Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of the Philippines. His research interests include: comparative government; international relations; and politics.

LE HONG HIEP is Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. His research interests include: international political economy; international relations; and Vietnam's foreign policy.

LEE HOCK GUAN is Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. His research interests include: civil society and democratization in Southeast Asia; education and nation-state formation in Malaysia; construction of race and citizenship in Malaysia.

LEE JAEHYON is Research Fellow and Director of the Center for ASEAN and Oceania Studies at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. His research interests include: Southeast Asian politics and international relations; regional cooperation in East Asia; and non-traditional and human security issues.

MAY-ANN LIM is Managing Director at TRP Corporate, a boutique consulting and research firm in the Asia-Pacific's telecommunications and ICT industries. Her career has spanned a number of research institutions, including the World Bank and the Singapore Institute of International Affairs.

PETER J. LLOYD is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Economics at the University of Melbourne. He specializes in international economics and microeconomics.

MARK MCGILLIVRAY is Research Professor in International Development at the Alfred Deakin Research Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University. The author of over 120 refereed journal articles and book chapters, his research interests include: aid effectiveness and allocation; vulnerability in developing countries; and inter-country inequality in well-being.

JAYANT MENON is Lead Economist in the Office for Regional Economic Integration at the Asian Development Bank, where he works on trade, international investment, and development issues. He holds adjunct appointments with the Australian National University, University of Nottingham (UK), and Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace.

MICHAEL MONTESANO is Visiting Senior Fellow and Co-Coordinator of the Thailand Studies Programme at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. He is also the Managing Editor of *SOJOURN*. His research focuses on society and commerce in twentieth-century Thailand.

ANDREA FELDMAN MOWERMAN is Private Sector Development Specialist at the World Bank. She graduated from Lee Kwan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, with a Master of Public Administration in Economic Policy.

JUDITH NAGATA is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Anthropology, York University. Her research interests cover Southeast Asia, where she has conducted extensive field and other research on Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia in its civil and political forms.

SHAUN NARINE is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, St. Thomas University. He has written extensively on ASEAN and other institutional arrangements in the Asia-Pacific.

HELEN S. NESADURAI is Associate Professor of International Political Economy at Monash University, Malaysia. Her research interests include: environmental governance in Southeast Asia; private regulation and multi-stakeholder regimes in Southeast Asia; and regional governance and institutions in the Asia-Pacific.

THIAM HEE NG is Senior Economist at the Asian Development Bank, where he works on financial integration, macroeconomic surveillance, and early warning systems. He also manages the Asian Bonds Online web portal and the *Asia Bond Monitor*, a quarterly report on local currency bond market developments in Asia.

DEUNDEN NIKOMBORIRAK is Research Director, Economic Governance at the Thailand Development Research Institute. Her areas of expertise include: competition law and policy; telecom regulation; trade in services; and foreign investment.

OOI KEE BENG is Deputy Director of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. He is foundereditor of *ISEAS Perspective, ISEAS Monitor* and *Penang Monthly*. His key interests are: modern nation building in Asia; Malaysian socio-politics; modern language philosophy; and world history.

DIEP PHAN is Assistant Professor at Beloit College. Her primary research interest is in the economic growth and development of developing nations, especially East and Southeast Asian economies.

LINDA RICHTER is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Political Science, Kansas State University. She has undertaken research in the Philippines, Pakistan and India, and is widely known for her published work on public policy in the Philippines and on the politics of tourism in Asia.

GARRY RODAN is Australian Professorial Fellow of the Australian Research Council, and Professor of Politics and International Studies at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University. His thematic research interest is in the relationship between capitalist development and political regime directions in Southeast Asia.

EMIL SALIM is Emeritus Professor at the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia. A highly acclaimed and influential economist, he held several key ministerial positions in the

Indonesian government from 1971 to 1993, including: Minister of Transportation; Minister of State for Development Supervision and the Environment; and Minister of State for Population and the Environment.

RAZEEN SALLY is Associate Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. He is also Director and Co-Founder of the European Centre for International Political Economy. His research and teaching focuses on global trade policy and Asia in the world economy.

RODOLFO C. SEVERINO is Head of the ASEAN Studies Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. He is a former ASEAN Secretary-General and former Philippine diplomat.

TAKASHI SHIRAISHI is President of the Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization, and President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo. His current research interests are in regional formation in East Asia, and international relations and politics in East Asia

REZA SIREGAR is Executive Director and Senior ASEAN Economist at the Global Investment Research division of Goldman Sachs & Co. He has previously worked in several academic, private, and public institutions, such as the University of Adelaide, Asian Development Bank, and ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, Singapore.

SOKBUNTHOEUN SO is a former Visiting Fellow with the East West Centre in Washington, D.C., and former Visiting Fellow with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. His research interests include: state-society relations; land access issues; and decentralization and deconcentration reforms in Cambodia.

The late **HADI SOESASTRO** was Executive Director and Co-Founder of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. One of Indonesia's leading economists, he was well regarded nationally and internationally.

PITI SRISANGNAM is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University. He specializes in international economics and finance.

IAN STOREY is Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Editor of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. His research interests include: China's foreign and defence policies; maritime security in the Asia-Pacific; and Southeast Asia's relations with China and the United States.

SUEO SUDO is Professor at the Department of Policy Studies, Nanzan University. He was Research Fellow at Chulalongkorn University, Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Professor at Saga University. His research interests are ASEAN and Japan-ASEAN relations.

RIZAL SUKMA is Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. In 2009, he was named one of the 100 Global Thinkers by *Foreign Policy*. He works on

issues related to Southeast Asian security; ASEAN; Indonesia's defence and foreign policy; Islam and politics; and domestic political changes in Indonesia.

TAN SEE SENG is Associate Professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. His areas of expertise include: critical social thought; international relations theory; and the politics and security of Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific.

ALAN KHEE-JIN TAN is Professor at the Faulty of Law, National University of Singapore. His research and teaching expertise is in aviation law, criminal law, maritime law and environmental law.

NICHOLAS TARLING is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Auckland. He is one of the foremost historians of Southeast Asia, specializing in the role of the British in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and Myanmar. He is the author and editor of nearly 40 books and more than 90 journal articles.

MOE THUZAR is Fellow and Lead Researcher of Socio-Cultural Affairs (ASEAN Studies Centre) at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Her research interests include: the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community; the socio-cultural issues of ASEAN integration; and Myanmar's foreign policy.

TIN MAUNG MAUNG THAN is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs. His research interests include: ASEAN political cooperation; political economics; politics and development in Myanmar; and political culture and democratization.

SARAH Y. TONG is Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. Her research interests include: Chinese economy; economic growth and development; economic transition; and international trade.

SHUJIRO URATA is Professor at the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, where he specializes in international and development economics. He carries out research on regional economic integration in the Asia-Pacific and Japan's foreign trade policy.

WANG GUNGWU is Chairman of the Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs, the East Asian Institute, and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He is also Emeritus Professor at the Australian National University, and University Professor at the National University of Singapore. His many articles and books on Chinese history, Chinese overseas, and world history have influenced a whole generation of scholars and students.

WANG YUZHU is Associate Professor at the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, where he works on China–ASEAN relations and regional cooperation in the Asia-Pacific.

BRIDGET WELSH is Senior Research Associate at the Center for East Asia Democratic Studies of the National Taiwan University, where she conducts research on democracy and politics in Southeast Asia.

MARIA MONICA WIHARDJA is Researcher, Strategic and International Studies at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta, and teaches at the University of Indonesia. Her research interests are in institutions; decentralization and development; and regional and global economic architectures.

FAIZAL YAHYA is Research Fellow at the Institute of Policy Studies, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His research interests include: human capital; social capital; and multicultural and societal issues.