

# CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

## A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

---

Volume 12, Number 3

December 1990

---

Introduction v

### Articles

- Some Thoughts on  
ASEAN Security Co-operation:  
An Indonesian Perspective MOCHTAR KUSUMA-ATMADJA 161
- A Study of the Khmer People's  
National Liberation Front and the  
Coalition Government of  
Democratic Kampuchea ABDULGAFFAR PEANG-METH 172
- Japan's Security Policy and  
Southeast Asia REINHARD DRIFTE 186
- China and Japan in  
ASEAN's Strategic Perceptions JULIUS CAESAR PARREÑAS 198
- Indonesia's Relations with  
China and Japan: Images,  
Perception and Realities DEWI FORTUNA ANWAR 225
- Thai Perceptions of China and Japan SURACHAI SIRIKRAI 247
- Recent Publications** 266

# CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

## REGIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

**Chai-Anan Samudavanija**  
Regional Strategic Studies  
Programme, ISEAS

**Lau Teik Soon**  
Head, Department of  
Political Science  
National University of  
Singapore

**Carolina G. Hernandez**  
Director  
Center for Integrative and  
Development Studies  
(CIDS)  
University of the Philippines  
Manila

**Mohd. Noordin Sopiee**  
Director-General  
Institute of Strategic and  
International Studies  
(ISIS), Malaysia  
Kuala Lumpur

**Kusuma Snitwongse**  
Chairman  
Institute of Security and  
International Studies  
(ISIS)  
Chulalongkorn University  
Bangkok

**Jusuf Wanandi**  
Chairman, Supervisory Board  
Centre for Strategic and  
International Studies  
(CSIS)  
Jakarta

## INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

**Han Sung-Joo**  
Asiatic Research Center  
Korea University

**Robert O'Neill**  
Oxford University

**Masashi Nishihara**  
National Defense Academy  
Japan

**Peter Tarnoff**  
Council on Foreign Relations  
New York

**Wang Gungwu**  
University of Hong Kong

### REGIONAL EDITORS

**Chan Heng Chee**  
Singapore

**Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti**  
Indonesia

**Francisco Nemenzo**  
Philippines

**M.R. Sukhumbhand Paribatra**  
Thailand

**Zakaria Haji Ahmad**  
Malaysia

**Tin Maung Maung Than**  
Burma

### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairman  
**K.S. Sandhu**

Editor  
**Chandran Jeshurun**

Associate Editors  
**Derek da Cunha    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. 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 0511

# Introduction

---

In 1989 the Regional Strategic Studies Programme (RSSP) of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies launched its first major research project on the wider security scenario in the Asian-Pacific region entitled "Major Asian Powers and the Security of Southeast Asia". It is aimed at forming a better understanding of the emerging role of the Asian giants, China, India and Japan, and the changing strategic relationships that are the result of shifts in both the global and regional power structures. Some of the studies that were undertaken in the first phase of the project have been assembled as articles in this special focus issue, while two special contributions from a leading Indonesian statesman and a Cambodian official have also been included. The project has benefited greatly from a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. ISEAS would like to thank the MacArthur Foundation for this most welcome and timely assistance. However, the conclusions of the present study remain the responsibility of the authors and their views do not necessarily reflect those of the MacArthur Foundation or ISEAS.

The Editors

**ERRATUM:** The Editorial Committee would like to apologize for the inadvertent error in the international boundaries of Malaysia and Indonesia in Kalimantan as given in the map entitled "The South China Sea Islands" that appeared on p. 21 of Volume 12, no. 1 (June 1990).

# **CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA**

## **FOUNDING BOARD MEMBERS**

**Jose V. Abueva**  
President  
University of the Philippines

**Harsja W. Bachtiar**  
University of Indonesia

**Jimmy Chen**  
Industrial Electronics and  
Engineering, Singapore

**Chiang Hai Ding**  
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. Mokhzani**  
Innovest Berhad, Malaysia

**Amphon Namatra**  
Assistant Secretary-General  
Thai Red Cross Society

**Jakob 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  
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

*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. Although it was originally conceived as a more general journal of the social sciences in 1979, CSEA has come to focus more closely on the concerns of the Institute's Regional Strategic Studies Programme since 1987. 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.

---

*Contemporary Southeast Asia* is published quarterly in June, September, December and March by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 1990 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies  
ISSN 0129-797X  
MCI(P) 217/7/89

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 written permission of the Managing Editor.

*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 Board, the International Corresponding Members, the sponsors of CSEA or ISEAS.*

#### Annual Subscription Rates

Individuals : S\$40 (Singapore)  
              S\$42 (Brunei/Malaysia)  
              US\$24 (All other countries)

Institutions : S\$48 (Singapore)  
               S\$50 (Brunei/Malaysia)  
               US\$30 (All other countries)

These annual rates include postage and delivery by air. Back issues are available at S\$12/US\$7, plus postage and handling charges. Subscription orders and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Managing Editor  
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies  
Heng Mui Keng Terrace  
Pasir Panjang  
Singapore 0511