Reproduced from Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs Vol. 17, No. 4 (March 1996) (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1996). 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

# CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

### A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

Volume 17, Number 4	March	1996
Articles East Asian Security: Lessons from Europe?	Kay Möller	353
South China Sea Fisheries: Countdown to Calamity	Daniel Yarrow Coulter	371
A Brief Survey of India–Indonesia Relations	Ganganath Jha	389
International Relations Theory and Vietnam	ZACHARY ABUZA	406
The Political Consequences of Normalization of U.SVietnam Relations	Allan E. Goodman	420
Fighting the "Non-Attributable War" in Laos: A Review Article	NICK FREEMAN	430
Book Reviews Business and Government in Industrialising Asia Edited by Andrew MacIntyre	Chung H. Lee	443
Regional Security in the South Pacific: The Quarter Century 1970–95 By Ken Ross	Roderic Alley	447
Co-operating for Peace By Gareth Evans	Thomas Quiggin	449
Ideological Innovation Under Monarchy: Aspects of Legitimation Activity in Contemporary Brunei By G. Braighlinn	James Gomez	454
Historical Dictionary of Laos By Martin Stuart-Fox and Mary Kooyman	Arthur J. Dommen	457
The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh: The Untold Story Edited by Mizanur Rahman Shelley	Taj ul-Islam Hashmi	459

### **CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA**

### REGIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

### Chai-Anan Samudavanija

Regional Strategic Studies Programme, ISEAS

### Carolina G. Hernandez

President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Inc. and Professor of Political Science, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy University of the Philippines

### Kusuma Snitwongse

Director
Institute of Security and
International Studies
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok

### Lau Teik Soon

Singapore Institute of International Affairs Singapore

### Mohd. Noordin Sopiee

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

### **Jusuf Wanandi**

Chairman, Supervisory Board Centre of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Iakarta

### INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

### Han Sung-Joo

Asiatic Research Center Korea University

### Masashi Nishihara

National Defense Academy Japan

### Robert O'Neill

Oxford University

### Peter Tarnoff

Council on Foreign Relations New York

### Wang Gungwu

Institute of East Asian Political Economy

### REGIONAL EDITORS

Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti Indonesia Zakaria Haji Ahmad

Malaysia

M.R. Sukhumbhand Paribatra Thailand Francisco Nemenzo

Philippines

### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairperson Chan Heng Chee

Editor

Derek da Cunha

Deputy Editor Tin Maung Maung Than

> Associate Editor Roselie Ang

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

The Editors
Contemporary Southeast Asia
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119596

### **CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA**

### FOUNDING BOARD MEMBERS

Iose V. Abueva

President

University of the Philippines

Harsja W. Bachtiar

University of Indonesia

**Jimmy Chen** 

Industrial Electronics and Engineering, Singapore

Chiang Hai Ding

Formerly Singapore's Ambassador to Egypt

Datuk Mohd. Nor Ghani

Secretary-General Ministry of Transport

Malaysia

Khin Maung Kyi

Formerly National University of Singapore

Alejandro Melchor

Formerly Asian Development Bank

Datuk B.A.R. Mokhazani

Innovest Berhad, Malaysia

**Amphon Namatra** 

Assistant Secretary-General Thai Red Cross Society

**Iakob** Oetama

Kompas, Indonesia

Prasan Tangchai

Medical Council of Thailand

### FOUNDING DONORS

S.G.V. Group, Philippines Lee Foundation, Singapore Kompas, Indonesia

National Trades Union Congress, Singapore
Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation, Singapore
Thai Wah Company Ltd., Thailand
Bank Bumiputra Malaysia Bhd., Malaysia
Singapore International Chamber of Commerce, Singapore
Applied Research Corporation, Singapore

Applied Research Corporation, Singapore
San Miguel Corporation, Philippines
Paolo Memorial Hospital Co. Ltd., Thailand
Development Bank of the Philippines, Philippines
Bangkok Metropolitan Bank, Thailand
United Motor Works (Malaysia) Holdings Berhad

# SUPPLIERS ISERS IS

### The Region

Southeast Asia: Trende,

Developments and Challenges

- Leszek Buszynski

Recent Resource Developments in

 J. Malcolm Dowling and Charissa N. Castillo

Japan's Search for a Political Role in Southeast Asia

- Lam Peng Er

The Republican Congress: Asia's Gain or Pain?

- Susumu Awanohace

Financing Old Age to Southeast Asia: An Overview

Mukul Asher

### Brunei Darussalam

Brunei in 1995; A New Assertiveness?

- Naimah Talib

### Cambodia

Cambodia: A Year of Consolidation

Harish Mehta

Cambodia's Post-Cold War Dilentma: Democratication, Armed Conflict, and Authoritarismum

- Sorpong Peou

### Indonesia

Indonesia at 50: Islam, Nationalism (and Democracy?)

Douglas E. Ramage

Indonesia: Setting the Stage for Socharto's
Re-election

- Leonard Sebastian

### Laos

Laos: Back to a Land of Three Kingdoms?

Mark Nguyen

### Malaysia

Malaysia: Mahathir's Last Hurrah?

- Liak Teng Klat

New Malays, New Malaysians:

Nationalism, Society and History

- T. N. Harper

### POSSIONE Myanmar

Myanmar: Several Endings, No Clear Beginnings

- James F. Guyot

### Philippines

The Philippines in 1995: Completing the

Market Transition

- Alexander R. Magno

The Philippine Labour Diaspora: Trends, Issues and Policies

- Joaquim L. Gonzalez III and Ronald Holmes

### Singapore

The Internationalization of Singapore

Politics

- Asad Latif

Consumption and Social Aspirations of the Middle Class in Singapore

- Yao Souchou

### Thailand

Thailand in 1995: The More Things

Change, The More They Remain the Same

- Suchit Burbongkarn

The That Economy in the Mid-1990s Passuk Phongpaichit

### Vietnam

Vietnam: Better Maraging Reform

- Mick J. Freeman

1996 416 pp SEAA96 ISSN 0377 5437 ISBN 981 3055 35 9 Soft cover \$\$25,00/U\$\$18,50 ISBN 981 3055 36 7 Hard cover \$\$48,00/U\$\$35,00

5 ISERS ISERS ISERS L

## pacifica review

Peace, security & global change termenty Interdisciplinary Peace Research

Pacifica Review endeavours to make sense of a rapidly transforming world and its primary focus is peace, security and global change. It brings together the perspectives of leading scholars and practitioners from around the world, and particularly from the Asia Pacific. It was launched in the context of the profound and diverse nature of contemporary global change which raises difficult practical and theoretical questions cutting across disciplinary boundaries. By cultivating a multidisciplinary perspective Pacifics Review aims to establish connections between the local, national, and international and transnational levels of organisation and between the social, economic and geopolitical dimensions of contemporary change. It provides a forum for normative, analytical and empirical approaches to the study of peace and security.

> Volume 7, Number 2, October / Nevember 1995: Special Issue: The United Nations After the Cold War

### Including:

- \* The World Court Project: How a Citizen Network can Influence the UN by Kate Dewes & Commander Robert Green (retired)
- \* The Comprehensive Plan of Action(CPA) on Indo-Chinese Refugees: Prospects for the Post-CPA, and Implications for a Regional Approach to Refugee Problems by Pierre-Michel Fontaine
  - \* Cambodia: Our Experience with the United Nations by His Excellency Uch Kiman
- \* UNTAC: Lessons Learnt. The Military Component View by Lieutenant General J.M. Sanderson, A.C.
  - \* UNTAC as a Paradigm: A Flawed Seccess by Ken Berry

1996 subscription rates(AUD)*:	Individual	Students	Institution
Australia	\$ 25	<b>\$</b> 15	\$ 50
Other countries	\$ 35	\$ 25	\$ 60

<sup>\*</sup>IPR A Members are entitled to a 20% discount

ORDER FORM - please complete, detach and send now!  * I have enclosed a cheque/international money order payable to Pacifica Review				
Card Number	Expiry Date//			
Name	Signature			
Address				
Postcode	Country			
	on form to Pacifica Review, C/- School of Politics, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, 3083, AUSTRALIA			

# REVIEW

### FERNAND BRAUDEL CENTER

A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations

Recent articles (1995-96) include:

Ilya Prigogine - "The Laws of Chaos"
Hayward Alker - "If not Huntington's

'Civilizations,' Then Whose?"

Andrei Foursov – "Communism, Capitalism, and the Bells of History"

plus a special section on
"The World-System Seen in a Mexican Prism"

Previous Special Issues still available:

XV,1, Winter 1992 - The "New Science" and the Historical Social Sciences

XV, 3, Summer 1992 - Comparing World-Systems

XV, 4, Fall 1992 - Two Views of World History

XVI, 4, Fall 1993 - Port-Cities of the Eastern
Mediterranean, 1800-1914

XVIII, 1, Winter 1995 - Labor Unrest in the World-

Economy, 1870-1990

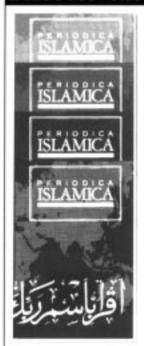
A brochure containing the Table of Contents of past issues is available on request.

Institutions \$90/yr.
Individuals \$28/yr.
Non-U.S. addresses,
postage \$8/yr.
Special non-OCED country
rate \$10/yr.



Managing Editor, Review Fernand Braudel Center Binghamton University State University of New York PO Box 6000 Binghamton, NY 13902-6000

### Discover the wide world of Islamic literature



The journal is produced to a very high standard, and should be a very useful source for all libraries and information users concerned with Islamic issues. Information Development (London), Volume 7, Number 4, pages 241-242

This journal is doing a singular service to the cause of the publicity of periodical literature on Islamic culture and civilization in all its diverse aspects. Every scholar of Islamic Studies should feel indebted to you for this service.

PROFESSOR S.M. RAZAULLAH ANSARI

President, International Union of History and Philosophy of Science (IUHPS)
Commission for Science and Technology in Islamic Civilization, New Delhi, India

(Periodica Islamica is) an invaluable guide...
PROFESSOR BILL KATZ

Library Journal (New York), Volume 118, Number 21, page 184

Periodica Islamica is a most valuable addition to our reference collection.

PROFESSOR WOLFGANG BEHN

Union Catalogue of Islamic Publications, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Germany

It is recommended for all research libraries and scholars of the Islamic viewpoint.

DR. RICHARD R. CENTING

MultiCultural Review (Westport, Connecticut), Volume 2, Number 1, page 40

You should be congratulated on Periodica Islamica which should prove to be a valuable journal to persons interested in Islam and the entire Muslim World.

AMBASSADOR (RTD.) CHRISTOPHER VAN HOLLEN
The Middle East Institute, Washington, DC, USA

Periodica Islamica is an international contents journal. In its quarterly issues it reproduces tables of contents from a wide variety of serials, periodicals and other recurring publications worldwide. These primary publications are selected for indexing by Periodica Islamica on the basis of their significance for religious, cultural, socioeconomic and political affairs of the Muslim world.

**Periodica Islamica** is the premiere source of reference for all multi-disciplinary discourses on the world of Islam. Browsing through an issue of **Periodica Islamica** is like visiting your library 100 times over. Four times a year, in a highly compact format, it delivers indispensable information on a broad spectrum of disciplines explicitly or implicitly related to Islamic issues.

If you want to know the Muslim world better, you need to know Periodica Islamica better.

Editor-in-Chief  Dr. Munawar A. Anees Consulting Editor  Zafar Abbas Malik Periodice Islamice, 22 Julan Liku Kuala Lumpur-59100, Malaysia	America (Indiae - dramees CompuServe - 712304,227 Delphi - dramees InterNet - dramees@kleyher.gc.my
	ption Order Form
	ual Subscription Rates S\$40.00 ☐ Institution US\$249.00
Name	
Address	
City, State, Code	Country
Bank draft	
in coupons	Expiration date
Money order	Signature—
PHONE To place your order BY telephone FAX	To fax your order complete this order form and send to [+60-3] 282-1605  BY  MAIL  Mail this completed order form to Periodica Islamica Berita Publishing
SURSCRIBERS IN MALAYSIA MAY PAY AN EQUIVAL	ENT AMOUNT IN RINGGIT (ME) AT THE PREVAILING EXCHANGE RATE

Subscribe Now! Subscribe Now! Subscribe Now! Subscribe Now!

Contemporary Southeast Asia is a journal that specializes in the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. Apart from serving as a reliable and up-to-date source of information on various events and trends in regional politics, international relations and security questions that affect Southeast Asia, CSEA also publishes the results of original research on these subjects by both scholars and other interested persons.

© 1996 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies ISSN 0129-797X MITA(P) 096/03/96

Reprint permission may be obtained by writing to the Managing Editor, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 119596 (Tel: 778-0955, Fax: 775-6259).

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

### **Annual Subscription Rates**

	Individuals	Institutions
Zone I: Southeast Asia/Japan/Aust/N.Z.	US\$29	US\$36
Zone II: Europe/North America	US\$35	US\$44
Zone III: Singapore/Malaysia/Brunei	S\$46	S\$56

These annual rates include postage and delivery by air. Subscription orders and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Managing Editor Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Heng Mui Keng Terrace Pasir Panjang Singapore 119596

Back issues are available at S\$14/US\$9, plus postage and handling charges. They may also be obtained from Schmidt Periodicals GmbH, Orsteil Dettendorf, D-83075 Bad Feilnbach, Germany (Tel: 8064-221, Fax: 8064-557).

Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA) is indexed in the International Bibliography of Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of Book Reviews; International Serials Database; Sage Public Administration Abstracts; ABC-Clio Library; PAIS Bulletin; Contents Pages on Asia (INSEAD); Muslim World Book Review; International Political Science Abstracts; Pacific Research; Periodica Islamica; Asian Business Contents; International Bibliography of the Social Sciences; University Microfilm, Inc., and Asia-Pacific Database.

The contents page and abstracts of articles in the current issue are available on-line on the World Wide Web at:

http://merlion.iseas.ac.sg/csea.html