

# CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

**A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS**

---

Volume 12, Number 4

March 1991

---

## Articles

- Regional Arrangements and International Security  
in Southeast Asia: Going Beyond ZOPFAN MUTHIAH ALAGAPPA 269
- Japan's National Security and Cultivation of  
ASEAN Élites ANNY WONG 306
- Indonesia-Vietnam Relations Under Soeharto LEO SURYADINATA 331
- Liberalization, Co-operatives and  
Ekonomi Pancasila ARMIN TAUBERT 347
- Soviet Economic Aid to Vietnam BUU HOAN 360

## Book Reviews

- Ethnic Conflict in Buddhist Societies: Sri Lanka,  
Thailand and Burma*  
edited by K.M. de Silva et al. David Brown 377
- Political Economy of Non-Alignment: Indonesia  
and Malaysia*  
by Kalyani Bandyopadhyaya Andrew McIntyre 379
- China and South Asia*  
by Ramakant Asad Latif 380
- The United States and the Defence of the Pacific*  
by Ronald D. McLaurin and Chung-in Moon R. Kumar 383
- The Asian Dilemma in U.S. Foreign Policy:  
National Interests versus Strategic Planning*  
by K. Holly Maze Carter Leszek Buszynski 386

**Recent Publications** 388

**Index to Vol. 12** 390

# 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**  
Myanmar

---

### **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

# CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

## FOUNDING BOARD MEMBERS

<b>Jose V. Abueva</b> President University of the Philippines	<b>Khin Maung Kyi</b> Formerly National University of Singapore
<b>Harsja W. Bachtiar</b> University of Indonesia	<b>Alejandro Melchor</b> Formerly Asian Development Bank
<b>Jimmy Chen</b> Industrial Electronics and Engineering, Singapore	<b>Datuk B.A.R. Mokhzani</b> Innovest Berhad, Malaysia
<b>Chiang Hai Ding</b> Singapore's Ambassador to Egypt	<b>Amphon Namatra</b> Assistant Secretary-General Thai Red Cross Society
<b>Datuk Mohd. Nor Ghani</b> Secretary-General Ministry of Transport Malaysia	<b>Jakob Oetama</b> Kompas, Indonesia
	<b>Prasan Tangchai</b> 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.

© 1991 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies  
ISSN 0129-797X  
MCI(P) 162/7/90

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